UNIVERSITY OF
FORWARD
THINKING
WESTMINSTER🁣

WestminsterResearch

http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch

The Sethi merchants' havelis in Peshawar, 1800-1910: form, identity and status

Khan, S.

The Sethi merchants' *havelis* in Peshawar, 1800-1910: form, identity and status.

Samra M. Khan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the University of Westminster

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2016

Abstract

This study of the Sethi merchants' *havelis* of Peshawar was undertaken with the premise that domestic architecture provides an alternative and compelling narrative about historical and cultural changes undergone by Indian society. The Sethi *havelis* constructed over a period of a hundred years (1800-1910) combined residential, business and communal spaces to form sprawling urban estates that dominated the physical environment as well as signalling a distinct identity for the clan. The Sethi *havelis* are important markers of the rise and peak of the merchant class of India that replaced the Mughal *umrah* from the 19th century. The *havelis* are indicative of not only the physical but the social space in society appropriated by the merchants.

The study of these *havelis* was carried out through documentary research and close investigation of the fabric of the buildings (making detailed survey drawings of plans, elevations and sections). The study has been set in the larger context of the analysis of regional and trans-regional trade, the development of the city of Peshawar in the various historic eras and the wider transformation of Indian society in the colonial era. This thesis looks at Peshawar not as an isolated city, but located within a larger and vibrant regional and national framework to understand the multilayered fabric of the city. This provided the unique environment for the construction and development of the Sethi *havelis.*

Havelis were vital channels of indigenous patronage of architecture, and retained an alternative spatial culture to that of the colonial sponsored bungalows. Although they lost their appeal for many anglicised Indians who moved to the suburban bungalows, *haveli*s continued to be inhabited by old aristocratic families who equated this lifestyle with 'holding on to family honour'. The *haveli* was a flexible typology which housed a traditional lifestyle developed around *purdah,* but was able to absorb the cultural changes of the early 20th century and facilitated transitions between the traditional and the modern. The *haveli* could also incorporate changes on its facade, becoming more extroverted in the 20th century, easily mixing stucco decorations, *naqqashi* and Shah-Jehani columns with stained glass, wrought iron balconies and gothic windows.

The Sethis became eminent merchant-bankers by successfully building relationships with the British in India and Amir Abdur-Rahman in Afghanistan, who allowed them a large share in the trade of the era. This financial success was expressed through the construction of the palatial *havelis* in the heart of the city as well as through the sponsorship of a large body of philanthropic works including mosques, gardens, wells, orphanages and *serais*. The identity of the Sethis was sustained through the building and occupation of these *havelis*. They indicate that architecture can be seen as proxy for its patron: while the Mughal Serai Jehan-Ara expressed the economic power of the Mughals (1526-1738), the continued occupation of the *serai* by the Sikh and British authorities signalled their desire to be associated with this power. The construction of *umrah havelis* and later the Sethi *havelis* close to the power centre of the *serai* expressed similar aspirations. More importantly, the Sethi merchant *havelis* were important examples of indigenous architecture within the physical landscape which had been shaped by colonial interventions. As such they contested the physical landscape of colonial monuments (Cunningham clock tower and Hastings' Monument) on the Bazaar-e-Kalan as counter-narratives.

The study fills a significant gap in the literature through its close consideration and analysis of the domestic architecture of Sethi merchants of Peshawar, thus contributing to the overall cultural history of the pre-colonial and colonial periods in the city's history. The thesis concludes that historical accounts that focus only on the study and descriptions of monumental architecture present an incomplete picture, which may be completed through the study of the domestic architecture of the eras (19th and 20th centuries).

To Javed, whose trust and love has made me the person I am.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/pakistan/kabuli-gate.html. Accessed on February 1st 2016.

Fig. 4.35 Mall road, Peshawar, 1910. Source: Images of Asia. http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/pakistan/peshawar-mall.html. Accessed on February 1st 2016.

Fig. 4.36 Darbar procession going towards West gate of Serai Jehan Ara; "Illumination at Peshawur on the occasion of a grand durbar held there by the Viceroy of India--the Viceregal procession," Source: *The Illustrated London News*, June 16 1860. Source: Author.

Fig. 4.37 Hastings Monument. Postcard 1910. Source: Author.

Fig 4.38 Cunningham Clock Tower. Early 20th century. Postcard. Source: Author.

Fig. 4.39 Victoria Hall (currently Peshawar Museum). Postcard 1910. Source: Author.

Fig. 4.40 Fire Brigade at Serai Jehan Ara. Source: Author, January 29th 2010.

Fig. 4.41 Map of Peshawar with important buildings of the British era. Source: Base map University of Chicago Library, developed by the author from a 1920s map.

Chapter 5   79

Fig. 5.1 Winding *galli* of Mohalla Sethian. Source: Author, March 16th 2009.

Fig. 5.2 Map of the walled city of Peshawar showing commercial and residential layouts. Source: Base map by Dr Amjad Hussain, developed by the Author.

Fig. 5.3 Urban Fabric of Peshawar. Source: Google Earth. Accessed on September 4th 2014.

Fig. 5.4 View of a haveli on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. Source: Author, July 16th 2014.

Fig. 5.5 A view of Qissa Khawani *bazaar*.1903.Source: RTW_vol_2_099, reproduced with permission of The Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University, UK.

Fig. 5.6 View of Chowk Bazazan with Mahabat Khan Mosque in the background. Source: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1800_1899/northwest/peshawar/iln1858max.jpg. Accessed on February 9th 2016.

Fig. 5.7 'Halt of a caravan, Peshawur,' an albumen photo by Bourne and Shepherd, c.1880's. Source: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1800_1899/northwest/peshawar/peshawar.html. Accessed on February 9th 2016.

Fig. 5.8 Jharoka of Kabuli Kotwali (police station) Source: https://www.facebook.com/QissaKhwani/photos/pb.173386152794272.-2207520000.1457374754./654670474665835/?type=3&theater. Accessed on March 12th 2016.

Fig. 5.9 Cunningham Clock Tower, embedded in the urban fabric. Source: Author, March 24th 2014.

Fig. 5.10 Municipal Corporation and Town Hall building. Source: Reproduced with permission of Dr Amjad Hussain.

Fig. 5.11 Chief Court, Peshawar, 1910, Herman Dass & Sons. Source: http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/pakistan/chiefs-court.html. Accessed on March 12th 2016.

Fig. 5.12 Peshawar *bazaar* under British organisation, 1920 by K.C. Mehra & Sons. Source: http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/pakistan/peshawar-fur.html. Accessed on December 12th 2015.

Fig. 5.13 View of an official visit in Qissa Khawani Bazaar. c1865.   Source: http://nativepakistan.com/photos-of-peshawar/peshawar-bazar-1865/. Accessed on March 12th 2016.

Fig. 5.14 View of St John's Church, Peshawar Cantonment,1878 by John Burke. Source: http://nativepakistan.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Peshawar-Pictures-Old-photo-of-Peshawar-and-St.-Johns-Church-1878.jpg. Accessed on January 4th 2016.

Fig. 5.15 Soldiers' Married Quarters, Peshawar, 1910, Hernam Dass & Sons. Source: http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/pakistan/married-quarters.html**.** Accessed on January 4th 2016.

Fig. 5.16 Station Hospital. Peshawar Cantonment. Source: http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Pakistan-Old-Colour-Postcard-The-Mall-showing-Station-Hospital-PESHAWAR-N-W-F-P /151980589251?hash=item2362bfc0c3. Accessed on January 4th 2016.

Fig. 5.17 A view of the Qissa Khawani street protest and police cars, 1930. Source: http://www.khyber.org/articles/2011/Qissa_Khwani_Massacre.shtml. Accessed on March 6th 2016.

Fig. 5.18 The view from Gor Kattri; the Sethi merchant-bankers' *haveli* can be seen among other *havelis* lining the Bazaar-e-Kalan Road. Postcard 1910.Source: Author.

x

Acknowledgements

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work,

which is fully compliant with university ethics requirements.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction & Overview

The architecture of the Indo-Pak subcontinent has a diverse and rich history, beginning with the Neolithic settlements of Mehrgarh, the Harappan cities of Indus Valley civilization and later the Hindu, Buddhist, Indo-Islamic/Mughal, Colonial and modern periods. Scholarly discourse about the architecture of the Indo-Islamic era (1206-1857) usually focuses on grand works like forts, palaces, mosques, gardens and mausoleums constructed by the Mughals (1526-1857). These have been given significant scholarly attention and have undergone detailed analysis to understand their multiple facets of physical and philosophical underpinnings.[1] They are seen as structural embodiments of the power and the imperial philosophy of the empires and studied as the archetypes of the sub-continent's cultural history.[2] This is a common approach to the study of architecture generally, which focuses on the study and understanding of large monuments and edifices as being the most culture specific artefacts.

On the other hand, domestic architecture and its development throughout this period have largely been ignored, although it is more frequently the small scale architecture which embodies vital cultural cues.[3] Their layouts, ornamentation and decorative elements are important indicators of how cultural traditions are made, maintained and passed on. They are the clearest and most direct physical manifestation of cultural processes, as they record the changes in social, cultural, economic and political worldviews of people.[4] Rapoport distinguishes between the 'monumental tradition and the domestic tradition' by calling the latter:

> '…..the direct and unself-conscious translation into physical forms of a culture, its needs and values-as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of a people.'[5]

This brings one up to another most common approach to the study of architecture which places great emphasis on studying buildings through the philosophies of their architects. This design philosophy is considered to be all encompassing in the context and content of a building. However, there are cultures and traditions, even great ones that do not credit a particular person with the design and construction of its buildings.[6] Reading buildings as artefacts, through their details provides cultural insights, into the processes of design, construction, procurement, and inhabitation.[7] Therefore, it becomes important to read historic buildings themselves to understand what roles they played within their prevalent cultural and social context. This allows an understanding of how the occupants interacted within the building and their exchanges with the outside world in order to maintain traditions, customs and status. The typology most likely to help develop an understanding of its occupants is the domestic one, which is built, extended, remodelled and divided as per the changing/evolving needs of its patrons. The growth and changes of the domestic residence represents the patron's world view, desires, needs, values, aspirations and position within their society.[8]

The traditional Indian dwelling is the courtyard house. Its relevance to cultural, environmental and social contexts made it the dominant house form from the Indus Valley civilization (c.3300-c.1700BCE) until the early 20th century. The term *haveli* is used for the elite urban courtyard house, the concept identifying a house as a *haveli* originated in the Mughal era.[9] The *haveli* came to symbolise the patron's public and official recognition and thus legitimacy within urban society.[10] The basic components of the *haveli* remained constant and widespread over a larger region from India to Central Asia and Iran; this was due to centuries of intercultural and economic exchanges between India, Afghanistan, Iran and central Asia during the Mughal Empire (1526-1857). The development of the urban *havelis* across the Indian subcontinent, from Peshawar in the west to Dhaka in the east, and from Delhi in the north to Hyderabad in the south, are documented from the 16th till the 20th century.[11] Regions like Delhi, Oudh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sind, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Hyderabad, and Bengal all have their particular distinctive styles, based on regional craftsmanship and available materials, but these were encompassed by the generic *haveli* form.[12]

The building and occupation of the *havelis* during the Mughal era was predominantly by the *umrah* (nobles) and *mansabdars* (military officials) in all cities of the Empire. The *umrah* constructed large *haveli* complexes near the fort palaces of the Mughal Emperors.[13] These complexes in their designs emulated the Emperor's palaces, constituting of public halls and *mahals* (palaces), and private areas of the harem and service spaces for a large contingent of servants, craftsmen, stables and stores.[14] These *haveli* complexes were large enough to form a small *mohalla* (neighbourhood) and acted as landmarks of the surrounding environment. These elite *havelis* congregated close to the centres of power, and became the major building blocks of the Indian cities.[15] The ownership of large *havelis* became a status symbol as it supported a particular way of life based on traditions, and the patterns of *adab* (etiquette and behaviour) which were refined during the Mughal Empire and carried on in the provincial courts and were preserved with minor changes well into the colonial era.[16]

The *haveli* saw a decline as the most desirable house form of the *umrah* by the mid 19th century, as the British control of India saw the decline and downfall of the Mughal Empire and its dependents. The resultant political and economic changes forced the *umrah* to abandon or sell their homes, which fell into disrepair and became sub-divided into smaller estates.[17] The 19th century rise of the merchants and money lenders (bankers) was due to their role as the new power brokers; as they supported first the East India Company and later the British Crown financially. Indian merchants, called *Khatris* hailing from the Punjab (Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan Chiniot, etc.) Delhi, Sind (Shikarpur, Khairpur etc) Rajasthan (Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, etc.) and Gujarat, among other regions were actively involved in the West and Central Asian trade. Trade and interaction with the great trade centres created along the Silk route (114 BCE – 1450s CE) bought about cultural, economic and political exchanges in India.[18] These long-distance trade links helped the rich merchants to become the new affluent class of India.

The merchants subsequently became the new *rais* (aristocrats) of the land and filled the physical and social space in society left by the Mughal *umrah*, as they built and occupied grand and well decorated *havelis* during the 18th and 19th centuries in many cities of India.[19] The merchant *havelis* became an important urban form of the late 19th and early 20th

centuries, recording the financial rise and ritualistic lifestyle of the mercantile elite. The *havelis* allowed the merchants to transform their wealth into a physical presence on the horizons of the new colonial landscape, to create reputations and build political influence and ultimately to create public representations of themselves. The production of a rich and opulent domestic architecture via trade portrays the cultural manifestations of the periods of socio-economic and political strength experienced by the merchants.[20] These *havelis*, although smaller than the preceding *umrah havelis*, once again stood as symbols of power, prestige and status in the 19th and 20th century colonial society.

The lifestyles that had prompted the development and continual use of the *havelis* changed and the maintenance and upkeep of *havelis* became impossible. This resulted in the division of *havelis* into smaller parts and uses that changed the spatial relationships of parts of the house to each other. The decline of the *haveli* took place from the early 20th century and is linked to cultural changes in the late colonial period which saw the patronage of the new typology of the suburban bungalow over the urban *haveli*.[21] Post-Independence India and Pakistan (1947) and the mid 20th century brought in newer styles of residential architecture inspired by the International Style.[22]

1.2. Sethi Havelis (1800-1910):

This research focuses on the Sethi merchant-bankers' *havelis* constructed from 1800-1910, in the city of Peshawar. The city located on the eastern end of the Khyber Pass between Afghanistan and India, was an important frontier town of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. Peshawar as the entrance into the wealthy and vast sub-continent of India carried strategic, military and historic importance. From the 13th to the 20th century, the city served as an important international trading post connecting Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and India.[23] The Sethi clan's fortunes followed these trade patterns; moving from Bhera to Chamkani and to Peshawar in the 18th century.[24] Using Peshawar as their base, they set up trade offices in various cities of India and overland in Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, Russia and China. The economic success of the clan was displayed through the construction of a large

body of architecture in Peshawar from the early 19th to the early 20th century. These included twelve family *havelis*, mosques, gardens, wells and other philanthropic works.

Twelve Sethi *havelis* were constructed as a fraternal cluster (over a period of a hundred years) in the area later called Sethi *kucha* which was near the Mughal quarters, established trade centres of the city and the main processional route of the city. These large and embellished *havelis* provide important insights into the lifestyles and traditions of the Sethi merchant-bankers. The appropriation and usage of design elements from the Mughal to the colonial periods represent a hybridity of cultures. Upon close reading they chronicle the changes undergone by a society passing through turbulent political, social and cultural changes from the 18th to the 20th century.

Haveli construction in the Sethi Kucha stopped in the early 20th century, due to the families' severe financial losses in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, losses in the tea trade in China, changing trade routes from central Asia and Russia, towards Europe, and lifestyle changes.[25] These forced the merchant families out of the opulent and traditional lifestyle of the 19th century and many had to sell off antiques and properties.[26] Most of the Sethi *havelis* have been divided into smaller parts as family feuds and economic issues are forcing owners to split tenancies, to sublet the *havelis* to inappropriate usage or abandon them for the suburbs. Four *havelis* have been torn down but the rest are now protected against destruction by law.[27] Subsequently, the families were unable to maintain the upkeep of the *havelis*, which have been altered greatly; as the *havelis* are perceived of having no particular value in the contemporary era. The Sethi *havelis* serve as important heritage buildings and landmarks of the city, a fact that is endorsed by the mention of the houses by Dani and others in books written about Peshawar.[28] The *havelis* have become 'marginalized spatial entities' in the modern era, but their study offers a wealth of knowledge about their relevance in the eras of their development.

Fig. 1.1 A view of the Sethi havelis on the two sides of the galli.

The Sethi *havelis* serve as important samples of merchant *havelis*; as such fraternal clusters of *havelis* in other cities of Pakistan are hard to find; these have been sub-divided, altered greatly or torn down. *Havelis* in general are fast disappearing due to cultural, social and economic pressures.[29] They are being sub-divided into smaller parts, which owners are selling off, leaving many with only portions of the original fabric, waiting for their uncertain fate (see image 1.2).

3

Fig. 1.2 Part of an old haveli which lies depleted on Bazaar-e-Kalan road, Peshawar.

1.3.   Research Problem

This thesis investigates the *havelis* of the Sethi merchant-bankers of Peshawar, as material representation of the historical transformation in Indian society from the late Mughal to the colonial period (1800-1910). These *havelis* dating from the 19th to 20th century are the repositories of social, political and cultural values of the various historic eras. The study will help to understand how these *havelis* developed and evolved their elements of design and decorative styles in order to absorb and display the ever-changing dynamics of economic, social, cultural and political elements of a society going from the pre-colonial into the colonial era.

This study focuses on the characteristics of the Sethi *havelis* and how they manifest the changes and exchanges of the Indian society. It looks at the symbolic function of architecture, the relationship between social form and built form, and between ideology and the built environment. These *havelis* are studied through the elements of physical development, stylistic changes, and appropriation of symbols of power which represent changing social relations and cultural identities. In doing so, one would also understand the impact of trade, travel, commerce, culture and politics on the domestic house. To the Sethis, their *haveli* architecture was not just a setting for the family's activities but the physical expression of their social positions. These houses, thus expressed their patrons' position and status in the changing and fluid colonial world through the expression of a shared ethos. The way that merchants transformed their wealth, reputation and political influence into the built environment and thus created public representations of their images is an interesting debate central to this thesis.

The Sethi *havelis* were chosen for this study for the following reasons:

- The *havelis* are considered to be one of the important architectural heritages of the city.
- Sethi *havelis* as a group are a rare sample of trader *mohallas* still mostly intact in Pakistan. While many trader neighbourhoods of the 19th and 20th centuries in Rawalpindi and Lahore among other cities have been torn down.
- The cluster of *havelis* (12 identified to date) form a distinct neighborhood (Sethi Mohalla) entity, and makes a sample which can be meaningfully studied to draw conclusions.
- They are relatively well preserved both externally and internally and through detailed studies offer valuable insights.
- No detailed or comprehensive study has been made regarding these or other similar *havelis* of Pakistan, which looks at the links between elements of design and economic, cultural and social factors.
- The area of the Sethi *mohalla* has been included in many studies as an integral part of a heritage trail from the Serai Jehan Ara to the Mahabat Khan mosque.[30]

4

- I have previously published six research papers on the various aspects of the Sethi *havelis* including environmental response, sustainability, and division of the *havelis* into gender spaces, decorative features and aesthetic elements. This knowledge forms the basis for this more in-depth study of the *havelis*.[31]

1.4.   Aims & Objectives

This thesis intends to consider the Sethi *havelis* within the context of their regional importance, showing how culture and trade from the 18th to the 20th century gave birth to their construction in Peshawar. There are four Sethi *havelis* which have been demolished, but the larger fabric of the Mohalla still remains intact. The future of the *havelis* is also endangered from the dearth of knowledge and understanding about them, as the lack of knowledge helps to justify their physical dilapidation. My thesis will document and analyze the physical aspects of the *havelis* as much as possible, so that this knowledge may be accessible to more people and other researchers can use my work in building their narratives about the historic domestic architecture of Pakistan. In doing so I intend to give academic credence to the representation of cultural values that the Sethi *havelis* embody and establish the historic value of the Sethi *havelis* within the context of Peshawar and Pakistan.

The aims of the research will be:

1. To investigate the domestic architecture of the Sethi traders, which was constructed in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and to identify the changes (pre-colonial and colonial) that took place within it during the time period 1800-1910.

2. To consider the reasons why the developments occurred and their importance.

3. To analyze and to understand the meaning and value of the houses studied and their current implications.

1.5.   Research Questions

The research has been guided by the theoretical considerations of how architecture is a product of social, cultural, political and economic determinants. As a reflection of these values, architecture embodies cultural meaning and interpretations. The study examines the historical background to these houses through tracing their evolution in relation to the development of the Sethis' trade interests, the changing scenario of the city of Peshawar (1780s-1930s), in order to address the following research questions;

1. How did the architecture of the *havelis* reflect the aesthetic, cultural, social and historic influences and values of the predominant eras of influence; Mughal, Afghan, central Asian, Sikh and later British (1800-1910)?

2. Why did the Sethi merchants feel the need (or possibly a competitiveness) to create a dominant visual identity for themselves through the sustained patronage of domestic architecture?

3. What role did these *havelis* play within the domestic architecture of 19th & 20th century Peshawar and within the larger Indo-Pakistani architectural heritage?

1.6. Significance of the study and original contribution to knowledge:

In the context of Pakistan, architectural heritage stands in a poor condition as it not only suffers physical damage and neglect, but also is in danger of demolition as it poses hurdles to greedy speculators and land grabbers. The rising cost of land and irreversible commercialization of crowded and narrow inner city areas have resulted in massive tearing down of the heritage fabric, most of which has not been photographed or recorded in any way. This includes many fine examples of domestic architecture that are unique and form our valuable tangible heritage. These are our links to the past and important repositories of the intangible cultural heritage.

There are also no comprehensive studies of *havelis* architecture which may help to understand the development, stylistic variations and meanings of these houses. The few available studies include PEPAC's documentation of Lahore city which documents some of the remaining *havelis* of historic quarters of the old city. The study falls short of studying the *haveli* designs, their significance or their role within the *mohalla* or the city. The *havelis* of various cities of Sind have been documented by Sabzwari and her book serves as an important guide about the *havelis* of the southern region.[32] There is still a large gap in the knowledge about *haveli* architecture in Pakistan, endorsing the need for extensive research in this area.

Within the general context of the sub-continent's *havelis*, the merchant *havelis* form a distinct entity. While *havelis* of Mughal *umrah* and *mansabdars* and later the officials of the Sikh *darbar* (court) have been conserved and noted as heritage architecture, the merchant *havelis* have received very little scholarly attention.[33] Indian mercantile history has been covered extensively by scholars like Dale, Levi and Bayly which describe the era's social and cultural history.[34] On the other hand the mercantile patronage of architecture, which provides an important primary source for understanding the merchant-bankers' activities, has not received much investigation.[35] This fact is also confirmed by Hardgrove, who notes that:

> 'The domestic architecture of commercial groups in India is a fascinating area of research, although admittedly much less studied than other forms, especially the religious architecture of prominent temples, mosques, and mausoleums like the Taj Mahal, or that of various ruling elites.'[36]

Within this context the study of the Sethi merchant-banker *havelis* in Peshawar will make an important and critical contribution to the field. The drawing, recording and description of the Sethi *havelis* in a comprehensive manner, through my research will be an original and valuable addition to the scant knowledge about merchant *haveli* architecture in Pakistan. The additional contextual study of the influencing elements of cultural, social and economic factors on the *havelis* connects the houses with the larger regional context and helps to understand their importance within the era.

1.7. Limitations of the study and mitigation strategies.

1.7.1. Fragile fabric of *havelis*:

The Sethis constructed twelve *havelis*, out of which seven *havelis* survive with some alterations and amendments. One *haveli* is depleted and thus inaccessible for data collection/making measured drawings (plans/sections/details). This was photographed externally and its footprint was measured to draw relevant conclusions. In addition some *havelis* have parts such as roofs and floors which have caved in and are unsafe to enter and walk on. These were photographed and drawn with the help of external measurements of the area and that of the surrounding rooms of the house.

Four *havelis* have been torn down and replaced with newer/modern houses. These are also photographed and measured externally to understand their position within the neighborhood.

1.7.2. Access for documentation and study:

Some *havelis* were not completely accessible for photography and data collection. The Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli's mardana* (men's portion) is the subject of litigations between multiple owners. Access was possible only twice for recording of data; measurements and photography to produce drawings. There were some rooms of this portion to which access was not allowed, but photographs of these areas were provided by the family to assist in the drawings. The drawings of these areas were made using measurements, photographs and verbal and textual descriptions by the family.

1.7.3. *Havelis* which have been replaced:

There are four *havelis* which have been replaced with newer houses. Unfortunately, this heritage was never documented and no visual or textual details exist to reconstruct them in

their original form. The footprint of these *havelis* helps to reconstruct the form of the Sethi *mohalla* and has been included in the thesis.

1.7.4. Availability of archival materials in Peshawar:

The Peshawar archives have a weak cataloguing system which required lengthy research of sources, many of which had inconclusive records. In addition the availability of documents preceding the colonial era is non-existent and colonial records are in bad condition, at times too depleted to read and decipher.

1.7.5. Safety issues during field research:

Peshawar presents considerable safety issues as well as extremist political elements, not amenable to field research. During the period of field research the city had many bomb blasts as well as multiple terrorist attacks. In this context, the trips to Peshawar were planned to avoid religious/national holidays, and large gatherings, processions, parades and blockades of main roads and residential areas. The walled city was often cordoned off for traffic during Polio campaigns, forcing the research team to walk from the Kabuli gate to the Sethi *mohalla.* For more safety, the field trips were undertaken with local hosts, architects and community members of the area. Good working relations were established with most of residents of the neighborhood, which facilitated the study as well as providing safety for the researcher. All the trips were day trips and work was undertaken during daylight hours, vigilance was observed when moving around the area, and all other precautions for safety were taken.

It should be noted also that as a result of the political situation outlined above, the dissertation supervisors were unable to visit the area of study. Regular visits to London by the researcher, frequent correspondence and skype discussions went some way towards countering this difficulty.

1.8. Definition of important terms:

The Sethi *havelis* date from the late Mughal era, and many cultural, economic and social terms are specific to the period. These indigenous terms have been commonly used for settlements, parts of neighbourhoods, the houses and their various parts. These terms are in Persian and Urdu language and reflect the nuances of the various eras, as well as attributing a particular meaning/importance to an object. The use of these appropriate terms/expressions is very important within this thesis to attribute correct meanings to objects and elements. These terms have been used throughout the thesis where appropriate. The first time a term in Urdu/Persian is used its English translation is given in parenthesis, in addition a complete glossary is provided at the end of the thesis for reference. However, some English words like 'courtyard' has been retained as these express the central space of the *haveli* exactly.

1.9. Research methods

The research methods are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The primary sources for the present research are the Sethi *havelis* themselves. These are examined as individual samples, from which evidence regarding their significant elements is drawn. These *havelis* as representative examples are studied through a rigorous formal analysis of the architecture: plans, sections, internal elevations and external facades. The survey and measurements of the existing *havelis* and the production of scaled drawings are an important tool in understanding the principles of design. The study of the design includes looking at room layouts, circulation, decorative features and elevation treatment together with any original furnishings still in existence. These help to understand the wide range of stylistic affiliations and their usage during the various phases in the development of the different styles. At the same time the inter-disciplinary nature of the research draws on history, economic history, geography, city planning, archaeology, socio-cultural anthropology and literature, to give breadth and depth to the study.

1.10. Structure of the Thesis

The Sethi *havelis* are a product of an era of changing values and politics between pre-colonial and colonial India. They can only be meaningfully discussed when placed in their correct historical, cultural and social context. India's global trade, the development of the city of Peshawar, colonial domination and the resulting political, social and cultural changes, through trade and their impact on the *havelis* in general and the Sethi *havelis* in particular form the background within which the design and historical significance of the *havelis* can be discussed and analysed.

The thesis is structured in such a way that the earlier chapters discuss the various and multi-faceted influences of the historical, social and cultural contexts of the *havelis* to build a relevant background against which it becomes easy to understand both the continuity and the transformations taking place within the Sethi *havelis*. This is then followed with the analysis of their development and the detailed analysis of the houses themselves.

The thesis is thus broadly divided into the following two larger parts:

1.10.1. Part I: Contextual Studies

The contextual studies are intended to provide a background to the analysis of the *havelis*, outlining the physical, economic, political and social background of the pre-colonial and colonial society. These include detailed discussions about the economics and trade, the regional and political developments, and development of domestic architecture of India. This section contains the following chapters:

Chapter 3: Indian merchants and acquisition of *havelis*

This chapter builds the larger background of the study within a regional context of trade and exchange between India, Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia (Turan) and Russia. The magnitude and range of this trade allowed a new class, the merchants, to rise within India. The chapter looks at the organisation of the trading classes who specialized in local, inter-regional trade and trans-regional trade. The vast network of trade was supported by a system of the *caravan-serais* (inns), *baolis* (wells) and *kos-minar* (mile pillars) on the Grand Trunk road to facilitate travel and trade. The political changes taking place within India from the late 18th century to the mid 19th century saw the Mughal Empire crumble and the *umrah* decline, creating a power gap. This was filled by the merchants, who were active participants in the new power structure formed by the East India Company. As their financial and political support strengthened the British, the merchants became the new patrons of the urban *rais havelis*.

Chapter 4: Development of Peshawar through historical eras

This chapter looks at the various historic and political eras of the city, from the 16th to the 19th centuries when Mughal India acted as an important source of cultural, material and spiritual influence for its neighbours in West and Central Asia. Peshawar, lying on the trade route between Central, South and West Asia is one the most ancient cities of the region. Peshawar served as a capital city of the region during the Kushan (127AD - 400AD), Kabul/Turki & Hindu Shahi (565-1000 AD), Afghan/Durrani/Barakzai (1001-1206, 1738-1834), Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526), Mughal (1526-1738), Sikh (1834-1849) and British eras (1849-1947).

The focus is on the eras of Mughal, Durrani, Sikh and Colonial (British) Peshawar in order to build a relevant context for the study of the Sethi *havelis*. Many areas of the city were occupied and reoccupied and appropriated in these eras as they became associated with the seats of power. The identity, memories and associations embodied in these sites made them popular commercial and residential areas of the city until the 20th century.

Chapter 5: Urban fabric of Peshawar: Bazaar and the mohalla

This chapter studies the physical development of the city of Peshawar to understand which planning principles govern its forms and layouts. These principles are drawn from religious, cultural, economic and political contexts which are studied in relation to each other and to the various era plans of the city to understand its morphology. These eras produced a layered urban fabric, which is indicative of the critical moments of change in the city's history.

In the pre-colonial era, Peshawar was predominantly a city of trade; it grew and expanded to accommodate the various specialist and main *bazaars*, the *caravanserais*, the main Mosque, *hammams* (public baths), *khewa-khanas* (tea houses) and the *mohallas*. The relationship between the commercial *bazaars* and the residential *mohallas* formed the two elements of public and private domains, which became the major building blocks of the city. Within the *mohallas*, elements of organization of space included the major and minor *katras* (clan/family enclaves)*, gallis* (streets/lanes) and the *havelis.*

Colonial Peshawar saw a re-ordering of its public space as well as the creation of a new sanitised and fashionable enclave; the cantonment.[37]

Chapter 6: Development of the Indian *haveli*

This chapter looks at the development of the *haveli* typology from the 17th to the 20th century. The development, rise and decline of the *haveli* typology are closely linked to the political and cultural eras of the 17th century to the early 20th century. Developments of the form of the *havelis* from the 17th to the early 19th centuries saw the appropriation of Mughal elements. The chapter studies the role of *mistris* and craftsmen in the design, construction and embellishments of the *havelis*. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the inhabitants viewed their lifestyles as old fashioned and irrelevant and were anxious to graft on visual symbols of European origin to assert their newer identities. The era also saw the introduction of European furniture and novelties that changed the spatial configurations of the houses.[38]

1.10.2. Part II: Development and analysis of the Sethi *havelis*

The second section looks at the development of the Sethi *kucha* vis-a vis the families' expanding trade interests and links with centres of power. The analysis of the *havelis* is undertaken to understand how they individually and as a group represent their patrons' worldviews, status, appropriations and contestations of power. The section includes the following chapters:

Chapter 7: The rise of the Sethi clan and the construction of family *havelis*

The subsequent development of the Sethi *kucha* (later *mohalla*) took place in the context of the family's trade centres shifting from Bhera to Chamkani and finally to Peshawar. This chapter also looks at the rise of the 'notables', the Indian elite within the strict colonial hierarchy. This new politically affluent native class helped the British maintain order within colonial cities. The Sethis, engaged in the various economic, political and social networks of colonial Peshawar were part of this new class of natives. They became involved in the municipal government, engaged in public philanthropy, participated in the (imperial) ritualistic lifestyle, and supported the British through engaging in covert spy activities during their travels to Afghanistan and central Asia. The high period of growth of the Sethi *havelis* coincided with the high colonial period. The decline of the Raj from the 1920s onwards, opposition to the colonial government and the greater political awareness of young Indians led to the rejection of the lifestyle typified by the Sethis. This also marked the end of *haveli* building in the *mohalla.*

Chapter 8: Analysis of the Sethi *havelis*

This chapter analyses the Sethi *havelis* through drawings, photographs and textual information to understand the social, economic, political and cultural influences of each era of development. As merchant *havelis,* these were designed to cater for the needs of the joint-family system. This stipulated that the spaces of a *haveli* be divided on the basis of gender, with different parts of the house reserved for male and female occupants. The second important factor was that the *haveli* served the dual functions of residence and business office. These functions were managed by spatial mechanisms that separated and integrated various parts of the *havelis*. The affiliations of the patrons to a particular power centre are apparent through the study of the exterior facades of the *havelis,* which reveal their introvert and later extravert character.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and discussions

In conclusion, the findings of the study are discussed which establish the importance of studying peripheral spaces like domestic architecture and how these respond to the various factors of social and cultural changes leading to new spatial articulations.

The study of the larger city fabric helps to understand the role that merchant *havelis* played in forming important quarters of the city as well as holding the fabric of the city together as they generated multiple trade and allied quarters to establish themselves around the *havelis*. The chapter discusses the effect of colonialism and the new European aesthetics on articulation of the interiors and representations of family status. The layouts, decorative elements and furnishings also reflected the patron's aspirations for a relevant identity and status.

The appropriations of Mughal and later European symbols inside and outside the *haveli* became important markers of the family's identity. The *havelis* marked the family's continual need for confirmation of their own significance, status and social relevance. The Sethi *havelis* narrate not only the history of Peshawar but the history of merchant-bankers within the region.

---

[1] Many important books have been written about Indo-Islamic monuments, some of the important works include the following:

Catherine Blanshard Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India. Vol. 4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, USA, 2001).

Amina Okada, *A Jewel of Mughal India: The Mausoleum of I'timad Ud-Daulah. Vol. 1.* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003).

George Michell and Mumtaz Currim, *The majesty of Mughal decoration: the art and architecture of Islamic India* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

John Burton-Page, *Indian Islamic architecture: Forms and typologies, sites and monuments* (Boston: Brill, 2007).

[2] Jennifer Lynn Campbell, "Architecture and identity: the occupation, use, and reuse of Mughal Caravanserais." (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011), 6

[3] Kamila Sabzwari, *The perishing havelis of Sindh.* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 2003): 1.

Also see Tania Sengupta, "Living in the periphery: provinciality and domestic space in colonial Bengal." *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 6 (2013): 905-943.

[4] Amos Rapoport, *"House form and culture.*" ((New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969): 47.

See the author's discussions regarding the specific characteristics of a culture, which includes the accepted way of doing things, the socially unacceptable ways and the implicit ideals that need to be considered since they affect housing and settlement form; this includes the subtleties as well as the more obvious or utilitarian features.

[5] Rapoport, *House form and culture*, 2

[6] Many Mughal monuments and previous great works in the sub-continent only mention the buildings' patron rather than its architect. Leading one to the understanding that, this is a cultural norm for these societies.

[7] Adam Sharr, *Reading architecture and culture: researching buildings, spaces, and documents,*ed. Adam Sharr (Oxon:: Routledge, 2012): 2-8.

See Sharr's discussions regarding the close readings of buildings to see what a building says, what it does and how it works. Buildings are evidence of the cultures that made them, as they are artifacts which demonstrate the values informing their construction and their life in use.

[8] This study is pertinent in the context of societies where houses are built with the input of the inhabitants along with craftsmen/artisans, as both are bringing together their worldviews.

[9] Shikha Jain, "The havelis of Rajasthan: form and identity." (PhD diss. De Montfort University, 2002): 1.1

[10] Jain, *The havelis of Rajasthan: form and identity*,1.2.

[11] Vickram Singh Pramar, *A social history of Indian architecture*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005): 1.

[12] See the followings works on the havelis in various regions of India:

Shikha Jain, "The havelis of Rajasthan: form and identity." (PhD diss. De Montfort University, 2002).

And Sunand Prasad, "The havelis of north India: the urban courtyard house." (PhD diss., Royal College of Art, (1988).

Himanish Das, "Principles of Design and Craftsmanship of Architecture of Jaisalmer." (PhD diss. The Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University. 2005).

[13] In Shahjehanabad/Delhi/Dilli the umrah havelis were constructed around the Lal Qila on Chandni Chowk and near the Jami Masjid. The walled city of Lahore also shows the development of Shahi mohallas next to the Shahi Qila and next to Wazir Khan Mosque.

[14] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 1 (2001): 26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, doi 10.2307/991677.

[15] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian mansions: A social history of the Haveli* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan,1998): 1.

[16] Tillotson, *Indian mansions: A social history of the Haveli*, 1

[17] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism* (London: Psychology Press, 2005): 23.

[18] Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994): 3,6.

Also see Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-cultural interaction and periodization in world history." *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 749-770, accessed October 28, 2013, doi: 10.2307/2169422

[19] Anne Hardgrove, "Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu." *Contributions to Indian sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 323-364.

Also see Ghaffer Shehzad, *'Lahore...Nawahi Abadkari o Tauseeh'* in *Tarikh,* Lahore no. 43, ed. Dr Mubarik Ali (Lahore: THAAP publication. 2011): 217-238.

[20] Chris King, "The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400–1660." *World Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (2009): 471-488, accessed December 12, 2013, doi: 10.1080/00438240903112484.

[21] Anthony D. King, *Colonial urban development: Culture, social power and environment* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1976): 123-124.

[22] Sunand Prasad, "The havelis of north India: the urban courtyard house." (PhD diss., Royal College of Art, 1988): 1.7

[23] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-1898. (Lahore; Sang-i-Meel Publications): 55-76.

[24] Mohammad Younis Sethi, *Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal.* (A brief account of the Sethi family of Peshawar) (Unpublished Memoirs. 2004):16.

[25] Sethi, *Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal,* 85, 86, 89, 94,

Also Nisar Sethi, interview by author, November 15, 2009, and Gul Najam Jami, interview by author, September 11, 2009.

[26] Sethi, *Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal.* 96, 98.

[27] The K.P.K. government has establishing a Heritage Fund and Documentation Centres, which apart from documenting historical monuments has also developed the National Register of Historic places for the walled city of Peshawar. The Sethi havelis have been added to the Register, marking them as historic buildings worthy of preservation.

[28] See the works of the following authors which cites the Sethi havelis as a cluster of the city's most important and historic neighborhood.

Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar, Historic city of the Frontier* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2002): 209, 210.

Sayed Amjad Hussain, *Alam mein Intikhab*, *Peshawar (*Toledo: Literary circle of Toledo, U.S.A.,1999): 315, 317.

[29] Inner city properties are mostly disputed among family members and face being abandoned or sub-let to inappropriate usages as well as being sold off to commercial enterprises which tear them down to build modern commercial units.

[30] Attilio Petruccioli, personal communication via email, September 20, 2013.
A group of Faculty and students from M.I.T. along with faculty and students of the National College of Arts and University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, spent the summer of 1989, in Peshawar, mapping and studying the area of Serai Jehan Ara, Sethi Mohalla and Sarafa Bazaar. The work done was given to Dr Abdur Rahman at U.E.T., unfortunately it couldn't be accessed as it had been misplaced.

A team of faculty from Oxford Brooke University also visited Peshawar in 1995, the group was led by Dr Susan Roaf. They also carried out work on the development of a heritage trail in the city from the Serai to the Shahi mosque. Many emails were exchanged with Dr Roaf but the details of this project could not be accessed.

[31] Samra Mohsin Khan, "Traditional havelis and sustainable thermal comfort". *International Journal of Environmental Studies* (2016): 1-11.

Samra Mohsin Khan, "Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase with fruit motif in the Sethi Havelis vis-a-vis the Paradigms of Decorative Motifs of Mughal India". *Pakistan Heriatge*. Vol 3, (2011):141-148.

Samra Mohsin Khan, Aisha Imdad, "Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas of the Sethi Havelis, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar". *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1,(2011): 75-88.

Samra Mohsin Khan, " Mechanisms for Natural Ventilation in the Sustainable Architecture of Sethi Havelis, Peshawar, Pakistan"*, Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning'*, Vol. 9. (2010): 38-49.

Samra Mohsin Khan, "Sethi Haveli, an Indigenous Model for 21st Century 'Green Architecture". *International Journal of Architectural Research* 4, no 1 (2010): 85-98.

Samra M. Khan, "Gender and Space; Analysis of gender zones of Sethi Havelis, Peshawar". *Protibesh*, vol 13 No 2.(2009): 5-12.

[32] Kamila Sabzwari, *The perishing havelis of Sindh*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, 2003).

[33] Choona Mandi Haveli Conservation On-site Review Report, edited by Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2001. Accessed January 12, 2016, http://archnet.org/sites/1034/publications/388

[34] See the works of Stephan Frederic Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade 1600-1750*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars; North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Scott Levi, "The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran," *Iranian Studies*, 32:4, (1999) 483-512, accessed March 27, 2014, doi:10.1080/00210869908701966

[35] Alka Patel, "Mercantile architectural patronage in Hyderabad, late 18th -19th centuries", in Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition, ed. Alka Patel and Karen Leonard,(Boston: Brill, 2012): 139-164.

[36] Hardgrove, *Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu,* 323-364.

[37] The sanitising of the cantonment took place through its physical planning, by incorporating open bungalows in large lots and tree lined boulevards, a meticulous cleaning systems and a ban on natives living here. This is also applicable in its metaphorical sense, where the cantonment is seen as a sanitised and more acceptable form of residence in a colonial city.

[38] Spatial configuration is used for the arrangement of the furniture in a room and the resultant change in the size of the room to accommodate these.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology

2.1. Introduction

The study of the Sethi *havelis* involves the understanding of a complex set of historical, social, cultural and political contexts before embarking on the analysis of the houses. In order to understand the built environment, it is imperative to study the values, beliefs, institutions and social organisation of its society.[1] One of the critical guidelines in developing the research methodology was provided by King's framework on studies of colonial cities, where urban phenomena are part of a colonial system, and as such its component parts are inter-dependent and the understanding of any of these parts is in terms of its relationship to the whole.[2] This framework starts from the macro (global) level and goes to the national level, where economic, spatial and cultural organisation is studied, to the urban level, studying the social, spatial, cultural, economic factors, then studies the communities and lastly the micro level of the domestic form. The progression from the larger background research to the focus of the study on a smaller (domestic) unit, allows for a comprehensive discussion on and better understanding of the various factors affecting the domestic residence in terms of time and space. Although the time frame of the construction of the Sethi *havelis* pre-dates the colonial era, King's conceptual framework is comprehensive enough to be used for the entire period. The study therefore is composed of two larger components including the contextual studies to understand what factors affected the construction and occupation of these *havelis*. The second component is the study and analysis of the development, of the *havelis* themselves.

I. Contextual studies of the *havelis*

The contextual studies provide a background for the understanding of the multiple factors that influenced the construction of the Sethi *havelis*. These include the larger economic and regional influences, the political and social factors that helped shape the physical environment, and cultural changes that influenced the late-Mughal and colonial societies.

II. Analysis of the *havelis*

The analysis of the *havelis* traces the Sethi clan's movements, trade interests and construction of *havelis* in the Sethi *kucha*. These *havelis* were constructed in times of expanding trade interests and the families' links with centres of power. The analysis of the *havelis* provides an understanding of how they developed individually and collectively formed a distinct identity representing the families' status, aspirations and appropriations of power.

2.2. Theoretical framework

The study of architecture during the 18th and 19th centuries was Anglo-centric, based on the legacy of Sir Banister Fletcher and his iconic tree of Architecture (see fig 2.1). This put Indian architecture (along with Mexican architecture) on the lowest branch of the tree, representing the superior imperial position of European architecture.[3] This paradigm made it difficult to study the architecture of India as a meaningful tradition, but rather viewed it through western and colonial traditions.

The historiography of non-western architecture (Asia, Africa, Far East etc.) is about 100 years old and fairly new compared with centuries of research and analysis of Western Architecture.[4] The studies of Asia until the 18th century took an Orientalist view which was suited to the overall colonial approach to the East.[5] These were foreign in their approach as they rarely took into account indigenous aesthetics and sensibilities. In the Indian subcontinent, the majority of the methods developed for the study of historic art and architecture were established during the British colonial period.[6] The historiography of Indian architecture is largely founded on the writings of 19th century British scholars.[7] From the mid 19th century, methods of extensive surveys and documentation were taken up by James Fergusson, a Scottish architectural historian. His purpose was to classify and present the vast range and character of India's architectural heritage, published in *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876).[8] This was the first detailed account of Indian Architecture and was meant to increase western knowledge about India's building but his analyses at times proved simplistic based on his European training.[9]
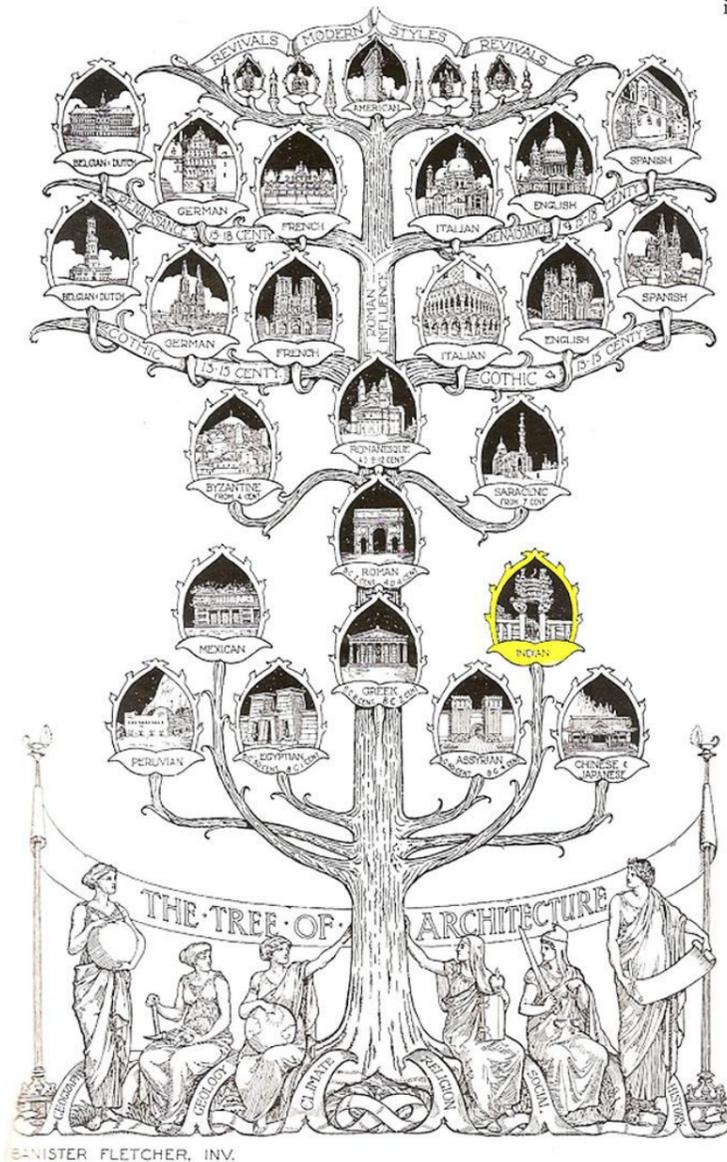
This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles, but must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated on a diagram of this kind.

Fig 2.1 Sir Banister Fletcher's Tree of Architecture.

During this period the style of representation of Indian architecture and landscape followed the 'picturesque', as represented by the extensive work of artist William Hodge and later Thomas Daniell.[10] The 'picturesque' depictions showed views of Indian monuments painted, either in ruins, or covered in dense forests. These were selective representations of Indian architecture, portray it as remote and decaying; more of an archaeological ruin than a vibrant ongoing tradition.

Alexander Cunningham undertook extensive archaeological survey and vast documentation of historic sites in order to create lists and descriptions of the 'golden age of antiquities that had fallen into a deplorable state of decline'.[11] Architectural historians like James Burgess, Henry Cousens, and Percy Brown continued the academic discourse, but the yardstick for judgment was always western.[12] These studies served as documentation of relics rather than producing an understanding of the buildings within their cultural, religious, mythical or symbolic contexts. It seemed easier to apply the already evolved western historical methods to the interpretation of eastern architecture.[13] Tillotson calls these interpretations of Indian architecture misrepresentations, as they failed to provide the inspirations and motives behind the works.[14] The exception to the rule was E.B. Havell, author of many books on Indian art and history, who stressed the need to view Indian art and architecture within their unique tradition and true perspective.[15] Kipling was also noted for not only his support of the 'living tradition' of Indian art and architecture but for fostering these practices at the Mayo School at Lahore.[16] One addition to the list was Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who in the mid 19th century, published a detailed account of the architecture of Delhi, called *Asar-us-Sanadid*, in Urdu. Khan made an attempt to document the architecture of the declining Mughal capital that was disappearing under colonial rule, but based his analysis on western traditions.[17] The discourses of these scholars formed and institutionalised Indian architecture within a colonial paradigm.

The use of a western conceptual framework in the context of researching non-western architecture has received much criticism.[18] Many modern scholars have recommended a holistic methodology which uses buildings and artefacts as well as texts to study cultural productions.[19] Important studies on Indo-Islamic architecture have been carried out by Koch who stresses that ideological and social relevance may be understood through the analysis of the forms along with literary sources, calling this a 'dialectic relationship'.[20] Adam Hardy in his research on Indian architecture places a great deal of importance on 'the drawing, recording and description of buildings as the foundation of a study, without which the theory is only words'.[21] It is important to interpret Indian art and architecture in the context of an Asian cultural milieu, which brings together the shared cultural concerns of form, style, patronage, artists, display, representation and social contexts.[22] It is within these parameters that the Sethi *havelis* must be read.

Currently the scholarship on merchant *havelis* is limited and as such this thesis is an attempt to situate the Sethi merchant *havelis* in the wider context of late-Mughal and colonial India. The study in this regard undertakes guidance from relevant scholarly works that help to understand the *havelis* and their larger social context. These include the studies of Rapoport which emphasize that the design of the houses is informed by their social and cultural contexts. Social and cultural values regulate the layouts and hierarchies of traditional dwellings.[23] From the general discussion of Indian *havelis*, I focus on the specific discussions of merchant *havelis*; this discourse is guided by the work of Hardgrove, whose analysis of decorated Marwari merchant houses of Rajasthan provides important insights. She discusses the use of merchant houses as visual spectacles of capitalist modernity, and that these visual strategies also indexed the aristocratic aspirations of a new business class in modern India.[24] Studies of merchant architectural works have also been undertaken by Patel, who claims correctly that although Indian merchants and their trans-border trade activities have been well documented their patronage of architecture has been relatively understudied. She explains how these patronages and occupations of embellished grand *havelis* aided in carrying out the important rituals of their personal and public lives.[25] The colonial cities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries provided what Hosgrahar defined as 'spaces of contestation' within India's colonial modernity: these included merchant *havelis* and philanthropic work which indicated the patron's new allegiances as well as upholding of old traditional values.[26] In addition the discussions of Campbell, although dealing with the larger context of the Mughal Serai Jehan Ara in Peshawar, offer an important perspective on how architecture and decorative elements associated with powerful patrons are appropriated by others to identify with the symbolism embedded in them.[27]

2.3.   Research methodology

Understanding the formal and contextual details of a historic building at the time of its construction is important for the current study of Sethi *havelis*. The research into the formal and contextual aspects of the Sethi *havelis* and interpretation of these within social, cultural, political and economic contexts requires a cross-disciplinary methodology, using sources from history, architectural documentation and cultural anthropology among others. Information from primary, secondary and tertiary sources are used to address both the macro and micro level

variables. The broader research context is explored through interpretive historical research methods, while a closer examination of similarities and differences between *havelis* is done through architectural analysis. This integrative framework for architectural research draws on contributions from a variety of research tools: architectural evidence, archival research, analysis of material culture, other written records etc. It allows for a holistic narration of the historic and political context of the *havelis* and their analysis within the period of construction. The use of architectural tools as drawings and sketches are vital in developing an understanding of the relationship between form and space. Detailed site surveys and photography enabled the drawing of new plans, sections and elevations of all the *havelis* and the *mohalla* which (except for the plans of the *zenan-khana* of Karim Buksh *haveli*) were previously un-documented. The drawings complemented by photographs, archival and historical research give a fuller picture of the rapidly depleting *havelis* than was available previously. They allow a detailed analysis of the similarities and differences in *haveli* layouts, elevations, decorative styles and ornamentation, which facilitate the investigation of the *havelis* as carriers of individual and communal history.

The following research methods are used, which are broad based and flexible enough to adequately investigate the research questions and provide meaningful answers:

2.3.1. Archival material

The use of diverse archival material including reports, letters, surveys and images was important in building the historical narrative. These included:

- Reports and surveys of the Allah Buksh Sethi *haveli* conducted by the Heritage Foundation and the subsequent conservation work (2010-2013) carried out in collaboration with the Directorate of Archaeology K.P.K. (Khyber Pukhtoon-khawa) which formed an important source of information for this research.

- Records of the Sethis trade activities in the form of letters, receipts, and ledgers available from some of the Sethi families and with the Directorate of

Archaeology; K.P.K., helped to provide an overview of the families' trade interests as well as documentation of the decline of many businesses in the 20th century.

- The family memoirs of Younas Sethi passed on to me by a family member gave extensive explanation of the clan's migration from Bhera to Peshawar via Chamkani, their trade activities, overseas trips and interactions with centres of power, Afghan and British.[28] The memoirs also gave information about the family members settling in the *mohalla* Dhallan (later Sethi *kucha* and Sethi *mohalla*) and information about the construction of the *havelis*, patronage of craftsmen, philanthropic activities, the rise and subsequent decline of the Sethis.

- The Historic Register of Peshawar compiled by the Heritage Foundation gave information regarding the various quarters of the city: *mohallas* and *katras*, as well as providing some details about the *havelis* and their decorative styles in these areas. This allowed comparisons with the Sethi *havelis* and helped in understanding the context of the Sethi *havelis* as well as their importance within the city.

- The Pushto Academy, Peshawar University was an important source of many books about the walled city, its *mohallas* and the Sethi family, written both in English and Urdu.

- Documents outlining the British occupation of Peshawar in the India Office at the British Library and at the Archives at Peshawar, including the 'Settlement Report of Peshawar District', 'Who's Who of Peshawar', 'The Gazetteer of Peshawar District' etc. These documents provided the overall picture of the district and insights into how the city and its citizens were divided and catalogued into groups that helped the British interact with a varied group of citizens with distinct religious, caste and social boundaries. These documents provided critical information about the roles and positions the Sethi merchant-bankers occupied in the colonial set-up.

- Old photographs and postcards depicting aspects of the indigenous and colonial lifestyles and architecture of Peshawar during the 19th and early 20th centuries were an important source of information in reconstructing the era under study. Postcards, as artefacts of the Empire are important aids that identify particular characteristics of the Raj, including the portrayal of the civilized culture of the Empire, in contrast to the backwardness of the indigenous population.[29]

- Urdu literary sources consisting of the letters of the Mughal Poet Mirza Asad Ullah Khan Ghalib[30] (1797 –1869) and fictional works of Deputy Nazir Ahmad Dehlvi (1830–1912) were important sources for the cultural landscape of the mid to late 19th century. These writings offered insight into the traumatic events of the decline of the Mughal Empire and its replacement by the colonial rule as well as the decline of a cultural era.

2.3.2. Analytical drawings

Drawings form the most important part of the research, both as a tool for understanding and in analysing the *havelis*. In this regard, 'Understanding Historic Buildings; A guide to good recording practice', by English Heritage provided guidance on the recording of historic buildings for the purpose of documentation.[31] This document sets out detailed guidelines on the recording and documentation of historic buildings for record and understanding. The drawings of the *havelis* include the following:

- Floor plans of each level of a *haveli*, which help to understand the horizontal movements from the public street to the semi-public entrance, the private courtyard and rooms. The plans show the relationship between living and social spaces and also the importance of the central space of the courtyard and how it helps to organise the house around it.

- Sections of each *haveli* are drawn to understand the progression from the ground floor to both the basements and the upper floors. It shows the division of the public

areas from the private/family areas. The sections also help to understand the visual aesthetic relationship of the *haveli* vertically.

- External elevations are drawn to show the scale of the *havelis* as well as their proportions and relationship of facade elements to each other. The elevations also help to understand the relationship of the house with the street in terms of the doorways and lack of windows on the ground floors. .

- The internal courtyard elevations form the main facades of each *haveli* as most external facades of *havelis* are very narrow and at times plain. The courtyard elevations are drawn in a way that helps to understand the relationships of the internal embellished facades with each other as parts of a coherent whole. This is an important element of the overall aesthetics of each *haveli*. The drawings show the courtyard plan with the four internal elevations laid out along its sides. This style of drawing depicts each element from an angle that emphasises its purpose and significance within the whole, as well as expressing the viewer's experience of the three-dimensionality of this space, an aspect used extensively in Mughal era paintings (15th -19th century) of architecture.[32] These multiple points of view uniting these elements into a coherent design, thus emulate the physical experience of viewing this space.

- The master plan of the *mohalla* was drawn to study the development of the *mohalla* as well as the inter-relationship of the *havelis* with each other and their surroundings.

2.3.3. Photography

Photographs are an important tool for observation as well as recording. Photographs of the city, the area and Sethi *havelis* were taken over a time period from 2009 to 2015. These record the Sethi *havelis* and the surrounding built environment and also document the changes that took place in it. They can be divided into the following:

- The areas of Serai Jehan Ara (Gor Khuttree), Mahabat Khan Mosque, Chowk Yadgar, Qissa Khawani Bazaar have been photographed to understand the development of the core of the city as well as the context of Sethi *mohalla*.

- The photography of the route from the Kabuli *darwaza*/gate to Serai Jehan Ara/Gor Khuttree and onwards to the Lahori *darwaza*/gate, to understand the interface of the surrounding architecture with this important route of the trade caravans and later official convoys**.

- The Sethi *mohalla* and the Sethi *havelis* were photographed externally to understand the inter-relationship of the *havelis* with each other and with the neighborhood. The houses were also photographed internally extensively to document the decorative internal layouts and to analyse social and cultural aspects of these spaces.

The photography posed certain challenges both externally and internally. Externally, at times the narrow streets make it impossible to frame a straight or complete image of a facade. While internally, at times the lack of light in rooms, single bulb fittings along the side of a room gave unevenly lit photographs. Another aspect was that the photographs of the empty *havelis* did not yield information about the lifestyle of the family as opposed to photographs of inhabited *havelis*. On the other hand empty *havelis* could be visited multiple times, while inhabited *havelis* were not accessible so often and even then certain rooms and areas remained out of bounds.[33]

2.3.4. Cartography

The maps of the city of Peshawar as well as the city as part of the larger empires were consulted. These maps helped to understand the physical development of the city as well as the philosophical underpinnings that channelled the city and neighborhood developments. These maps served as important records in building the historic narrative.

- The study of the scroll Mughal map of India (available at the India Office Library) led to the important discovery of the location of the city of Peshawar on the map as well as the dating of this portion of the map (from the 17th century).[34]

- Colonial Maps from 1921 & 1933 were accessed from the Library of Chicago University, to study the urban fabric of the city during the era as well as major buildings, access gates and routes into the city

- Peshawar map compiled by Dr Syed Amjad Hussain provided detailed documentation about the *mohallas* of the city and their boundaries. Google Maps of the Sethi Mohalla and surrounding areas helped to provide an understanding of the city's development and allowed comparisons to be made between the different eras.

2.3.5. Interviews

An important factor in determining the historic accounts is interviews. These were conducted in compliance with the University of Westminster's ethics guidance.[35] The use of oral sources/interviews helped to fill gaps in knowledge regarding the families' lifestyles, philanthropy and trade activities. The interviews were conducted with:

- Sethi family members: Members of the Sethi clan who are residents of the Sethi *mohalla* as well as those living outside it were interviewed to corroborate the history of the family and the *havelis.* These interviews helped to fill in the gaps in the research as well as providing important insight into the families' lifestyles.

- Historians, scholars and researchers: Historians of Peshawar city like Dr. Syed Amjad Hussain, Dr. Raj Wali Shah Khattak and Dr Salma Shaheen (Pushto Academy) provided important insight into the development of the city in the early 20th century as well as information about the Sethi family and *mohalla.*

2.3.6. Personal Observation

Personal observation was an important tool to collect information about the day-to-day life style of the Sethi family who inhabit some of the *havelis*. It allowed for understanding the relevant behaviours within their social settings, and to see the families' artefacts within their environment. This provided an understanding of the importance of the layouts of the *havelis* as well as the relationship between its various parts, and allowed the viewer to appreciate the use of the decorative elements of the houses. These observations were carried out and recorded in all field studies from 2009 to 2015.

The presentation of each *haveli* and its component parts was done through the combined usage of drawings, photography and written descriptions, to give a thorough comprehension of the house.

2.4. Limitations of the study and mitigation strategies

There were various limitations that the study faced, the details of which were given in Chapter 1. These were mitigated through appropriate measures to ensure that the widest possible data was collected on-site and in archives.

The combination of the above research methods helped to ensure that the scope and rigour of the study were maintained.

_____

[1] Anthony D. King, *Colonial urban development: Culture, social power and environment.* (London: Routledge & Paul,1976): xii.

[2] King, 26-33
See the author's detailed discussions on the development of urban studies from the macro (global) to the micro (residential unit).

[3] John McKean, "Sir Banister Fletcher: pillar to post–colonial readings." *The Journal of Architecture* 11, no. 2 (2006): 187-204, accessed May 9, 2016, doi: 10.1080/13602360600786126.

[4] Robert Hillenbrand, "Studying Islamic architecture: Challenges and perspectives." *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 1-18, accessed October 5, 2013, doi: 10.2307/1568797

[5] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism; Western concepts of the Orient.* (London: Penguin Books, 1991): 2, 4.

[6] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, *Paradigms of Indian architecture: space and time in representation and design.* (London: Routledge, 2014): 5.

Also see." *Indian Art History. Changing Perspectives,* ed. Parul Pandya Dhar (2011): 1-2.

[7] Shaji K. Panicker, "Indian Architecture' and the Production of a Postcolonial Discourse: A Study of Architecture + Design (1984-1992)".(PhD diss, University of Adelaide. 2008): 34

[8] Thomas R. Metcalf, "Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910", *Representations*, No. 6 (1984): 37-65, accessed November 18, 2014, doi: 10.2307/2928537.

[9] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, *Paradigms of Indian architecture: space and time in representation and design.* (London: Routledge, 2014): 4.

[10] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (London: Routledge, 2012): 7-9

Also see Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, "The Indian Picturesque; Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780-1880", accessed May 10, 2016, http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/indianart/pdf/raj_bayly.pdf

[11] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "South Asia: Looking Back, Moving Ahead-History and Modernization." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 3 (2002): 355-369, accessed April 20, 2016, doi: 10.2307/991789.

Also see Tapati Gurha-Thakurta, "Tales of the Bharhut Stupa: Archaeology in the Colonial and Nationalist Imaginations", in *Paradigms of Indian architecture: space and time in representation and design*, ed. Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson (London: Routledge, 2014) 26-58.

[12] Tillotson, *Paradigms of Indian architecture,* 1

[13] Tillotson, *Paradigms of Indian architecture,* 7

[14] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, " Indian Architecture and the English Vision," *South Asian Studies* 7 (1991): 59-74.

[15] E.B. Havell, *Indian sculpture and Painting,* (London: John Murray, 1908): 235-266.

Also see Osamu Note, " E. B. Havell and the Metamorphosis of Indian Crafts," The Journal of the japanese Association for South Asian Studies, 12 (2000):203-255, accessed May 25, 2016, http://doi.org/10.11384/jjasas1989.2000.203

Also E. B. Havell, "Art Administration in India." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58, no. 2985 (1910): 274-98, accessed August 22, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41339009.

[16] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, (Lahore: Research and Publication Centre National College of Arts, 2006): 50.

[17] McKean, 187-204

[18] Robert Hillenbrand, "Studying Islamic architecture: Challenges and perspectives." *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 1-18, accessed October 5, 2013, doi: 10.2307/1568797

Also see Nasser Rabbat, "Toward a Critical Historiography of Islamic Architecture." *Collections électroniques de l'INHA. Actes de colloques et livres en ligne de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art* (2005). accessed December 23, 2013, inha.revues.org/642

See the author's discussions regarding the study of Islamic history through Eurocentric biases and that recent readings of Islamic architectural history reconsiders some of its most entrenched assumptions about culture and religion.

[19] Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on the study of Islamic Art." *Muqarnas* (1983): 1-14, accessed November 21, 2013, doi: 10.2307/1523068.

[20] Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): xxiii, xxiv.

[21] Adam Hardy, e-mail message to author, January 17, 2014.

[22] Himanshu Prabha Ray, "Questioning Art History: Locating Religious Identities," in *Indian Art History: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Parul Pandya Dhar. (New Delhi : D.K. Printworld Ltd. 2011), 195-207.

[23] Amos Rapoport, *House form and culture*. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall,1969). 2-7

The definition of traditional is derived from Rapoport's discussion as, 'Tradition is the regulator of the physical form of a culture expressed in buildings; these express the needs and values as well as desires, dreams, world-view, the 'ideal' of the particular society. The aesthetic quality of these houses is not just specially created for each house, but is traditional and handed down through the generations.'

[24] Anne Hardgrove, "Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu." *Contributions to Indian sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 323-364.

[25] Alka Patel, "Architecture Patronage in Hyderabad, late 18th -19th centuries", in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition,* eds. Alka Patel & Karen Leonard. (Netherlands: Brill, 2012): 139-164.

[26] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2005): 38-45

See the author's discussions outlining the fall of the Mughal capital of Delhi and the decline of the Umrah havelis to be replaced by the merchant havelis which absorbed newer colonial influences but adhered to the traditional lifestyles.

[27] Jennifer Lynn Campbell, "Architecture and identity: the occupation, use, and reuse of Mughal Caravanserais." (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011): 305.

[28] Younas Sethi, *'Peshawar ke Sethi Khandan; Mukhtasir Ahwal,'.* 2001.
This is a private family chronicle written in Urdu and published privately; there are possibly a few copies of these with some family members.

[29] Steven Patterson, "Postcards from the Raj." *Patterns of prejudice* 40, no. 02 (2006): 142-158, accessed January 16, 2016, doi: 10.1080/00313220600634329.

[30] Mirza Asadullah Beg Khan who used the pen name of Ghalib, was a poet at the Mughal court of Bahadar Shah Zafar (the last Mughal emperor). He wrote poetry in Persian and Urdu and was given the elevated position of Bahadar Shah's ustad. The fall of the Mughal empire sent Mirza to the poor house as well as rendering him suspicious in the eyes of the colonial administration of Delhi. He lost his livelihood, his friends and family (as most left Delhi in the aftermath of the British occupation) and generally his life. He kept his sanity by writing daily and religiously to all his friends around the country. The letters are iconic as they give a detailed description of the decline of the city ; the palace, grand avenues and its mohallas.

[31] *Understanding Historic Buildings; A guide to good recording practice, 1,2,3*, ed. John King (English Heritage. 2006):1-18, 1-12, 1-10.

[32] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, "Painting and Understanding Mughal Architecture." *Collected Papers on South Asia* 13 (1997): 59-79.

[33] The dalans at the mezzanine levels of some havelis (Karim Buksh Daftar-khana, Karam Elahi Sethi) could not be entered as they had been used as stores and were crammed full of furniture and other things.

[34] These findings were shared with Ms. Ursula Sims-Williams, Curator of Iranian languages, and keeper of the Mughal map at the India office, British Library in April 2014. Ms. Sims-Williams confirmed that my work had drawn a new light on the map by the identification of the area of Peshawar; this had not been researched by previous scholars like Dr Susan Gole.

[35] All Haveli owners were shown the ethics forms and their signatures were taken to comply with the ethics guidelines of the University as well as to inform the inhabitants about the purpose and scope of the research.

Chapter 3

Indian Merchants and acquisition of *havelis*

3.1 Indian economic networks in Eurasia.

South Asia held a dominant position within Asian trade during the early modern era (1500-1900). It was part of a network of exchange and production which was run primarily by Indian merchants, manufacturers and bankers. The magnitude of the scale can be determined by Washbrook's following statement:

> 'South Asia was responsible for a much larger share of world trade than any comparable zone and, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, may have possessed upwards of one-quarter of the world's total manufacturing capacity.'[1]

India's trade and economic ties with its surrounding neighbours in the west and north has a long and extensive history. Contrary to the commonly held belief that Indian trade before the modern era was antiquated commercially and thus economically ineffective, these trade relations were widespread, both overland and overseas, and had enormous financial implications, forming what was truly an international enterprise.[2] Bayly notes that the lack of historical studies and documentation regarding India's trade prior to the 19th century has kept this era in relative obscurity.[3]

Central Asia and India's cultural and historic contacts are recorded from the Timurid Empire (1370-1507).[4] The Mughal rise in India (1526) and their multiple ties (historic, cultural and literary) with Timurid Central Asian lands helped strengthen trade ties with Central Asia.[5] In 1544, the second Mughal Emperor Humayun recaptured the throne of Delhi with the help of the Safavid king Shah Tahmasp. This not only helped to spread the Persian influence to India but built lasting cultural and trade relations between India and Iran. The Indian merchant diaspora benefitted from the formation of the Mughal Empire and its relations with various central Asian Khanates and the Safavid Empire. The economic and trade policies or systems prevalent in these neighbouring regions were similar in nature and consistent with one another, which benefited a vibrant Indo-Eurasian commercial relationship.

Indian merchants exchanged their commodities in the markets of Afghanistan as well as travelling onwards to Central Asia for trade. Zahir ud Din Babur (16th century) reported that around 'ten to twenty thousand Indian merchants travelled to Kabul annually', to trade with caravans from central Asian cities of Kashgar, Ferghana, Samarqand, Bukhara, Balkh, and Badakhshan among others.[6] The phenomenon of Indian traders, merchants, money lenders and *banias* (money lenders) is well documented in Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia and Russia.[7] Burnes noted that the entire trade of central Asia was in the hand of Indian traders and that their agency houses were spread from Astrakhan to Mashhad (Iran) to Calcutta.[8] This led to a strong representation of Indian merchant through the establishment of their trade houses in various Asian commercial markets, consolidating their economic influence in the region. In the 18th and early 19th centuries Mughal India also acted as an important source of cultural, material and spiritual influence for Central Asia.[9] The glamour and power of the Mughal courts and the culture of the Mughals was admired by its western and Northern neighbours.

The Mughal period offered a central, stable and strong government which benefitted trade in the region. The Mughals established monetizing policies that helped India's inland and regional trade.[10] Mughal and Persian rulers improved the infrastructure for trade by building roads and halting places (caravanserais) to facilitate merchants.[11] Protection of trade and traders was integral to economic well being and governance. During the era, a large number of Indian merchants were permanent and semi-permanent residents in Iran, Central Asia (Turan) and Russia in relation to their businesses.[12] In the context of Iran, Indian money changers and merchants, lived and operated in all the major cities, in tens of

thousands, during the 17th and 18th centuries.[13] The Indian merchants also received state patronage for their caravans and their business.[14] The Mughals, Persian and Uzbek rulers patronised many merchants through giving letters of protection for their travels as well as writing introductions on their behalf to rulers of other lands.[15] These facilitations helped the growth and consolidation of the Indian merchant networks abroad. They are also indicative of a close relationship between trade and politics, where both supported one another.

Afghanistan, historically served as a connective transit zone and an important link between the regions of central, south, and southwest Asia. The Indian merchants provided a wide range of financial and commercial services in Afghanistan, which benefitted the overall economy and help to integrated it with the markets of Central and South Asia. Shikarpuri and Multani merchants were dominant among the large and growing diaspora of Indian merchants in Kabul and Qandahar.[16] Mountstuart Elphinstone (the first British envoy to the court of Kabul in 1808) observed that:

> 'In Afghanistan, there were considerable numbers of Hindus engaged as brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, sellers of grain, etc. And that, there is scarcely a village in the country without a family or two who exercise the above trades, and act as accountants, money-changers.' [17]

Their large scale presence allowed them to operate in cities, towns and the country side. They provided local communities with small-scale loans to help take care of agricultural and other petty expenses, and supported the larger monetary systems of the country through circulation of money through *hundi* (paper bills of exchange/credit notes).[18] They also importantly acted as merchant bankers for the state authorities.[19] The involvement of the *Hindkis* in the local economy was an important aspect of the governance of the country and allowed them to retain their importance during the British influence over the country and well into the 20th century.

The Indian merchant community was not just restricted to these areas but also extended to the Ottoman Empire and Chinese Turkistan. The Ottoman Empire bought pharmaceuticals, perfumes, precious stones, spices, indigo, and cotton and silk cloth from India. Panzac quotes (from French archival documents) that in the 18th century, the total annual imports of Indian merchandise into Constantinople was valued at around sterling £400,000,000.[20]

In the 17th century the Indian merchants' trading activities were established in Astrakhan, and spread to Moscow and St. Petersburg.[21] Russia was also eager to bypass Central Asia and establish a direct trade link with Mughal India. Levi quotes various authors to establish that Muscovite Russia sent ambassadors twice to the Mughal Empire in the 17th century.[22] The missions were well received but unsuccessful in forming formal agreements. These confirm Russia's perception of Mughal India as a much sought-after trade partner in the region.

The harmonious relations between the Mughal, Safavid and Uzbek Empires provided a larger than ever before, integrated regional market. Russia also took steps to join this economic bloc by facilitating the movement and settlement of Indian merchants within its territories. Indian merchants were able to consolidate their businesses in Central Asia and Iran, as multiple cultural and economic exchanges took place between the Mughals, the Safavid and various Bukharan Khanates. In exchange for lending the local governments money the merchants received protection for their trade ventures and travels in the region.[23] These states protected the Indian merchants as they provided important credit services to rural economy, dealt with trade of goods and provided a source of income for the treasury. The Indian merchants' increasing economic influence in these regions also generally intensified trans-regional economic and cultural relations. The whole region combined to form one of the largest trade zones of the era. An important unifying element of the trade was communication in Persian, a language which was widely spoken in North India, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia.

The family-based firms of merchants mostly originating from the north-western regions of south Asia predominantly established and carried out the banking and commercial Asian trade networks.[24] The vast expanse of Central Asia was connected with India through widespread land routes. These routes were offshoots of the main silk routes which connected central Asia to India. India had two main commercial arteries through Afghanistan, via Qandahar and Kabul. The principal routes on the mainland went through the mountainous Khyber Pass and Bolan Pass. In the north the Khyber Pass route connected Delhi and Lahore to Kabul, dealing with trade of all northern India. In the West, Multan and Shikarpur were connected to Qandahar via the Bolan Pass, dealing with trade of Sind, Rajasthan and Southern India. The road from the Punjab to Kabul through the Khyber Pass became the major trade route connecting India to its neighbouring territories, while secondary and equally important routes were the ones connecting Kashmir to China and Rajasthan and Sind to Kandahar. The trade routes through Kashmir led through the Kara Koram to Yarqand, where the routes from Ladakh, Tibet, China, and India were joined by those leading to Kashghar. From Kashghar the caravans proceeded to Samarqand and Bukhara. The city of Samarqand, together with Bukhara, was thus the centre for the Indian merchants in Central Asia, as other major routes from Kabul, Kandahar and Iran merged here. Yarqand and Kashghar in China under Muslim rulers also had extensive trade relations with India through Kashmir, Skurdu, Chitral, and Gilgit. These trans-regional routes improved interactions between people from all over the region and boosted cultural and economic ties.

Mughal India was more affluent and had a larger population than Safavid Iran and the central Asian Khanates. Its extensive agriculture and manufacturing networks made it a regional world economy.[25] The 19th and 20th centuries saw a remarkable expansion of commercial activity in India, which was both domestic and foreign. The growth of Indian cities as centres of demand stimulated domestic commerce on a large scale. In addition, the international market for traditional Indian products was increasing steadily, as well as the creation of trade in new products such as opium and tea.[26] These networks of exchange in India, Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, Western China and Russia were dominated by South Asian merchants and bankers. India also served as a large regional centre of production serving its Asian neighbours. Individually, these areas of economic activities in the various parts of Eurasia are substantial, but when looked at in its entirety, these economic links composed a large volume of trade and transactions unmatched by any other trade networks of the time.

3.2 Trade commodities

3.2.1 Indian exports:

India's foreign trade during the Mughal rule was extensive, consisting of cotton, spices, sugar, indigo, precious stones and tobacco. Punjab was a major exporter of rice to Central Asia. Along with close trade links with Kabul and Qandahar, it also provided agricultural produce to Delhi and Agra. Mughal India enjoyed a favourable balance in agricultural goods that it traded with its neighbours but had a large advantage in the sale of cotton cloth. Cotton manufacturing units operated throughout the sub-continent, providing fine cloth to a large domestic and international market. The most important among these were located in the province of Bengal, which produced fine quality cotton and silk cloth. This large and widespread textile industry was able to cater for both domestic and international market and was unrivalled in quality and price.[27] Very fine quality cotton and muslin was also manufactured in other areas such as Banaras, Agra, Lahore, and Gujrat.[28] Alam quotes from documents that special envoys of the Uzbek rulers were sent to the court of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) in order to procure varieties of cloth suitable for the royal Uzbek establishment.[29]

The export of Indian cotton cloth was increased through the activities of the English and Dutch Traders who carried the Indian goods back to European markets (see fig 3.1). Through much of the 18th and 19th centuries, the various cotton products of India were consumed in great quantity locally as well as throughout the world. English and Dutch

trading companies along with Armenian and Asian merchants exported cotton textiles to the markets of South-East Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and America.[30] The calicoes of Madras, saltpetre of Bihar and the silk and sugar of Bengal were the important item of India's trade with Europe during the time of Aurangzeb. Carpet and shawl weaving received major patronage during the Mughal reign.[31] The region of Kashmir was a major centre of production of the famed Kashmiri shawls and carpets, silver and copper ware and carved wood products like furniture etc. The Kashmiri shawl had global fame in Eurasia and Europe from the 16th century onwards.[32]

3.2.2 Indian imports:

The major Indian imports were luxury items like gold, ivory, raw silks, porcelain and horses. Iranian silk was imported into the Indian subcontinent, which was much in demand both as thread and woven cloth and richly embroidered brocades,.[33] Along with these, other luxury items like nuts and fruits were also exported from Iran to India, but their (overall) value remained much smaller than India's surplus trade consisting of the three major items of cotton textiles, sugar and indigo.[34] Central Asia provided a supply of horses which the Mughal rulers and elite greatly coveted.[35] Imports from abroad also included Chinese goods: especially silk and porcelain, precious stones, drugs, metals, coral, textiles including velvet, brocade and broadcloth, European wines and African slaves.[36]

Luxury items were imported from China in large quantities as there was a great demand for them by the Emperor and by the nobles.[37] The patterns of consumption of Indian courts and armies were unique and shaped the form of the local economies.[38] Many Indian merchants specifically dealt in gold and silver brocaded cloth and garments, and other luxury items.[39] Indian traders also imported sables, fur coats, Gardener china and mirrors, copper and iron from Russia.[40] The trade in luxury commodities inform us of the strong economics of the Indian society as well as the more important fact that these items served as 'symbols of power and status'.[41]

Fig. 3.1 Dress and fabric samples from 17th century India. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

In comparison to its neighbours, Mughal India had the strongest position, as it was self sufficient in foodstuff and textiles and benefitted from a large trade surplus through exports. Mughal India's trade stability was improved through the provision of physical infrastructures; the highways, caravanserais, wells and protection of travellers and merchants. Mughal Kings from Akbar to Aurangzeb promoted the trade infrastructure through regulating taxes; these were applied on imports upon their entry into the empire.

3.3 The Grand Trunk road and halting facilities within India

Trade in Mughal India was extensive and widespread; it was supported by a well established road system (see fig 3.2). The Grand Trunk Road which stretched from Kabul to the Khyber Pass in the north to Delhi in central India and onwards to Dhaka had its origins in the Maurya era. This was the major artery connecting merchants, travellers and armies between the various cities of India. The grand trunk road was also called the Suri road, as it was extended, repaired and had facilities added during Sher Shah Suri's reign. Sher Shah Suri built caravanserais, *baolis* (step wells) and other facilities for travellers and caravans along the route. In all he built 1700 caravanserais along the roads which lay in various regions.[42] These *serais* had hot and cold water available, beds and food for travellers and grain for their animals.[43] He also planted fruit trees along both sides of the road.[44] Jahangir planted avenue trees from Bengal to the Indus and has *kos-minars* erected to mark out distances as well as different roads.[45] The *kos-minars* (A kos is about 3 km) were placed at approximately every mile of the road during his era.[46] The *kos-minars* also facilitated the distribution of *dak* (post) from one part of the country to another. From Akbar's to Aurangzeb's era the road from Lahore to Kabul and onto Kandahar was constructed and multiple caravanserais built upon its length at regular distances. Burnes documents the presence of the numerous caravanserais over the Hindu Kush to Balkh.[47]

Along the Grand Trunk Road the urban centres of the Punjab and neighbouring states began to emerge and thrive; from Kabul to Lahore the towns of Peshawar, Attock, Hasan Abdal, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Wazirabad; from Sialkot to Lahore and Emenabad, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ambala to Delhi and onwards to Calcutta. These towns emerged in the late 16th and 17th centuries, following and accompanying the great building activities of the Suris and the Mughals. Lahore, chosen to be the provincial headquarters in the 16th century, kept expanding under Jahangir, Shah Jehan and in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. Various large and small trading towns in Punjab, Sind, Haryana, Rajasthan developed by the 16th century with each other through primary and secondary roads. This development in almost the entire north and north-western region of the Mughal Empire occurred in close connection with the markets for Indian goods in Iran and Central Asia. The entire area then came to be linked, on the one hand, to India's eastern and western

seashores, while opening up, on the other, to Central Asia and Persia through Kabul and Kandahar. The royal patronage of the major highways facilitated the increased long distance travel undertaken by state officials, revenue collectors, military personnel and merchants, travellers, artisans and private citizens. The growth of the Mughal Empire led to longer distances being travelled by people for trade and livelihoods. It was also necessitated by the mass movement of Mughal Kings and armies from the various royal courts from Agra to Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul and Kandahar.
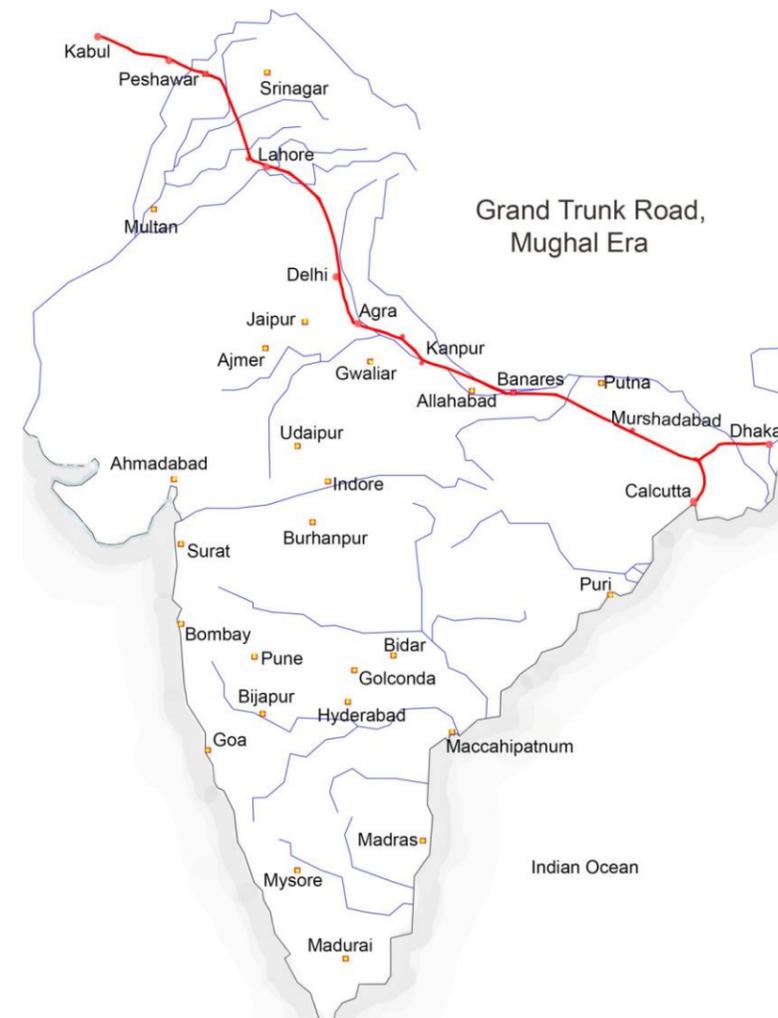
Fig. 3.2 Mughal Trade routes.

The development along the Grand Trunk road included various services provided to facilitate travellers along the road but more so to ensure safe journeys for goods carrying caravans and individual merchants. This safe and lengthy road, played a major role in improved commerce in the Indian subcontinent for Indian and foreign merchants. Safety on the roads was covered by *bima* (insurance). The *serais* (inns) were provided conveniently at regular distances of 5 *kos* on the principal highways. There were also *baolis* constructed along the routes for travellers, their horses and livestock.

The provision of accommodation for the traders, their goods and animals became an integral part of an overall scheme that facilitated trade. The movement of traders along the various routes within the sub-continent and to distant cities of Eurasia encouraged the construction and expansion of caravanserai along the routes as well as all the major cities of the region. The facilities built along the major trade routes provided the Mughal Empire with a source of income through collection of taxes from the users.

The practice of building caravanserais along the grand trunk road was actively taken up through the Mughal era with Jahangir, his wife Nur Jehan, Shah Jehan and his daughter Jehan Ara Begum.[48] The sixth Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir built a grand *serai* (Serai Alamgir; which later became a large town) near Jhelum. Imperial patronage of serais also helped to express the power of the Mughal ruler across a vast country.[49] The caravanserais, located at regular intervals were designed as fortresses that allowed rest between journeys and had marketplaces to sell and buy goods with travelling and local merchants. Caravanserais had mosques, wells and markets, encouraging people to settle down there and many evolved into local market centres (see fig 3.3). The halting cost for private rooms for travellers around 1634 in India was 3 *dams* per day inclusive of use of *hammams* (baths) animal stables and other facilities of the serai.[50] The *serais* built by Mughal rulers were usually run by a *waqf* (endowments) which drew its income from royal patronage and as such the caravanserais did not charge the travellers who chose to stay in the courtyards with their stocks and animals. The *serais* were occupied by both Mughal *mansabdars* and ordinary merchants; this practice continued until the British Raj, when *dak bungalows* were built for British officers travelling around India. Mughal kings frequently

ordered the construction and repair of *serais*, bridges and wells, in order to improve the economic conditions and facilitate trade.

These *serais* provided safe halting stations for merchants to protect them from theft and violence. The merchants could stay until a sufficiently large convoy had been formed to travel onwards.[51] While the caravanserais along the routes in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia were inhabited for shorter expanses of time, the caravanserais in the cities were occupied for longer periods and possibly at times permanently by Indian traders.[52] The *serais* acted as institutions of economic development that supported mercantile societies. There was a strong reciprocal relationship between trade and caravanserais; as both depended upon and supported the growth of each other.

Fig. 3.3 Serai Kharbooza, G.T. Road, Sangjani, District Rawalpindi.

3.4 Indian traders and merchant bankers

The Indian traders consisted of caste-based family firms, which were both organized and highly professional. Based on their size and capital, they specialized in local, inter-regional trade and trans-regional trade. The firms hired multiple agents to deal with the firm's operations in foreign markets. These agents known as *dalal*s handled a variety of commercial activities on the firm's behalf including trans-regional trade, brokering, money changing, currency dealings, banking, insurance and financing rural credit etc.[53] The terms used for these merchants were *bania, mahajan, seth, sahukar, sarraf* etc., which defined the particular specialty of the trader (see fig 3.4). They also dealt in sale and purchase of gold ornaments, pearls, bullion and precious stones. They also lent small amounts of money based on the pledges of gold and silver ornaments.

Fig. 3.4 *Saraffs* or money changers at Delhi in India,1863.

Lamb makes an important distinction between the various trading classes bifurcating them into merchant bankers and petty traders/moneylenders; the former were highly placed influential business families and part of the new urban society 'who financed trade caravans whole fleets of trading ships', while the typical rural moneylender and urban trader operated 'a small amount of business at usurious rates'.[54] The two classes of merchants held different status in society reflecting their wealth and the power that they were able to wield. The merchants were highly organised as professional groups and formed a Chamber of Commerce at the city level, known as the Mahajan; a representative corporate body that protected the merchants' interests and had authority to negotiate with the political authorities on their behalf.[55]

The merchant bankers were wealthy individuals, as they held large liquid capital which gave them a commanding position in domestic and international trade (see fig 3.5). They also carried great influence in the political setup of the cities, which helped to safeguard their interests. Each merchant community were organised under its leader called a *nagarseth,* who represented and mediated with the local officials on the behalf of the community.[56] The wealth of these leaders can be assessed by Tavernier's observation that:

> 'In the whole of Surat there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the *Shahbandar*, or chief of merchants, owns two or three of them.' [57]

The merchant bankers' major trading activities included money-lending and indigenous banking by accepting deposits and making credit available.[58] The *banias* profited through the quick turnover of their cash investments; loans made to peasants for expenditures leading up to a harvest, to pay taxes and for weddings. The indigenous bankers were involved with both financing the economy and trading in various commodities.

The largest area of operations carried out by the larger indigenous banking firms, was the financing of state ventures such as the monumental Mughal architecture, Mughal armies and *karkhanas* (production units) as treasurers and financiers.[59] In the case of the later Mughals, the independent rulers of the various princely states and the East India Company

itself, merchant bankers provided cash and *hundis* for military campaigns, various state expenses and personal loans.[60]

Fig. 3.5 A portrait of Indian merchant bankers from Delhi, 1863.

Organizations of Indian traders and merchant bankers moved goods and cash between the various regions.[61] The movement and sale of goods was efficient and constant supported by a vast and organised network consisting of *powindas* (transporters), wholesalers, merchants, *gamashas* (agents) and *dalals* (commission agents). The trading firms engaged *gamashas,* gave them extensive trainings in accounting, money-lending, hundis and issuing and cashing *hundis*, recording commercial transactions, and issues related to the legal systems of the countries they were to work.[62] These *gamashas* were then sent to distant cities across Eurasia to under-exploited markets or to run established firm offices. The trade goods within India were transported by the indigenous gypsies called the

banjaras and transported by nomadic Afghan *powinda* caravans across the mountainous routes to Afghanistan and beyond. Indian merchants and traders travelled back and forth for trade in foreign lands, rather than emigrating.[63] The heads of the various firms usually remained in their home towns, with younger members of the family settling in other countries and sending home remittances. They usually came home to get married, left their wives and families in their hometowns, and invested in land and built large estates there.

The Indian merchant bankers brought many trade commodities to their foreign locations; out of this a small percentage of the total stock was sold so that the market was not flooded and some capital could be raised to begin their credit operations.[64] The capital earned was invested in interest-earning money-lending ventures. The Indian merchants' business enterprises were exclusively organized around caste-based family firms. A firm's prosperity depended on the issuance of *hundis* (bills of exchange) in distant locations and their acceptance by other, unaffiliated firms. A merchant intending to go to a distant place to buy his merchandise would not take the risk of keeping cash with him; instead he would ask the local *shroff* (money changer) for a *hundi* to be cashed at his destination either at the branch of the *shroff* or any other firm having business relations with the *shroff*. A firm's ability to issue a *hundi* was dependent upon its reputation as a 'respected and creditworthy institution', this was due to the uniform set-up of Indian firms which maintained an environment of trust between the directors and agents of a single firm, as well as between various unrelated firms.[65]

A loan system known as *kist* was commonly used by Indian merchants; this involved advancing loans which were paid back in instalments. This system allowed repayments to be made on a weekly basis, thus benefitting moneylenders, who could loan this money to more borrowers.[66] The business was very lucrative as annual interest rates ranged from 43% to as high as 300%.[67] Merchants and their agents earned four times more capital than their initial investment, within a period of a few years. The merchants' current accounts were noted and kept in *bahi-khatas* (current account registers) and then there were the daily cash books and individual account books called *lekha-khata*. The larger firms employed *munshis* (accountants) to keep account of the family's expenses and profits.

Indian society was caste based; the various castes were involved in different professions. Hindus had a rigid caste system, leading with the Brahmins followed by the martial races, then the traders and finally the *shudar* (untouchables). Within the Muslims, the classes were divided in social terms with the Mughal Emperor and his family members forming the first tier of power, followed by the *umrah* and *mansabdars*, then the landowning *zamindars,* the *shurfa* (the local gentry) and below them the working classes (*awam-un-nass*; the masses). Chettinrs were the main trading castes in south India, while others castes were Vaniyds and Baniyas whose names were deviants of the Indian words for trade.[68] Gujrati merchants belonged to Hindus, Jains and Muslims castes. In Rajasthan, the Oswals, Maheshwaris and Agrawals; who were collectively known as Marwaris formed the mercantile class. Traders who belonged to the area of Mewar in Rajasthan were also called Marwaris. The Central Asian trade was dominated by the Multanis, Shikarpuri and Khatris. Kashmiri traders called Khojas, residing primarily in Multan and Lahore, also carried out overland trade towards West Asia. The Paracha community were active in the Punjab and Central Asian region, the name Paracha is derived from the Persian word *parcha* (cloth) their trade commodity.[69] Generally these various trading castes were called Khatris, who were the principal carriers of India's trade with countries on its north-western borders. The Sikh community were also avid traders who travelled all across the Punjab to Central Asia and back with goods.

The richest merchants of India in the 16th century included Virji Vora (Surat) and Shantidas Zaveri (Ahmadabad), who operated large organizational network with firm branches at Broach, Baroda, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Golkonda, Agra, the Deccan, Malabar regions as well as branches in the port towns of the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and South-East Asia.[70] The wealthy merchants at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Gujrat, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Shikarpur, Calcutta and other cities lived a lavish lifestyle, which was similar to the *umrah* of the era. European travellers frequently mention the spacious and opulent houses of the wealthy merchants of Agra and Delhi.[71]

3.5 Decline of the Mughal Empire and the emergence of the merchant class

Members of the royal family and *Salatin* occupied a position at the head of social hierarchy. They were followed by relatives by marriage, friends and members of the emperor's harem. The Mughal nobility formed the ruling elite and were known as *umrah;* they were the first tier of the *mansabdari* (rank-holding) system. The *umrah* formed the backbone of the Mughal system of governance; they drew their strength from the Emperor and owed their allegiance to him. The next category of *mansabdars* was the landowning feudatory chieftains. Traditionally land was gifted to *umrah* and *mansabdars* to empower them and heredity land-owners held a high position and status in the Mughal system. They were seen as natural allies to the Emperor. These groups comprised the aristocracy of the land. The important segments of society drew their honour, dignity and wealth, thus their identity from patronage of the Mughals. The Mughal aristocracy included Muslims and Hindus in great numbers, which enhanced the process of Indianisation of the Mughals. During the reign of the Mughal king Akbar, many Hindu Rajas were raised to hold important positions in the imperial court, these included Man Singh (commander in chief of the imperial army), Todar Mal (finance minister) and Raja Birbal (Vizier) among many others. The *umrah* were also involved personally or through intermediaries in the national and international trade. Mir Jumla, a nobleman and the *subedar* (governor) of Bengal in Aurangzeb's era, was a successful businessman, who lived an aristocratic life style in a grand *haveli* (see fig 3.6).

Socially below these hierarchies, the merchant bankers were an important part of the system; they acted as the state's source of income, as they were holders of ready cash which could be dispensed at the Emperor's discretion. This allowed them to partake in the Mughal political system as well as regional centres of power. The merchant banker's ability to provide large amounts of cash on credit gave him an important position within the political transition of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The central control of the Mughal court weakened post Aurangzeb (1707) as the sons and grandsons of the Emperor were unable to keep the large Empire intact. The dependents of the court including the *salatin* (Prince), *umrah*, *mansabdars* and various officials in Mughal

India saw a decline in their fortunes. The Mughals were unable to exert central control over regional forces in the south and south east of India from the 18th century.

Fig. 3.6 Aurangzeb's favourite general, Mir Jumla, shown in his harem.

The power gap allowed regional (Pathans, Sikhs, Marhattas) and international (British) forces to gain control over parts of India (post Battle of Plassey 1757). The increased conflict in Mughal India helped the English East India Company (E.I.C.) take control of Bengal and other divisions of territorial space took place in the formation of the

independent states of Mysore, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Owadh. The merchants continued their business transactions with the new regional powers that had broken away from the central control of the Mughals. The English East India Company and the Maratha confederacy were able to retain the loyalties of merchants as they became 'alternate nuclei of protection and patronage'.[72] At the beginning of the 17th century rich indigenous merchants like Virji Vohra dominated the Surat trade, forcing the E.I.C. to play a secondary role in the trade monopolies for several decades.[73] In the fluid political environment of the early 18th century, the Indian merchants retained their dominant financial positions, which encouraged European Companies to trade through their indigenous commercial and banking networks.[74]

The powerful aristocracy dependent on the Mughal state was steadily losing power and position during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In Mughal capital cities like Delhi, Agra and Lahore, the influence of the British was not visible until the overthrow of the Bahadur Shah Zafar in 1857. The anarchy following this not only forced many *umrah* and *mansabdars* into poverty but saw the massive ethnic cleansing of the Muslim elite by the British in Delhi.[75] The mass exodus of the Muslim aristocracy to the countryside and their fall into poverty in the cities emptied many grand *havelis*. The remaining occupants were forced to live in depleted *havelis* which had undergone arson and plunder during the 1857 uprising. This physical and social gap enabled new enterprising trader groups to socially move upwards and occupy *umrah havelis*, 'thus pushing older communities aside and gaining entry to a new axis of power and influence'.[76]

The new political realities forced people to turn to professions like trade which allowed them survival in the hostile environment. The decline of the traditional political power of north India and this period of British expansion encouraged the growth and expansion of the merchant family firms around the country.[77] The politics and process of transition helped the merchant bankers to engage in the formation of the new state. The vast power and economic vacuum allowed the merchant financier access to social and political influence at

multiple levels within the new order formed by the East India Company.[78] The expansion and acquisitions in Eastern India transformed the E.I.C. from a coastal trading company to a national political power.[79] The merchant bankers associated with the Mughal court and later regional courts like Bengal and Mysore developed relations with the E.I.C. The British East India Company's deep involvement in the politics of North India resulted in their increased involvement and dealings with the indigenous merchant bankers. But the merchants who were eager to develop and foster these relations in the initial phase were the family firms with lesser status.[80] The new order of the 18th and 19th century put the merchant classes in a better position than before as they no longer faced the threat of losing assets as they had previously with the Mughal governors. The British attracted their support further by giving property rights and other privilege which they did not have access to in the past. The alignment of indigenous credit with British expansionist strategy, favoured both, enabled the merchant bankers to consolidate their status as business partners of the English East India Company.[81] Merchant bankers were able to exert their influence during the ongoing political contest through a combination of financing Company settlements in Bombay and later the transfer of finances to support the British development in the region.

The East India Company faced a mutiny after the takeover of Dhaka in 1763, and had to set up a puppet government headed by the merchants and money lenders.[82] The merchant bankers, as a result of the turmoil in most cities of the sub-continent dominated the financial and political arenas. In the mid 19th century with the fall of the Delhi court, the merchants became not only the new *rais* (aristocrats) but also the new power players, as they lent their financial and political support to the British in the region. The merchants had also risen to the positions of political arbiters, and in western India their *hundis* became potent instruments of war.[83] South Asia's merchant classes became steadfast supporters (as notables) of the British Raj, sustaining it economically and politically throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries. These associations assured their upward mobility in terms of social and financial status. Markovitz states that Indian merchants' domination in international trade continued throughout the era of 'high imperialism' from 1858 -1914.[84]

3.6 *Umrah* lifestyle and *havelis*

The Mughal era created what was called the Persian courtly culture, which entailed living a lavish and grand lifestyle. In order to form relations with local rulers, *nawab*s and the Mughal court itself, adopting Persian mannerisms and displays of worldly wealth were essential. This could be attributed to the fact that *mansabdars* originating from Persia had increasingly been appointed to the Mughal court from Zahir ud Din Babur's reign to Shah Jehan's rule.[85] The top tier of the Mughal court was composed of Persian, Turk, Pathan and Indian *mansabdars*. In the late Mughal courts, prestige was awarded to top ranking individuals who displayed piety, charity and valour, and above all was attained through displays of pomp and gift-giving.[86] The expensive and expansive kingly style of behaviour was mirrored by the *umrah.* They emulated the Mughal king in building great palatial *havelis* and spending great amounts on attaining comforts and maintaining ritual displays.[87] The *umrah* undertook many philanthropic projects like building tombs, mosques, *serais*, paved tanks and bridges. There was a substantial population of artisans and skilled craftsmen employed in *karkhanas* (workshops) of the Mughals and the *umrah* for handicraft production in order to meet the requirements of this lifestyle. The *umrah* were channels that disseminated Mughal state ideology and political culture; they patronised large bodies of architecture, including *havelis*, mosques, madrassa, serai and gardens. They also patronised artists, *mistris*, craftsmen, poets, writers, musicians and all related trappings of a Persianate life-style. These models of aristocratic lifestyles were disseminated down to the lower aristocracy and provincial gentry of the empire.[88]

The courtly lifestyle of the *umrah* was supported by their grand residences called the *haveli.* This was an urban courtyard mansion which symbolized public and official recognition of its patron. These *havelis* at times were constructed on *jagirs* (estates) granted by the Mughals. The *umrah havelis* were scaled down versions of the Mughal palace-fortresses.[89] The *haveli* plan was extensively used all over India by the *nawabs* and Mughal *umrah* for its practical and social suitability. These served as the centres of local powers just like Mughal fortress palaces. These also fulfilled domestic, public and environmental advantages which supported the daily lives of the Indian aristocracy.[90]

3.7 Merchants and the acquisition of *havelis*

In the aftermath of the 1857 Indian uprising, there was a decline in the building of opulent *havelis* by the ruling classes. This was partly due to the financial ruin of princes, *mansabdar* and *umrah* as they lost the livelihoods which had been supported by the Mughal courts. The British actively prosecuted these classes by confiscating their assets and properties. These *havelis* and properties were then awarded to the classes that had supported the consolidation of British rule. The loss of income made it impossible for the *haveli* owners to sustain both the patronage and the earlier opulence of the *havelis*. Economic hardships forced the *umrah* and *rais* to sell their personal possessions, to subdivide and sell the larger parts of their *havelis* and finally to confine their own accommodation to a few rooms of the large property.[91] The fragmentation and destruction of the *umrah havelis* was an indication of the disintegration of the prevailing social order, just as the destruction of the Red Fort by the British in the aftermath of the War of Independence (1857) was symbolic of the fall of the Mughal Empire. Thus, both socially and architecturally, *havelis* were landmarks in the city and the symbolic centres of the neighborhood just as the Royal Palace was of Delhi.[92]

The last days of the Mughal courts found the centre of power shift in favour of the East India Company. The Company's territorial acquisitions and tightening control over the power centres of India made the traditional Mughal supported *umrah* redundant. The shift in this changed status was also reflected in the decline of *haveli* building by the nobles. The change in lifestyles of many of the richest merchant bankers of India (Hindu, Sikh and Muslim) took place during the Mughal and British eras. The Punjab had been ruled by Mughal governors from the 16th to the mid 18th century; these were of Turkish, Persian and Pathan origin.[93] These officials not only observed the Mughal court protocols but actively maintained the required lifestyles. The *Khatri* merchants of the Punjab, through their association with these local rulers and in their imitation adopted the Mughal/Persian lifestyle.[94] In the new social order of British India, merchants emulated Persian mannerisms and courtly patterns of consumption by retaining big Mughal style *havelis* in towns, using luxurious carriages, clothing and the maintenance of a large body of servants. The merchants' transformation of wealth to build their reputations and gain political influences is related to how they created public representations of themselves.[95] Domestic and religious architecture became important visual and cultural manifestations of the same. Traditionally Hindu and Jain merchants tended to live frugal lives and abhorred any signs of worldly displays which were considered wastage of resources; in religious terms also this was looked down upon. But the new political, social and economic vacuum also encouraged them to live lavish lifestyles supported by grand *havelis*. The Muslim merchant bankers on the other hand had always associated themselves with the lifestyles of the Mughals and the *umrah*, so filling the space vacated by the *umrah* was not a major transition for them. The corporate identity of all merchant classes was formed around these concepts of occupying and retaining a higher social status than ever before.

There may have been large merchant *havelis* prior to the 18th century, but, due to lack of material and literary evidence, it is hard to verify their large scale presence. It is possible that the use of timber and unbaked bricks in their construction made them susceptible to an early decay or destruction.[96] As the increasing trade of the 18th century helped develop and establish many towns of the subcontinent, the construction of the large and well decorated merchant *havelis* continued. Most were made by merchants either involved in the trade in Afghanistan, Iran, central Asia, and Russia or overseas through the coastal towns of south India. The phenomenon of merchant *haveli* construction beginning from the mid 1800s lasted until the early 1900s. These *havelis* were constructed from Peshawar in the North to Shikarpur in the South and from Multan in the west to Dacca in the east. Nearly every major town of the subcontinent was dotted with opulent merchant *havelis* along with public and religious architecture patronized by the merchant class. Multiple grand urban *havelis* and *zamindari* mansions were built in the regions of Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Khairpur and many regions of Pakistan to Gujarat, Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Agra, Lucknow, Delhi, Bengal and other areas in India.

The merchant saw the family and firm as one entity; as such it was usual to locate trade premises alongside or within the residential locations known as *dukan, kothis makan* or *haveli*. These comprised shops on the ground floor with residential quarters on the floor above or in the case of a large *haveli,* separate portions for trade and family activities.

These rituals of everyday life and their physical manifestations like *havelis* and other physical artefacts formed an important part of the cultural landscape. Patel states that this merchant-patronized architecture provided a stage for the domestic, religious, political performances of identity and participation in the larger society.[97] The *havelis'* usage as a private residential as well as a public space for gathering and business necessitated internal and external decorative elements. Thus the merchant *haveli* become a venue for the patronage of the folk and high culture through its artistic traditions.[98] The new social order helped the *mistris,* craftsmen and artisans to find new patrons for their talents. These new patrons were connected to the new political order and as such offered a stable income to the *ustads* and craftsmen. These exchanges helped to formulate new aesthetic styles and architectural forms which added to the rich domestic landscape of Indian cities.

The Merchant *haveli* designs recorded the exchanges between society and architecture, while being symbols of economic success, and indicators of their owners' cosmopolitan worldview. The *havelis* through their scale and ornamentation signified the status and social ranking of its owner.[99]   A *haveli* of the merchant was the fusion of living habits, environmental conditions, cultural boundaries and social status. Here he had to have separate quarters for the women to observe *purdah* (veil), lavish reception rooms to entertain his guests, large courtyards to allow the everyday rituals to occur and architectural solutions to cater for the extremes of weather. The *haveli* was designed to carefully separate the public, semi public and private realms of the merchant's world. In trying to harness the power and influence of Mughal aristocracy, merchants were emulating their images as well as establishing imperial attitudes. Just like the *umrah* before them, the merchant *havelis* symbolized recognition of the owner's status by the society at large. The status of the owner was represented by the expanse of the *haveli* and its number of courtyards. While the smaller trader *havelis* had one courtyard, the larger ones may have two, three and sometimes four courtyards. The outside courtyards were for servants and stables, a *mardana* court for men to receive guests and an inner court the *zenana*, for women. The importance of the *havelis* as a physical and symbolic space to hold family festivities like weddings, funerals and religious holidays is essential as this tied it to the family's social reputation to the clan and the larger community.[100]

The region of Rajasthan enjoyed close relations with the Mughal Empire from the reign of the third Mughal emperor Akbar. Akbar's close relations, marital ties and promotion of the Rajput royalty in the court ranks influenced both Mughal and Rajput architecture. Within Mughal architecture, the employment of artisans, stone cutters and carvers from Rajasthan was visible in their handling of the decorative elements of imperial architecture. In the context of the Rajput architecture, the Mughal stylistic elements and architectural vocabulary was dominant. The Maharajas of Jaipur had strong links with the Mughal court and thus carried the Mughal influence into their palaces.[101] These connections and influences of the Persian style are apparent in Amber Fort, with the use of cusped arches, Shah Jehani columns and *chini-khanas* in the interiors (see fig 3.7).

Rajput *rajas* and *umrah* built *havelis* from the 16th century onwards, but from the end of the 18th century the patronage of *haveli* construction passed on to the Marwari merchants.[102] The Marwari of Rajasthan were successful traders in Central Asia, their trade networks connected to Kandahar through Sind. The increased affluence of the new class of wealthy merchants in Rajasthan from the 18th to mid 19th centuries saw an increase in building of grand *havelis,* which attracted the services of the best craftsmen from neighbouring Sind, Jaipur, Bikaner, Dhayasar, Jajiyon and Kanoi.[103] Jaisalmer's location on the trade route between Central Asia and India was the prime reason for its wealth, displayed by the extensive patronage of grand *havelis* by the wealthy *seths* (businessmen) and *diwans* of the imperial office, which rivalled even the buildings of the royalty.[104] One of the grandest merchant *havelis* in Jaisalmer is the *Paton ki Haveli*, a complex of five large *havelis* constructed in the early 1800s. These were constructed by gold and brocade merchants of the town and took about 50 years to complete. The *havelis* were built in yellow sandstone and displayed the expertise and artistic traditions of the stone carvers of Rajasthan. Richly carved stone *jharokas* and windows composed the facades. Marwari *havelis* were located at important locations near the main commercial arteries of the city. The facades of these *havelis* were highly decorated with *jalli* work and carved stone. The Rajasthani *havelis* borrowed their predominant architectural elements from Mughal and Rajput architecture. The merchant *havelis* emulated the architectural elements of the Amber Fort and other lesser residences of the Rajas and nobles. Within the Mughal stylistic repertoire, Rajasthani

frescos showed the Rajput influence by including religious figures with floral designs (See fig. 3.8).

Fig. 3.7 Shish Mahal of Amber Fort, Jaipur. India.
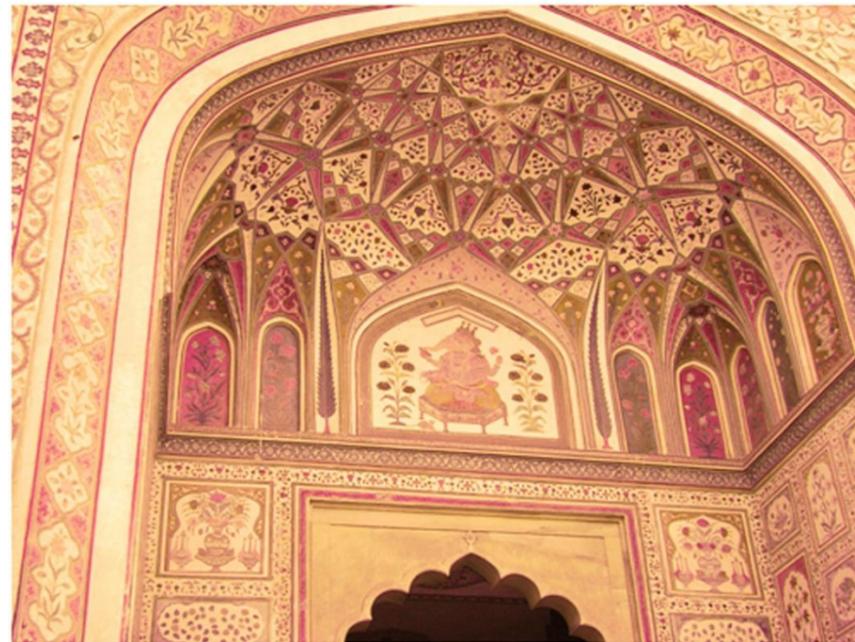
Fig. 3.8 Frescos of Hindu god Ganesh with Mughal Cyprus trees and floral bouquets. Amber Fort, Jaipur, India.

Another region in Rajasthan, Shekhawati, also saw affluent merchants engage in the construction of large *havelis,* from the early 19th century to the 1930s.[105] These merchant *havelis* were palatial buildings decorated internally and externally with fresco paintings. These *havelis* signified not just homes and business headquarter, but more importantly symbolized the status of the merchants. The Shekhawati *havelis* showed the Mughal stylistic vocabulary internally including symmetrical division of walls with open arches and blind arches. They were unique because of the profuse fresco paintings decorating their interiors and facades. The frescos showed religious and cultural themes with human and animal figures. These *havelis* were painted by commissioned artists of the region. Gujarati merchants were extremely wealthy and spent large amounts on the construction of grand *havelis* and temples. The wealthy merchants of Cambay built towering *havelis* with fine stonework and tiled roofs.[106] Many merchant *havelis* were surrounded by orchards and fruit-gardens with water pools, much like scaled down versions of the Mughal imperial gardens. Hindu and Muslim merchants at times retained skilled craftsmen in their estates as they regularly patronised works of architecture. Delhi merchants lived in sprawling *haveli* complexes where a large retinue of servants and caretakers were employed, and grand celebrations were held to mark festivals.[107]

The Central Asian trade financed the building of merchant *havelis* in cities of Sind including Shikarpur, Khairpur and Hyderabad among other cities.[108] Shikarpur was a town which had a large trader diaspora living in Afghanistan and Central Asia.[109] The Shikarpuri merchants lived very frugal lives in their adopted cities outside India, but built many large and opulent *havelis* in their home towns. There was a profusion of carved woodwork using floral, geometric, human and animal motifs to decorate facades, jharokas, columns, brackets, door, windows and cupboards. Along with traditional carved surfaces *pinjra-kari* was used to create decorated surfaces. The craftsmen of Khairpur were well known for using stucco work along with mother of pearl and mirrors to enhance the richness of the interiors.[110] These *havelis* displayed Mughal influences in both layouts and decor. These *havelis*, although located far away from Mughal cities of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, visually communicated the cosmopolitanism of their patrons through the use of elements of Mughal architecture.

Rawalpindi was a small *qasba* (town) in Punjab between the regions of Kashmir, Delhi and Kabul*.* After the decline of the Mughals and the rise of the Sikhs, the city served as an important trading post between the Khyber Pass and Lahore. The Sikhs were avid traders and the *bazaars* of Rawalpindi blossomed during the era. The many *bazaars* of the city specialized in various goods and commodities. Bhabra are an ancient merchant community from Punjab which mainly follows Jainism. The Bhabra Bazaar and its associated *mohallas* are the oldest residential areas of the city dating to the 18th century. Based on the great variety of architecture and many large *havelis* within, it seems to be one of the most prosperous areas of the city as well. The larger urban *havelis* were made of small Mughal bricks with timber braces, and rose from 3 to 4 storeys high (see fig. 3.9).

The decorative elements used in these *havelis* included carved woodwork, stucco and brick decorative work on the elevations. Internally they had decorative arches, fresco work, *aina-kari* and painted ceilings. The *havelis* dating from the 20th century used many construction materials like iron brackets and gothic windows on the facades. Internal decorative elements had fireplaces decorated with patterned tiles, imported from England (see fig. 3.10).

Fig. 3.10 Tiled fireplace of a depleted *haveli*. Bhabra Bazaar, Rawalpindi.

There were also smaller residential *havelis* in the city with wooden *jharokas* (balcony) which projected on the first floor (see fig 3.11). This configuration helped to shade the street below and also give privacy to the first floor rooms. These *jharokas* had multiple openings and the windows and shutters could be opened up in the evenings to allow air flow into the rooms beyond.

In the towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, which had grown as predominantly colonial presidency towns, domestic architecture styles and typologies followed more European styles. Some princely states also welcomed European styles by engaging European

Fig. 3.9 Trader haveli in Bhabra Bazaar, Rawalpindi.

architects or engineers with pattern books to build their palaces. The British control of the Punjab and major Mughal strongholds of Delhi and Lahore and the construction of cantonment towns and the railways to these areas brought in colonial influences. Merchants emulated the *umrah* by building their *havelis* in Indo-Saracenic, Baroque and Gothic styles.

in their external facades, porticos and interior decoration of the main reception rooms.[113] The European influence remained superficial, as its use was limited to surface decoration and non essential elements. But the adoption of these images shows aspirations to fit in a new and sometimes foreign world.

Fig. 3.11 Traditional *haveli* in Mohalla, Muree Road, Rawalpindi.

Fig. 3.12 Fresco underneath an overhang at the entrance of a *haveli* showing an imaginary European city. Bhabra Bazaar, Rawalpindi.

These hybrid *havelis* often ended up with uneasy and unusual amalgamations of the Mughal and colonial styles.[111] Hargrove notes that the Marwari *havelis* of Shekhawati decorated in the twentieth century were 'tainted by western influence', and were used to reinforce a colonial discourse.[112] The *havelis* decorated in the late 19th to the early 20th century, used the traditional technique of fresco painting to show new themes depicting scenes of European cities and countryside (see Fig 3.12). Dhaka in Bengal (currently Bangladesh) had a number of hybrid grand *havelis* built in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The architecture of these *havelis* of the local bourgeois class retained the traditional courtyard typology and private quarters for women, but adopted European styles

That merchant-bankers patronized architecture reveals the multifaceted participation of these communities in elite Indo-Muslim culture.[114] Their domestic buildings provided insight about the merchants' entrance into the new cultural space and the role they played in their communities. The use of architectural elements and styles in merchant *havelis* were borrowed or emulated from imperial Mughal architecture. The transition of these into merchant *havelis*, informs us that the *ustads*, artisans and craftsmen who were previously associated with the Mughal or *nawabi kharkhanas* now received patronage from the merchants. The use and rather reinvention of Mughal aesthetics onto a much smaller domestic scale gave rise to a new paradigm and context. This usage and the prestige associated with it remained strong in the high period of the British Raj and continued into

the early 20th century.   Although colonial elements and architectural styles were amalgamated into the dominant Mughal vocabulary, the overall theme and purpose of architecture remained distinctly Indian.   The use of colonial imagery was indicative of emulation of and appeasement of the British. This also signified to the community at large the owners' cosmopolitan worldview and the acceptance of their status by the powers that be. Another interesting aspect of this was the ease with which the craftsmen adopted this new imagery into existing designs.

Economics of the 19th and 20th centuries allowed the development of new social structures within Indian society. These in turn, gave rise to architectural expressions by the merchants as an important segment of the new social order. Mercantile architecture serves as an historical record for providing important insights about the lifestyles of the merchants of the 19th and 20th centuries and the interaction of these new powerful groups within the cultural landscape of the cities of India.

[1] David A. Washbrook, "Progress and problems: South Asian economic and social history c. 1720–1860." *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 01 (1988): 57-96. accessed June 30, 2014 doi: 10.1017/S0026749X00009410

[2] Stephan Frederic Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade 1600-1750*, (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge.1994): 3,6.
Dale discusses the phenomenon that although the trade connections between India, Iran, central Asia and Russia were extensive and the impact of Indian merchants in these lands great, this was poorly documented due to Eurocentric bias.
Also see

Tirthankar Roy, "Economic history and modern India: redefining the link." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16, no. 3 (2002):109-130. Accessed February 3, 2014
doi: 10.1257/089533002760278749

[3] Christopher Alan Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars; North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 4-8.

[4] Muzaffar Alam, *'Trade,* State Policy and Regional change: Aspects of Mughal-Uzbek commercial relations, C. 1550-1750.' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.* Vol. 37, No. 3, (1994): 202-227. accessed June 30, 2014 http://www.muslimmodernities.org/uploads/muzaffar%20alam-Trade%20State%20Policy%20Regional%20Change.pdf

[5] T.K. Beisembiev, "Farghana's contacts with India in the 18th and 19th century according to the Khokand Chronicles); In memory of Sir E. Denison Ross, the eminent British Orientalist", *Journal of Asian History,* Vol 28, No 2,(1994): 124-135, accessed February 6, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41930952.

[6] Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Babur-nama: Memoirs of Babur,* edited and translated by Annette Beveridge, reprint (Delhi, 1989), 202.

[7] Beisembiev. *Farghana's contacts with India in the 18th and 19th century according to the Khokand Chronicles*
Author quotes Russian documents that chronicle the business interests of Indian merchants in Astra Khan and Moscow and give indications of the economic significance of these diasporas.
Also see
Claude Markovits, *The global world of Indian merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Vol. 6. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000):57

Markovits writes that Shikarpoor merchants operated a vast network, from Astrakhan to Calcutta, the area included Masqat in Arabia, all the important towns of Afghanistan, some towns in Persia, some of the major towns of India, the three principal towns in the Uzbek Khanates of Central Asia, Bukhara, Samarkand and Kokand as well as Yarkand in Sinkiang.

[8] Alexander Burnes, *Travels Into Bokhara: Volume 1 of Travels Into Bokhara: Being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia; Also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the Sea to Lahore, with Presents from the King of Great Britain; Performed Under the Orders of the Supreme Government of India, in the Years 1831, 1832, and 1833*. (John Murray, 1834):

[9] Beisembiev. *Farghana's contacts with India in the 18th and 19th century*
Beisembiev discusses that authors of the chronicles conceded that Mughal India seemed to retain its authority and grandeur, while disturbances were prevalent in the middle east and central Asia in the 18th century,

[10] John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993): 4.

[11] Scott Levi, "India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, 4 (1999): 519-548. accessed July 9, 2014, http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=6007312c-08ce-445d-a8d7-917dc5981e84%40sessionmgr4005&vid=2&hid=4214

Also see Saifur Rahman Dar, "Caravanserais along the Grand Trunk Road in Pakistan; A Central Asian Legacy," in *The Silk Roads; Highways of Culture and Commerce,* ed. Vadime Elisseeff, (Paris: UNESCO, 2000): 158-184.

[12] Nisar Sethi*,* interview by author, November 15, 2009.

[13] Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade 1600-1750,* 1

[14] Sunjay Kumar Pandey, "The Rise and Decline of Indian Trading Communities in Central Asia," in *Central Asia in Retrospective & Prospect*, ed Mushtaq A. Kaw, (Readworthy Publications: New Delhi. 2010): 315-326.

[15] Levi, *India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade.*

[16] Claude Markovits, *The global world of Indian merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Vol. 6. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000): 57.

[17] Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India...,* 3d ed., 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1839): 413-414.

[18] "India xxi. Indian Merchants in 19th century Afghanistan," accessed July 7, 2014, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/india-xxxi-indian-merchants-in-19th-century-afghanistan.

[19] Shah Mahmoud Hanifi, "Impoverishing a colonial frontier: cash, credit, and debt in nineteenth-century Afghanistan", *Iranian Studies*, 37:2,(2004): 199-218, accessed March 27, 2014, doi: 10.1080/0021086042000268174.

[20] Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (1992): 189-206, accessed November 5, 2013, doi:10.1017/S0020743800021528

[21] Levi, *India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade.*

[22] Levi, *India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century*

[23] Surendra Gopal, "A brief note on Business Organization of Indian Merchants in Russia in the 17th century*." Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol.29, No. 2 (June, 1986): 205-212, accessed February 17, 2014, doi: 10.2307/3631788
Gopal discusses that Indian traders were offered protection in their journeys by travelling with the representatives of the Russian Tsar, the Persian Shah or the Sultan of Shemākhā.

[24] Alka Patel, "Architecture patronage in Hyderabad, late 18th -19th centuries," in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition,* eds. Alka Patel, Karen Leonard (Netherlands: Brill, 2012): 139-164.

[25] Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade 1600-1750,* 21

[26] Morris David Morris, "Trends and tendencies in Indian economic history." *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 5, no. 4 (1968): 319-388, accessed February 17, 2014, doi: 10.1177/001946466800500402

[27] XVII. Economic and Social Developments under the Mughals. Access March 13, 2016, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/ikram/part2_17.html
Also see
François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1658*, trans. by A. Constable (London, 1914): 439.

[28] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, "*Travels in India*," 2 vols, trans, by V.Ball, 2nd edn by William Crooke (1925, repr. New Delhi 1977):6,7.

[29] Alam, *Trade, state policy and regional change,*

[30] Prasannan Parthasarathi, "Rethinking wages and competitiveness in the eighteenth century: Britain and South India." *Past & Present* 158 (1998): 79-109, accessed February 3, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/651222

[31] Carpets from the Islamic World 1600-100. Accessed August 23, 2016 http://metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crpt/hd_crpt.htm
Mughal carpets, textiles and shawls can be seen in Museums all over the world including the V & A in London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York among many others.

[32] Kashmiri shawls are displayed in all textile exhibitions of major museums, including the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, U.K.

[33] Francois Bernier. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668*, 147, 148.
accessed August 13, 2014, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6093710_000/.
Bernier relates that gifts presented to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir from the Persian ambassador consisted of rich brocade cloth decorated with flowers; this he notes was finer than any he had seen in Europe.

[34] Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade 1600-1750,* 25

[35] Jos J.L. Gommans, *Mughal Warfare: Indian Frontiers and Highroads to Empire 1500-1700*. (Routledge: London.2002): 124.

[36] http://www.preservearticles.com/2012041030150/get-complete-information-on-the-history-of-medieval-india-mughal-period.html. Accessed March 26, 2014.

[37] Bernier. *Travels in the Mogul Empire,* 128

Bernier mentions paintings of Mughal courts by Mughal artists, which show rooms furnished with Chinese vases and Japanese hangings.

[38] Christopher Alan Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars,* 30, 58.

[39] Derek Bryce, Kevin D. O'Gorman, Ian W.F. Baxter, "Commerce, empire and faith in Safavid Iran: the caravanserai of Isfahan.*" International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*. Vol. 25 No. 2, (2012): 204-226, accessed March 16, 2014, doi 10.1108/09596111311301603.

The authors discuss caravanserais in Isfahan and merchants who occupied these, mentioning the presence of Indian traders who dealt in selling cotton and luxury cloth. The trade with Indian merchants was an important part of the economic activities of the city.

[40] Isha Kaushik, "The Process and Pattern of Emergence of Structure and Composition of Main Trading Towns of Medieval Mughal India," (PhD diss., University of Delhi, 2013): 3-4

[41] Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-cultural interaction and periodization in world history." *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 749-770, accessed October 28, 2013, doi: 10.2307/2169422.

[42] Muzaffar Alam, *Trade, state policy and regional change,*

[43] Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal World: Life in India's Last Golden Age*, (India: Penguin Books, 2007):19.

[44] Eraly, *The Mughal World,* 15

[45] Eraly, *The Mughal World*, 15

[46] Hemant Shesh, "Kos Minar of Mughal Emperor Akbar on the then Agra-Ajmer Highway." 2012, accessed January 29, 2015, http://www.panoramio.com/photo/29047633
The Kos Minars are the milestones made by the Mughal emperors between 1556 to 1707 AD. "Kos" literally means a medieval measurement of distance denoting approximately 3 km and "Minar" is a Persian word for tower. The Kos Minars measure over 30 feet in height and were once erected by the Mughals marking their royal route from Agra to Ajmer via Jaipur in the west, from Agra to Lahore via Delhi in the north and from Agra to Mandu via Shivpuri in the south. Modern highways have come up much along the same route as the one delineated by the Kos Minars. The Mughals derived inspiration to build Kos Minars from, Sher Shah, who built many roads and repaired and revived the ancient route of the Mauryas. The Kos Minar is a solid round pillar that stands on a masonry platform built with bricks and plastered over with lime. Kos Minars became an institution during the rule of the Mughals that after Akbar, emperor Jahangir and Shah Jahan, both added to the existing network of Kos Minars. In the north they were extended as far as Peshawar and in the east to Bengal via Kanauj. The geographic span makes for nearly three thousand kilometres of Mughal highways, accounting for nearly 1000 Kos Minars, i.e., 1 every Kos or 3 km. there is no record as to how many of them have survived.

[47] Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, 236.

[48] Wayne E. Begley, "Four Mughal Caravanserais Built during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan." *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Oleg Grabar, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983): 167-180.

[49] Jennifer L Campbell, "Architecture and Identity; the Occupation, Use and Reuse of Mughal Caravanserais." (PhD diss. University of Toronto, 2011), 58. accessed January 14, 2014 *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/.../Campbell_Jennifer_L_201106_PhD*

[50] Saifur Rahman Dar, "Caravanserais along the grand trunk road in Pakistan; A central Asian Legacy," in *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce*, ed Vadime Elisseeff (Paris: UNESCO, 2000): 158-184.

[51] Alam, *Trade, state policy and regional change,*

[52] Scott Levi, "The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran", *Iranian Studies*, 32:4 (1999): 483-512, accessed March 27, 2014, doi:10.1080/00210869908701966.

[53] Levi, *The Indian merchant diaspora*

[54] Helen B. Lamb, "The Indian Merchant." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 231-240.

[55] Lakshmi Subramanian, "Banias and the British: The role of indigenous credit in the process of imperial expansion in Western India in the second half of the eighteenth century." *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 03 (1987): 473-510, accessed Nov 10, 2014, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00009173

[56] http://www.historydiscussion.net/society/classification-of-society-during-mughal-period-indian-history/700, accessed March 26, 2014.

[57] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, "*Travels in India*," 2 vols, trans, by V.Ball, 2nd edn by William Crooke (1925, repr. New Delhi ,1977):7.

[58] Heiko Schrader, *Changing Financial Landscapes in India and Indonesia: Sociological Aspects of Monetization and Market Integration.* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1997): 67.

[59] Heiko Schrader, "Moneylenders and merchant bankers in India and Indonesia." *Financial Landscapes Reconstructed* (1994): 341-356, accessed August 15, 2014 http://www.scribd.com/doc/48475679/Moneylenders-and-Merchant-Bankers-in-India-and-Indonesia

[60] Karen Leonard, "Banking Firms in Nineteenth century Hyderabad Politics." *Modern Asian Studies*. 15, 2. (1981): 177-201, accessed August 16, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00007046.
Leonard discusses that the Nizam of Hyderabad used hundis from merchant bankers to pay the armies provided by the East India Company to the State. Since the land revenue gave seasonal income, the government was dependent on the Merchant bankers of the city to tide it over for ongoing expenses.

See also William Dalrymple, *The last Mughal: The fall of a dynasty, Delhi, 1857*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2006): 31.
Dalrymple discusses Emperor Bahader Shah Zafer's lavish expenditure on his son Jawan Bukhts wedding, supported by money borrowed from Delhi moneylenders.

And Karen Leonard, "Debate: Mughal State Finance. Indigenous Banking Firms in Mughal India: A Reply." *Comparative Studies in Society and Hist*ory. Volume 23, Issue 02 (1981): 309-313. Accessed August 15, 2014, http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4411784

[61] Bayly, *Rulers, townsmen and bazaars,* 30

[62] Scott Levi, "Multanis and Shikarpuris: Indian Diasporas in Historical Perspective", in Global Indian Diasporas; Exploring Trajectories of Migration and Theory, ed Gijsbert Oonk, (Amsterdam: IIAS/Amsterdam University Press, 2007): 31-66.

[63] Claude Markovits, *The global world of Indian merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Vol. 6.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 5.

[64] Scott Levi, "The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran." *Iranian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 483-512. Accessed March 27,2014, doi:10.1080/00210869908701966

[65] Levi, *The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran.*

Also Mrs Hamidah Waqar, interview by author, September 20 2015. Mrs Waqar related an incident of 1920s where her father living in Kabul gave their mother a credit note (hundi) which was worth Rs 10,000 and this was cashed at Peshawar. A worth of sterling £1000 at the time.

[66] Levi, *The Indian merchant diaspora*

[67] Levi, *The Indian merchant diaspora*

[68] Helen B. Lamb, "The Indian Merchant." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 231-240, accessed August 30, 2014. http://18.7.29.232/bitstream/handle/1721.1/83135/24927660.pdf?sequence=1

[69] Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes, Being a Reprint of the Chapter on "The Races, Castes and Tribes of the People" in the Report on the Census of the Panjab Published in 1883 by the Late Sir Denzil Ibbetson,... superintendent* (Government printing: Punjab, 1916) 245, 248, 252-54.

[70] Makrand Mehta, *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective: With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat, 17th to 19th Centuries*, (Delhi:Academic Foundation, 1991): 23. 53.

[71] Lakshmi Subramanian, "Banias and the British: The role of indigenous credit in the process of imperial expansion in Western India in the second half of the eighteenth century." *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 03 (1987): 473-510, accessed on November 10, 2014, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00009173

See the author's discussions; 'The guarantee of local credit and the support of service groups for a variety of reasons, was clearly envisaged as a basic ingredient to state building in the eighteenth century. Almost every category of successor states had their banking clients as it were—the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad, the house of Kashmiri Mai in Oudh, the firm of Hari Bhakti in Baroda, the Poddars of Ramgarh and the Hyderabad Sahukars are conspicuous cases in point.'

[72] Lakshmi Subramanian, "Arms and the merchant: The making of the Bania Raj in late eighteenth-century India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 24, no. 2 (2001): 1-27, accessed January 30, 2014, doi: 10.1080/00856400108723448.

[73] Mamta Aggerwal, "Classification of Society during Mughal Period/Indian History", accessed May 12, 2014, http://www.historydiscussion.net/society/classification-of-society-during-mughal-period-indian-history/700

[74] David A. Washbrook, "Progress and problems: South Asian economic and social history c. 1720–1860." *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 01 (1988): 57-96. accessed January 29, 2014, doi:10.1017/S0026749X00009410

Also see Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants,* 15.

[75] Syed Mueen-ul-Rahman, *Ghalib aur Inquilab-i- satavan* (Ghalib and the revolution of (18)57), (Lahore: Al-Waqar Publishers, 2006): 202-242.

[76] Subramanian, *Arms and the merchant.*

[77] Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, 8.

[78] Subramanian, *Arms and the merchant*

[79] These were the acquisition of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765.

[80] Bayly, 241

[81] Subramanian, *Arms and the merchant*

[82] Sirajul Islam, "Social Life in Dhaka, 1763–1800," in *Dhaka Past Present Future,* ed. S.U. Ahmed, (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1991),.75.

[83] Karen Leonard, *Banking Firms in Nineteenth century Hyderabad Politics*.

[84] Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants,* 15

[85] Sanjay Subrahmanyam 'Early Modern Circulation and the Question of 'Patriotism' between India and Central Asia,' 1-34, in *Writing Travel in Central Asian History*, ed. Nile Green,(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013) accessed August 22, 2014 http://history.umd.edu/sites/history.umd.edu/files/Subrahmanyam.pdf

[86] Bayly, 58.

[87] Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India." *The Journal of Economic History*, Volume 29, Issue 01 (1969) 32-78, accessed July 12, 2014, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700097825.

[88] Kumkum Chatterjee, "Cultural flows and cosmopolitanism in Mughal India The Bishnupur Kingdom." *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 46, no. 2 (2009): 147-182, accessed July 12, 2014, doi: 10.1177/001946460904600201

[89] Banmali Tandon, *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh, 1722-1856: its evolution in an aesthetic and social context* (Cambridge: Zophorus, 2008), 48.

[90] Tandan. 47.

[91] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 60, No. 1 (2001) 26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/991677

[92] Hosagrahar, *Mansions to Margins*

[93] Raj Mohan Gandhi, *Punjab; A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten.* (India: Aleph Book Company, 2013): 58.

[94] Bayly, 387

[95] Sumie Nakatani, "Hometowns of the Marwaris, Diasporic Traders in India". *Regional Routes, Regional Roots?: Cross-Border Patterns of Human Mobility in Eurasia.* SRC Comparative Studies on Regional Powers, Issue:14 (2013) accessed August 23, 2014 https://srch.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/rp/publications/no14/14-06_Nakatani.pdf

[96] Bernier. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668,* 246.
He mentions most merchant and umrah houses of Delhi being made of clay and straw and had thatched roofs, and very few of brick and stone, But they had courts and gardens inside and were well furnished.

[97] Alka Patel, "Mercantile Architecture Patronage in Hyderabad, Late 18th-19th centuries," in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*. Eds. Alka Patel, Karen Leonard (Leiden: Brill. 2012): 139-164.

[98] Kamalika Bose, "Of echoes and Silent Raptures: The Zamindari Mansions of Northern Calcutta," *Marg*, Vol. 61 ,#2.(2009): 12-25.

[99] Veena Garella,"Safeguarding ShahJajanabad; Heritage Buildings in a Living city." Paper presented at the forum UNESCO University and Heritage, 10th International Seminar. Newcastle -upon-Tyne, 11-16 April   2005.   Accessed   August   23rd   2014 http://conferences.ncl.ac.uk/unescolandscapes/files/GARELLAVeena.pdf

[100] Anne Hardgrove, "Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu", in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (New Delhi: Sage, 2002) 323 -364, accessed January 16, 2014 https://www.academia.edu/647862/Merchant_houses_as_spectacles_of_modernity_in_Rajasthan_and_T amil_Nadu.

[101] Ahmad Bashir, Akbar, *Tareeq* # 42. ed. Mubarik Ali (Lahore: THAAP Publication, 2011): 47-121.

[102] Jain, 15

[103] Himanish Das, "Principles of Design and craftsmanship in the traditional architecture of Jaisalmar." (PhD dissertation, Welsh School of architecture, Cardiff University, 2005): 7.

[104] Himanish Das, "Principles of Design and craftsmanship in the traditional architecture of Jaisalmar." (PhD dissertation, Welsh School of architecture, Cardiff University, 2005): 28.

Representative buildings include the *havelis* built by the *Patua Seths, Diwan Nathmal's Haveli,* the minister *Salim Singh's Haveli,* and the additions to the palace facing Dusshera Chowk.

[105] Nakatani, *Hometowns of the Marwaris,*

[106] Mamta Aggerwal, "Classification of Society during Mughal Period/Indian History." accessed May 12, 2014   http://www.historydiscussion.net/society/classification-of-society-during-mughal-period-indian-history/700

[107] Aggerwal, *Classification of Society*

[108] Kamila Sabzwari, *The Perishing Havelis of Sind.*(Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd. 2003):44.

[109] Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants*, 12, 14,

[110] Kamila Sabzwari, *The Perishing Havelis of Sind.*(Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd. 2003):44.

[111] Tillotson, Giles Henry Rupert. *The tradition of Indian architecture: continuity, controversy and change since 1850* (Yale University Press, 1989):11.
See the author's discussion about Nawabi architecture and its adoption of European elements as well as Mughal, a combination which was unresolved and much criticized. Nawabi architecture gave way to merchant sponsored architecture, which emulated much of its hybrid styles.

[112] Hardgrove, *Merchant houses.*

[113] Mahbubur Rahman, Ferdouse Ara Haque, "Multiple Courtyard Mansions of Dhaka: Form and Context." *Traditional Dwelling and Settlement Review,* Volume XII, Number II, (2001) accessed December 19, 2013, *iaste.berkeley.edu/pdfs/12.2f-Spr01rahman-haque-sml.pdf*

[114] Patel, *Mercantile Architecture Patronage.*

Chapter 4

Historical eras and the development of Peshawar

Cities are a product of history and have multiple layers of economic, social and political thought. They are often shaped by the physical conditions of the site, political and cultural systems of the inhabitants and principles of the ruling group or empire.[1] These subsequent forces of power and authority, identity and representation give form to the urban planning and design of a city.

4.1 History of Peshawar

The city of Peshawar lying on the western end of the Khyber Pass was the first Indian city on the Grand Trunk Road. The Khyber Pass is the principal route in the North between India and Afghanistan (fig 4.1). It has historically served as the major corridor for invaders, traders, monks, travellers, adventurers and pilgrims from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan into India.[2] The Pass holds strategic, military and historic importance as the entrance to the wealthy and vast sub-continent of India. The migrations into the Indian sub-continent included military invasions and expansion of territories, Buddhist pilgrimages and religious learning, and caravans for trade and commerce.

These patterns of migration helped to create many important historical eras as this passageway was taken by the Persians, Buddhists, Greeks, Afghans and Mughals to establish their Empires in India. The development of Peshawar has been shaped according to the multiple factors of commerce, strategic position, religion, learning, natural resources, geography and agriculture among others.
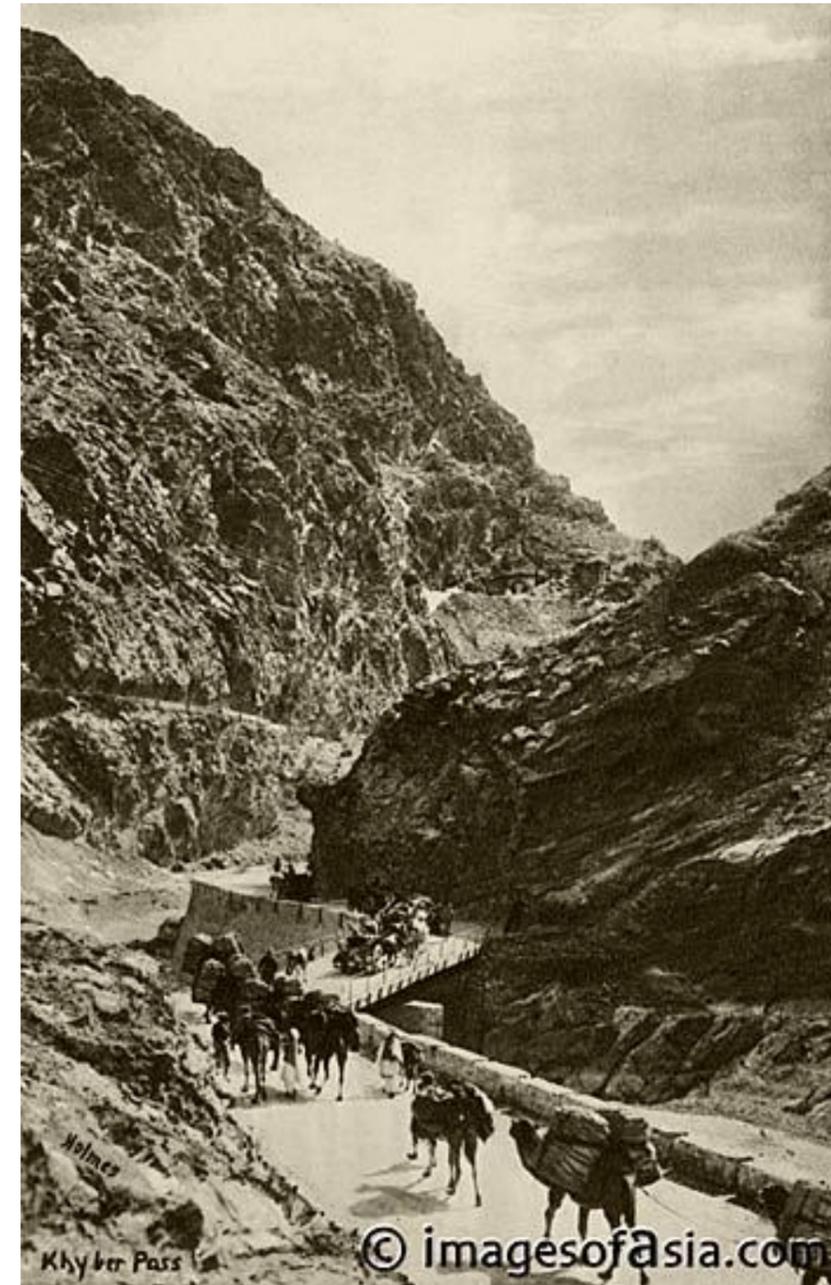
Fig. 4.1 The Khyber Pass, Image by Holmes in 1910

Peshawar has been home to multiple civilizations, and the city is one of the most ancient cities of the region (around 2nd century onwards) between Central, South and West Asia (fig 4. 2).[3] The origins of the city called 'Pushpapur and Purushpura (Sanskrit for City of Men)',

can be traced to the Kushans (a Central Asian tribe) over 2,000 years ago.[4] The city was described in the travelogue of Fa Hian a Chinese pilgrim in A.D. 400.[5] In the 7th century the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang calls Peshawar '*Po-Lu-Sha-Pula*'.[6] The present name, Peshawar (*pesh awar*, "frontier town"), is ascribed to Akbar the 3rd Mughal Emperor of India.[7] It served as a capital city of the region during the Kushan (127AD - 400AD, Kabul/Turki & Hindu Shahi (565-1000 AD), Afghan/Durrani/Barakzai (1001-1204, 1738-1834), Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526) Mughal (1526-1738), Sikh (1834-1849) and British eras (1849-1947).[8]

The city had a dominant position as a trade centre of the region and a marketplace between Afghanistan and India, throughout its history.[9] The passage of people as part of caravans and armies brought forth great interaction and exchange of social, cultural, political, commercial, linguistic and artistic values. The cultural and linguistic boundaries of Peshawar overlapped with both Afghanistan and India. Afghanistan exerted Afghan, Persian and Central Asian influences, while India exerted multiple influences from the Punjab, Delhi and Kashmir. These influences were exhibited by the rich mix of the population of the city which included Pushto and Persian speaking Afghans and Pathans, with a distinct Pathan culture. A large number of inhabitants of the city were called the '*Peshaweris,*' whose origins were from the regions of Punjab, Kashmir and other areas of Northern India.[10] The *Peshaweris* spoke the *Hindko* language and their culture was distinctively urban in comparison with that of the Pathans, who were usually based in the countryside and the hills around the city of Peshawar.

4.2 The city's various eras of development

The earliest archaeological remains in the city of Peshawar date from the Kushan era, followed by the Hindu Shahi.[11] The following period of Sultanate is represented by excavated coins, but no architectural relics of the era are found in the city.[12] The next major periods are the Mughal, Afghan, Sikh and British occupations of the city. The city of Peshawar changed hands regularly as rulers based in Afghanistan and India took turns in controlling it. During all the turbulent periods the city continued large-scale trading activities with India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. An overview of these eras and their architectural development is given in table 4.1:

Fig. 4.2 Location of Peshawar on the route between India and Afghanistan.

Table 4.1 Major Empires and their architectural contributions to Peshawar pre-Independence.

S#	Name of Empire	Year	Architectural Contributions
1	Kushan	127 AD - 400 AD	Kanishka's large stupa outside the walled city, monastery at Gor Khuttree, smaller stupas, monasteries and Bodi trees in the area of Pipal Mandi
2	Kabul/Turki & Hindu Shahi	565 AD -1000 AD	Gor Khuttree cells. Temples, schools and religious bathing ponds at Panj Tirah.
3	Afghans	1001-1206	City surrounds used as camp for armies
4	Delhi Sultanate	1206-1526	No architecture survives, but coins of the period have been excavated.
5	Mughal	1526 -1738	Mahabat Khan Mosque, Serai Jahan Ara, Mughal Gardens, Tombs, mosques, City wall
6	Afghans	1738 -1747	No architecture survives
7	Durrani Afghan	1747-1826	Bala-Hisar Qilla, Wazir Bagh, Durrani cemetery
8	Barakzai Pathans	1826-1834	Residences
9	Sikh	1834-1849	Caravan serais, Gurdawaras, dharamshalas
10	British	1849-1947	Churches, Schools, hospitals, police stations, post office, memorials, administrative buildings, cantonment.

With reference to the current study, it is pertinent to focus on the development of the city from the Mughal period to the colonial period, as these form the major influences on the urban fabric under discussion. Four historical eras are looked at in greater detail to understand the development of the city, each of which was defined by a major political force. These phases are the Mughal Peshawar, the Afghan/ Pathan Peshawar, the Sikh and later Colonial city. The discussion of each phase begins with a description of the city in terms of important social and political events of the time and their impact on its physical form. Each phase description is followed by an analysis of the history, architecture and photographs of the city, along with the available and reconstructed maps of the era. The alignments and relationships of the buildings of the city are marked on the maps to understand the physical development of the city. It is important to identify a dominant perception of the city, a special structure or a tangible ideology that motivated growth and expansion, which is typical to each period under study.

4.2.2 Mughal (1526-1738)

The first Mughal Emperor Zahir-ud-Din Babur (reign 1526 - 1531) visited Peshawar twice during his initial forays into India.[13] His autobiography the Baburnama mentions the first important trip made to visit the Buddhist sites of Pipal Mandi and Gor Khuttree; this provides a vivid description of the city as a place of learning and worship.[14] Babur laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire, which stretched from Kabul to Delhi and Agra. Sher Shah Suri's (reign 1540 –1545) contributions in placing *serais*, *baolis* and *kos minars* along the grand trunk road in India improved the connections of Peshawar with the major cities of Afghanistan and north India.[15] The Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir (reign1605–1627),

Shah Jahan (reign 1628 –1658) and Aurangzeb (reign 1658 – 1707) added to these facilities by improving the road in the Khyber Pass, planting trees along the route and constructing *serais* and gardens for royal passage along the route.[16] These measures made this route the major trade route between Central and Western Asia to and through Peshawar.

Peshawar served as a joint capital with Kabul of the province Kabul-wa-Peshawar during the Mughal era, the development of the city including many buildings and gardens built to house and facilitate the passing of imperial forces and convoys. The development of these followed imperial conventions and indicate the earliest planned layout and development of the city from the 17th to the late 18th centuries. These developments can be divided into the following typologies:

I. Mosques

II. Serai

III. Gardens

IV. Mughal era structures

V. City Gates

I. Mosques

i. Mahabat Khan Mosque

Peshawar was part of the larger Mughal administrative *subah* and also served as the winter capital and a halting station between the two Mughal capitals of Kabul and Lahore.[17] Mahabat Khan was twice appointed the governor of this province, first during the rule of Shah Jahan (ruled 1627-1658) and later by Aurangzeb (ruled 1658-1707).[18] One of the first Mughal era monuments in the city was the Shahi mosque built by Mahabat Khan.[19] Built in 1630, this was called the Mahabat Khan Mosque; it was designed and decorated in the architectural style of the Shah Jahani era.[20] This was also known as the Badshahi and Jami Mosque which indicates its use by Mughal kings as well as being the main congregation mosque of the city (see fig 4.3). The Mosque had the large Shahi Bagh (possibly laid out later) on its north side and was surrounded by *umrah mohallas* on the south, east and west sides and a *bazaar* on its south side.

Fig. 4.3 Mahabat Khan Mosque, watercolour painting 1825.

The mosque complex includes the Mosque, an attached *madrassa* (school) and the Mahabat Khan *serai* (inn). There were shops on its south side, facing the Ander-Shehr *bazaar* which served for the upkeep of this complex. The Mahabat Khan Mosque has three doorways with vaulted porches on the east, north and south sides (fig 4.4). These are decorated with *naqqashi* (fresco) floral motifs.

Fig. 4.4 South entrance Mahabat Khan Mosque.

Fig. 4.5 Interior of Mahabat Khan Mosque.

There is an open courtyard (112 ft x 100 ft) in the centre of the complex with a large ablution tank, with the mosque located on its western side. The main prayer chamber (185 ft x163 ft) has five arched entryways; a larger central entrance and two smaller arches on each side, it has a dominant facade in comparison to the other peripheral buildings, which are smaller and simpler in design. The main façade was originally decorated with tile work called *kashi-kari,* which have floral and geometrical patterns. The façade has arched openings with wooden doors carved with floral and geometrical patterns (i.e arabesque). The prayer hall is decorated with *naqqashi* and *khatati* (calligraphy). The designs include the tree of life, floral bouquets and fruits (Fig 4.5).[21] The decorative elements of the Mosque served as an inspiration for the later built buildings of Peshawar. The mosque has two *minarets* on either side of the main prayer hall, a design element it shared with Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore, another important mosque of the Shah Jehani era.

On the north, south and east side of the courtyard there are small rooms with vaulted roofs. These cubicles form the *madrassa* (school) of the mosque. These have classrooms as well as residences for the teachers and pupils. The Mahabat Khan *serai* is located on the east side of the Mosque, there are shops placed underneath this. The mosque suffered much damage in the great fire of Peshawar in 1898, which apart from the structure of the mosque destroyed the wooden elements, tile work and frescos.[22] The mosque was rebuilt and repaired subsequently with its internal frescos repainted in the 19th or early 20th century.[23]

Along with the Mahabat Khan Mosque there are two other Mughal era mosques in the city, these were built by *umrah* and were of lower status than the Mahabat Khan or Badshahi Mosque.[24] These are:

ii. Ganj Ali Khan Mosque:

The Ganj Ali Khan Mosque was built on the main processional Bazaar-e-Kalan road, about 100 m from the Mughal Serai. This was built by Ganj Ali Khan Allah Beg, who served as a

mansabdar under Shah Jehan and his son Aurangzeb.[25] The building was constructed during the second half of the 17th century during Aurangzeb's rule.[26]

iii. Qasim Ali Khan Mosque

The Qasim Ali Khan Mosque, at the corner of Qissa Khawani Bazaar was located at the heart of the commercial activities of the city. It was built by Qasim Ali Khan, during Emperor Aurangzeb's reign (1658 to 1707).[27]

These mosques have been altered and none of them retains original forms or features, except that they occupy their original sites on important routes into and from the city. This aspect offers an understanding of their conception and how their placement played a role in the development and reinforcement of the city form.

Fig. 4.6 The western gate of Serai Jehan Ara facing the Bazaar-e-Kalan Road.

II. Serai Jahan Ara Begum (Serai Begum/Gor Khuttree)

Jahan Ara Begum (1614 – 1681) the daughter of the fifth Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan commissioned the construction of a *serai* at the site of Gor Khuttree in 1641; this was one of the highest mounds of Peshawar city.[28] This was the largest caravanserai of the city and the surrounding areas from Jallalabad to Attock, and served as the main resting facility for travellers coming from Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan and from various cities of India.[29]

The Serai Jahan Ara was designed like a typical Mughal-era fortress *serai*.[30] There were *bazaars* lining its eastern and western entrances.[31] The eastern *bazaar* extended from the *serai* gate to the Lahori *darwaza* on the eastern end of the city and connected to the Grand Trunk Road towards Lahore. The *bazaar* on the western side went down to Chowk Bazazan, a large square in the centre of the city.

The fortified Serai complex (160 x 160 sq meters) has two monumental entrance gateways built on the eastern and western sides (see fig 4.6 & 4.7) and residential cells along the north and south perimeter walls. The gateways have large doors and residential rooms above these which served as residences for visiting Mughal *mansabdars*.[32] The two gates were closed at night for the protection of the caravans and their merchandise. A symmetrical pattern of spatial organization was established in the Mughal *serai*, where the symmetrical gates served as administrative spaces, controlling entrance to the interior courtyard and cell spaces (fig 4.7).[33]

Fig. 4.7 Eastern gate of Serai Jehan Ara.

Fig. 4.8 Reconstructed residential cells of Serai Jahan Ara.

Fig. 4.9 Remains of the north-eastern corner octagonal bastion.

The other axis consisted of the rows of cells facing each other across the central court. These cells along the periphery wall on the North and South sides were living quarters for the ordinary travellers (see fig 4.8). The rules laid out for the use of the *serai* included that soldiers were not allowed to stay here, the stay of local travellers was for shorter terms, while foreign traders were permitted longer stays and charged monthly.[34]

The original design had a Jamia Masjid (Friday Mosque) built in the centre of the courtyard, with bathing facilities (*hammams*) and two wells on the corners.[35] It was enclosed by a 15 ft high perimeter wall which had octagonal turrets at each corner (see fig 4.9). There were trees and shrubs planted inside the Serai for shade.[36]

47

The maintenance of the *serai* and its staff (*Imam*, caretaker, *chowkidars* etc) was supported through a *waqf* (endowment) which was drawn from adjoining land on its South side and shops of the eastern and western *bazaars*.[37] It appears from these sources that the *bazaars* had also been built by Jahan Ara's royal patronage. *Serais* were run on charity either through *waqf* (private endowments of the imperial family) or through the *Bait ul Mal* (royal treasury). Most of the *serais* of the Mughal era were built and maintained by the government as these served administrative, as well as strategic purposes.[38] These were also junctions of royal communication and intelligence gathering.[39] The Serai Jahan Ara served as the largest trade market of Peshawar until the mid 19th century.[40]

Fig. 4.10 Internal facade of eastern gate.

The imperial construction of the Mughal *serai* added political and economic identity to the area of Gor Khuttree which was previously associated with a Buddhist religious identity, and again reiterated the importance of this central part of the city. There may have been multiple other *serais* built through the patronage of *umrah* and *mansabdars* during the Mughal era, as *serai* building was an important act of philanthropy for Muslims and Hindus.

But the lack of textual and material evidence makes it hard to associate any other particular *serai* to this era.

III. Mughal Gardens

The Mughals via their Timurid lineage had a long history of garden building starting with Amir Timur's multiple gardens in and around Samarkand.[41] Zahir-ud-Din Babur laid many gardens first in Kabul and later in India as he endeavoured to make "that charmless and disorderly Hind [India]" more like his richly cultivated central Asian homes of Samarkand and Bukhara.[42] The laying out of *chahar-bagh* gardens with water channels, ponds and fountains, filled with trees (cypress was a favourite) fruit trees and flower beds as an emulation of Paradise, became all-pervasive in all areas of Imperial lifestyle (see fig 4.11).[43] Mughal gardens had multiple uses as recreational spots (Shalimar gardens of Kashmir and Lahore), halting places for the Emperor and his nobles, a garrison for the troops (during movement of the Imperial court between Kabul and Delhi) and to enclose Imperial tombs.[44] In addition, these gardens not only occupied physical space but also political space.[45] Dar calls the Mughal garden a space that provided temporary housing as well as a 'theatre' in which ideological conventions may be played out.[46] These manifold facets of the gardens as pleasure grounds, protective sanctuaries during travels, halting and residential facilities and as the embodiment of the eternal resting place (Paradise) made them an essential part of the Mughal lifestyle and governance.[47]

The towns along the Grand Trunk Road from Kabul to Dhaka had gardens constructed during the Mughal period.[48] These along with caravanserais, *hammams*, step wells, fortress, and tomb gardens formed an important part of the landscape.[49] The practice of laying out gardens was not restricted to the Mughal kings and their wives (Nur Jehan laid out gardens in Agra and Lahore) but also taken up by Mughal generals (Man Singh laid out a garden at Hasan Abdal) and *mansabdars*.[50] These public works received financial support and patronage from the Emperor from time to time. Laying out gardens was a way to establish a person's status in the area and the era.

Fig. 4.11 Babur supervising the laying out of the Garden of Fidelity.

According to textual sources, Peshawar had many gardens inside and surrounding the city, which dated from the Mughal period to the 19ᵗʰ century. But few remained in their original forms after the 19ᵗʰ century, as many of them were occupied and altered in the later eras.

i. Shahi Bagh

The most famous Mughal garden of Peshawar was the Shahi Bagh, which was laid out by Ali Mardan Khan (reign 1639-1657), on the north and north-west side of the Mahabat Khan Mosque.[51] The total area of the Bagh was about 100 acres at the time of the Mughals.[52] Ahmad Hasan Dani quotes Elphinstone who called it the 'Shalimar gardens of Peshawar'.[53] Elphinstone stayed in Peshawar during the Durrani period in 1810. He described the garden as being oblong and enclosed by walls on three sides, while it was bordered by the fort on one side.[54] His descriptions of the layout of the gardens and its pathways indicate that this was a classical *'chahar-bagh'* of the Mughal era, with rows of Cypress trees, fruit trees and flowering shrubs, with water ponds, cascades and sixty-nine fountains. There was a double storey *baradari* (pavilion) apartment within the garden, for use by the Mughal Emperors and their court for halting on their travels from Delhi to Kabul.

ii. Ali Mardan Bagh

Ali Mardan Khan built another garden some distance away from the city, in the western suburbs of Peshawar. This garden was described by Mohan Lal as a garden filled with fruit trees and fountains, with a three storied *baradari* at its centre.[55] The description of the garden shows that it had features similar to other Mughal gardens like Shalimar Bagh, Lahore and Wah Mughal Gardens at Hasan Abdal (see fig 4.12). Burnes also mentioned a visit to this garden accompanied by Sultan Mohamed Khan during Nouroz (Iranian New Year) celebrations and viewing the surroundings from the top of the garden pavilion.[56] This garden had many fruit trees and a view of the hills around the city. Its proximity to the old road going to Khyber Pass indicates that this was also used by royal persons and *mansabdars* travelling on the Grand Trunk Road.

Fig. 4.12 Wah Mughal Gardens at Hasan Abdal.

but it still has Mughal features: a *chahar-bagh* layout, a tower and some surviving structures which give an indication of the original garden form.
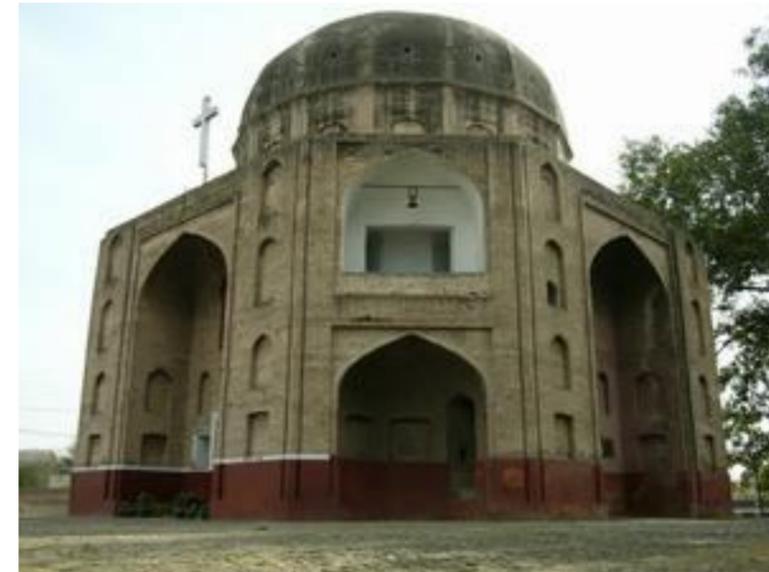
Fig. 4.13 Tomb of Nawab Sayyed Khan.

iii. Sayyed ka Bagh

The "Garden of the Sayyed," lies on the west side of the walled city, it is attributed to Nawab Sayyed Khan, a Mughal governor of Kabul-wa-Peshawar during Shah Jahan's reign.[57] The garden was a *chahar-bagh* with trees, shrubs and fountains.[58] The original garden's boundaries include today's Dabgari gardens and extend to the areas outside the current city wall. Nawab Sayyed died in 1651 and his tomb was constructed in this garden.[59] This was an octagonal brick tomb constructed in the Mughal style with four arched entrances and four blank facades which had blind arches. The tomb has two levels, the ground level had the grave (removed in the British era to make a place for the missionaries) while there is a second level approachable by a staircase, it is surmounted by a set of double domes. The tomb is placed on a raised brick-paved plinth, which is located in the middle of a quadrangle garden; the complex had a surrounding wall with corner turrets, which have been removed (Fig 4.13).[60] The vast garden has shrunk now to the periphery of the tomb of Sayyed Khan. The full extent and features of the gardens are lost,

iv. Other gardens

Two other Mughal era gardens receive a mention in Mughal chronicles, these are the Bagh-i-Safdar Khan which was visited by Jahangir and was located somewhere outside Peshawar, and the Bagh-i-Zafar, where Shah Jahan had stayed, which may have been situated in the East of Peshawar.[61] No physical remains of these gardens can be found now.

IV. Mughal era Structures

i. Minars/*burj*

Peshawar had a number of *minars* or *burj* (towers) built in different areas of the city and its periphery (see fig 4.14). These were generally square or octagonal with domed roofs; some

50

had balconies at the top level.[62] The height of these towers was between 30 to 40 feet. One of these was the *minar* of Nawab Sayyed Khan, which was located inside his gardens on the west side of the city. The description of this *minar* is given by Jaffar as:

> 'This tower was built on a square terrace; It is octagonal in form and topped with a dome. The external walls are thick up to 6 feet and made of waziri bricks. The first floor has a big room and winding stairways lead to the second floor which has an octagonal room, topped by the dome roof.' [63]
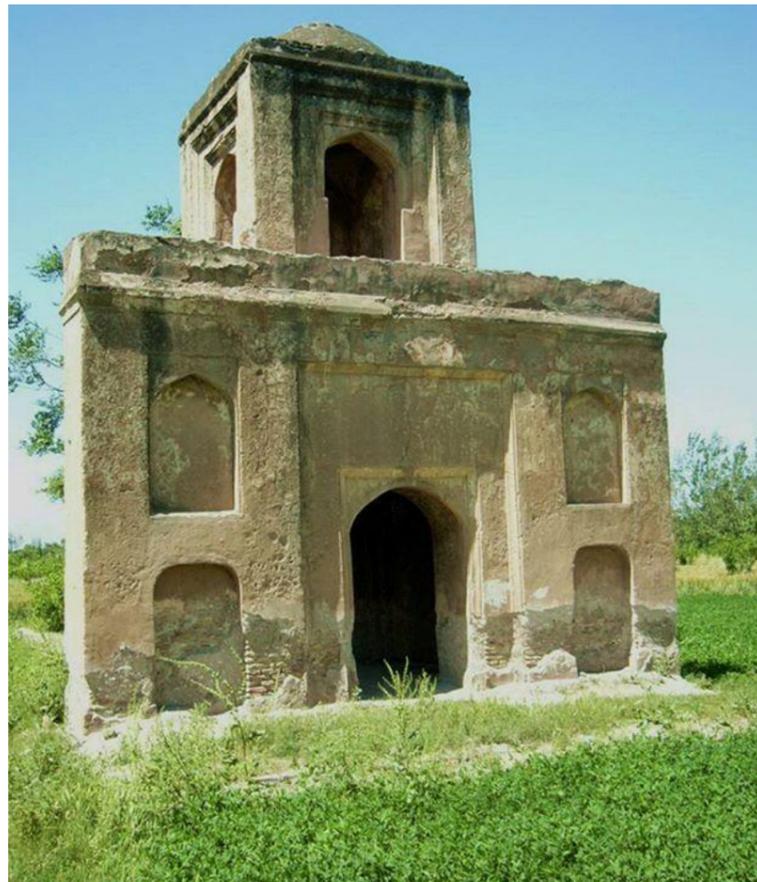
Fig 4.14 Burj on road between Peshawar and Chamkani.

Two more *minars* of the Mughal era were located at respectively the site of the *zenana* Mission Hospital and in Wazir Bagh.[64] These had similar dimensions and were constructed of Mughal era baked bricks of the Jahangiri period known locally as *waziri* bricks. There was also a *minar* attributed to the last Mughal governor Rashid Khan in Kotla Mohsin Khan, south west of the city about a kilometre away from Dabgari gate and boundary walls.

The purpose of the construction of the *minar/burj* at Peshawar is not recorded in any literary source, but Jaffar calls them 'watch-towers'. Based on the tradition of tower building starting from the Qutab *minar*, Delhi to the Jahangiri and Shah Jahani *minars* in the surrounds of old Delhi, and the Haran Minar near Sheikhupura, one can say that these structures offered varied uses of providing accommodation, acted as hunting lodges and most importantly were physical symbols of their patron's power.
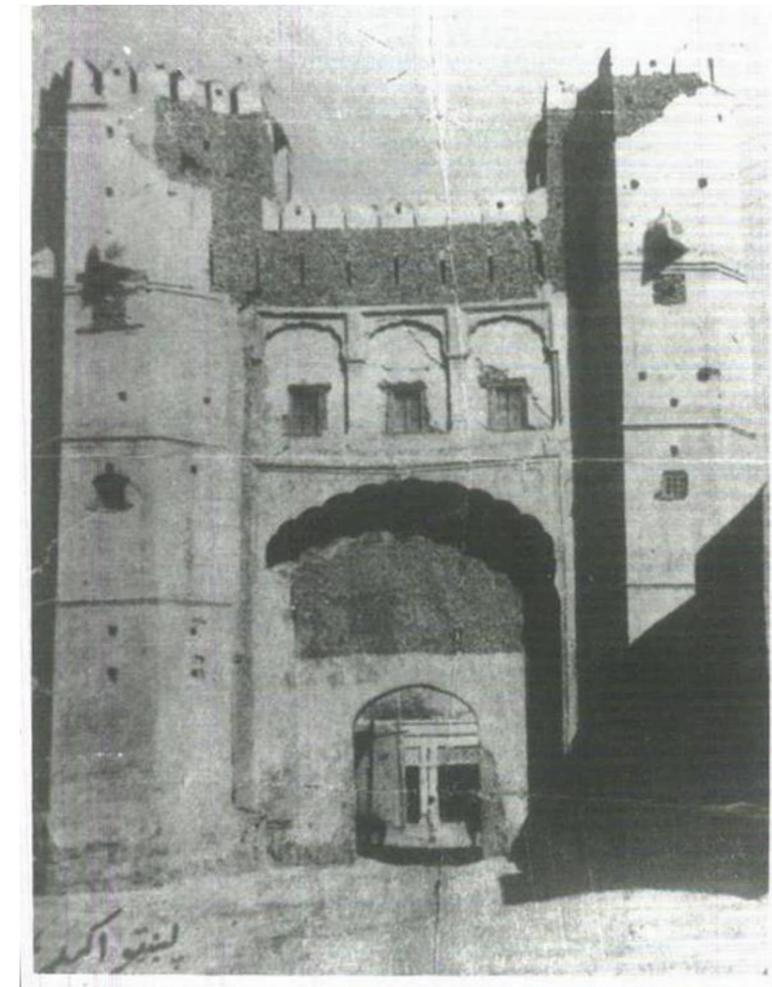
Fig. 4.15 Entrance to Kotla Mohsin Khan.

iii. Residential areas:

The city of Peshawar was set in an irrigated valley with many canals and brooks running through it. The city quarters were built on the high-lying areas between two streams which entered the city through the Kabuli *darwaza* (west side) and Kohati *darwaza* (south side) respectively. These joined at the end of the Qissa Khawani Bazaar and flowed towards Chowk Bazazan (now Yadgar) and onwards to the Shahi Bagh at the northern part of the city (see fig 4.16).
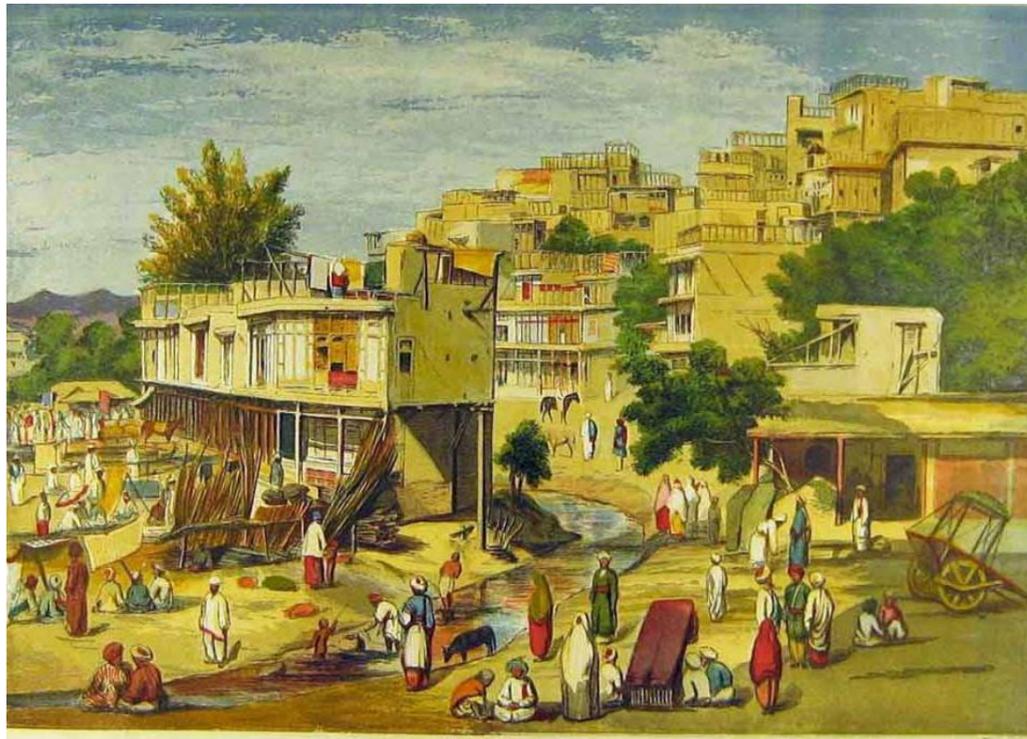
Fig. 4.16 A view of the Qissa Khawani bazaar of the city of Peshawar with a canal flowing through.

The high mounds formed by these were called 'Dhakki'; one was in the area around Mahabat Khan Mosque and the other was located around the Serai Jahan Ara area. Many Mughal era *mohallas* developed in these high lying localities. These included the Mohalla Dhallan (later called Sethian) and Mohalla Qazi Khela on the western side of Serai Jahan Ara.[65] The other high area was the Ander Shehr (inner city) around the Mahabat Khan Mosque, which had *umrah mohallas* as well as the nearby area of Dhakki Nalbandi (see fig

4.17). The names of some old localities identify them within the Mughal era, like the area of Jahangir-Pura (possibly settled during Jahangir's era). This area lies between the Qissa Khawani Bazaar and the Kohati *darwaza* and extended down to the area of Sar Asiya (head of a water mill) in the south, to the Mughal well known as Sard-Chah (cold water well) and the nearby gate named Sard-Chah *darwaza*.

Fig. 4.17 Old houses in the tightly packed streets of Ander Shehr.

These two opposite points of the city, the Serai Jahan Ara and Mahabat Khan Mosque became the focus of development as they established the entrances and exits of the city as well as the main processional routes of the city.

V. City Gates

The city's main gates faced the major routes to Kabul and Lahore; the Kabuli *darwaza* (gateway facing Kabul), Lahori *darwaza* (gateway facing Lahore).[66] These were named in reference to the location they faced and were larger and more elaborate than other gates of the city which held secondary positions. The Kabuli and Lahori *darwaza* marked the principle routes out of the city. The roads connecting these gateways to the city were the widest and there were commercial activities along these routes. The primary gates had large doorways for people and caravans and the royal procession to pass through (see fig 4.18). The monumental gate structures were built two to three stories high. There were rooms on the ground and first floors which contained offices and residences for the *chowkidars* (gate keepers). The gates were possibly decorated externally and internally.
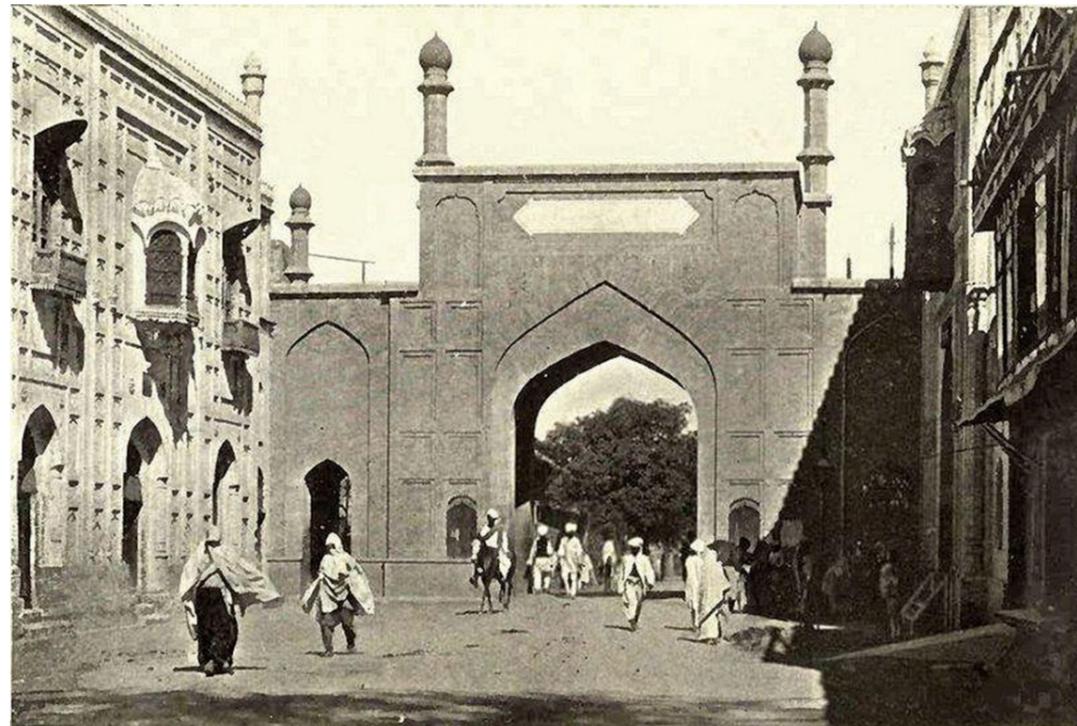
Fig. 4.18 View of Kabuli *darwaza*.

The secondary doorways faced other regions and were named Bajori *darwaza* (facing Bajour), Hashtnagari *darwaza* (facing the areas of Hashtnagar), Kohati *darwaza* (facing Kohat), while some gates had their names attached to people such as Asa-Mai *darwaza*, and names associated with crafts, like Dabgari *darwaza* (area of box-makers) or with functions: Sard-Chah *darwaza* (cold water well). The secondary gates were smaller in size and had smaller rooms next to and above the gates.

The wall around the city perimeter was constructed during this era. The city wall was reported to be 20 feet high, 10 to 12 feet thick at its base and constructed of *kutcha* (unbaked) bricks, with octagonal towers periodically located along the wall.[67] During the Mughal era, the walled city was sub-divided into three separate walled communities, these were: [68]

i. Serai Jahan Ara, Gunj and Karim Pura

ii Ander Shehr and Dhaki Nalbandi

iii. Jahangir-Pura and Sard Chah quarters.

Mughal capitals were products of multiple cultural and historic traditions, and of complex political, economic, and ideological processes that constituted the Empire.[69] The development of Peshawar can be studied with reference to the imperial, sub-imperial and *umrah* patronised buildings, gardens and layouts which responded to the overall ideological principles of the Empire.[70] These helped to give form and character to the city which continued in the later eras. The purpose of these buildings served imperial philosophy, political, cultural and social needs. Peshawar derived its main node from the Imperial Serai which was built by Princess Jahan Ara. The Serai Jahan Ara was associated with imperial patronage and extended imperial life outwards; it was also the commercial centre of the city. The other node of the city was the Mahabat Khan Mosque on the west side. The Shahi Mosque of Mahabat Khan was a place of congregation, built through sub-imperial patronage and also occupied a prominent place in the religious and social life of the citizens. Both the Serai Jahan Ara and the Mahabat Khan Mosque occupied prominent spots on top of two mounds on opposite sides of the city and as imperially sponsored buildings, acted as proxies for their patron's power.[71] The Imperial Serai and the Shahi Mosque were the main formal elements of the city; their placement and relative orientation

was inspired by Mughal Imperial philosophy. The Mosque and the Serai as the centres of political and cultural activities were surrounded by *umrah havelis* and the grand *bazaars*, creating the monumental and civic urban quality of the city. There was a certain hierarchical and functional relationship that developed between these two elements that dictated their orientation and proximity (see fig 4.19).

The formal character of the city arose from the interaction between these two via the wide processional Bazaar-e-Kalan road. The Bazaar-e-Kalan road was an importance ceremonial/processional route into the city, which provided linkage between these important nodes. This formation responded to the Mughal etiquette for enacting courtly life; the entrance from the Lahore *darwaza* on the east of the city facilitated the imperial procession through the *bazaars* on the East side of the city to the Serai where the *hammams* were used for freshening up before proceeding through the Bazaar-e-Kalan road to the large chowk Bazazan, and onwards to offer prayers at the Shahi Mosque and afterwards for retiring and resting at the Shahi Bagh.[72] The primary route through the city, the sequence of development of major buildings like the *serai*, the mosques and the Shahi Bagh along the route, formed the heart of the city.

Bazaar-e-Kalan road and Qissa Khawani road were the main thoroughfares of the city with socio-political, commercial and cultural importance. The first connected the sequence of formal design elements (Serai, Chowk and Shahi mosque, Shahi Bagh) to each other physically and helped to arrange these individual elements into one identifiable whole. The organisation of this spine of the city helped to develop the Imperial urban culture of the city. The second formed the most important trade and commerce centre of the region, which acted as a magnet to help develop the many civic features in this area including mosques, *serais, hammams* and tea houses. Peshawar grew as a composition around these dual centres (imperial and public) and their relationship with each other.
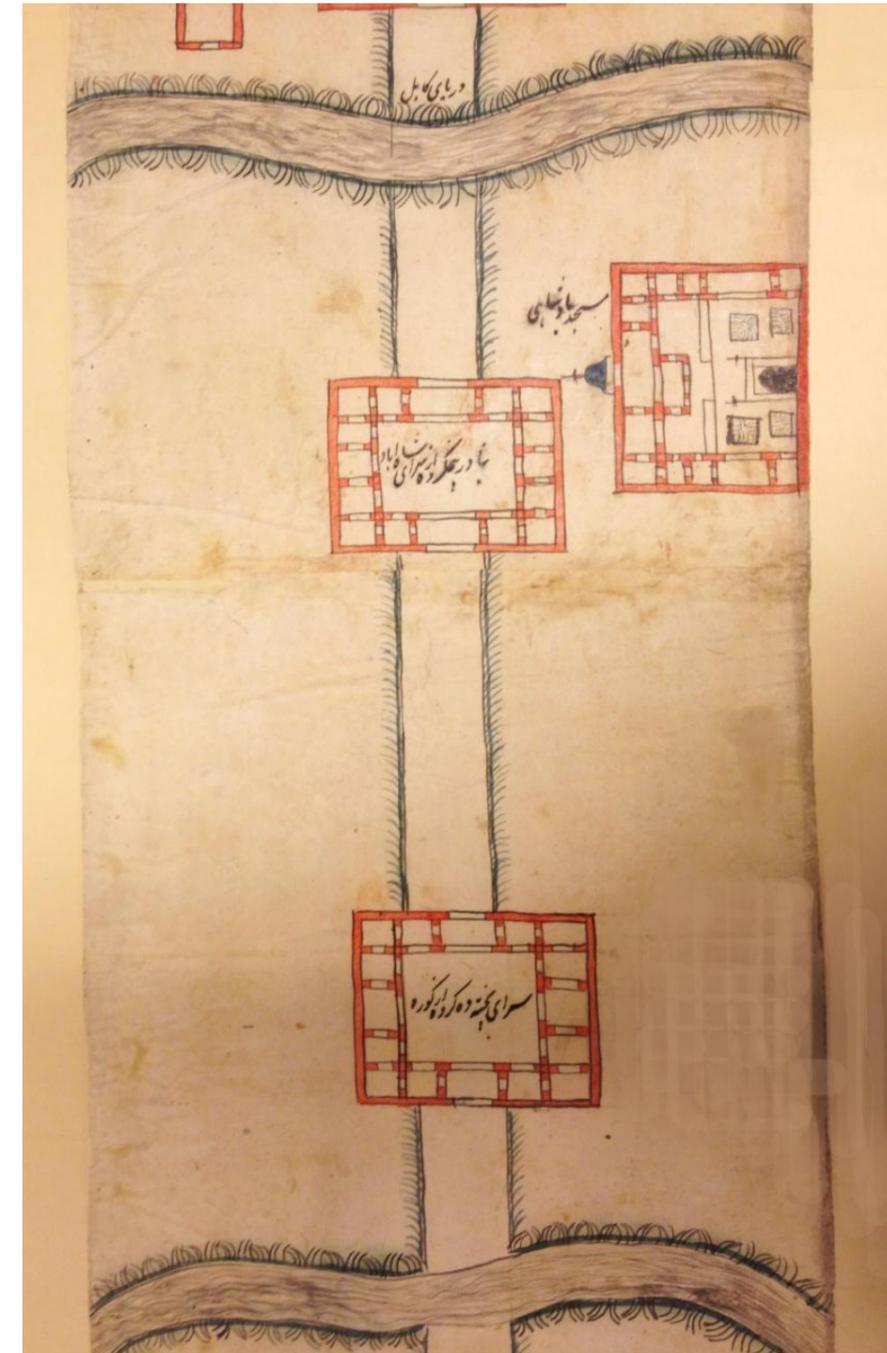
Fig. 4.19 Mughal scroll map showing the Badshahi Mosque (Mahabat Khan Mosque) and the Serai Jehan Ara in the region of Peshawar (dated 18th century).

Fig. 4.20 Mughal era Peshawar.

4.2.3 Durrani / Afghan Era (1738- 1834)

Nadir Shah of Iran defeated the Mughal army at the battle of Khyber Pass in November 1738 and subsequently took control of the city of Peshawar.[73] His rule was followed by Ahmad Shah Durrani, who in 1747, captured Kandahar and proceeded to occupy Ghazni, Kabul and Peshawar, to establish the rule of the Durranis in Afghanistan and Peshawar.[74] The Indian provinces provided the larger part of the revenue collected by the Durrani Empire.[75] Peshawar was cut off from the Indian Mughal Empire and as a province of the Durrani Kingdom became closely connected to Afghanistan. However, the traditions and culture of the Mughal era, which were also prevalent in Afghanistan, continued without any changes.

The Durranis moved their capital city (from Kandahar) to Kabul and retained Peshawar as their winter capital from 1776-1818.[76] Peshawar as the second capital of the Afghans was an integral part of the Empire due to its strategic position on the Indian front. The city had strong linguistic and cultural links with Afghanistan, Iran and Mughal India. The Persianate cultural influences of the Mughals continued (through Nadir Shah and the Durranis) even though they had lost their power base in Afghanistan and in the Punjab.[77] Marital alliances between the Afghans and the Mughals sustained Mughal culture and sensibilities.[78] The Afghans continued the Mughal tradition of patronage of architecture and gardens. Their contributions to the architecture of the city include the following:

I. Bala-Hisar Qilla

The entrance to the city of Peshawar on the North side is dominated by the Bala-Hisar Qilla (elevated fortress). The Qilla (see fig 4.21) was built on a high mound next to the Ander-Shehr which was surrounded by a channel of old Bara River. The Tarikh-I-Peshawar states that the Qilla was built by Taimur Shah Badshah (Durrani) as his residence.[79] Timur Shah succeeded his father in 1772; and used the Bala-Hisar in Peshawar extensively, in addition to his fabulous court at the Bala-Hisar, Kabul.[80] The building works at the Peshawar Qilla were possible influenced by its Kabul counterpart. The Bala-Hisar Qilla (220 x200 yards)

had a quadrilateral shape; with *kucha* (unbaked) brick walls which were 92 feet high and had circular bastions at their corners.[81]

Timur Shah Durrani's marriage with the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II's daughter helped to support his credentials in India, and his government in Peshawar was seen as an extension of the Mughal rule, and more acceptable to the population. This perception was also reinforced by his lifestyle at the newly constructed Bala-Hisar, which was built and decorated in the Mughal style. Timur's son Zaman Shah Durrani also lived at the Qilla, while Timur visited every winter and continued adding new buildings to the fort.[82] The Qilla was also occupied later by Timur's second son Shah Shuja Durrani, who constructed some buildings including an audience hall.[83]

Fig. 4.21 View of Bala-Hisar fort (1878), Peshawar on route from Khyber Pass.

Elphinstone visited Shah Shuja at the court of Bala-Hisar in 1809 and described its grand interior:

> 'The entrance gateway led to a walk of about one hundred yards and up a flight of stairs, after which one entered a long hall, called the Kishi Khana. This was followed by a sloping passage and another gate and into a private screened court, where the king was in an elevated building. This court was oblong and had high walls painted with the figures of cypresses. There was a pond with a fountain in the center.... The building which housed the king had no entrances on the ground level, just a solid wall with blind arches. The floor above this was open with a roof supported by pillars and Moorish arches. The king sat in the central arch on a large throne of gold. the room was open all around and had a marble fountain in the centre with four high pillars around it. This hall was above an extensive garden, full of Cypress and other trees.'[84]

Fig. 4.22. Shah Shuja's court at Bala-Hisar, Kabul.

Elphinstone's descriptions indicate that the interior of the Qilla contained a *diwan-i-amm* (Hall of public audience) similar to those at the Mughal forts of Agra, Lahore, Delhi and Kabul within a garden. The decorative elements mentioned include 'Moorish arches' a possible reference to the cusped Mughal arch. Shah Shuja had also built a similar magnificent audience hall influenced by Mughal architecture at the fort at Kabul (see fig 4.22).[85] The Afghan used the Bala-Hisar as their royal residence until 1810.

II. Afghan gardens and residences

i. Wazir Bagh

The Wazir Bagh was constructed in 1802-3 in the south suburbs of the city, by Sardar Fateh Mohammad Khan Barakzai the *wazir* (royal advisor) of the Durrani ruler Mahmud Shah Durrani (1801-1803, & 1809-1818).[86] This *chahar-bagh* garden consisted of four enclosures, pavilions, mosque, ponds on the north-west axis along with fountains, and rows of trees along the crossing avenues.[87] Alexander Burnes during his trip to the city in 1832, described this as the 'King's garden', which had many fruit trees and was filled with people enjoying picnics.[88] It postdates the Mughal control of the city by several decades, but it emulated the qualities and characteristics of Mughal gardens such as layouts and incorporation of water channels and fountains.

ii. Durrani Graveyard

The Durrani Graveyard was laid near the Wazir Bagh outside the city walls. This is a brick walled enclosure with graves and mausoleums of sub-imperial *umrah* and Sardars of the Durrani era.[89] The graveyard has headstones dating back to the late 1700s and early 1800s.[90] One of the few remaining tombs of the graveyard is a large square structure, raised on a high plinth with four arched openings with a grave inside (see fig 4.23). This tomb is two storied with a domed roof and is designed on the pattern of Mughal tombs.

The Durrani kings added to the city while maintaining the Mughal layout and character of the city.[91] The building and occupation of the Qilla and its close connections with the Mahabat Khan Mosque retained this area as the centre of the city. The *mohallas* of the Afghan nobility developed next to the Qilla and the Mahabat Khan Mosque in the locality of Ander-Shehr (inner city) and around the Mughal Serai, continuing the exclusivity of these areas from Mughal times.[92] The Durrani Kings maintained the main axis of the city and added the Qilla as an important building on the western node, next to the Mahabat Khan Mosque. The processional route from the Serai Jahan Ara to the Mosque now included the Qilla as part of the imperial realm of the city.

The Durranis considered Peshawar to be an important city from which to carry out their military campaign against the Sikhs in the Punjab.[93] Shah Mahmud Durrani, ousted his brother Shah Shuja Durrani from Peshawar, so giving the Barakzai Sardars an opportunity to exert their influence in the city.
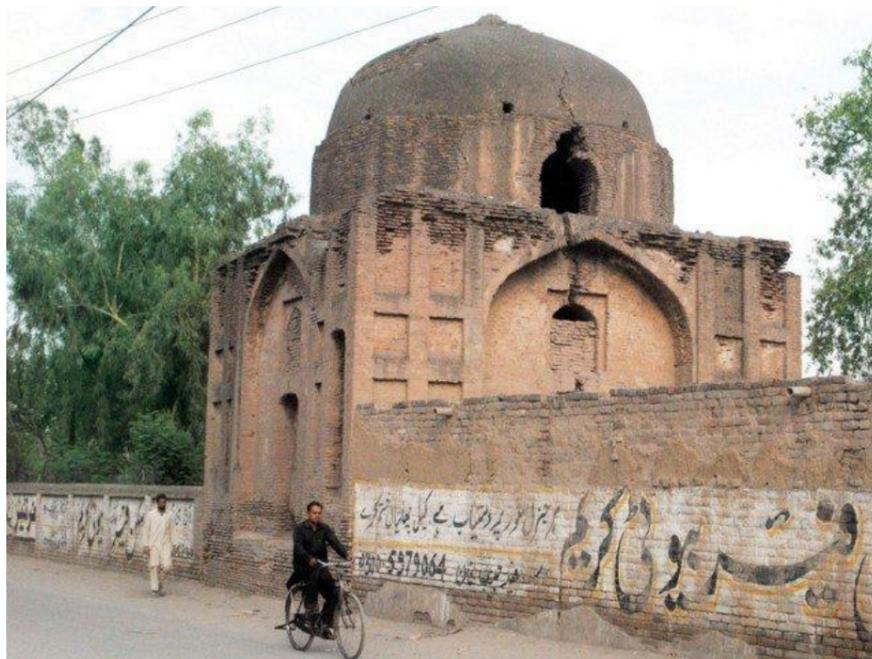
Fig. 4.23 Mausoleum in the Durrani graveyard, reported to be of a royal princess.

Barakzai Sardars

Yar Muhammad Khan Barakzai was the governor of Peshawar from 1823 to1829.[94] Culturally, the Barakzai rule was a continuation of the Durrani Empire, as reflected by the residence of Yar Muhammad Khan Barakzai which was constructed within vast gardens near the Kohati gate in the South of the city.[95] This residence was retained by his brother Sultan Muhammad Khan from 1831-1834, its interior decorations followed Mughal conventions of taste.[96] The Barakzai continued the use and patronage of the Mughal and Durrani gardens of the city. They also used the burial grounds of the Durrani graveyard. The Barakzai Sardars did not occupy the Qilla or add any major building to the city.[97] This may be attributed to the fact that the city was continually under siege by Ranjeet Singh's forces.[98] Yar Mohammad on multiple occasions fled the city for the safety of the Pathan (Yousafzai tribe) controlled Khyber Pass, and on his returns offered annual tributes to the Sikhs for continuing his family's control of Peshawar.[99] The Maharaja Ranjeet Singh entered Peshawar with his forces in 1823 and the Barakzai again offered revenue for their control over the city, which remained a tributary of the Sikhs.[100]

The Barakzai's short reign was spent in chaos as the Sardars faced various threats from Shah Shuja in Kabul and Maharaja Ranjeet Singh in the Punjab.[101] The Sardars spent most of their time responding to these crises and at many times had to flee the city; this uncertainty contributed to their making no major additions to the city. The layout of the city remained as arranged by the Mughals and added to by the Durranis. The use of the existing features of the city (Wazir and Shahi gardens) during this era indicates the adherence to and support of the preceding social and cultural norms.

4.2.4 Sikh era (1834-1849)

Punjab came under the control of the Afghans after the 1757 invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Following Ahmad Shah's death in 1773, the Afghans and Sikhs battled for the Punjab, with the Sikhs continuing to organize themselves and gaining territory. At the decline of the Afghan rule, Punjab became divided into multiple regions and states. The

formation and union of the Sikh *misls* (twelve sovereign states that formed the Sikh Confederacy) became a formidable force that started conquering and occupying territories in different parts of the Lahore province by the 1750s.[102] Maharaja Ranjit Singh unified these territories including Lahore and Amritsar into a kingdom and established his *darbar* at the Lahore Fort in 1799.[103]

The Sikhs continued to acquire territories to the north and took control of Peshawar in 1834; the city had been a tributary since 1824.[104] During the course of fighting for the control of the city the Sikhs had burned down the Bala-Hisar Qilla, which was later reconstructed by Sardar Hari Singh.[105] Most of the old palatial *havelis* belonging to Afghan *umrah*, near the Qilla and in Ander-Shehr were also destroyed.[106] The Province of Peshawar was added to the Sikh State of Punjab which included the provinces of Lahore, Multan and Kashmir (fig. 4.24).[107]

The skirmishes between the Afghans and the Sikhs continued; in 1835 and 1836, the Afghans made two unsuccessful attempts to regain Peshawar, but were unsuccessful.[108] After the death of Sikh general Hari Singh Nalwa, Paolo Avitabile, an Italian soldier (who had joined Ranjeet Singh's Army) was appointed as Governor of Peshawar from 1838-1845.[109] Avitabile established his residence and official headquarters at the Serai Jahan Ara. He built his apartments on top of the western gate of the Serai overlooking the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and the city of Peshawar. He entertained visiting European officers as well as his female companions here; the interiors of these rooms were painted with fantastic frescos depicting intimate scenes.[110] Avitabile (1838-1842) ruled the city firmly and adopted strict measures to keep the *kabailis* (people of Pathan tribes, recruited by the Afghan rulers) in line.[111] A prison was constructed within the caravanserai.[112] The Serai as an important landmark was re-used and extended by Avitabile as a seat of power from which to govern the city and surrounding region (see fig. 4.25).

Fig. 4.24 Map of Ranjit Singh's Sikh Empire at its peak.

Fig. 4.25 Internal facade of Western Gate.

The enlargement of the Western gate changed the symmetry of the Serai, and this gate now dominated the composition. The mosque in the courtyard of the Serai Jahan Ara was pulled down and a temple of Gorakshanath was erected in its place in 1835 (see fig 4.26).[113] The temple complex comprises two small temples attached to each other by a covered walkway, which is located near the West Gate on the southwest quadrant of the courtyard. Administrative buildings including an office for Avitabile's use as governor of the Sikh province were built in the courtyard of the Serai.[114] The East Gate was used to house Sikh and visiting British officers.[115] The Sikh occupation and reuse of the Serai Jahan Ara was a continuation of the site's association with Imperial power. The central and focal position of the Serai as a centre of the city was maintained and continued through making it a focus of Sikh power; however the changed usage meant that the commercial and philanthropic aspect of the Serai was discontinued. In fact the Serai came to symbolise the terror of Avitabile.[116]

The era saw the rebuilding of the city perimeter wall which had suffered damage in the war between the Afghans and the Sikhs, this was financed through taxation.[117] The old *kuccha* wall surrounding the city perimeter was reinforced in his era with *pucka* bricks, with bastions located at corners to strengthen the defence of the city.[118] The city in the Sikh era was described by Raverty who visited Peshawar in 1850 as:

> 'The city is of irregular oblong shape and surrounded by a wall built of unburned bricks 20 feet high and strengthened by round towers or bastions at the angles. These fortifications of the city were carried out in the Sikh era. The circumference of the city was 5500 yards and it had 13 gates; Kabul, Jehangeerpurah, Assea, Kachowree, Kohaut, Ganj, Wazeerabagh, Lahore, Doaba, Rampura, Raitee, Chubutrah and Bala Hisar gate. At each gate there were troops stationed.'[119]

Fig. 4.26 Sikh era temple in Gor Khuttree.

Avitabile widened and paved the Bazaar-e-Kalan road from the Serai Jahan Ara to the Chowk Bazazan at the centre of the city and onward to Qissa Khawani Bazaar and through to the Kabuli *darwaza*.[120] This era saw the areas of Ander-Shehr, Dhakki and Qazi Khela becoming inhabited by wealthy Hindus and Sikhs.[121] There were many Gurdawaras and *dharamshalas* constructed in the residential *mohallas* of the city. Some residential areas were bifurcated (Sar-Assea from Ganj-i-Kohnah) to create new hierarchies within the Hindu/Sikh and Muslim quarters. These were divided with walls, in order to keep peace between inhabitants; two new gates were also added to the city to facilitate these new

configurations.[122] The city grew into five main quarters called Sar-Assea, Jahangir-Pura, Ander Shehr, Karim-Pura and Ganj.[123]

Most of the gardens around the city faced destruction as perimeter walls were pulled down and they became open to use by the Sikh army. The gardens now served as garrisons to hold the Sikh Khalsa forces and their encampments. These changes were recorded by Alexander Burnes:

'The Sikhs have changed everything, many of the fine gardens around the town have been converted into cantonments; trees had been cut down and the whole neighborhood was one vast camp, there being 30,000 to 40,000 men stationed on the plain.'[124]

The Sikhs supported large scale mercantile activities in the city, benefitting all categories of traders especially the Khatris and Aroras from the Punjab.[125] The Sikh and Hindu community carried out extensive trade in the Punjab and Afghanistan as well as Central Asia. They played an important social and economic role and formed the backbone of trade and commerce of the area.[126] Banking facilities were offered by private bankers, shopkeepers and moneylenders through the systems of *hundis* and *bima* (insurance) at low rates.[127] As economic activity grew in Peshawar many caravanserais were constructed in the centre of the city as well as near gates on the western and northern peripheries of the city (see fig. 4.27).[128] The area of the Shahi Bagh was also appropriated for the construction of *serais* on the north end of the Mahabat Khan Mosque.[129]

The city of Peshawar under the Sikhs changed politically and culturally, since the Sikh narrative was different from the Mughal narrative. The Mughals had created a politico-administrative framework that took its strength from their imperial lineage from Amir Taimur and created the ruling classes of *rajas, umrah, mansabdars* and *zamindars* who were granted power based on their kinship, services and loyalty to the Emperor. The Mughals ruled over a vast land of varied subjects and considered the holding and application of their imperial philosophy important. The Sikhs on the other hand had risen from being local landowners and the common people, who pooled together their lands and resources to

become a force. The Sikh political collaborations (misls) were based on kinship and religious faith and were confined to the Punjab. This made it difficult for the Sikhs to hold or propagate a centralised cultural ideology like the Mughals.

Fig. 4.27 Sikh era *serai* on Chowk Yadgar, Peshawar.

This was one of the reasons that such architecture of imperial importance as the Mughal Serai Jahan Ara, the Mahabat Khan, the Bala-Hisar Qilla and Mughal gardens lost their significance during the Sikh era. The image of the city underwent a change as sites and spaces representing imperial patronage went into decline. The value attached to these buildings and the gardens of the previous eras as part of the Mughal imperial narrative was lost. The Sikh narrative gave importance to the military encampments which replaced the gardens and executive control through the appropriation of the Serai. There is no doubt that the occupation of the Serai was based on its location at the centre of the city as well as its dominant position on the mound (Dhakki), the monumentality and security of the structure,

and most importantly its imperial association and memories. This aligned the collective associations and meanings of the place with the strict authority and rule of the Sikh Governor.[130] This area of the city continued its prominence as an elite neighborhood under the watchful eye of Avitabile. This was the period when the name of the serai was changed to Gor Khuttree in order to reinforce the earlier Hindu associations/memories of the site.[131] The importance given to trade and commercial activities in the city helped develop the Chowk Bazazan, Chowk Abresham and the Qissa Khawani to become centres of commerce. The new spatial hierarchy represented a distinctly newer cultural milieu with a heterogeneous ruling class.[132] These newer sites became the focus of the city and were derived from social processes involving new politics and ideologies. These newer social and cultural traditions also rendered new meanings to the existing urban space hierarchies within the city's core.

The late 18th to the early 19th century was a period of political turmoil due to the continued contestation between the Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and the British for control over the Punjab. In the aftermath of the death of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh control over the Punjab weakened due to the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-1849), which ultimately yielded the Punjab, to the British East India Company.[133] Peshawar which had been an integral part of the Durrani and Sikh empires now became a part of the British Empire and continued as an important region in the maintenance of stability in the respective Empires.

4.2.5 The British Era (1849-1947)

The British took direct control of all the territories belonging to the Sikh State of Punjab.[134] The territories of the North West Frontier province (earlier part of the Punjab) were annexed through the proclamation of March 29, 1849, and placed under the administration board at Lahore.[135] Peshawar became a British district in 1849, and Colonel Lawrence was appointed as the first Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar in April 1849.[136] In 1850 the districts were reconstituted into a regular division under Frederick Mackeson, who was appointed Commissioner at Peshawar from 1851 to 1853.[137] Sir Herbert Edwardes succeeded him as the Commissioner of Peshawar and remained at this post till 1859.[138]

The British occupation made Peshawar the frontier city of British India (see fig 4.28). The city served two purposes, one to control the entrance into India and the second to allow the British to keep a closer eye over Afghanistan and Central Asia.[139] The British rule over the region initially involved collecting a wide range of information about the geography, history, land allocations and allotments, produce, population, ethnicities, beliefs and customs and other information about the district. The first summary report on the district was made by Colonel Lawrence in 1849, followed by an initial settlement report by Major James from 1855-1856 and later a more detailed settlement report completed by Captain Hastings in 1878.[140] Colonial conquest was made possible by the power of superior military and political organization, but it was sustained and strengthened by colonial knowledge that related to administrative control and governance.[141] Hastings' detailed document helped to form the basis of ruling Peshawar and its surrounding areas by classifying and quantifying the people and the land. Both needed to be controlled in order to be channeled into the colonial narrative.
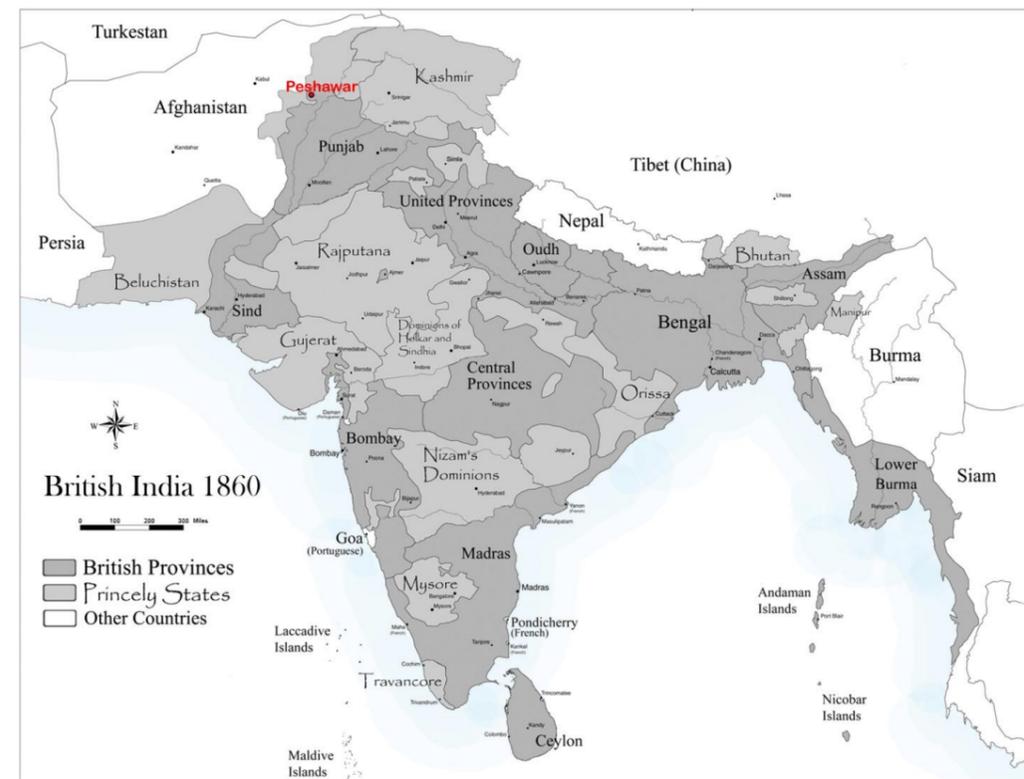
Fig. 4.28 British India.

The British were more organised than the preceding two empires and modelled their colonial vision on the Mughal methods of governance and control.[142] They ordered the city and surrounding landscape according to their vision of an Empire. This meant appropriation of existing landmarks and urban space and creating new spatial hierarchies.

i. Early Colonial Era: Appropriation of existing buildings and structures:

The initial occupation of the walled city included the re-appropriation of existing buildings. These included the monumental Bala Hisar Qilla, the Serai Jahan Ara and the palatial *havelis* of the Barakzai Sardars (next to Kohati gate) and tombs which were occupied and appropriated for the governance purposes. The city's architectural legacy also included several garden sites in the city proper and in the suburbs that had been laid out by Mughal royalty and nobility, either as pleasure retreats or as the final resting places of their patrons and their families. The British reclaimed the built heritage and garden sites, as receptacles for interventions, supportive of their administrative and social needs.[143] These interventions created a new cultural landscape, as sites holding prior memories and attributions underwent transformation to make them amenable for use by the European community.

The most important amongst these was the Serai Jahan Ara (renamed Serai Gor Khuttree), which the British designated as the Tehsil (district) headquarters.[144] The upper part of the Western gate of the Serai was used as tehsil offices, while the eastern gate was occupied by the subordinate settlement courts and a Government rest house for native gentlemen and European persons; a house was constructed in the north-east corner for the missionaries.[145] The City Mission house was later converted into the residence of the lady missionaries of the Church of England.*[146]* The Serai's reuse as the headquarters of civic control was enabled by its physical location at the heart of the old city, its position as a safe and fortified space to interact with the surrounding city and most importantly its symbolic association as the centre of power in preceding eras.

The second monumental building of the city was the Bala-Hisar Qilla, which was occupied by British forces and used as the military headquarters, as well as the treasury.[147] The fort

served as the headquarters of the Northern forces of the crown and remained so even after the construction of the cantonment and the multiple facilities provided for the army there. At the time of occupation, the Bala-Hisar was a *kuccha* brick fort; the British reinforced the outer walls and bastions with baked bricks.

The garden of Nawab Sayyed Khan (Sayyed *ka* Bagh, Dabgari) was converted into the Mission church.[148] The Mughal Shahi Bagh, the Mardan Ali Bagh and the Wazir Bagh were re-appropriated and opened as public parks. The Shahi Bagh was used to hold the *Durbar* of 1860, where the British met the local Chiefs and notables to reinforce their position as legitimate rulers of the Empire (see Fig. 4.29). The Ali Mardan Bagh was used for the residence of Commissioner Mackeson and his offices, the remaining surrounding gardens were renamed Mackeson Gardens and later Company gardens (fig 4.30).[149] This garden was also used for services before the opening of the church in the cantonment.
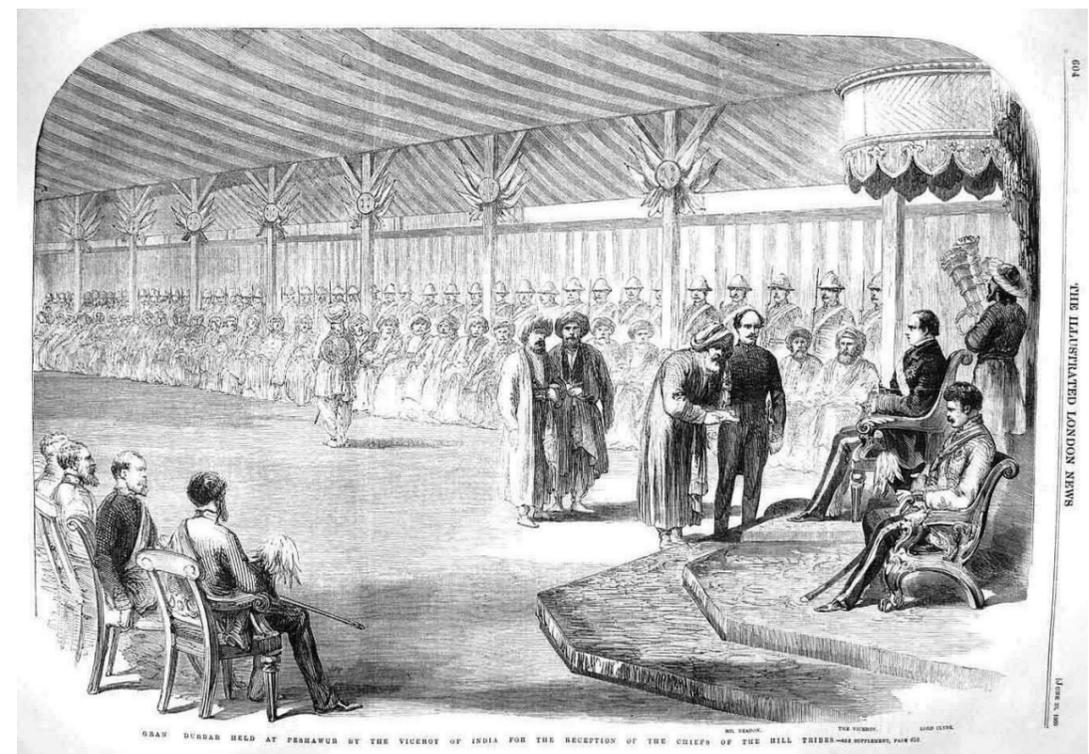
Fig. 4.29 The Darbar at Shahi Bagh, Peshawar, 1860.
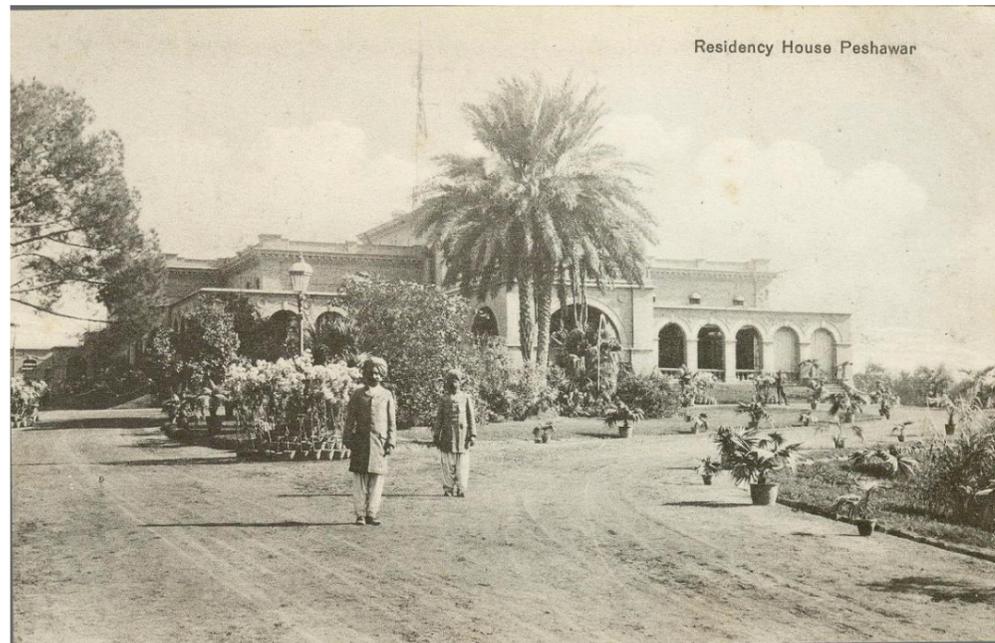
Fig. 4.30 Residency of Mackeson at the Ali Mardan garden, postcard from 1910.

Another aspect of the domination of the urban fabric was to create symbols of colonial progress and benevolence in order to reinforce the British hegemony. The large residences of the city belonging to officials of earlier eras were re-organised and utilized according to the new 'order' of spatial hierarchies. The historic quarters of Jahangir-Pura were re-christened as Mackeson-Ganj, but the name was not popular with the inhabitants of the area who continued with the original name of the locality.[150]

The British appropriation of the city changed the existing Grand Trunk Road's eastern route into the city via the Lahori *darwaza*. In order to control the road's access and mobility the route of the grand trunk road was changed in 1849.[151] The new layout bypassed the Lahori *darwaza* and the city by running outside the city walls on the northern side, in front of the Bala-Hisar Qilla; it cut through the Shahi Bagh and then turned southwest towards the new cantonment.[152] The new road lay on the north of the new cantonment and turned towards Jamrud and onto the Khyber Pass. The new layout helped the development of more *serais* at the north end of the city. The change in the processional route gave the Kabuli *darwaza* on the western end more ceremonial importance and focused trade activities at the Qissa Khawani Bazaar. This area became the ceremonial and commercial entrance into the city

and based on this new role of the gateway, it was renamed the Edwards Gate in the early 20th century (see fig 4.31).[153] This incorporated the new dynamics of trade centre and main city entrance into the colonial narrative.

ii. Colonial era; new buildings constructed in the walled City

When the British occupied Peshawar, missionaries came along with the occupation forces, in order to 'transform imperial projects into moral allegories'.[154] Missionaries were considered the front line of the Empire's forces, as their role in educating and converting native people to Christianity was considered an important step in civilizing the colonies and making them more susceptible and receptive to European political and cultural domination.[155] The first missionaries to arrive at Peshawar in January 1855 were the Rev. C. G. Pfander and the Rev. Robert Clark.[156] The formal expression of divine worship was important to the church; the use of architecture helped to achieve political and spiritual goals, which ultimately became important contributions to the Empire.[157]
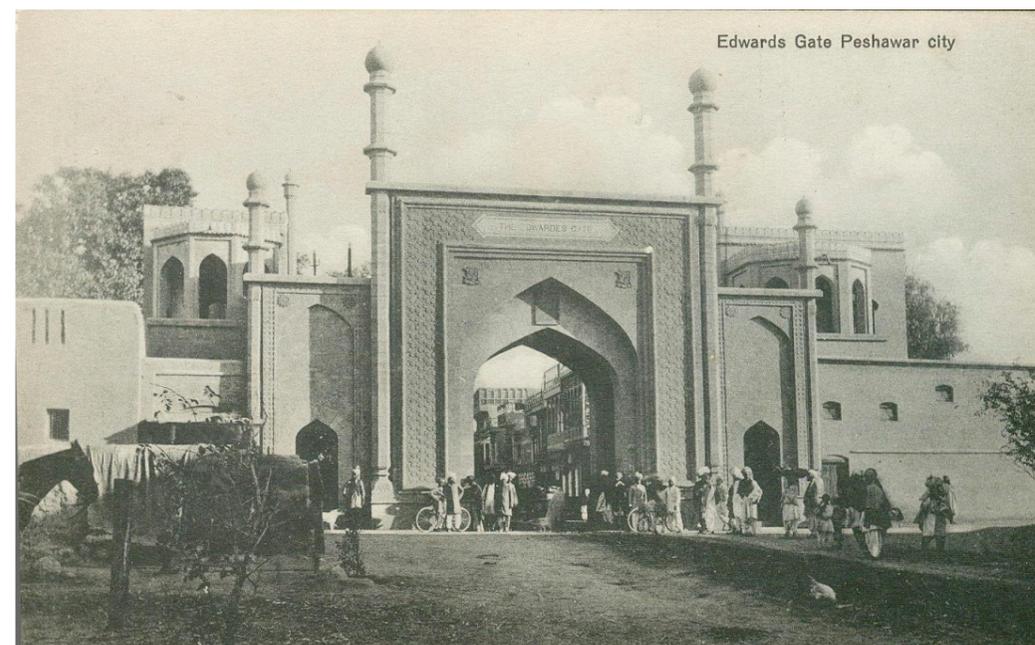
Fig. 4.31 Edwards/Kabuli Gate, 1903.

Initially, churches, schools and hospitals were constructed within the city. These included the make-shift Morton Chapel and school in Pipal Mandi for natives, while the British army and their family members offered `Services` separately at the Company Bagh.[158] Edwardes established the Christian Mission high school at Kohati gate in 1853.[159] These establishments served the important purpose of finding converts among the indigenous population.

European missionary institutions were often located in the midst of dense Indian towns and used indigenous facades and courtyard forms to play their role.[160] The choice of these locations and the adoption of the architectural style were based on the necessity of being able to operate within the indigenous settlements. The first important church built in the city was the All Saints' Church constructed in 1883 inside the Kohati gate opposite the Christian Mission high school.[161] The proximity to one of the city's main gates and major road allowed a large number of indigenous worshippers to attend the church. The architecture of the church was unlike other churches of the colonial era, which were usually constructed in the Gothic Revival style.[162] The All Saints' church used elements of the Mughal architectural style on the orthodox Greek cruciform plan. The external and internal Indo-Saracenic stylistic elements helped the church to relate to its context.[163] This was explained as:

> 'The Peshawar Mission has for some years past endeavoured to carry on its Evangelical labours as far as possible on Oriental lines, and it is in accordance with this intention that this Memorial Church now stands in an Oriental dress. It is an attempt to adapt Saracenic architecture to the purposes of Christian worship, the whole building having been constructed by a native architect under the superintendence of the Missionaries.'[164]

The church had cusped arches, stained-glass, *monabat-kari*, *naqqashi* work, *pinjra-kari* wooden screens and Persian calligraphic inscriptions. The bell tower was designed like the minaret of a mosque. This church looked more like a mosque than a church and was meant to be appealing and accessible for native converts (see fig 4.32).[165] Another interesting fact was that there was the provision of *'purdah'* for native women to attend service. The design

allowed native Christians to observe cultural and social norms while praying, but it maintained the segregation of Europeans and indigenous people.
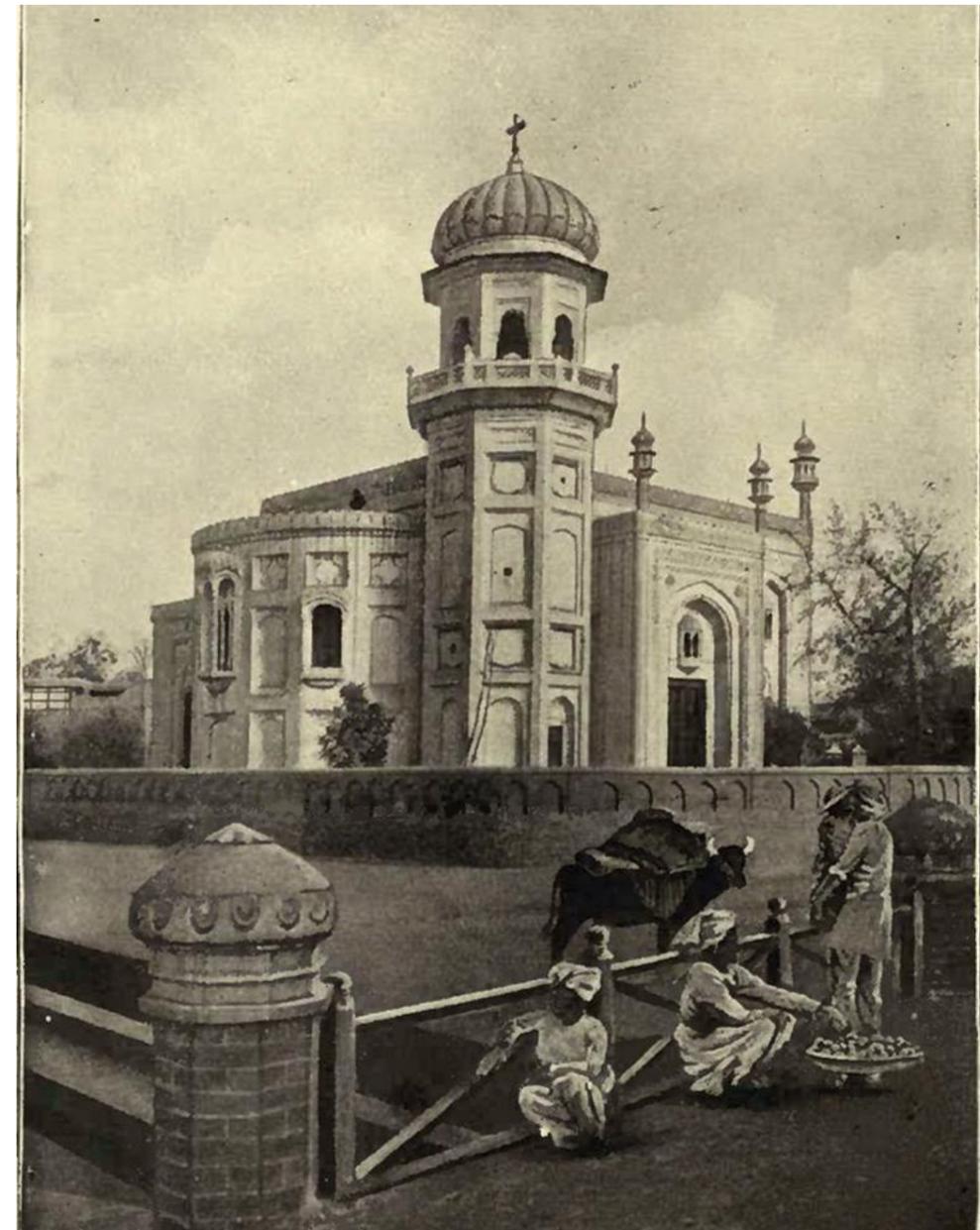
Fig. 4.32 All Saints' Church, Peshawar.

The Duchess of Connaught Zenana hospital completed in 1895 was set up on a site on the eastern side of the Serai.[166] It also was designed with an Indo-Saracenic façade, while its layout conformed to European conventions of medical care and service (see fig. 4.33).

Another important building was the police station built in the 1860s in Qissa Khawani Bazaar; this was constructed next to the Kabuli *darwaza* and called *'kotwali'* for the convenience of the natives. This two story building, next to the Kabuli *darwaza*, had a large *jharoka*, arched openings and small attached minars similar to those of the city's gate (see fig. 4.34).

4.34 A view of Kabuli/Edwards gate. Decorations in honor of Sir George Roos-Keppel's visit, 1910.The kotwali is on the right of the gate.

iii. Addition of new settlements

British forces had played a crucial role in the conquest and consolidation of the Indian empire, and the establishment of garrisons outside the traditional cities became the primary focus of colonial urbanism.[167] The new cantonment was laid out some distance away from the city on its western side in 1868.[168] Urban planners took into account the discourses of security and sanitation, establishing clear demarcations between colonial areas and the Indian town.[169] This dual city model was based on the conception of the Indian city as chaotic; a dirty unhygienic and dangerous place, and the cantonment as an ordered and healthy space. The cantonment was conceived as a modern walled city (barbed wire was put around it with gates at the exit roads) having regular lots and bungalows, straight roads, wide avenues, a Mall road, Sadar Bazaar, the Club, churches, barracks, cemetery, a race course and the cantonment railway station (see fig. 4.35).

Fig. 4.33 Connaught Hospital, Peshawar. 1906.

Fig. 4.35 Mall Road, Peshawar, 1910.

Fig. 4.36 Darbar procession going towards west gate of Serai Jehan Ara; 'Illumination at Peshawur on the occasion of a grand durbar held there by the Viceroy of India--the Viceregal procession.'
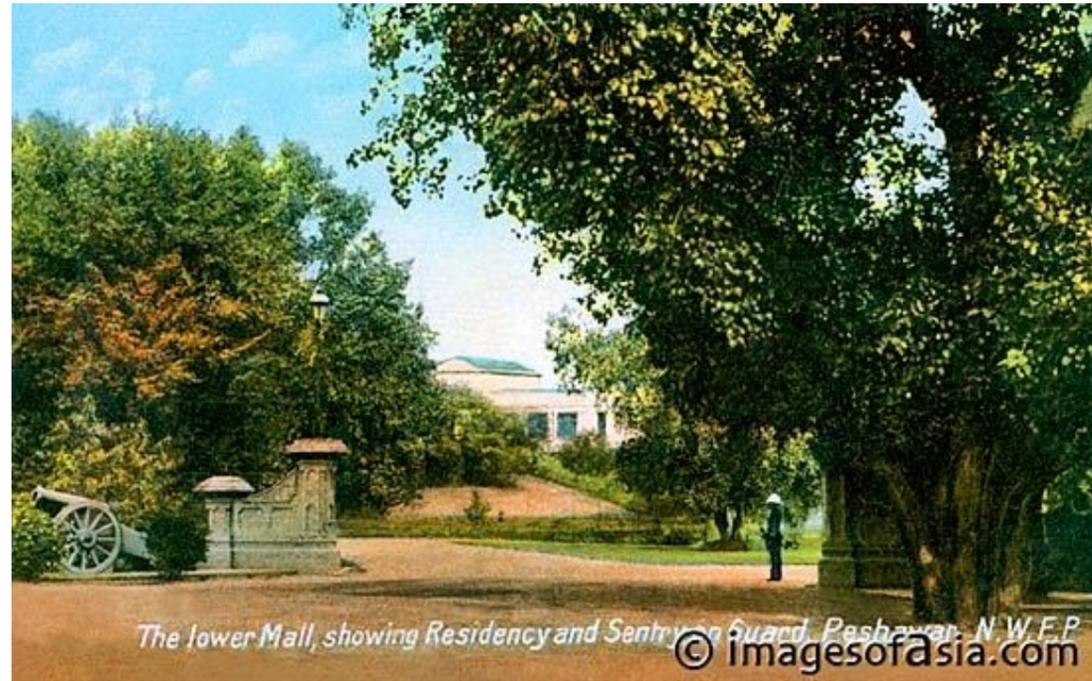
iv. Images of the Raj

The hierarchical power dynamics of the Empire were made through such cultural frameworks as public display.[170] Images and perceptions were carefully created and sustained by the British through public events and celebrations held in emulation of the Mughals, in order to propagate the glory and prosperity of the Raj. These *darbars* were lavish receptions that allowed British officials to meet the local leaders and enact conventions of ruler-subject behaviour laid down by the Mughals.[171] It helped to lend legitimacy to the rule of the perceived *firangis* (European foreigners) over India.
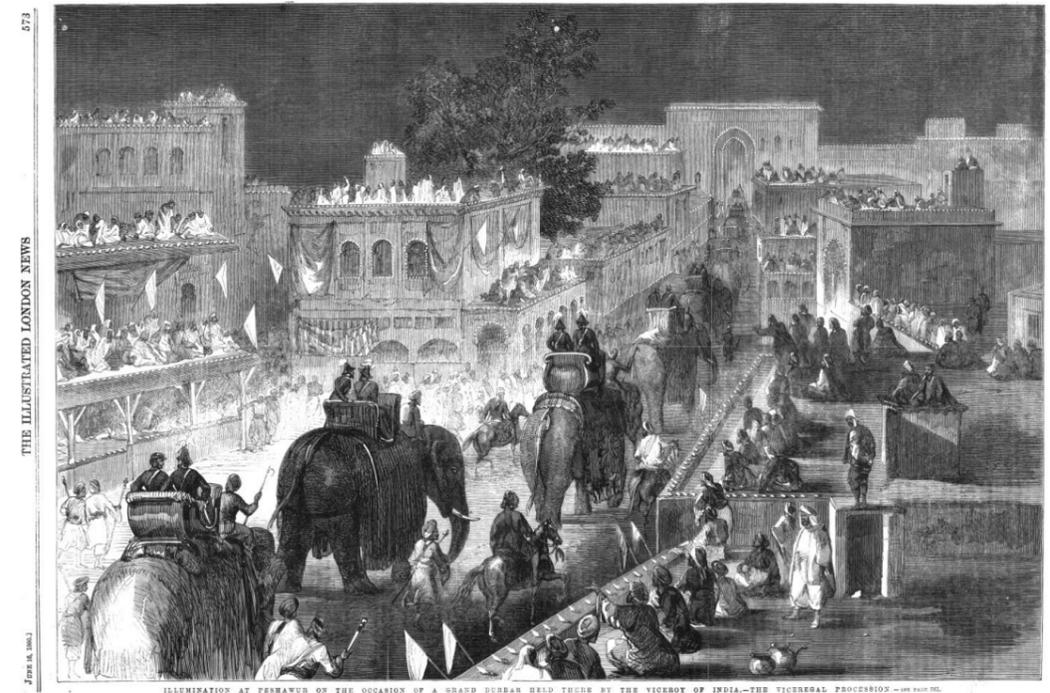
A large *darbar* was held in Peshawar in 1860; the important aspect of this was that the *festivities* and processions were held at the sites associated with Mughal glory. These included the large reception held at the Shahi Bagh and the festivities with a great bonfire held within Serai Jahan Ara. There was also a grand procession of elephants which passed through the Edwards gate and the Qissa Khawani Bazaar heading towards Bazaar-e-Kalan road and reaching the western gate of Serai Jahan Ara. These principle streets of the city were lit with lamps, and the locals presented themselves at the *jharokas* and roofs of their *havelis* along this route to pay tribute to the passing parade (see fig. 4.36). The continuation of the courtly practices of the Mughals and the use of imperial locations and spaces helped to associate the British with this earlier dynastic rule.

V. High colonial era; monuments and clock towers

The close of the 19th century and the early 20th century saw the appropriation of public space within Peshawar for colonial monuments. The first was the monument to Col. Hastings, which was built in the centre of the chowk Bazazan, a large open square located at the junction of three main arteries of the city, connecting the primary streets of Bazaar-e-Kalan, Ander Shehr and Qissa Khawani. The chowk was renamed as Hastings' Memorial Square (called Chowk Yadgar in the local language) in1892.[172] The memorial was designed using the Indo-Saracenic architectural vocabulary. It was an octagonal pavilion with a domed roof, placed on a raised platform. The memorial was reminiscent of the *'hasht-behist'* form regularly used for tombs during the Mughal era (see fig 4.37). There were arched openings on all sides of this structure which was placed in a garden with a fountain in front of it. This was an interesting colonial narrative inside the walled city which used the metaphors of a Mughal tomb for endorsement. The memorial's location in the midst of a sprawling square, the centre of the city's commercial hub (joining different major roads and *bazaars* of the city) made this an important landmark and again reinforced this area's hierarchy within the city.
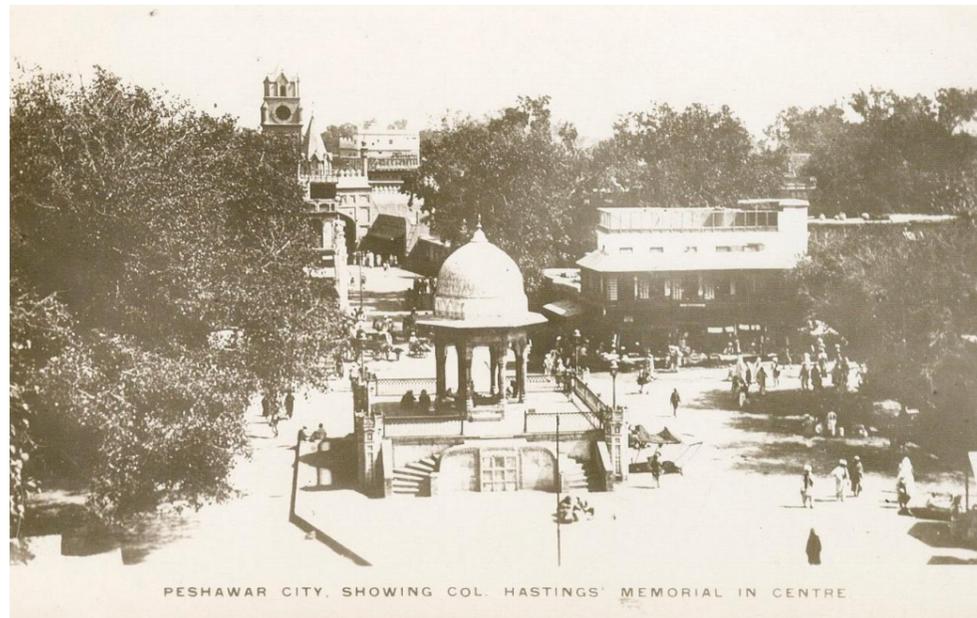
In 1900, a clock tower was built to commemorate the 1897 Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria (see fig. 4.38).[173] The clock tower was later named the Cunningham Clock Tower after Sir George Cunningham, British governor in the province from 1937-Aug, 1939, Dec.1939-1945.[174] The clock tower (called Ghanta Ghar by locals) was constructed on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road between the Hastings' Memorial *chowk* and the *Tehsil* Gor Khuttree, and across the road from the Ganj Ali Khan Mosque. This important symbol of colonialism was built in the Indo-Saracenic style. The insertion of this second British monument within the old imperial realm was intended to merge the colonial narrative with the Mughal narrative and draw strength from the site's history and memories through association.

The clock tower was part of a continuous line of symbols of the Raj from the newly christened Edwards gate to the *Kotwali* to the Hastings' Memorial *chowk*, to the clock tower and onwards to the *Tehsil* Gor Khuttree. Thus the old imperial sequence of the Lahori gate to Kabuli gate via the Serai Jahan Ara and Mahabat khan Mosque was replaced by a new narrative that played out the colonial conventions.

Fig. 4.37 Hastings Monument. Postcard 1910.

Fig. 4.38 Cunningham Clock Tower. Early 20th century postcard.

In November, 1901, five districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara were separated from the Punjab to form the North West Frontier province (N.W.F.P.) under a Chief Commissioner.[175] The formal inauguration of the Province took place in a lavish *durbar* (royal court) hosted by Lord Curzon the Viceroy of India, on April 26, 1902, at the Shahi Bagh for 3,000 dignitaries (local Chiefs, tribal heads, notables etc) of the region.[176]

The Victoria Memorial Hall was built in 1905 on the new road that ran from the Bala-Hisar to the cantonment railway station. This building was built in the Indo-Saracenic style using red brick; there were *chattris* placed at the four corners of the building (see fig 4.39).[177] The use of the Indo-Saracenic style became prevalent in the late 19th century, as this was considered to be a dynamic amalgamation of the Mughal style with the Imperial style and suitable to the building requirements of the Raj.[178]

Fig. 4.39 Victoria Hall (currently Peshawar Museum) 1910 postcard.

In 1912 a Fire Brigade Station was built next to the East gateway of the Serai Jehan Ara (see Fig. 4.40). Two red fire engines from the Merry Weather Company, London were purchased and housed here.[179] The Lady Reading hospital was established in 1924

opposite the Asa Mai *darwaza* near the Mahabat Khan Mosque, it was sponsored by the wife of Lord Reading the Viceroy of India (1921-1925) after their visit to the city.[180]

Fig. 4.40 Fire brigade at Serai Jehan Ara.

Throughout the duration of the Mughal Empire, its imperial authority was exerted in a variety of urban centres. The physical remains of the Mughal rule provided a consistent style of architecture and urban form which reiterated the Empire's idealistic and symbolic principles.[181] The British rule in India, had largely depended on initially occupying these imperial spaces and continuing the ceremonial traditions of the Mughals. The use of the past by the British helped them to relate to their Indian subjects, who were culturally and linguistically different. The use of the Serai and the Bala-Hisar Qilla catered to these aspirations as the major building and citadel in the heart of the old city. The acts of appropriation and control of Mughal architecture and its associated historical narrative by the colonizing British in the 19th century was a means to legitimize their right to rule. The British appropriation of old existing sites like the Serai Jahan Ara, the tomb of Sayyed Khan, the Shahi Bagh, the Bala-Hisar Qilla and the Kabuli *darwaza*/Edwards gate, was an

extension of these sites' identity, memories and associations originating from the Mughal period. These appropriations also were carried out in the cultural space; hence the use of the Indian term, 'the Raj' given to the British rule of India.

The control of history, culture, memories and landscape helped in ideological and physical contestation to establish Colonial hierarchies. They also helped to create new meanings and interpretations for older customs and the arenas where these were enacted. The Mughals were well versed in communicating power, values, aesthetics and ideologies through architecture. The control of these monuments by others (Afghan, Sikh and British) after the Mughal era was an emulation of these values and their continuation in order to validate their place in the physical and ideological environment.

Mughal Emperors successfully used architecture to create memories of their power (political and economic). Campbell states that this structure became an embodiment of the power of the Empire and stood as proxy for their ruler.[182] In this context, the usage of the Serai Jahan Ara by subsequent rulers of Peshawar as a place from which to govern was due to its embodiments of Mughal power. This embodiment of power of Mughal structures; Serai, fort, tomb or gardens was manipulated by subsequent occupiers of the city. Similarly the renaming and patronising of the Kabuli/Edwards gate helped the formation of associated memories. These places and spaces were initially produced (by Mughal) and reused (by Afghans, Sikhs and British) because they filled important functional and cognitive roles within a landscape.[183] Through the periods of reuse, reinterpretation, and appropriation the Mughal layout of Peshawar took on meanings in the Colonial era that related to the city's collective memory and identity.

The colonial city's spaces were structured by the architectural interventions which embodied the colonial rule. The physical as well as institutional interventions in the city were means for instilling a certain order into the urban form and its inhabitants. At the same time a newer typology of the cantonment came into use which combined military areas with civil stations for European residences and institutions to form the inviolable 'white town'.[184] Colonial Peshawar became defined by the monuments constructed in the major arteries and squares to reclaim the city, the re-appropriation of architectural landmarks of the city, and the construction of a sanitised and segregated cantonment.

The development of Peshawar from the 17th to the 20th century saw the city's ceremonial route between the Serai and the Mosque and the primary route between the Lahori and Kabuli *darwaza* used and appropriated for legitimacy by all rulers after the Mughals. The appropriation of the Mughal *serai* and the Durrani Qilla as well as the city's primary central square and main gate by subsequent forces (Afghan, Sikh and British) represents a common thread of association, identification and continuity with the Mughal rule. The placement of important buildings, landmarks and memorials along the royal route suggests that these interventions were made so that these buildings could become part of the people's history and memory of the city. They were intentionally woven into the city's fabric to form the basis for a collective memory, suggesting continuity and providing legitimacy to the new rulers.
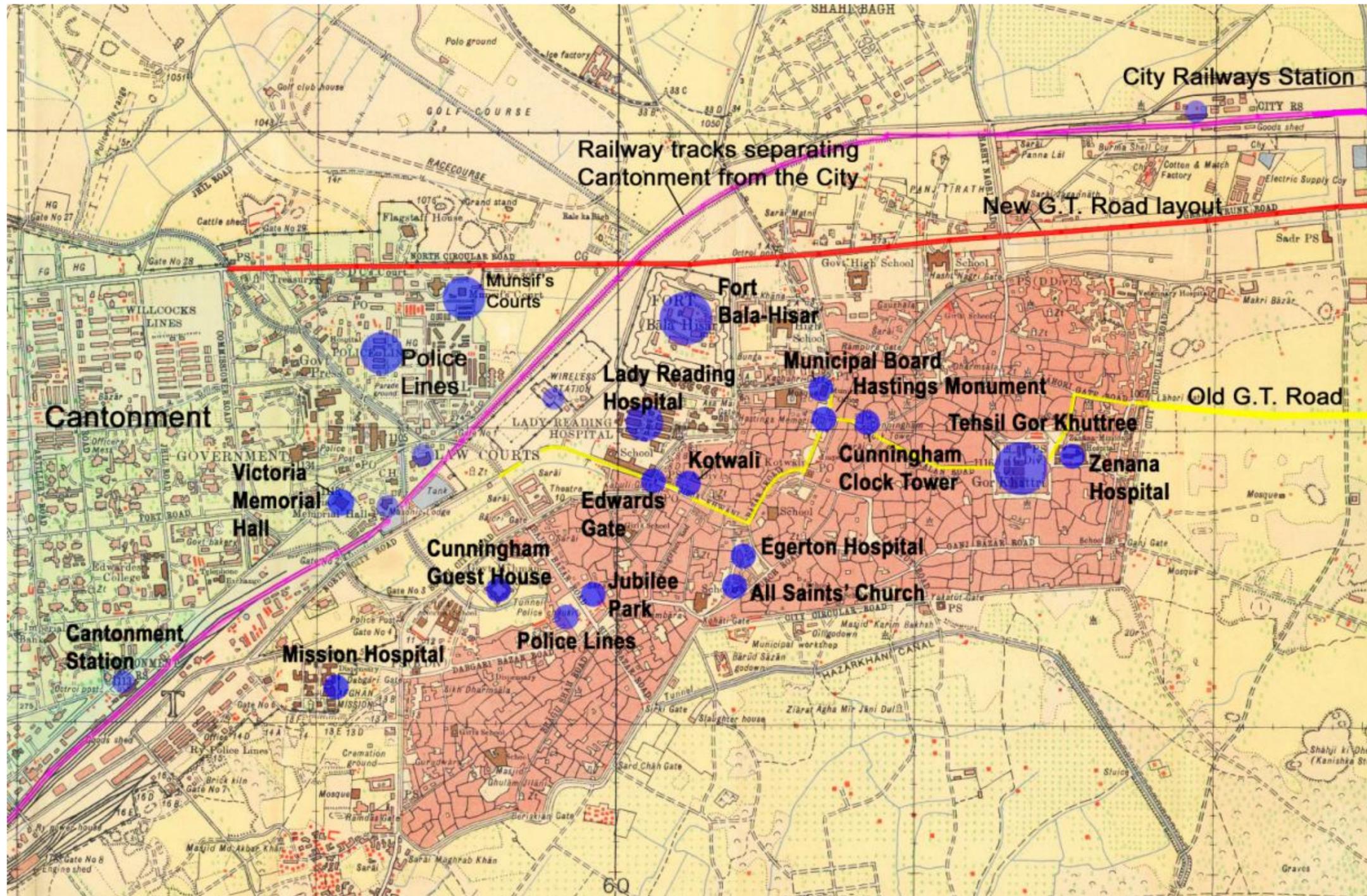
Fig. 4.41 Map of Peshawar with important buildings of the British era

[1] Derek Keene, "Cities and Empires". *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 32 No. 1, (2005): 8-21, accessed January 29, 2016, doi: 10.1177/0096144205279197

[2] Gertrude Bell Archive. Letter to her father dated January 27th 1903, accessed October 23, 2014 http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1366

Gertrude Bell, English writer, traveller and archaeologist wrote her impressions of the Pass in 1903:   'It was a wonderful thing to stand at the gates of Central Asia and see the merchant train passing up and down, on a road older than all history. At the top of the zigzags you first catch sight of the Plains of India - think of conqueror after conqueror Aryans and Greeks and Mongols and Pathans - they've all looked down that valley and smelt the hot breath of India and the plunder to come. Alexander and Timur and Muhammad of Ghazni and Babur and who comes next over the Pass? It has another association scarcely less interesting: it was the road of the Buddhist pilgrims when India was the home of Buddhism... that's a fine picture too, the barefoot Chinese pilgrims coming down the Conqueror's road.'

[3] The discovery of the Bakhshali manuscript; the oldest mathematical manuscript found near Peshawar, has been dated 2nd century BC. This leads scholars to place Peshawar's existence from this era, Some scholars give an earlier date of around 400 AD. Accessed   September 23rd 2014;   http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/HistTopics/Bakhshali_manuscript.html

[4] H.H. Wilson, "Summary Review of the Travels in India of Hiouen Thsang," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland,* Volume 17,(1859) 106-137, accessed September 24, 2014: http://books.google.com.pk/books?id=lk0ES4KvhJMC&pg=PA114&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

[5] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004): 42.

[6] Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar; Historic City of the Frontier*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002):16

[7] Dani, *Peshawar; Historic City of the Frontier*,15

[8] Jennifer, L. Campbell, "Architecture and Identity: The Occupation, Use and Reuse of Mughal Caravanserais."(PhD diss. University of Toronto. 2011): 87 , 91

Excavations in the courtyard of Gor Khuttree by Durrani *et al* in 1997 and Ali *et al* in 2005, revealed Kushan and Hindu Shahi remains along with Ghaznavid, Sultanet, Suri, Mughal, Sikh and British period coins and pottery. These excavations have exposed a history of 2300 years whilst excavating 8.5 meters of cultural deposits, and the excavators estimate that there are 8 meters more before virgin soil is reached. More excavations and dating of remains from this site may provide evidence that Peshawar was an urban center from the pre-Achaemenid period.

[9] Hafiz-i Tanish, *Sharaf-nama-i-shahl,* Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg, Ms. No. D88, f. 451a-b. Hafiz-i Tanish (the Central Asian author of the *Sharaf-nama-i-shah*; the chronicle of the great Uzbek ruler Abd Allah Khan II), who mentions that in 1584 there were several caravans in Peshawar transporting goods destined for Khurasan, and Turkestan originating from the Deccan, Gujarat, Multan and other regions of India.

[10] Gazetteer, 142

The name, '*Hindki*' was used to describe people of India in Afghanistan and Central Asia and in Peshawar it was used for all tribes of Indians who were not of Pathan origin.

[11] Hans Loeschner, "The Stūpa of the Kushan Emperor Kanishka the Great, with Comments on the Azes Era and Kushan Chronology." *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 227 (2012) accessed December 20, 2014. http://www.sino-platonic.org/complete/spp227_kanishka_stupa_casket.pdf

[12] Ali Ahsan, "Report on Excavations at Gor Khuttree, Peshawar (2003-04)", *Frontier Archaeology,* 3, (2005): 227-276.

[13] The memoirs offer a highly educated Central Asian Nobleman's observations of the world in which he moved.

[14] Zahir ud Din Babur. Baburnama. Translated from the original Turki Text of Zahiru'd-din Mubammad Babur Padshah Ghazi by Annette Susannah Beveridge. 141, accessed October 23, 2013, http://www.archive.org/stream/baburnamainengli02babuuoft/baburnamainengli02babuuoft_djvu.txt

Mughal Emperor Babar in the beginning of his memoir, Babarnama, recorded: "On Friday, the 1st Sefer in the year 932, when the sun was in Sagittarius (1525 AD, November 17th), I set out on my march to invade Hindustan." On reaching Peshawar, Babar with his usual curiosity visited Gor Khuttree and wrote, "There are nowhere in the whole world such narrow and dark hermit's cells as at this place. After entering the doorway and descending one or two stairs, you must lie down, and proceed crawling along, stretched at full length. You cannot enter without a light. The quantities of hair (cut off by pilgrims as offerings), both of head and beard, that are lying scattered about, and in the vicinity of the place are immense."

[15] See discussions in chapter 3.

[16] Abdur Rahman and Munazzah Akhtar, "The Mughal Gardens along the Grand Trunk Road in Pakistan and Afghanistan."   accessed   on   October   10,   2015   http://doaks.org/resources/middle-east-garden-traditions/mughal-gardens/introduction-to-mughal-gardens.

Also see

The roads beyond Lahore; Gardens of the Mughal Empire. accessed on November 14, 2014. http://www.mughalgardens.org/html/roads.html

[17] Ibrahim Shah. "Jāmi' Masjid AndarShahr commonly known as "Masjid Mahābat Khān": The Question of Attribution." *Islamic Studies*. Vol. 33, No. 4 (1994), 497-500, accessed January 20, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20840184?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

[18] Ibrahim Shah, "The Mahabat Khan Mosque: A Comparative Study." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 47, no. 4 (1999): 97-106.

[19] Shah, *Jāmi'Masjid AndarShahr commonly known as" Masjid Mahābat Khān*

[20] Dani, 207

[21] These floral and vegetal decorative sprays are the hallmark of the Shah Jahani era; similar decorative traditions are prevalent in the Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore (built in 1634).

[22] Shah, *The Mahabat Khan Mosque: A Comparative Study.*

[23] Shah, *The Mahabat Khan Mosque:*
And personal communication with Ustad Khursheed Gohar Qalam, who states that the mid 17th century naqqashi style was exemplified by the frescos patterns and colours of the Wazir Khan Mosque of Lahore. While the designs of the Mahabat Khan Mosque are more stylized and less naturalistic, indicating the late 19th century colonial influence. The colours of these frescos are also darker and less vibrant than the 17th century palette.

[24] Shah, *The Mahabat Khan Mosque*

[25] Ibrahim Shah, interview by author, January 4, 2016.
Dr Shah's work on the Mughal era of the city shows the construction of the three mosques to be by umrah of the late Mughal era.

[26] Shah, *The Mahabat Khan Mosque*

[27] Manzoor Ali, "Rewind: Untying the myth of Mahabat, Qasim, Gunj and Dilawar." The Express Tribune > Pakistan > KP & FATA. Photo : Muhammad Iqbal. Published: October 6, 2014. accessed January 18, 2016, http://tribune.com.pk/story/771928/rewind-untying-the-myth-of-mahabat-qasim-gunj-and-dilawar/

[28] S.M. Jaffar, Peshawar: Past and Present, in *Peshawar: City on the Frontier*, ed. Ahmad Salim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 76

[29] Catherine Blanshard Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India,* Part 1, Volume 4. (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1992): 143

The Mughal queens, princesses and noble women also heavily invested in trade in the region, both land and sea. The patronage of serais served philanthropic as well as personal purposes.

[30] Princess Jahan Ara patronised two *serais*, one in Peshawar and the second called Begum ki Serai near Chandni Chowk, Delhi. Jahan Ara Begum's architectural contributions (around 21 buildings including two mosques in Agra and Kashmir) indicate her imperial ambitions within the Timurid-Mughal legacy. These buildings marked her politically significant participations in the Mughal landscape and also responded to the empire-building objectives of imperial ideology, which ensured a historic memory and enduring legacy for the builder.

[31] Jaffar, 77

[32] Imperial serais had monumental entrance gates, two to three stories high, which had rooms available for visiting mughal office bearers and elite.

[33] Campbell, *Architecture and Identity:*5

[34] Abraham Eraly. *The Mughal World: Life in India's last golden age.* (Penguin Books: India, 2007): 19.

[35] Jaffar, 77

[36] Shah Nazar Khan, interview by author, March 10 2014.
D.G. Archeology and Museums, Peshawar.

[37] Jaffar, 78

[38] Mehreen Chida-Rizvi, "Where is the 'greatest city in the East"? The Mughal city of Lahore in European travel accounts (1556-1648), in *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers.'* eds Mohammad Gharipour, Nilay Ozlu (Oxon: Routlege, 2015): 79-100.

'For the Mughals, the buildings they commissioned were meant to stand as perpetual symbols of their rule.'

[39] Eraly,19

[40] Gazetteer, 364

[41] Lisa Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives." *Muqarnas*, Volume XII: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995): 137-147, accessed October 16, 2014, http://archnet.org/publications/3357

[42] Lisa Balabanlilar. "Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent." *Journal of World History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2007): 1-39. accessed a October 15, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/20079408?uid=2&uid=4&sid=21105030272583

'It was his romantic vision of late Timurid courtly life, exemplified by the classical garden and the life played out within it, which Babur and his descendants would attempt to reproduce in his conquered territories.'

[43] These symbolized life, death and rebirth. Eugenia W Herbert (2005) The Taj and the Raj: Garden imperialism in India, Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly, 25:4, 250-272, Accessed on October 16, 2014. DOI: 10.1080/14601176.2005.10435447.

[44] After being defeated by Sher Shah Suri at Delhi, Humayun in July 1540, arrived in Lahore and took up residence in the garden of Khwaja Dost Munshi. He calls this "the most charming spot in Lahore" (AN I, 355-56); Mirza Hindal set up quarters in the garden of Khwaja Ghazi and Mirza `Askari in the house of Amir Wali Beg. According to Gulbadan Begum, Humayun "alighted in Khwaja Ghazi's garden near Bibi HajªTaj" (HN, 144), she also says a daughter was born to Bibi Gunwar in the garden of Dost Munshi (HN, 146). Accessed on October 25th 2014 http://www.mughalgardens.org/PDF/lahore_chronology.pdf

[45] James L. Wescoat Jr., "The Changing Cultural Space of Mughal Gardens." *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture.* eds. Rebecca M. Brown, Deborah S. Hutton (U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): 201-230.

[46] Saif ur Rahman Dar, "Whither the Historical Gardens of Punjab? Garden Tradition of the Punjab". in *The Mughal Gardens: Interpretation, conservation and Implications.*
eds Mahmood Hussain, Abdur Rahman & James L. Wescoat (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1996): 37-54.

[47] Emperor Humayun (ruled 1531-1540 & 1555- 1556) was laid to rest in a *chahar-bagh* tomb in Delhi. Akbar and Jahangir were also buried in their respective garden tombs in Sikandera and Lahore respectively. The iconic Taj Mahal tomb complex (constructed 1632-1653) with its gardens on both sides of the Jumna River was built by Shah Jahan for his wife Mumtaz Mahal.

[48] There including the Shahi gardens (Peshawar) , Wah Mughal Gardens (Hasan Abdal), Hiran Minar (Sheikhupura), Kamran ki Baradari, Shah Dera, Chauburji, Shalimar, Begum Pura, Mughal Pura at Lahore among others.

[49] Gardens of the Mughal Empire; The roads beyond Lahore. accessed October 25, 2014 http://www.mughalgardens.org/html/roads-peshawar&multan.html

[50] Ali Mardan Khan laid gardens in Peshawar, Kashmir and Lahore.

[51] http://wikimapia.org/1038348/Tomb-of-Ali-Mardan-Khan. accessed October 26, 2014
Ali Mardan Khan was appointed governor of Punjab, his domains extended from Delhi to Kabul. Ali Mardan Khan was also an eminent engineer. He is credited with supervising construction of several royal buildings in Kashmir and digging of the Delhi canal, which runs between the Red Fort and the old city. The water supply system of Shalimar Gardens in Kashmir (Gulmarg) was also planned by him. He is best known for the hydraulic system of Lahore's Shalimar Gardens. A canal was brought from Madhopur headworks on the Ravi to the "Shalimar." Water was supplied to the gardens through a three-tier lift irrigation system which was 30 feet higher that the ground level.

[52] "Shahi Bagh, Peshawar," accessed January 20, 2016, http://peshawar.city-history.com/places/shahi-bagh-peshawar/

[53] Dani, 25

[54] Elphinstone, *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and Its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary*, 60

[55] Dani, 35

[56] Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara: Being an Account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartery and Persia.* Vol 1 & 2.(1835): 213.

And also see Mohan Lal:

The other garden of Ali Mardan Khan is described by Mohan Lal: An evening walk led me to the garden of Ali Mardan Khan. . . . In the centre of the garden is a fine building, three storeys high, surrounded by fountains. The rest of the garden is filled with an exuberance of fruit and rose trees (M. Mohana Lala, *Travels in the Punjab*, 47–48).

[57] Dani, 208

[58] Dani, 208-209

[59] Gardens of the Mughal Empire, accessed October 23, 2014, http://www.mughalgardens.org/html/roads-peshawar&multan.html#10,

[60] Dani, 208

[61] Abdur Rahman. "The Gardens of Peshawar." in *The Mughal Gardens: Interpretation, conservation and Implications.* eds Mahmood Hussain, Abdur Rahman & James L. Wescoat (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1996): 89-92.

[62] Jaffar, 83

[63] Jaffar, 83

[64] Jaffar, 84

[65] Yasmin Lari, interview by author, March 12, 2014.
Architect Yasmin Lari, CEO Heritage Foundation worked on the conservation of the Elahi Buksh Seth house in conjunction with the Department of Archeology and Museums, Khyber Pukhtoonkhawa. According to her, Mughal foundations were found during excavation works carried out in the haveli (2010-2012).

[66] Muhammad Saleh Khan, interview by author, November 14, 2009.
D.G. Archeology and Museums, Peshawar.
The main gates had two turrets on each sides and five ramparts from where arrows and guns could be fired. All cities of the Mughal era had gates named in reference to the *subahs* (of the Empire) they faced, like Delhi *darwaza*, Lahori *darwaza*, Kashmiri *darwaza*, and Kabuli *darwaza*.

[67] Syed Amjad Hussain, *Alam mein Intikhab, Peshawar.* (Toledo: Literary circle of Toledo, U.S.A.1999): 33

[68] Gazetteer, 362; the government mint was located in the area of Ganj.

[69] Carla M. Sinopoli, "Monumentality and Mobility in Mughal Capitals". *Asian Perspectives,* Vol. 33, no. 2, (1994), accessed December 13, 2014. http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/17050/AP-v33n2-293-308.pdf

[70] Balabanlilar, iii.
The imperial success of the Mughals lay in their ability to identify and reproduce in the Indian context potent symbols of Islamic and Timurid legitimacy which allowed them to successfully affirm their political legitimacy and develop a meaningful imperial identity on the subcontinent.

Certain of these cultural threads were so successfully transplanted by the Mughals that they became deeply embedded into the fabric of Indian society, not only supporting Mughal political claims but remaining in place long after the Mughals had lost effective power by the mid-18th century.

[71] Campbell, 245

[72] This route is worked out by comparison and analysis of textual records of similar Mughal movement through Lahore via the Shahi Guzargah, which entered Delhi Gate, to the Shahi Hammam, to Wazir Khan Mosque and then onwards to Akbari darwaza and into the Shahi Qilla.

[73] Dani, 117
Nadir Shah was handed the keys of the city by Nasir Khan, the Mughal governor, who was then given the charge of the city and its surrounds by Nadir Shah.

[74] Dani, 118-119
Ahmad Shah (reign 1747–1773), Timur Shah (reign 1773–1793), and Zaman Shah (reign 1793–1799)

[75] Shah Mahmoud Hanifi, "Connecting Histories in Afghanistan; Market Relations and State formation on a colonial frontier." accessed March 12, 2014, http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/chapter4.html#note2.
The Indian provinces including but not limited to the Punjab, Sirhind, Kashmir, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Shikarpur, formed the core of the revenue-base of the early Durrani empire. The Indian provinces contributed approximately 40 lakhs of rupees annually to the Durrani polity during the late eighteenth century, whereas the "western wilayats" of Kabul, Peshawar, Jalalabad, Bangasht, Ghazni, Kalat-i Ghilzai, Charikar, Panjsher, Qandahar, Farah, Herat, Bamian, and the Hazarajat provided only about 17 lakhs of rupees to the early Durrani dynasts.

[76] Shah Mahmoud Hanifi, *Connecting Histories in Afghanistan: Market Relations and State Formation on a Colonial Frontier.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011): 185.
 "Timur Shah transferred the Durrani capital from Qandahar in 1775-76. Kabul and Peshawar then shared time as the dual Durrani capital cities, the former during the summer and the latter during the winter season."

[77] Societies that may not have been ethnically Persian or Iranian, but whose linguistic, material, or artistic cultural activities were influenced by, or based on Persianate culture. Accessed on Oct 24th 2014 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persianate_society

[78] Timur Shah had a quick rise to power by marrying the daughter of the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II. He received the city of Sirhind as a wedding gift and was later made the Governor of Punjab, Kashmir and the Sirhind district in 1757, by his father Ahmad Shah Durrani. He ruled from Lahore under the regency of his Wazir, General Jahan Khan.

[79] Munshi Gopal Das, *Tarikh I Peshawar.* (Lahore: Kohe-Noor Press, 1874): 53.
Compiled and finalized in 1874 by Munshi Gopal Das extra assistant settlement commissioner Punjab on the orders of his Settlement Commissioner (A.G. Hastings) of Punjab.

[80] Dani, 122

[81] Gazetteer, 364

[82] "Asiatic Annual Register, 1806," 55. Accessed October 24 2014, http://archive.org/stream/asiaticannualre03unkngoog#page/n1199/mode/2up

[83] Shuja Shah was the governor of Herat and Peshawar from 1798 to 1801; was ruler of the Durrani Empire from 1803 to 1809. He then ruled from 1839 until his death in 1842.

[84] Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and Its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1819): 52

[85] He used Shah Jahan's baluster columns among other Mughal elements.

[86] Dani, 210

[87] Abdur Rahman, 90; Also see Dani, 211

[88] Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara; being the account of a journey from India* Vol 1-2, 215
Alexander Burnes stayed at a residence at the Wazir Bagh during his visit to Peshawar as a guest of General Avitabile.

[89] Dani, 211

[90] "Grave Yard of Durrani Pashtuns Kings of Indian Sub Continent in Peshawar." February 10, 2015, http://apakhtunkhwa.blogspot.com/2015/02/grave-yard-of-durrani-pashtuns-kings-of.html. Accessed Jan. 20, 2016.

[91] The Durranis also adopted and extended the Persianate culture.

[92] Dani,121

[93] Razia Sultana. "Peshawar: An Integral Part of Competing Empires of Durranis, Sikhs and British." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture,* Vol.XXXII, No.1 (2011) pg 29 - 49, accessed October 4, 2014 http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/2.%20Peshawar%20An%20Integral%20Part,%20Dr.pdf

[94] Dani, 126-127

[95] Abdur Rahman, 91

[96] Burnes, 211

[97] A possible reason for this was possibly the depleted state of the Qilla, due to the Afghan-Sikh wars.

[98] Dani, 125 - 132
Ranjeet Singh's army defeated the Barakzai Afghans and occupied Peshawar in 1818. The Barakzai left the city but returned to offer tributaries in return for control of the city; this was granted by the Sikhs.

[99] "Maharaja Ranjeet Singh: Victories of Peshawar and Kashmir," accessed October 26, 2014 http://sikhguru.in/Books/General/Maharaja%20Ranjit%20Singh.pdf

Yar Muhammad offered an annual tribute of Rs.100,000 to the Lahore Darbar (court) in exchange for the charge of Peshawar.

[100] "Maharaja Ranjit Singh; Engagements with Shah Zaman," accessed August 23, 2014, http://www.sikh-history.com/sikhhist/warriors/ranjit3.html
Yar Mohammad Khan sent Rs. 40,000 to the Darbar, as tribute with a promise of further annual tribute of Rs 20 000.

[101] Dani, 126-127

[102] Renu Bala, "Society and Culture of the Punjab (Late Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Century)", (Ph D Diss, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2011): 14.

[103] "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs," accessed October 27, 2014 http://www.archive.org/stream/cunninghamshisto00cunnuoft/cunninghamshisto00cunnuoft_djvu.txt

Also see J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 100-108.

[104] S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab,* (New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House, 1964): 431.

[105] Dani, 202

[106] Gazetteer, 363

[107] Sultana, 2011

[108] Dani, 133

[109] C. Grey, "Paulo Di Avitabile" in *European Adventures of Northern India. 1785-1849.* (New Delhi: Nirmal Publishers, 1929):117-147

[110] Dani, 204
Also:
"Avitabile with his companion Pari begum." Water colour sketch at British Library. Viewed April 2014. *The sketch is drawn loosely and does not give a clear impression of the two figures. It shows a large man with a female figure seated on his lap.*

[111] Dani, 136
He also hung people from the minarets of the Mahabat Khan mosque and at times from the top of the city walls.

[112] Grey, 117-147

[113] Ibrahim Shah, "Dating the Hindu Temple at Gor Khatri (Peshawar)", *Pakistan Historical Society (2013): 39-45* accessed January 21, 2016, *https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1P3-3027838021/dating-the-hindu-temple-at-gor-khatri-peshawar*

[114] Dani, 204

[115] Grey, 131-137

[116] Antonio Lusardi, "The building of a black legend. Sources on Avitabile's governorship in Peshawar." in *Myth and reality of Paolo Avitabile, the last European Free Lancer in India.*(2015) accessed January 28, 2016, http://lrf.revues.org/1273#tocto1n3, 'Mackenzie description of Avitabile resembles that of an 'Oriental Despot'.'

Also see Dani, 136 and Grey, 117-147.

[117] Gazetteer, 362

[118] Dani, 31, 134

[119] Dani, 134

[120] Dani, 136

[121] Gazetteer, 362

[122] Dani, 31

[123] Gazetteer, 362

[124] Alexander Burnes, *Cabool: Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey To, and Residence in that City, in the Years 1836, 7, and 8.* (London: John Murray, 1842): 124.

[125] Bala, *Society and Culture of the Punjab*, 27

[126] Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 110.

[127] Grewal, 111

[128] Gazetteer, 362
There were 11 serais in the city at the time of the Sikh rule.

[129] A map of early 20th century Peshawar shows serais in the region of the Shahi Bagh.

[130] Campbell, 6

[131] Gazetteer, 364
The name serai Gor Khuttree appears in the British Gazetteer, this was changed to become the tehsil Gor Khuttree under the British.

[132] Bala, 14
The Sikhs rose from amongst the common people; Jat peasantry, with the ties of kinship and their religious faith and doctrines.

[133] Sultana, 2011

[134] Sultana, 2011
Kashmir was handed over to Gulab Singh by the British as a political favour, for a million pounds sterling.

[135] "History; The March of Time," accessed on January 12, 2015,
http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/aboutus/History.php

[136] Gazetteer, 78

[137] Anthony D. King, *Colonial urban development: Culture, social power and environment*, (London: Routledge & Paul, 1976): 76.

Districts represented the lowest level of political, judicial and administrative authority.

[138] Mohammad Anwar Khan, "Memorials of Major General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes by His Wife in 2 Volumes." *Central Asia Journal* No. 64.(2009), accessed October 28, 2014, http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/Issue_64/08_Memorials_of_Major_General_Sir_Herbert.html

[139] M. A. Yapp, "British Perceptions of the Russian Threat to India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 21, (1987): 647-665, accessed January 29, 2016, doi:10.1017/S0026749X00009264
Also see
Jos Gommans, "Mughal India and Central Asia in the Eighteenth Century. An Introduction to a Wider Perspective". *Itinerario*, 15, (1991): 51-70, accessed January 28, 2016, doi:10.1017/S0165115300005775.

British and Russian officials shared similar fears about each other's ambitions in Central Asia, similar patterns of prejudice, arrogance and ignorance, and a similar sense of entitlement as the self-conscious agents of two Great Powers became engaged in the 'Great Game', a physical and political war for dominance of South Asia.

[140] Edward George Hastings, *Report of the Regular Settlement of the Peshawar District of the Punjab. Lahore; Central Jail Press.* (1878), accessed November 12, 2015, https://ia902606.us.archive.org/16/items/reportregularse00hastgoog/reportregularse00hastgoog.pdf

[141] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996): iv.
See the author's explanations regarding the surveys:
This 'survey' covered the systematic and official investigation of the natural and social features of the Indian Empire, going beyond mapping and bounding to describing and classifying the territory's zoology, geology, botany, ethnography, economic products, history and sociology.

[142] Derek Keene, "Cities and Empires." *Journal of Urban History,* Vol. 32 No. 1, (2005): 8-21, accessed January 29, 2016, doi: 10.1177/0096144205279197

Strategies of reinforcement include the appropriation of symbols from former empires or stepping into the political and bureaucratic shoes of existing ones.

[143] Jyoti P. Sharma, "The British Treatment of Historic Gardens in the Indian Subcontinent: The Transformation of Delhi's Nawab Safdar jung's Tomb Complex from a Funerary Garden into a Public Park", *Garden History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2007): 210-228, accessed January 26, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40219928.

[144] Campbell, 311
The British used the Gor Khuttree complex to house a varied collection of activities, all of which drew on the value of the serai as, paradoxically, a defensible location as well as a place of association with and access to local people.

[145] Hastings, 18
Also see
Ali Jan, "Grave danger, Gor Khuttree; marking 2000 years of history." Archeology. The News on Sunday. January 7th 2007. Accessed on October 26, 2014; http://jang.com.pk/thenews/jan2007-weekly/nos-07-01-2007/foo.htm#1
The author mentions that, '*In March 1869 Amir Shere Ali, the King of Afghanistan resided in the house which stood on the south-eastern corner of Gor Khuttree at the invitation of the missionary clergy.*'

[146] Gazetteer, 116

[147] Dani, 200

[148] Dani, 209

[149] Gazetteer, 365
The pavilion in the Ali Mardan Bagh was used as the British residency.

[150] Dani, 32

[151] Dani, 25

[152] Dani, 25

[153] Dani, 32

[154] Anna Johnston, "The British Empire, colonialism, and missionary activity." in *Missionary Writing and Empire,1800–1860.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 13-38, accessed January 28, 2016. http://bilder.buecher.de/zusatz/21/21172/21172400_lese_1.pdf

Christian missionary activity was central to the work of European colonialism, providing British missionaries and their supporters with a sense of justice and moral authority.

[155] G.A. Bremner, "Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c 1840-1870," (London: Yale University Press, 2013): 7.

[156] Ali Jan, "Tomb, Military Headquarters, Hospital & Chapel," accessed January 31, 2016. http://www.geocities.ws/scn_pk/corps_of_guides.html

1853 a meeting was arranged under Commissioner of Peshawar Sir Herbert Edwardes to discuss a Christian Mission to Peshawar. A small group met in the presence of Rev. Worthington Jukes and established the Peshawar Mission.

[157] Bremner, xii

See the author's discussions regarding the active participation of the Church of England, in the colonies who thought that the British mission was not just to develop the world commercially but improvement through the inculcation of key civilizing institutions such as Christianity.

[158] Hastings, 79

[159] *Khan. Memorials of Major General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes*

[160] Tania Sengupta, "Producing the province: colonial governance and spatial cultures in district headquarter towns of Eastern India 1786-c. 1900." (PhD diss., University of Westminster, 2010): 473

[161] "All Saints' Memorial Church, in the City of Peshawar, Afghanistan. T. P. H. (Thomas Patrick Hughes) March 26, 1885. Transcribed by Wayne Kempton, Archivist of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, 2007" accessed January 28, 2016, http://anglicanhistory.org/india/pk/hughes_peshawar1885.html

[162] Bremner, 125-128

See the author's discussions regarding the proper architecture for churches propagated by the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Architectural Society; there was much emphasis on 'Christian and correct' architecture; English Gothic/ English Pointed/Perpendicular and Classical styles were considered appropriate.

[163] Ali Jan, "Mosque-like; The 124 year old All Saints' Church in Peshawar is waiting to be declared a protected national monument," accessed February 10, 2015, http://jang.com.pk/thenews/apr2007-weekly/nos-15-04-2007/foo.htm#1

'the All Saints' Church (built 1883); located inside the Kohati gate of the old walled city of Peshawar is an architecturally unique place of worship that bears a striking resemblance to an Islamic saracenic mosque with minarets and a dome.'

[164] 'All Saints' Memorial Church', accessed January 28 2016, http://anglicanhistory.org/india/pk/hughes_peshawar1885.html

[165] Bremner, 126-127
The church recognized the need for 'inculturation', to create church architecture that was culturally responsive and flexible in order to establish a foothold and make conversions in foreign lands.

[166] Gazetteer, 118

[167] Eric Lewis Beverley, "Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities," *Social History*, 36:4 (2011): 482-497, accessed January 25 2016, doi: 10.1080/03071022.2011.618286

[168] Dani, 36

[169] Beverley, *Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities*

[170] Edward Said argued for the political meanings of cultural productions. See *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979): 2-7 and *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994): xii-xiii and xxi. In *Orientalism*, 204, Said demonstrated that nineteenth-century Orientalist views created a "cultural hegemony" over colonized peoples that naturalized an unequal political relationship between the East (Orient) and the West (Occident) by eliding "the Orient's difference with its weakness."

[171] Alayna Wilburn, "Imperial Knowledge and Cultural Display: Representations of Colonial India in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century London" (Master's Thesis, University of Kentucky, 2008): 9, accessed April 3, 2015, http://uknowledge.uky.edu/gradschool_theses/558

The British held many royal darbars, with the greatest of these spectacles at Delhi, where all the ruling Princes came to offer their respects to the British Monarchy and Viceroys. The reconstructed *durbar* reinforced imperial notions regarding the creation of the new hierarchies and "feudal" systems of India's traditional Princely States; it also exhibited the consent of Indian princes to Raj governance.

[172] Ali Jan, "Pushto under the British empire,"

 Raverty wrote and illustrated an account of the district of Peshawar (1849-50) when he was stationed with his regiment. He was an administrator-turned-writer who entered the services of East India Company. In the administrative capacity he participated in the Punjab Campaign (1849-1850 and took part in the first Frontier Expedition (1856) against tribes of Swat Border. He was also assistant commissioner of Punjab from 1852-1859)'.
Accessed November 2, 2014, http://www.khyber.org/publications/011-015/pashtobritishempire.shtml

[173] "Cunningham Clock Tower," accessed February 2, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cunningham_clock_tower.

The clock tower was designed by James Strachan, the Municipal Engineer of Peshawar; the foundation stone was laid by the George Cunningham, the Governor of the North West Frontier Province, in 1898. It was formally opened to the public in 1900 on commemoration of Diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria.

[174] "Provinces", accessed November 2, 2014, http://rulers.org/indprov.html.

[175] H. Caldwell Lipsett, "Lord Curzon in India: 1898-1903 (1903) (2011)." *Digitized Afghanistan Materials in English from the Arthur Paul Afghanistan Collection.* Paper 260. 49. Accessed January 22, 2016, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1260&context=afghanenglish

[176] Dani, 158

[177] The Indo-Sarcenic style was based on combining stylistic elements from Mughal architecture with Gothic and Neo-Classical styles. Architects incorporated indigenous "Indian" elements in buildings built to advanced engineering standards of the 1800s, which included materials like iron, steel and concrete. Structures built in Indo-Sarcenic style in India were predominantly grand public edifices, such as clock towers, civic and municipal buildings.

[178] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, "Indian architecture and the English vision," *South Asian studies*, Vol.7, (1991), 59-74.

[179] Campbell, 245

[180] Kumari Jayawardena, *The white woman's other burden: Western women and South Asia during British rule*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2014): 89.

[181] Sinopoli, *Monumentality and Mobility in Mughal Capitals*

[182] Campbell, 245

[183] Campbell, 5

[184] Beverley.

Chapter 5

Development of the urban fabric of Peshawar; *bazaar*
and the *mohalla*

5.1 Introduction: form and development of the city

The development and shape of the majority of Indian towns are influenced by a combination of major travel routes, nearby rivers (or canals), commercial centres, the Jamia (congregational) mosque and the citadel (fort and palace).[1] These factors give each city its particular shape; circular, elongated, triangular, linear or irregular. The development of Peshawar as discussed in Chapter 4 was around the principal axis from Serai Jahan Ara (Gor Khuttree) to the Qissa Khawani *bazaar*. The original layout of the Grand Trunk Road from Lahore entered the city from the Lahori *darwaza* on the eastern side, then passing through/around the Serai Jahan Ara (Gor Khuttree) this road continued west till Chowk Bazazan (and the Mahabat Khan Mosque) where it turned southwards to enter the Qissa Khawani *bazaar* and then westwards to reach the Kabuli *darwaza*. Both gates mark the oldest entrances and exits to the city and marked the routes taken by travellers, merchants and their caravans on their way into India and travel towards Afghanistan. The placement of the Mughal Serai, the main congregational mosque and the development of the city *bazaars* linking these and extending to the various quarters, helped shape the city in its triangular form encircled by the fortified walls and accessible through its sixteen gates.[2]

The study of urban fabric of a city helps in the understanding of how the settlement developed in response to the larger influences of religious, political and socio-cultural factors and also with relation to one another. The previous chapter (4) looked at how the city of Peshawar developed according to the ideologies of various empires. That consists of the imperial history of the city; there is a parallel history which is the history of the population of the city. This public realm of the city coexists and interacts with the imperial realm to give the city its form. The public realm is shaped by forces of tradition and culture that help to develop its informal character.

The city of Peshawar is composed of the residential, commercial, religious and civic quarters which were subject to the multiple factors of tradition, religion and socio-cultural factors. The layered fabric of the city can be understood by studying the various political, social, economic and cultural strands and their inter-relationships. These layers of development are discussed in the following sections:

i. Peshawar as an Indo-Islamic city (form generated by religion/world view)

ii. Peshawar as an Indigenous city (form generated by the core and the periphery)

iii. Peshawar as a Commercial city (form generated by trade and commerce)

iv. Peshawar as a Mughal city (form generated by imperial philosophy)

v. Peshawar as a Colonial city (form generated by colonial aspirations)

5.1.1 Peshawar as an Indo-Islamic city

Studies on the planning of Islamic cities started in Europe in the early 20th century; initially an Orientalist vision of the Islamic city emerged, which termed the city's organizing features and characteristics as 'irrational' and without any plan.[3] This perception that the urban form of the non-western city was 'spontaneous or unplanned' can be attributed to the fact that these cities' spatial and structural planning did not yield to rules formulated for the study of European cities. Many authors described the development of the Islamic city as a generalised scheme deriving from the observation of specific urban structures (mosque,

citadel and souk) which then become a general point of reference for cities that were actually widely differentiated in terms of cultural and geographical areas.[4] The physical pattern and organisation of Islamic towns was also described as subscribing to a pattern; including individual gated quarters, the narrow winding streets, and houses which are oriented away from the streets and around inner courtyards.[5] The essence of the urban characteristics attributed to the Islamic city included, the cul-de-sac system, the division into separate and mutually independent neighbourhoods, bent entrances and courtyard houses.[6] The structure of Islamic cities was also largely attributed to religious factors.[7] Teachings of Islam have often been seen to cast influences on the formation of the Islamic settlement and in structuring its public and private hierarchies. The city's architecture was considered to be a powerful signifier of the inner workings of an Islamic culture in which building forms, plans and urban layouts were seen as reflective of the society's religious aspirations.[8] However, Oleg Grabar has pointed out the inconsistencies in using the singular concept of "Islamic" as the historical and cultural traditions of this these various regions are very diverse.[9] In the wide geographic area from North Africa, to the Middle East, to Central, West, South and East Asia, local traditions and cultures vary greatly.

The 1980s saw the development of more inter-disciplinary approaches to the study of Islamic cities. Among these is Andre Raymond's methodology which combines the study of historical cross-sections of the urban development along with morphological urban growth.[10] Attilio Petruccioli has carried out extensive studies on Islamic cities, and concludes that the history of the city is inscribed in its urban fabric and so the various phases of its transformation may be deciphered through a structural reading of the building fabric.[11] Petruccioli's approach regarding the study of an Islamic city advocates the reading of cadastral surveys and comparing this data with historical records.[12] Abu-Lughod emphasises that the formation of the Islamic city is through a morphological process based not only on legal, political and religious systems but also on specific cultural factors.[13] She calls Islamic cities, 'the products of many forces, and the forms that evolve in response to these forces are unique (in every city) to the combination of those forces'.[14] Nasser Rabbat and Gulru Necipoglu's studies are based on the study of historical and archival documents which they use as the principal means of reconstructing the history of architecture in relation to the transformation of its urban context.[15] Applying the methodology of studying the structure of Peshawar through archival material, historical eras, maps and surveys, and urban morphology is important in understanding its development. This approach is interdisciplinary bringing together the studies of social, cultural, political and economic histories for a comprehensive view of the city. It also explains cross-cultural exchanges as well as the power structures of Peshawar.

The principles evolved for the study of Islamic towns are equally applicable to the study of Indian towns; as these cities are also built mainly for pedestrian movement and show a 'gradation from public to private space'.[16] An interesting aspect is that Indian cities exhibited similar planning principles used to construct Muslim, Hindu and Sikh settlements. Abu-Lughot's studies on Muslim and non-Muslim settlements of India confirmed this, as the study found no major typological differences between them; factors of public and private space and physical layouts based on caste and profession were similar.[17] Celik's use of the term, 'non-western' instead of 'Islamic', offers a more realistic paradigm in the context of studying Indian cities, which are historically a mix of Muslim and non-Muslim population.[18] Hindus and Muslims lived in settlements in the same city, and at times in the same *mohallas* because the towns were jointly constructed and developed and the town building and architectural traditions were similar. Thus, for most Indian cities, the Hindu and Muslim traditions of urban planning were synthesized.[19] The qualities of the Indo-Islamic civilization were cosmopolitan including political integration, religious diversity and the patronage of a wide range of cultural pursuits. This pluralistic religious society became a distinct variation of the 'traditional' Islamic settlement pattern.[20] The growth of cities in India thus broke down caste and geographical barriers to greater social interactions.[21]

The Indo-Islamic practices were not religiously but culturally synthesized, and in a manner which produced pluralistic rather than hybrid settlements.[22] Muslim India encompassed Sunni, Shia Muslims, Shariah minded Muslims as well as a large number of Sufi mystics,

combining these with multi-caste Hindus, Sikhs and Jains giving a varied landscape of religious beliefs, which co-existed for over six centuries.[23] This co-existence, at times an overlapping and collective culture has been called the 'Ganga-Jamni' *tehzeeb* (culture), which marked a progressive and mutually tolerant India prior to the Colonial era. The Mughals created a distinct Indo-Muslim society with a shared elite culture in manners, dress, art, architecture and literature, rather than an exclusively Muslim culture.[24] Indo-Islamic architecture assimilated diverse forms from the Turkic and Persian heritage of the Mughals and the elements of Rajput and regional styles. This style no longer had any specific sectarian implications and transcended religious and regional origins.[25]

The settlements of the sub-continent were generally based on social and hierarchical principles and common livelihoods rather than just religious affiliations. Many *mohallas* had Hindu, Sikh and Muslim populations living next door to each other, with a mosque, temple and Gurdawara, shared a well and common communal space like *baithak* (communal area) and a common chief or leader. They shared common cultural traits of private and semi-public spaces within their residential domains, and closed themselves off from outsiders through the use of *mohalla* gates.

The built environment of the city is socially constructed, subject to the social and historical conditions that prevail during its formative and evolutionary phases.[26] Peshawar served as a centre of learning, hub of trade and commerce, and seat of power and administration from the 2nd century B.C. onwards.[27] The city was occupied and organised during the Vedic, Gandhara and the Muslim rule from the 11th century (established by the Ghaznavid), until the mid 19th century Mughal Empire. The urban fabric of the city developed in response to these various eras of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim dominance. The mosques, temples and Gurdawara of Peshawar were embedded in its neighbourhood structure, with only the Mahabat Khan Mosque (main congregational mosque) exerting an influence on the surrounding areas' development.[28] Peshawar's physical development shows a pluralistic society, which regardless of religious affiliations was distributed throughout the city around the dominant public sphere.

5.1.2 Peshawar as an indigenous city

Traditional environments are typically perceived as not-designed and haphazard.[29] Where Indian settlements and cities may appear to be organic, chaotic, unplanned and growing randomly, they actually are designed to respond to the multiple factors of site context, environment, culture and values. There is an order and coherence in the overall design which reflects the social organisation of the society. They have taken their particular form in context to the culture and world view of the societies who built them.[30]   The spatial organisation of traditional cities communicates the religious/cultural outlooks, social values, building traditions and environmental factors.

Peshawar was characterized, as many other Indian towns, by the presence of a central zone containing a main *bazaar* with specialized and general shops, firms of indigenous bankers, and the surrounding residential zones.[31] The study of the urban structure of Peshawar can be carried out by dividing the city into its major parts, which consist of two different zones: a public zone, the *bazaar* which occupies the city centre and a surrounding private zone which is mainly comprised of residential settlements. The urban centres are organised around groupings of markets and *caravanserais*, where the city's trans-national, regional and local trade was transacted. Within these two larger components, there are smaller divisions of religious, educational and recreational buildings. The basic structure of Peshawar shows the strong centrality of the commercial arteries, the peripheral location of the residential zones and a separation that exists between these zones indicated by the organic layout and narrowing of streets. To understand the functioning of the city as a whole, the residential quarters of the city are discussed here, while the details of the *bazaars* will be taken up in section 5.1.3.

Urban form of the *mohalla*

The study of the residential *mohalla*s is important in reconstructing the fabric of the city. The city's many residential quarters had organic layouts, whose form had evolved in response to the various factors of culture, security and environment.[32] The *mohalla* constituted the basic spatial unit and the smallest organisational structure of the city.[33] These residential neighbourhoods were also called *pura* while smaller neighbourhoods called *katras* were planned around a single courtyard. The *katra*, a smaller unit of spatial organization, was a walled enclosure with a few houses arranged around a central courtyard; this small enclosure was part of a larger *mohalla*, and communicated with the rest of the larger settlement via a gateway.

In contrast to modern day grid-iron planning of cities, the organic pattern of indigenous *mohallas* provided protective spaces; offering privacy for occupants and relief from the harsh climatic conditions. The *mohallas* of Peshawar were generally named in relation to the various occupations or castes of its inhabitants, e.g. Mohalla Qazi-Khela (residences of the judges), Mohalla Telli (oil sellers) etc (see fig. 5.2). The locations of the *mohallas* reflect their status and an association of their communities with the power centres of the city. The hierarchy of Indian cities placed the elite residential quarters near the citadel and main Jami Mosque, with the ordinary craftsmen and artisans on the outskirts near the city wall.[34] The number of elite *mohallas* of Peshawar cannot be established beyond the three areas of Jahangirpura, Mahabat Khan Mosque and Serai Jahan Ara, as the continually changing political scenario of the 18th and 19th centuries, caused the *umrah* to be in a continuous state of flux. The *umrah mohallas* next to the Serai Jahan Ara and the Mahabat Khan Mosque had been initially occupied by Mughal and Durrani elites but most of the original residents had moved away as their *havelis* were destroyed in the Sikh attack on Peshawar (1839).[35] Those that survived near Mahabat Khan Mosque were destroyed in a fire in 1898.[36] In the absence of patrons, the remaining *umrah haveli* precincts gave way to the *havelis* of wealthy Hindu and Jain traders and bankers.[37] The residences of the merchants tended to be in proximity to the *bazaars* and commercial hubs of the city, e.g. Mohalla Dhallan (occupied by the Sethis) next to the Bazaar-e-Kalan. The caste and craft *mohallas* were situated around these core areas of spatial organisation. The *mohallas* housing the service providers (water bearers, sweepers etc.) belonging to the lower strata

of society tended to be sited along the city wall, away from the centre of the city and in proximity to the city gates, e.g. Mohalla Rasi-Watan (rope weavers) near Kohati gate. Similarly, the Dabgari gate at the West end of the city got its name from the various workshops of the *dabba-wallas* (box makers) next to it.

The *mohalla* was a self-contained, semi-public spatial entity whose physical edges were defined by the city's streets and lanes. The form of the *mohallas* encompassed considerations of family, religion and social values and evolved spatial hierarchies to progress from public spaces to private residences. It generally evolved spontaneously with time, as its urban form was modified in accordance with its inhabitants' needs. The *mohalla* community could be composed of homogeneous population who shared the same religions, caste or professional group but generally it was formed by heterogeneous groups who varied in religion, castes and professions. Nilofer argues that a neighbourhood is primarily a social phenomenon arising from cohabitation in a physical area.[38] This causes us to reassess the formation of communities based solely on religious grounds.

Fig.5.1 Winding *galli* of Mohalla Sethian.

Legend:
- **Main Nodes of City** (red)
- **Bazaars** (orange)
- **Main routes** (yellow)
- **Gallis separating mohallas** (green)
- **Residential Mohallas** (cyan)
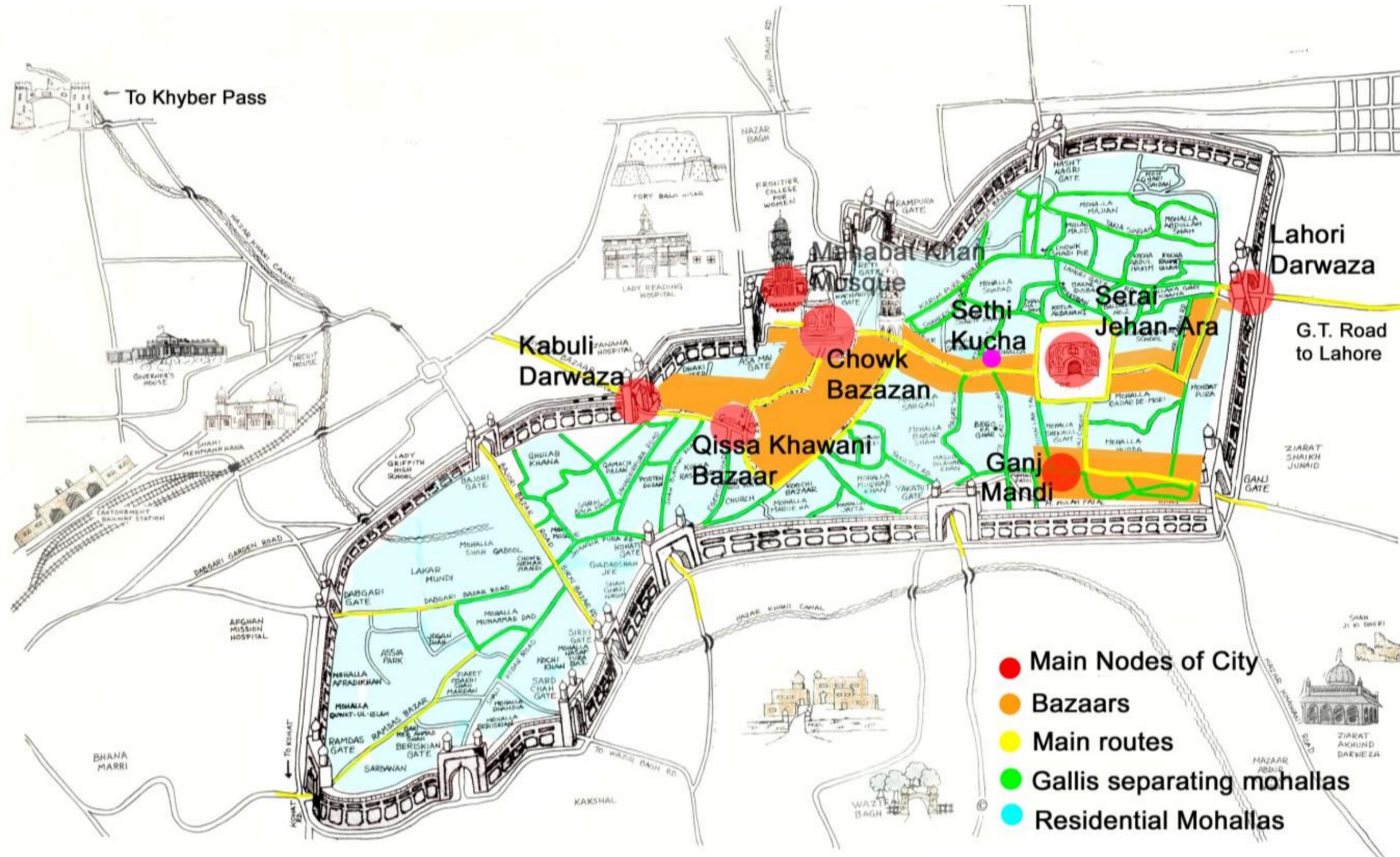
The Walled City of
PESHAWAR, NWFP, Pakistan

This map was commissioned by Dr. Sayed Amjad Hussain
and prepared with the help of Mr. Richard Meinke
1985 Toledo, Ohio, USA

Fig.5.2 Map of the walled city of Peshawar showing commercial and residential layouts.

The *mohalla's* configuration through the streets and squares led from the semiprivate space between houses to the public *bazaar*. The distinction between the public realm and the private domain was maintained through the organic pattern of the streets and the placement of staggered doorways across the streets (Fig. 5.4). The inward-looking built form of the *mohalla* supported both public and private realm activities, and reflected the social construct of the society. The spatial organisation from the private to the public realm consisted of the *chowks* between a cluster of houses, which formed a smaller and more intimate area allowing regular social interaction between neighbours. The *gallis* (streets) connected to these were acted as social spaces where interactions at the neighbourhood scale occurred from the day into the evenings (see Fig 5.3).[39] These veins of interaction flowed into bigger spaces of social gatherings such as market places or public *chowks* that provided a larger collective space for weddings, holiday celebration and political meetings.[40] The *mohalla's* main *galli/*street acted like a spine organising the built fabric around it and from which there was a web of linkages comprising multiple other kinds of street including through streets and cul-de-sacs and *chowks/*courts that ensured internal connectivity between the multiple parts of the *mohalla*. This spine (main *galli*) of the *mohalla* also formed its main connection with the city (fig 5.3). The transition was usually marked by a gateway that spatially differentiated the public space of the city outside from the semi-public one within the *mohalla* fold. These gates served to separate communities from one another and from the public spaces of the city.[41] Many residential areas became closed quarters, as the *gallis* (Mohalla Dhallan, Kucha Risaldar, Kucha Abdul Hakim, Kucha Rahmat Ullah etc.) connecting them to one another and to the main roads, had gates which could be locked at night.

The *mohallas,* mostly residential in composition, also included other urban institutions such as mosques, *dargahs*, temples, *madrassa* and *serais*. They formed self sufficient settlements with shops, wells, communal areas and places of worship. The smallest unit of the *mohalla* is the *haveli*, whose high walls lined and gave form to the winding streets. The traditional built form includes the *haveli* and the *mohalla,* whose co-existence and co-influence directs the overall form and shape of the settlement.[42] The structural pattern of the *mohallas* exerts strong influences on the *havelis* and defines their spatial organization.

Fig.5.3 Urban Fabric of Peshawar.

The relationship between the individual *havelis* also forms a part of this organisation. As such the *havelis* not only fulfil the spatial needs of the occupants but become an integral part of the whole *mohalla* layout. This spatial layout plays an active part in determining the street layouts and in giving form to the common spaces of the city. The *havelis* of Peshawar city are three to four stories high, built in timber, brick and adobe.[43] They are tightly packed together in irregular blocks to avoid heat gain during summer and to combat the loss of heat in winter.[44] The *havelis* have no external windows at the ground floor, so securing complete isolation from the public space and view. Internally windows are placed around a central courtyard for light and air and the public, semi-public living and utilitarian spaces are planned around the courtyard. The ground floor houses the *mardana* and *baithaks* which reflects the public/social needs of the family. The residential quarters are located on the first and subsequent floors, indicating the family's need for privacy. The

external and internal facades of the houses are given two distinctly differentiated façade treatments. The internal facades all opened into the courtyard and could be opened as arcades, removing the differentiation between the inside and the outside. While the external facade has controlled openings, most of which projected onto the street through *jharokas* (balconies) and *bukharchas* (bay windows).[45] These openings are further controlled through the use of wooden slotted windows. These openings allow views of the street while offering complete privacy to the residents of the *havelis*.

The large merchant *havelis* occupying street fronts on the main streets of the city pushed the relatively poorer occupants to congregate at the crowded inner areas and rear ends of the *mohallas*.[46] These *havelis* on the main streets of the city have shops at the ground floor while the upper floors are occupied by the family (Fig 5.4). Both parts were served by segregated entrances and staircases which kept the public/commercial zone separate from the private/residential one.

Fig 5.4 View of a *haveli* on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road.

5.1.3 Peshawar as a commercial city

Peshawar was predominantly a city of trade, and its growth was largely due to the economic activities which were carried out under particular social and ritualistic contexts. Traders and merchants from India, Afghanistan and Central Asia visited the city to conduct their businesses and to send their goods with caravans to Kabul and to the larger markets of Bukhara. Similarly merchants and caravans arrived from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan to sell and trade in the city of Peshawar. The city hence grew around the cycle of trade caravans coming into and leaving the city. The meeting of these multiple cultures in the city's *bazaars* gave it a cosmopolitan look; prompting Lowell to describe it as a 'thoroughly picturesque Central Asian city'.[47] The city grew and expanded to accommodate the various main *bazaars* and speciality markets, the *caravanserais* for caravans and traders, the *mohallas* (residential quarters) housing traders, craftsmen, merchants and city officials, mosques, *hammams*, *khewa-khanas*, trade offices and other structures that would support the main activity of commerce in the city.

I. Bazaars of the city

Peshawar was the great market for Central Asia, Afghanistan, the districts of the region, Punjab and Delhi.[48] The city's location at a geographically convenient location between the various manufacturing and production centres of India, West, Central and East Asia, helped develop large markets where multiple goods were imported, stored, sold and re-exported. The large scale trade through Peshawar recorded from the peak of the Silk route trade continued into the British period and the vital element of this cross-continent trade kept the city vibrant and growing throughout its history.[49] This was recorded during the British era, by Mr. Lockwood Kipling (Principal, Mayo School of Arts, Lahore) who visited the city to survey its industries:

> 'Peshawar is more a place of trade than of manufacture. From Central Asia and Kabul, raw silk, silk fabric, velvets, woollen carpets, leather, furs, etc. These are received and mostly passed to southward.' [50]

85

It was also the chief trading and market centre for piece-goods, fancy wares, crockery and cutlery imported from Europe, tea from China, skins and furs from Bukhara.[51] There was extensive timber trade through the city which contributed to the remarkable woodcarving *pinjra-kari* speciality of the city, used extensively in domestic architecture and to decorate boats.[52] The city specialized in woodcarving (pinjra-kari), leather work, copper and silver ware, processing and dyeing of silk and the preparation of snuff.[53]

To cater to the large domestic and international trade activities, there were ten market places in the city.[54] The largest were the Ganj *mandi,* Pipal *mandi* and Namak *mandi* and the Serai Jahan Ara.[55] Elphistone described Peshawar's cosmopolitan *bazaars* streets as 'crowded with men of all nations and languages in every variety of dress and appearance'.[56] The city centres housed the trade and commercial houses of native bankers, who had extensive dealings with other trade houses of India, Afghanistan and Central Asia.[57] They supported the financial aspect of the large scale trade and movement through the city.

The largest and most historically important *bazaar* was the Qissa Khawani Bazaar (Storytellers' Market) which started from the Kabuli gate (Fig 5.6) to the Bazaar Misgarah (Copperware) and ran to the centre of the city to Chowk Bazazan (later Hastings Memorial square/ Chowk Yadgar). It was a long street of shops and *khewa-khanas*, with rooms for travellers' accommodation on the first floors.[58] The street was about 50 feet wide and paved with large stones to cater for the caravan traffic that passed regularly through it.[59] The Bazaar took its name from the many *'Qissa Khawans'* (story tellers) who entertained visitors with their great tales in the *khewa-khanas* (tea houses) and *serais* of the area. Qissa Khawani was the meeting place for Central Asian merchants dealing in dried fruits, woollen products, rugs, carpets, *pustin*s (sheepskin coats), *karakul* (lambskin) caps and Indian merchants selling tea, cotton cloth, indigo and spices.[60] It was recognised as the quintessential Asian *bazaar* where cultures met and commodities were exchanged.
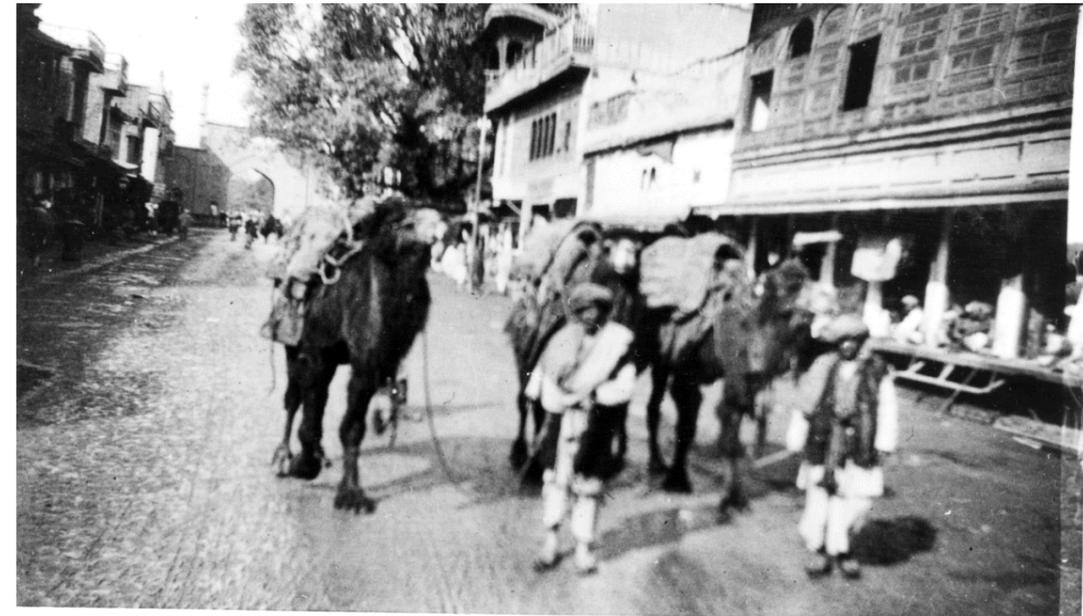
Fig. 5.5 A view of Qissa Khawani *bazaar.*1903.

The importance of the Qissa Khawani Bazaar was immense in both the indigenous and colonial minds and has been described as the 'Piccadilly of Central Asia'.[61] The romance of the Bazaar was also immortalized by Kipling and various European narrators as the 'Street of the Story-Tellers'.[62] But the romanticized image of this Bazaar as a venue for the telling of fabulous tales overtook its more practical commercial aspects. This also led to Qissa Khawani Bazaar becoming a venue to hold colonial celebrations or as a place to carry out processions and later in the 20th century to be used for protest against the colonial rule.[63]

Chowk Bazazan was the central junction of the walled city and the major roads of Bazaar-e-Kalan, Qissa Khawani and the Ander Shehr converged here making it a hub of economic, social, and cultural activities (fig. 5.6). The Chowk Bazazan had many shops which housed luxury goods like silk from Bukhara and China, crockery from Russia and had money changers who catered to the multiple merchants and their monetary exchanges.[64]

It housed a variety of commercial activities among the various smaller lanes and square located around it; the Sarafa *bazaar* (jewellers' market) Katra Abresham (silk merchants square), shops of fabric merchants, and the spice *bazaar* of Pipal Mandi. These inter-

connected strings of commercial streets and markets displayed and sold both speciality and general wares for local and regional customers.

Fig.5.6 View of Chowk Bazazan with Mahabat Khan Mosque in the background.

The primary streets of the city were the main *bazaar* (Bazaar-e-Kalan and Qissa Khawani Bazaar) roads; these were connected to the secondary streets which housed the smaller bazaars. The tertiary streets usually led towards the residential *mohallas* and may contain one or two local shops selling items of daily consumption. The *bazaar* was not a mono-cultural place, as visitors, travellers and traders from India, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia visited *khewa-khanas*, *serais*, *hammams*, mosques and temples, all of which served as places of social interaction.

II. Caravanserais

The Serai Jahan Ara later named as Serai Gor Khuttree and Tehsil Gor Khuttree by the British occupied a central position in the walled city. Colonel McGregor reported that Gor Khuttree was the 'principle *serai* of the city as well as its principal market place'.[65] The Durrani and Sikh era saw the expansion of multiple *serais* inside the city; near and around the *chowk* Bazazan, the largest open square in the densely build city. Along with these, the *sarai* Mahabbat, *sarai* Hirav Chonkidar, and *sarai* Suleiman at the junction of the *serai* Jahan Ara and Lahori *darwaza* provided ample residential quarters for foreign merchants and a place to conduct trade.[66] Most of the late 19th and early 20th century *serais* were located near the Kabuli and Dabgari gate on the western and south western corners of the city.[67] The *bazaars*, *serais*, *khewa-khanas* not only facilitated the exchange of goods but also helped in cultural interactions. All of these in relation to each other gave structure and character to the city's public areas.

Fig 5.7 Halt of a caravan, Peshawur," an albumen photo by Bourne and Shepherd, c.1880's.

5.1.4 Peshawar as a Mughal city

Indian cities under the Mughal (16th-18th century) centralised control witnessed economic prosperity and dynamic building activity that shaped the urban landscape.[68] The city of Peshawar can be studied in the context of a Mughal era town and in comparison with other larger Mughal cities of Lahore and Delhi. These cities show some important common features which include a fort, a Jamia mosque and a *Shahi guzargah* (royal route) leading into the city. The forts at Delhi, Lahore and in Peshawar are located at the end of the city, with their back to a river/canal and their face towards the city. The next factor is the Jamia mosque, which is placed at a distance outside the fort but inside the city. The third common factor is a royal route which leads into the city and connects the heart of the city with the Jamia mosque and the fort. This arrangement of the spatial layout of these cities reveals a Mughal imperial philosophy which ties the city, the main congregational mosque and the fortress as nodal points along the route the Emperor would take entering and exiting the city.[69] In Peshawar, a similar *'Shahi Guzargah'* tied together the important architectural elements of the city to the imperial procession to forge a single entity (see detailed discussion in Chapter 4).[70]

These rituals and imperial ceremonies were significant for both the Emperor and the participants as these served as essential arenas of politics in which authority was generated and confirmed.[71] Literary sources also confirm the presence of a wide scale and robust trade during the era with West and Central Asia, through Peshawar.[72] This indicates that the markets and trade centres of the city were well developed and extensive along with its elite and ritualistic areas. Mughal caravanserais like Serai Jahan Ara reflected the economic prosperity of the Empire and helped to sustain the city of Peshawar.[73] The Serai built by Imperial patronage addressed the needs of a large in-coming/out-going traffic of trade caravans and represented the economic strength and stability of the city.

5.1.5 Peshawar as a Colonial city

Social control within colonial cities was carried out through symbolic and physical organization of space.[74] The ordering of Peshawar's urban fabric was done through spatial interventions and through the reorganization of the city's landscape. These initial forays were followed up by the addition of colonial buildings to reinforce the colonial messages of benevolence and hegemony.[75] These intrusions formed the initial phase of erasing previous memories associated with the old city, as well as initiating the acceptance and appreciation of the colonial system.

I. Civic institutions, education, health care and leisure:

Colonial perceptions marked the traditional city spaces like *mohallas* and *bazaars* (which characterized the lifestyle of the Indians) as unhygienic and disorganised.[76] To control the 'unplanned chaos' of Indian cities, civic institutions like the Municipality, hospitals, missions, police stations, and the administrative structures were established. The principal institutions established at Peshawar city were the Commissioner's office, the Municipal office, the Egerton hospital, the Veterinary Hospital, the Duchess of Connaught female hospital, the All Saints' Church, the Mission school and Church, the Government Aided School and the Edwards Collegiate (Mission) school among others.[77] These institutions helped to organise the city inhabitants' health, education, religious practices, law & order and lifestyles.

These institutions with their built-form types were considered specimens of (British) progress in improving the indigenous population's lives. These institutions were also intended to shape the Indians' identity (and morals) within the colonial setup.[78] As points of contact between the British and Indians, they were expected to influence the latter, to adopt European ways. Missionary groups set up mission houses in the city by acquiring property in the indigenous quarters to remain in close contact with their wards.[79] This saw the acquisition of the tomb of Sayyed and its conversion into a mission church; this reuse took

place without altering the structure and was reflective of many initially acquired properties which were not extensively remodelled. The missions opened several schools inside Kohati gate and at Pipal-mandi which catered to the needs of a wide cross section of society ranging from indigenous Christians to potential converts like the untouchables (lowest Indian caste). The mission schools enthusiastically engaged in their role as reformers of the indigenous society by starting the Edwardes Church Mission High School in 1855 at the residence of Yar Mohammad Khan inside the Kohati *darwaza*.[80] Municipal and Anglo-vernacular high schools and two un-aided High schools were also set up by the late 19th century.[81] Focus on female education led to the opening of the Lady Griffith School and Lady Graft's Girls' School in the city and the Presentation Convent in the cantonment.[82] This initial phase witnessed a spurt of educational activity as the government, missionary societies and private individuals came forward to further the cause of native education. Opening of schools and colleges where instructions were imparted in English to both sexes of indigenous communities became a matter of government policy.[83] The Martin Lecture Hall and library were set up near Pipal Mandi and maintained by the Peshawar Mission; their basic task was the propagation of Christianity through talks and lectures.[84] Thus slowly large sections of the society were being inducted into Christianity through education.

Hospitals were built by the government, the missions and through private enterprise; these included the Station Hospital, civil hospital and four dispensaries.[85] The missions were actively engaged in providing healthcare to the indigenous population and set up the Afghan Mission Hospital outside the Dabgari *darwaza*. Women's healthcare was catered to by the Duchess of Connaught *zenana* (female) hospital, set up on the Eastern side of the Serai Jahan Ara in the 1870s. The Lady Reading hospital was built in 1926 outside the Asa Mai Gate and became the largest hospital providing health care to inhabitants of the walled city.[86] The provision of western hospitals helped to improve healthcare for the Indian citizens and were a form of coercive persuasion for them to adopt western medical practices such as inoculation. The missionary-supported schools and hospitals were an important intervention to influence local people towards either conversion to Christianity or at least develop a respect for European values.
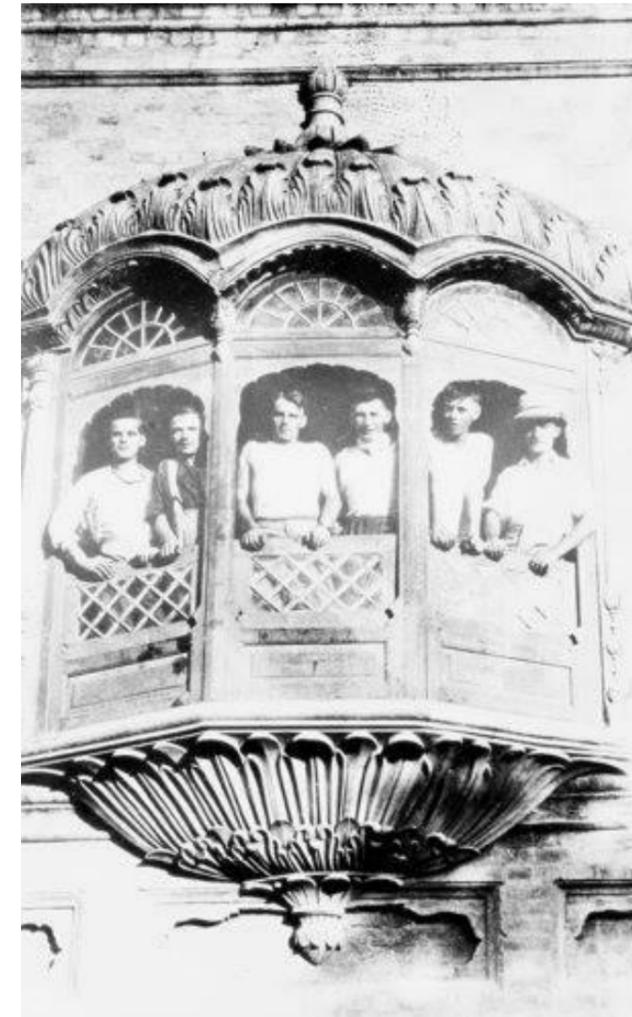
Fig. 5.8 Jharoka of Kabuli Kotwali.

The policing of the city was important in the aftermath of the 1857 uprising in North India, so with a view to control the city, the main *kotwali* (police station) of the city was constructed at the Kabuli gate; called the Kabuli *kotwali*.[87] The building was constructed in the indo-Saracenic style with *minars* and a prominent *jharoka* (see fig 5.8). There was also another *kotwali* at the main Namak-mandi *chowk*.

One of the prominent additions in the city was the Cunningham Clock Tower, which melded European science and technology with Indian art. The clock tower symbolized the new era (efficiency, technology, control) of the British Raj, through the association of the concepts of time and efficiency.[88] Many scholars have considered the erection of the clock

tower to symbolise imperial authority which wanted to encouragement and instill a sense of punctuality in the Indians.[89] The clock tower, built from Municipal funds was also envisaged as one of the 'improvements' in the city.[90] As such it was embedded in the urban fabric of Peshawar as an important British intervention that helped to shape colonial urbanism.

Fig. 5.9 Cunningham Clock Tower, embedded in the urban fabric.

Public parks were developed in the subcontinent's municipalized cities; these were influenced by the 19th century Victorian public park movement which viewed parks as a leisure space catering to both relaxation and self improvement.[91] Once acquired by the British government following the Mutiny, the private gardens became public property and

potential candidates for receiving improvements inspired by the prevailing English landscape norms.[92] The criteria for remodelling an historic garden into a public park were governed not only by physical considerations, such as a garden's convenience of access for European residents and the amenability of its layout to re-adaptation, but also the more abstract political and cultural symbolism embodied in the site.[93] The Mughal (and Mughal inspired) gardens had provided for the private pursuit of recreational activities and had a certain ambience for pleasure and recreation, enhanced by the garden setting, and design elements like pavilions and fountains.[94] These walled/introverted gardens were private spaces that shielded occupants and their activities from the public gaze and focussed on its internalised aesthetic and climatically modified world. The Mughals considered the garden and its structures as a single and connected entity, while the British saw the Mughal garden and its structures as separate entities, to be used separately.

The remodelling of a Mughal garden to create a public park entailed large-scale alteration of the site through such interventions as addition and removal of structures, replanting, and altering of the terrain.[95] Some of the historic structures were conserved, but the garden was not appreciated as a historic site and therefore there was no thought given towards its conservation.[96] Garden structures were reused: the pavilion of Ali Mardan Bagh was converted into a residence for Col. Mackeson and the large tomb of Nawab Sayyed was reused as the Mission hospital. The tombs within the gardens were kept as garden ornaments to be admired for their visual worth, and to give the site a sense of history.[97] In many instances the original entrances and sequences were changed to conform to 19th century Victorian ideals. These included making wide tree lined promenades for walking, roads for driving carriages through the gardens and provision for a military band, library, menagerie and games.[98] The gardens previously laid out by the Mughal royalty and *umrah*, including pleasure gardens (Shahi/Shalimar Bagh, Wazir Bagh, Ali Mardan Bagh) and funerary gardens (Sayyed ka Bagh) in the suburbs of the walled city, were remodelled. The Ali Mardan Bagh was broken into smaller parts which included the Mackeson gardens (19th century), and the crafting of the Cunningham Park (20th century) from the much larger Shahi bagh. These were remodelled on the lines of British Victorian public parks. offering a

novel notion of leisure that contrasted with the recreational pursuits of the Mughal royalty and nobility.[99] These sites were transformed not just physically but culturally from an introverted private garden to an open public park.

The 'picturesque' was an important aesthetic aspect guiding British interventions in Mughal gardens.[100] This meant that ruins of Mughal pavilions were kept as romantic depictions (picturesque) of a bygone era. These reconstructed parks also provided a narrative of the British as responsible custodians of a great (Mughal) tradition. There were also gardens that were laid out by the British and one of the largest and well known in the walled city was the Golden Jubilee Park laid out by the Municipality, at the Namak-mandi *chowk*.[101] This public park acted as the city's 'lungs', allowing urban aeration and disease control.[102] Colonial parks apart from their health benefits, served an important purpose of being markers of colonial authority and benevolence.

II. The Municipality

The Municipality was an important tool of colonial urbanism in all cities of the sub-continent. Once the British and indigenous areas were clearly established, the colonial authorities turned their attention towards addressing civic issues. The walled city of Peshawar was seen as unhygienic, crowded, lacking clean air, water and sanitation. This discourse about the lack of planning in the indigenous parts of Indian cities justified the imposition of Colonial patronised architecture and planning principles.[103] The introduction of civic governance was done through the institution of the municipality established in 1867.[104] This was upgraded to a first class municipality in 1880s.[105] The Municipal corporation's office constructed at the north side of the Chowk Bazazan initiated several improvement schemes to improve both the physical and moral health of the city residents. Its authority expanded by 1871 to include civic improvements, constituting routine matters related to public health: water supply, sanitation, lighting, communication and security, and matters related to moral and intellectual health.[106] In 1884, the Municipality was empowered to frame its own bylaws

related to the built environment and it came up with regulations pertaining to the erection of buildings, shifting mulch cattle to free plots outside the city and removing slaughter houses and burial and cremation grounds.[107] The Municipality, largely comprised of British representatives with some Indian loyalists, was given the mandate to tackle the city's civic affairs but the implementation was a half-hearted affair as there was a bias towards improving the non-British areas.[108] This was also reflected in Peshawar by the provision of many modern amenities to the cantonment at a much earlier stage than the old city.

Some of the immediate interventions of the Municipality concerned the improvement of the city roads, particularly those frequented by Europeans such as the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and the Qissa Khawani Bazaar road, which were paved, swept and watered regularly.[109] The collection of refuse done manually by sweepers was organised to be deposited at receptacles located at various points in the city, from where it was taken by bullock carts to the city periphery and left to be trenched and subsequently sold to farms.[110] The walled city had numerous wells which provided water to the city residents via men employed as *mashkis* (water-bearers) who carried water in leather sacks and supplied it from door to door every day. The Municipality changed this practice by bringing piped water into the city from the Bara canal from 1880 to 1894 and installed taps in all *bazaars* and *mohallas*.[111] The regulations of the Municipality centred on the provision of wide roads, developing public parks to act as lungs in the built fabric, and regulating built form to improve the visual order and health of the *mohallas*.[112] Substantial funds were spent on laying out new roads outside the walled city connecting it to the cantonment as well as changing the layout of the Grand Trunk road, these were intended to reduce congestion and improve the movement of goods into and out of the city.[113] These improvements were intended to provide the physical environment for nurturing the ideal citizens of British India, who were expected to be loyal to and appreciative of the Raj.[114]

In 1888, the Municipal building and Town Hall was constructed on a site lying on the north of Hastings' Memorial chowk, near the courthouse and the Kutchehry gate (fig 5.10).[115] This building was constructed in the Indo-Saracenic style, and gave a new civic sense to

the city. The building contained a town hall for 200 persons, which was used for holding meetings and conferences, plays and musical programmes.[116]

Fig. 5.10 Municipal Corporation and Town Hall building.

The building served as a centre of civic activities of the walled city, in contrast to the earlier Mughal patronised buildings. The Kutchehry complex was located on the west side of the fort and the gate of the city opposite this named the Kutchehry gate.[117] It held the colonial administrative infrastructure including the Munsif's (lower) courts, the Deputy Collector's (D.C.) courts, record rooms; treasury and various other secondary establishments for colonial provincial administration (see fig. 5.11). The various Kutchehry offices and courts

catered to the needs of the indigenous population and were located close to the walled city. Governance was one of the dominant instruments to establish control over the city's population.

Fig. 5.11 Chief Court, Peshawar, 1910.

During the early 20th century, the main streets of Peshawar were lit with gas lamps called the "Ala Din" lamps; this was a departure from the previous kerosene oil lamps, which had kept the streets brightly lit.[118] But the inner streets of *mohallas* and *havelis* continued to use oil lamps and candles for light, until the 1930s, when Electric power was distributed to Peshawar city.[119] Public buildings and houses in Civil Lines and those of the indigenous elite in the city were also provided with electricity connections. But the *mohallas* of the city, the minor roads and *bazaars* continued to be lit using kerosene oil lamps until the 1940s.[120]

The changes in the built environment made to the walled city were carried out with the intention of increasing political authority, legitimizing the British presence as an imperial power, and increasing surveillance over the indigenous population.[121] British 'improvements' in cities were politically motivated and made in the name of 'progress'.[122] However these interventions became a means to exert control and dominance over the

people, through redesigning the physical landscape; by the addition of new urban planning, infrastructure, provisions for public health, education, sanitation, policing and governance (fig 5.12). The British imposed their urban reconfigurations following three imperatives: safety, sanitation and loyalty.[123]

Fig. 5.12 Peshawar *bazaar* under British organisation, 1920.

The local municipality also devoted time and money in planning important events to build the Raj narrative.[124] In 1922, the municipality arranged the *durbar* of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) at the Hastings' Memorial Chowk, outside the Municipal building.[125] The imperial visit was part of a larger tour by the Prince Regent, which was meant to engage with his Indian subjects.[126] An important aspect of these visits were the sites of the city where they were undertaken; these included the Tehsil Gor Khuttree, Hastings' Memorial *chowk*, the Town Hall, Qissa Khawani Bazaar and Edwardes' Gate (see fig 5.13). Each of these sites provided the backdrop to imperial visits, and helped to create and strengthen the British narrative of a benevolent Raj.
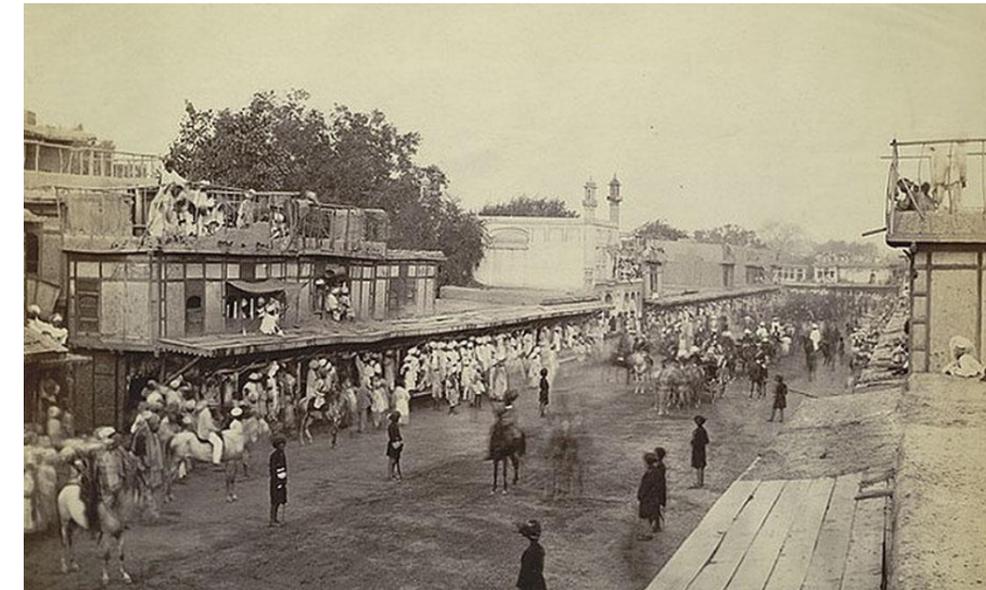
Fig. 5.13 View of an official visit in Qissa Khawani Bazaar. c1865.

The dominance-dependence relationship between the Indian and the colonist at the city level gave shape to separate indigenous and colonial parts of the city.[127] Apart from institutional and physical restructuring of the old city, a cantonment was built on the western suburbs of the city to house the European community and to create a European enclave. The juxtaposition of the Indian "traditional" town with the British "modern" town demonstrated the necessary and hierarchical political relationship between Britain and India. It also enforced the divide between these 'black' and 'white' towns, as fundamentally colonial urbanism was about spatial segregation of European and indigenous populations.

III. The Cantonment

The British laid out the vast cantonment two miles westwards of the city in 1848-49.[128] Raj officials designed the orderly cantonment to instill moral and rational qualities through ordered structures and clear lines of sight, in contrast to the old city's chaotic and degenerate urban spaces[129] The location of the Peshawar cantonment saw a complete physical segregation from the old city to insulate the troops physically and 'morally' from the

Indians. Guha calls this isolation a structural necessity, as the Raj signified dominance without consent.[130] The cantonment, as a military enclave, was planned on a grid iron with all the facilities that a European population might need. The cantonment occupied a large tract of land and the choice of the site was an outcome of strategic considerations as the location allowed effective control of the city and the thwarting of any attack made from the western side of the Khyber Pass. Between the cantonment and the city were the gardens of Mughal royalty and nobility (Shahi Bagh on the North and Ali Mardan Khan's Bagh on the West) followed by open tract; both were partially retained as buffers.
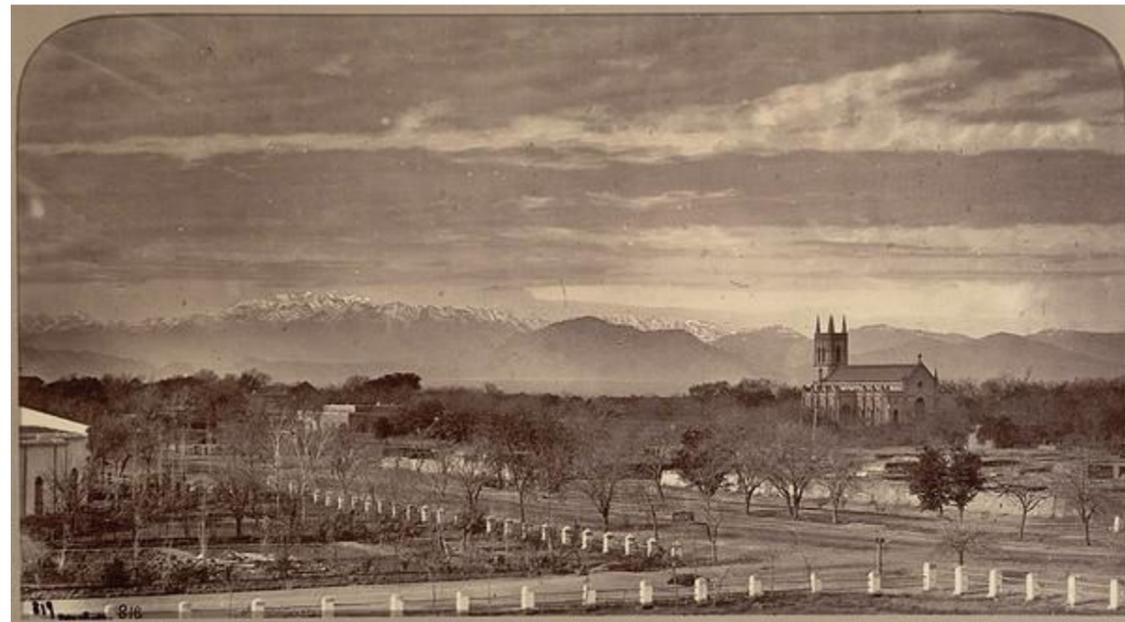
Fig. 5.14 View of St John's Church, Peshawar Cantonment,1878.

Important buildings of the cantonment included the Government House, the Deputy Commissioner's office, the General Post Office, Masonic lodge and Law courts which were classically designed buildings laid out in vast gardens on the major roads. The St. Michael's Catholic Church built in 1850, located on the Mall Road was designed in the Indo-Saracenic style.[131] The St. John's Church constructed on the St. John's road on the other hand, built in 1860 was in the Neo Gothic style; its tall spire marked the landscape of the developing cantonment (see fig 5.14).[132] The main road cutting the cantonment was the tree lined Mall road, with such major buildings as the Edwardes College, Imperial Bank, Station Hospital, the District Headquarters, Mackeson Gardens, British Family & Military

Hospitals, St. Michael's church and the Peshawar Club. The officers' residences took the form of large bungalows with verandahs set in spacious and colourful gardens along the broad Mall Road and Fort Road. The cantonment contained multiple barracks for single and married soldiers, ordnance depots, drill grounds and rifle range, and two cemeteries (see fig 5.15).
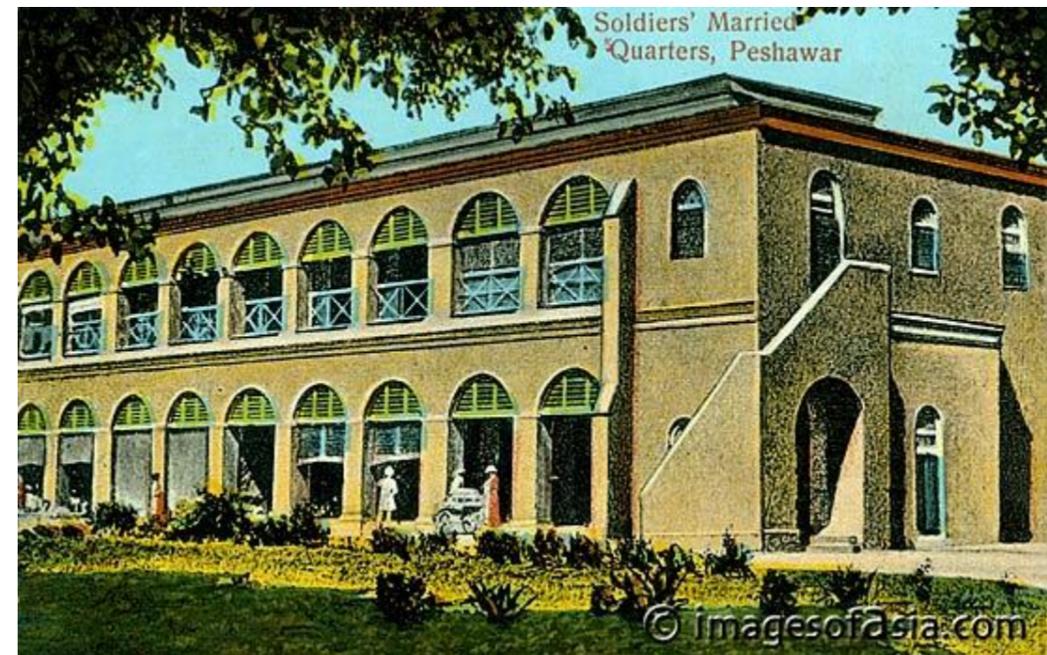
Fig. 5.15 Soldiers' Married Quarters, Peshawar, 1910.

It had many commercial markets including the Cantonment Bazaar, Sadar Bazaar, R.A. Bazaar (the military bazaar) and Lal Kurti (Red Shirt; reference to British soldier's red tunic) Bazaar along with other smaller bazaars to cater for the needs of the civilian and military personnel.[133] There were such places of entertainment and recreation as the race-course, polo ground, cricket ground, the Officers' Mess, clubs, cinemas, a riding school and shops that sold European goods such as pianos. The club as a place to retire after a hard day's work and a place to partake in sports as well as gossip was central to the lives of the British, and the clubs in colonial cantonment towns brought together European residents

but excluded the Indians.[134] The Deans hotel was established in 1913 on acres of sprawling grounds with facilities for Victorian style rooms, lounges and a grand ballroom with antique chandeliers.[135] It had many illustrious visitors including Professor Arnold Toynbee, Rudyard Kipling, a young Winston Churchill, Jinnah and King Nadir Shah of Afghanistan.[136]

Colonial developments such as cantonments remained divorced from indigenous old city areas, creating a dichotomy in the urban fabric. There were two distinct sections of the cities of the sub-continent which were classified as the 'Indian' and 'English' parts; both were marked by completely different sets of planning principles.[137] The cantonment was established in keeping with the well established norms of colonialism that demanded both physical and social distancing from Indians. Colonial suburbs were apparatuses for racial segregation and social differentiation. While the buildings used by the Indians in the old city were handled in the Indo-Saracenic style, those in Cantonments and exclusively under British use were more European in character (see fig. 5.16).[138] These included the main government, administrative, religious and recreational buildings of the cantonment.

Fig. 5.16 Station Hospital, Peshawar Cantonment.

The railway line to Peshawar cantonment was laid in 1882, connecting Peshawar to the rest of the country. The arrival of the railway marked a watershed in the history of India as it improved communications, movement of troops, goods and people across the sub-continent. It enhanced the trade of the city with the rest of the country. The railway tracks divided and cut the Mughal gardens into smaller parts and were also used to physically segregate the cantonment from the old city.

IV. Colonial Urbanism

The colonial architectural intervention in Peshawar can be classified as a twofold process. The first kind of intervention (generally taking place in the walled city) comprised of readapting old Mughal structures to house British institutions or the addition of new structures and realignments on sites carved out of the Mughal cityscape. These existing structures were subjected to additions and alterations for reuse, from horticultural inputs to the addition of new structures to enhance its appeal as part of the colonial landscape. The walled city also received inputs in the form of new buildings, in response to functional, aesthetic or political considerations, or a mix of all three. The second and later interventions were the construction of the European settlements; the cantonment, where buildings were designed to be used exclusively by Europeans for residential, leisure, commercial and official purposes. These were given European facades (mostly put up by the Public Works Department) primarily of the classical form that had been part of the British architectural vocabulary since the early days of their presence in the subcontinent. These two cityscapes were at complete variance with each other, giving these two areas their individual identity.

Colonialism produced new paradigms of cultural practices and cultural artefacts. The colonial government was actively engaged in attempts to reshape and reform Indian society through spatial interventions which impacted physical and social space. These went beyond the provision of education, health and civic facilities towards moral and political hegemony. The spatial structures of colonial administration including administrative,

domestic and civic spaces were essentially used as social and political products. These served as a composite entity to imprint the image of the government in the public imagination. Colonial buildings and other related spaces provided the arena in which the power structures of governance and societal functioning were institutionalised.

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the urban arena retained a crucial position, as it became a joint sphere for the assertion of the colonial rule and increased Indian participation (political, physical and social).[139] Colonial cities came to simultaneously sustain two or more distinct cultures; their segregations and relations, differentiations and amalgamations, domination and resistance.[140] The Raj restructured Peshawar for control, through physical and symbolic interventions. Within this distinct dichotomy of 'black' vs 'white' settlements, the Indian merchants' participation created an identity for indigenous architecture. This cultural diversity made colonial Peshawar a dynamic and contested space with two distinct realms that were spatially, politically, and economically separate.

5.2 The city as a collaborative space: empire, trade and society

King terms the city a social product, whose physical and spatial aspects have to be understood in terms of economy, society and culture.[141] To understand the layout of Peshawar and how it developed, the historical, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of the city have been studied. These revealed that the underlying structure of the city was developed from the imperial realm (Serai Jahan Ara to Mahabat Khan Mosque) during the Mughal era. The road (Serai to Qissa Khawani) also had various trade centres develop alongside it. These activities overlapped and gave form to the shape, layout, entrances and urban character of the walled city. This primary spine of the city (taking form from the 17th century) catered to the city's imperial, commercial, social and political requirements. This definitive core had other smaller roads with commercial centres that led to other gates of the city (i.e Ander Shehr, Bajori and Dabgari) but the physical and symbolic importance of the Kabuli and Lahore *darwaza* was never matched. This linear route joined the Imperial, social economic and cultural centres of the city and had the

residential quarters arranged around it. Within the residential quarters, the elite *mohallas* were located near Serai Jahan Ara and Mahabat Khan Mosque, which were the traditional power centres of the city. The colonial era saw the city's centre as a cultural artefact and superimposed its architecture and urban space upon it. Buildings as instruments of colonisation like the Cunningham Clock Tower (Ghanta Ghar), Hastings' Memorial (Chowk Yadgar), Municipal building, Town Hall, Tehsil, *patwar-khana* (land records office) and fire station at the Serai, churches, hospitals, schools, police stations, post offices and banks helped to restructure the city. These interventions also appropriated the existing centres of power and sought to inject civic sense onto the 'chaotic' city.[142] In spite of these developments Peshawar continued to display the pattern and a structure of an indigenous settlement, which was reflective of the social and cultural organisation of its society.[143] The construction of a new cantonment close by confirmed the segregations and contradictions between the colonial 'white' and indigenous 'black' towns.[144] Colonial urbanism functioned as a means of and reason for social control and segregation.

5.3 The city as a contested sphere: Colonisers vs. the colonised

The early 20th century brought an increased awareness of rights and ideas of citizenship, town planning ideas, larger circulation and readership of Urdu, Hindko and English newspapers.[145] Organisations like the Municipality, local city boards and the Civil Service began to induct large numbers of Indian representatives, increasing civic aspirations of the indigenous population, as well as allowing them to assert their visions on the city developments. The urban structure of the city, which had supported Mughal and later British ceremonial rituals, now became a space for the citizens to contest colonial hegemony.[146] The Bazaar-e-Kalan road and the Qissa Khawani Bazaar witnessed mass protests in April 1930 against the British occupation of India which resulted in use of extreme force against unarmed citizens.[147] The rise of Indian nationalism was marked by the use of Peshawar's civic spaces for public debate, protests and demonstrations (fig 5.17).[148] The urban space which had earlier been a staging ground for colonial improvement projects was now used by the people to negotiate political order through

dissent, discord and disparity, increasingly from the early 20th century until the Independence of India in 1947.[149]

Fig. 5.17 A view of the Qissa Khawani street protest and police cars, 1930.

Fig. 5.18 A 1910 postcard showing the view from Gor Kattri; the Sethi merchant-bankers' *haveli* can be seen among other *havelis* lining the Bazaar-e-Kalan Road.

Peshawar as a layered landscape was characterised by juxtaposed structures from different periods in history. Each era and its urban design and architecture represents a particular philosophy. The city and in particular the area from the Serai Jahan Ara to the Kabuli *darwaza* served as a background as well as an arena for these multiple philosophies to interact, contradict, contest and co-exist with each other. Raychaudhuri calls cities areas of contestation, negotiation and transgression between the natives and the colonists.[150] He uses these terms in the context and contest of political and civic powers between the colonists and the locals. But applying the same concept to physical space and the built environment, the area under discussion witnessed the British consciously appropriate older Mughal structures and later build new Indo-Saracenic buildings to assert their presence, while at the same time the area saw the building of *havelis* lining this route. The occupation and structuring of this space by the Indians including the Sethi merchant-bankers was to negotiate their place in the physical and political landscape (fig. 5.18).

The sphere of social and economic relations between the Indian merchants and the colonial government grew steadily from the mid 19th century onwards. The social structure of the city was represented by the multi-caste urban merchants who controlled the indigenous capital which supported the British government's various local and international projects and large scale trade in the city.[151] Their control over the city was reflected by the acquisition of prime property in the elite neighbourhoods and centres of power in the city from the early 19th century onwards.[152] By the late 19th century the city's elite (including merchant-banker Sethis) were part of the Municipal Corporation, they served as honorary Magistrates and were active members of the local political parties.[153] They were able to exert more influence on the political and social environments of the city. This influence was also exerted in the physical space through the construction and occupation of the opulent and large *havelis* lining the main city roads.

97

By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the urban centre became a focus of negotiation and contestation by and between the British and the indigenous population.[154] Both forces used the built environment to negotiate their place physically and politically. Both contested within this environment to mould it to their concepts; the British implemented municipality rules to bring order into the environment, while the Indians continued to build in response to their cultural and social values, at times in violation of the rules.[155] The indigenous occupation of the public realm through political, social and physical claims represented the anti-colonial dynamics and identity. The building of residences and other philanthropic projects indicated the continuing participation of the Indian elite in the colonial society. The restructuring of the city by the elite (landowners, merchant-bankers, officials etc) marked the political transition from colonial domination of the 19th century to Indian self-governance and political reforms in the mid 20th century. These social, political and economic transformations of the city were represented by the indigenous architecture of the *haveli*. These discussions will be taken up in detail in the next chapter.

[1] Pradyumna Prasad Karan, "The pattern of Indian towns: a study in urban morphology." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 23, no. 2 (1957): 70-75, accessed January 26 2015, doi: 10.1080/01944365708978230

[2] Studying the city's development during the Mughal to the British era indicates that the original city gates till the Durrani era were the Lahori, Ganj, Yakatut, Kohati, Bajori, Kohati, Sirki, Sard Cha, Dabgari, Bajori, Kabuli, Asa Mai and Hashtnagri (starting clockwise from the Eastern side of the city). The Sikhs added the Rampura gate, and the British expanded the city southwards to add Beriskian and Ramdas gates and the Kutchery, Ramdas and Reti gates which cut through the Mughal Shahi Bagh and joined the new Grand Trunk Road laid out outside the city wall.

[3] Guilia Annalinda Neglia, "Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City, with Particular References to the Visual Representation of the Built City." *Jayyusi, SK and et al.* The City in the Islamic World, *Leiden: I* (2008): 3-46.

[4] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic city–historic myth, Islamic essence, and contemporary relevance." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 02 (1987): 155-176, accessed August 8, 2011, https://courses.marlboro.edu/pluginfile.php/32801/mod_page/content/1/Abu-Lughod_The_Islamic_City.pdf

[5] Saleh A. Al-Hathloul, "Tradition, continuity and change in the Physical Environment: The Arab-Muslim City." (PhD diss. M.I.T., 1981).

Also see Abu-Lughot, *The Islamic city–historic myth*
'The division of the city into a nested set of territories with clear markers and defended borders was not Islamic per se but reflective of a social order that had much in common with other societies based upon the family writ large (tribalism, clans, and ethnicity).'

[6] Neglia, *Some Historiographical notes*
The author quotes Janet Abu-Lughod, who confirmed that the model of the Islamic city so far defined was the result of an Orientalist perspective base on the observation of a few case studies in a limited area. The courtyard houses were not unique to Islamic cities, as these were also present in the ancient cities of Mesopotamia.

[7] Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010): 14-24

See the author's discussions regarding the uniform legislative guidelines and the almost identical socio-cultural framework created by Islam helped produce remarkable similarities in approach to the city-building process. This resulted in the frequent occurrence of the familiar beehive urban pattern throughout this vast geographic area.

Also see Mohammad Naghizadeh, and Mohammadmehdi Goodarzisoroush. "Explaining the Criterion to assess the Islamic architecture and city1." (2011): 45-50, accessed March 10, 2014, ijaud.srbiau.ac.ir/pdf_44_1f0666f14149d6d85d63cf67cb048338.html

And Dale F. Eickelman, "Is there an Islamic city? The making of a quarter in a Moroccan town." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 03 (1974): 274-294.

[8] Rafi Samizay, "Order and Randomness in Patterns of Islamic Architecture and Urbanism." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Culture, Space and History*. (1990), accessed January 14 2015, http://iaps.architexturez.net/system/files/pdf/iaps_10_1990_1_128.content.pdf

[9] Andre Raymond, "The Spatial organization of the city", in *The City in the Islamic World,* eds. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, André Raymond, Vol 94/1 & 94/2. (Boston: Brill, 2008): 47-70.

[10] Andre Raymond, (translated James McDougall, 2005) "Urban Life and Middle Eastern Cities: The Traditional Arab City." *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*. Ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, (John Wiley & Sons, 2008): 207-228, accessed February 4, 2016, http://english.360elib.com/datu/D/EM310620.pdf

[11] Neglia, *Some Historiographical notes...*

[12] Neglia

Also Personal communication with Prof. Attilio Petruccioli (Nov 6th 2013) regarding the understanding of Peshawar city's design; Prof. Petruccioli recommended that I obtain a 'Wilson' map (a term used for colonial era cadastral survey maps) of the city and read it along with historical, archival information about the city.

[13] Neglia

[14] Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic city*

[15] Neglia

[16] Jorge Correia and Muath Taher. "Traditional Islamic cities unveiled: the quest for urban design regularity." *Gremium®* 2, no. 4 (2015): 21-36, accessed February 4, 2016, http://editorialrestauro.com.mx/traditional-islamic-cities-unveiled-the-quest-for-urban-design-regularity/

'from *halal* – what is allowed or profane – to *haram* – what is forbidden or sacred'

[17] Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic city*

[18] Zeynep Celik,"New Approaches to the" Non-Western" City." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 374-381, accessed August 2, 2016, doi: 10.2307/991531

[19] Marc Gaborieau, Indian Cities, in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 94/1 & 94/2. ,eds., Salma K Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and Andre Raymond (Boston: Brill. 2008): 181-204.

See the Author's discussions citing the works of Prof. Attilio Petruccioli and Janet Abu-Lughot.

[20] Ira M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic societies*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 356

The Delhi sultanate maintained solidarity among the Muslims, integrated the Hindu lords into the governing elite and elaborated its own cultural and political identity. This was Muslim and cosmopolitan society, built upon Persian and Indic languages, literature and arts, which were brought together into a new Indian-Islamic civilization.

[21] Lapidus, 362

In popular religious culture, the boundaries between Islam and Hinduism were more flexible than in formal doctrine. Both Hindu and Muslim holidays were celebrated by members of both faiths.

[22] Karen Leonard, "Hyderabad of yore cradle of ganga-jamni tehzeeb", *The Hindu*. January 6, 2012 Accessed February 7, 2016, http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Hyderabad/hyderabad-of-yore-cradle-of-gangajamni-tehzeeb/article2780129.ece.

[23] As a consequence of this pluralist society, there was never a unified Muslim identity of India.

[24] Lapidus, 372

[25] Lapidus, 372

[26] Pierre Gauthier, "Conceptualizing the social construction of urban and architectural forms through the typological process." *Urban Morphology* (2005) 9(2): 83-93, accessed on January 3 2016, http://www.urbanform.org/online_public/2005_2.shtml

[27] See Chapter 3

[28] See detailed discussions in chapter 4, also fig 4.20

[29] Amos Rapoport, *House Form, and Culture*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hill, 1969): 6.

[30] Rapoport, *House Form,* 2

[31] Karan, *The pattern of Indian towns*

[32] Ahmet Eyüce, "Interdependence of Traditional House Form and Settlement Pattern." *Intercultural Understanding*, 2012, volume 2, (2012):17-24, accessed December 20, 2014, http://libir.mukogawa-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10471/759/1/17-24.pdf

[33] Siddhartha Raychaudhuri, " Indian Elites, Urban Space and the Restructuring of Ahmedabad City, 1890-1947", (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1997): 25-30, accessed January 5 2016, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/251630

[34] Gaborieau, *Indian Cities*

[35] Dani, 28-29.

[36] Dani, 134

The author quotes Raverty, who visited the city in 1850 and described the two mounds of the city at the Serai and the Mosque, with tall houses giving a picturesque look.

[37] See detailed discussion in Chapter 3

[38] F. Nilufer, "Hidden Morphological Order in an Organic City", *Protibesh* 9 (2004): 34-41.

[39] Samra M. Khan, "Sustainable Architecture, Public Space, and the importance of Place Making" in *Architecture and Sustainability: Critical Perspectives for Integrated Design. Generating Sustainability concepts from Architectural Perspectives*, eds. Ahmad Z. Khan and Karen Allacker. (Belgium: Acco, 2015):269-278.

[40] Sundas Shahid, The Urban Grid: Control and Power. The Mediated City Conference Architecture_MPS; Ravensbourne; Woodbury University London: 01—03 April, 2014. Accessed on February 8 2016, http://architecturemps.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/mc_conference_shahid_sundas.pdf

[41] Jamel Akbar, "Gates as signs of Autonomy in Muslim Towns." *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 141-147, accessed on February 10 2015, doi: 10.2307/1523180

[42] Ahmet Eyüce. "Interdependence of Traditional House Form and Settlement Pattern", *Intercultural Understanding*, volume 2 (2012): 17-24.

[43] Dani, 135

See the author quotes Raverty who visited the city in 1850 and described the houses of the city as large and gloomy seemingly piled one on top of the other. 'The houses are built with burned brick and are generally erected in wooden frames, on account of the frequent occurrence of earthquakes.'

[44] This form of design, helped to maximize daytime shade in summer by protecting the external walls of residences from direct sun exposure. It reduced the severity of temperatures in winter by protecting against cold winter winds.

[45] Dani, 135

The author quote Raverty, 'Many of the houses are three stories in height, the second and third of which have often fronts of carved wood and open work, which admit both air and light, and at the same time, prevent their room from being seen into from without.'

[46] Sandip Hazareesingh, "The colonial city and the challenge of modernity: urban hegemonies and civic contestations in Bombay City, 1905-1925." (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 1999): 22, accessed February 16, 2016, http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/4239/1/WRAP_THESIS_Hazareesingh_1999.pdf

[47] Thomas Lowell, *Into Forbidden Afghanistan*, September I, 1924. Accessed on February 10 2016, http://buickclub.org.au/pdfs/LowellThomasinAfghanistan.pdf

'It's streets and bazaars present a motley picture of Oriental life. Swaggering males buy gold threaded boots to adorn their unwashed feet. Merchants haggle interminably over their wares. Veiled women drift past like wraiths. Sounds, sights, smells all are of the East.'

[48] Gazetteer, 371
Peshawar was a market place for Central Asia, Afghanistan, Swat, Bajaur and Tirah, collecting wheat and salt from Kohat, rice and ghee from Swat, oilseed from Yousafzai and sugar and oil from the North-Western Provinces and Punjab.

[49] See Chapter 3 for details of Indian trade with West and Central Asia and Eurasia.

[50] Gazetteer, 220

[51] Gazetteer, 371

The city was called an *entrepōt*;

[52] Gazetteer, 228

The timber came down the Kabul and Swat rivers from Afghanistan and regions of the district. The pinjra-kari was practiced by the Awans. But the craft was noticed to be waning as 'increasing simplicity is described as the leading feature of the Peshawar house architecture of today. This is probably attributable at least to the supersession of old-fashioned ideas of display by modern ones of convenience and comfort.'
The discussions relegate the craft as a frivolous and irrelevant practice; a style of ornament as effective as is compatible with a religion which only recognizes the more austere of the Muses.

[53] Gazetteer, 371, 220-229

[54] Captain E.G.G. Hastings, *Report of the Regular Settlement of the Peshawar District of the Punjab, 1878.* 17.

[55] Dani, 11-12

[56] Dani, 18

[57] Gazetteer, 371

Some of the commercial houses have extensive dealings and there were many native banking firms of high standing.

Also see the Settlement report of the District by Captain Hastings which quotes 9 main banking firms of the city including the Sethis.

[58] Gazetteer, 362

[59] Gazetteer, 364

[60] http://www.britannica.com/place/Peshawar#ref274370. Accessed January 18 2016

[61] By the British Commissioner of Peshawar, Sir Herbert Edwardes (1853-1862) http://epeshawar.com/epeshawar-blog/3125-qissa-khwani-bazar-peshawar.html. Accessed on January 3 2015.

[62] 'Kipling's Mahbub Ali sat in the Qissa Khawani Bazaar'.

[63] Riots in Peshawar, 1930. National Army Museum. Accessed on February 6 2016, http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?acc=1977-02-39-2

The massacre at the Qissa Khawani Bazaar (the Storytellers Market) in Peshawar on 23 April 1930 was one of the defining moments in the non-violent struggle of the Indian independence movement. It was the first major confrontation between British troops and non-violent demonstrators in the then peaceful city; some estimates at the time put the death toll from the shooting at nearly 400 dead.

[64] Hastings, *Report of the Regular Settlement of the Peshawar District.*

[65] Gazetteer, 364

[66] Gazetteer, 364

[67] A 1920 map of Peshawar shows the location of these serais, which were patronized by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

[68] Gaborieau, *Indian Cities*

[69] Saba Samee, interview by author, November 6, 2014.
Her masters' thesis deals with the Shahi Guzargah in Lahore;

The philosophy of laying out architecture of the city of Lahore was subject to the movement of the emperor Akbar within the city of Lahore; where he entered the city through the Akbari *darwaza*, visited the Shahi *hammam*, then went to the Wazir Khan Mosque to offer his prayers and passed through the city through the passage called the Shahi Guzargah (royal route) before he entered and retired at the Shahi Qilla. All along the route the citizens of the city filled the roads and stood on the *jharokas* of the *havelis* to receive and applaud the king. These imperial movements were important rituals of the Mughal rule, and architecture was the stage which facilitated and supported these rituals and the Empire's philosophy of the emperor's engagement with the public.

[70] See chapter 4 for detailed discussions

The royal processions entered from the Lahori *darwaza* proceeded to the Serai Jahan Ara, where the royal *hammams* were used, the royal processions would then proceed down the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. The procession would then go to the Mahabat Khan Mosque to offer prayers and then go into the Shahi Bagh. The pavilions of the Shahi Bagh offered royal residences. The Bala-Hisar was used in the Durrani era for the royal residence. But the importance of the royal route; from Mahabat Khan Mosque to the Serai Jehan Ara, was predominant from the Pre-Mughal to Mughal to Durrani, Sikh and British era.

[71] Douglas Haynes, "Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting: the ceremonial order in Surat, 1890–1939." *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 03 (1990): 493-527.

In Peshawar, Bazaar-e-Kalan road formed the 'Shahi Guzargah', it was lined with grand *haveli*s with *jharokas* overlooking the road, which would filled with the *riayah* (citizens), who would cheer the emperor and shower the procession with rose petals.

[72] See Chapter 3 for detailed discussions of trade during the Mughal era.

[73] Jennifer L. Campbell, "Colonialism and Postcolonial Nationalism in Peshawar, Pakistan: Tailoring the Architectural Fabric of Gor Khuttree Serai to Reflect the Reoccupation and Reinterpretation of Space and Place", University of Calgary. Archaeological Association. Conference. *Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology: Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada*. Edited by Peter Bikoulis, Dominic Lacroix, and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown. Chacmool Archaeological Association, University of Calgary, 2009. Accessed on Jan 10th 2014, https://www.academia.edu/4702466/2009_Colonialism_and_Postcolonial_Nationalism_in_Peshawar_Pakistan._In_Postcolonial_Perspectives_in_Archaeology._Edited_by_Peter_Bikoulis_Dominic_Lacroix_and_Meaghan_Peuramaki-Brown._Chacmool_Archaeological_Association_University_of_Calgary_Calgary_Alberta._Pp.1-11

Travel was an important aspect of life for all people during the Mughal period. Many of the subjects, both Muslims and those of other faiths, would engage in journeys that had religious and economic motivations. The empire was economically centred on long distance trade, facilitated by trade and travel amenities representative of the period.

[74] Eric Lewis Beverley, "Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities," *Social History* 36, no. 4 (2011): 482-497.

[75] Colonial interventions through architecture were meant to provide better education, health care, law and order, municipal discipline to the natives, but were actually the carriers of control and administration for colonialism.

[76] Shahid, *The Urban Grid: Control and Power.*

[77] Gazetteer, 371

[78] Kumari Jayawardena, *The white woman's other burden: Western women and South Asia during British rule.* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014): 22.

Christianity had a dual role-conversion and modernization. The missionaries claimed they were bringing salvation and the light of true faith to people steeped in the darkness of the devil. Further they imposed Western systems and values on local society. In the early phase of British rule all such schools had a narrow aim of conversion and of producing good Christian wives for male converts.

[79] Gazetteer, 371

[80] Dani, 34
It was upgraded to Edwards College and its building was built on the Mall road in 1910 in the Indo-Sarasenic style.

[81] Gazetteer, 371

[82] Mrs. Razia Malik, interview by author, February 20, 2016.

[83] Veena Talwar Oldenburg, *The making of colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014): xviii.

The introduction of Western education, to a large extent, was to be the sure tool in fashioning a loyal elite—men that would give handsomely to charitable and "progressive" causes, like hospitals and schools, and perhaps even give up traditional extravagance and become the pillars of the new urban society.

Also see Clive Whitehead, "The historiography of British imperial education policy, Part I: India." *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005): 315-329, accessed on January 10 2016, doi: 10.1080/00467600500065340

Colonial education had two basic goals: the destruction of traditional or indigenous culture and consciousness, and the training of elite subordinate servants. People in nineteenth-century Britain wanted to assimilate Indians to European culture but in practice British policy aimed primarily to train Indians for subordinate roles in government rather than to make them into Europeans.

[84] Gazetteer, 371

[85] Gazetteer, 258

[86] Gazetteer, 259

[87] Syed Amjad Hussain, *Alam Mein Intikhab Peshawar,* (Literary Circle of Toledo Ohio: Ohio, USA, 1999): 534.

[88] Thomas R. Metcalf, "Architecture and the representation of empire: India, 1860-1910." *Representations* 6 (1984): 37-65, accessed February 2, 2016, doi: 10.2307/2928537

[89] Richard Salamé, "Clocks and Empire: An Indian Case Study," accessed June 4 2015, http://library.brown.edu/ugresearchprize/Salame-ClocksandEmpire.pdf

The public clock in British India established imperial authority The clock can be a technology of discipline and control, a material embodiment of abstract ideas of authority and ownership, and a tool for the alleged moral reformation.

[90] Metcalf, *Architecture and the representation of empire: India, 1860-1910*

[91] Harriet Jordan, "Public Parks, 1885-1914," *Garden History,* Vol. 22, No. 1 (1994): 85-113, accessed November 16, 2015, doi: 10.2307/1587004

The public park movement starting in 1830s England rose out of a desire to improve health in the over-crowded industrial towns. Parks were symbols of civic pride, health and a public space for recreation and at times amusement.

Also see Hilary A. Taylor, "Urban public parks, 1840-1900: design and meaning." *Garden History* (1995): 201-221.

The public park reflected the aspirations, ideology and philosophies of the Victorian era. Its dedication to and obsession with, its citizens' heath and well being.

[92] George F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town*, (London: The Architectural Press, 1966):19.

The Public Park was planted, modelled and embellished as per the English Landscape School. Its qualities were contrast in texture, colour and form. The 'formula' included an encircling belt of trees to contain the view, some feature inside the park and a serpentine lake. Apart from the concepts of 'beauty' and 'sublime' a third quality of 'picturesque' was recognised.

[93] Jyoti P. Sharma, "The British Treatment of Historic Gardens in the Indian Subcontinent: The Transformation of Delhi's Nawab Safdarjung's Tomb Complex from a Funerary Garden into a Public Park." *Garden History* (2007): 210-228.

[94] These gardens used dancers, singers, poets and attendants to provide entertainment to the patron and his guests.

Also see Jyoti P. Sharma, "Mughal gardens of the Indian subcontinent and the colonial legacy: the treatment of Delhi's Shalamar Bagh", *Journal of Landscape Architecture,* 4:2, (2009): 32-47.

[95] Ajit Singh, Confrontation, Compromise and Reconstruction of the Walled City of Shahjehanabad. (Masters' thesis. M.I.T. 2006): 217.

[96] The British ran the new alignment of the Grand Trunk road through the Shahi Bagh, cutting this into multiple parts, some of which were used for railway tracks and storage on the North end of the road, while the tracts of land on the south were used for colonial buildings like the telegraph offices.(with reference to the Peshawar map of 1921)

Also see Dani, 211

See the author's description of the Ali Mardan and Wazir Bagh where some pavilions were deemed attractive and reused by the Municipality while many other structures and layouts deteriorated and decayed, receiving little attention.

[97] Jyoti P. Sharma, "The Colonial Tourist: Seeking the Picturesque in Pre-Mutiny Delhi.*" South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2010): 136-145.

Delhi's tourist potential lay in its antiquity with its large corpus of historic ruins dotting the landscape that became a subject of remark for their picturesqueness among the many travellers who visited the city. This resulted in a shift as Picturesque in the colony went beyond the landscape to encompass the natives and their cultural mores, monuments and ruins, that were objectified into the colonial other.

[98] Sharma, *The British Treatment of Historic Gardens in the Indian Subcontinent*

[99] Dani, 211

See the author's discussions regarding the changes made to Wazir Bagh after being taken over by the Municipality. The look of the garden changed and the pavilion was dilapidated, but the old alignment was preserved. Some wider tree lined avenues were created with newer plantation.
[100] Chadwick, 21

The picturesque held the opposite qualities of beauty, which were roughness, sudden variation and irregularity. The 'picturesque' aesthetic idealized the rustic life and ruined and decayed monuments.

[101] Hussain, 333

The park was constructed to commemorate the 1897 Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1900.

[102] Inner city congestion was thought to be the cause of many infectious diseases. The provision of gardens in the cities was intended to control some of these.

[103] Siddhartha Sen, "Between dominance, dependence, negotiation, and compromise: European architecture and urban planning practices in colonial India." *Journal of Planning History* 9, no. 4 (2010): 203-231, accessed January 3, 2016, doi: 10.1177/1538513210375395

[104] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Peshawar City, 125

[105] Hussain, 514

[106] Hussain, 514

Also see Siddhartha Raychaudhuri, "Colonialism, Indigenous Elites and the Transformation of Cities in the Non-Western World: Ahmedabad (Western India), 1890-1947." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 03 (2001): 677-726, accessed December 13 2015, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X01003079

The government's intervention through the institution of the Municipality involved the bringing of various areas, both inside the city and immediately outside it, under a regime of municipal laws and bye-laws by including those areas within municipal limits

[107] Allah Buksh Yousafi, *Beesvein Sadi key Suru ka Peshawar* (Karachi: Sharif Art Press, 1984): 20.

[108] Sen, *Between dominance, dependence, negotiation, and compromise*

Discourse about the old cities described them as 'wretched-looking places; dirty, crowded, ill-built, and abounding with beggars and bad smells.' This legitimized the lack of planning in the native Indian areas of colonial cities and discrimination in the provision of civic amenities.

[109] Yousafi, 21

[110] Yousafi, 22

[111] Yousafi, 20

[112] Jyoti Hosgrahar, *Indigenous Modernities; Negotiating architecture and urbanism* (Oxon: Routledge. 2005): 66.

Also see Vijay Prashad, "The technology of sanitation in colonial Delhi." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 01 (2001): 113-155, accessed February 16, 2016, doi :10.1017/S0026749X01003626

[113] Hussain, 514

[114] Sen, *Between dominance*

Also see Colin McFarlane, "Governing the contaminated city : infrastructure and sanitation in colonial and Post colonial Bombay", *International journal of urban and regional research*, 32 (2), (2008): 415-435, accessed on February 2, 2016, http://dro.dur.ac.uk/5913/1/5913.pdf

[115] Hussain, 514

[116] Hussain, 516

[117] Tanya Sengupta, "Producing the province: colonial governance and spatial cultures in district-headquarter towns of colonial Bengal, 1786 – *c.* 1900", (Ph.D. diss, University of Westminster 2011): 19.

Kutchehry or '*cutcherry*' in Arabic means office. Used as a generic term for offices at large in Mughal and colonial India, it has had a particularly heavy use in the context of administrative spaces. The British colonial administrative infrastructure in *zilla sadar* towns was pivoted on the *cutcherry* complex, which was the nerve centre of the town and housed a collection of administrative buildings such as offices (e.g the Collector's office), courts (e.g. District Judge's Court, Sub-Divisional Officer's Court, Munsif 's or lower court.

[118] Yousafi, 25

[119] Yousafi, 26

[120] Dr Amjad Hussain, interview by author, February 6, 2015.

[121] Sen, *Between dominance*

[122] Jyoti Hosgrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*. (London: Routledge. 2005):11, 47-114.

See the author's detailed discussions on the reorganisation of public space, bazaars, regulations guiding the construction of havelis, public health and sanitation projects.

[123] Vijay Prashad, "The technology of sanitation in colonial Delhi." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 01 (2001): 113-155, accessed February 19 2016, doi:10.1017/S0026749X01003626

[124] Douglas Haynes, "Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting: the ceremonial order in Surat, 1890–1939." *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 03 (1990): 493-527, accessed July 9 2015, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00010441.

[125] Hussain, 510

See the author's description of the proceedings of the durbar in honour of the Prince of Wales attended by various Khans, Princes and British officers.

These Ceremonial observances were generally held in 'public' places like the railroad station, the municipality, the meeting hall, and the Victoria Gardens which became the chief venues of imperial ceremony.

[126] Haynes, *Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting*

British Viceroys and other visiting dignitaries had routinely been making trips in the NWFP and onwards to the Khyber Pass to strengthen their ties with the Pathan tribes as well as notables of the Province's cities.

[127] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development; Culture, Social power and environment*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976): 38-39.

[128] Gazetteer, 365

[129] Beverley, *Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities*

[130] Ranajit Guha, "Not at home in empire." *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1997): 482-493. See the author's discussions of how isolation needed to be maintained as the fear of sedition and rebellion was continual in the minds of the colonisers. The anxiety of the coloniser was expressed through exclusion and isolation.

[131] St Michael's Church, Peshawar. Accessed February 16, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Michael's_Church,_Peshawar

[132] Gazetteer, 3

The foundation stone of St. John's Church in the new cantonment was laid by Archdeacon Pratt, Bishop of Calcutta; the church was completed in 1860 at a cost of 11,000 British Indian rupees. This church was rectangular in shape with a tall spire and three doorways on the North, South and East side.

[133] Arthur E. Smailes, "The Indian city: A descriptive model." *Geographische Zeitschrift* (1969): 177-190, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27816984.

[134] Thomas, R. Metcalf, Imperial Towns and Cities, in *The Cambridge illustrated history of the British Empire*, ed Peter James Marshall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 224-253.

[135] Adil Zareef, "Dean's Hotel; Every Stone has a History," 03 17 2010. Accessed January 15, 2016, http://www.famoushotels.org/article/1142

[136] Adil Zareef, *Dean's Hotel; Every Stone has a History*

[137] Eric Lewis Beverley, "Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities." *Social History* 36, no. 4 (2011): 482-497, accessed January 26, 2015, doi: 10.1080/03071022.2011.618286.

[138] Metcalf, *Imperial Towns and Cities*

The Public Works Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1877 wrote: "There can be little doubt that buildings for native purposes, such as the following, should be built in some style of native architecture: temples, mosques, palaces, colleges, schools, markets, hospitals, asylums; whilst those specially for the comfort and wants of Europeans, such as residences, churches, offices, railway buildings, etc., are more appropriate for some European style adapted to the various climates of India.

[139] Beverley, *Colonial urbanism*

[140] John Archer, "Colonial suburbs in south Asia, 1700-1850, and the spaces of modernity." *Visions of suburbia* (1997): 26-54, accessed March 12, 2015, https://apps.cla.umn.edu/directory/items/publication/14943.pdf

[141] Anthony D. King, "Colonial cities: global pivots of change." In *Colonial Cities*,. (Netherlands: Springer, 1985): 7-32.

[142] Douglas E. Haynes and Nikhil Rao. "Beyond the Colonial City: Re-Evaluating the Urban History of India, ca. 1920–1970." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no. 3 (2013): 317-335, accessed January 26, 2015, doi: 10.1080/00856401.2013.814617

The authors state that the built environment in cities sometimes reflected a 'joint enterprise' created by British and Indians.

Also see Douglas Haynes, "Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting: the ceremonial order in Surat, 1890–1939." *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 03 (1990): 493-527.

The author discusses in great detail how rituals assumed a central place in the construction of political authority. The Ritual events were crucial arenas of politics in which authority was generated, confirmed, and contested. Since the potency of the imperial ritual form was so great that Indian elites did not conceive of generating their own political authority entirely outside its contours. The British rulers of the subcontinent hoped to draw upon Mughal ritual forms in strengthening the legitimacy of their own political empire and in inculcating certain civic values.

Also see Chapter 3 for detailed discussions.

[143] Amos Rapoport, "Vernacular architecture and the cultural determinants of form," in *Buildings and society: Essays on the social development of the built environment*, ed. Anthony D. King,(London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980): 283-305.

See the author's discussions about culture which leads to a particular world view, which reflects ideals and leads to choices. These values result in a particular lifestyle and the construction of the physical environment to facilitate that lifestyle.

[144] Beverley
See the author's discussions regarding urbanism in colonial South Asia, which was fundamentally about spatial segregation of populations.

Also see Veena Talwar Oldenburg, *The making of colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014): 27-55.

[145] Yousafi, 21

The early 20th century saw the arrival of the cinema and the motor car, as well as large changes in the built environment. The city streets were built with new methods of construction, and its buildings with new materials such as reinforced concrete. The city became increasingly electrified, water supply and sewage pipes were laid in and there was an increased civic sense.

[146] The public areas of the city including the Gor Khuttree, Bazaar-e-Kalan road, Hastings' memorial square and Qissa Khawani Bazaar saw many protests during the early 20th century which included the Khilafat movement and protests against British hegemony.

The Press Act of 1910 was legislation promulgated in British India imposing strict censorship on all kinds of publications. The measure was brought into effect to curtail an emerging Indian independence movement, especially with the outbreak of World War I. The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 popularly known as the Rowlatt Act was a legislative act passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi on March 18, 1919, indefinitely extending the emergency measures of preventive indefinite detention, incarceration without trial and judicial review enacted in the Defence of India Act 1915 during the First World War. It was enacted in light of a perceived threat from revolutionary nationalist organisations.
Also see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qissa_Khwani_Bazaar_massacre
http://tribune.com.pk/story/155404/qissa-khawani-bazaar-massacre-standing-tall-before-a-hail-of-gunfire/

[147] Hussain, 531-550

The Khilafat movement was started in 1919 by the Ali brothers as a protest against the West's intention to break up Turkey and abolish the Muslim Khalifate. Peshawar saw massive public protests, strikes as well as the migration of 18,000 Muslims to Afghanistan. The next large scale protest was the Khudai Khidmatgar protest at Qissa Khawani Bazaar in 1930 which turned into a massacre as British forces fired on the unarmed crowd, killing over 400 persons.

[148] Hosgrahar, *Indigenous Modernities,* 50

[149] The early 20th century saw the strengthening of nationalist sentiments and political activism through the Indian Congress, Muslim League and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in Peshawar (The Frontier Province).

[150] Raychaudhuri, Siddhartha. "Colonialism, Indigenous Elites and the Transformation of Cities in the Non-Western World: Ahmedabad (Western India), 1890-1947." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 03 (2001): 677-726, accessed February 18, 2014, doi:10.1017/S0026749X01003079,

[151] Hastings, Settlement report names about nine Hindu and Muslim bankers of the city who controlled the finances and businesses of the city.

Also see Shah Mahmood Hanifi, The British Subsidization of Durrani Rulers in Chapter 4 Capital Concentrations and Coordinations: Peshawar Subsidies and Kabul Workshops. Accessed on Feb 10 2015, http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/chapter4.html.
The author's descriptions of the Peshawari merchant Bankers who financed the British subsidization of the various Afghan regimes in the late 19th and early 20th century. The Peshawar bankers' intimacy with Abd al-Rahman's financial practices arose from the long-standing implication of their capital in the Durrani state's resource base.

[152] Hazareesingh, 19

See the author's discussions of the shetias of Bombay in the 19th century, who reinvested a proportion of their considerable profits from trade in urban real estate. By the 1850s, it was estimated that half of the island of Bombay was owned by shetia-landlords.

[153] Hussain, 552-566.
See the author's description of the various political and religious organizations that developed in Peshawar from the early 20th century.

Also see Younas Sethi, *Peshawar ka Sethi khandan; Mukhtasir Ahwal.* (Peshawar's Sethi Family; Brief history) (2002): 47-48.

The Sethi merchant bankers' enjoyed close relationships with the British Collector and other officials in Peshawar with reference to their roles as honorary magistrates, intermediaries between the British and Amir of Afghanistan and philanthropists.

[154] Raychaudhuri

Processes of transformation in cities in the non-western world during the colonial period have often been described as one-way processes through which European colonial regimes restructured the physical and social environments of the cities. These processes were contested and negotiated and the indigenous elites of the cities appropriated them to bring about their own reorganization of the urban centre.

[155] Hosgrahar, 66

Chapter 6

Development of the Indian *haveli*

6.1. Evolution of the *haveli* form

The courtyard house typology is prevalent in regions as widespread as the Mediterranean, the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia, South and South East Asia. It evolved as a response to social and cultural factors and environmental constraints. Within this house type all living quarters are arranged around the internal courtyards, drawing their daylight and ventilation from this source and planning their daily activities in and around it. The courtyard house mitigates the harsh summers of India, through thermal massing, protected inner courtyards, natural methods of ventilation and protection against glare. Environmental concerns were one of the primary forces that generated the building form. In warmer climates where cooling is a primary concern, sustainable solutions to manage the heat were in-built as passive design features. High thermal mass on the external periphery was achieved through masonry and mud construction. Internally the facades were made of light weight timber which was open-able in the summers to allow wind circulation. Central courtyards with fountains and greenery were an important aesthetic element of the house, which also provided much needed relief during the hot dry summers.[1]

This design more importantly responded to the cultural and social demands of family life. Thus the courtyard house form was designed as a conscious response to its social, cultural and environmental contexts. Pramar suggests that the urban courtyard form developed from the rural village houses.[2] But, within the Indian urban context, this typology has been sustained from the cities of the Indus valley civilization (3300–1300 BCE) to cities of the 20th century. The courtyard house as a culture-specific typology endures centuries of development and change as it has the capacity to adjust to specific requirements of context and place.

The term *haveli* is thought to have originated in Persia and was brought to India by the Mughals.[3] The *havelis*, urban courtyard houses were inhabited by the urban aristocrats called the *umrah*.[4] The word *haveli* generally described the extensive house of a prosperous family and the *haveli* form represented the 'desirable residence' from the early 17th century and well into the 20th century.[5] Domestic *havelis* are found across the Indian subcontinent, from Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Khairpur and many regions of Pakistan to Gujarat, Rajasthan, Agra, Lucknow, Delhi, Calcutta, Dhaka and other regions in India and Bangladesh. Similar *havelis* were prevalent in Afghanistan and central Asian cities as these regions had economic and cultural ties with the Mughals (see image 6.1).[6] The similarities found in the typology of the house were trans-regional, suggesting that the cultural influences of the *haveli* form extended beyond the political boundaries of India.

Fig. 6.1 *Haveli*, Murad Khane, Kabul

6.2. *Havelis* and symbolism of status

The time span of the construction of urban *havelis* in India ranges from the early 1600s, into the early 20th century.[7] Every urban house was not called a *haveli;* rather the term *haveli* implied an indigenous residential built-form type owned by a wealthy patron. It was used as a social term to indicate the elevated status of its owner as well as the estate itself. The *haveli* was a product of the prevalent social structure, and became a symbol of its owner's public and official recognition.[8] Hosagrahar, with reference to *havelis* of Shahjehanabad (Delhi) the Mughal capital notes that:

> 'Both socially and architecturally, *havelis* were landmarks in the city and the symbolic centres of the neighbourhoods as the Emperor's palace was (the centre) of Delhi.'[9]

This view was shared by the inhabitants of all cities towards the grand *umrah havelis* within their cities. The social and cultural legitimacy offered by the *haveli* to its patron made it an iconic form of the domestic ideal from the 16th to the 20th century India.[10]

Jain's studies on the *havelis* of Rajasthan attempted to define the *haveli* form based purely on physical features and found many deviations in its basic from and structure.[11] *Havelis* may be a complex of many smaller *havelis* or as individual samples that are built around single or multiple courtyards. Vertically the house could rise from a single to five storeys around the courtyards. Their usage ranged from the residential to residential cum official estates. Important academic studies have been carried out by Prasad, Jain, Das and Gupta on the evolution and variations of the *haveli* types in India.[12] These studies offer rich and detailed insights on the *havelis* spread around the sub-continent, their influences and forms in relation to context and traditions. Documentation of the walled city of Lahore carried out by PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants Ltd) in 1993, covers all the *umrah* and other notable *havelis* of the city, offering a vast body of knowledge about the residences of the Mughal capital. From all of these studies on the various *haveli* designs across the Indian subcontinent, two basic points can be derived:

i. The major stylistic influence on most of the *havelis* constructed from the 17th until the early 20th century was predominantly Mughal.[13]

ii. The earlier larger *havelis* were built by the *salatin* and the *umrah* (17th -mid 19th century) and these were followed by the smaller merchant *havelis* of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The latter point is argued differently by Prasad, who observes:

> 'In the Delhi region which was the seat of Islamic power for 800 years till the mid 19th Century the nobility was largely Muslim - though there were many Hindu courtiers and Rajas. The Merchant classes were overwhelmingly Hindu. The Muslim *haveli* form was developed to its peak by nobles from the mid 17th Century (the founding of Shahjahanabad) to the mid 19th Century (the uprising of 1857). The Hindu form was developed by merchants from probably the late 18th Century to the early 20th Century. One might therefore call the two "Muslim Noble" and "Hindu Merchant" house types.'[14]

Prasad's reasoning may be too simplistic in the context of branding *havelis* as Hindu and Muslim. This Orientalist approach to Indian architecture was perpetuated in the Colonial era by educationists such as Claude Batley.[15] These assumptions are contradicted by Asher's study on the sub-imperial palaces of Hindu Rajas and Muslim *subedars,* which confirms that both Muslim and Hindu types of palaces heavily borrowed from Mughal architecture; with Rajput Raja of Amber going as far as to incorporate a Diwan-i-Am (public audience hall) and a Sheesh Mahal (hall of mirrors) in his palace/fort.[16] In the light of these researches, it is correct to associate the earlier larger *haveli* ownership to the *umrah*/nobles and the later smaller *havelis* ownership to merchants. Any differences in Muslim and Hindu *havelis* based on religious beliefs may be seen in the following design elements:

i. Hindu *havelis* may have a *puja* room or a space marked within the house that caters for prayer, while Muslims can pray in any part of the *haveli;* but men prefer to go to the

mosques and women may use the *sehn* or the *dalans.* Thus, there is no specific design element present in Muslim *havelis* to indicate their owner's preferred prayer area.

ii. The decorative motifs of Hindu *havelis* have figural and animal representations as well as geometric and vegetal motifs. Representations of figures (human & animal) are forbidden in Islam, so Muslim *havelis* are generally decorated with geometric and vegetal motifs.

In the light of the above, it is most relevant to study the *haveli* as a residence that is related to the social position of its owner.[17]

Imperial Mughal architectural and decorative styles developed from Hamayun's overthrow of the Suri Empire (1555) to reach their zenith in the Shahjehani era (rg.1628-1658). These held great appeal for Mughal dependents like the *salatin* and *umrah*. The layout and decor of the imperial and sub-imperial palaces acted as the model for *umrah havelis*. This style was also widely used by opponents of the late Mughals, like the Marhattas in the South and the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Indian urban *havelis* dating from the 17th to early 20th centuries emulated Mughal architectural vocabulary and stylistic elements.[18]

Haveli patronage was restricted to the *umrah* during the Mughal era. The lavishly sprawling *havelis* of the *umrah* acted as a miniature *mohalla* within the larger *mohalla*.[19] These grand *havelis* contained multiple spaces that ensured it as an independent unit within the area. These included public reception areas for the patriarch, gardens, separate quarters (*zenan-khana*) for the women, accommodation for an entourage under the patronage of the nobleman including soldiers, servants, artisans and craftsmen.[20] Dalrymple describes the *umrah havelis* of Hyderabad as substantial complexes with successions of courtyards filled with fountains and *chahar-baghs*, *baradari* pavilions, arcades with Mughal cusped arches and intricately carved wooden *jharokas*.[21] An Amir carried out his day to day responsibilities from his *haveli* and administered all his affairs from within this complex.

Some descriptions of the 17th-century *umrah havelis* are provided by Bernier, who travelled widely in the Empire during ShahJehan's era as:

'They consider that a house to be greatly admired ought to be situated in the middle of a large flower-garden, and should have four large divan-apartments raised the height of a man from the ground and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter .... The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mattress four inches in thickness, over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer and a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver.... the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower-pots. The ceiling is gilt and painted...'[22]

The embellishment and decoration of these *havelis* also followed a similar pattern. Hosagrahar quotes the 18th century traveller Dargah Quli Khan's descriptions of the *haveli* of a wealthy noble:

'Men of discernment name this [mansion] as a glass-house, decorated with colourful carpets and curtains of attractive colours and the niches filled with china wares.'[23]

The interiors of the lavish *umrah havelis* and their decor can be seen in many portraits of the era. The *haveli* continued to be associated with an elevated social status in the late-Mughal eras. Alexander Burnes' writings describing the *haveli* of the Amir of Peshawar, Sultan Mohammad Khan endorses this point. His descriptions indicate that the residence was composed of a grand courtyard with a large central fountain, which was surrounded by elevated reception rooms (*bala-khanas*) which had basements (*teh-khanas*) underneath them. The reception rooms (*baithak*) of this *haveli* were described by Burnes as:

'studded with mirror glass and daubed over with paint and furnished with carpets, mattresses and floor cushions.' (see fig. 6.2)[24]

The grand imperial palaces of the Mughals had provided a model for the *umrah havelis* which similarly were large and sprawling. These *umrah havelis* in turn influenced the designs of the later merchant *havelis,* which emulated many of the elements of the *umrah havelis* but on a smaller scale.

Fig 6.2 Portrait of Sultan Mohammad Khan Barakzai showing him seated on floor cushions.

6.3 Components of a *haveli*

A typical *haveli* was a walled precinct with gateways for access from the enclosing streets. The *haveli* acted as an integral component of a *mohalla* as its edges were adjoined with those of its neighbouring properties, forming a continuous entity. The various neighbouring *havelis* amalgamated with each other seamlessly. At times it became difficult to distinguish where the borders of one house ended and the next began. Within a lot, the relationship of the house with the surrounding urban fabric was accommodated by the absorption of the site irregularities by the peripheral rooms of the *havelis*. This was done in order to maintain the regularity of the central courtyard, which was the core of the house.

The appearance of a *haveli* depended on its patron's position and taste, and on the land available and was a combination of the Mughal and local architectural features.[25] Externally, the *haveli's* built mass was one with the surrounding built-form and the external walled configuration generated an introvert and sheltered form that separated the semi-public *mohalla* domain from the private world of the *haveli*. At the interface of the street and the *haveli* there were some architectural elements that socially connected the house to the neighborhood; these included the *chabootra* (raised platform) and *chokis* (seats) for sitting next to the entrance. Although the external facade of the *haveli* did not allow views to the inside, elements of the facade like doorways set back in the arched niches, overhanging *chajja* (overhands) and *jharokas* (aedicular projections with columns and a roof screened with a *jali*/lattice) permitted the residents of the *haveli,* a view of the outside without being visible. The transitional spaces from the external to the internal parts of the *haveli* kept the hustle and bustle of the street away from the tranquil interiors.

Within the *haveli* complex, spatial progression proceeded from the domestic public to the domestic private domain. Each *haveli* had a protected entrance which led to the interiors through a semi-public *dehliz* (threshold) and winding *deorhis* (foyer) (see fig 6.3). There were no other openings or windows on the ground floor level. The patron's living quarters formed the focus of the house with the subsidiary areas such as the stores, stables and servants' quarters located around them. The design of the facades, the entrances of the *havelis* and the sequence of the spaces leading into the central courtyard were shaped by cultural determinants. The *haveli's* design supported social needs of its inhabitants; it also

reflected the lifestyle and status of its patron as well as the skill of the local *mistris* (architects) and craftsmen.

Fig 6.3 *Deorhis* of the Karim Buksh *Haveli zenan-khana*

The spaces within the *haveli* developed to cater for the needs of the joint-family system; an extended family living system consisting of multiple generations who are all blood relatives.[26] The *haveli* catered to the day-to-day living of its inhabitants as well as playing host to multiple annual events as varied as celebration of weddings, births, holidays, religious obligations and observation of death ceremonies. The important aspects of a *haveli* were the arrangement of spaces: the way the house-type performed its social function; the way it separated and united its users.[27] The spaces of a *haveli* tended to be divided on the basis of gender, with different parts of the house reserved for male and female occupants.

Every space was designed to serve a purpose which supported the private and communal lifestyle of the family. The spatial organisation of the *haveli* reflected styles of social interaction between family members and between neighbours and the larger society. Privacy was not individual but communal in character.[28] As the day to day lives of the *haveli's* inhabitants were not private from one another as shown by the multifunctional use of spaces, but the affairs of the extended family were protected from the outside world. This was achieved through carefully designed barriers between the outer and inner centre of activities. The relationship of spaces; open, semi-covered and covered, the physical and visual linkages between them formed an important part of the design.

The main spatial demarcations of the living quarters were gender specific with the men's area called *mardana* constituting the domestic public and semi-public domain where the male members of the family met with friends, neighbours, business associates. The women's area called the *zenana* formed the private domain of the extended family, their female acquaintances, female and a few trusted male servants. The *mardana* was located close to the entrance and allowed communication with the outside world, while the *zenana* was completely protected from external intrusions, by its location in the centre or furthest corner of the estate. Transition from one domain to the other was regulated via *deorhis* or courtyards/*sehn*. Both the *mardana* and the *zenana* comprised a set of rooms or at times apartments built around independent courtyards, ensuring their smooth but separate workings. Arcaded rooms surrounding the courtyards were called *bala-khanas*, *baithaks* or *dalans,* which facilitated the lifestyle of the family. Traditionally, the front of the *haveli* was used for men's activities and gathering and acted as an extension of the public realm of the street/*galli* and the *mohalla*. The major front rooms of the *haveli* consisted of the *baithak/diwan-khana/bala-khana* which received male visitors. These were considered high-status spaces as they reflected the status of the patron and consequently became the most embellished rooms of the *haveli.* In the residential quarters of the *haveli*, the use of space was more flexible with rooms doubling as reception rooms, living rooms and dining rooms during the day and bedrooms at night. There was no clear division of 'bedrooms' or 'dining rooms' or 'sitting rooms' until the late colonial period.[29]

The *haveli* design offered many comfortable spatial variations for the family in the hot summer months without mechanical cooling and in the winters without heating. The design of the *haveli* produced different comfort zones seasonally, so that comfort was achieved through horizontal or vertical migration around the house. The courtyard offered a shaded and cool spot during summer mornings and evening, while it allowed the winter sun to penetrate and warm the house during winter afternoons. During the hot summer afternoons, people retired to the basements called *teh-khanas*, where the combination of the relatively low ground temperature and stack ventilation kept the basements cool.[30] Summer evenings and nights were spent on the *kotha* (roof terrace) or in the courtyard.[31] The *havelis* were designed to provide spatial comfort in various seasons (fig 6.4). The Mughal residency at the Red Fort of Agra provides an example of adaptive behaviour; where the summer days were spent in the rooms along the lower levels of the courtyard, and the evenings in the pavilions on the terraced gardens; during the winter, the pattern was reversed.[32]

Externally, the form of the *havelis* did not indicate its multiple spaces or their hierarchy as the building of the house covered the entire available site, but internally they were organised in defined sections through the use of courtyards.[33] The central core of the *haveli* is the courtyard, a fact that is evident in the formal language of all *havelis* which marks the court as the physical centre of the layout.[34] The courtyard is a square or rectangular open space, usually located in the centre/heart of the house. While palaces and *umrah havelis* built on large open lands could easily follow this formal rectangular geometry, the inner city *havelis* built on tight and mostly irregular lots had to absorb the site deviations to achieve the perfect geometry. This regularity of form was maintained by the mutual collaboration of the exterior walls and interior rooms, which absorbed the irregular form of the site to ensure that the courtyard took a regular or square form. The geometry of the courtyard was reinforced at times by the placement of a central fountain at the intersection of the axes of the opposite bays.[35]
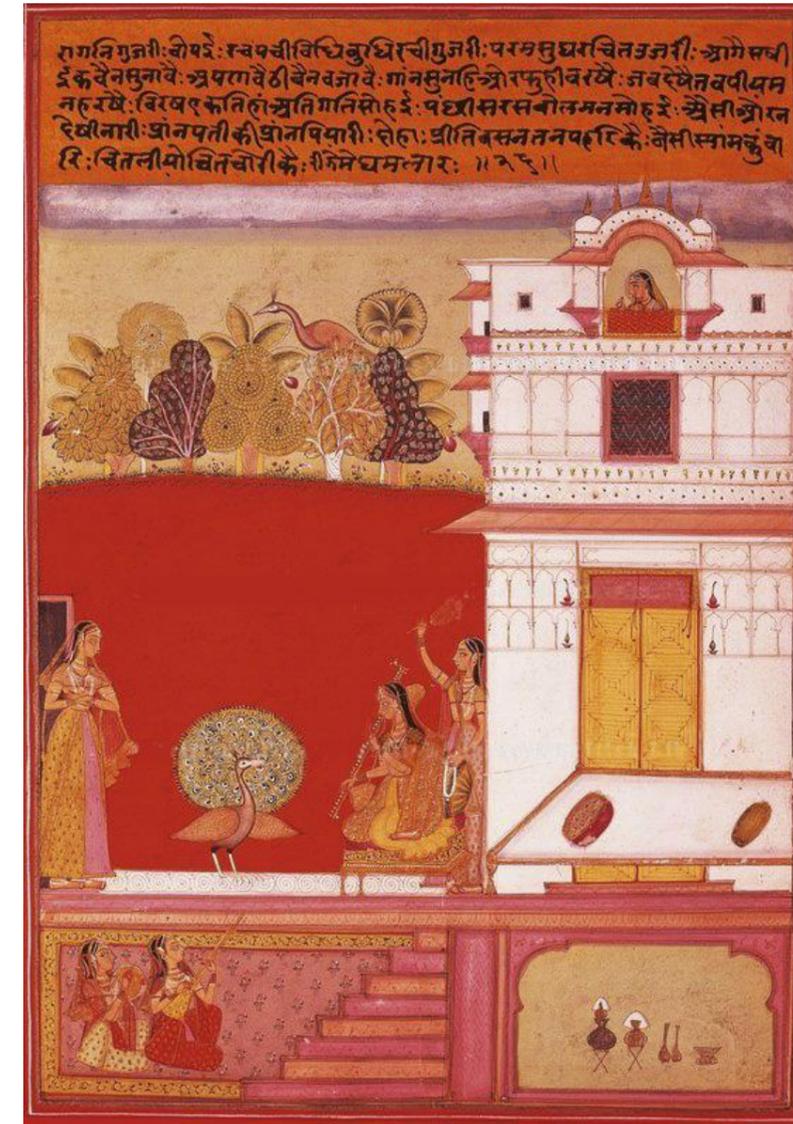
Fig. 6.4 Musical scene in the courtyard of a building, miniature, India 18th Century.

The courtyard called the *sehn* or *angun* performed an important function as a modifier for climate as well as a space for the various daily activities of the family performed in the space. In the densely built-up urban environment, the *haveli* courtyard provided a vital connection with nature, daylight and ventilation. Its central location and climate modifying properties made it the most suitable environment in the summer and winter.[36] The courtyard was used as an extension of the living quarters and in fact served as a multi-purpose room where most of the day to day activities of the family took place. The

courtyard as a flexible space allowed a diverse usage in response to the multiple social needs of the family. The great variety of uses that a courtyard served were of a living space where people sat, worked, received guests, rested, slept, and played; where domestic chores like washing and drying clothes, foods and spices took place; they were ritualistic spaces for marriage ceremonies, observances of death, celebrations of births and holidays; they were also the only gardens of the house and a piece of nature in the city.[37]

The courtyard as the heart of the house acted as an organising element of the surrounding spaces. It held the spatial relationships of the house tightly together, acting in every way as its core.[38] The courtyard opened up the *haveli* at its centre and ensured public and private spaces for the family members by helping to create a sequence of open and closed, or inter-linked spaces around it. The private and at times semi-public nature of the courtyard served multiple organisational functions of a household making it an indispensable part of the intangible cultural heritage.[39] As the central core of the *haveli*, all the rooms face towards the courtyard and are approached through it. Due to the inward looking properties of the courtyard, the facades of the surrounding rooms were usually richly embellished so that they contributed to the aesthetics of this space. The courtyard floor could be paved or unpaved with trees and shrubs planted in it and have water bodies with fountains. The most important spatial elements of the house like *baithak*s and *bala-khanas* also relate to the courtyard through entrances and openings towards it. The courtyard then is not simply a 'resultant space' created by the position of surrounding buildings, but a primary space which serves as the focal point of the *haveli*.[40]

Similarly, the roof top or roof terrace called the *kotha,* also acted as an extension of the living spaces of the *haveli* by providing space for multiple activities like kite flying, rearing and training pigeons, for drying food, washing and drying clothes, eating, sleeping and socializing. These distinctive architectural solutions helped to adapt *havelis* to crowded urban conditions, these included subterranean *teh-khanas* and *godams* for storage, courtyards, *dalans*, *bala-khanas* and *kotha* for living. So the house was a multi-storey and multi-purpose building which facilitated living and socialising on multiple levels.

6.4 Ideal geometry for the *haveli* form

Knowledge about how to make an ordinary environment was ubiquitous, innately manifest in the everyday interactions of builders, patrons and users. The craftsmen and *mistris* had a template for design before commencing on any house design. The traditional grammar was set and while all houses followed this grammar, they varied in design as per the patron's lifestyle and the site layout. The house plan, elevation and section evolved from the ideal shape of the square based *hasht-behist* (eight paradises) form.[41] The phrase *hasht-behist* meaning "eight paradises," has been interpreted as a reference to the eight rooms surrounding the central chamber. The basic layout is divided into nine parts by four intersecting construction lines. The symbolic entity of *hasht-behist* emanated from the two rotating squares which combine to make the eight pointed star and the octagon, underlining the belief of life and afterlife in Islam.[42]
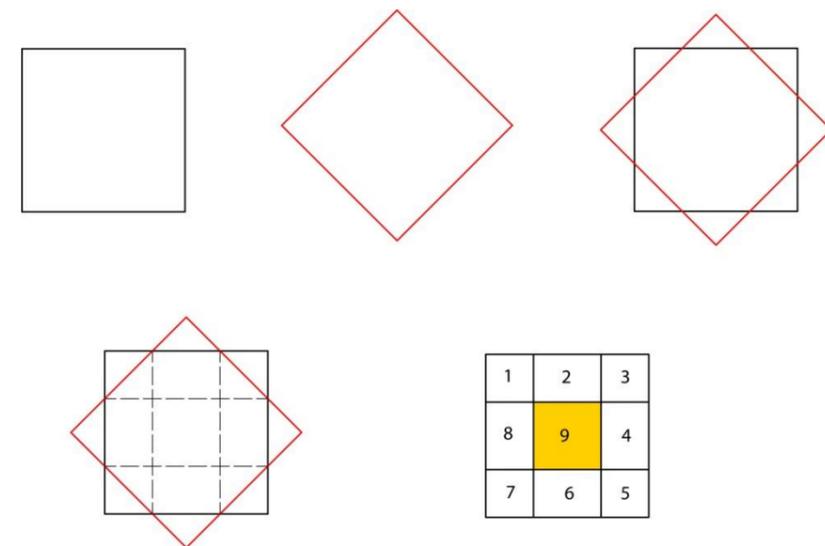
Fig 6.5 Template for design of a *haveli*.

The square and the rotated square provide the basic geometry; which by joining the cross lines gives, the *hasht-behist* form. This is the 9 fold plan; an ideal building form emanating from the Mughal palaces and buildings which have a square centre and four square corners and four rectangular spaces facing the centre (courtyard). The orthogonal compartments are rectangular. In the context of public buildings (palaces, tombs, pavilions

etc) the corners were double height and square while the centre was square and topped by a dome. In the context of the house the central square is left open and the sky would thus become the dome.[43] Jain calls the sky the intangible ceiling, spreading over the courtyard.[44]

Jain and Das's field studies reveal that Hindu masons planned the orientation and placement of a *haveli* according to cosmological considerations of the earlier Indian Vastu texts; these provided the guidelines for setting the size and height of the house as well as axis and orientations, room sizes, and opening sizes.[45] Vastu Shastra translated as 'dwelling science' is based on the belief that the laws of heavenly bodies influence human lives.[46] The resultant *Vastu-Purusha-Mandala,* expresses in geometrical terms the ideas of centre, symmetry and balance, as well as marking the location of sacred and profane spaces (see fig 6.6).

The essential concept in form-making throughout the long tradition of both Muslim and Hindu *havelis* was the concept of 'the centre', and this centric evolution guided the layout of the house. The courtyard formed the centre and the focus of the *haveli*, around which all other activities revolved. The courtyard was thus given the ideal shape square or rectangular and the surrounding rooms were also shaped rectangular and square to fit in the overall configuration. The walls were made thinner towards the centre and thicker on the external periphery to maintain this ideal geometry for irregular lots. This was adapted for a particular site and as per the client's requirements. Site restrictions influenced how much a house strayed from the ideal square plan.

An important characteristic of the *haveli* form was its additive quality; the design was open-ended in nature, which enabled it to accept changes and additions.[47] The visual integrity and overall geometry of the *haveli* form was always maintained in all expansions.
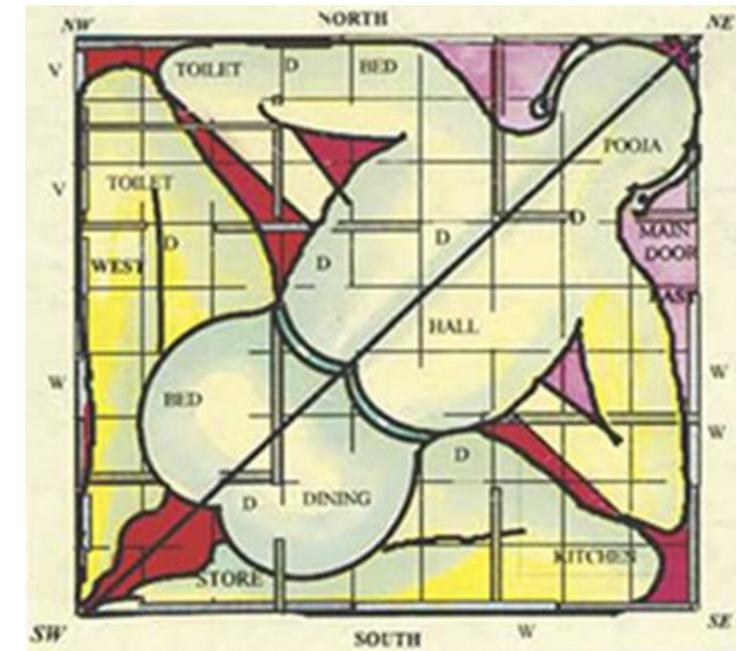
Fig. 6.6 The Vastu-Purusha-Mandala.

6.5 The role of *mistris* in *haveli* design

The discussions on *havelis* lead one to speculate the role of the architect in their design and execution. The sophisticated details of *havelis* indicate an overall vision of a *ustad/*master craftsman who organised the layouts, facades, embellishments and even later extensions to the house.[48] Mughal buildings were built by different classes of craftsmen on the basis of architectural plans provided by salaried master builders.[49] The A'in-i-Akbari (Emperor Akbar's biography by court historian Abu-ul-Fazl between 1590 and 1596) lists a variety of workmen involved in the building projects, including *mistris* (architects), lime masons, stone masons, bricklayers, carpenters, *pinjarah-saz* (lattice workers), *khisht tarásh*, (tile makers) and glass-cutters, as well as the amount of wages they received.[50] Koch quotes from Shah-Jehan's first biographer Qazwini, who wrote in great detail about the role of architects called *mimars* in the design of imperial buildings.[51]

Indigenous architects called *mistries* or *mimars* were traditionally trained from childhood in the tutelage of a master, who was usually the father or other close relative, but sometimes

young men worked as apprentices for an *ustad* not related by kin.[52] The building arts were learned through this traditional system of apprenticeship whereas artist-craftsmen were also members of guilds or *biradaris* which were part of the larger caste system on which the society was structured.[53] The training of student-apprentices took place on building sites through their involvement in the design and construction of buildings under the guidance of the chief *mimar*.[54] Kramrisch states that although *mistris* individually remained anonymous, but certain families of architects were known by their projects, which were done under royal patrons from the 14th to the 17th century.[55] The *mistri* and other craftsmen bought their tools and worked on the site until the completion of the project, while the material of construction was brought on site by the patron.[56]

The practice of making plans and main elevations for important buildings including mosque and tombs is confirmed by the presence of frescos on the walls of Sufi tombs of Multan, these show plans with important elevations laid in landscape.[57] *Mistris* were employed to design and construct buildings including large *havelis* of the *umrah* and later the merchant *havelis*. The drafters of plans and elevations were called *'naqsha naveez'*, and the act of drawing plans and elevations existed for large *havelis* of the era, as confirmed by an existing 19th century plan and front elevation of the Hayat Mahal in Chiniot.[58] The *mistri* would make drawings to show the layout of the rooms and for important buildings the front elevation would be drawn.[59] As *havelis* generally bordered with surrounding properties, there tended to be at times only a front elevation and thus the *mistri* designed the internal courtyard elevations and richly embellished the interiors of the houses.

Jain's interviews with local craftsmen of Rajasthan confirmed that the architectural form was supervised by the *mistri* (also called *sutraghar*) on the site.[60] The *mistris* were trained in working out and drawing (on site) the layout of the house, as well as being versed in construction systems, carpentry and other decorative building arts. Construction guidelines and rules of composition were taught to apprentices (*shagirds*) by the *ustads*.[61] The Indian *mistri* having received a strong training in mathematics and geometry used a ruler and a compass as the two basic tools for drawing; with these he would design a wooden screen,

furniture, a doorway or the layout and elevation of a building.[62] The rules of grammar and proportion were passed on orally and formed the traditional language known to all craftsmen working on the site. The Mughal unit of measurement the '*gaz*' (33 inches) was used to mark the building outlines using lime or brick courses onsite. The width of a plot was used to derive all subsequent dimensions.[63] Smaller measurements included the use of '*hasta*' the measure of one step and the use of a '*sutar*' (1/8 inch) for smallest calculations.

The historical transformation of the Indian system of architecture and the decorative arts occurred under the colonial rule, where a new set of values was introduced, making many of the traditional systems of learning and practice redundant. The early buildings of the Raj were built by military engineers and the Public Works Department (PWD) with the help of pattern books.[64] At the same time the search for an appropriate architectural style for the Raj; 'classical or indigenous' continued.[65] While the colonial government generally built (through the PWD) utilitarian and austere buildings to avoid expense, local *nawabs* and *rajas*, employed European architects to design their lavish neo-classical residences.[66] The vision of the Empire did not deal only with choice of styles but the kind of education that the *mistris* ought to receive. Schools of engineering were established, with a few courses in architectural design (based on European examples) to train local *mistris* for colonial building works.[67] The Indian *mistri's* skills and expertise was deeply affected by this lack of patronage as well as by the newer principles of styles and education.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 proved to be a watershed in the history of Indian building arts, as it introduced a larger European population to the beauty of Indian craftsmanship, and become a reference point for decades to come.[68] A series of government sponsored art schools were subsequently set up in major Indian cities including Calcutta (1854), Bombay (1857), Madras (1851), and Lahore (1875).[69] The Mayo School of Industrial Arts, Lahore was established under John Lockwood Kipling. He retained the traditional practice of training students in multiple associated disciplines like architecture, carpentry and the

building arts.[70] This was a deviation from the other schools where Indian *mistris* were being trained in western classical ideals and the studies of the human figure.[71] Kipling reorganized the curriculum according to his concept of a traditional crafts school, encouraging indigenous forms and styles as models for production, while retaining western standards of efficiency and precision.[72] Tarapor writes that:

> 'Kipling dignified and preserved the bases of native handicrafts against the often debilitating effects of misguided and wholly commercially oriented government policies.'[73]
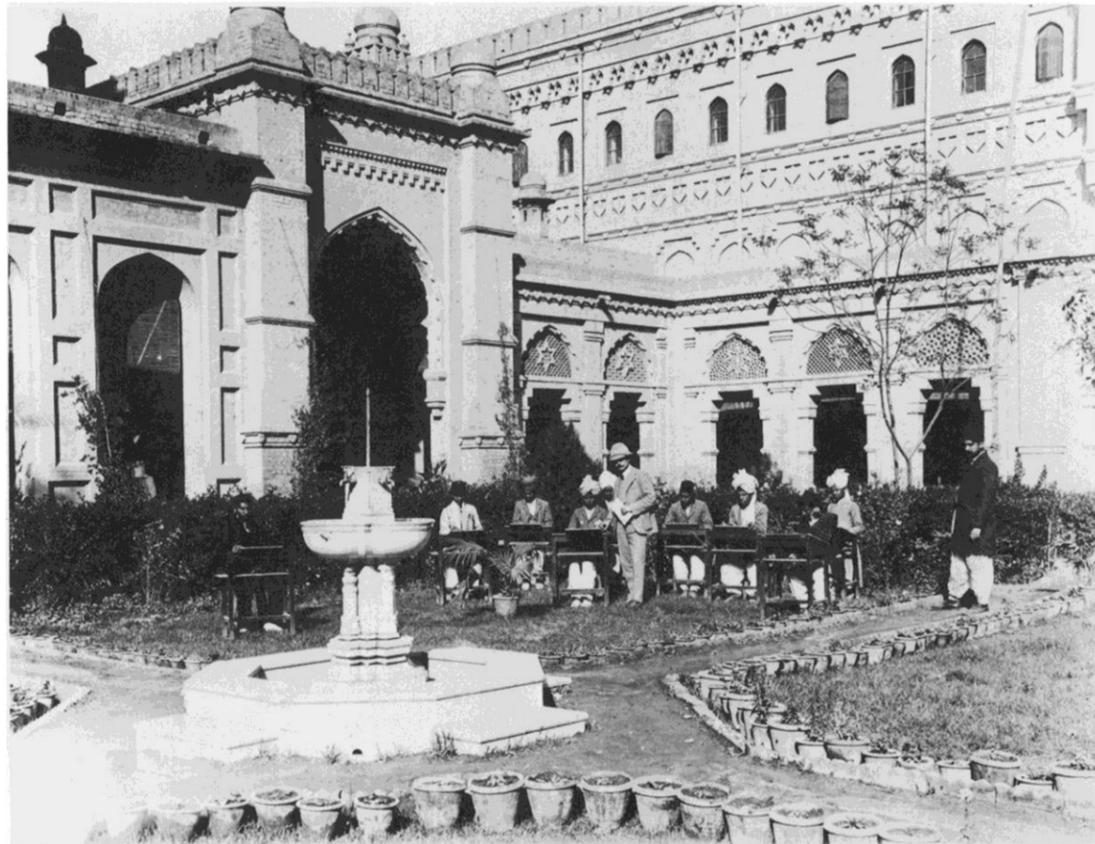
Fig. 6.7 Drawing classes at the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, ca.1908.

Kipling followed by E. B. Havell in 1884 at Madras, recognised architecture as the key to synthesising the traditional arts of painting, sculpture, and woodcarving, all of which were closely integrated in the production of traditional buildings.[74] Havell argued in the favour of employing Indian styles and indigenous architects for the design of Raj buildings instead of the dominant neo-Gothic style used by European engineers and the P.W.D.; most notably in the case of the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta (built 1906-1921).[75] Kipling's training and patronage of indigenous architects is well documented; his famous protégé Bhai Ram Singh successfully designed and constructed a wide range of projects in Lahore and in Britain (fig. 6.8).[76]
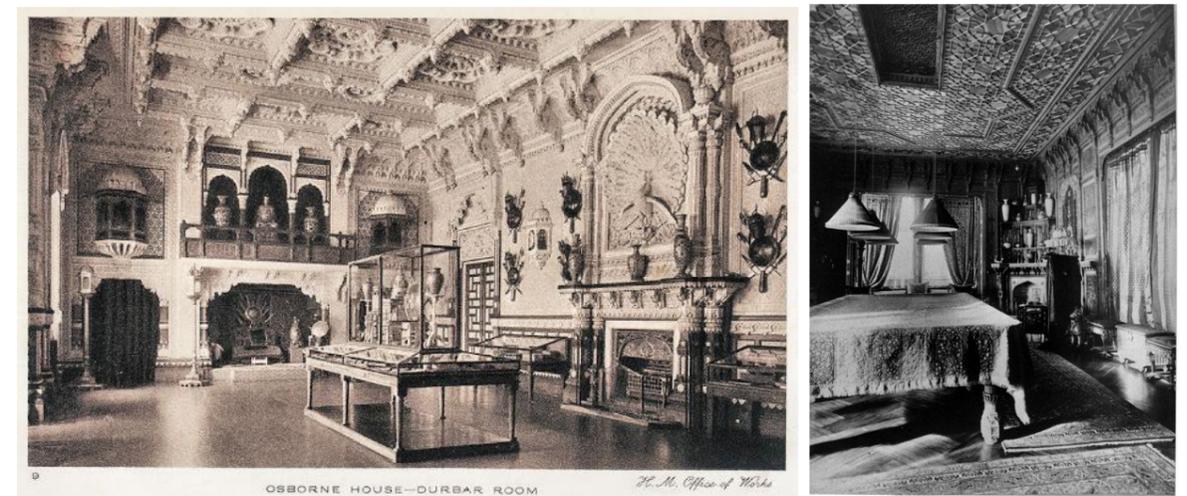
Fig. 6.8 Juxtaposed images of the Durbar Room, 1892 and the Billiard room at Bagshot Park, both designed and built by Bhai Ram Singh.[77]

In spite of these valiant efforts, the era saw the educated classes and the landed gentry associate themselves with European styles, while the merchants and money-lending classes were the sole supporters of the *mistri,* as they conservatively adhered to the principles and traditions of Indian architecture.[78] Earlier, the services of the *mistri* had been retained on a regular basis by the landed gentry.[79] A similar practice was adopted by the merchants from the 19th century onwards, as they engaged *mistris* and other traditional craftsmen and their families for many generations.[80]

The era also shows an interesting dichotomy between the colonial sponsored and the indigenous sponsored architecture. The government constructed buildings including housing, railway stations, police stations, hospitals and other works, which were guided by the principles of standardization and thus were uniform, repetitive and unremarkable. On

the other hand, the *mistri* constructed domestic architecture thrived and showed its capacity to integrate traditional design, newer technology and the successful amalgamation of regional, Mughal and colonial aesthetics. According to Kipling, domestic architecture represented the 'present state and future prospects of Indian design as a living force'.[81] The merchant *havelis,* which continued to be built in the old cities patronised and supported the *mistri* and traditional building arts throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. They were an important channel that preserved the indigenous architect's work and contributions in architecture of the colonial era.

6.6 Building crafts of the *havelis*

Under the Mughals, various building arts flourished which included *naqqashi, munabat-kari, kashi-kari, aina-kari, pinjra-kari, parchin-kari* etc. Many of these had taken inspiration from the Persian decorative arts but reached their peak in Mughal India. The city of Peshawar was part of the *subah* of Kabul-wa-Peshawar during the Mughal rule and later during the Sikh rule became part of the Punjab. The region of the Punjab extended from Peshawar in the west to Amritsar and Kashmir in the north and to Bahawalpur in the south. This region had a highly evolved building craft tradition, which included decorative brickwork, woodcarving, *naqqashi, kashi-kari, aina-kari, munabat-kari and parchin-kari.* These techniques were used widely to decorate a wide range of buildings including forts, palaces, mosques, *imambargas*, *havelis*, *serais, madrassas* and others. The architecture of the region exhibited a strong Mughal influence in its designs, decorative elements and construction techniques. The craft traditions of the neighbouring regions of Kabul, Kashmir and Punjab were similar as materials of construction and craftsperson migrated between the cities of these regions.

The style of the wood work in the regions emerged out of the amalgamation of the vibrant classical Indian art-tradition in stone and the angular and geometrised treatment typical of the Persian decorative art.[82] The use of timber in these regions was extensive and woodcarving was incorporated in the elements of the facades like *jharokas* and *chajjas*,

decorative woodwork doorways at main entrances, wood carving and *pinjra-kari* around courtyard arcades and other wooden structural members in most of the north Indian *havelis* (see fig 6.9).
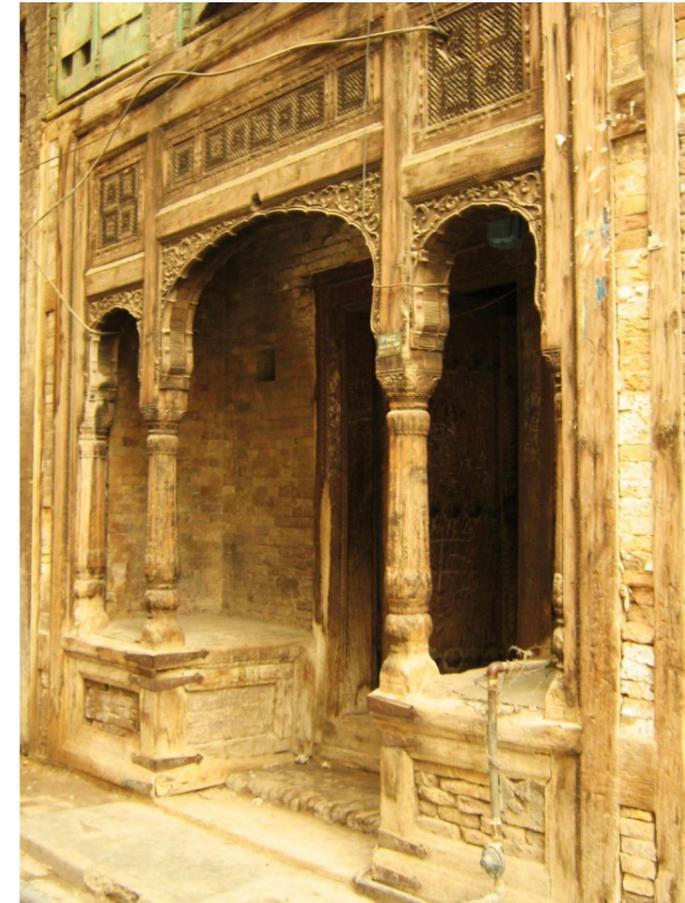
Fig. 6.9 Tri-arched Doorway of Abdur Rahim *haveli* in Mohalla Sethian

Wood-carving was done in walnut, *sheesham* and *deodar* woods. There are similarities observed in the design traditions of the regions of Afghanistan, Kashmir and Punjab. The regular migration of wood craftsmen between the regions of Kabul, Peshawar, Bhera, Kashmir, Lahore, Multan and Chiniot among other cities led to the similarities in the designs of the architectural elements in the *havelis* of the region.[83] Peshawar was a city with a vibrant wood carving tradition, the craftsmen practised their craft in buildings as well as boats, and both were decorated with intricate carving.[84] The techniques of carving included the *pinjra-kari,* a technique that used small pieces of wood to form a geometric lattice

design, held together by a frame. These wooden lattice panels were used for aesthetic purposes as well as for providing environmental comfort through screening harsh sunlight and allowing wind flow.
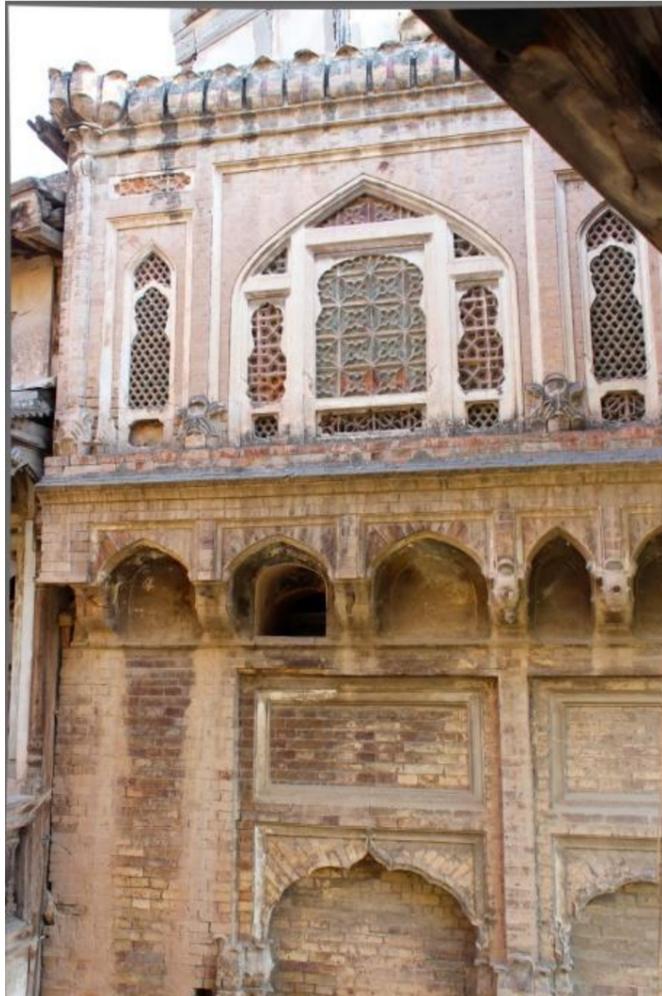
Fig. 6.10 Brick decorations and *jalli* work

Small sized *Jahangiri* bricks were used for the construction of the *havelis*.[85] The brick courses incorporated decorative brickwork to embellish the exterior and the internal facades of the house. Recessed brickwork using regular shaped and rounded bricks were used to provide the surface with relief ornamentation and brick-*jalli* were also used (see fig 6.10). Facades were also decorated with stucco work, which was at times used in the brick

colour (*surkhi*) and at times painted in multiple colours. Floral and geometrical patterns of stucco work were incorporated on facades.

The external walls were usually thick and made of bricks with timber bracing, which was called the *dhajji-diwari* system. This was used in the regions from Kabul to Peshawar and onwards to Kashmir to resist earthquakes. This post and beam construction consisted of a wooden framework which was in-filled with brick work joined with lime or mud mortar (see fig. 6.11). Timber columns and beams provided the structural framework of a house. Roofing also used timber beams and rafters which supported packed mud and brick layers on top.

Fig. 6.11 Depleted *haveli* showing structural members on Bazaar-e-Kalan road, Peshawar.

Mughal buildings used the technique of panellisation, a decorative tradition involved subdividing the wall surfaces visually into smaller panels, both vertically and horizontally along the length and height of the building. This pattern of vertical and horizontal panellisation, was tied in with the structural bays of the house.[86] The division of the wall surface was carried out on the external as well as internal facades. This division of the wall

into vertical and horizontal panels allowed the various decorative arts to be incorporated into the overall design. The panels (*izora*) helped to divide the walls into separate parts, which could be further divided by inserting decorative niches and marking the cornices (*sharafa*). The walls, ceilings, doors, windows, columns and arches were embellished with floral and geometric motifs, in stucco/*munabat-kari,* wood carving and *naqqashi. Naqqashi* was an important decorative technique used throughout the Punjab, which involved adding paint to wet plaster surface and allowing it to dry. It produced jewel like colours which remained strong and vibrant for decades. *Naqqashi* was often combined with *monabat-kari* and wood carving, using primary and secondary colours to give a rich look to the interiors. Carved doors, windows and panelled ceilings were also painted with floral and geometric motifs to enhance their beauty.

These divisions provided a symmetrical frame within which the entrance bay, *jharokas,* blind arches and other elements of the external facades could be arranged. External walls employed a combination of blank Mughal and cusped arches in the brickwork to articulate the facades. The double cusped arch was used extensively in the entrances of *havelis* of the Punjab and Rajasthan.[87]

6.7 Development of the merchant *havelis*

Most of the grand *umrah havelis* of Delhi, which had once signalled an aristocratic lineage and an elite status, in the aftermath of the 1857 uprising, were divided into smaller parts and sold to anyone who could afford them.[88] The changed status of large strata of the society had brought about these changes in the built environment. The pattern of *haveli* ownership became altered; as it was no longer the exclusive domain of the *umrah* and *rais.* By the middle of the 19th century traders, bankers and entrepreneurs had established themselves as a new middle class.[89] Many from among this emerging new class of merchants and traders had the means to acquire grand *umrah havelis.* The rapidly rising merchant class either bought existing grand *haveli* or built their own, which brought the once elitist *havelis* within the reach of this section of society. In a way, this fragmentation and commodification of the *umrah havelis* was very much symbolic of the disintegration of

the Mughal Empire itself.[90] The loss of position of the *umrah* led to the loss of their lavish *havelis*, also symbolising their loss of social positions which were taken up by the merchants along with the exalted *havelis*. This made exclusive rights to own *havelis* pass from the *umrah* to the more common merchants. *Havelis* and estates that were previously granted by the Mughal Emperor based on a family's aristocratic social status, now were regularly granted by the British to wealthy merchants, who had previously held a much lower social status (fig 6.12). The latter part of the 19th century saw the shrinking of the large *haveli* complexes to form smaller dwellings.

Fig. 6.12 Lala Chunnamal's haveli, Chandni chowk, Delhi.

In the aftermath of this political and social change, the affluent traders called 'nagar-seth' who had provided financial assistance to the rulers of various towns bought or built their havelis at prestigious locations on the main commercial streets near the town centres.[91] The merchant havelis although were less elaborate than the earlier lavish umrah havelis of the 18th and 19th centuries, copied many of the features of the preceding umrah havelis including highly decorated facades, large entrance doorways and elaborate internal layouts.[92] But these were smaller and simpler in comparison to the monumental palaces of earlier times.

Mercantile communities operated their businesses from their dwellings which were also used for larger group meetings.[93] Clients were invited and entertained at merchant havelis as a place of business and a range of client based activities took place within the complex including trade, commerce and manufacturing.[94] The merchant haveli, depending on the status of its patron, served the multiple purposes of residence with business offices, storage, production areas, meeting halls and serais for visitors. All of these activities could be either included within a single domestic haveli (in the case of smaller merchants) or a large haveli complex consisting of buildings with multiple courtyards. These havelis as urban houses were a distinctive typology which was the product of their socio-economic context as they accommodated domestic, commercial and business activities alongside one another.

The dual function of the merchant haveli was managed in a single house by keeping the business functions on the ground floor and at the front of the house with easy access from the outside. Merchant havelis with two or more storeys allocated the ground floor to work and business and used it as a male domain.[95] This ground floor was accessible from the street and could be used for more public purposes. Privacy, for the family was catered to by building vertically, with upper levels containing private living quarters and acted as the domain of the household womenfolk.[96] At times the front and back of the haveli served the purposes of public and private domains respectively. Generally the men and women occupied different spaces of the haveli during the day; the men were at the front, so that the women would be housed in the back. If the men occupied the ground floor, then the women would carry out their work on the first and second floors. These spatial qualities can be categorised as the front and the back of the house.[97] In any case, the men's part of the haveli was considered the front of the house and the women's domain was the back. They co-existed, next to each other but were carefully divided spatially.

The general arrangement of allowing outsiders access to the house resulted in certain design elements like winding deorhis and staircases located in corners which helped to maintain the separate male and female domains, while at the same time ensuring that the business and private activities of the families ran smoothly. The entrance vestibule via many twists and turns led into a courtyard with rooms around it. The decor of the haveli also responded to these separate domains by giving priority to the embellishment and decoration of rooms on the ground and first floors. The rooms on the upper floors housed the family and depending on the status of the family were also embellished, but to a lesser degree. The top floor was usually reserved for utilitarian purposes like cooking, washing and toilet facilities, and these rooms were left bare. In the early 20th century, shops came to be located at the ground floor front of havelis, with the family quarters located behind and above them. A small staircase was located in a separate deorhi, either next to or behind the shops, which led to the first floor residence. This layout completely separated the commercial zone from the domestic zone.

Within a haveli, the rooms were designed as multi-purpose spaces, as they provided for different activities and usages during the day and night. The rooms were used as reception or family rooms during the day as well as dining rooms, whereas at night they would be used for sleeping. To fulfil these varied functions, the usual furnishing of rooms included matting and carpets on the floor (farshi-nashist) with mattresses and cushions. This responded to the cultural values of sitting on the ground supported by cushions (see fig 6.13). Furnishings included takhts and footstools, low tables, and storage chests.[98] The flexibility of these furnishings allowed the rooms to be inhabited around the clock by all or any member of the extended family.
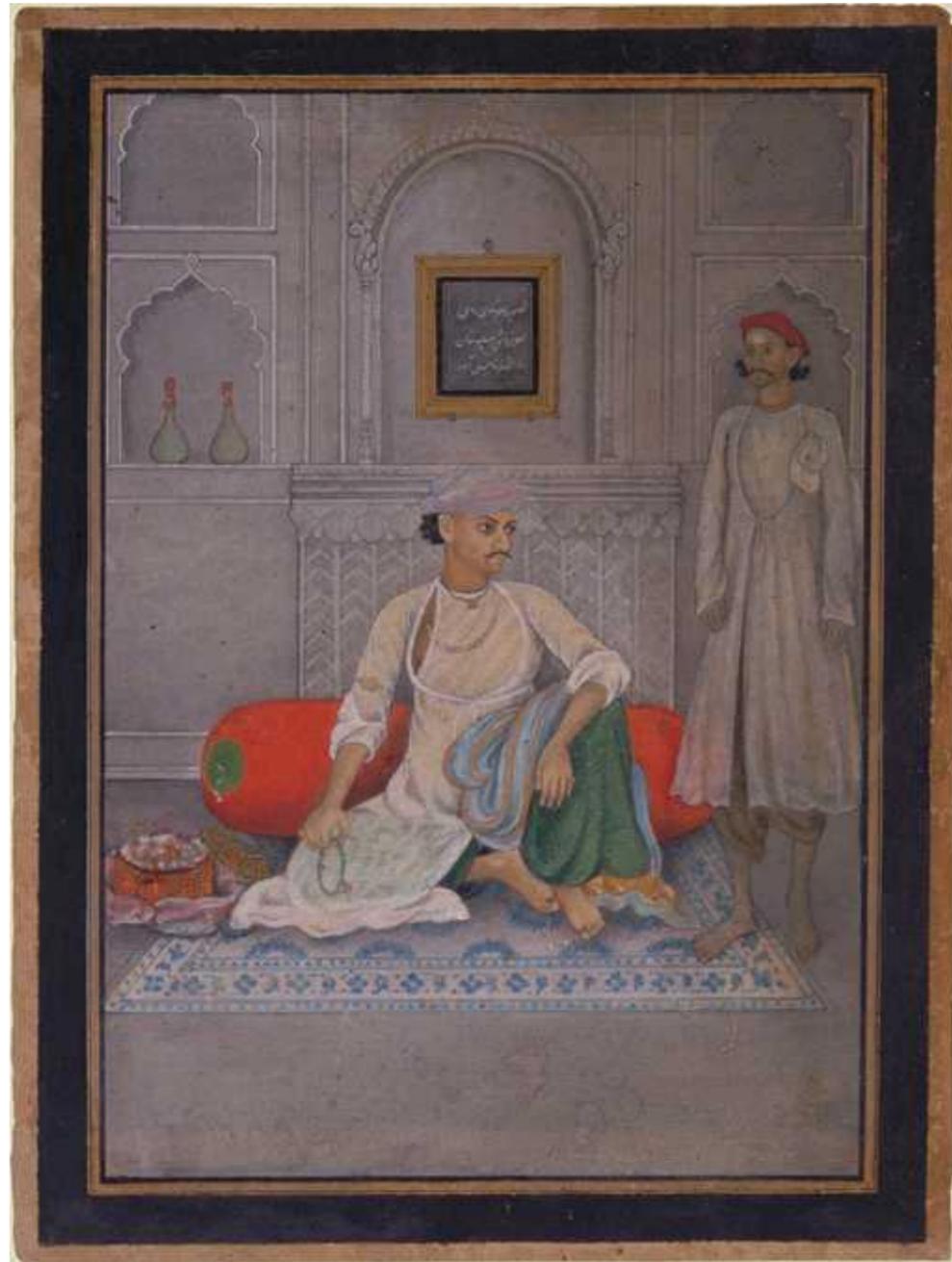
Fig. 6.13 Lala Bhagwandas, Perfume Merchant and Banker of Shahjahanabad, Delhi, c.1820

6.8 Transformations in the *haveli:* European cultural influences

How do political events affect culture and transform them?[99] The answer lies in looking at the cultural practices in the turbulent era of the decline and end of the Mughal Empire; the hundred years between the 1757 British victory at the Battle of Plassey and the sacking of the Mughal capital of Delhi in 1857. The earlier European visitors to India were enthusiastic participants and patrons of the unique cultural settings of the Mughal courts.[100] Many of the British officers adapted themselves to Indian customs including marrying local aristocratic women and wearing Mughal attire (see fig.6.14). This crossing over from the European to the Mughal culture took place mainly from the 1770s to the 1830s, and was attributed to 'the seductive elegance of the Mughal civilization".[101] The early British officials thus represented an image of a tolerant 'Indo-phile white Mughal', who behaved benevolently towards his Indian counterparts and immersed himself in the prevalent Persianate culture.[102] The interaction, respect and transition of cultures were mutual between the British and Indians in the 18th and early 19th century. Europeans adopted Indian dress, mannerisms and architecture, similarly Europe's influence was also physically manifested in the adoption of European styles in the design and decoration of many of the Indian palaces.[103]

Delhi saw the diminishing of its political power from the 18th century onwards, but continued to serve as the major cultural centre of India.[104] The British East India Company's territorial ambitions and acquisitions, along with the Mughal Court's overriding indulgence in pleasure gardens, courtesans and the arts led to the Empire's disintegration.[105] With the decreasing fortunes of the Mughal Emperors, court artists and poets sought other centres of patronage and moved to the smaller but richer courts of the independent Princely states.[106] This led to a new cultural renaissance at the regional courts of Lucknow and Hyderabad, which grew to become the biggest centres of the Mughal culture outside Delhi. The architecture and building decorative arts of Lucknow, Hyderabad and Bahawalpur among other independent states flourished and at the same time underwent stylistic changes in order to remain in touch with the changing realities of political and social changes of the early colonial period.[107]

Fig. 6.14 Sir David Ochterlony (1758-1825), in Indian dress, smoking a hookah and watching a *nautch* in his house at Delhi, c. 1820.

Delhi was a uniquely Mughal city until the middle of the 19th century, still to absorb external influences like Lucknow, Hyderabad and other centres that had evolved into multicultural cities. Earlier British residents had found this all compassing courtly culture hard to resist, but Sir Thomas Metcalfe (British Resident in Delhi 1835-1853) had a more restrained attitude. He, along with other British officials of the time, disapproved of the social, cultural and sexual interactions between the British and the Indians.[108] But this transitory period was not without its contradictions, as Metcalf commissioned local artists to paint Mughal buildings, monuments and lifestyles.[109] These documentations not only became an important historical record of the culture of the era but were a kind of homage to the Mughal culture.[110] These British patronized works produced on a large scale were called 'Company

paintings' which portrayed India as a country lost in time. Along with these the 'Picturesque' paintings of British artists of the era acted as part of the construct to show the degrading and decaying remnant of a previously glorious civilization. These works led to development of the ideologies that strengthened and justified the British Raj; that the 'backward and noble, but inferior' culture of India needed the gentle guidance of the much superior British civilization.[111]

As the British strengthened their hold over Delhi, their earlier attitude of benevolence towards the local cultures was supplanted by the harsher racial segregation policies of the late Victorian 19th and 20th century. Subsequently, the ideologically biased Orientalist interpretation of 18th century and early 19th century India was of a decadent and disintegrating country.[112] This interpretation was continually perpetuated through visual and textual descriptions by European sources (19th to 20th century).[113] This decadence was also associated with the (perceived) decline in the culture and the arts of the era.[114] These European generated perceptions of decadence and decline in culture are closely associated to and rationalised increased British hegemony in the sub-continent and the disposal of independently ruled states one after another until the last Mughal Emperor Bahadar Shah Zafar was deposed.

The British transformed themselves from traders (1639-1690) to invaders (1757-1857) and the East India Company converted from a mercantile corporation to a major territorial power. From the 18th century onwards the British increasingly made their power visible through ritual performances and dramatic display in the form of Raj darbars held in 1877, 1903, and 1911. They carried out vast documentation, recording and classifications of the people of India and their culture; religions, castes, occupations, architecture, languages among many others.[115] This helped to develop a large body of protocols and procedures that established and extended their capacity to rule a large sub-continent. The British colonial intervention was not just rule by a foreign power but the cultural transformation of people. This re-formation of the Indian society was done on multiple levels including governmental policies, education, architecture, town planning and the arts. The defining and classification of every aspect of this large sub-continent and its representation (as colonists had the power to translate the culture as they saw it or to mould it), became the

most significant instrument of governance.[116] Indian culture was ordered and portrayed in a particular Orientalist manner for achieving cultural domination, which helped to form an imperial Identity for the Raj.

The Picturesque was the principal and fundamental aesthetic legacy of the Raj as it helped to gloss over the harsher realities of colonization.[117] It became the principal paradigm and frame of representation for colonial images of India.[118] These representations were newer interpretations based on a Western way of seeing India. The visual representations of the empire became a force that shaped people's perceptions of the country.[119] These were sentimental and exotic representations of how the British wanted to see India. These thus became not merely a 'representation of place' but allegories that formed the basis of the colonial claims to possess. The Indian Empire or 'Raj' was slowly constructed visually and pictorially over an 'imagined' India. The control over the images (picturesque & company paintings) that represented India, the architecture (Indo-Saracenic) that represented India, the language (Hindoostani) that translated India, were among the many cultural controls of colonialism that went deeper than its physical changes. Thus culture effectively became a product of controlling what the British wanted India to represent and mean. This culture could thus be proudly displayed at great international exhibitions held in 1851, 1862, 1871 and 1886, which showcased colonial visual forms at international arenas. These highlighted Britain's efforts to educate, train, industrialise, conserve and display the 'exotic' crafts and products of India. As the colonial power was engaged in wiping out local art traditions, it also wanted to preserve them at the level of representation.[120]

How can a culture maintain and transform itself at the same time? Indian and later Mughal society was not immune from outside influences, it continually absorbed external influences and adopted and adapted these successfully. Persianate culture and Islamic ideology were the foundation of the empire but Chinese and later European influences from the early 17th century onwards were also added to enrich its cultural base. An example in this regard is the influence of Ming vases from China, which were successfully incorporated in the fresco motif of 'the vase with bouquet' on all Indian imperial, religious and local buildings. Similarly, European iconography of the Bible was incorporated in Mughal paintings including halos and cherubs. External influences became part of the Mughal style and

helped it to continually grow and at the same time remain relevant to its era. But the essence of the empire's culture and arts was always Persianate. This was continually reinforced from the Delhi Sultanate to Bahadar Shah Zafar's eras (1206-1857).

Art and architecture were critical in helping to construct and visualize the empire, as these became ideological works which helped to transform the colonized lands into aesthetically pleasing and morally satisfying landscapes. Indigenous culture was labelled as decaying, decadent, morally unsuitable, out of touch, old fashioned and thus redundant. This led to the decline of the revered Persianate culture in the Indian sub-continent and its slow but steady replacement by Anglophile culture.[121] New cultural norms came about as changes occurred in Indians' world view and traditionalist lifestyles were replaced by the colonists' approved progressive outlook.[122] There were also aspirations of indigenous people to be closer to their new masters the British and an active emulation of the British way of doing things. In order to fit in the new social hierarchies, adoptions of the new world view were reflected by changes in lifestyles and residences.

The literature of the mid 19th century gives an idea of the cultural changes adopted by the Indian upper and middle class to stay relevant in this era. These included changes in the residences, dress and lifestyles to shape the 'native gentlemen'. These transformations in the native lifestyles are best described by Deputy Nazir Ahmad through his fictional character Ibn-al-Waqt (the opportunist).[123] Ibn-al-Waqt was an admirer of the British and was keen to adopt a lifestyle more acceptable to his new English friends. Nazir Ahmad's other character Mr Nobel (a British officer) encourages Ibn-al-Waqt to adopt the role of a reformer and adopt significant changes in his values and lifestyle.[124] This is taken up enthusiastically by Ibn-al-Waqt who makes changes in his dress, food and house, leaving the city *haveli* and moving into the cantonment bungalow. Much of the literature and movies which depict the late 19th and early 20th century India, indicate the social and lifestyle changes taking place among the middle and upper classes.[125] Their responses to the changed political dynamics were reflected in their changed lifestyles and emulation or rejection of the newly prevalent colonial values.

These dynamics were also reflected in the domestic architecture of the era. As people accepted western education and western ways, they saw their lifestyles as old fashioned

and unacceptable. This led to changes within the traditional environments of the old *mohallas* and in the decorative elements of the *haveli* and its furnishings. On the other hand it also led to the rejection of the old *haveli* neighbourhoods and their lifestyles in favour of the colonial bungalow in the suburbs and new spatial layouts of these new environments. Just as the British were anxious to graft visual symbols of European origin on older Mughal structures to assert their identity, Indians also adopted the same symbols to underscore their allegiance to the British. Consequently, European architectural influence began to manifest itself in the cities by the third decade of the 19th century, when indigenous dwellings, notably *havelis* started to exhibit European architectural elements. These transformations took place at a superficial level, as the spatial delineation of *havelis* still conformed to the traditional pattern. These external symbols were grafted to indicate a new progressive identity, yet there was a reluctance to let go of traditional roots.

The indigenous *havelis* in Peshawar, as elsewhere in India, also underwent a spatial, construction and material transformation in their owners' urge to emulate European mores. The new *havelis* that were constructed in the late 19th and early 20th century were relatively modest dwellings in comparison to the grander *havelis* that had previously occupied the area. Spatially, they were compact and usually built around one courtyard. Externally they adopted European stylistic elements like Neo-Gothic windows, segmental arched openings, classical columns, semi-circular openings, stained glass, iron grilles, piers on facades and rectangular cast and wrought iron balconies (see fig. 6.15).

The spatial novelties reflective of a European lifestyle that were introduced inside the *havelis*, included a reception room for guests, generally located on the ground floor, close to the entrance, which was furnished with European furniture. Among the European design and decoration elements that found a place in the *havelis* were fireplaces, mantelpieces, fanlights, mirrors, furniture, chandeliers, clocks and electric fans. The patrons of *havelis* attached particular meanings to their domestic decorations, and to the ways in which these objects embodied meaningful social relations and significant connections between the family members and their visitors.[126] These goods were also used to achieve status for the *haveli* and its owners.

Fig. 6.15 An early 20th century *haveli*, Bhabra Bazaar, Rawalpindi

While the *zenana* quarters generally maintained the earlier floor seating layouts, some *havelis* incorporated beds in the rooms with writing tables, chairs and in some cases European paintings were hung on the walls.[127]

123

Western inspired ornamentation and enhancements, proved to be a superficial adaptation, as the *havelis'* layouts continued to follow traditional patterns, which were indispensable to indigenous lifestyles.[128] New *havelis* incorporated European industrial technology and materials, like structural steel column and beam sections, tiles, stained glass, corrugated galvanized iron sheets, and timber panelled and louvered door and window shutters. Also popular were pre-fabricated cast and wrought elements like iron brackets, balconies, staircases, and balustrades that were imported from foundries in Britain.

The British capture of Mughal Delhi was a watershed moment in Indian history; the sub-continent subsequently underwent dramatic physical, social and cultural changes over the years following 1857. In this changed landscape, the *havelis* of the late 19th to the early 20th century adopted many European internal and external stylistic elements, but their basic design elements remained traditional. The courtyard typologies of city *havelis* were unaltered and along with the systems of separation of the inside and outside (segregation of the gender domains) like the *dehliz* and *deorhis*, these components transcended time. The *havelis* maintained their integral connections and layouts as specified by Indian culture, but transformed elements of their facades to signal their colonial identities. Despite cultural transformations brought about by colonialism, *havelis* on the whole, represented shared values which continued to be passed down between generations of patrons, uniting the typology in a common thread.

[1] John S.Reynolds, *Courtyards, Aesthetic, Social and Thermal delight.* (New York: John Wiley & Sons ,2002): 18.

[2] V.S. Pramar , *A Social History of Indian Architecture,* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005): 51.

[3] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian mansions: A social history of the haveli*, (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 1998):1.

[4] Shikha Jain, "The Havelis of Rajasthan: Form and Identity," (PhD diss, DeMontfort University, Leicester, U.K., 2002): 1.1.

[5] Sunand Prasad, "The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House," (PhD diss. Faculty of Fine Arts, The Royal College of Art, London,1988): 1.1.

[6] "Murad Khane," accessed September 12, 2014, http://www.wmf.org/project/murad-khane.
This is an old historic district of Kabul, whose land was granted to the nobility by Ahmad Shah Durrani in the 18th century. Many opulent havelis were built here in the 19th and early 20th century and they display construction and design features including intricately carved wood and plaster decorations which are similar to the Sethi havelis of Peshawar.

[7] Prasad, *Havelis of North India*, 3.1

[8] Jain, *The Havelis of Rajasthan: Form and Identity* ,1.3

[9] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 1 (2001): 26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, doi: 10.2307/991677

[10] Prasad, *The Havelis of North India*, 1.7

[11] Jain, *The Havelis of Rajasthan: Form and Identity*,1.10

[12] Prasad, *Havelis of North India*. Jain, *Havelis of Rajasthan*.
Himanish Das, "Principles of Design and Craftsmanship in the Traditional Architecture of Jaisalmer."(PhD diss, Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, 2005), accessed March 14, 2014 http://orca.cf.ac.uk/55594/.
Also see
Gupta, *Wada (courtyard houses) of Maharashtra.*

[13] Himanish Das, "Principles of Design and Craftsmanship in the Traditional Architecture of Jaisalmer." (PhD diss, Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, 2005): 29-30.
See Das's discussions regarding the three *shaili* /schools of architecture in the region and the pre-dominance of the Mughal *shaili* from the 17th to the mid 19th century.

[14] Prasad, *The Havelis of North India*, 3.9

[15] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal. *The Raj, Lahore, and Bhai Ram Singh*, (Lahore: Research and Publication Centre National College of Arts, 2006): 27-29.

See the authors' discussion regarding colonial constructs which required the great variety of Indian architecture to be classified on the basis of two religions, Hindu and Muslim. This neglected the variations in response to culture, climate and materials.

Also see Claude Batley, "The design development of Indian architecture" (1934); where two carved doors images are labeled as Hindu doorway and Mohammadan doorway

[16] Catherine B. Asher, "Sub-imperial palaces: Power and authority in Mughal India." *Ars orientalis,* 23 (1993): 281-302.

[17] Prasad, 1.6

[18] Alka Patel, " Reinscribing Home: The Architectural Patronage of Hyderabad's Banking and Mercantile Communities." *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*, Conveners: Karen Leonard & Alka Patel 31 October-2 November 2008. The University of California, Irvine, accessed March 14, 2014 http://www.humanities.uci.edu/arthistory/indomuslimcultures.

[19] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (2001): 26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/991677.

[20] Hosagrahar, *Mansions to Margins*

See Hosagrahar's discussions regarding the decline of the Umrah havelis of Delhi in the 19th century and their replacement by smaller havelis of merchants.

[21] William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: love and betrayal in eighteenth-century India.* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2004): 250. See Dalrymple's description of the Umrah *havelis* of Hyderabad.

[22] François Bernier**,** *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668* Westminster, Eng.: Constable, 1891. Accessed April 12 2014, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6093710_000/. 247.

[23] Hosagraher. *Mansions to Margins*

[24] Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara; being the account of a journey from India Vol 1-2*, 211.

[25] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian mansions: A social history of the Haveli* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan,1998).:10

[26] 'Joint family", accessed March 16, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_joint_family,
A joint-family consists of an extended family house with multiple generations living together. All the male members are blood relatives and all the women are either mothers, wives, unmarried daughters, or widowed relatives, all bound by the common relationship.

[27] Prasad, 2.3

[28] Amita Sinha, "From tradition to modernity: The role of the dwelling in social change." *EDRA21,*(1990): 6-9, accessed May 21, 2014, http://www.edra.org/sites/default/files/publications/EDRA21-Sinha-157-162.pdf

[29] Prasad. 3.7

[30] Samra Mohsin Khan, "Analysis of Environmental Sustainability and Architectural Design in the Allah Buksh Sethi haveli of Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar." (Masters diss., Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, 2009):137-139.

[31] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, January 20, 2009.

[32] Shahin Heidari, "New Life – Old Structure." *Network for Comfort and Energy use in Buildings.* Conference: 27th – 30th April 2006, accessed March 13, 2009, from http://www.nceub.org.uk/uploads/Heidari.pdf

[33] Rama Mehta, *Inside the Haveli*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1996): 6.

[34] Jain, *The Havelis of Rajasthan: Form and Identity* , 261

[35] Atillio Petruccioli, "The Courtyard House: Typological Variations over Space and Time," in *Courtyard Housing; Past Present and Future,* eds. Brian Edwards, Magda Sibley, Mohammad Hakmi and Peter Land (Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2006): 3-20.

[36] Khan, *Analysis of Environmental Sustainability and Architectural Design*, 73-84.
See the author's detailed discussions on the various environmental modifying properties of the courtyard including aspect ratio and solar penetration.

[37] Prasad, 3.1

[38] Yiorgos Hadjichristou, "Rediscovery of the Courtyard, as a Major Intangible Cultural Heritage." EUROMED 2012, 361-365, accessed on January 4, 2015; http://openarchives.gr/search/Cultural%20heritage

[39] Yiorgos Hadjichristou, Rediscovery of the Courtyard as a Major Intangible Cultural Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage in the Digital Era*, Volume 1, Supplement 1, (2012): 361-366, accessed March 4, 2015, http://lekythos.library.ucy.ac.cy/handle/10797/6122.DOI 10.1260/2047-4970.1.0.361

[40] Prasad, 3.2

[41] Taimur Khan Mumtaz, interview by author, June 12, 2015.

The hasht-behist meaning the eight paradises in Persian is the eight squares around a central space, making this the nine-fold plan similar to the mandala. The hasht-behist plan was a Mughal adoption of the Persian proto-type and was used widely for gardens, palaces, mosques and tombs (Hamayun's and the Taj Mahal). The generic form also found its way into domestic architecture.

[42] Nisar Khan, "Hasht-Bihisht metaphor of metaphysical manifestation in architecture & urban design of Islamic realm." (2011) accessed June 22, 2015, https://www.academia.edu/12617353/Hasht-Bihisht_Metaphor_of_metaphysical_manifestation_in_architecture_and_urban_design_of_Islamic_realm

[43] Timur Khan Mumtaz, interview

[44] Sikha Jain, "Understanding Courtyard Design through Havelis of Rajasthan", *Insite* 09, (2011): 18-21, accessed on May 12, 2014, http://www.academia.edu/1009411/Understanding_Courtyard_Design_through_Havelis_of_Rajasthan

[45] Jain, 6.1, 6.2,
Also see Himanish das, 36

[46] Ismet Khambatta, "The meaning of residence in traditional Hindu society." *Dwellings, Settlements, and Tradition, University Press of America, Lanham, MD* (1989): 257-274.

[47] Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969): 6.

[48] The Sethi havelis have been added to in different eras but the designs sit within an overall vocabulary, which gives the house an overall balance and symmetry.

[49] Samuel K. Parker, "Artistic Practice and Education in India: A Historical Overview," *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1987): 123-141, accessed June 16, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3332836

[50] Abul Fazal Allami, "*Ain-i-Akbari*," [Vol. 1] Book the First, The Imperial Household. On buildings, 222-225, accessed October 2, 2015,
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00litlinks/abulfazl/ain_zzcontents.html

[51] Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 131.

[52] Parker, *Artistic Practice and Education in India*

[53] Naazish Ata-ullah, "Stylistic hybridity and colonial art and design education; A wooden carved screen by Ram Singh", in *Colonial and the object; Empire, Material Culture and the Museum,* eds. Tim.J. Barrington and Tom Flynn, (Oxon: Routledge, 1998): 68-81.

Also see Stella Kramrisch, "Traditions of the Indian craftsman." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 224-230, accessed March 15 2015, doi: 10.2307/538558

[54] Rubina Qizilbash, "Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian." (Masters diss, University of Peshawar, 1991): 77.

[55] Stella Kramrisch, "Traditions of the Indian craftsman." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 224-230, accessed March 15 2015, doi: 10.2307/538558

[56] Pervaiz Vandal, interview by author, September 9, 2014.
Also Sethi,
See the discussions regarding the construction of the Elahi Buksh Sethi haveli.

[57] Sajida Haider Vandal, *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab*. (Islamabad: UNESCO, 2011):126-127.
See the images showing the fresco paintings on the wall of the grave chamber of Zain ul Abideen, the fresco shows the grave chamber and the compound wall of the shrine.

[58] The large opulent haveli was commissioned by Hayat Khan a merchant-banker of the late 19th century. The plan and front elevation drawings have been drawn to guide the construction of the house and articulate the main façade.

[59] Tillotson, 14

[60] Jain, 6.9
Jain translates the term *sutar* as thread, with the term *sutradhar* to mean man with a measuring thread. However, the term '*sutar/sut*' is also used for the dimension 1/8". Therefore the word *sutradhar* possibly means the man who makes measurements: an architect/mistri.

[61] Jain, 6.1

[62] Pervaiz Vandal, interview by author, March 6, 2014.

[63] Jain, 6.4

[64] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*. Lahore: Research and Publication Centre, National College of Arts (2006): 32-35
See the author's discussions regarding the early buildings by the British military engineers in India, which were generally copies of the architect, designed buildings of larger cities like Calcutta and used French and Italian pattern books for reference.

Also see Parimoo Ratan, "Revival of Indian Architecture: The debate and the plight of the Mistri." *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 12, no. 1 (2015): 45-67.

'Charles Mant (1839-1881) arrived in India in 1859 as a member of Royal Engineers and began designing buildings-one in Surat, one 'in Kolhapur'.

The PWD came into existence in July 1854 when Lord Dalhousie established a central agency for execution of public works.

[65] Thomas R. Metcalf, "Architecture and the representation of empire: India, 1860-1910." *Representations* 6 (1984): 37-65.

Also see Ratan Parimoo, "Revival of Indian Architecture: The debate and the plight of the Mistri." *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 12, no. 1 (2015): 45-67.

[66] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, 33, 39

[67] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, 103

[68] Held at the Crystal Palace, England, in 1851.

[69] Mahrukh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India." *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1980): 53-81, accessed June 15, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3826879

The author writes that, the schools were located in cities that were primarily the seats of government and European commerce rather than the great centers of Indian art and industry.
Also see

[70] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, 126-127

[71] Tarapor, *John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India*

[72] Nadeem Omar Tarar , "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture, and Art Education in the Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab", *South Asian Studies*, 27:2,(2011): 199-219, accessed July 21 2016, doi: 10.1080/02666030.2011.614427

Also see Hussain Ahmad Khan, "Rationalizing the Mystical Relationship of Art with Artist: Art Discourses in England and formative years of Mayo School of Arts, Lahore (1875-1895)." *Historian (20745672)* 7, no. 1 (2009): 89-109, accessed on August 19 2016, http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/1875411/5.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAJ56TQJRTWSMTNPEA&Expires=1471626577&Signature=92%2Blbi8aThFfxk8HSbBo9WTIw8Y%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DRationalizing_the_Mystical_Relationaship.pdf

And Tahir Kamran, "Lockwood Kipling's Role and the Establishment of the Mayo School of Art (1875–1898)." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third Series)* 26, no. 03 (2016): 443-461.

And Parker, *Artistic practice and education in India: A historical overview*
See the authors discussions regarding Kipling's methodology at the Mayo School, closely followed by Havell at the Government School of Art in Madras in 1884, where he reorganized the program getting rid of the examples of European imagery which had been used as teaching aids in the drawing classes and replaced them with indigenous models.

And Hussain Ahmad Khan, "Tracing the Genealogy of Art Instruction in Colonial Lahore: German Philosophy, Design Pedagogy and Nineteenth-Century England." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 2 (2015): 43-55.

[73] Tarapor, *John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India*

[74] Parker, *Artistic practice and education in India: A historical overview*

[75] Parimoo Ratan, *Revival of Indian Architecture: The debate and the plight of the Mistri*
[76] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, 106-121,126-243.
And http://www.ihbc.org.uk/context_archive/75/osborne/durbar.html
Bhai Ram Singh was educated at the Mayo school under the tutelage of Kipling and was encouraged to produce many buildings and important commissions independently. These include the Bhai Ram singh quadrangle; a group of buildings for the Mayo School, Lahore Museum, Aitcheson College, Punjab University and many other prestigious institutional buildings on the Mall Road, Lahore. He went to the U.K to work on the 'Durbar room' at Osborne Hall, Isle of Wright, Queen Victoria's retreat and later principal residence. The furnishings of this room were also designed and carved by Ram Singh (1890-91) He was also sent by Kipling to work on the commission of the Bagshot Park, Surrey by the Duke of Connaught
Also see Bagshot Park, accessed August 15, 2016, http://bagshotvillage.org.uk/bpark/index.shtml

Duke of Connaught, when visiting India, met Lockwood Kipling (the father of Rudyard) who was a notable designer and art educator. The Duke asked him to design some rooms in the Indian style, including a corridor, the billiard room and a chapel at Bagshot Park (1880s). They were made in India, ready to be assembled in Surrey. Bhai Ram Singh spent two years working on the carvings; he and an apprentice were accommodated in a tent in the grounds.

[77] Alasdair Glass, Durbar Room at Osborne, Senior Project Director at English Heritage, 2002. Accessed August 15, 2016, http://theesotericcuriosa.blogspot.com/2012/10/the-esoteric-miscellanea-sustenance-for_16.html

And   A New and Exciting Mystery - The Dodge Billiards Table ex Bagshot Park. Accessed August 15, 2016, http://theroyalwindsorforum.yuku.com/reply/35325/-New-Exciting-Mystery-Dodge-Billiards-Table-ex-Bagshot#.V7F6b6Km31k

[78] Lockwood, J. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today." *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 3 (1886).

[79] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh*, 51

[80] Sethi, 41.

The Sethi family retained many mistris, naqqash and wood craftsmen for generations to work on the design, construction and embellishment of their havelis.

[81] Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh,* 50

[82] Omacanda Hāṇḍā and Madhu Jain, *Wood Handicraft: A Study of Its Origin and Development in Saharanpur,* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 2000): 38.

[83] Handa & Jain, *Wood Handicraft,* 41

The authors list a famous wood-carver of Beri in Haryana, who worked at many places in Haryana, Haridwar and many places in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

[84] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98 (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004): 228.

[85] Jahangiri brick refers to the smaller sized bricks (6'x3'x1.5') manufactured in Lahore and surrounding areas in the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627), these were also called Lahori bricks and Waziri

bricks in Peshawar with reference to its usage during Wazir Khan's (Shah Jehan's governor of Kabul and Peshawar) reign in the city.

[86] Das, *Principles of Design and Craftsmanship*, 122

[87] Jain, 259

[88] Syed Mueen-ur-Rahman, *Ghalib aur Inqilab-i-satavan* (Ghalib and the 1857 revolution), (Lahore: Al-Waqar Publishers, 2006): 155-156.

Ghalib was the poet of the imperial court of the last Mughal Emperor Bahadar Shah Zafar, who suffered the storming of Delhi by the British EIC occupying forces and their purging of the city. The massive genocide of the population of the city (mostly Muslim) resulted in the vacancy of the *umrah haveli* by the fleeing nobles of Delhi. Ghalib was a chronicler of a turbulent period. One by one, Ghalib saw the bazaars – Khas Bazaar, Urdu Bazaar, Kharam-ka Bazaar, disappear, whole mohallas (localities) and katras (lanes) vanish. The havelis (mansions) of his friends were razed to the ground. Ghalib wrote that Delhi had become a desert. Water was scarce. Delhi was now " a military camp". It was the end of the feudal elite to which Ghalib had belonged. Ghalib's letters to his friends written from 1857 till his death in 1869 chronicled the devastation of the imperial city, its residents and architecture.

[89] Christopher Alan Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars; North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 371.

[90] Hosagrahar, *Mansions to Margins*

[91] Jain, 3.25

[59] Hosagrahar, *Mansions to Margins*

See Hosagrahar's discussions regarding the decline of the Umrah havelis of Delhi in the 19th century and their replacement by smaller havelis of merchants.

[93] Pramar, 41

[94] Pramer, 51
 The author writes that separate offices or places of business did not exist where the merchants could carry out business activities, thus the merchant residence fulfilled these activities.

[95] Prasad, 3.1

[96] Hosagrahar, *Mansions*

[97] Pramer, 47

[98] Pedro Moura Carvalho, " What Happened to the Mughal Furniture? The Role of the Imperial Workshops, the Decorative Motifs Used, and the Influence of Western Models." *Muqarnas,* Vol. 21, Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers (2004): 79-93, accessed June 16, 2015, doi:111.68.99.58

[99] George D. Bearce, "Intellectual and Cultural Characteristics of India in a changing Era, 1740-1800," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.25, No.1 (1965): 3-17, accessed February 10, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2051037

[100] Asia Society, "Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi; 1707-1857", accessed September 20, 2015, http://sites.asiasociety.org/princesandpainters/press/

Press release of the exhibition :
"Artists were supported by the Mughal court in Delhi and the city's ascendant European residents, creating an environment of extraordinary interaction and influence between them and the new world of the British East India Company. As the British took over the reign of a dispersed empire from the Mughals in 1803, they were enamored of its courtly elegance and sought to participate in its culture as patrons and enthusiasts. Company painting, involving artistic commissions undertaken by Indian artists for officers of the British East India Company, was practiced alongside Mughal court painting, with both patrons utilizing the services of a common group of artists."

[101] William Dalrymple, *White Mughals; Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India.* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002): 5-23

See the author's description of the early British residents and officers in the courts of the late Mughal courts in Delhi and Agra and at the provincial courts of the vazirs at Lucknow and Hyderabad and their enthusiastic assimilation into Mughal culture.

[102] Dalrymple, *White Mughals;*

The author coined the term 'White Mughal' to describe Europeans who wholeheartedly adopted India culture; customs, language, dress and marriages.

[103] Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, *The tradition of Indian architecture: continuity, controversy and change since 1850,* (Rhode Island:Yale University Press, 1989): 1-25.

[104] "Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi; 1707-1857", Asia Society, accessed September 20, 2015, http://sites.asiasociety.org/princesandpainters/press/

"Having lost military, political and economic power to the newly arrived British in Calcutta, Delhi continued to maintain its extraordinary cultural, literary, and artistic patronage networks."

[105] This decline is associated with The Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) who was nicknamed 'Rangeela', a reference to his various indulgences which led to the decadence as well as the degeneration of the Mughal Empire. Interestingly, this also became an age where the arts blossomed due to patronage by the declining Mughal courts as well as the new emerging regional courts.

[106] George D. Bearce, "Intellectual and Cultural Characteristics of India in a changing Era, 1740-1800," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No.1 (1965): 3-17, accessed February 10, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2051037

[107] Tillotson, *The tradition of Indian architecture:* 1-25

See Tillotson's discussions regarding the modification of traditional architecture in Nawabi sponsored buildings which copied classical western architecture to stay relevant to the new era of colonization. These were generally considered 'vulgar' and lacking in taste by the British.

[108] "The Last Emperor; The final Mughal ruler of Delhi was a mystic, poet and calligrapher. But the art of his reign would have been lost but for an eccentric Briton", accessed on October 10 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2003/aug/16/art.highereducation

[109] "The vivid paintings that record a Briton's love of Delhi," BBC News Magazine. Newsletter.**(**19 September 2015), accessed October 12, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34292276

The 'Dehlie Book' commissioned between 1842 and 1844, by Sir Thomas Metcalfe was a series of images of the monuments, ruins, palaces and shrines of Delhi, by an artist named Mazhar Ali Khan. He later had the images bound into an album and wrote a long, descriptive text to accompany them.

[110] "The Last Emperor; The final Mughal ruler of Delhi was a mystic, poet and calligrapher. But the art of his reign would have been lost but for an eccentric Briton."

Dalrymple notes that, 'It is ironic, therefore, that The Dehlie Book, the most complete and remarkable pictorial record of the sensuous cultural effervescence of the last days of Mughal Delhi, comes from the patronage not of Zafar, nor of the Mughal court itself, but from Zafar's nemesis, the notably stolid and unimaginative British resident (or ambassador), Sir Thomas Metcalfe.

[111] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj.* Volume 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 13.

[112] Bearce, *Intellectual and Cultural Characteristics of India in a changing Era,* 1740-1800.

[113] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India,* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press,1996): 6.
See the author's discussions regarding the creation of a repertoire of images and typifactions that determined what was significant to Europeans. Travel accounts had set pieces like descriptions of holy men and various craftsmen and castes of the country. India was represented by albums such as Col Skinner's and through international exhibitions of its crafts and products. Certain priorities were established in creating the record of its civilization.

[114] This concept is now negated by art historian William Dalrymple. See 'Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi: 1707- 1857'. Exhibition curated by William Dalrymple and Yuthika Sharma. Accessed on September 20 2015. http://sites.asiasociety.org/princesandpainters/
"All empires fall, and by the beginning of the 18th century, the political power of the Mughals had begun to crumble. But for the following 150 years, Delhi remained a major artistic and cultural center, and despite diminished resources, the later Emperors continued to patronize remarkable artists and poets with great discrimination. Scholars are only now coming to recognize that the work of this period is every bit as interesting and innovative as the art produced under their better-known predecessors."

Dalrymple reassesses the art of the later Mughal period as under-studied and much under-appreciated. Calling this a fascinating transitional period which provided the impetus for artistic innovation and experimentation.

Artists at this period are experimenting mixing Western and Mughal traditions of painting: depending on their patron and what is required of them, they can do flat full frontal, in the Mughal tradition, or with perspective and shadow, in the Western mode. They can use watercolors or Indian stone-based pigments, and paint on cloth, wasli or watercolor paper. It's a period of astonishing intellectual and artistic experimentation. At this point cultures are much more open to one another http://asiasociety.org/blog/asia/interview-william-dalrymple-and-very-attractive-world-late-mughals

[115] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 3-4

[116] Tony Ballantyne, "Archives, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian Historiography." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies,* 3, 1, (2001): 87-105, accessed October 12, 2015, www.nzasia.nz/downloads/NZJAS-June01/Archives.pdf.

See the author's discussions regarding the relationship between the colonial state and its archives, which were repositories of cartographic, linguistic, ethnographic, religious, economic and historical knowledge in various forms which helped to construct British domination. This documentation helped to construct an empire of knowledge which led to the reconstruction and transformation of traditional societies based on the 'pen rather than the sword.'

[117] Natasha Eaton, " 'Enchanted Traps?' The Historiography of Art and Colonialism in Eighteenth-century India," *Literature Compass*, 9, 1, (2012): 15–33, accessed February 12 2015, doi 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2011.00863

[118] Michael Charlesworth, "The picturesque, William Hodges,photographs, and some problems in recent interpretation of images of India," *Word & Image*, 23:3 (2007): 376-380, accessed October 15, 2015. doi: 10.1080/02666286.2007.10435792.

[119] Jeffrey Auerbach, "The picturesque and the homogenization of Empire," *The British Art Journal,* Volume V, 1, (2004): 47-54, accessed October 12, 2015, http://www.csun.edu/~jaa7021/Picturesque.pdf.

[120] Eaton, *'Enchanted Traps?*

[121] See the writings of both Mirza Ghalib and Deputy Nazir Ahmad. Mirza Ghalib wrote a booklet praising the British and hailing them as the rightful heirs to the great Indian Empire (Mirza was desperately trying to get the crown to grant him a pension), Also Deputy Nazir Ahmad's Ibn-al-Waqt, which chronicles the rise and fall of a young Anglophile Indian (Deputy was employed by the British as a low ranking magistrate).

[122] Social reformers like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Deputy Nazir Ahmad among others, urged Muslims (against whom the British carried out the harshest reprisals after 1857) to take up modern (English) education and adopt more progressive outlooks and lifestyles.

[123] Deputy Nazir Ahmad, *Ibn-al-Waqt*, (Reprint, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2013):11.

Nazir Ahmad's fictional character Ibn-al-Waqt saves a British officer Mr Nobel during the uprising of 1857 in Delhi. Ibn-al-Waqt rescues a wounded Mr Nobel and nurses him back to health. Mr Nobel is very thankful and once he returns to his camp he helps to employ Ibn-al-Waqt as a honorary magistrate. Ibn-al-Waqt's new employment brings him closer to Mr Nobel and to other English officers. As Nobel becomes his mentor he instructs Ibn-al-Waqt to change the way he dresses, his mannerism and finally move from his home in the city. All of this is suggested to make Ibn-al-Waqt a reformer for improving the lot of other Indians.

[124] Ahmad, *Ibn-al-waqt*, 53

[125] Nazir Ahmad: Much of the writer's work scorns young educated Indians who emulated western values and deserted the traditional ways.
Also see the writings of Rabindar Nath Tagore: Chokhar Bali, which looks at educated Bengali gentlemen who live dual lives as higher caste Brahmins and as native gentlemen and who have introduced western furniture, decorative items, paintings and music to show their new status as the new class of "Indian gentry".

[126] Annemarie Money," Material Culture and the Living Room; The appropriation and use of goods in everyday life," *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 12:19 (2007): 319-341, accessed on June 30 2015, doi: 10.1177/1469540507081630

See the author's discussions about modern day houses in Greater Manchester where the importance of acquisition, appropriation and display of material culture within the domestic setting is discussed. The display and presentation of these objects are a visual validation of the importance and meaning attached to these aspects of material culture.

[127] Chokhar Bali. Movie. Directed by Rituparno Ghosh (2003), Shree Venkatesh Films.
The movie shows the interior of Dr Mahindra, an educated Brahmin's *haveli* in Bengal, where the master bedroom is furnished with a bed, tables, chair, gramophone, paintings and other furnishings that were favored by the British.

[128] "Architecture Under the Nawabs of Awadh; Indian Architecture under the Nawabs of Awadh," accessed June 26, 2015, http://www.indianetzone.com/42/architecture_under_nawabs_awadh.htm

Chapter 7

The rise of the Sethi clan and the construction of family *havelis*

7.1. Introduction: traders and patrons

The relationship between Indian merchants and centres of power; Mughal, Afghan, Iranian, Central Asian, Russian and later Colonial are well documented.[1] Indian merchants travelled widely for trade and continually associated themselves with powerful patrons.[2] These relationships were fostered and maintained through ritualistic gift-giving, sponsoring of philanthropic works and participation in public ceremonies and rituals.[3] The merchants used conscious strategies for the formation of new political relationships with the ruling elite as well as carried out appropriations to be identified as the new urban elite of cities.[4]

These discussions are central to the Sethi clan's migration from Bhera to Chamkani and onwards to Peshawar for trade, their associations with various powerful patrons, religious and political, and their construction of multiple large and embellished *havelis* next to the power centres of Peshawar. The Sethi family built twelve *havelis* in *mohalla* Dhallan (called *Kucha* Sethian from the late 19th century and Sethi *mohalla* from 1947 onwards) from the early 1800s to the early 1900s (Fig 7.1).[5] These *havelis,* built and occupied during shifting political and social periods allowed the family members to carry out the rituals of their daily lives and to represent a group identity. As a group the *havelis* reveal consistencies and a typological coherence that links them together formally. Out of the twelve *havelis* constructed, seven survive in their original form. These as artefacts can be used to study the prevalent culture, its productions, the changes it underwent and the materials it used to express itself.[6] The study and analysis of the existing *havelis* and remaining evidences of the replaced *havelis* can help us to understand their social and cultural context and significance. The *havelis* most importantly offer a narrative on how the Sethi merchant-bankers maintained their group identity, social positions and political aspirations within the fluid political environments of India, Afghanistan, central Asia and Russia.

1	Muhammad Akram house	7	Karim Buksh Sethi haveli
2	Karam Buksh Sethi haveli	8	Abdul Rahim Sethi haveli
3	Fateh Gul Sethi haveli	9	Haveli of Fateh Gul's grandson
4	Ahmed Gul Sethi haveli	10	Abdur Karim Sethi haveli
5	Elahi Buksh Sethi haveli	11	Haveli of Fateh Gul family
6	Saeed Ahmed Sethi haveli	12	Abdul Jalil Sethi haveli
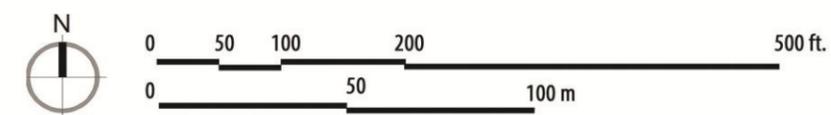
Fig. 7.1 The twelve Sethi *havelis* in Kucha Sethian.

7.2. Sethi trade and migration; Bhera, Chamkani and Peshawar

The Sethi clan were originally residents of the town of Bhera, in the Jhelum region of the Punjab.[7] Bhera, centrally located at the base of the Potohar plateau connecting the regions of Punjab to Afghanistan, Iran and central Asia (through the Khyber Pass and Bolan Pass), served as a major trade centre of the region. From Bhera, the Sethis primarily exported indigo to Central Asia.[8] Mian Hafiz Ghulam Ahmad, a fourth generation Sethi merchant and family patriarch, migrated from Bhera to Chamkani in 1660 to expand the family's trade interests (fig 7.2).[9] Chamkani, a town near Peshawar was an important market located on the Grand Trunk Road. The Sethis received the patronage of Hazrat Mian Muhammad Omar Naqshbandi, a religious leader who was instrumental in the clan's settlement in Chamkani.[10] Various family members, continued to travel from Bhera and Chamkani to Peshawar from the 17th century onwards.[11] India's trade via the Khyber was dominated by Shikarpuri and Multani merchant firms settled and operating from Peshawar since the 18th century.[12] The Sethis also established a trade office in the Qissa Khawani Bazaar, Peshawar to interact with traders from Kabul and Bukhara.[13]

The city of Peshawar offered a larger business centre and Hafiz Fazal Ahmad (son of Hafiz Ghulam Ahmad) moved to a house in Mohalla Baqir Shah around 1730.[14] This *mohalla* near the Bazaar-e-Kalan road was inhabited by goldsmiths and jewellers, and was one of the affluent neighbourhoods of the city.[15] Fazal Ahmad rented a shop in Qissa Khawani Bazaar, to buy and sell merchandise.[16] The stocks and goods of the firm were stored in various go-downs (storage) near the Kabuli *darwaza* and Lahori *darwaza*.[17] In the following years, more members of the clan moved to Peshawar and constructed residences at the junction of the Karim-Pura Bazaar and the Bazaar-e-Kalan road.[18]
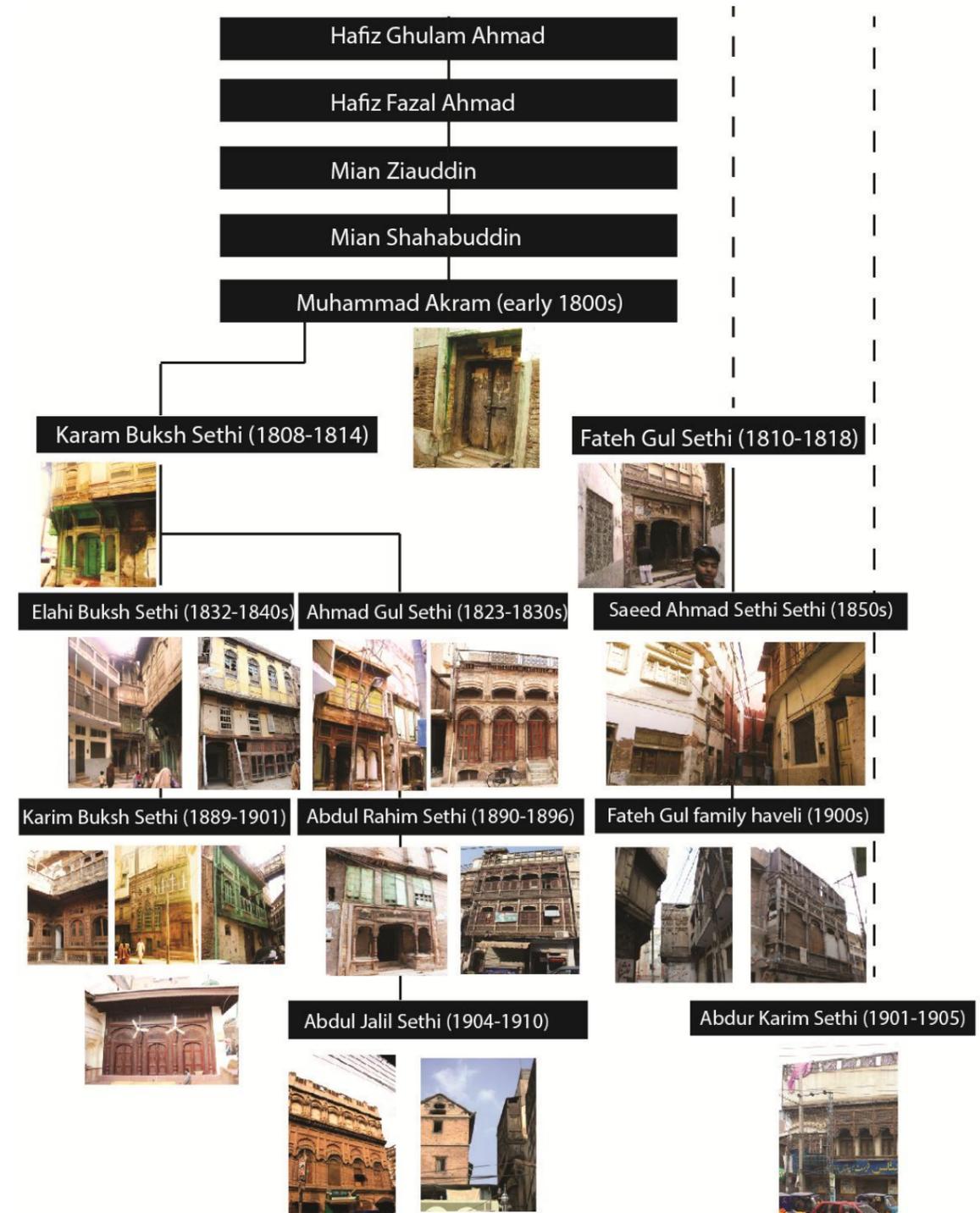
Fig 7.2 Family tree of Sethi merchants.

The political situation of the region became volatile from the early 18th century due to the decline of the Mughal Empire; clashes between political rivals (Afghan and Mughal) and later Nadir Shah's invasion of India.[19] The political crises at Peshawar continued with Ahmad Shah Durrani's invasion in 1747. This time of political upheavals interrupted the family's trade in Peshawar and prompted family members to move back to the relative safety of Chamkani.[20] Mian Ziauddin (son of Hafiz Fazal Ahmad) concentrated on retaining and building the local trade during this time.[21] The Sethi merchants were introduced to Ahmad Shah Durrani at Chamkani, marking the Sethis' unique leadership position among the traders of the area.[22] The Sethis took this opportunity to present gifts to the Durrani king to gain his patronage.[23]

7.3 Durrani era and Sethi trade expansion

Taimur Shah Durrani (ruled 1772 -1793) established Peshawar as the winter capital of his empire, improving trade conditions between Afghanistan and Indian territories of the Afghans. The city of Peshawar in the late 18th century was a large, populous and opulent city of the region.[24] The descriptions of the Durrani lifestyle by Elphinstone indicate that the Afghans continued with the Mughal cultural practices.[25] The royal residence at Qilla Bala-Hisar promoted the settlement of Afghan nobles in the *mohallas* around the Mahabat Khan Mosque and Serai Jehan Ara.[26] The Bazaar-e-Kalan road as the principal route of trade caravans, royal processions and government officials through the city, was surrounded by elite neighbourhoods from the Mughal era.[27]

Mian Shahabuddin (son of Ziauddin) in 1773, moved back to Mohalla Baqir Shah in Peshawar.[28] The Durrani era (1747-1826) presented a relatively stable time for the Sethis to trade from their base in Peshawar with west Asian markets of Kabul, Isfahan and Central Asian markets of Bukhara, Samarkand and Moscow. In 1779, Mian Shahabuddin travelled to Kabul with his son Muhammad Akram and set up the first trade office there.[29] During this time, apart from Afghanistan, the family's business was also expanded towards northern India and Delhi.[30] The family offices at various out-stations were entrusted to *gamashas*.[31] The family exported indigo, cotton cloth, copperware, salt, spices etc., while they imported dry fruit, Gardener porcelain, carpets, gold thread (*tilla*) and gold bullion (10 gm, 25gm, 50

gm pieces).[32] The next family residence was built in Kotla Fil-Banan, which was adjacent to the Ganj *darwaza,* and one of the leading business centres of Peshawar.[33]

As the Sethis moved the firm headquarters from Bhera to Chamkani and finally to Peshawar, the focus of their enterprise changed from indigo, to tea and wood, to currencies, and finally fur.[34] During these developmental stages, the Sethis established associations with various influential people ranging from religious leaders to Durrani nobles, Afghan Amirs and the British government, all of whom served to enhance the family's social position and business empire.

7.4 The development of Sethi *Kucha* during the Durrani era

The area of Mohalla Dhallan was located on a high mound; it was also called Dhallan da Mohalla (settlement on a high mound) and Dhakki Sharif. This area was located close to the western gate of Serai Jehan Ara and adjacent to the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. Mohalla Dhallan had large *umrah havelis* dating from the Mughal era which had been occupied by Durrani nobles in the late 18th century.[35] This elite neighbourhood was considered a safe part of the city and became inhabited by rich Hindu merchants during the turbulent Afghan and later Sikh eras.[36]

Over the period from the late 18th century to the early 19th century, the Sethis grew in affluence and influence. The family's prospering businesses and interactions with the *umrah* of the city (as a result of their affluence) had brought about changes in their lifestyles.[37] Muhammad Akram (Sethi) bought a lot in Mohalla Dhallan, a location which offered prestige and security in this relatively safe part of the city in the early 19th century.[38] The move to Mohalla Dhallan indicated the Sethis' rise up the social ladder and the need of a more appropriate residential address to display this new status.

Muhammad Akram house early 1800s

Muhammad Akram's house was the first of the family residences to be built in this area. This was a small house (lot of 900 ft^2), located on a narrow winding inner street and was possibly not grand enough to be called a *haveli*.[39] The land next to it was later occupied by the *haveli* of the Fateh Gul family.[40] This house was small and lay vacant for a long time after the late 19th century, as it was possibly not as lavishly built or decorated as the later *havelis* that were constructed (see fig 7.3).[41] It was used as a servants' residence to serve the Karim Buksh *zenan-khana* and became abandoned in the 1950s as it fell into disrepair, and many parts of the house including the roof collapsed.[42]

Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli* 1808-1814

Karam Buksh (the son of Muhammad Akram) expanded the business overland by establishing a larger trade office in the centrally located Mulla Shor Bazaar, Kabul.[43] He constructed the next family *haveli* in the *mohalla* (fig 7.4).[44] This is the earliest surviving *haveli* built by the family from 1808-1814.[45] This was a modest sized *haveli* (lot size 1,250ft²/116.13m²) when compared with the grander *havelis* that followed, but was larger than the preceding house. The *haveli* was meticulously built displaying the refined taste of its patron and the highest quality of craftsmanship of the era. It used decorative elements like *chini-khanas*, *pinjra-kari* and *naqqashi*, in emulation of the *umrah havelis* of the city.

Fig. 7.3 The main door of the Muhammad Akram house.

The compact merchant *haveli* of Karam Buksh started the Sethi family's particular style of building embellished *havelis* in the *mohalla*. The Sethi family's patronage of *mistris* and artisans of the city, starting with this *haveli* continued well into the early 20th century.[46] The stylistic influences on the *haveli* are Mughal and through the emulation and appropriation of these elements the residence aspired to associate itself with the ruling elite of the city.

The two *havelis* of Karam Buksh and Fateh Gul mark the first stage of development of the Sethi merchant *havelis* which were small in scale but displayed elements of the larger *umrah havelis* of the era. The design of the *havelis* reflects a relatively prosperous time in Peshawar as trade links with western Asia were vigorous. The well designed havelis embellished with the decorative traditions of *naqqashi, aina-kari, pinjra-kari* and *monabat-kari* marked the work of *mistris*, craftsmen and artisans of the Punjab and Kashmir regions.[48] The use of these decorative arts patronized by the Mughals and the Durranis show the Sethi family's desire to create an identity through architectural and visual elements.[49] The occupation of embellished domestic architecture within an elite *mohalla* helped the Sethis to start creating an identity for themselves starting in the Durrani era.

7.4 Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli.*

Fateh Gul Sethi *haveli* 1810-1818

Fateh Gul (a close family member of Karam Buksh Sethi) constructed the third *haveli* in the *mohalla* around 1810.[47] This *haveli* (lot size 1,855ft²/ 172.33m²) was built across the street from the Muhammad Akram house. This is the only *haveli* in the *mohalla* to be embellished with *monabat-kari* (painted stucco work) on its external facade. The stucco was possibly painted and represents the decorative traditions of the Mughal era extending well into the late 19th century. The decorative features of the facade are inspired by the *monabat-kari* of the nearby Western gateway of the Serai Jehan Ara (fig 7.5). The *haveli* was later extended on the south and a west side, but modern subdivision of the property into smaller portions has destroyed much of the original features.

Fig 7.5 Fateh Gul *haveli.*

7.5 The development of Sethi *Kucha* during the Barakzai and Sikh eras

Ahmad Gul *haveli* 1823-1830s

The second phase of *haveli* development took place from the 1820s to the 1840s. This was a turbulent time as the control of Peshawar rapidly changed hands between the Barakzai Sardars (1826-1834) and the Sikhs (1834-1849). During this era, Karam Buksh and his sons sought the patronage of Hazrat Syed Ahmad Barelvi (a religious leader of the city) through the presentation of gifts.[50] This was intended to attain his protection against the expanding Sikh empire.

Throughout the Barakzai rule the city was in a constant state of turmoil as it faced attacks from both the Afghans and the Sikhs.[51] The social, economic and political restructuring of these eras affected the physical environment of the city. The period witnessed the business of Karam Buksh and his sons Elahi Buksh and Ahmad Gul, thriving as it expanded towards Bukhara, Russia and China.[52] Elahi Buksh Sethi acquired a large lot of land to construct more family *havelis*.[53] This new property fronted the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and extended to the inner *galli* of the *mohalla*. Here, the next two *havelis* of Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh were built; reflecting the family's economic prosperity which at the time was un-matched by any other Peshawari merchant.
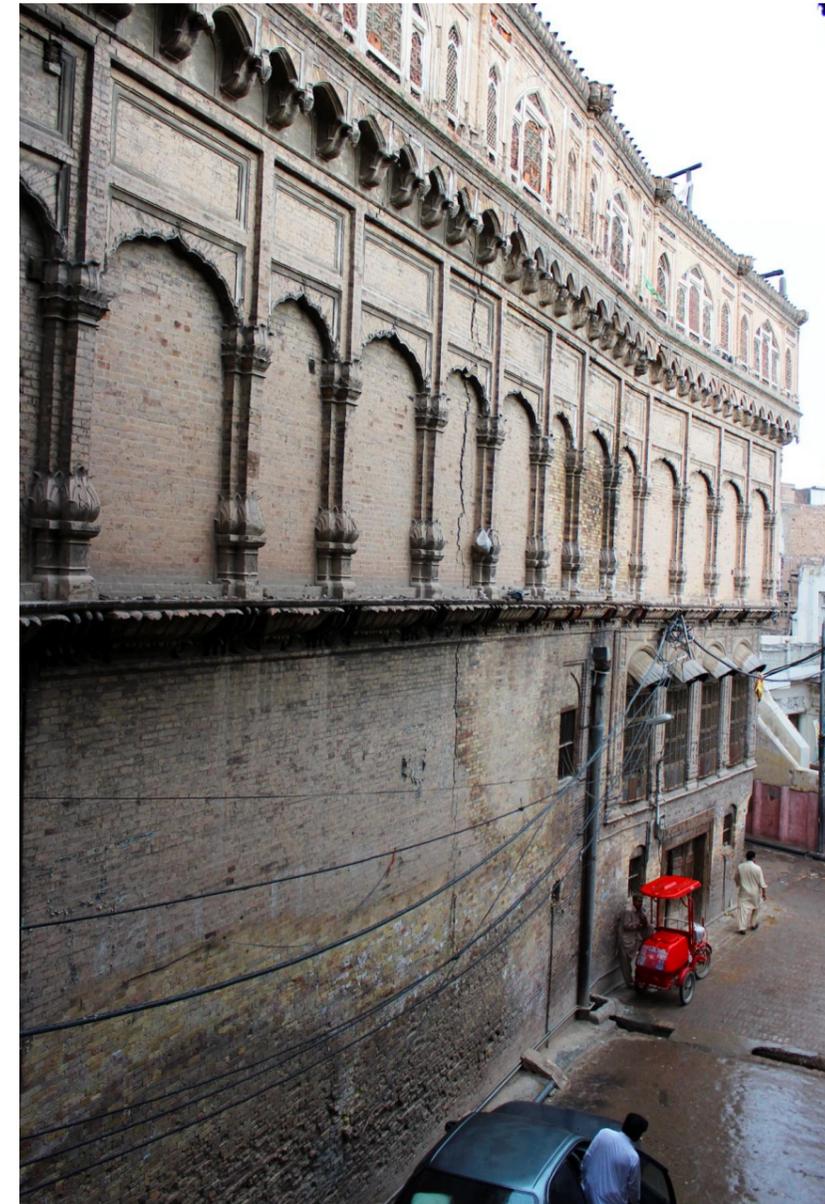
Fig. 7.6 Fortified wall around the compound of Ahmad Gul and his family's *havelis*.

The construction of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* started in the early 1820s and it was completed in the 1830s.[54] This and the following *havelis* were constructed within a fortified compound (fig. 7.6). This large family *haveli* was built with its back towards the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and face towards the *mohalla* (fig. 7.7). It was surrounded by high brick perimeter walls and

the main entrances were located within the security of the *mohalla galli* (fig. 7.8)*. This ensured both security and relative privacy for the residential and business activities of the family. This *haveli* was extensive (lot size: 4,540 ft²/421.77m²) with large *teh-khanas*, embellished *bala-khanas* and *dalans*. It was roughly four times the size of his father's *haveli*.[55] The *haveli* served as the common residence of the families of the Sethi brothers until the later construction of a separate *haveli* for Elahi Buksh Sethi, when it was given over completely to Ahmad Gul Sethi's family.[56]

Fig. 7.8 Front of Ahmad Gul *haveli*.

Fig. 7.7 Back of Ahmad Gul *haveli* on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road.

Elahi Buksh Sethi *haveli* 1832-1840s

The Elahi Buksh *haveli* (lot size: 4,040ft²/ 375.32m²) was constructed within the fortified family compound between 1832 and early 1840s and displayed many features of the earlier Ahmad Gul *haveli*.[57] This *haveli* was divided into two parts in the 1960s as the owner married twice with two sets of families.[58] This *haveli* was sold by the family in the 1970s and was subsequently torn down and replaced by a new house (fig 7.9). This *haveli's* footprint shows that it was roughly thrice the size of Karam Buksh Sethi's *haveli*. No records are available to analyze the *haveli* apart from its footprint and the *haveli* of Ahmad Gul Sethi.

Fig. 7.9 New house built over the site of Elahi Buksh *haveli.*

These two *havelis* are distinguished by their high and decorated external walls protecting the interiors, reflective of the insecure conditions of the city where various factions were battling to gain control. Economic prosperity along with security concerns, changing social relations and cultural identities were instrumental in changing the street facing *haveli* form of the earlier era to the enclosed and fortified *haveli* form.[59] Internally the *havelis* were much embellished, as the family employed well known *ustads* and craftsmen for the construction and embellishment of the *havelis.*[60] The interior decorations are likely to have continued the unique decorative traditions of the Sethi *havelis.*

The family's main trade office was also located within this fortified compound. The development of the *havelis* of Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Buksh and the subsequent construction of their sons' and grandsons' *havelis* next door to one another formed what became a fraternal cluster, with multiple single and double courtyard *havelis.*

Haji Saeed Ahmad Sethi *haveli* 1850s

Haji Saeed Ahmad Sethi was the son of Fateh Gul, who built his *haveli* across from his father's house.[61] This *haveli* was pulled down in the mid 1980s and a new house was built in its place.[62] No records can be found to help in making any analysis about the house.

The period from 1839 to 1849 saw continuous skirmishes between the Afghans and the Sikhs; the Sethi family is reported to have lived very cautiously during this era, shielding their business activities, and carefully maintaining a distance from the Sikh administration.[63] Many Sikh and Hindu traders took up residence in the *mohalla* Dhallan and constructed a temple and Gurdawara there.[64] A gate was constructed at the main entrance of the mohalla to protect its inhabitants.[65]

This second stage of development of the Sethi *havelis* started to represent the new found status of the Sethis as *umrah* of Peshawar by incorporating Mughal decorative traditions from nearby Serai Jehan Ara, the Mahabat Khan Mosque and from other *umrah havelis* of

137

the city.[66] These were conscious strategies used for cultural appropriation from the Imperial sphere into the domestic sphere of the merchant bankers. More specifically the re-use and incorporation of these elements into new spatial arrangements of the *daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana* expressed the Sethis' desire to endorse their new identity as the *umrah* of the city. The *haveli* complex showed evidence of an indigenous courtly lifestyle, and was built to meet the needs of an elite way of life involving an extended family with servants and particular social rituals.[67] The use of the Mughal stylistic vocabulary signalled not only the dispersal of artisans (previously employed by ruling houses and the military elites) to other patronage sources; it also indicated the adoption of Mughal aesthetic conventions and their reinvention in a newer context of the merchant *havelis*.[68]

The Sethis spent the years from 1850s to 1880s in orienting themselves and collaborating with the colonial powers just like other merchant bankers of India. Their power-sharing with the British included financial and social collaborations which were reciprocated by the conferment of positions of honorary magistrate on Elahi Buksh Sethi and his son Karim Buksh Sethi.[69]

7.6 The development of Sethi *Kucha* during the British era

The third phase of construction of *havelis* in the *mohalla* started in the late 1800s. This gives a gap of about 40 years between the Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh *havelis* and that of their sons Karim Buksh Sethi and Abdur Rahim Sethi. There may have been personal reasons for this gap, which may include the fact that Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh had built two large *havelis* in the 1830s and that the family requirements were catered for by these houses and another *haveli* was not required until the family expansions in the 1880s.[70] Another possible factor for this lapse in *haveli* building may be attributed to the political turmoil in Peshawar and the Sethis' desire for safety and privacy. By the time of the British takeover of Peshawar in 1849, Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi were prominent merchant bankers of Peshawar.[71] The grand *havelis* of both provided the public stages for their

interactions in support of their new social status. This stable and more supportive environment from the 1850s onwards enabled Ahmad Gul to build residential facilities like a *mehman-khana* within the complex in the 1880s.[72] The *mehman-khana* housed out-of-town friends, visiting merchants and business associates. This was a small but embellished building with a large reception room, *teh-khana* and residential rooms on the ground and first floors (fig 7.10).

Fig. 7.10 Ahmad Gul *mehman-khana*.

The British restored peace in the region and reopened trade routes through negotiations with the Pathan tribes around Peshawar, the tribal areas and the Khyber Pass.[73] The Sethi family took this opportunity to expand the overland trade and their business operations as small scale traders to become large commodity merchant-bankers. Patel defines 'merchant-bankers' as urban *seths* (elite businessmen) who engaged in commerce and money lending activities with the urban politico-military elites, and in addition dealt with the purchase and sale of commodities such as wood, cotton, jewellery and bullion.[74] The Sethis

now took up the import of *qaraquli* (lamb's wool), fur skins, carpets, gold and silver threads and silk from Afghanistan, Bukhara and Samarkand, and exported cotton and tea to Bukhara, Vladivostok and Shanghai.[75] In the 1870s, tea planters and merchants from Peshawar including the Sethis were involved in the lucrative export of their products overland through Kabul to Bukhara.[76] The Bukhara branch of the trade office was established in 1880.[77]

As discussed previously in Chapter 3, the mid 19th century represented a period of political, physical and economic changes in South Asia which gave rise to a new politically affluent Indian class which supported the colonial rule.[78] The public and social sphere of Peshawar and its surrounding areas was dominated by people who held diverse social, educational and religious backgrounds.[79] They shared a common trait of being the leaders of their communities and thus were able to serve as intermediaries between the British and the indigenous population. These were colonial perceptions that helped to establish British alliances with such diverse groups as wealthy merchants, religious leaders, landowners and other indigenous notables of Peshawar.[80] The municipality, a dominant form of colonial city administration was brought in to develop civic services; improve urban health and infrastructure, as well as improve governance.[81] The municipality provided a space for notables of the city to participate in political decisions concerning land use, building construction, and city planning.

Public philanthropy undertaken by the Mughal Emperors, the *umrah* and other affluent Indians played a major role in Indian culture; included the building of Mosques, temples, *serais*, wells and *madrassas*. The Indian elite and merchants continued this practice into the colonial era, but soon realised that sponsoring colonial projects could become a means to gaining honours and titles, as well as power-sharing.[82] The Sethi gained influence through directing their philanthropy towards public works and were among the merchant groups who appropriated a new civic identity of 'notables' through adherence to the 'colonial concepts of public service'.[83] Through their involvement in the municipal

government, they were able to participate indirectly in the imperial realm, and by engaging in covert spy activities in Afghanistan, they interacted directly with the British.[84] In spite of this direct and indirect interaction and their subsequent adaptation to the social and political norms of the British, the Sethis did not completely embrace European principles. This was indicated in their private lives they adhered to a traditional lifestyle steadfastly. Their public persona remained consistent with and supportive of the dominant public culture of colonialism.[85] At the same time, they maintained relationships with important religious figures like the Pirs of Golra Sharif, in order to protect their family reputations and maintain their moral authority within their communities.

Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli* 1889-1901

The high colonial period (1860s to 1900s) coincided with the increase in the Sethi family's business and wealth.[86] The Sethi business empire became divided between the sons of Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi; Karim Buksh Sethi, the son of Elahi Buksh established his independent firm, 'K.B. Sethi & Sons'. Karim Buksh Sethi acquired most of his wealth from 1880 to 1916, being involved in the *hundi* (bills of credit) business in Afghanistan and central Asia, along with other family members. He oversaw his various businesses operating in India (Karachi and Bombay), Afghanistan (Kabul and Mazar-i Sharif), Central Asia (Astrabad, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara), Russia (Moscow), China (Shanghai), Europe (Hamburg and London) and Syria (Damascus).[87] These trading offices which numbered twelve large branches and many smaller ones were run by appointed *gamashas*. All of the foreign firms were linked to the central office at Kucha Sethian, Peshawar.

The Russian Empire and Britain competed for power and influence in Asia in the 19th century; these contestations for supremacy were to have major implications for the Sethis. The British, eager to engage and influence the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman, brokered a treaty which consisted of a large subsidy to be paid to him through prominent Indian bankers of Peshawar, including the Sethis.[88] From the 1880s till the early 1900s, the Sethis

were active in the Central Asian trade and were recruited as 'Secret Asiatic Agents' by the British.[89] Their close contacts with the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman and their willingness to cooperate with the British for mutual gains helped expand the family's business interests.[90] Karim Buksh Sethi's links with Abdur Rahman facilitated the lease of the Jaji forest (Paktia province, eastern Afghanistan) being awarded to the Sethi family.[91] The timber from the forest was imported and sold to the government for use in the construction of railroads.[92] The Sethis were also among prominent Peshawari merchants who had formed large brokerage firms, dealing exclusively with the North Indian tea trade with Central Asia.[93]

The firm's relationship with the British in India and Amir Abdur Rahman in Afghanistan helped the trade overland to continually prosper from the 1880s to 1900.[94] The major source of the Sethis' wealth in the late 1880s lay in their close relationship with the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman (rg.1880-1901), which gave them a large share in the trade monopolies established by the Amir in the region.[95] Abdur Rahman on many occasions favoured the Sethi over other Peshawari merchants who received regular threats to pay more taxes.[96] This favourable disposition towards the Sethis helped gain many benefits; their businesses flourished in Afghanistan and Central Asia in contrast to the prosecutions of other key merchants of Peshawar.[97] In 1897 a branch of the trade office was set up in Shanghai.[98] The Sethi branch office in Shanghai organized the export of Chinese tea to Vladivostok.[99] Vladivostok was the largest Russian port on the Pacific Ocean, the Sethi trade office transported the goods by the Trans-Siberian Railways to Moscow.[100]

By the late 19th century the next large *haveli* complex was built, marking the rise and peak of the Sethi merchant-bankers under the British control of Peshawar, the Khyber Pass and Afghanistan. The sixth and largest *haveli* of Haji Karim Buksh Sethi was constructed from 1889 to 1901, marking the clear status hierarchy of the Sethis on the landscape of Peshawar.[101] This was possibly the largest complex (lot size: 11,213ft^2/1041.72m^2) constructed in the city, it consisted of three separate portions of *daftar-khana, zenan-khana* and *mehman-khana* (fig 7.11). The central Peshawar office/*daftar-khana* of the firm K.B. Sethi & Sons was located in the centre of the large complex. This was a four story building

which had separate winter and summer offices and a large *baithak* to receive and entertain guests. The construction of this palatial *haveli* in Mohalla Dhallan (now called Kucha Sethian) and the acquisition of multiple other properties helped to establish Karim Buksh as the *'Rais-i-Azam'* (greatest nobleman) of Peshawar.[102]
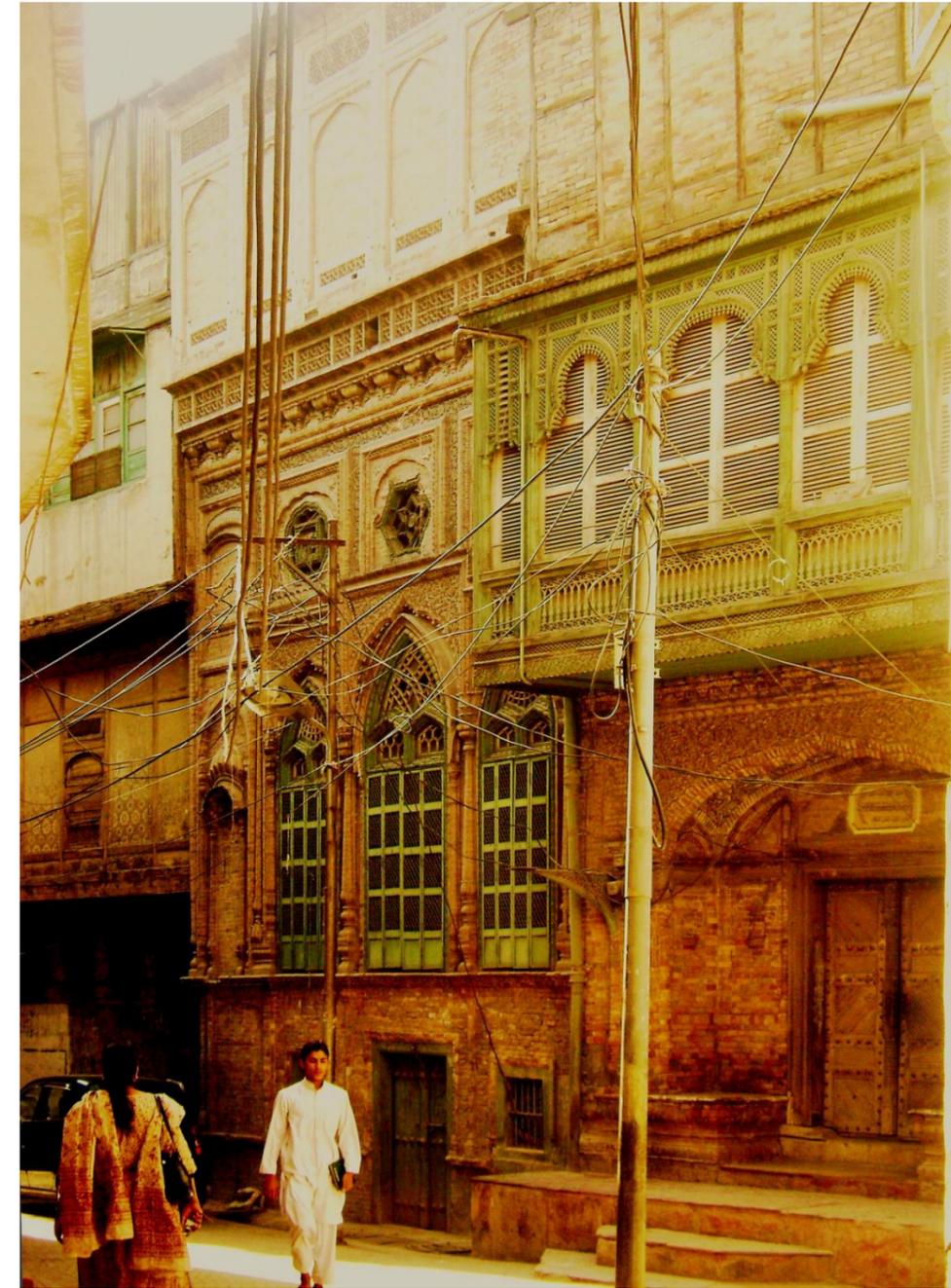
Fig. 7.11 View of Karim Buksh Sethi *daftar-khana.*.

The Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli* complex was very different from the earlier introverted *havelis* of the *mohalla.* This was an extravert *haveli* that reflected the new Indo-Saracenic stylistic sensibilities of the era. The *daftar-khana* had large Neo-Gothic windows facing the street in the ground floor *baithak* and this was amalgamated with a traditional *jharoka* over the doorway. This clearly indicates that the European pattern books were now accessible to the local *mistris* to use in the design of *havelis*, similar to their earlier usage in government buildings.[103] The entrance doorway also deviated from the previously smaller scaled wooden enclosed and protective entryways. This was a large open brick archway above the large door which was embellished with painted stucco work. Another newer typology was the incorporation of the *buggy-khana* (garage for carriages) in the *haveli* complex for the family's carriages; including the latest phaeton from England. These amalgamations of the traditional *haveli* with a garage for an imported carrige suggested a major change in the built environment; the incorporation and acceptance of both indigenous and modern elements within the *havelis* of the colonial era.

Fig 7.13 The complex of Karim Buksh *haveli*, *daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana*

Fig. 7.12 View of the Karim Buksh Sethi mosque.

The Sethi mosque was constructed within the *kucha Sethian* on the western end in the 1890s by Karim Buksh Sethi (fig 7.12). The upkeep of the mosque was supported through a *waqf* consisting of a shop and traveller's lodgings constructed next to the entrance of the *mohalla*. The development of the *havelis* along the two sides of this main *galli* helped to form a homogeneous *mohalla* that surrounded the mosque. Karim Buksh Sethi was involved in many philanthropic activities in the city including the construction of mosques, orphanages*, madrassa*, *serai*, wells, bridges and parks.[104]

The new Frontier Province was created in 1901 and inaugurated on April 2nd 1902 at a *darbar* held in Peshawar by Lord Curzon.[105] The province came under the rule of a Chief Commissioner and many Indians including Karim Buksh Sethi were appointed as honorary magistrates, allowing them to participate in the affairs of the government.[106] Karim Buksh's

rise to a position of a notable of the city was made possible through his contributions to colonial philanthropy, which were acknowledged by the conferment of the title of *'Khan Bahader'* by the crown at the Delhi *Durbar* of 1911.[107]

Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* 1890-1896

The Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* is contemporary with the Karim Buksh *haveli*, and lies across the street from it. Abdur Rahim Sethi was the son of Ahmad Gul Sethi and constructed his *haveli* next door to his father's in 1890 (Fig 7.13).[108]. This *haveli* was constructed (lot size: 4,228ft^2/392.79m^2) within the fortified compound of earlier family *havelis*. It shares the existing family entrance of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* and there are connecting doors between the two at the second floor, allowing women of the neighbouring households to interact at every level. The *haveli* also had a *buggy-khana* and a separate *daftar-khana* which faced the Bazaar-e-Kalan road (fig 7.14).

These two *havelis* constructed after a gap of nearly 40 years showed that the family's general lifestyle had not changed a great deal from that of the previous Sethi *havelis* and this was borne out by the fact that the basic form of the *haveli* had remained constant. But its scale had increased, in response to more socializing, more servants and more public participation in carrying out of rituals, which in the earlier era may have been confined to family members. In spite of the fact that this was the era of 'high colonization' and many Indians were taking up residences in the cantonment and civil lines, the inner city *havelis* remained relevant for the Sethi merchant-bankers, as they provided support for their expanded activities and lifestyles. The *havelis* became grander and more embellished to assert the status, power and social role of the Sethi merchant bankers within Peshawari society.
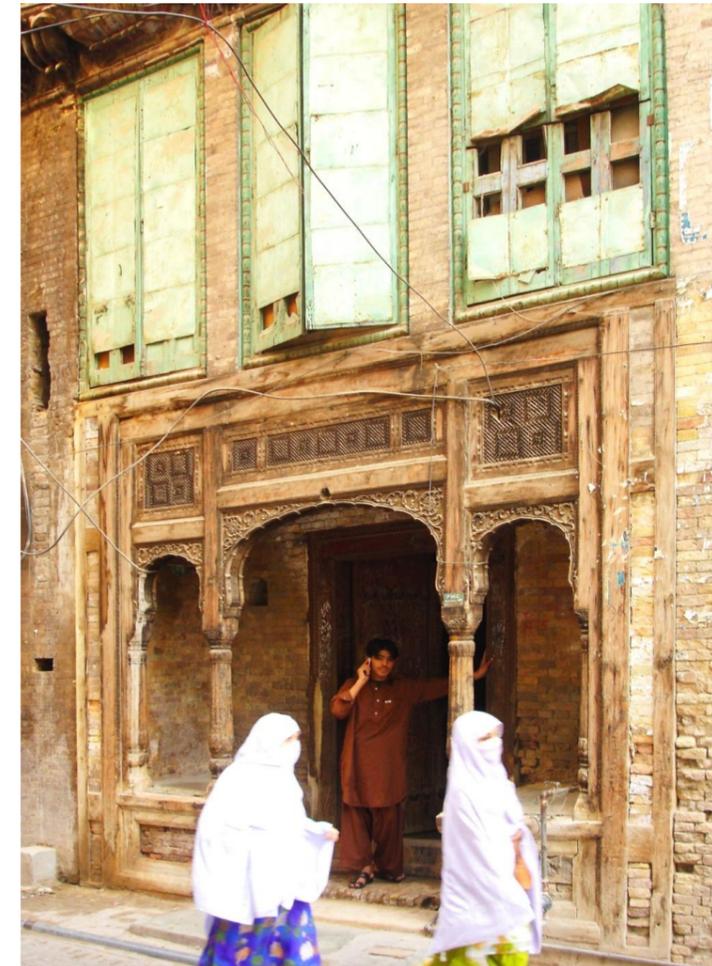
Fig. 7.14 Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli.*

In 1903 Karim Buksh Sethi wedded his daughter to Karam Elahi Sethi, the son of Abdul Rahim Sethi; an event which prompted the construction of a covered bridge to connect the two *havelis* at the third floor level, high above the street which separated these two *haveli*s.[109] These enclosed bridges (called *'chatti galli'* in the local dialect) were not uncommon in the city of Peshawar and elsewhere as they were constructed to provide women private access between family households in the city (fig. 7.15).[110] But the decorative bridge became an iconic element of the *mohalla* endorsing the cohesiveness and identity of the *kucha* Sethian.

Fig. 7.15 Abdul Rahim Sethi *daftar-khana*.

Karam Elahi built the family's *daftar-khana* on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road, a move in response to his greater interactions with the British and to give his business a more public face outside the Sethi *kucha*.

Fig. 7.16 Sethi bridge; *chatti galli.*

Karam Elahi Sethi was the son of Abdul Rahim Sethi, and was the next family member to rise within the merchant society of Peshawar. Karam Elahi enjoyed great affluence and influence with the British, through public philanthropy and services rendered for the Crown in Bokhara.[111] He was made an honorary magistrate in the municipality and was one of the key notables of the city.[112] Karam Elahi was conferred with the title of *'Khan Bahadar'* in the 1920s, for his services which included information gathering in Afghanistan and Bukhara.[113]

7. 7 Lifestyle changes in the late 1900s and impact on the Sethis

The newly laid out cantonment presented a planned settlement with wide roads and bungalows which were arranged in lines, this was a great contrast to the congested organic planning of the walled city.[114] Peshawar and its residents were engaging with a changing cultural milieu which had altered their social as well as physical environments. The impact of this new alternative lifestyle was emulated by some, who endeavoured to be a part of this new social setup. This admiration and emulation also led to the acceptance of the new typology of domestic architecture; the bungalow.[115] The bungalow, symbolized a new cultural space which responded to the newer western-influenced lifestyle.[116] The abandonment and rejection of the ancestral *haveli* in the city by the Indians was symbolic of the breaking away from the traditions and status of the old aristocracy. King argues that these were two different cultural settings; each was unique to members of a particular (Indian or European) culture.[117] The *haveli* and the bungalow were as antithetical to each other as the new suburban model was to the way of life in the old indigenous city.[118] In this regard, Parker writes that the native gentleman understood architecture to be a sign of political and class distinctions and thus considered western architectural forms more befitting of his status, while relegating the traditional *havelis* and its decorative arts for the use of the 'trading classes'.[119] Another more practical reason for the use of the urban *haveli* was the fact that the *haveli* doubled as the residence and the trade office. This inter-changeability and overlap was not possible in the bungalow, as it served solely as a residence. Its occupants held day jobs at government offices in the city or cantonments, which were separated from the residential areas. The segregation of the workplace and the residence was a deviation from the traditional merchant lifestyle.

Fateh Gul Family *haveli*

During this era, the grandson of Fateh Gul Sethi constructed a *haveli* next to his grandfather's *haveli*. This was pulled down in the 1980s and replaced with a new house in its place (fig 7.16). The only surviving indication of the family's business empire is the *daftar-khana* which was built opposite the Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli*. This is a three-storey building which held the *diwan-khana* and offices of the *munshis* (fig 7.17).

Fig 7.17 New house built on site of Haji Saeed Ahmad Sethi *haveli*.

Abdur Karim Sethi *haveli* 1901-1905

The next phase of *haveli* building took place in the early 20th century. The first *haveli* to be constructed belonged to Abdur Karim Sethi, on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road next to Ahmad Gul Sethi's *haveli* and behind Abdur Rahim Sethi's *haveli*. It was built on the site of an earlier family *haveli* (lot size: 2,744 ft^2/ 254.92m^2).[120] This *haveli* helped to shape the development of the *mohalla* on the south-western side. It was the first family *haveli* to have its facade towards the Bazaar-e-Kalan road (fig 7.18). The front entrance for the trade office was also located on the main road, while a doorway within the *mohalla galli* catered for the family's movement. The ground floor served as the trade office and *mardana* of the *haveli,* while the residential areas were located on the first, second and third floors.

The Bazaar-e-Kalan road in the early 20th century had become lined with multiple merchant *havelis*, three to four storeys high.[121] These had commercial shops on the ground floor and the residence above them.[122] Their facades were decorated with *jharokas*, wooden carvings, *pinjra-kari* and *naqqashi*. These were places from which to see the passing processions and to be seen.

Haveli of the Fateh Gul family 1900s

The Fateh Gul family constructed another *haveli* in the early 1900s, next to the Elahi Buksh *haveli.* This was sold by the family in the 1950s and subsequently pulled down in the 1980s. The new house built on the site is indicative of the original *haveli's* size but offers no other details to draw any meaningful conclusions.

Fig 7.18 *Daftar-khana* of Saeed Ahmad Sethi in the 1890s.

Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli* 1904-1910

Abdul Jalil was the younger son of Ahmad Gul Sethi and the next member of his family to build a grand *haveli*. The Abdul Jalil *haveli* was completed before 1910.[123] It faces the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and is a complex of three quarters: the domestic *haveli*, the *daftar-khana* and the family mosque, which are built on a square plot (lot size: 7,650ft^2/710.70m^2).[124] The *haveli* was constructed like a 'mansion'; a term used to define the Indian urban house in the high colonial era (fig 7.19). The term hints that the house possibly followed design conventions favoured by the British in the location of the house, its access and approach, entrance and reception rooms.[125] The occupation of the street with an embellished facade and windows was a departure from earlier introverted *havelis*. This shift in the late 19th and early 20th centuries towards the adoption of a European facade had gained popularity and the articulation of a 'front' became a way to display a residence of status.[126]

Within the surrounding tightly packed street fronts, the Abdul Jalil *haveli* was one of the most dominant *havelis*, with its Indo-Saracenic elements of decorative brick facade, a combination of semi-circular, segmental and cusped arches, cornices, balustrade columns, relief domes and *naqqashi* and *monabat-kari* embellishments. The element of the *jharoka* was not used here, rather the facade followed European conventions of stone rustication at the street level facade. This *haveli* shows a major change from the earlier Sethi *havelis* as the entrance arch with the two surrounding *chabootras* was replaced by a more modern facade. The entrance facade has five arched (segmental) openings, one is the entrance to the *haveli* and the second was a garage for the family's car. The motor car was a new acquisition for Indians in the early 20th century. These were popular in the larger metropolises of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Karachi and Lahore but *rais* in smaller cities had also acquired them.[127] The other three were shops at the front of the *haveli* (see fig 7.21).

Fig. 7.19 Abdur Karim Sethi *haveli*.

The *daftar-khana* of the *haveli* was built facing a side *galli* of the *mohalla*. This building was given a sloped roof, a feature that seemed inspired by the colonial buildings of the cantonment. This was the only such roof within the old city and acted as a landmark in the landscape (fig. 7.20 & 7.21).

Fig 7.21 *Daftar-khana* of Abdul Jalil Sethi.

By this time the *kucha Sethian* was separated from the main road and from other *mohallas* of the area by two gateways and formed a composite entity.[128] The *kucha* took its form from the development of the Sethi *havelis* next door and across the main street from one another; some of these were built very close and at times protruded onto the street. The form of the *kucha* Sethian evolved as a product of the components of social relationships, culture and environment, and through its internal layouts which responded to the family's needs of communal, semi-private and private spaces.

Fig. 7.20 Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*.
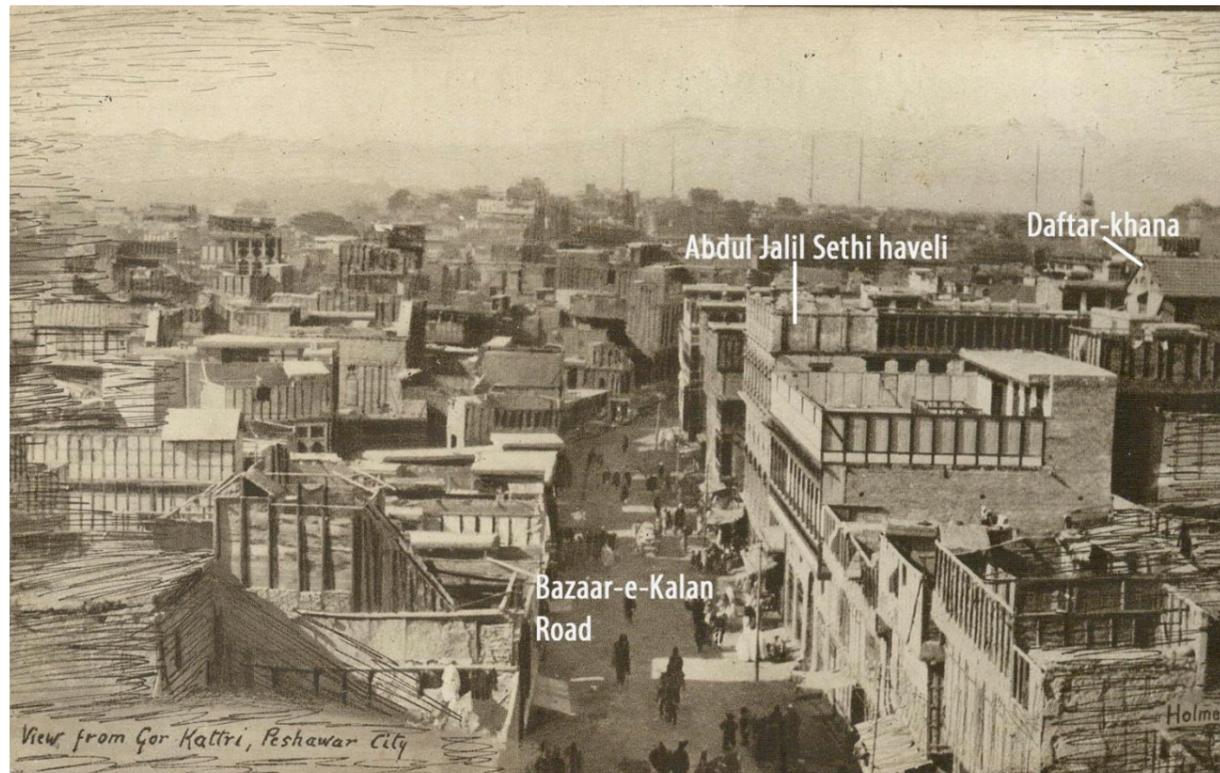
Fig 7.22 A 1910 postcard showing the view from Gor Kattree (Serai Jehan Ara); the Abdul Jalil *haveli* and *daftar-khana* can be seen.

7. 8 Decline in fortunes

The family's extensive trade networks in central Asia and Russia had necessitated that the stock be kept in roubles at the various trade offices and at Peshawar, in addition bank accounts were held in Moscow.[129] The Bolshevik revolution in 1917 was a major blow to the Sethi trade interests as the trade offices in Russia and Bukhara were closed down, while the Moscow warehouses were looted and the communist party appropriated all property.[130] Silk, tea and other goods from Shanghai, kept in large warehouses in Vladivostok, were also looted and burned.[131] The Sethi family's vast cash holdings of roubles lost a greater part of their value, causing large losses.[132] The family firms also could not recoup most of the large loans it had given overland.[133]

The 1920s also saw a slump in international trade and a fall in the exchange rate between the rupee and sterling.[134] While the traditional businesses between Peshawar and Central Asia had declined by the 1920s, the focus of Sethis' business shifted to exporting furs to England and Germany.[135] The fur business in London also reported losses from the 1930s.[136] The Shanghai trade office reported huge losses due to the fluctuation in the price of tea in the market.[137] The Jaji forest-leasing license was cancelled by Nadir Shah (King of Afghanistan; 1929 to 1933), and the properties of the family in Afghanistan were confiscated.[138]

After 1932, many international offices including the one in Shanghai and local offices in Bombay and Karachi were closed. The trade activities during and after the 1930s were curtailed due to the bankruptcy of many of the Sethi family firms in Peshawar and the changing trade scenario regionally and internationally. Many Sethi families could not keep up with business losses and had to sell most of their properties outside of the *kucha* Sethian. Some of the Fateh Gul family *havelis* may also have been sold, as indicated by the new houses built that replaced the old *havelis*. The *havelis* retained by the Sethi families after the 1930s, remained occupied by family members and mostly remain in their original form, with some bifurcations and modifications.

7.9 The Aftermath

The early 20th century was a time of great political awakening and change as India was in a state of growing political unrest. Indians were pushing for more self-government and concessions that the British government was unwilling to give.[139] This era of resistance was reflected in all segments of society. The changed political scenario and the rejection of the British in India in the 1920s and 1930s led to a more independently minded younger Sethi generation, which supported the self governance movements of the Muslim League and distanced themselves from the British rule.[140] The younger Sethi men were also inclined to get educated and hold jobs rather than pursue family businesses.[141]

The high period of growth of the Sethi *havelis* coincided with the high colonial period. The decline of the Raj from the 1920s onwards and more political opposition to the colonial government was reflected in the end of *haveli* building in the *mohalla*. Successive family members divided the existing *havelis* and a decline was witnessed as the *havelis* were modified internally to reflect the new lifestyles of the 20th century.

Architecture can be seen as a testimony to cultural traditions.[142] The Sethi *havelis* physically and symbolically contributed to the development of the culture of the era; the changes in cultural values, beliefs, traditions and aspirations (Fig 6.22). The houses use architecture as a medium of cultural renewal, as earlier (Mughal) cultural traditions of incorporating *naqqashi, pinjrakari, and monabat-kari* were used in newer creative applications. Just as Indo-Saracenic was a renewal of Mughal architecture in order to gain credibility for the colonialists, so the Sethi embellishments and architectural styles were also an attempt to bring about a cultural renewal of older traditions to gain status and credibility in society. The historical transformation of Indian culture (mid 18th -early 20th century) and particularly of Peshawar from the Mughal, Pathan, Sikh to the colonial era, had some continuity of cultural values as shown in the *kucha* Sethian. Although adoptive assimilation of newer (colonial) values, rituals and representative paradigms were expressed in architecture, a certain cultural similarity prevailed.

The investment of the Sethi clan in the grand and embellished combined domestic and business *havelis* expressed their shared visions of cultural identity. The elaborate and large residential cum business complex provided a stage for enacting social relationships by the Sethi families, to display their status and for transactions of the vast business empire. The commissioning of the *haveli* helped in the 'ritualization of everyday life': as they provided the stages for the Sethis' domestic, religious and political performances of identity and participation in the larger society.[143] The *havelis* more importantly were indicators of the wealth and influence of this new business class of Peshawar in Colonial India. The living traditions of Indian architecture was sustained by the traders and merchants of India as they continued to occupy historic quarters of cities and retained their patronage of the indigenous architects and craftsmen. However, the *havelis* continually accepted European influences in their architecture and decorative elements to indicate their relevance within the colonial construct.

The economic and commercial ascent of the family played an increasingly dominant role in legitimizing the adopted cultural influences in architecture. There is a historical and cultural continuity in Sethi sponsored architecture as seen in the usage of Mughal decorative elements of *chini-khanas* among others. These renewals in architecture were a challenge in the face of changing ideals in aesthetics, the industrial revolution and its technological developments and most of all in the ideologies perpetuated in the colonial era. Ornamentation of architecture had previously drawn its inspiration from the Mughals and had defined the status of the owners. The Sethis used it to reassert their Indian cultural identities in a colonized environment. The newer typology of the bungalow in the suburbs preferred by the British and many Indians was rejected as a form of acceptable dwelling. The construction and occupation of the inner city *havelis* indicated that these were closely associated with the Sethis' status and position in society.

The Sethi *havelis* constructed in the Durrani, Barakzai, Sikh, high colonial and early 20th century periods show political, cultural and social influences (fig 7.22). They reflect the relationship between members of a family (and genders), their relationship to people outside the family/clan, reflections of ideal images, the relationship between physical space and social responsibilities, and the reflection or endorsement of status. The relationship of the Sethi Merchants with the British reflected the connections between colonialism and capitalism which had became synergetic. The Sethi family's continued occupation and construction of new *havelis* in the *mohalla* indicated that these houses continued to be regarded as status symbols. The occupation of the *havelis* indicated the unique role the merchant-bankers played in simultaneously participating in elite Indo-Islamic culture and engaging with the British.[144]

The public realm was shaped not only by the British but also by these local elites and merchants who undertook philanthropic work in the construction of bridges, education institutions, mosques, wells, caravanserais and gardens. Merchants were influential in moulding the urban environment conducive to their agendas through the construction of temples, mosques, *serais*, *madrassas*, *hammams*, canals and wells. The local elite played a complex and multifaceted role in the development of Peshawar as they constructed and transformed the city along with the British. They influenced the economic, social and physical sphere of the society while maintaining their varied interests.

In the context of Peshawar as a colonial city, public space was used to perpetuate the colonial rule through architecture, including grand buildings, large avenues, public memorial squares, clock towers and monuments, recreational facilities, parks, clubs, cinemas and polo grounds. Their purpose was to impose a vision of the empire in the indigenous psyche, and to create two parallel and segregated 'indigenous' and 'white' worlds. But a counter force to the Raj-promoted architecture within the city was architecture commissioned by the Indians which represented a counter dynamics and identity. These spaces of representation of the Indians can be termed as elements of resistance and co-existence making colonial cities a more contested and pluralistic space.

Fig. 7.23 Phases of development of Sethi *havelis*

[1] The political changes that India went through during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries saw the merchants associate themselves with the earlier Mughals, then the Independent Princely states and lastly with the British. See detailed discussions in Chapter 3.

[2] Younis Sethi, *'Peshawar ke Sethi Khandan; Mukhtasir Ahwal,'* (2002): 16,17. The Sethis moved from Bhera to Chamkani to trade under the patronage of religious leader Hazrat Ibrahim and his son Mian Muhammad Omar.

Also see Sumie Nakatani, "Hometowns of the Marwaris, Diasporic Traders in India." accessed on Dec 3 2014, https://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/rp/publications/no14/14-06_Nakatani.pdf

[3] Jesse S. Palsetia, "Merchant charity and public identity formation in colonial India: The case of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy," *Journal of Asian and African studies* 40, no. 3 (2005): 197-217, accessed February 10, 2014, doi: 10.1177/0021909605055071.

See the author's detailed discussions outlining the role of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy in actively contributing to various personal and colonial associated charity projects that earned him a major role within the city of Bombay as well as associating his caste (the Parsis) with charitable and civic endeavours.

Also see Douglas Haynes, "Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting: The Ceremonial Order in Surat, 1890-1939," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1990): 493-527, accessed June 9, 2015, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00010441

See the author's discussions regarding the participation of Indian elite (including merchants) in public rituals in the pre-colonial and colonial era as an important part of their association with the rulers and forming their social identity within the system.

[4] Chris King, "The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400–1660," *World Archaeology*, 41:3, (2009): 471-488. accessed November 3, 2013, doi:10.1080/00438240903112484

See the author's discussions about the merchant urban architecture and how it represents their cultural and social identities.

[5] Saleh Muhammad, D.G. Archaeology and Museums Peshawar, interview by author, March 22, 2010.

[6] Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art", *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture,* (1983): 1-14, accessed November 21, 2013, http://archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.jsp?document_id=3881

[7] The word 'Seth' means merchant or rich man, in Urdu language.
Also see Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes. Lahore: The Superintendent, (Government Printing: Punjab, 1916) For details of Sethi as part of the Khatri castes of the Punjab.

[8] Shah Mahmood Hanifi, *Mutual Evasion between Afghanistan and the Global Marketplace.* http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/.(2008). Accessed March 23, 2015.

[9] Sethi, 16
These dates seem to be arbitrarily worked out by Younis Sethi; possibly through the family tree and verbal narratives. Some dates are quoted with reference to historical events and people and seem to be fairly accurate.

[10] Zia-ur-Rahman Zia, *Peshawar Sher ka Mohalla Sethian aur Bazaar Ander Shehr.* (Islamabad:: Lok Virsa. 2008): 72

[11] Sethi, 20

[12] Scott Levi, "The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran," *Iranian Studies, 32:4,* (1999): 483-512, accessed March 27, 2014, doi:10.1080/00210869908701966.

[13] Zia, 65

[14] Zia, 66
At this time the city was ruled by a Mughal governor Nasir Khan. The trade between India, Afghanistan and Central Asia was strong and Peshawar served as the largest market of commodities in the region between Kabul and Lahore.

[15] Sethi, 20

[16] Zia, 65

[17] Sethi, 19

[18] Zia, 66

[19] Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002): 25
Also see Sethi, 26

In 1738, anticipating the massacre in the aftermath of Nadir Shah's invasion of India, many of the family members went back to the relative safety of Chamkani.

[20] Sethi, 25

[21] Sethi, 25

[22] Sethi, 29
The author reports that Mian Ziauddin and Mian Shahbuddin were very close associates of Mian Muhammad Omar and were present in the religious leader's meeting with Ahmad Shah Abdali at Chamkani.

[23] Sethi, 29
The Sethis presented suitable gifts to Ahmad Shah Durrani including an embellished headpiece.

[24] William Dalrymple, *Return of a King; the battle for Afghanistan, 1839-42.* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013): 17

The Bala-Hisar fort, the Mughal Shahi gardens and Mahabat Khan Mosque became important centres of the city and the Durranis held large *darbars* in the city.

[25] Dani, 200-201

Dani quotes Elphinston's description of the Diwan-i-Khas at Balahisar fort which had Mughal architectural style.

[26] Dani, 121

[27] Yasmin Lari, interview by author, March 12, 2014.

Mrs Lari (CEO Heritage Foundation) carried out restoration work on the Allah Buksh Sethi haveli and discovered Mughal foundations during excavations carried out in the basements of the house.

28 Sethi, 30

29 Zia, 66

30 Zia, 65

The family was known as Parachas and Khawajagans earlier and took up the name Sethi in the early 19th century.

31 Sethi, 21

32 Nisar Ahmad Sethi, interview by author, November 15, 2009.

33 Sethi,18

The Ganj was the area of the Mughal mint and there were many offices of Mughal and later Durrani officials in the area.

34 Hanifi, *Mutual Evasion between Afghanistan.*

35 S.M. Jaffar, Peshawar: Past and Present, in *Peshawar: City on the Frontier*, ed. Ahmad Salim, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 74.

36 Sethi, 33

37 Sethi, 36

The author describes the trade expansion of the clan as well as the changes adopted in their turnout as well as residential architecture. The previous houses were possibly small inner city houses while the houses constructed in Mohalla Dhallan were havelis.

38 Sethi, 33

39 This inference is based on the site area of the house about 900 sq ft, which can be distinguished from the other houses today.

40 Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

41 The Karam Buksh haveli is also surrounded by the various quarters of the large Karim Buksh haveli but this was not only retained but interconnecting doors were put in at the upper levels to facilitate access between the two houses.

42 Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

43 Sethi, 37

The day to day running of the business was given over to a *gamasha,* with the family making regular visits to Kabul to supervise the expansion of trade.

44 Sethi, 37

45 Sethi, 37

Also, The historic register of Peshawar city document shows that the old surviving havelis in the city are of two types; those that are three stories high and built predominantly in timber, these are from the early 19th century and most are in depleted condition.45 The second type are built in bricks with timber frames, these rise up to three to four stories. They were built from the mid 19th century to the early 20th century and have survived in good numbers. The older *havelis* have low roof heights, about 7-8 feet, while the newer ones have high ceilings 16-18 feet high.

46 Sethi, 33

See the detailed discussion in chapter 6 on the role of *mistri*/architect in the design and construction of *havelis.*

47 Zia, *Peshawar Sehr ka Mohalla Sethian aur Bazaar Anser Shehr*, 85

48 Rubina Qizilbash, "Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian," (Masters diss., University of Peshawar, 1991): 83

See the author's description of various craftsmen hailing from Kashmir and Kabul who worked on the Sethi havelis.

Also see discussions in chapter 6

49 Anne Hardgrove, "Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu." *Contributions to Indian sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 323-364.

The author discusses the merchant patronised domestic architecture and how it evolved to express their patrons' desire to create a visual identity expressive of their evolving social positions.

50 Sethi, 39

The family members met up with Barelvi, who intended to establish a Muslim bastion on the north-west frontier in the Peshawar valley, and presented him with gifts.

51 Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara; being the account of a journey from India* Vol 1-2, (1830). 211.

52 Sethi, 38

53 Sethi, 41

Sethi writes that Elahi Buksh bought this large lot for his family and constructed the large haveli which was later given over to his brother Ahmad Gul.

54 Qizilbash, *Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian*, 20

55 National Register, Historic places of Pakistan; Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

56 Sethi, 41

The author describes that the construction of the *haveli* involved both brothers and Elahi Buksh's made a major contribution to the construction of the *haveli* occupied by his brother Ahmad Gul before constructing a separate *haveli* next door. In the years between the construction of the two *havelis* which seems to be around three to four years, Elahi Buksh and his family shared the *haveli* with Ahmad Gul's family.

[57] Nisar Ahmad Sethi, interview by author, November 15, 2009.

[58] Razia Begum, interview by author, December 22, 2014.

She visited the *haveli* in the 1960s on the invitation of her students who were occupants in one of the houses. There was a wall dividing the haveli through the central courtyard. It appears that the resident Mr. Sethi, a successful businessman had married a female servant brought from Africa. His first wife and family insisted on the division of the ancestral property into two parts. This *batwara* (partition) was possibly the reason that the families moved away and both parts of the *haveli* were sold.

[59] Qizilbash,19

See the author's discussions regarding the Sikh, Afghan and later British skirmishes over the control of the city which overlap with the construction and architectural decoration of this haveli.

[60] Qizilbash, 34

[61] Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

[62] Sethi House, Peshawar; Condition Survey Report. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2010.
[63] Qizilbash, 27

[64] Sethi, 39

[65] Nisar Ahmad Sethi, interview by author, November 15, 2009.

[66] I visited one Amir *haveli* in Mohalla Qazi Khela, which was said to be inhabited by Afghan *umrah* during the Durrani era. This *haveli* based on its size, *bala-khanas* heights and woodwork was built during the early 19th century around the same time as the Ahmad Gul *haveli*. Many of the features of the houses of this era have been modified.

[67] Inga Bryden, "'There is no outer without inner space': constructing the haveli as home," *Cultural Geographies,* vol. 11 no. 1 (2004): 26-41, accessed on July 1 2015, doi: 10.1191/1474474003eu291oa.

[68] Alka Patel, "Mercantile Architectural Patronage in Hyderabad, Late 18th -19th Centuries", in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*, eds, Alka Patel and Karen Leonard, (Netherlands: Brill, 2012): 139-164.

[69] Sethi, 47

Sethi reiterates the close position that both Elahi Buksh Sethi and Karim Buksh Sethi enjoyed with the British Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of Peshawar. They were regularly called for advice in official matters and furnishings and carriages were borrowed from them for visiting European dignitaries.

[70] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, November 16, 2009.

Ms Sethi reiterates that her great grandfather built the house to cater for his son's wedding and to house his expanding family.

[71] Colonel Hastings, "Report of the Regular Settlement of Peshawar District 1869-75", The India Office. British Library, London.

[72] Zia, 81

[73] The tribes had been paid by the Mughals as all attempts to militarily subjugate them had failed repeatedly. The Sikhs tried to keep the Afghans and tribal Pathans in order through force but were unsuccessful as they were continually attacked by the tribes, who considered the Sikhs *kafirs* and as such unfit to rule a Muslim region.

[74] Patel, 139-164

The term merchant-banker is coined by Alka Patel to describe those engaged in commerce and money lending in the urban elite context.

[75] Nisar Ahmad Sethi, interview by author, November 15, 2009

[76] Hanifi

[77] Zia, 83

[78] See chapter 3 for detailed discussions; These people had also remained loyal to the East India Company during the early 19th century, when the company was taking over large parts of India under its domination and fighting against native uprisings in Northern Indian cities loyal to the Mughals.

[79] "Who's Who of the city of Peshawar," The India Office, British Library, London.

[80] Douglas E. Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India; The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991): 109-118.

[81] Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India*, 108-118.

[82] Preeti Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay*, (Minnesota; University of Minnesota Press, 2011): xviii

The British looked towards the local elite and wealthy merchants to direct their philanthropy towards projects endorsed by the colonial governments such as hospitals, schools and city improvement projects.

[83] Sethi, 47-48

The author narrates that the Chief Commissioner of Peshawar visited Elahi Buksh Sethi to ask for funds to construct a canal in the surrounding region for irrigation purposes.

[84] Shah Mehmood Hanifi, "The Sethis of Peshawar and the British Recruitment of Secret Asiatic Agents," *Mutual Evasion between Afghanistan and the Global marketplace*, accessed June 3 2015, http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/chapter6.html

[85] Their involvement in civic politics helped in cultivating ties with the colonial setup, to advance their claims to political power and to safeguard themselves from any intrusion from the colonial authorities.

[86] Hanifi, *The Sethis of Peshawar*

[87] Sethi, 50

The Sethi's business office was established first near the South India Quay on Thomas Street and later at 199 Upper Thames St. London. The Sethis visited these offices periodically to oversee the business and visit London. Both addresses do not exist today as the city of London has undergone multiple changes in its physical layouts in the subsequent eras.

[88] Hanifi, *The Sethis of Peshawar*

[89] Hanifi, *The Sethis of Peshawar*

Hanifi reports that in 1885 a list prepared of seventy-seven possible recruits for the colonial regime there were fifteen "natives of Peshawar," four of whom were Sethi family members.
and,

The British Indian Government in the 1880s directed Karim Buksh Sethi to have his agents to call on the British Agent in Kabul and forward information about Abdal- Rahman to Peshawar.

[90] Hanifi,

The Sethis employed a number of agents who resided in the cities where family business branches existed. These agents were Sethi family members or contracted employees. The Sethis' gamasha in Kabul enjoyed very cordial relations with the Afghan Amir Abdal-Rahman and is quoted as having "frequently visited him in the hammam".

[91] Sethi, 78

[92] Sethi, 79

[93] Hanifi,

The Afghan Amir Abdal-Rahman (rg. 1886-1901) adopted trade policies which ensured that the trade between Afghanistan and India took place through the Khyber Pass. He went on to levy high taxes and confiscate consignments of foreign commodities passing through Afghanistan. This led to the tea traders including the Sethis diverting their consignments via sea routes from Bombay to Bandar Abbas in the Persian Gulf and then overland through Iran to Meshed to their destination of Bukhara. In Bukhara, Muslim traders and the firms they formed, such as the Sethi trading house, dealt with Hindu merchants such as the Shikarpuris to dispose of North Indian tea routed by sea. The cash garnered by the Hindus in Bukhara from their handling of the tea was remitted to Jews in the city. These Jewish merchants sent the money they received from Hindus in Bukhara to Moscow by telegraph. From Moscow the cash acquired through the sale of North Indian tea in Central Asia was wired to Bombay for payment to the Peshawari brokers.

[94] Hanifi,
The head of the Sethi family, who represents the merchant capitalist known as a shah, sahukar or sarraf in Markovits' model of the Shikarpuri firms, is said to have received correspondence directly from Abd al-Rahman.

[95] Shah Mahmood Hanifi, "Deflecting Colonial Canons and Cannons: Alternate Routes to Knowing Afghanistan," in *'Connecting Histories in Afghanistan; Market Relations and State Formation on a Colonial Frontier,'* accessed June 3 2015, http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/.

Hanifi notes that the Sethi merchants were part of the local brokerage firms used by Abdur Rahman to establish his monopolies in Peshawar and Kabul, more specifically, he states that, 'State trading monopolies established by Abd al-Rahman on fruit in 1892, on almonds in 1885 (in Peshawar), asafetida in 1890 (monopoly rights leased to Nur Muhammad who used Fazl Kadir Sethi and Ralla Ram as brokers in Peshawar),'

[96] Hanifi, *Deflecting Colonial Canons*

The author reports that Abdal Rahman wrote threatening letters and sent his Mirza to Peshawar to collect taxes from thirteen Peshawari merchants; Hindu and Muslim. The Sethis were not among these.

[97] Hanifi, *Deflecting Colonial Canons*

The Sethis' windfall was a great contrast to the usual experience of mercantile flight from and avoidance of Afghanistan. The Sethis and their local agent in Kabul did not suffer the same kind of confiscations and seizures of merchant capital as experienced by a number of other Indians living and working in Afghanistan during the reign of Abdal-Rahman.

[98] Zia, 83

[99] Hanifi, *Deflecting Colonial Canons*

[100] Sethi, 46

[101] A plaque on the main doorway shows the date of completion of the residential cum trade office complex.

[102] Sethi, 53

Karim Buksh also owned multiple properties in Peshawar including three other large *havelis*, many smaller houses and a large garden called '*Sakhi ka Chashma*' on the north-western outskirts of the city near the British Polo ground and a second garden near the Wazir Bagh called *'Nama Rohri'*.

[103] See discussion on the role of *mistris* in chapter 6.

[104] These included:

1. Well in Bazaar Kalan. This well is now closed.

2. *Hauz* (water tank) built in Mazar Sharif, Afghanistan.

3. Sethi Mohalla Mosque. This mosque had a shop and traveller's accommodation attached to it. These catered for the expenses of the mosque.[104]

4. Jamia mosque, Islamia University

5. Mosque outside Yakkatut *darwaza*, near the Hazar Khani canal.

6. Eid Gah, Peshawar at Charsadda Road.

7. Akhund mosque, Karachi. This mosque was built in the trade centre of Khara, where Karim Buksh Sethi had his trade office.

8. Hammam Mosque at Shor bazaar, Kabul. This mosque had a subterranean hammam where a wood fire would keep the mosque warm in the winters.

9. Jamia Mosque, Raja bazaar, Rawalpindi. This mosque had a residential quarter attached to it to cater for the mosque's expenses.

10. Reconstruction of Mahabat Khan Mosque. This was undertaken by Karim Buksh Sethi after the British control of Peshawar in the 1880s.

11. Dar-ul-Misakeen, Located at Yakkatut bazaar to give poor children religious education.

12. Islamia High School. Constructed at *mohalla* Khuda Dad in 1890.

[105] Dani, 158

[106] Sethi, 53

Sethi mentions various instances when Karim Buksh supported the British administration in paying for projects around the province including the construction of a bridge in Chamkani, the setting up of charity schools and orphanages. He also played host to a number of visitors to the city, his horse carriages and furnishings were regularly loaned to the Chief Commissioner to entertain European guests.

[107] Sethi, 71

According to a family narrative, Karim Buksh who stood next to the Chief Commissioner of Peshawar at the entrance to the pavillion met KIng George V, and shook hands with him, as the King entered the (Delhi) Darbar.

Also see:' India, Select Glossary', accessed on February 4 2015, http://www.royalark.net/India/glossary.htm
'*Khan Bahadur*: a title of honour, one degree higher than Khan Sahib, conferred on Muslims and Parsis, and awarded with a decoration during British rule.'

Also see http://4dw.net/royalark/India.php, accessed February 4 2015.
Beginning with the Proclamation Durbar in 1877, and repeated with increased ceremony and grandeur at the Coronation Durbar of 1903 and culminated in the magnificent spectacle of 1911. The King-Emperor George V and Queen-Empress Mary attended the 1911 Durbar in person, an unprecedented event in both Indian and Imperial history. Practically every ruling prince, nobleman and person of note, attended to pay obeisance to their sovereign, in person.

[108] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, November 12, 2008.

[109] Nisar Ahmad Sethi, November 15, 2009.

[110] Razia Begum, interview by author, September 20, 2011.

[111] "Who's Who in the Peshawar District", Confidential. Corrected upto January 1st 1931. The India Office, British Library, 16

A status achieved in large measure by providing commercial and other forms of intelligence on Afghanistan and Central Asia to colonial authorities. He also contributed to the war loan.

[112] Ibid; He is reported to have a land revenue of Rs 600/annum.

[113] Hanifi, 2008

[114] Hosagrahar,

"The layout was intended to recall English country life and represented to the Europeans the best principles of refined and healthful living in clean and airy surroundings."

[115] Deputy Nazir Ahmad, *Ibn-al-Waqt*, (Lahore: Reprint, Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2013): 54-55. The phenomenon of the native gentleman's move to the suburbs is narrated by the novelist Nazir Ahmad through his fictional character Ibn-al-Waqt. Ibn-al-Waqt was advised by his mentor and friend 'Noble Sahib', an English administrator that: "At the very least [you] should have a house that is built according to English tastes. You see that we [the English] always like to live in houses that are open and outside the city .... First of all your house is situated [in the interior of the city] a midst such lanes that one cannot drive there in a buggy. And then the lanes are narrow and unclean so that no [English] gentleman would like to go to such a cramped place."

[116] Nazir Ahmad, *Ibn-al-Waqt,* 166-170

See the discussion between Ibn-al-Waqt and his cousin Hujat-ul-Islam, where the former gives the following reasons for not staying at Ibn-al-Waqt's bungalow; that there was no mosque nearby to hear the call for prayer, that there were pictures all over the walls, not allowing prayer and that the former bred dogs which were left loose around the house and spoilt the wadu/abolution of Hujat-ul-Islam.

[117] Anthony D. King, "Residential Space; The bungalow-compound complex as a study in the cultural use of space", In *Colonial Urban Development; Culture, Social Power and Environment*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976): 123.

[118] Whereas in a *haveli* space was flexible and multi-use, the bungalow specified room purposes like dining room, billiard room, drawing room, library, music room, bedroom etc. The functioning of the house in this context became fixed and very rigid. The typology was influenced by the English house of the 19th century which had become compartmentalised as separate spaces were provided for individual functions. The bungalow as such was unable to accommodate the traditional conventions of housing large number of family and friends.

[119] Samuel K. Parker, "Artistic practice and education in India: A historical overview." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 21, no. 4 (1987): 123-141, accessed June 16, 2015, doi: 10.2307/3332836.

[120] "National Register, Historic places of Pakistan; Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar," Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

[121] This typology was similar to Delhi and Lahore of the early 20th century, where the processional routes had merchant *havelis* lined along both sides of the roads.

[122] "The Walled City of Lahore", Report by Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants Limited (PEPAC), (Lahore: Pack Art Press, 1993): 57-60.

The images and street elevations of both sides of the road show that the royal processional route from the Delhi gate to the Wazir Khan Mosque was lined with grand havelis (from the 19th century, as no earlier models survive) which had shops on the ground floor and wooden jharokas and bukharchas on the residential first floors. The second floor kothas also had tall walls with wooden shutters which allowed the women to look into the street but remain hidden from view.

[123] Saad Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

Sethi is the current resident of the haveli and a grandson of Abdul Jalil Sethi. He maintains some original papers of the family and the construction date was tentatively provided by him.

[124] "National Register Historic Places of Pakistan; Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar."

[125] Ahmad, 54-55
See Ibn-al-Waqt's conversations with Nobel Sahib (a British officer) who tells him that the British do not like to visit the houses of the locals due to their location in dirty narrow , winding lanes of the inner city.

[126] Kamalika Bose, "Of Echoes and Silent Raptures; The Zamindari Mansions of North Calcutta", *Marg,* Vol. 61 #2, (2009): 12-25.

[127] Momina Sethi, interview by author, March 23, 2014.

Also personal communication with Mrs Razia Malik who narrated that her father had ordered a car at their home in Srinagar, Kashmir. The family also employed a driver for the car. Due to some mechanical fault the car was not able to start after two years and had to be abandoned. In 1903, an American company began to

operate a public taxi service with a fleet of 50 cars. Before World War I, around 4,000 motor vehicles (cars and commercial vehicles put together) were imported. During the years between the wars a small start for an automobile industry was made when assembly plants were established in Mumbai, Calcutta, and Chennai (earlier Madras). The import / assembly of vehicles grew consistently after the 1920s, crossing 30,000 units by 1930.

[128] These gates were manned by chowkidars and opened during the day and closed at night for security.

[129] Sethi, 49

Sethi narrates an incident when Elahi Buksh received a letter from his bank in Moscow informing him about the profit on his savings account. Russia invaded Tashkent in 1865, Samarkand in 1868. In 1887, Khiva and Bukhara came under Russian influence.

[130] Sethi, 77

[131] Sethi, 78

[132] Gul Najam Jami, interview by author, February 10, 2009.

Jami stated that the quantity of these rouble notes was so vast that they were kept in sacks and had to be weighed and that the family burnt sacks of these notes at the mohalla and at *chowk Fawara*, Peshawar

[133] Sethi, 76

Younis Sethi narrates that the Sethis had lent money to the Amir of Bukhara, when this loan was recalled after the revolution; the Amir wrote back that he was also affected by the events and not in a position to return the loan. This letter is in the possession of Manzur Sethi.

[134] Sethi, 37

[135] Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

[136] Letters in possession of Department of Archaeology and Museums, Sethi House, Peshawar.

[137] Sethi, 79

[138] Sethi, 79

[139] Sethi, 105

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885, it pursued the goal of more political representation for the native Indians. It was followed by the establishment of The All India Muslim League in 1906, which took up the case of the Muslims' role within colonial India. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto reforms), introduced limited reforms which allowed the election of Indians to the various legislative councils in India for the first time. The majorities of the councils remained British government appointments; these reforms did not go any significant distance toward meeting the Indian demand for 'Self-Governing British Colonies'.

[140] Peshawar Archives in TRC bundle No 64 at serial No 1775. Police report describes the events of the day including the names of the leaders arrested from their homes and leading protests in various areas of the city. Ghulam Rabbani Sethi was a young leader of the movement in Peshawar who along with other members of his party was arrested near the Cunningham clock tower on April 30th 1930; the day of the Qissa Khawani Massacre.

[141] Sethi, 115-154

See the author's detailed accounts of family members' education and jobs post 1930s.

[142] Nicholas Temple, "Cultivating Architecture", in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds., Paul Emmons, John Hendrix and Jane Lomholt, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012): xix.

[143] Alka Patel, "Architecture Patronage in Hyderabad, late 18th -19th centuries," in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*, eds Alka Patel and Karen Leonard, (Netherlands: Brill, 2012): 139-164.

[144] Patel, *Architecture Patronage.*

Chapter 8

Analyzing the Sethi *havelis*

8.1 Sethi *havelis*: phases of development

The Sethi *havelis* along with their residential uses progressively from the 1800s to the 1900s acquired more complex commercial and social functions, displaying a more complex social structure. For the purposes of this study, these can be broadly divided into categories of Late-Mughal era and colonial era *havelis* to understand how political powers influenced the cultural and social factors of *haveli* design. Within these broad categories they are further divided into five phases, where each phase shows a distinctive and different architectural system which was developed according to traditions of indigenous society and its interactions with external centers of power. These helped to accommodate and represent the new form of social organization and the cultural aspirations of the residents.

Within the larger group, each *haveli* is analyzed on the basis of organization of physical space and how it reflects the relationship between members of a family (and genders), their relationship to people outside the family/clan, reflections of ideal images, the relationship between physical space and social responsibilities, and the reflection or endorsement of status. These phases and the *havelis* constructed in each are given in table 8.1 below:

Table 8.1: Sethi Havelis Phases of Development:

Phases of Development	Political Era	Name of Haveli (Based on the Patron)	Estimated date of Construction	Comments
0	Durrani Era (1747–1800)	Muhammad Akram house	1800	Small house which is now derelict and lies in ruins.
1	Durrani Era (1800–1826)	Karam Buksh Haveli Fateh Gul Haveli	1808-1814 1810-1818	The residential havelis housed the dafter-khana on the ground floors, with residential areas on the floors above.
2	Barakzai Sardars Era (1826-1834) Sikh era; Gen. Avitabile (1834-1842) Sikh era (1842-1849)	Ahmad Gul haveli Elahi Buksh Sethi	1823-1830s 1832-1840s	The havelis separated the residential haveli from the daftar-khana but shared business premises and a common clan entrance. A mehman-khana was added.
3	British era: Late 19th century (1849–1900)	Karim Buksh Sethi haveli Abdul Rahim Sethi haveli	1889-1901 1890-1896	The havelis had separate daftar-khanas and mehman-khanas and were organised into three separate portions of family, business and entertainment. These havelis are the biggest of all

4	British era: 20th century (1900-1910)	Abdur Karim haveli Abdul Jalil Sethi haveli.	1901- 1905 1904-1910	The havelis faced the main Bazaar Kalan road. They showed more stylistic changes in decorative elements reflecting the increasing European influences.
				in the group.

8.2 First phase of Sethi *haveli* development during the Durrani era: (1800-1818)

8.2.1 Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli*

The Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli* is the earliest surviving *haveli* of the Sethi clan, this was constructed around 1808.[1] The construction of this *haveli* was undertaken by Karam Buksh as his affluence as a successful merchant allowed him to combined his business and domestic needs into one *haveli*. It was the usual practice to work from home as *umrah* ran their estates and merchants ran their businesses from their *havelis*. [2] It is also indicative of a higher social status: he was able to attract business to his premises rather than going out of the house to transact business. The *haveli* was built on a rectangular, corner plot of area 1250 sq. ft.[3]

This *haveli* consisted of four levels, whose combined premises included the *daftar-khana* (business office) on the ground floor with the *zenan-khana* (family residence) on the first and second floors. The *haveli* also has a *teh-khana* (basement) for the family's use, like many other larger *havelis* of the era.

Fig 8.1 Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli*.

The entrance porch has a *ti-bari* (triple bay) arcade which was built on an intimate scale (close to human scale) and provided an important transition to the interior. It offered protection to the threshold of the house from the noise and dust of the street and from the heat of the sun. The doorway has two *chabootras* or *choki* (seats) on either side of the door. These were provided to seat *chowkidars* (watchmen) or *darbans* (gate keeper) to keep watch at the entrance. These were also spaces where certain petty traders might sit and transact their business with the family.[4] The entrance arcade is composed of timber columns that end in Mughal flat arches at the top, with intricate carvings and *pinjra-kari* (lattice work) panels at the top.[5] This craft was widely practiced in the region with Peshawar as its centre and was used to embellish domestic architecture as well as boats.[6]

i. Ground Floor

The *haveli* of Karam Buksh Sethi served the dual purposes of his business premises and residence. These were two separate activities which required careful allocation of spaces for each so as to allow the smooth carrying out of business affairs and privacy for the women and family. The family's particular lifestyle, which was based on their values and formed through decisions and choices were embodied in this built environment.[7] The *haveli* had only one entrance from the street, so in order to control or regulate various people's entry to the house, the *dehliz* (entrance) acted as an important mechanism of signage that indicated the threshold. This formed a 'culture-specific code' which communicated the intent of the environment to reinforce appropriate behaviour of the visitor; and whether one was allowed to enter or required to wait.[8] The entrance and its connecting spaces which led to the business and residential parts of the *haveli* followed important rules of connection and segregation. The *dehliz* (entrance) along with the *deorhi* (lobby) and the *angun* (courtyard) were important transitional elements that connected the *beruni* (external) to the *underooni* (internal).[9] The meanings attached to these spaces provided an important mechanism linking environments and people, and provided the basis for the shaping and usage of the domestic environments.[10] The *dehliz* led to a *deorhi*, which was a focal space that led to the *daftar-khana* (office) on the ground floor and via a staircase to the *zenan-khana* on the first floor.

The access into the house, leading into the trade office and the vertical connection to the *zenan-khana* was placed carefully to ensure efficient running of the business and privacy for the family. Activities that took place in the *haveli* were supported and segregated by a system of *dehliz*, *deorhis*, staircases and doors that were an integral part of the mechanism of running the two domains within the *haveli*. The *deorhi* was the second important code-specific area which acted as the junction between the office and the stairs to the private quarters of the family. It was a transition space that helped to guide the visitor, whether business or family to orient them and proceed towards their respective destinations.

Fig 8.2 Ground floor plan of *haveli*.

The *deorhi* of the *haveli* was a room rather than a passageway; this also served as a space where small traders or craftsmen may be allowed to sit and show their wares to the household and carry out small jobs for the family that required separation from the *zenan-khana.* These tradesmen could be a *dhobi* (washer) who came to deliver or collect the laundry, *telli* (oil trader) who came to clean or refill the oil lamps, *tarkhan* (wood carver) who may have repaired or installed a window or door, or *mochi* (cobbler) who came to show his new wares or repair old shoes. Small traders and craftsmen used to travel from door to door carrying their wares and would visit their old clients for business or call out their

speciality in the *gallis* so that the households may hear them and utilize their services.[11] Goods unloaded from a donkey cart could be stored here for the short-term. Although there are no remains of a screen or divisions within this *deorhi* to indicate separation, there may have been a wooden or fabric screen placed in it to segregate the male/public and female/private domains.

The *haveli* is spatially organized around a square courtyard and all rooms on the ground, first and second floors open towards this primary source of daylight and air. The *teh-khana* ventilators are also oriented towards the courtyard. According to Jain's analysis of Rajasthani *havelis* and discussions with Timur Khan Mumtaz on Muslim *havelis*, the courtyard forms the physical and spiritual centre of the *haveli* plan.[12] All of the rooms surrounding this courtyard follow its geometry as closely as possible. The deviations from the central geometry in response to the irregularities of the site are absorbed on the outer periphery of the rooms. The *haveli* follows the *hasht-behist* or nine-fold form (mandala) where the main and larger rooms (rectangular in form) are built along the four sides of the courtyard, with the service zones (stairs, washrooms and storage spaces etc.) housed along the four corners of the courtyard.

The ground floor of the Karam Buksh *haveli* served as the *daftar-khana* for the business. Its main *bala-khana* is located on the north side and is highly decorated, which indicates a space of status and importance like a *diwan-khana* (main Office) within the ground floor hierarchy. This *diwan-khana* is raised about 3 ft. from the courtyard and faces the main entrance into the courtyard, and possibly served as the *diwan-khana* of Karam Buksh Sethi to meet his clients or visitors.[13] The raised floor and orientation of this room also suggest its status as the main reception room or *baithak* (reception room) to receive and entertain male guests on the ground floor.

SECTION A-A'

1	Dalan
2	Baverchi Khana
3	Daftar
4	Teh-Khana
5	Kotha
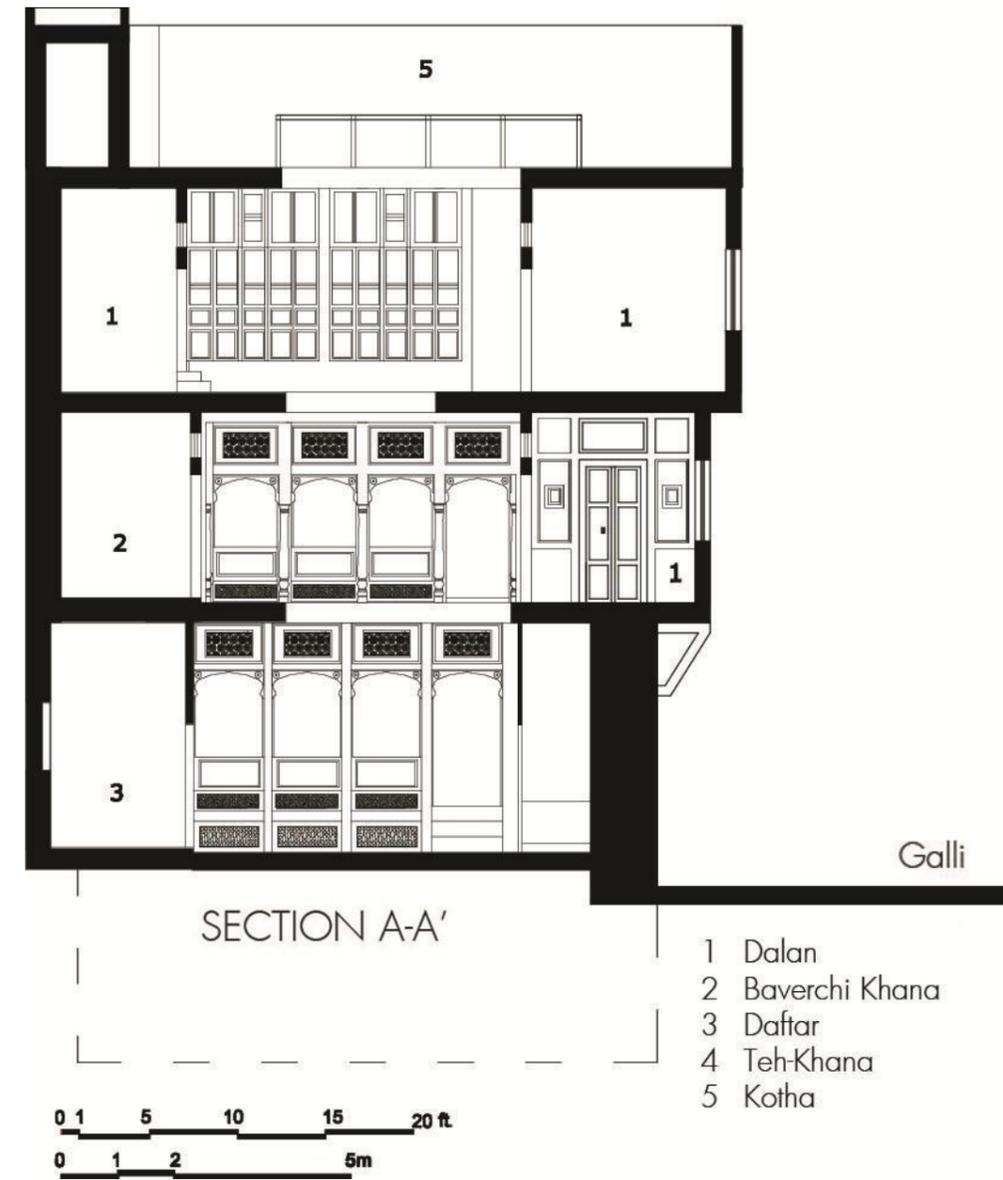
Fig 8.3 Section of the *haveli*.

The room has a *chini-khana* which is placed asymmetrically along the north wall so that it is aligned with the central window of the room, overlooking the courtyard. The *chini-khana* then becomes visible from the courtyard and reinforces the centric geometry of the overall layout. There are *taqs* (niches) along all walls and moulding along the top of the doorway. The ceiling of the *diwan-khana* is 8 ft. high and made of unadorned *khatam-band* (parquet

false ceiling).The *basta* windows of the *diwan-khana* are decorated with *pinjra-kari* work on the top and bottom panels.

Fig. 8.4 The *diwan-khana.*

There were two *dalans* (rooms) on the north which are small and unadorned rooms. Based on the size and decorations of these rooms, it is clear that the smaller rooms served the firm's day to day working and were reserved for the firm's *munshis* (accountants) and clerks.

The top of courtyards generally had controlled openings with overhands on all four sides to protect against the rain and harsh sunlight, the top opening of the courtyards is called *mang*. These are usually large to allow air and light, but in this *haveli* the *mang* is a small opening (5ft x6ft') and is covered by an iron grille. This *mang* may have been larger when the *haveli* was constructed and may have had a timber railing on the first and upper floor courtyards.[14] This small opening allows light and air to reach the ground floor but maintains the privacy of the family quarters upstairs. It ensures that men on the ground floor are unable to see the upper parts of the *haveli*.

There are two staircases located on the diagonal corners at the north-east and south-west of the *haveli*; these are used as spatial mechanisms which help to facilitate particular forms of family organisation. The staircase on the south-west side connects the ground floor to the first floor; a *deorhi* on the first floor connects it to the *zenan-khana*. The location of this staircase in relation to the *zenan-khana* and the presence of a *deorhi* which connects it to the *zenana* courtyard suggest that it served as the entrance and exit of the *haveli*. This staircase served a more public need of the household, as it facilitated the access of visitors to the *zenan-khana*, by the women of the household to go out of the *haveli,* these were also used by servants to carry out the day to day shopping and serve other needs of the household. On the ground floor there is a *gusal-khana* (washroom) next to the SW staircase. This space housed the *haveli's* well which was the main source of water for the household. Water was carried from here to the upper floor kitchen and washing areas. These stairs also provided a service entrance for servants and domestic help as per their location next to the kitchen and the washrooms on the ground and first floor. The water was fetched from the ground floor by *mashki* (water bearers) and bought to the first and second floors. The *deorhi* on the first floor provided a space for *mamas* (maids) and trusted male servants to come to or sit and carry out their exchanges with the *Begum* (female head of the household).

The north-east staircase connects the *teh-khana* to the first floor and goes up to the second floor. These stairs were used by the male members of the family for coming down to the *daftar-khana* and for the women to retire to the *teh-khana*. The family also used this staircase to go up to the *kotha* (roof terrace) to carry out their daily chores. These are the inner stairs of the *haveli*, which service the immediate family needs. Both of the staircases have doors on all floor levels allowing the staircases to be separated from the main residential areas by closing of the doors, on any level when needed. These doors also allow the passage of women from one level to the next without being seen by men who are not *mehram* (males related by blood).[15]

ii. First Floor

The first floor housed the main residential quarters called the *zenan-khana*. There are *dalans* on the north, east and south sides of the courtyard and a *baverchi-khana* (kitchen) on the west side. The courtyard floor has a small opening which allows light and air into the ground floor. As the ground floor is the business/male domain the *baverchi-khana* was located on the first floor. The first floor facades or *iwan* along the courtyard have arched openings which are decorated with wood carving and *pinjra-kari* work. These are the most decorated facades of the *haveli,* fronting the family rooms used for different activities: sitting rooms, work spaces, bedrooms in the afternoon and nights if the weather is appropriate. These rooms were generally furnished with carpets and mattresses which served the dual purpose of sitting rooms and bedrooms. The floor seating arrangement was common in all *havelis* of the era notwithstanding status, so *umrah* and trader *havelis* all had this common floor seating plan called *farshi-nashist*.

The four facades of the first floor courtyard are similar (with all openings measuring 3ft 3in), with each of the two facades facing each other being identically proportioned. These respond to the Mughal idea of bi-lateral symmetry or *qarina*, in which all four facades may not be identical but the two opposing ones (or two wings of a building) are similar.[16] The room openings into the courtyard have *basta/aroosi* (sash) windows which can be opened completely (by sliding upwards onto a latch above the arch of the opening) or partially opened or completely closed for privacy. When the windows are completely opened the surrounding rooms become continuous arcades around the courtyard. This allows the space to expand and be used as a single space for celebrations and festivals.
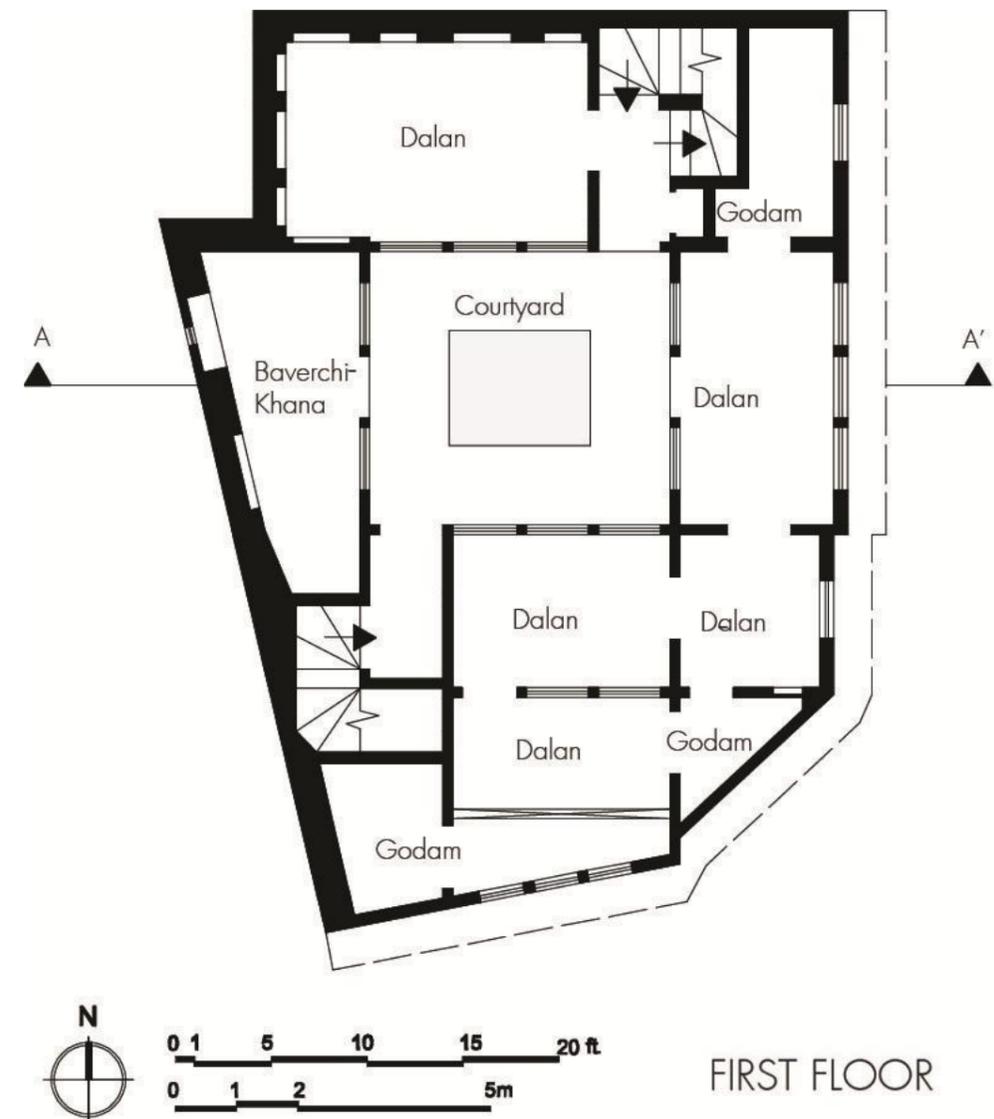
Fig. 8.5 First floor plan.

162

Fig. 8.6 Internal elevations of the courtyard.

arched openings of the courtyard *iwans* act as frames to view the *chini-khanas* inside the *dalans*. Mirror work either in the form of whole mirrors set in a *monabat-kari* pattern or *aina-kari* design within a larger design was very popular.[17] The influence for *aina-ka*ri was from the Mughal Shahi Qilla's (Royal Fort at Lahore) Shish Mahal (Crystal Palace/Palace of Mirrors) built in 1631, which filtered down to sub-imperial Rajput Amber Palace and then to *umrah havelis*.

Fig. 8.7 North *dalan* on first floor.

Three of the first floor *dalans* (north, south and east) are embellished with *chini-khanas,* decorative panels containing mirrors and *taq* (niches) along the walls. The walls have *munabat-kari* (stucco work) and *aina-kari* (inlay mirror work) around the *chini-khanas* and doors. These were possibly the main living rooms and are decorated accordingly. The

The walls of the rooms are divided into panels; they are vertically divided into three parts. The first panel is up to 3 ft, the second is at the top level of the doorways at 6.5ft., the third from the top of the doorway to the ceiling. The horizontal panel divisions of the rooms are three along the width of the *dalan* and five along the length. The ceilings are constructed of small pieces of wood that are fixed together in a pattern; this style is called *khatam-band*.[18]

163

The *baverchi-khana*, is located on the west side of the courtyard. This is a narrow room, whose wall along the courtyard is straight while the back wall is diagonally placed to absorb the irregularity of the lot. The room is 5 ft. wide at the south end and 8 ft. wide at the north end. It has a decorative chimney for cooking which has an exhaust opening to the outside. There are a few *taq* along the walls for storage purposes (fig 8.8).

The north and east *dalans* are more embellished than the other rooms. The east *dalan* has a smaller room, a *godam* (store room) next to it. There is another small room between the east and south *dalans*. The south *dalan* is the largest room on this level with a *godam* on the west end. The South and Eastern side *dalans* are along the street and have *basta* windows that open to the street. The design gives the window area a number of opening options which allow residents to view the street. These windows allow privacy for the rooms by incorporating *pinjra-kari* panels at the top and bottom which screen the view into the rooms, while allowing the occupants to view the street.

Fig. 8.9 East *dalan* on first floor.

Fig. 8.8 *Baverchi-Khana* on first floor.
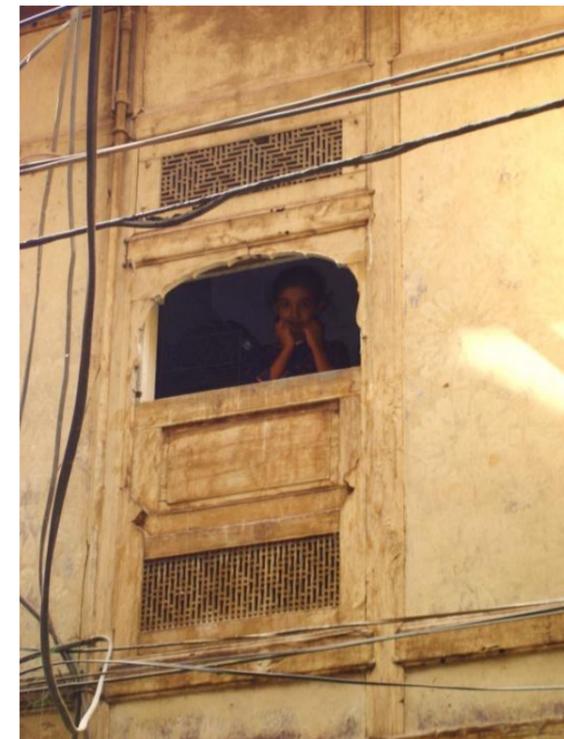
Fig. 8.10 *Basta* window on the front facade.

164

All the internal walls of this *haveli* are timber framed, in-filled with timber panels and light weight construction. The external walls are thick masonry walls whose width is up-to 3ft. in places.

iii. Second Floor

The second floor initially served as the *kotha* (roof terrace) of the *haveli*. The *kotha* was a space that was actively used seasonally and during various times of the day.[19] During the summer it would be used for early morning chores and for recreational purposes in the early evening and for sleeping at night. In the winters it was a space where the family spent most of their days drying food and clothes and flying kites.

There are *dalans* on the south and east side which were constructed as part of the original *haveli*. New *dalans* were added on the north and west sides in the 1940s.[20] The expansion of the family necessitated this expansion and the west *dalan* served as a kitchen for this level. A staircase was built next to the west side kitchen which leads to the third floor *kotha*.

This *kotha* of the *haveli* served the multiple purposes of living, preparing/drying food and sleeping in the summer evenings, as this *haveli* did not possess a large courtyard for these purposes. Tillotson quotes Banarasi who describes the roof terraces of the *havelis* of Jaunour (in 1641) as fitted with *shamianas* (awnings).[21] These earlier awnings were replaced with more permanent timber *verandas* and *dalans* by the 19th century. The *kotha* remained an important living space of the *haveli* which had the godam (storage spaces), the *ghusal-khanas* (bathrooms) and the *bait-ul-khila* (lavatory). It was sprinkled with water in the summer evenings so that evaporative cooling would make it cooler for use at night

time.[22] At night, the *charpais* (light beds) would be placed here in groups (separate male and female areas) for sleeping.
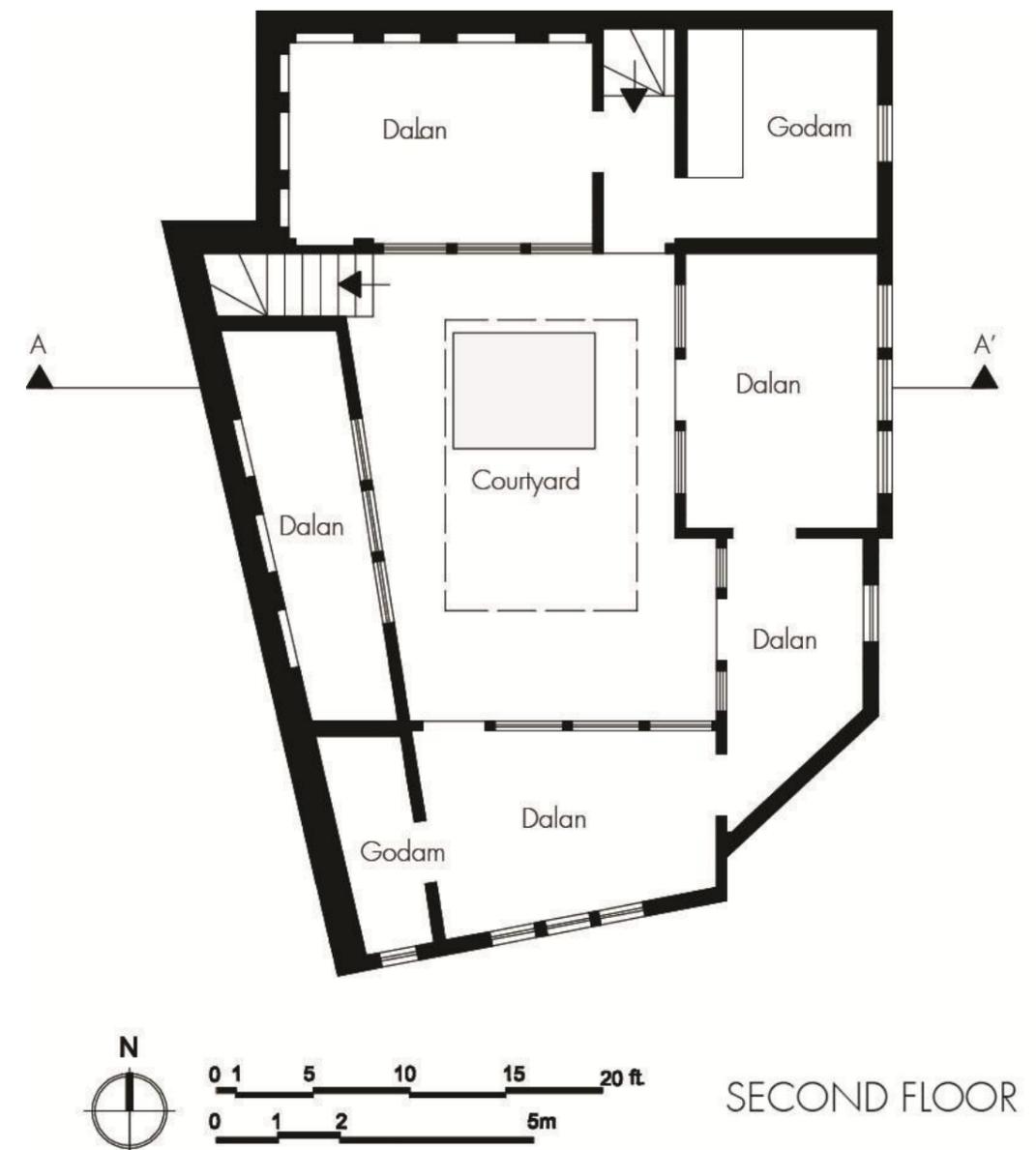
Fig. 8.11 Second floor plan.

Fig. 8.12 *Kotha* of *haveli.*

Fig. 8.13 *Teh-khana* plan.

iv. *Teh-Khana*

Teh-khana (basement) was an important space of the *havelis* as it provided a much desired cool space to rest in the hot summer afternoons. The *teh-khana* has been an important part of the *haveli* since Mughal times as underlined by Bernier:

> 'A good house has its courtyards, gardens, basins of water, small *jets d'eau* in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterranean apartments.'[23]
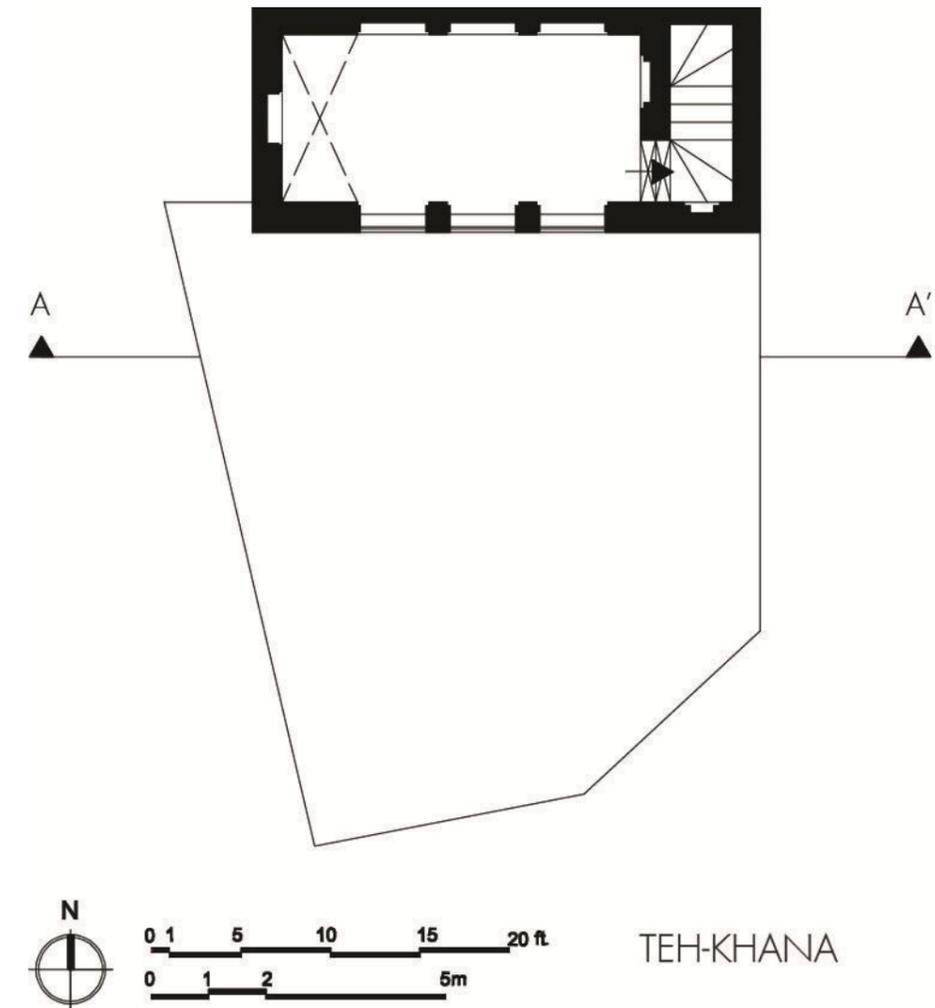
This *haveli* has a *teh-khana* on the north side which has access from the NE corner stairs. This *teh-khana* has thick masonry walls and Mughal arches that support the roof of the room. Its rectangular plan allows the *charpais* to be lined along the north perimeter wall so that the south side could be used for circulation. Its vents open into the courtyard for light and ventilation. There are blind arches along the external wall; these are structural elements as well as a decorative feature of the room.
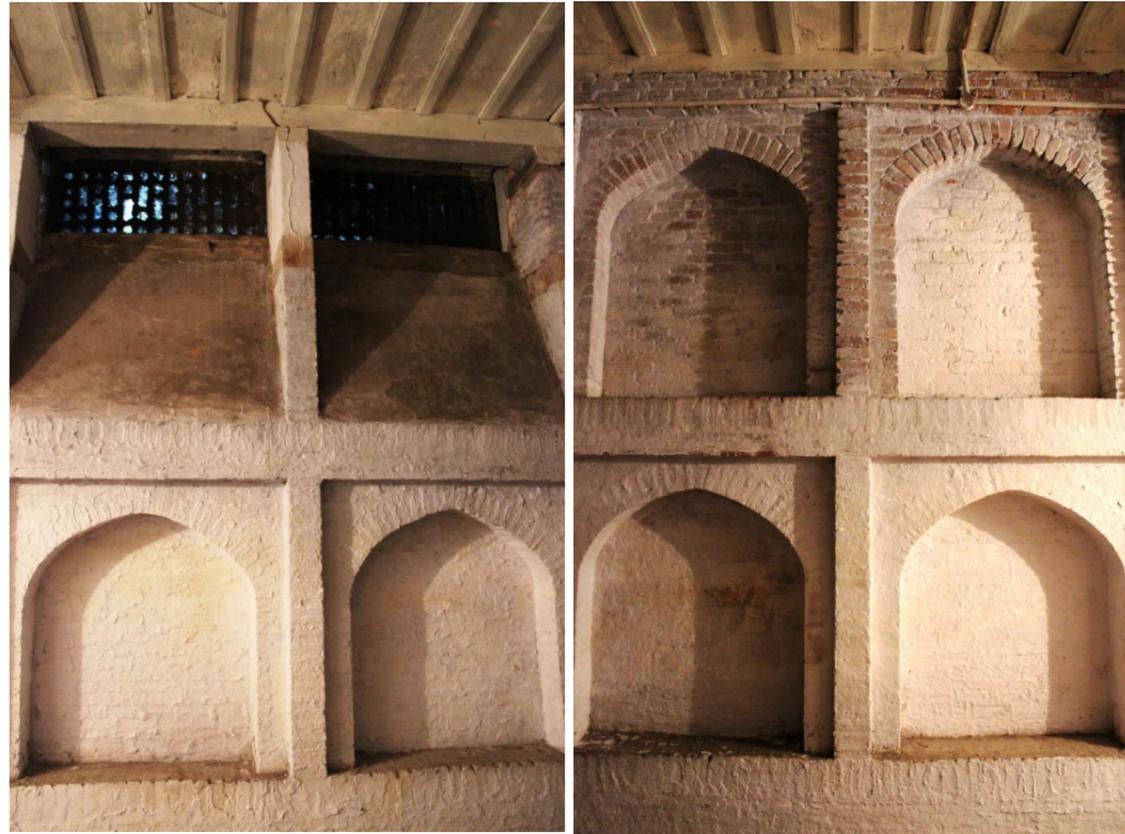
Fig. 8.14 Juxtaposed images of the walls of *teh-khana*.

Fig. 8.15 *Naqqashi* painting on facade.

The front facade of this *haveli* is decorated with wood carved panels and *naqqashi*. The ground floor has no openings towards the outside except the main door, which has a decorative entrance arcade. The first floor facade is embellished with *naqqashi* wood panels between the windows. The *basta* windows are decorated at the base and top with *pinjra-kari* panels. There are small *taqs* on the ground and first floor facades which held oil lamps for lighting the street at night. The facade panelling follows the timber framing structure of the *haveli*. This is one of the few *havelis* of the city to still carry the *naqqashi* work on its facade.[24]

8.2.2 Fateh Gul Sethi *haveli*

Fig. 8.16 Juxtaposed images of external façade of the *haveli* with *monabat-kari.*

This *haveli* is located at the furthest end of the *mohalla* on the north-east side in a narrow winding *galli* which is about 8ft. wide. It was contemporary with the Karam Sethi *haveli* and constructed around 1818, with a site area measuring 591 sq. ft.[25] This *haveli* continues the practice of housing the *daftar-khana* on the ground floor with the *zenan-khana* on the first floor. The two external wall facades of this *haveli* are decorated with *munabat-kari* (stucco). This is a unique feature of this *haveli* as the decorative building craft of *munabat-kari* covering an entire facade was not found among other *havelis* of this era in the old city.[26] The *munabat-kari* is perhaps inspired by the nearby Serai Jehan Ara (1640) which was covered with this stucco work, as were all royal residences of the era. Today only the inner facade of its western gate displays some *munabat-kari* work (see fig 8.17).

This relief work in gypsum plaster was shaped in arabesque patterns which were painted with *naqqashi* (water-based paints) to give a realistic look to the floral decorations. It is possible that the *munabat-kari* decorative work on the Fateh Gul *haveli* also had *naqqashi* painting. The Ahmad Gul *Mehman-khana* and the Karim Buksh *haveli* in the late 19th century also used similar stucco embellishments on their facades.

Fig. 8.17 *Munabat-kari* on western gate of Serai Jehan-Ara.

The entrance porch of the Fateh Gul *haveli* is a *ti-bari* opening with two *chabootrey* on either side arch of the doorway for sitting. The wooden arches and columns of the doorway are intricately carved with vegetal and geometric patterns. The main door of the *haveli* is also carved with a concentric pattern of ten sided and five sided stars. This woodcarving pattern was common for doors in the areas of Afghanistan and Central Asia and the family's travels there for trade must have been the source of inspiration for this carved wooden door.[27] This is the only door of the *mohalla* to be so richly carved.
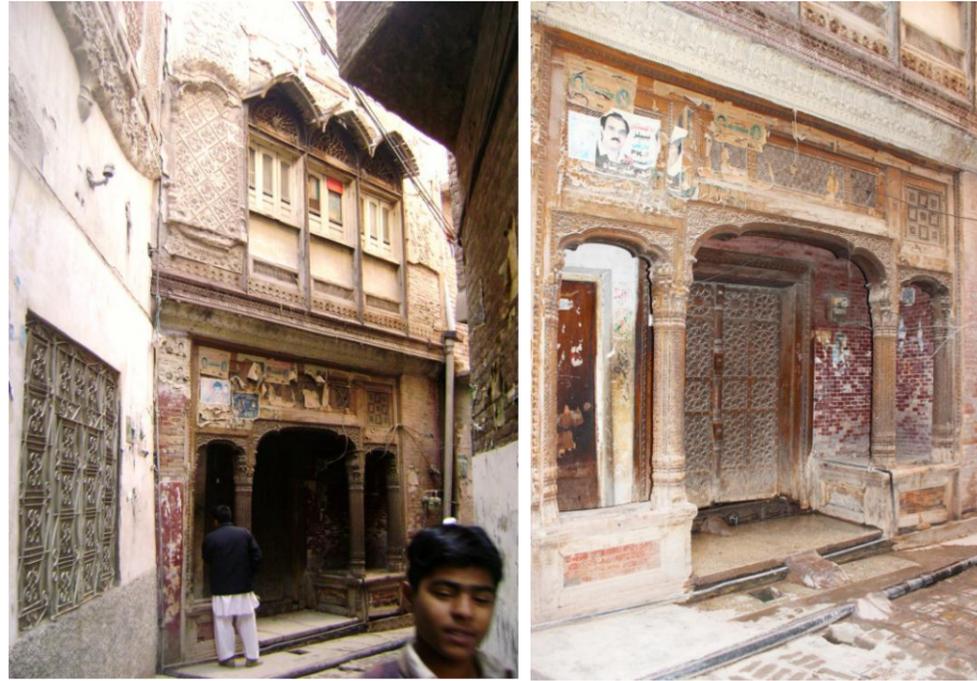
Fig. 8.18 Juxtaposed images of the entrance to the Fateh Gul *haveli.*

i. Ground Floor

The *dehliz* leads into the first *deorhi* that turns 90° left into the second *deorhi.* The second *deorhi* again turns 90° left and enters the courtyard. The arrangements of multiple *deorhis* and their twists and turns ensure privacy to the residence and provide multiple spaces that allow for levels of penetration within the *haveli.* Just as the external *chabootras* allow interactions with persons who were not allowed inside the house, the first and second *deorhis* are thresholds that allow various persons (street vendors, artisans, craftsmen) to come within the periphery of the centre of the house (inhabited by family) and transact their business. These spaces allow the women of the *haveli* to communicate with the outsider from behind a door or a screen but remain within the sanctity of the house. The space was also used by craftsmen who brought in their utensils to carry out work for the family.

The ground floor courtyard is very simple and utilitarian. There are four *dalans* around the sides of the courtyard which served as the *diwan-khana* and *dafter* of Fateh Gul's business.
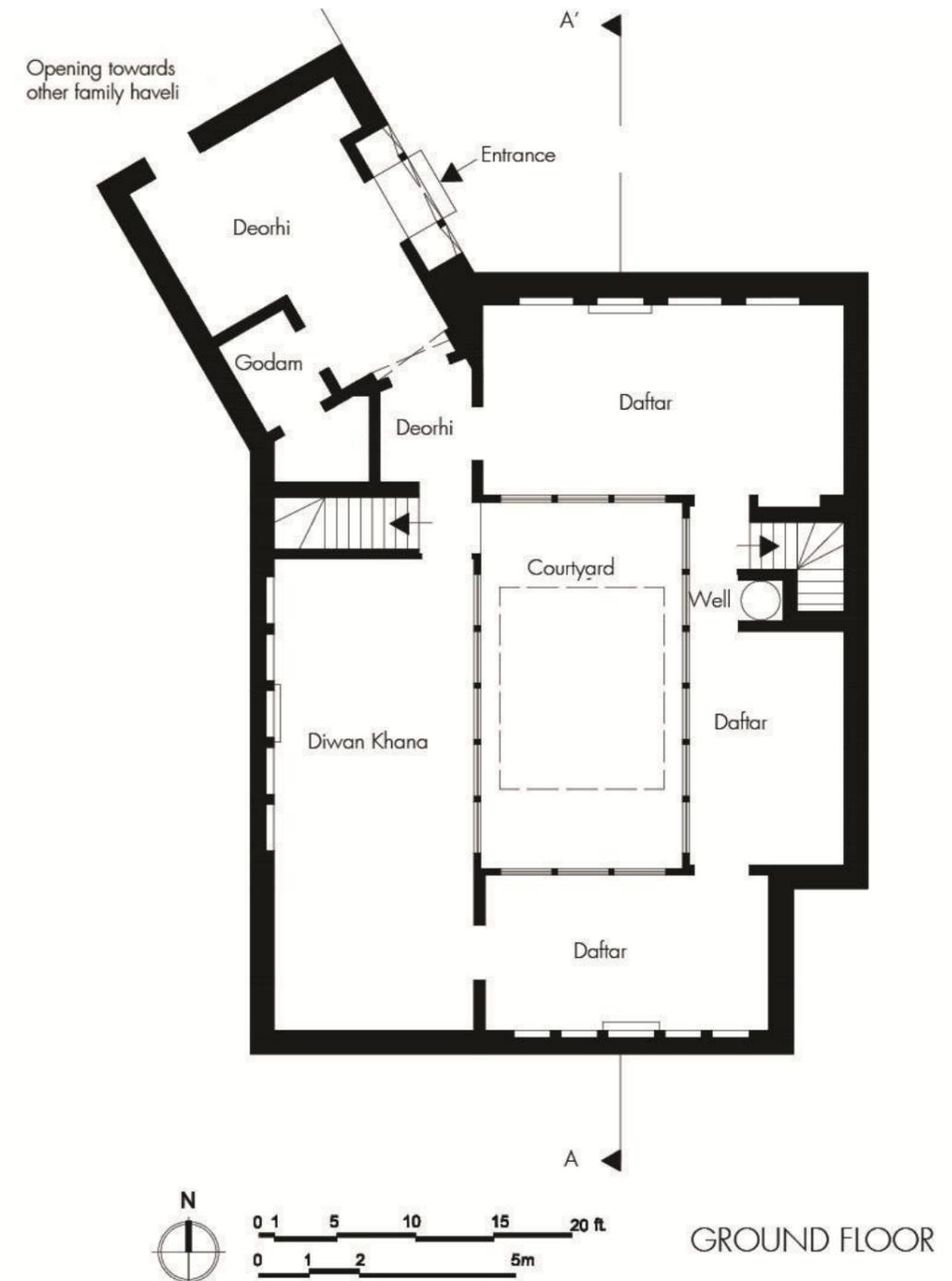
Fig. 8.19 Ground floor plan.

169

A common feature of trader *havelis* was the *baithak* in the front part of the *haveli*, which served as their workspace where the accountant would sit with his *bahi-khata* (accounts record).[28] The location of the *baithak* at the front of the house also allowed freer communication with male visitors and their entertainment. There are *dalans* around the courtyard, which were used for the business activities. The windows on all four arcades are *basta* which can be opened and stacked up vertically, to become an open arcade. The facades around the courtyard are generally plain and unadorned, with a decorated panel at each corner of the arcade which has a six-sided petal motif carved in wood. The *dalans* are raised ten inches (one step) from the courtyard floor. The use of *basta* windows in this *haveli* and the previous one indicate their origin in the pre-British era.[29] There was a *qoowah* (well) located on the north-east side, which was closed years ago, when piped water was provided to the city.[30]

There are two flights of staircases leading to the top two floors, one is next to the *deorhi* on the north-west side and the second is on the north-east side of the courtyard. The staircase on the north-east side goes up to the first floor, where it opens next to a *ghusal-khana* and another staircase placed next to it, goes up to the *godam* (store) on the mezzanine level. These are service stairs, whose purpose was to enable the carrying of water from the well to the *zenan-khana*. The staircase on the north-west side connects the ground floor to the first and the second floors. This serves as the main staircase which was used by visitors to the *zenan-khana*, the men of the household and by the women to go outside the *haveli*. The two staircases may be labelled as inside and outside stairs; one that connects the two floors of the *haveli* and the second which forms its connection with the outside world.

ii. First Floor

The first floor consists of two *bala-khanas* on the north and south sides and two smaller *dalans* on the east and west sides. The *dalans* have lower ceilings at 8ft. and are part of the original fabric of the *haveli*, while the *bala-khanas* are larger with ceiling heights of 14ft., and were constructed about 40 years later. The *bala-khana* arcades on the east and west side are decorated with *munabat-kari* in vegetal designs, and *pinjra-kari* and carved wooden facades. The windows have Mughal flat arches with arched fan lights above them. The internal panels of the windows are foldable and have stained-glass panes.

Fig. 8.20 View of *daftar-khana*.

Opening towards
other family haveli

Dalan

A′

Bala Khana

Opening towards
other family haveli

Dalan

Ghusal -
Khana

Bala Khana

A

N

0 1   5   10   15   20 ft.

0   1   2   5m

FIRST FLOOR

Fig. 8.21 First floor plan.

N

0 1   5   10   15   20 ft.

0   1   2   5m
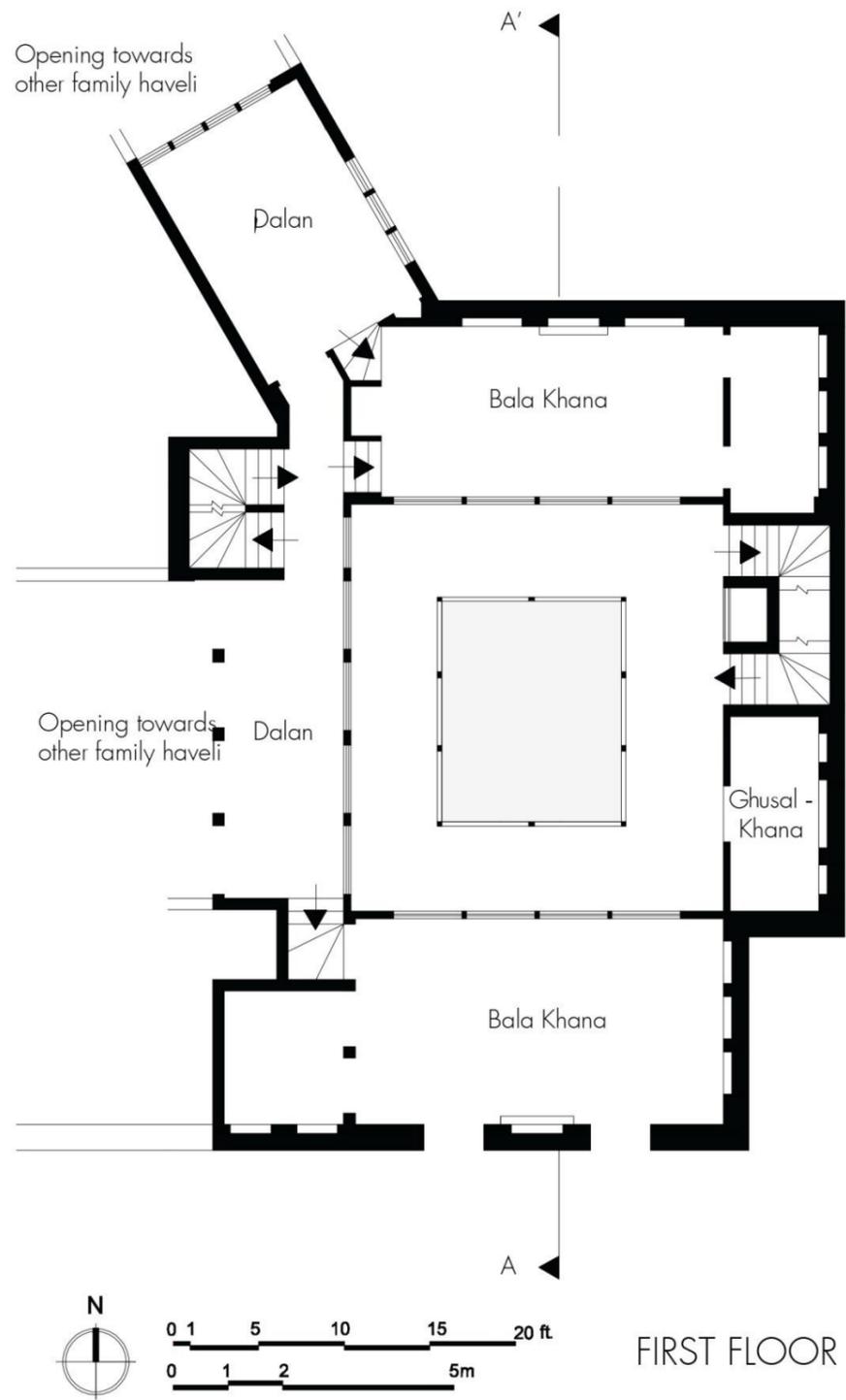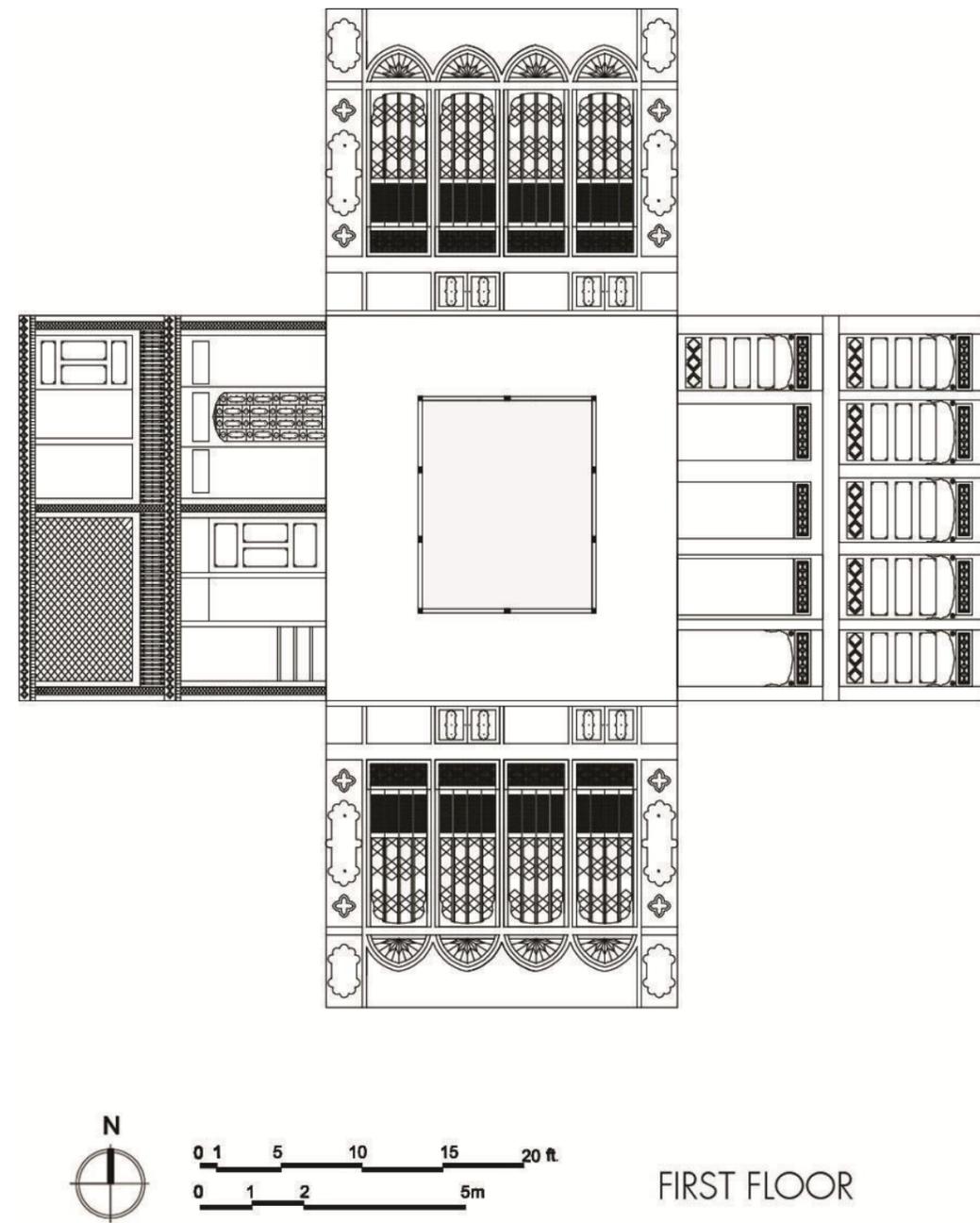
FIRST FLOOR

Fig. 8.22 Internal elevations of first floor.

171

The *bala-khanas* on the north and south sides may have replaced earlier more modest *dalans*. The *bala-khanas* are raised 3 ft. from the courtyard floor and have storage spaces underneath them. These were used to stock grains, other dry food staples and firewood.[31] The *bala-khanas* are decorated with *chini-khanas* on their external walls. These *chini-khanas* are arranged on top of a fire-place which suggests their construction in the late 19th century.[32] When the windows of the *bala-khanas* are open these *chini-khanas* can be viewed from the courtyard. There are *munabat-kari* panels on the walls of these rooms which were possibly painted with *naqqashi* colours, but now are covered with white enamel paint. These designs of the *monabat-kari* form relief arches and panels in scroll patterns and are Victorian in design compared with the decorative Mughal patterned stucco of the older parts of this *haveli*.

Fig. 8.24 *Chini-khana* in north *bala-khana*.

Fig. 8.23 First floor *bala-khana*.

The two wings on the east and west sides are narrower and have shallow *dalans* which are 6ft. to 8ft. width, their ceilings are 8ft. high. These rooms have *basta* windows which face the courtyard. The east side wing has a *ghusal-khana* at the level of the courtyard and a *godam* above it on the mezzanine level. This wing was the service area of the *haveli*.

172
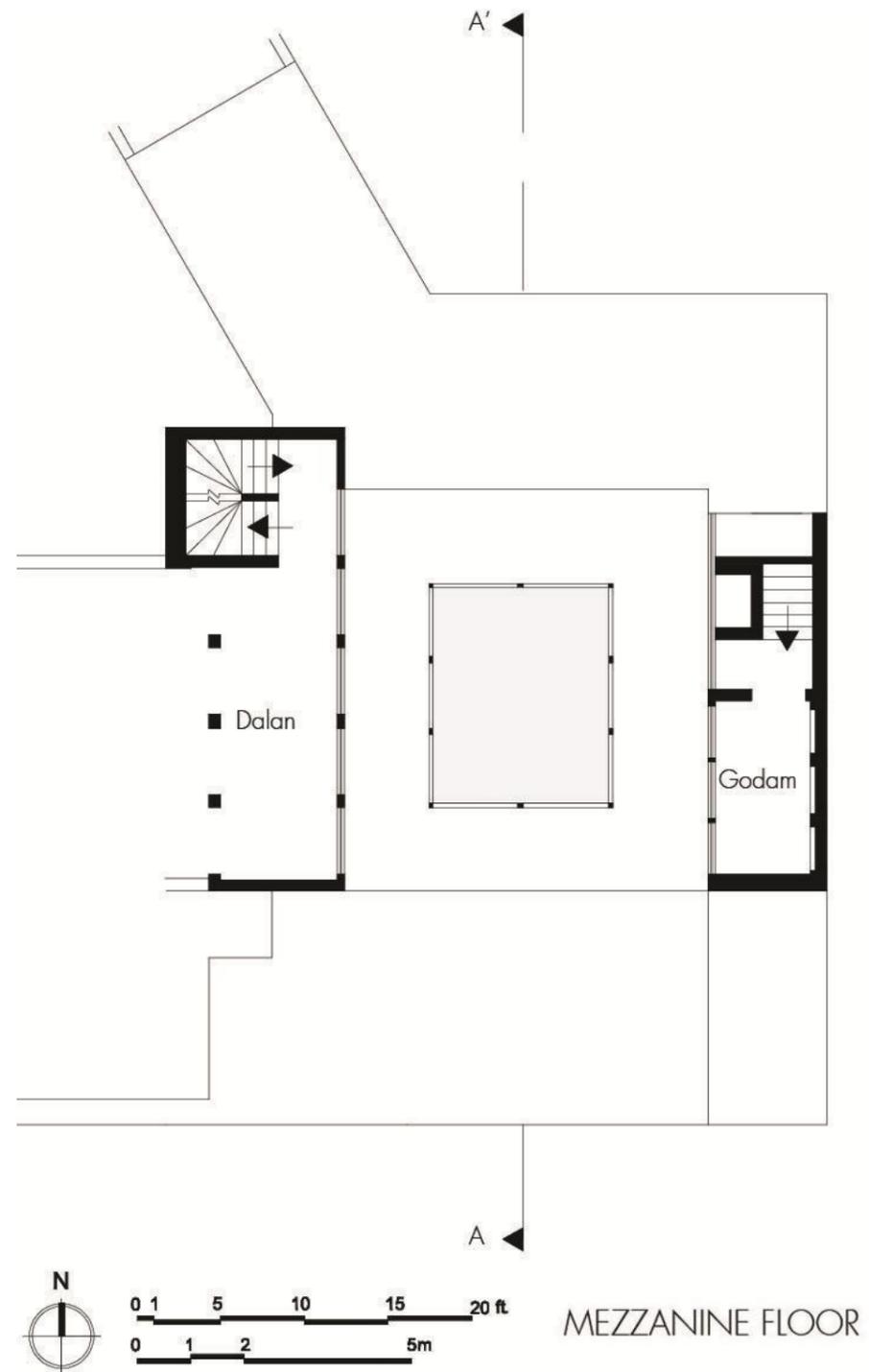
Fig. 8.25 Mezzanine floor plan.

The west wing has a *dalan* at the courtyard level; the interior of this is embellished with *naqqashi* and possibly served as a family room. There is a *dalan* on top of this at the mezzanine level. The upper *dalan* is embellished with *naqqashi*, *monabat-kari*, *pinjra-kari*, has a painted ceiling and stained-glass panes in the *basta* windows. The *naqqashi* motifs include the bouquet in vase and floral sprigs in a naturalistic style of the Shahjehani period.[33] These are the oldest and most decorated rooms of the *haveli* indicating their construction in the late Durrani period. Each *basta* window has a fixed panel on the top part which has latticed stained-glass panes. These are influenced by the Persian style of stained-glass with timber dividers between the glass panes rather than lead.[34] This *dalan* may have served as part of the master suite of the *haveli* with reference to its embellishments.

Fig. 8.26 West side *dalans*.

Fig. 8.27 Juxtaposed interior images of the west *dalan* at mezzanine level.

Fig. 8.28 Painted roof of *dalan.*

These *dalans* have doors on their west side which connected them to another older part of this *haveli*. These doors have been blocked as the larger *haveli* was separated into two smaller ones. This division indicates that the original *haveli* was larger and had two courtyards. The wooden facades of the west and eastern wings have *pinjra-kari* and carved panels. The doors of the *ghusal-khana* and *godam* on the west side of the courtyard are folding doors with floral pattern carving on the panels. These doors date from the early 19th century and display the carving traditions of the city.

This *haveli* does not have a basement or any approach to subterranean chambers. Since it was part of a larger complex, there may have been *teh-khanas* attached to the other courtyards on its south and west side.[35] The *haveli* was divided up between family members in the 1940s; later some of its parts were torn down and a new house built in their

iii. Second Floor *kotha*

The *kotha* is on the second floor which has decorative parapet walls lined with *taq*. These walls are 6ft. high to offer privacy for the day to day activities of the family. There are remains of two small utility rooms on this level; these may have been the *bait-ul-khila* (lavatories) which were usually placed on the rooftop terraces so that they would not pollute the *haveli* or spread the smells. This location next to the external staircase also facilitated their cleaning by the sweepers and the removal of solid waste.[37]

Fig. 8.29 Second floor kotha of *haveli.*

1 Daftar
2 Bala Khana
3 Godam
4 Courtyard
5 Kotha

SECTION A-A'

Fig. 8.30 Section of the *haveli.*

The *havelis* of Karam Buksh and Fateh Gul mark the first stage of development of the Sethi merchant *havelis.* These were small in size, but housed the *daftar-khana* on the ground floor of the *haveli* with the residential areas above it. This arrangement necessitated the incorporation of particular design mechanisms such as strategically located staircases and *deorhi* spaces, these allowed separation between men and women within one house.

One of the important elements used to embellish the interiors is the *chini-khana,* which shows the desire not just to embellish a surface but a vessel to hold and display the family's valuables in the form of china and glass ware. The incorporation of the *chini-khana* is maybe the most important appropriation of a royal (Mughal) element of architecture within the modest Karam Buksh and Fateh Gul *havelis.* The *havelis* also stood out amongst the houses of the era because of the embellishments on the main facades, *naqqashi* in the case of the Karam Buksh *haveli* and *monabat-kari* on the Fateh Gul *haveli.* Both techniques
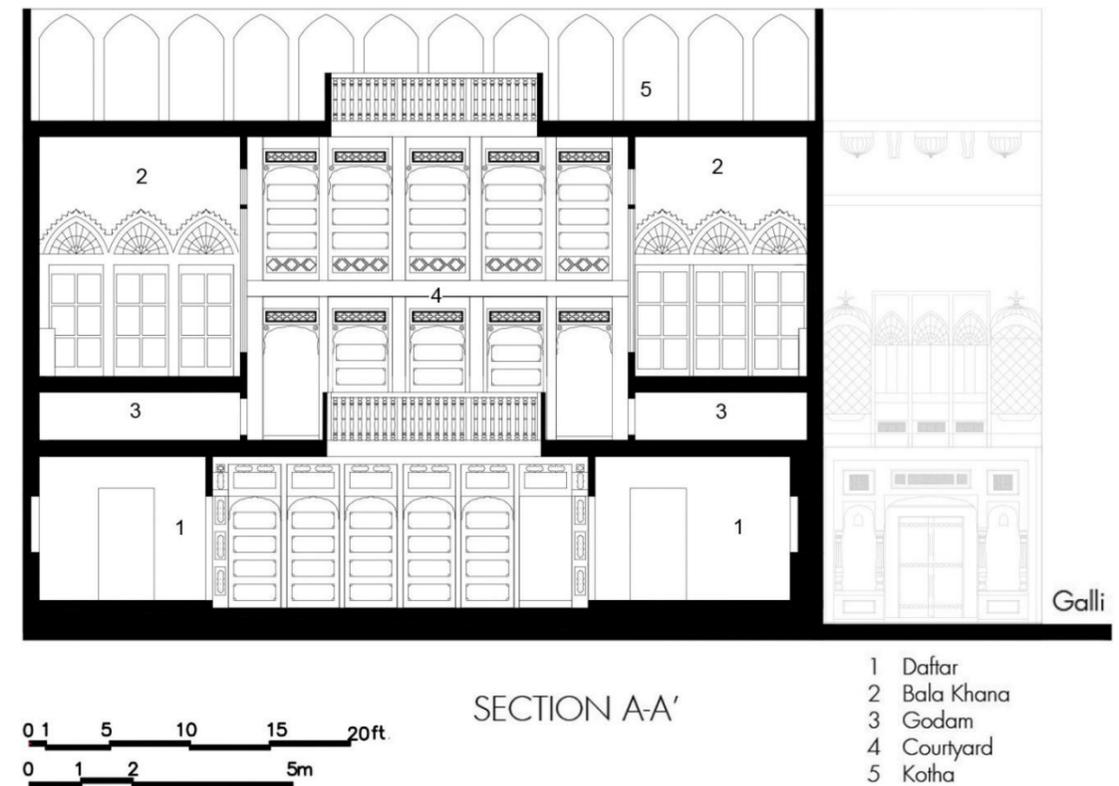
These were the first *havelis* that started the process of identifying the Sethi merchants as the indigenous *rais* of Peshawar, through the use of Mughal inspired embellishments. They were followed by larger and more embellished house cum offices in the next phase of *haveli* building.

8.3 Second Phase of Sethi *haveli* development during the Afghan and Sikh eras: (1823-1834)

The second phase of *haveli* development took place from the 1820s to the 1840s. This was a turbulent time as the control of the city rapidly changed hands between the following:

I. Barakzai Sardars (1818-1838)

II. Sikh Era I; Gen. Avitabile (locally known as *Abu Tabela*) (1838-1843)

III. Sikh Era II (1843-1849)

The Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi *havelis* can be seen as the second phase of *haveli* building in the *mohalla.* These *havelis* displayed the clan's economic prosperity and were also indicative of their need for security. The changing social relationships of the Sethis with the rulers of the city from the Afghan to the Sikh era was instrumental in changing the street facing *haveli* form of the earlier era to the enclosed and fortified *haveli* form.[38] In doing so the merchant *havelis* also emulated the *umrah* estates of Mughal times which consisted of fortified premises housing domestic and official buildings. The *haveli*s demonstrate the use of decorated interior surfaces in all *bala-khanas* and *dalans*, drawing on the nearby Mughal Serai Jahan Ara (Gor Khuttree) and Mahabat Khan Mosque as its main influences.[39]

8.3.1 Ahmad Gul Sethi *haveli*

This *haveli* deviated from the earlier practice of combining the domestic and commercial realms. The *haveli* was constructed as an independent unit within a complex containing the clan's *daftar-khana* as a separate but inclusive entity.[40] The Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh *havelis* opened onto a common forecourt which would also serve later family *havelis*.
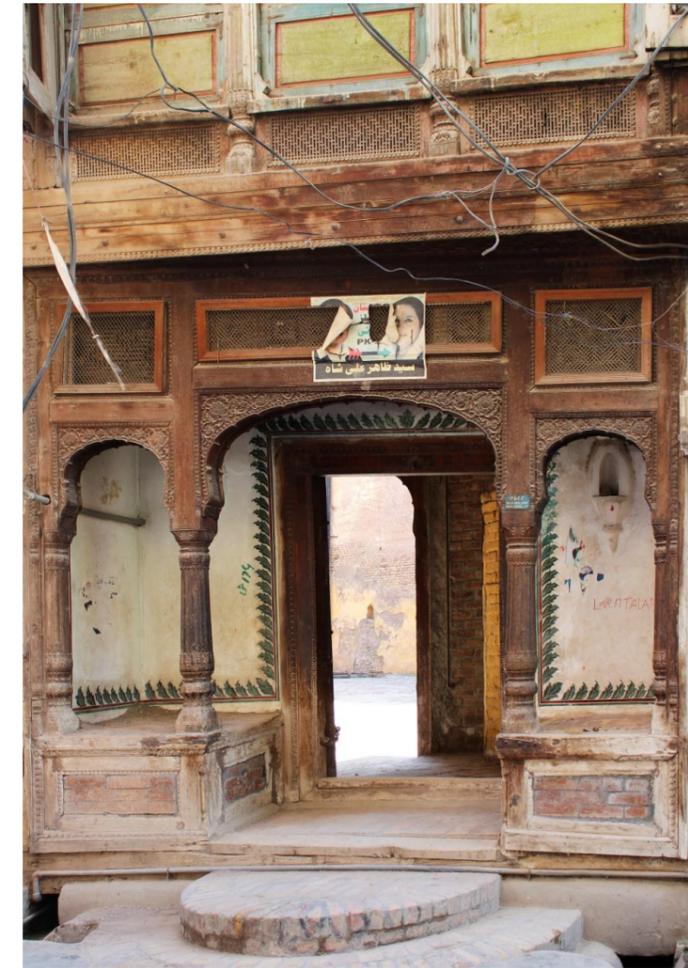
Fig. 8.31 Entrance to the Ahmad Gul *haveli.*

I. *Daftar-khana*

The rectangular independent block of the *daftar-khana* is built between the entrance from the *galli* and the domestic *haveli*. The *daftar-khana* comprises a block of offices on the ground and first floors overlooking the internal court. The offices on the ground and first floor are small and utilitarian; their interior surfaces are plain with *taq* along the walls for holding *khatas* (account books), correspondence and records. The first and second floor offices have windows and doorways opening into a private courtyard. There are windows and a *jharoka* respectively which overlook the main entrance, towards the *mohalla galli* (see fig 8.32).

FRONT ELEVATION
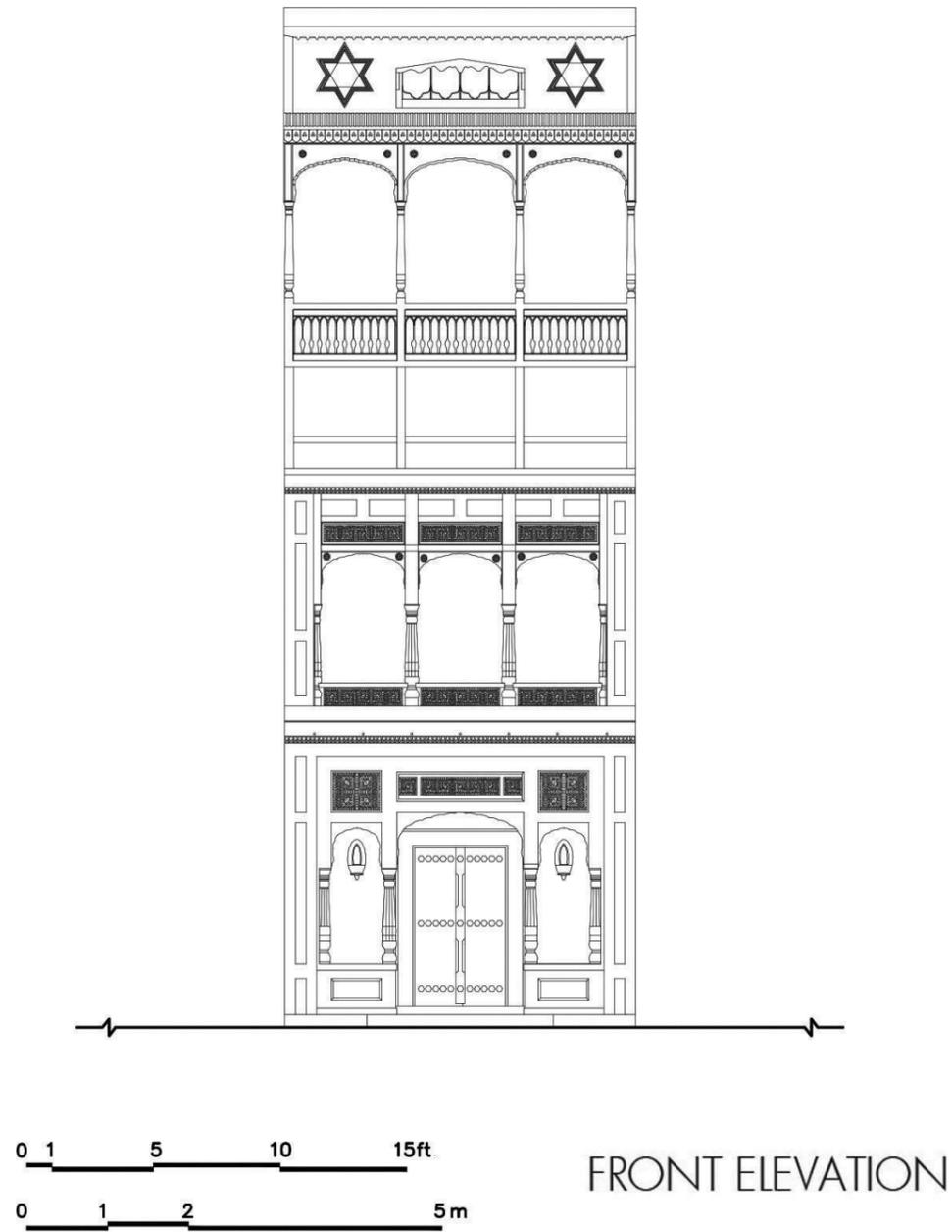
Fig. 8.32 Elevation of the Ahmad Gul *haveli.*

The main *diwan-khana* is located on the second floor and is approached through a staircase inside the main *deorhi* of the residential *haveli*. This room was constructed as an

addition some time after the construction of the *haveli*: the window styles differ from the ground and first floor *aroosi* windows.

Fig. 8.33 A view of the *diwan-khana*.

The entrance into the residence was secured by the placement of three doorways contained within three *deorhis*. These led into the main courtyard through an 'S' shaped configuration. The *deorhis* are important design elements that act as a foyer or buffer space between residents and visitors; where visitors may wait or be attended by servants, before being allowed to proceed into the heart of the *haveli*; the courtyard. The courtyard, the hub of family activity, is kept separate and protected from the street.

Fig. 8.34 The *daftar-khana*, the street entrance is on the right and the main entrance into the *haveli* is on the left.

II. *Haveli*

A fine *haveli* of the 19th century 'consisted of interconnected apartments, courtyards, pillared halls and fountains and *hauz* (pond) laid out and niches filled with china wares; it was decorated as the earthly version of paradise for the pleasure of the owner and his household.'[41] This description fitted the many *umrah havelis* of the sub-continent which were modelled on Mughal palaces and influenced the merchant *havelis* built in the late 18th to late 19th centuries. The Ahmad Gul *haveli* was composed of all of these design elements as the patron aspired to a position among the *rais* of the era.

i. Ground Floor

The Ahmad Gul *haveli* is organised around a central courtyard (31ft x 34ft), which is larger than those of the preceding Sethi *havelis.* This is the heart of the *zenana,* an introverted space which is completely separated from the public *galli* and *mardana* areas. The courtyard approached through three *deorhis* facilitates the transition from the external to the internal domain. Its brick patterned floor and a central fountain, are feature shared by most *umrah havelis.*[42] The Mughals' aesthetic sensibilities manifested themselves through elaborate gardens filled with trees, flowers and water, within their architecture. These elements were incorporated in the gardens of palaces and residences of the Mughal Empire to portray heavenly gardens of Paradise. The aesthetic of an Islamic garden drew its inspirations from the beauty and imagery of Paradise.[43]

The use of central fountains and pools as reflections of paradise was explored widely by the Mughals.[44] Water is the vital element for a garden as it is rich in symbolism, as a source of life and of purity, and placed within the courtyard it forms the symbolic centre of this space.[45] It also contributes the qualities of tranquillity, coolness, and aesthetics to the courtyard. Water, flowers and the sky were the main elements which helped establish an eternal garden, which was seen symbolically as a paradise on earth. Many attributes of these 'paradisiacal gardens' are shared by the Ahmad Gul *haveli* courtyard through the presence of the central fountain, and the portrayal of flowers and trees in *naqqashi* paintings on the facades of the courtyard together with floral carving on the surrounding wooden arcades.

The courtyard also emulates a 'walled garden' as the surrounding four facades enclose it. Thus it forms an appropriate space for the centre of the household, serving multiple functions of domestic and social importance as births, marriages, festivals and death ceremonies were performed here.
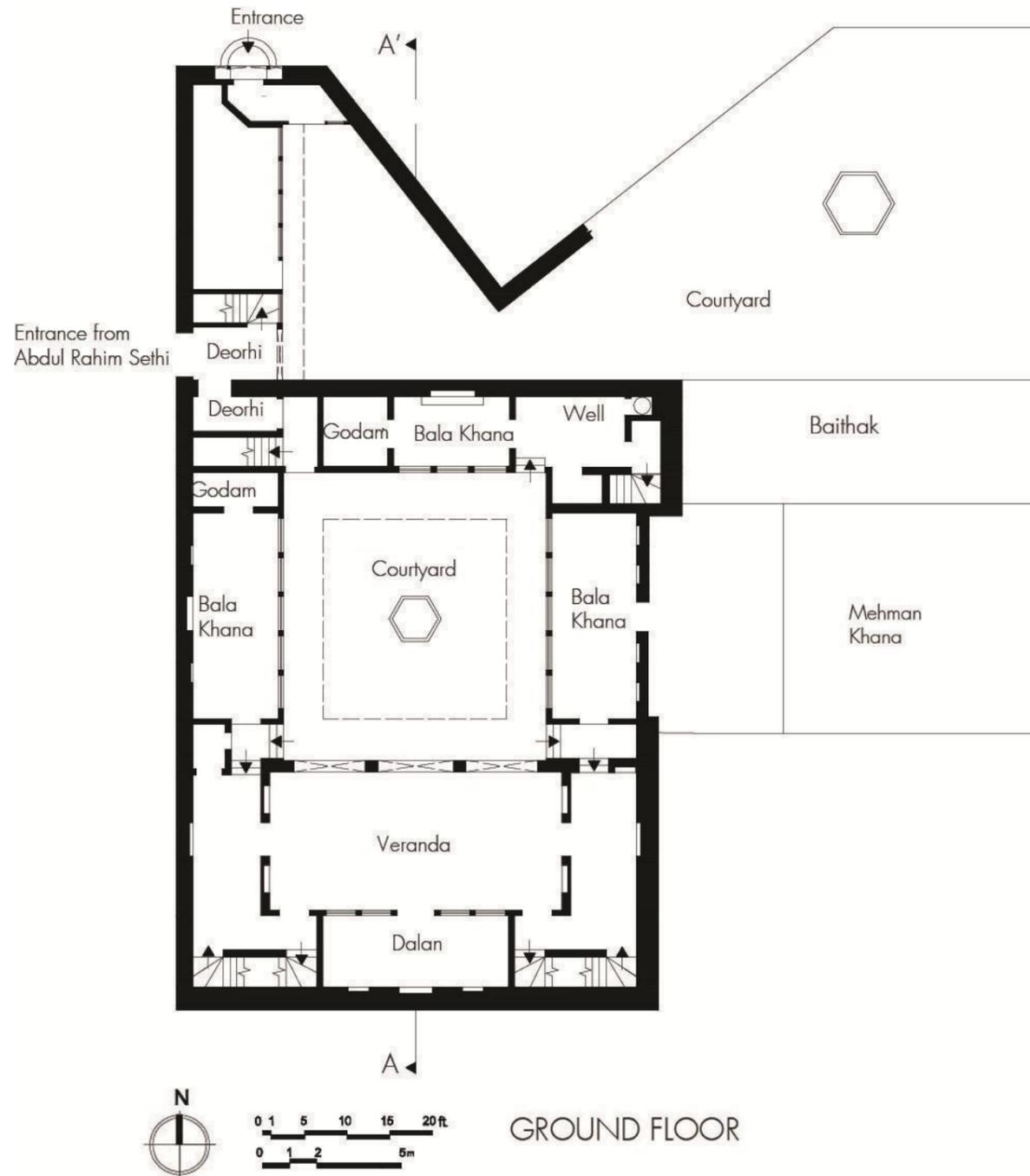
Fig. 8.35 Ground floor plan.
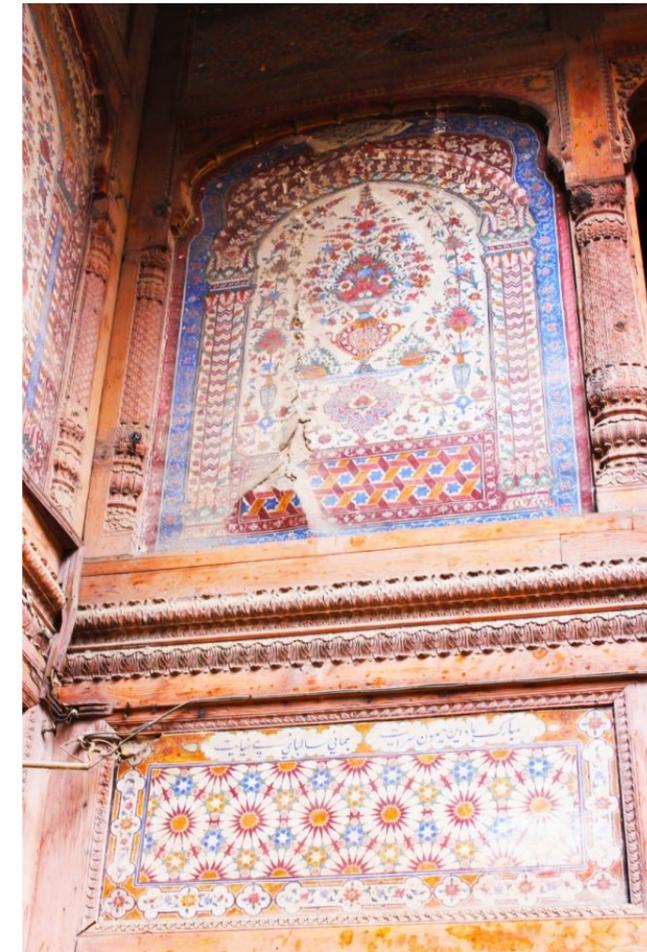
Fig. 8. 36 *Naqqashi* panel in courtyard.

The entrance of the courtyard faces the main residential space located on the south side. This has an imposing tri-arched arcade rising up-to the second storey level. There is a *verandah* behind the arcade which leads to a *dalan* at the courtyard level. The double height *verandah* forms an open living space for the ground floor *dalans*. This area is furnished with multiple large wooden *takhts* for sitting and resting. There are decorative niches and mirrors inserted in the surrounding walls. When the *haveli* was occupied there were Belgian chandeliers and Bukhara lamps hung from its ceiling. The space has a beautiful *khatam-band* ceiling which indicates the importance of this as the principal space for the family and its *zenana* for daily usage as well as a *baithak* to receive female guests. It also has the best view of the courtyard, the central fountain, and the activities carried out in the courtyard. The *verandah* with its large scale openings helps to extend the open living

179

space of the courtyard into the *haveli*. The main quarters are raised 5ft. from the courtyard and there is a large *teh-khana* underneath them. This space overlooks the entire *haveli* and holds a dominant position within the arrangement of the ground floor. This suite (used by Ahmad Gul Sethi) includes the main *dalan* which is decorated with a *chini-khana* and has *aina-kari* panels along the three walls. This room has an open arcade with wooden *basta* windows facing the *verandah*. The entire facade behind the *verandah* is constructed of wood and all the panels and openings are carved with geometrical and floral patterns.
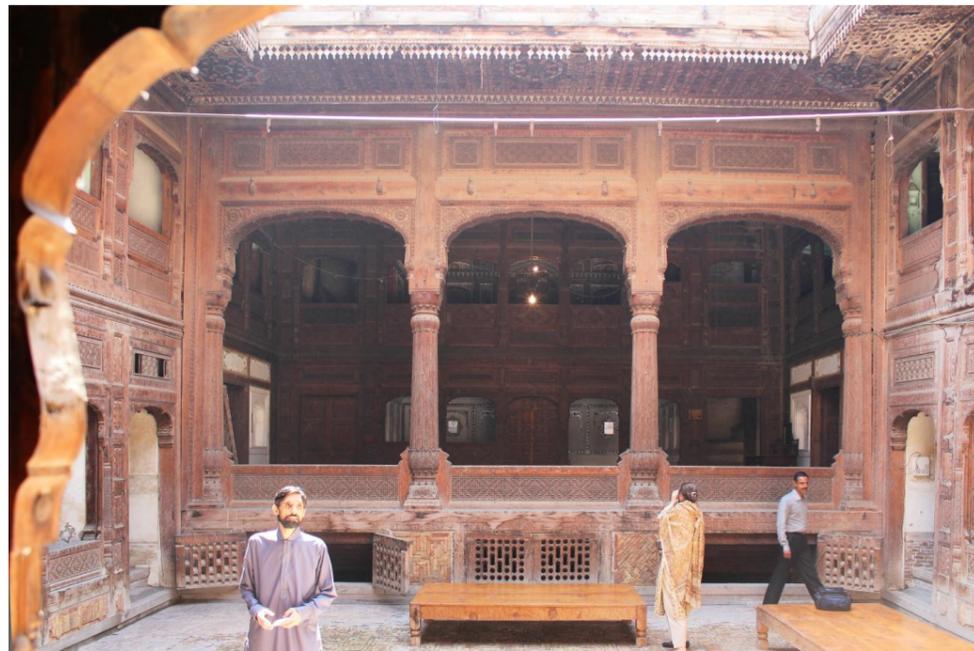
Fig. 8.37 The main *bala-khana* on the south side.

The *bala-khanas* around the north, east and west sides of the courtyard are all raised 2.5 ft. from the courtyard level, as these are constructed on raised plinths. The scale of all three *bala-khanas* is intimate; as the widths and ceiling heights are 9ft. each. The windows of all surrounding rooms are placed within the internal courtyard and these are continuous along the internal arcades. These windows are *basta* with shutters that can be opened to turn the rooms into an arcade along the courtyard. The multiple open-able parts of the windows regulate the amount of daylight admitted to the rooms. The layout of the *bala-khanas* is adjusted in such a way that the longer side of the room is in the proportion of 2.5:1 to its depth, which helps in the even distribution of sunlight within the room.[46] There are

elaborately carved *pinjra-kari* (wooden lattice) panels on top of the window arcades of all the *bala-khanas.*
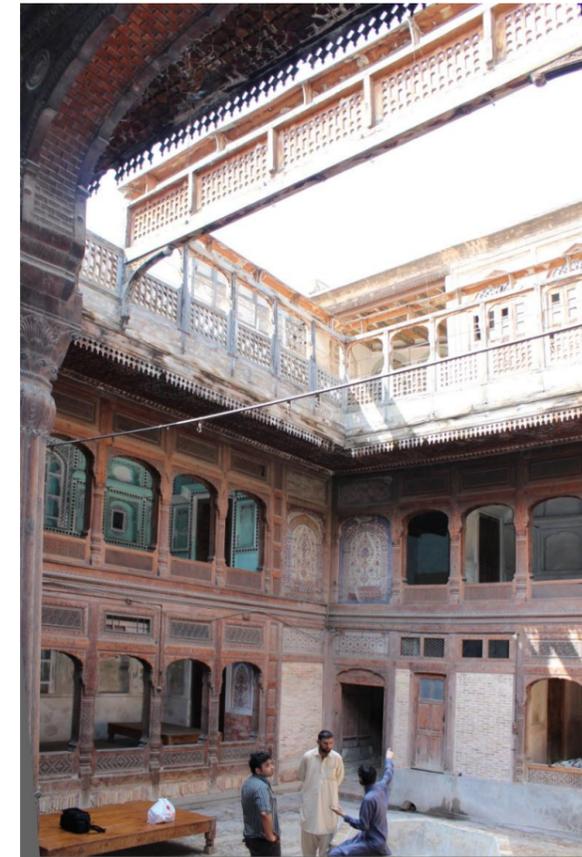
Fig. 8.38 View of courtyard.

The interiors of the two *bala-khanas* on the east and west wings are highly embellished in the traditional *naqqashi* technique. The painted motifs include the bouquet-in-vase motif along with other fruit and floral sprigs and arrangements on the walls and above the doorways. The frescos are naturalistic in their design and exhibit the Shahjehani stylistic traditions. These decorations and ornamentation are again intended to bring a garden inside a dwelling. Koch states that:

'these pictures turn the walls into virtual flower gardens so that one would have the view of the best (artificial) blooms inside.'[47]

180

The bringing in of flowers (through painting a vase with a bouquet) into a domesticated setting indicated that in a sense the garden was being brought inside and with it, its spiritual connection with Paradise. Flowers are a vital part of an Islamic garden, both in this world and the hereafter.[48] The decoration of architecture with plants and flowers supports the paradise garden metaphor, characterizing the *haveli* as a heavenly palace.[49] The depiction of floral bunches and bouquets are an important element of the decoration of the Ahmad Gul *haveli*.

Innovation and adaptation had been an important element of Mughal architecture which combined Persian, Indian and later European stylistic traditions by synthesizing local and imported design characteristics in evolving and fascinating interpretations.[50] The rich decorations of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* has various kinds of patterns and motifs, which can be divided into three distinctive elements; geometric, floral and vegetal patterns. The motifs used in the Ahmad Gul *haveli* include the 'vase with bouquet and fruit' which also symbolizes the tree of life.[51] The *bala-khanas* of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* has *naqqashi* motifs that are unique to this *haveli* and form an important addition to the *naqqashi* motifs of *havelis* of the sub-continent.[52]

Fig. 8.39 *Chini-khana* of south *dalan*.
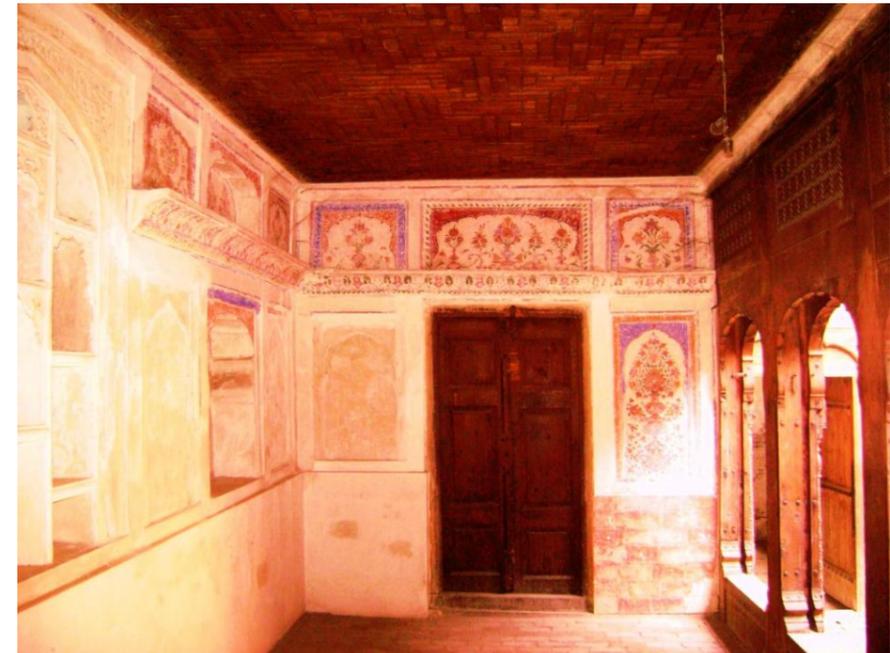
Fig. 8.40 West *bala-khana* on ground floor.

All the *chini-khanas* of the *haveli* are arranged along the walls facing the central courtyard, so that when the windows of these rooms are opened the *chini-khana* may be seen from the courtyard and from other rooms around the courtyard. This design enhances the decorative effect of these aesthetic elements.

The north side of the courtyard consists of a *bala-khana* which has a large hearth and served as the summer kitchen. This has a small *godam* on its west side and the service areas are located at the north-east corner with a well, a *ghusal-khana*, and a staircase. This part of the *haveli* lies next to the main entrance for access of the servants and away from the main residential areas of the *haveli*.

There are staircases located at the four corners of the house, tucked behind the main rooms. The staircases on the south-east and south-west served the family as is indicated by their placement next to the *bala-khanas* and the first floor quarters. These staircases connect all floors of the *haveli*. The staircase on the north-west is located at the entrance *deorhi* of the *haveli* and serves the *diwan-khana* on top of the trade office, while the staircase on the north-east side served as a service stair for servants. An important design

element of this *haveli* is that the well has a continuous chamber running vertically on all three floors and as such the *haveli* occupants have access to water on all levels. There are *ghusal-khanas* located next to the well on the ground and second floor levels.

Fig. 8.41 East *bala-khana* on ground floor.

Other important design features include a long steel cable with hooks which hangs across the courtyard *mang*. A cloth screen would have been tied to the steel hook to keep out the strongest sunlight, so that the temperature of the courtyard could be regulated. In the early evenings, water would be sprinkled on the courtyard floor to induce evaporative cooling. In addition a large fan hanging from the courtyard roof was manually operated to provide cool air both to the courtyard and into the raised *bala-khanas* of the ground floor.[53]

The facades around the courtyard observe a bilateral symmetry on the two sides of the north and south facades while the two wings on the east and west sides are mirror-image. The facades of the *haveli* courtyard are constructed of wood and their parts (columns, arches and panels) are elaborately carved with *pinjra-kari*, in floral and geometrical patterns.
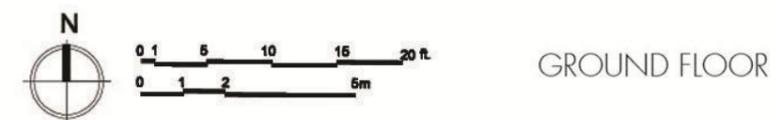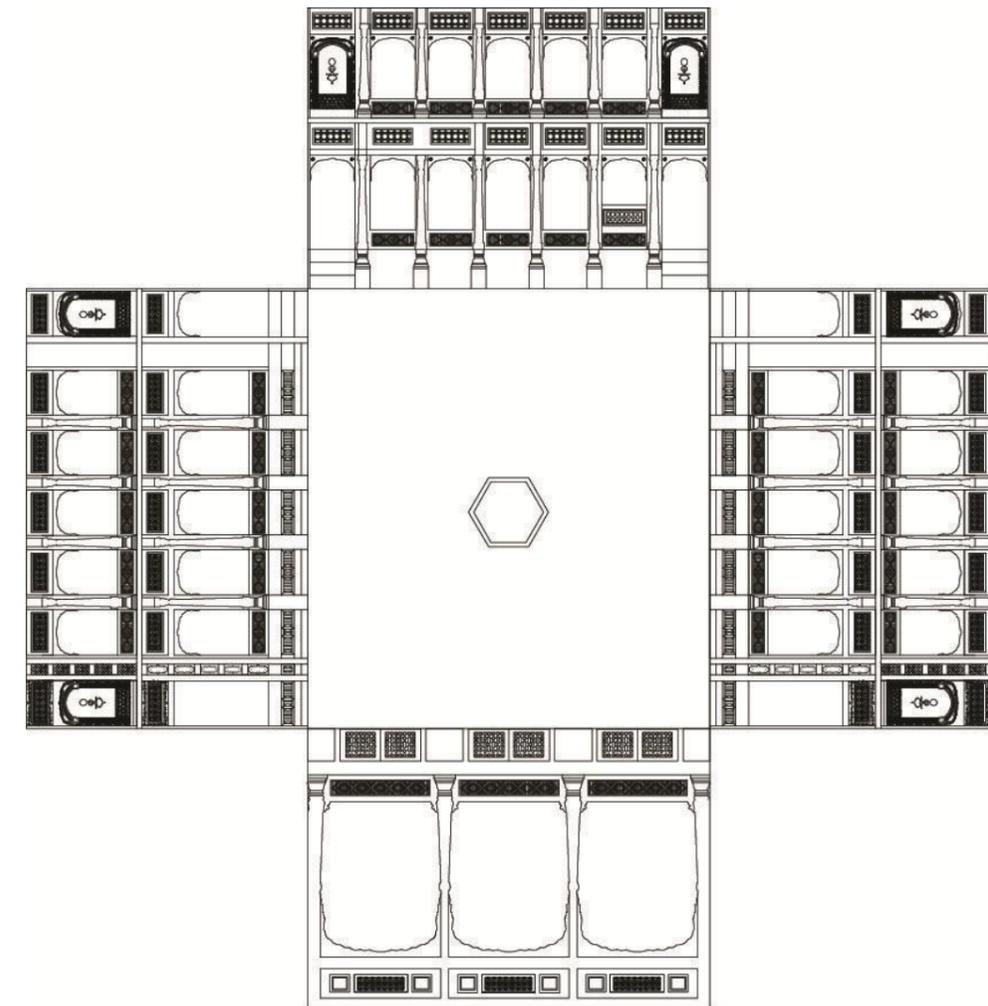
Fig. 8.42 Internal elevations of the courtyard.

ii. First Floor

The first floor *dalans* on the south side include the master bedroom, called the *'Shah-nashin'* room. *Shah-nashin* means 'abode of the King' and according to family sources this room was reserved for the newly married sons of the family.[54] While in smaller houses, rooms were not generally designated to individuals, it was the norm that within larger *havelis*, arrangements were made to give each married couple a separate room.[55] This room overlooks the family *verandah* on the ground floor and the courtyard. The *Shah-nashin* room is distinguished by its central location and rich embellishment. This *dalan* has gilded *naqqashi* work, a decorated *chini-khana*, painted wooden doors and *aroosi* windows and *khatam-band* ceiling.

The *chini-khana* from the Mughal times had become an important part of a *haveli* as noted by Bernier:

> '..the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower-pots....'[56]

An interesting feature of this Mughal inspired *dalan* is the Russian clock fitted in the centre of the *chini-khana*. This was brought back by Ahmad Gul from a trip to Moscow and fitted within the embellished *chini-khana* as a souvenir.[57] Within this *chini-khana*, the development of the stylistic traditions find the floral motif placed within the niches and plaster (a special mixture made with egg white) filigree tracery forming an arch around each niche. The *chini-khana* takes on the much more interesting form of a decorated space, which becomes an object of display rather than a built-in cupboard to display a decorative item. The niches of the *chini-khanas* allude to the gates of paradise and decorating these with floral bouquets is again reminiscent of the paradisiacal gardens.[58] Every inch of the *Shah-nashin* room is embellished and the room is a display of the family's status as well as emulation of a Mughal inspired royal room, hence the name *Shah-nashin* given to this room.
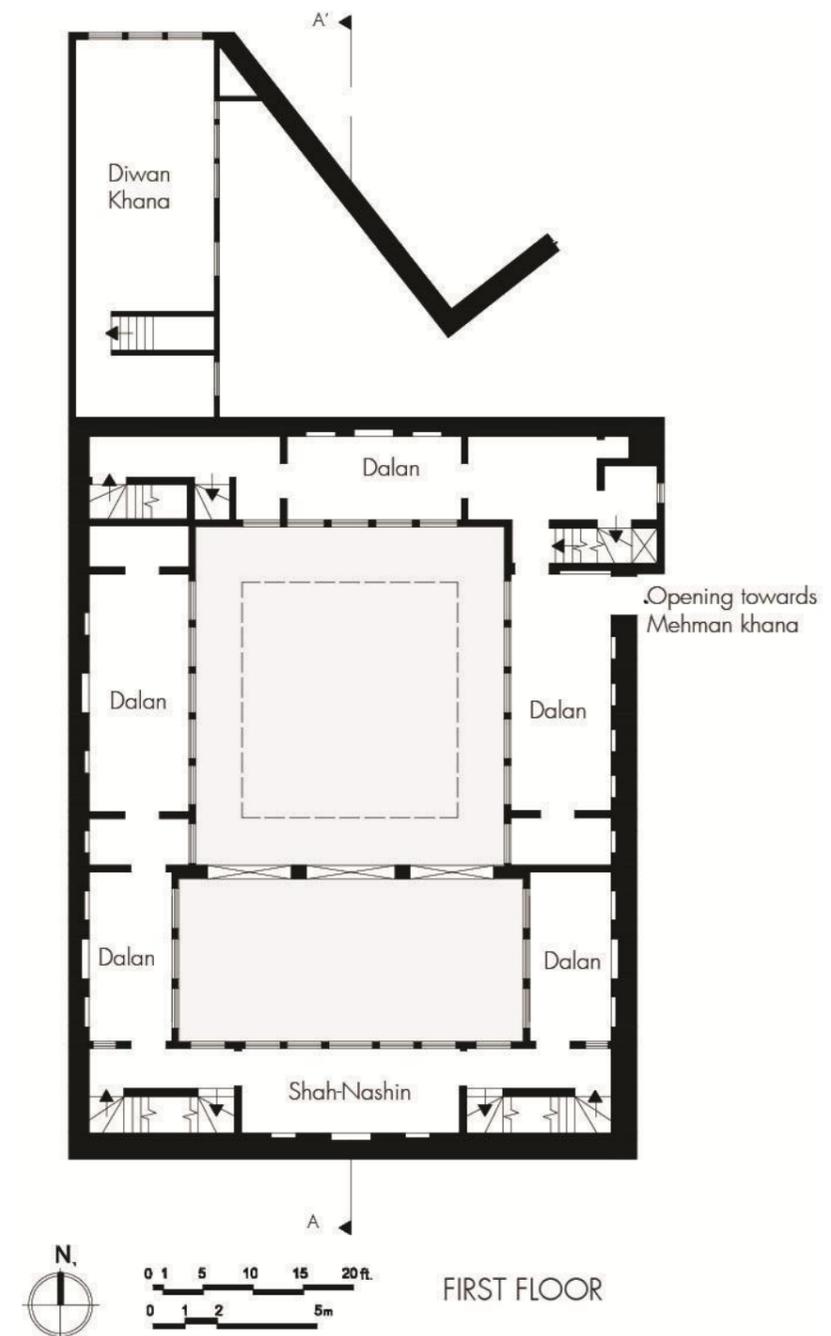
Fig. 8.43 First floor plan.
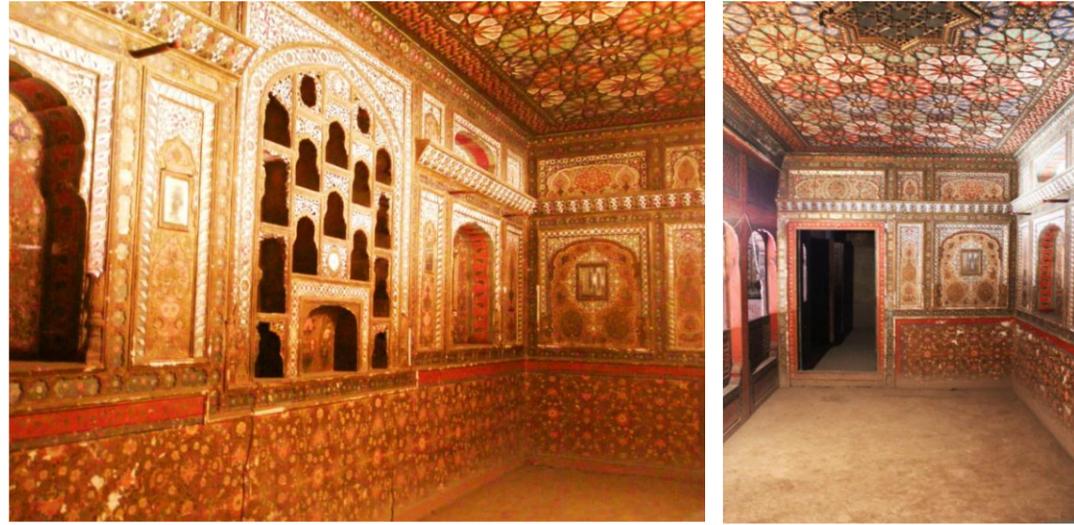
Fig. 8.44 Juxtaposed views of *Shah-nashin* room, first floor.

Fig. 8.45 Sheesh Mahal, Bala Qila, Nawalgarh, Shekhawati.

Fig. 8.46 *Dalan* on west side, first floor.

There is a second embellished *dalan* on the south-east side of the first floor which is identical to the *shah-nashin* room. The *shah-nashin* room was designated for use by a newly married son, but the presence of a second equally decorated '*shah-nashin*' *dalan* indicates that the courtesy was extended to a second son as well. The decorative elements of this *dalan* include a *chini-khana* with painted bouquet-in-vase motifs. Both the *dalans* have decorative mirrors inserted in *naqqashi* painted niches in the walls, this decorative treatment of the wall surface is similar in many *havelis* and other buildings and emulate the concept of a Sheesh-Mahal (hall of mirrors) (see fig 8.45).

There is a *dalan* on the south-west side which also has a *chini-khana* and *taqs* but has no *naqqashi* work on its walls. The wall is divided into panels through bands of *aina-kari* work, which are used to embellish the *chini-khana,* in a fashion similar to the south *dalan* on the ground floor. The room has an elaborately painted *khatam-band* ceiling. This third room by virtue of its relative plainness was probably inhabited by an unmarried son or daughter. The floors of these rooms were constructed of bricks and left unadorned as these would be covered by carpets and mattresses.

The *Shah-nashin* room and the two *dalans* on the south-east and south-west sides do not open onto any other room, but rather open onto independent *deorhis* on their respective sides. They are accessed exclusively through the two staircases on the south-east and south-west sides. On this floor the south wing rooms have been separated from those on the north wing.

The north wing of the first floor also has three *dalans*, but these are simpler in their internal decorations. They have *chini-khanas* and niches along the walls which are embellished with bands of *aina-kari* work. These *dalans* are accessed through the stairs at the north-east and north-west corners. They were possibly used by the family of Elahi Buksh Sethi before his move to his independent *haveli*.[59] The *dalan* on the north-east side connects to the family's *mehman-khana* and forms part of the men's domain. The service core extends vertically to this floor with the well opening at the north-east corner.

iii. Second Floor/*kotha*

The second floor has the *baverchi-kh*ana on the north side, the *ghusal-khanas*, the *bait-ul-khila* and the well on the north-east sides, above the service cores of lower floors. This level is also the *kotha* of the *haveli* serving all the important activities that were carried out on the roof terrace.

Although this was the first Sethi *haveli* to have separate residential and business domains, the main kitchen continues to be located on the second floor. The placing of kitchens on the top floor of a residential *haveli* is also a departure from the norm in other residential *havelis* where the kitchens were usually an improvised space in the courtyard or a separate service area which would be run by *kidmatgars* (servants). The *baverchi-khana* is built on a raised platform; the room has a large hearth and multiple stoves cast in clay for wood lit fires. The *baverchi-khana* has doors opening on three sides and when all of these are opened it

becomes a semi-open/*verandah* like space to cook in. All the cooking and eating activities of the *haveli* took place at the second floor *kotha* level.
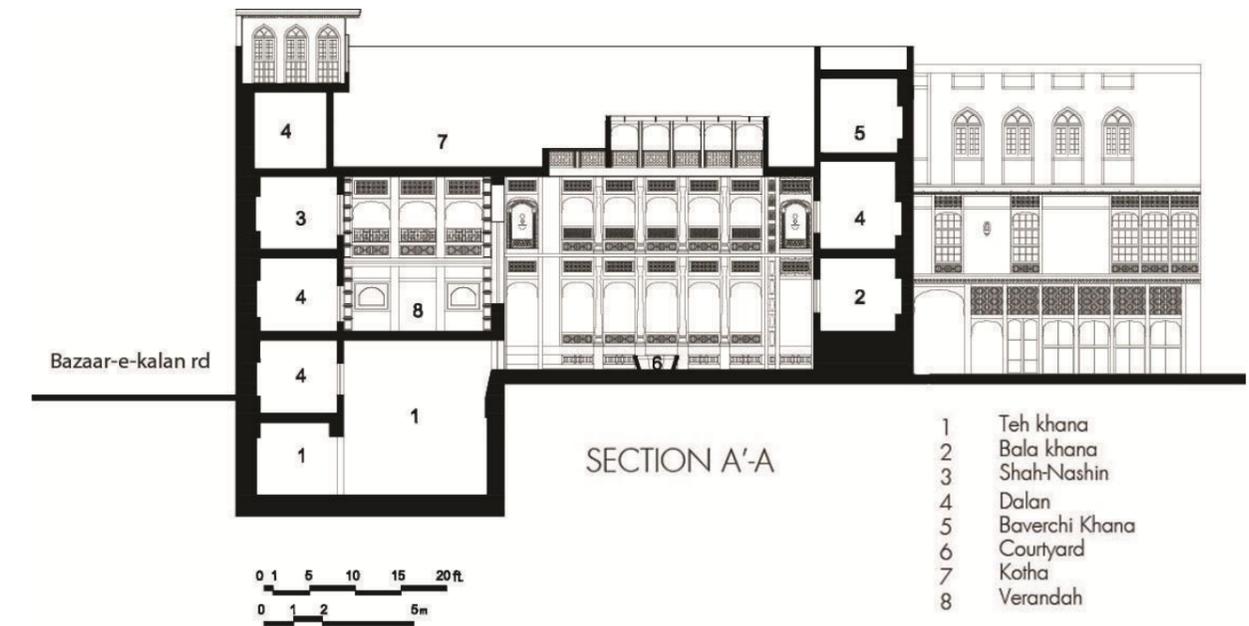
Fig. 8.47 Section of the *haveli*.

185
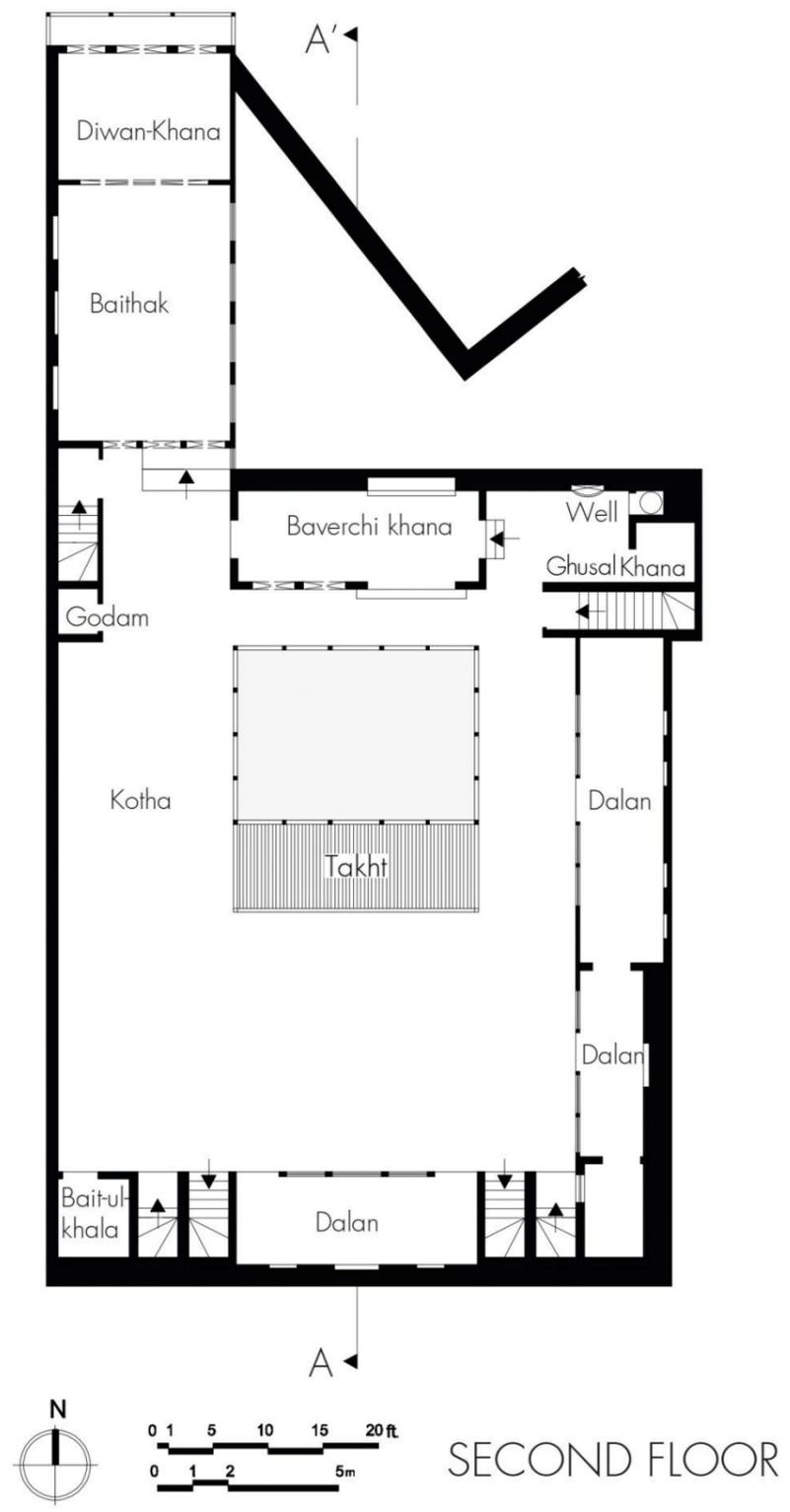
Fig. 8.48 Second floor plan.

There is a *takht* (wooden bench) located on the south side of the courtyard which served as a platform for eating meals. The construction of a large *takht* (8ft. x16ft.) specifically for eating meals, indicates that meals were frequently eaten in the open and as a large group. The *takht* for eating meals is an important aspect of this and subsequent *havelis* as usually *havelis* did not physically demarcate the dining areas but *dastar-khawans* (tablecloth) were spread on the floor of the main *bala-khana* or *dalan* and meals eaten there. Most *rais* ate their meals on a *dastar-khawa*n which was spread on the floor of the *bala-khana* or *baithak,* with cushions around on four sides for seating. The *dastar-khawan* could be placed in the main room of the *haveli* or could be placed in any other space of the *haveli* for taking meals. The fixing of a space for the ritual of taking meals indicates that this activity is an important communal activity for the whole family and that at meal times it was important for the men to come into the *zenan-khana* upper floors and be with their families. The placement of the *takht* on the courtyard opening indicates its dual usage as an overhang to protect the courtyard and its adjoining rooms from the summer sun.

Fig. 8.49 *Baverchi-khana* on second floor.

186

There are *dalans* on the west and south sides. These rooms are shallow and unadorned. They are possibly storage areas for *charpais* (light beds) and bedding for sleeping on the roof. They may also have been used to store the large trunks that held quilts and cotton mattresses and cushions. The well opening is on the north-east side and the *ghusal-khana* is placed next to it. Apart from the well opening, which has a bucket hung by a rope to draw water from the well, there is a sink on the wall, where one can wash up with the water. There is a *bait-ul-khila* on the second floor, tucked away behind the *ghusal-khana*.

Fig. 8.50 Well opening on second floor.

The *haveli* has staircases at four corners; three of these on the north-east, south-east and south-west sides connect the ground floor to the roof, while the north-west staircase connects the ground floor to the first floor. The staircases on the south-east and south-west sides connect the two *teh-khanas* (on the south side) to the upper parts of the *haveli*. The rear staircases also serve the family's private quarters as indicated by their placement and connectivity. The north-east staircase serves the utility areas located on the north and north-east sides of the *haveli*. The north-west staircase connects the ground floor with the first and second floors and serves the guest quarters on top of the *daftar-khana*

iv. Third Floor *kotha*

There is a single *dalan* on the third floor *kotha* on the south side of the *haveli*, overlooking the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. This room's solitary position high on top of the *haveli* indicates its special usage for a solitary or exclusive activity. Sources cite this as a private study room of the patriarch of the family.[60]

Fig. 8.51 Room at third floor *kotha.*

Fig. 8.52 Two level *teh-khana.*

v. *Teh-khana*

The Ahmad Gul *haveli* has large *teh-khana*s on two levels on the south side. These are located underneath the main *bala-khana* on the south sides and are accessible through the two staircases on the south-east and south-west sides.

The first level *teh-khana* has three *dalans*, which are separated by *deorhis* and can be used as three separate quarters for sleeping. The lower level *teh-khana* is an open space whose various sections can be used for a general mix of people for sleeping and usage in the summer afternoons. The *teh-khanas* are ventilated by two large shuttered openings into the courtyard.

Fig. 8.53 Upper basement plan.

afternoon, the Sethi family members retired to the basements. The courtyard and the *kothas* provided a cool space to sleep in the summer nights.[61]
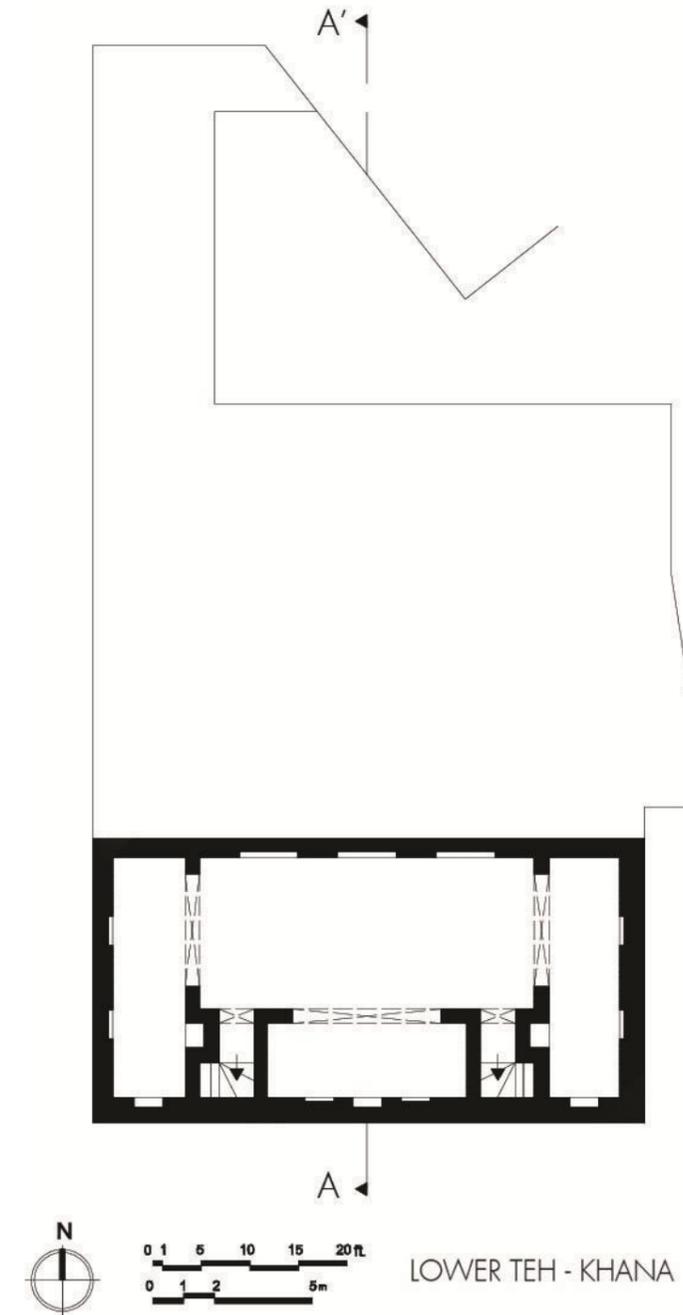
Fig. 8.54 Lower basement plan.

This *haveli* design thus offers two more levels of comfortable living for the joint family in the summer afternoons for private and communal occupation. During the hot summer

The construction of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* was done in phases as is apparent from its design and the stylistic variations. Initially two floors were constructed as per the family's needs and then more rooms were added in later years as sons got married or the joint family welcomed other relatives to move in with them. The embellishment of the *haveli* was also carried out after some years of occupation.[62] Another account in family memoirs states that *mistris* and craftsmen were usually employed over a number of years to work on this house along with their kin and assistants.[63] The framework for these additions followed the overall design principles of geometry, balance and proportion laid out by the *mistri* and adhered to by all the craftsmen involved in the *haveli*. There is no doubt that this conceptualizing of space within an indigenous framework was sophisticated and well worked out.

III. *Mehman-khana*

The family constructed a separate *mehman-khana* (guest house) in the late 1880s.[64] This was a two storey complex constructed on the north-east side of the *haveli,* which opens towards a common courtyard that allowed the families of the clan *havelis* to gather and interact. The *mehman-khana* catered to the friends of the family, merchants from out of town and eminent visitors. The external facade of this block is decorated with arabesque *munabat-kari* patterns and the doors have wooden lattice-work overhangs. The Mughal arched windows have stained-glass panes while the ventilators at the top are distinct in their use of the segmental arches introduced to Indian architecture by the British.

The *mehman-khana* has a *bala-khana* on the north which served as the *mardana baithak* of the complex. This is a large room with a large *chini-khana* and other embellishments. The room is raised 3ft. from the ground and has a *teh-khana* underneath. There are ground and first floor *dalans* on its west wing which served as sleeping quarters. The *teh-khana*, located underneath the main *bala-khana* also served as sleeping quarters.

Fig. 8.55 Facade of *mehman-khana*.
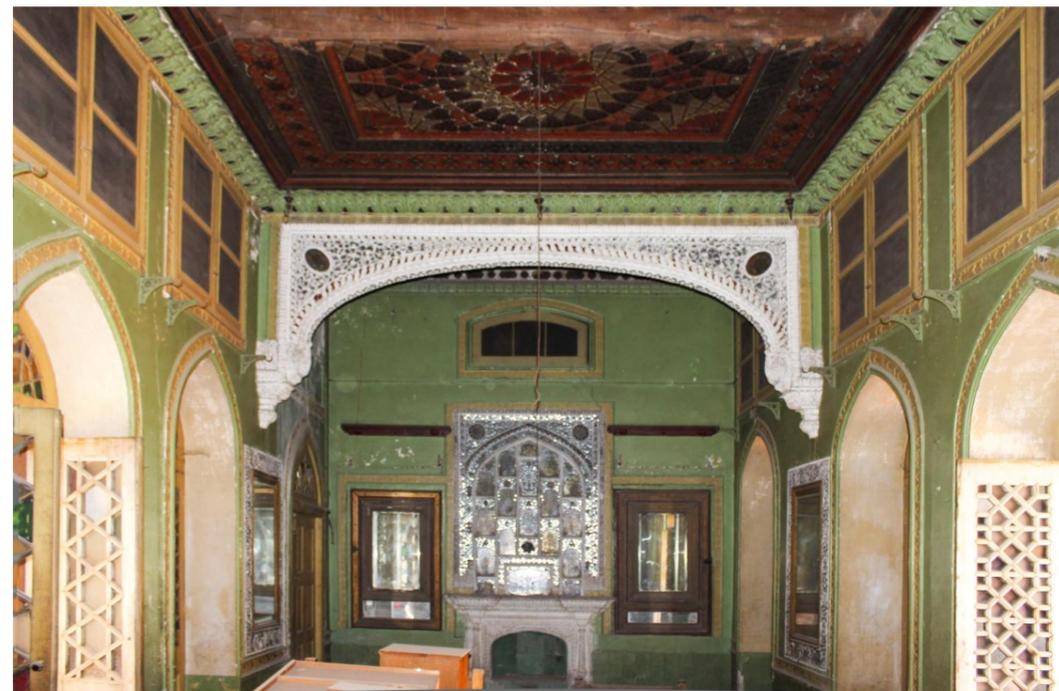
Fig. 8.56 *Baithak* of *mehman-khana.*

190

The study of the layouts of this *haveli* complex is important for understanding the organization and inter-relationship of spaces which carry cultural meanings, as do their architectural and decorative features.[65] The three sections of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* complex inform us about the functioning of the merchant *havelis* in the 19th century, and its emulation of *umrah* lifestyles with separated, but juxtaposed quarters for domestic and business activities. The arrangements of these various quarters also indicate the wider social and political relationships the Sethis sustained as the urban elite of Peshawar. Ahmad Gul's position within the Sethi clan, among the merchant bankers of Peshawar and with the British was largely formed through social interactions and hospitality carried out within the larger *haveli* complex.

8.3.2 Elahi Buksh Sethi *haveli*

The Elahi Buksh *haveli* was started after the completion of the Ahmad Gul *haveli*.[66] This *haveli* was constructed across an enclosed garden from the Ahmad Gul *haveli*, which had fruit trees, rose shrubs and a central fountain.[67] The brothers shared the trade offices and the main entrance to this complex. This *haveli* was pulled down in the 1980s and replaced by a new house.[68]

Fig. 8.57 New house built on site of Elahi Buksh *haveli*.

No physical remains or historical documents or maps are available to draw any conclusions about the *haveli*. There are family accounts regarding the construction of this *haveli* immediately after the completion of the Ahmad Gul *haveli*.[69] The size of this *haveli* can be gauged by the house that has replaced it, which has a site area of 7,225 sq. ft. The footprint of the site shows that this was a large square shaped *haveli* which was planned around a central courtyard. Oral sources state that the *haveli* had an independent entrance for the *zenana*, a *teh-khana* and three floors and was decorated in a manner similar to the Ahmad Gul Sethi *haveli*, with many identical features of design, stylistic and decorative elements.[70]

At this second stage of development the Sethi *havelis* separated the domestic quarters from the commercial activities of the family, which indicates that the scope of the business had increased requiring more space for business interactions and social contacts. These were important developments in the built environment that reflected the social and cultural ideals of the families as well as their aspirations and appropriations. These stylistic representations and appropriations were intended to identify the Sethis as the new *umrah* of a rapidly changing political landscape. But these expressions were located within the safety of a high perimeter wall as the inhabitants were unsure of their safety within the public realm.

8.4 Third Phase of *haveli* development during the British era (1880–1900)

8.4.1 Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli*

Karim Buksh built the largest *haveli* complex of the *mohalla* (and of the city at the time) which was constructed as three distinct parts, which include a *zenan-khana*, a *daftar-khana* and a *mehman-khana*. In addition to these, Karim Buksh Sethi also built a mosque at the western end of the *mohalla*. The *haveli* complex consisting of the domestic, commercial and social wings along with the family mosque formed the various stages for the Sethi family's domestic, religious and political activities. This design was similar to the large *umrah havelis* in Delhi, which were walled estates with several buildings, gardens, stables and stores.[71]

Karim Buksh acquired the area around his grandfather's (Karam Buksh Sethi) *haveli* to build the large complex of domestic *haveli, daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana*. The combined domestic and business complex was an important representation of his status, identity and lifestyle which was shared with other Sethi families. The elaborate and large residential cum business complex acted as a vessel to hold and display the Sethi aspirations of status and wealth, foster social interactions within and between the various family households, as well as a act as a stage for transactions of his vast business empire.

I *Haveli*

The *haveli* of the Karim Buksh Sethi was the first building of the complex to be constructed.[72] Located towards the north side of the property, the *zenan-khana* had three entrances on the south, west and north-east sides. The entrance from the main *mohalla galli* to the central courtyard was designed with various *deorhis* which bent and rose to provide seclusion to the house. The front door (which has been torn down since) enters into a small courtyard which has small service rooms along one side. The doorway was possibly a traditional design with a wooden door and two *chabootrey* on either side. This door was possibly larger than other doorways of the *mohalla* as it allowed a *tonga* (single

horse carriage) to enter the small courtyard so that women of the household could be seated in the privacy of the house.

Fig. 8.58 Entrance to the Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli*.

The entrance path to the *haveli* is tilted away from the *galli*, this leads to two *deorhis*. The first *deorhi* is 4ft. above the street and the second one is 6ft. above the street. The first deorhi has a small office on its east side and a *ghusal-khana* on the west side, there is also a passage through this *deorhi* which leads to the *daftar-khana*. The second *deorhi* turns 90° to enter the main courtyard, which is 8ft. above the street level. The *deorhis* of the *haveli* are designed as series of doorways, stairs, passages and thresholds which separate the public and private domains.

Within the *haveli* the *sehn* (courtyard) is considered to be the heart of the *zenana* and has set rules for access. The *deorhis* act as ante rooms to the *havelis*. These spaces can be labelled as 'architecture enclosing behaviour'.[73] The design of the *deorhi* provides the mechanism to control and facilitate the communication with the *zenana*. The *deorhis* as separate thresholds are constructed as a response to the cultural norms of *purdah* (veiling of the face) and to support certain cultural behaviours of calling out for permission to enter and waiting until allowed. These compose a set of cues within this environment, which communicates the most appropriate choices to the visitor within this domestic context.[74] These cues are meant to elicit appropriate interpretations, behaviours and transactions between the household and the visitor. A female family member would proceed directly into the courtyard and call out her arrival to the women; a male relative would wait at the second last *deorhi*, call out his name and wait for the women of the household to observe proper *purdah* (or remove themselves from the *sehn*) and then be invited inside; a trader would sit in the entrance *dehliz* or be invited into the entrance court by a servant, where he may be attended by servants acting as go-between him and the *begums* of the household; old and trusted servants would ask permission at the *deorhis* and be allowed to sit in the courtyard near the elderly matriarch of the household. The *deorhis* also are a protective mechanism of the *haveli* as their twists and turns make the visitor disoriented and apprehensive about where he is going. The different *deorhis* also have doors separating each from the other and these could be locked against an outside threat, providing a series of up to 4 doors, which defended the *haveli*.

i. Ground Floor

The family courtyard is placed perpendicular to the street entrance to gain maximum privacy. The *haveli* is planned around a central courtyard which measures 40ft x 40ft. The brick paved courtyard with a central fountain had become a distinct feature of all Sethi *havelis* from the 1820s and was an important element appropriated from Mughal architecture. Along with its aesthetic value, the fountain helped to mitigate and moderate the effects of high summer temperatures. The *bala-khanas* around the courtyard are elevated 5ft. above it. There are stairs at the north-east and south-west corners of the courtyard which provide entry into the *bala-khanas*.

The courtyard has a dominant position as the physical centre of the design and is about 30% of the *haveli's* size. It has great social relevance as it serves for multiple every day activities as well as being the principal space for the celebration of important events and festivities.[75] This is also an important aspect of the *haveli's* environmental and thermal performance.[76]

Fig. 8.59 Ground floor of *zenan-khana*.

Fig. 8.60 View of *zenan-khana* courtyard.

GROUND FLOOR

Fig. 8.61 Internal elevations of the courtyard.

The *bala-khanas* surrounding the courtyard are shallow in depth, with their longer sides aligned along the courtyard facade and all windows overlooking it. These windows have multiple open-able panels and ventilators to control the penetration of light, heat and air into the rooms. Having rooms along the four sides of the courtyard allowed the occupants of the *haveli* to have patterns of daily and seasonal migration; different rooms may be used during the day and night and this also varied seasonally. Apart from the central courtyard, there are two smaller courtyards on the eastern and southern sides of the *haveli,* which provided the front and side entrances as well as housing the servants' quarters. The three courtyards fulfilled different functional needs of family and service areas but they all enabled fresh air and daylight into the *haveli.*

The four large *bala-khanas* (reception rooms) on the ground floor served as the living and sleeping quarters of the family. This is a traditional layout in which residential rooms were raised from the floor level in order to get the 'best winds' and storage spaces for staple

foods (rice, wheat, barley, lentils etc) were created under them.[77] The *bala-khana* on the north side and south sides are larger, while the *bala-khanas* on the east and west side are smaller. The sizes of the rooms are evolved after the demarcation of the central courtyard has been carried out. This *haveli* is the first to have larger rooms with heights of up to 14ft. The hierarchy of the main rooms is reinforced through the entrance into the courtyard. The primary *bala-khanas* have continuous facades along the courtyard whereas secondary room facades are broken by the insertion of the stairways. The geometry of the facades dictates that no entrance opens at the centre of the courtyard, but is placed on the corners to maintain the continuous facades of the main rooms and overall geometry.

The *bala-khanas* receive sunlight and ventilation through the courtyard. The window openings continue around the facades; these have Mughal inspired flat arches with casement windows which open up to lie flat at a 180° angle. This turns the façade into an arcade around the courtyard.[78] This helps to expand the area of the courtyard and also allows the decorated walls of the rooms to be viewed from the courtyard. The windows have wooden carved panels embellished with stained-glass windows. The pattern of the carving is vegetal and in an arabesque design. The corner windows of the courtyard arcade are fitted with *aroosi* windows. There are fan-lights on top of the windows to increase the light within the rooms. The window shutters with their multiple open-able components horizontally and vertically allowing control over the degree of privacy in the *haveli* as well as occupant comfort.

The stained-glass windows are constructed of strips of wood which have channels to insert glass panes. The panes are fixed between two pieces of wood which are glued together without nails.[79] The designs of the wooden stained glass windows are based on square or triangular patterns. The colours of the glass are bright greens, reds, blues, yellows and white.

Fig. 8.62 East *bala-khana* facade.

Fig. 8.63 South *bala-khana* facade.

Fig. 8.64 View of east *bala-khana*.

of the *chini-khana* within the decorative tradition of the period.[81]   A study of the *chini-khanas* of this *haveli* shows that the decorative traditions of the *chini-khanas* were evolving; as niches were painted, gilded and mirrored.[82] The mirrored niches of *chini-khanas* were painted with the motif of 'floral bouquets in vases'; the reflective niches heightened the aesthetic impact of the *chini-khanas*. The size and scale of *chini-khanas* of this house have increased; here they cover nearly two thirds of a wall, rising from about 3ft. From the floor and end at the bottom of the cornice. All the *chini-khana* on this level are visible from the windows opening, adding to the embellishment of the courtyard.

Traditional characteristics in high-status *havelis* during the late 19th century were modified considerably by the impact of British taste. The *haveli* shows that the contact and associations between the Sethi merchant bankers and the British increased, as modern materials such as wrought iron grills, girders and stained glass was incorporated. The larger scale of the rooms also indicates that possibly western furnishings were brought in and used as a means of social development. The decorative elements of earlier *havelis* were modified here and were replaced by newer elements (fireplaces), which were derived from colonial cultural landscapes. The fireplace was a European import usually adopted as a decorative element by the more western influenced Indians.[83] In cold England, the most important feature and focus of a room artistically and practically was the fireplace.[84] Within the relatively hotter Peshawar (with nearly 7 months of summer) the fireplace became more of a fashionable feature of a room. The employment of fireplaces in the Karim Buksh *haveli* became an important element of the new Euro-Indian hybrid tradition in India as well as indicative of the Sethis' continued interaction with the British.[85] Previously, the *chini-khana* had occupied the central and focal position within a room. Now, the fireplaces were successful amalgamated with the decorative *chini-khana* to form an important hybrid which signified the blending of two cultures: Indian and colonial.

There are richly embellished *chini-kh*anas in all *bala-khanas* of the ground floor. These *chini-khanas* were used to display china bowls, plates, glass ware and crockery from Russia and Bukhara.[80] The explorations and variations in the designs of the *chini-khanas*, the use of different materials and the decorative techniques used, indicate the importance

Fig. 8.65 Inside of north *bala-khana*.

Fig. 8.66 *Khatam-band* ceiling of north *bala-khana*.

Other decorative elements adopted were grand chandeliers in rooms; these necessitated higher ceilings. The ceilings (14ft. height) of the *bala-khanas* of this *haveli* are taller in comparison to those of previous *havelis*. Along with these the overall proportions of the rooms also grew to maintain a balance between its width and height. The rooms' proportions of 1:3 widths to length ratio were maintained.

The north *bala-khana* is a complex of three rooms which formed the residential suite for Karim Buksh Sethi. This *bala-khana* opens into a *dalan*, both rooms are much embellished with *chini-khanas*, *naqqashi* and *aina-kari* work on the walls, *khatam-band* ceiling and stained-glass windows. An interesting feature is that the ceiling of the main *bala-khana* has the same *khatam-band* pattern as that of the Ahmad Gul Sethi *haveli verandah*. This is an interesting thread that connects some Sethi *havelis*, although they are built in different eras.

The inner *dalan* has safes built along the back wall. There are three richly carved wooden doors between the two rooms. The inner *dalan* has a fire place with a large *chini-khana* above it. The *chini-khana* is embellished with *naqqashi* and *aina-kari* surrounds. There are two cupboards around the *chini-khana* which have carved wooden doors with oval etched glass panes.[86] The design of these cupboards is a mix of the Victorian style with traditional craftsmanship. There are two large safes constructed along the periphery wall of this *dalan*. These were used to keep the family's valuables. There is a third room connected to this *dalan* which has steel reinforced walls and is a strong room to store valuables. This room is also decorated with stencils of flowers on its metal walls. The layout, embellishment and safe storage capacity of Karim Buksh's suite is unmatched by other *havelis*.

The east *bala-khana* is the smallest in size but the decorative traditions of a *chini-khana*, decorated walls and painted *khatam-band* ceilings have been maintained here. The west *bala-khana* also forms a suite with a smaller room attached to it.

Fig. 8.68 View of south *bala-khana.*

The *bala-khana* on the south side has a large *chini-khana* with two painted cupboards along each side of the *chini-khana*. The cupboards are topped by painted *munabat-kari*. This room is connected to the *daftar-khana* through a large double door. The door is inserted in a wall which also has painted *munabat-kari* pattern. This room's proximity and access to the main *mardana* portion indicates that it served as the main *baithak* for entertaining guests.

Fig. 8.67 View of north *dalan.*

The north *bala-khana* is attached to two *bala-khanas* on the west and east wings. It connects to a smaller suite on the west side through a small room. The western suite has a *bala-khana* facing the courtyard and a smaller *dalan* behind it, there is also a *godam* attached to these rooms. The *bala-khana* has a large *chini-khana* and *munabat-kari* decorations on the walls. The *munabat-kari* decorations are painted with *naqqashi* and they form arches and scrolls above doors and cupboards of the room. Another change in the interiors of this *haveli* is that the niches in the walls are now converted into cupboards with painted wooden doors, some of which have colour glass panes. All rooms of this suite have painted *khatam-band* ceilings.

198

This is the first Sethi *haveli* to have *chini-khanas* and *khatam-band* ceilings in every room, indicating the patron's wealth and the importance given to these embellishments of interior space. The floors of all rooms are paved with plain brick as these were always covered by carpets, rugs and mattresses. The wall surfaces are decorated with a mixture of *naqqashi* work, *aina-kari*, *pinjra-kari* work and lavish *chini-khanas.* The wooden *khatam-band* ceilings have painted geometric designs and elaborate Bukhara lamps hung from these. The designs around the room are floral and the flowers depicted are from the region and central Asia. Study of the decorative elements of the *chini-khanas*, *naqqashi* paintings and *khatam-band* ceilings of the Karim Buksh *haveli,* shows how these changed, transformed or became hybrid. Their overall language is common in general but there are variations that have been integrated into the overall design vocabulary.

bathrooms located in this wing. A service entrance on the north-east side connects the servants' area at the north-east end of the *haveli.* There are three staircases, located on the south-east, south-west and north-east sides which connect all the levels of the *havelis* from the three *teh-khanas* to the ground floor and to the first and second floors. Three of the ground floor *bala-khanas* have *teh-khanas* (basements) located underneath them, while the fourth has a storage room under it.

Fig. 8.69 *Khatam-band* ceiling of south *bala-khana.*

SECTION A'-A

1 Bala Khana
2 Teh- Khana
3 Dalan
4 Godam
5 Kotha
6 Baverchi-Khana
7 Diwan-Khana

Fig. 8.70 Section of the *haveli.*

The ground floor service areas are located on the north-east corner of the courtyard. There is a well which is accessible vertically on all floors; from the basement, the ground and the first floor. This provides clean, running water on all levels of the *haveli*. There are two

199

ii. Teh-khanas

There are three *teh-khanas*, located along north, south, and west sides of the *haveli*. The largest *teh-khana* on the north side is located 22ft below the courtyard floor level. It has large Mughal arches and decorative brickwork on these arches.

Fig. 8.71 Plan of *teh-khanas*.

This *teh-khana* provides two levels for living purposes and has a large but hidden strong room. This room lies behind a door which has the appearance of a cupboard with shelves. This room has large and strongly built shelves on all sides to hold heavy valuables that may have been stacked for storage. Family sources state that the Sethi family traded in gold bullion, which was imported from central Asia and sold onwards to Bombay.[87] This room has the perfect design to store and keep safe the family firm's gold.

Fig. 8.72 North *teh-khana*.

There is access to the well in this *teh-khana*. There are multiple ventilation shafts on its northern and eastern walls which keep it an airy and well ventilated space, which offers

comfort in both summer and winter.[88] This *teh-khana* forms the summer sleeping quarters of the family and has more decorative features than the other two *teh-khanas*.

The *teh-khana* on the south side is located next to the main entrance and south-east staircase. This is smaller than the north *teh-khana* and has two chambers. It also has ventilation shafts on the south wall. Its location near the entrance and the *daftar-khana* of the family suggests that it was possibly a *mardana* domain used by the male members of the family for sleeping in the summer afternoons.

The third *teh-khana* is located on the east side and is the smallest of the three *teh-khanas*. There are no ventilation shafts in it, but there is a door, which opens onto the street outside. This *teh-khana* is more functional in its construction and its connection with the side street suggests that it was used by the servants. All the *teh-khanas* have ventilators towards the courtyard and take light and air from this space. These ventilators have wooden lattice work grilles, some of which open to allow larger openings into the basement. This allows furniture like *charpais* to be lowered into the *teh-khanas*.

iii. First Floor/*kotha*

The first floor has two *bala-khanas* and three *dalans* located on the north, south, east and south-east sides. The two *bala-khanas* located on the north and eastern sides form part of the original construction of the *haveli* with carved wooden facades and *basta* windows.[89]
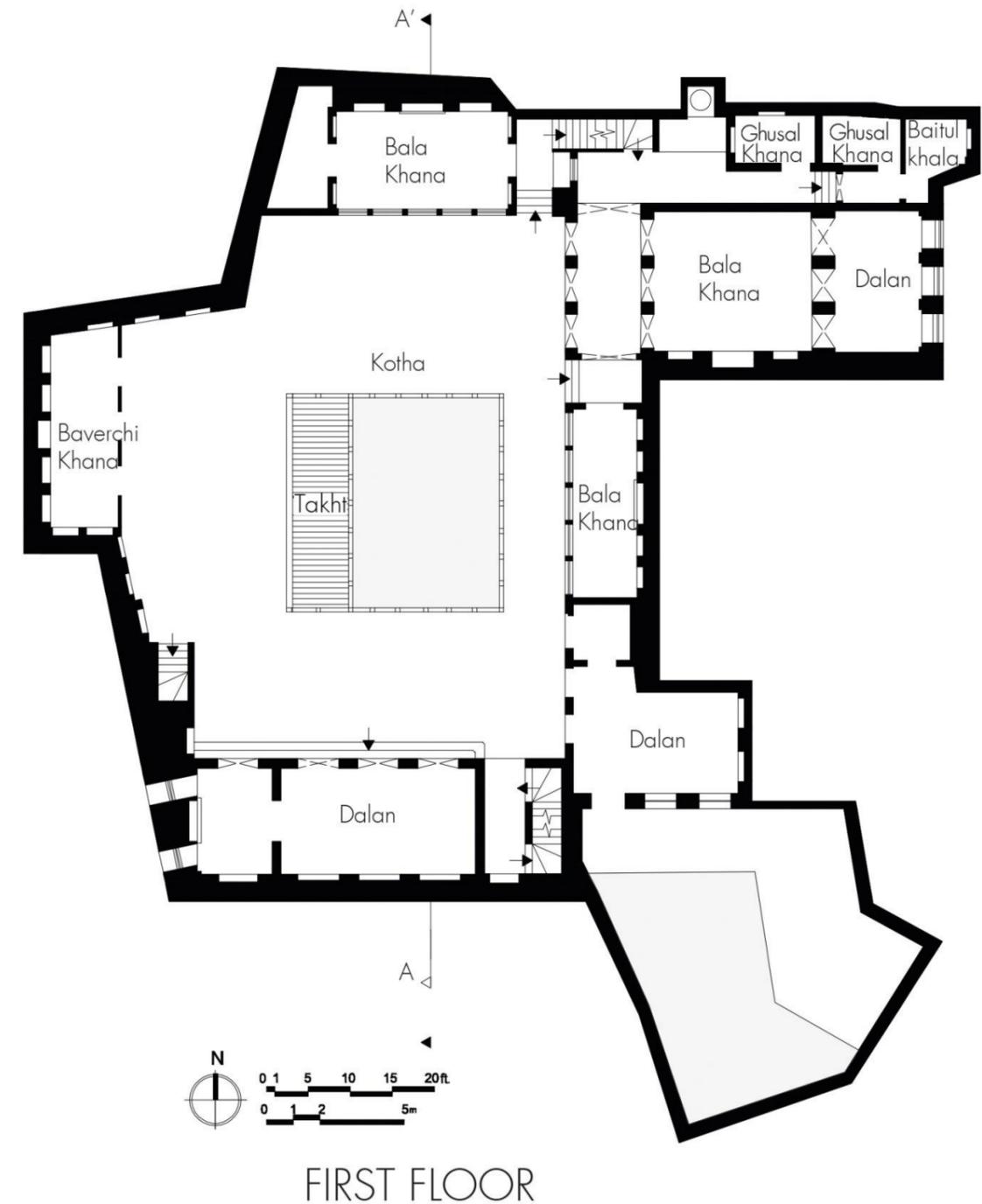
Fig. 8.73 First floor plan.
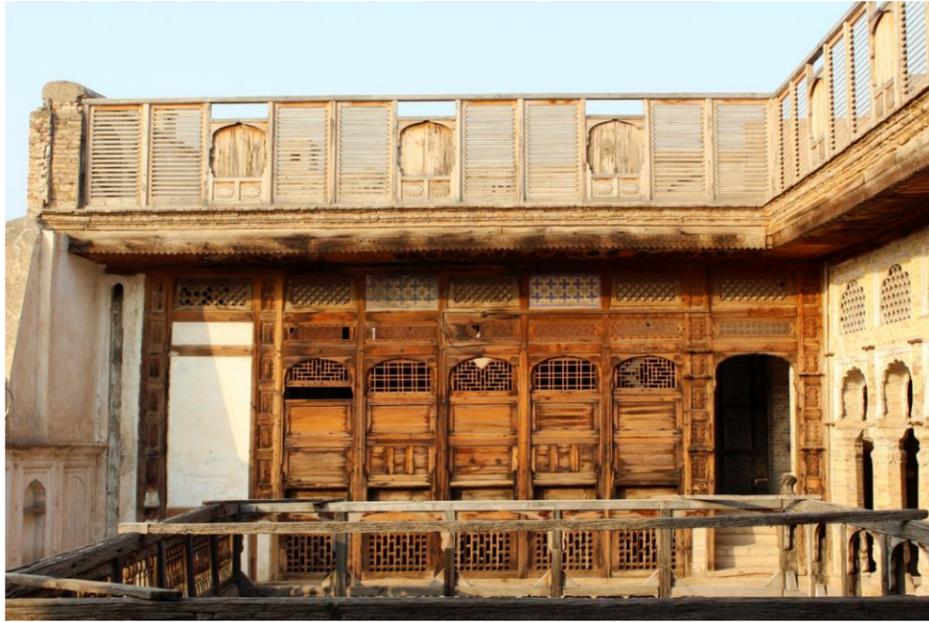
Fig. 8.74 North *bala-khana*, first floor.

Fig. 8.75 North *bala-khana*, first floor.

Fig. 8.76 Inside of north *bala-khana*, first floor.

The *dalans* on the north east and south side are later additions (possibly in the 1920s) which have brick arcades and gothic arched openings, prevalent in the early part of the 20th century, while the *dalan* on the south-east side dates from the 1950s.[90] The rooms on the first floor also connect with the adjoining *daftar-khana,* allowing the family patriarch Karim Buksh and his sons to visit the *zenan-khana* for meals.

The *bala-khanas* have basta windows with stained-glass and *pinjra-kari* panels on top of the windows. These *pinjra-kari* panels have very thin openings to let in diffused light but more importantly they regulate the flow of air. The use of stained glass panels in windows is an aesthetic feature that also helps to diffuse strong sunlight and reduce the glare inside the rooms. It also mitigates the hottest of temperatures inside the rooms by decreasing the amount of light in them.

Fig. 8.77 *Pinjra-kari* and *naqqashi* on facade of north *bala-khana*, first floor.

Fig. 8.78 *Baverchi-khana* on first floor (now demolished).

The *baverchi-khana* of the *haveli* is located on the first floor, there is a *takht* constructed opposite it. This *takht* is used by the family for their meals, but as it is constructed as part of the roof of the courtyard (on the north-west side) it also serves as a cover for the ground floor courtyard (see fig. 8.78).

The service core is located on the north-east side around the well. The walls around the well have *jallis* and openings to facilitate the flow of cool moist air towards the surrounding rooms.[91] There are *ghusal-khanas* and a *bait-ul-khila* (latrine) located on the north east side, with their vents located on the external wall for air flow and ventilation. These dry latrines were located on the *kotha* near stairs so that *jamadar* (sweeper) could clean them out while having minimal contact with the household.[92]

The roof terrace on the first and second floor facilitated many outdoor activities including cleaning of grains, preparation of food, cooking, eating, washing and drying of clothes, a space for sleeping in the winter afternoons and summer evenings, a recreational area for children to play games, for women to socialize and for young boys to fly kites and pigeons. These areas served as an extension and continuation of the ground floor courtyard and were important living spaces for the whole family on the upper levels of the *haveli.* This *haveli* design was in continuity with older traditions and allowed a lifestyle where occupants spent as much of their time as possible living in outdoor spaces.

203

Fig. 8.79 Arcade on first floor.

II. *Daftar-Khana*

The Karim Buksh Sethi *daftar-khana* was constructed in 1901 and has an independent entrance.[93] The trade office is a large and independent unit measuring an area of 4523 sq. ft.[94] This is a departure from the earlier trade offices which were built inside the residential *haveli* or were built within the family compound.

The main entrance expands on the earlier typology *teh-bari* by maintaining a door surrounded by two *chabootras*, but without the wooden arcade above it. This entrance is raised 3ft. from the street level and has a large cusped arch opening above it. The cusped arch doorway and balustrade brick columns on the facade show the influence of the Shahjehani era. This design replaces the earlier tradition of the wooden tri-arcade. The wooden carving of earlier doorways has been replaced by a painted *monabat-kari* surround around the entrance. There is a *jharoka* over the doorway which gives it protection from the sun and rain. This entrance is similar to the doorways of other *havelis* in the era as described by Prasad:

'The doorway invariably consists of a large arch - usually the foliated or cusped *churidar mehrab* -defining a recess at the back of which is the door itself. On either side there is a platform - *gokha* - about three foot high on which people, even strangers, may sit or rest their load. There will be deeply overhanging *chajjas* - projecting canopies - above often as part of a balcony. The facade may be decorated and ordered by alcoves and aedicular arrangements of columns and arches in relief.'[95]

Fig. 8.80 Entrance to Karim Buksh Sethi *daftar-khana*.

This element indicates the more cosmopolitan outlook of Karim Buksh through the incorporation of elements from the metropolis of Delhi. The facade of the *daftar-khana* next to the doorway has three prominent gothic windows overlooking the street. This is also a departure from the earlier practice of having blank ground floor facades of all *havelis* and *daftar-khanas*.

204

Fig. 8.81 Facade of *baithak*.

Fig. 8.82 View of the *dafter-khana* courtyard from the *deorhi*.

The main entrance opens into a *deorhi* which gives into the south-east side of the courtyard. This small *deorhi* has no turns or blind corners, but enters directly into the *daftar-khana* as this is part of the *mardana* (see fig 8.82). The *dafter-khana* is located on the ground, first and second floors. The central courtyard of the *daftar-khana* (40ft x40ft) has decorative brick flooring and a central pool.

There is a *teh-khana* under the main *bala-khana*/reception room on the south side. This *teh-khana* has an entrance from the main street and was used for accommodating servants and other agents from other cities and countries who came to the Peshawar head office.[96]

Diwan Khana

Veranda

Courtyard

Ghusal
Khana

Entrance ◀

Dalan

Baithak

Opening towards
Mehman Khana

N

0 1   5   10   15   20 ft.

0   1   2   5m
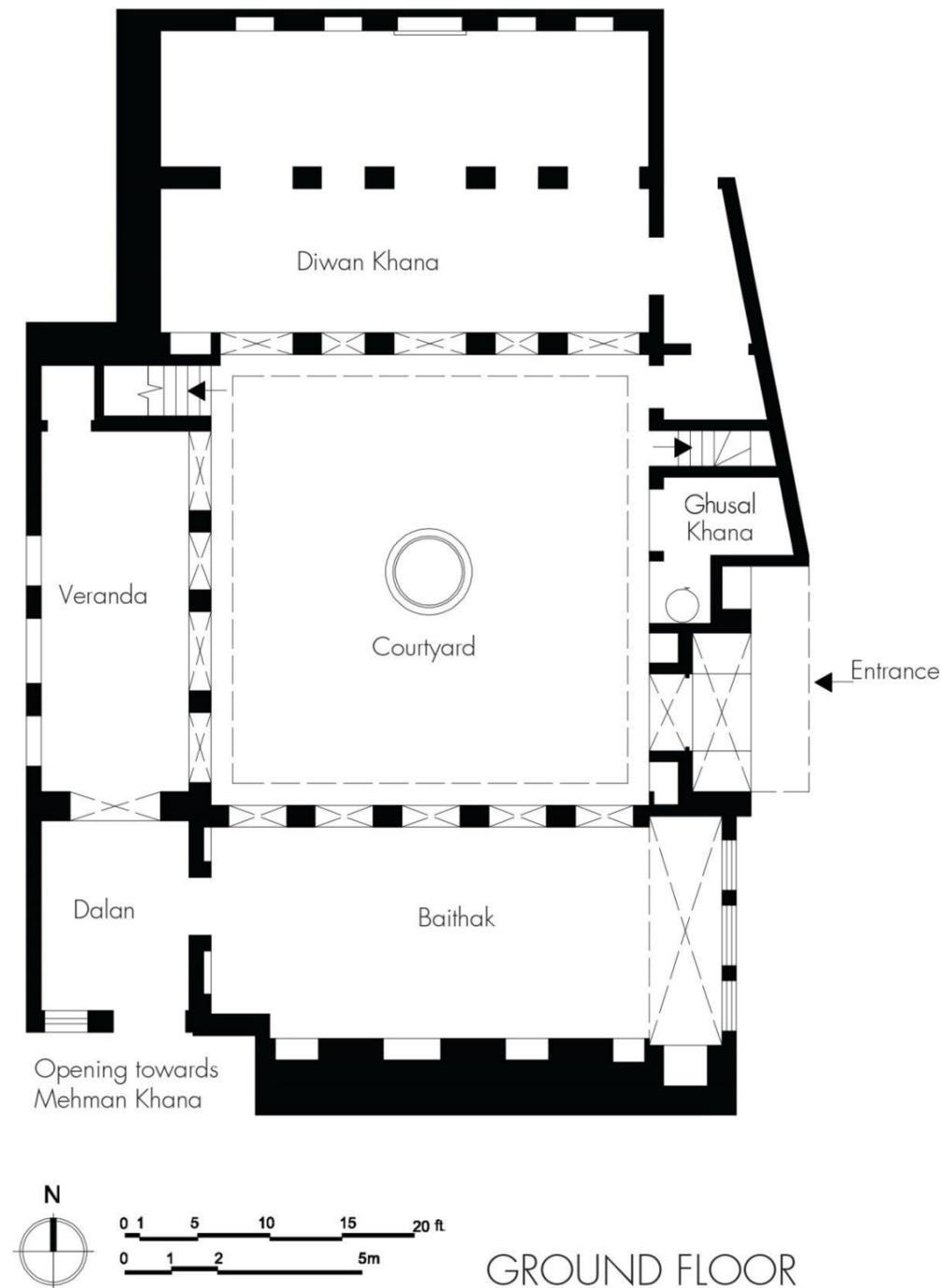
GROUND FLOOR

Fig. 8.83 Ground floor plan.

The ground floor consists of the *bala-khana* on the south side which is the main *baithak* (reception room) of the *daftar-khana*. The *baithak* was used for entertaining male guests.[97] This *baithak* is decorated in the European style with a fireplace, mirrors and chandeliers (fig 8.84). Karim Buksh Sethi's increased association with the British officials of the city is reflected in the decor of this reception room.[98] In high status houses, European-influenced concepts of spatial arrangement and English detailing changed the character of local building, as "Englishness" in architecture came to represent the idea of progress.[99] This room to-date remains decorated with its original furnishings. It also has Persian verses painted on its wall, which have the overall theme of good wishes and prayers for Karim Buksh Sethi (fig 8.85).

Fig. 8.84 Interior of main *baithak*.

There is an interesting duality of the decorative elements of the room with Persian poetry and European decorative pieces. The gothic windows towards the front and the French doors towards the courtyard are decorated with stained-glass panes. The Gothic arches of

206

all openings are decorated with *naqqashi* panels. There are large Belgian mirrors hung around the room; some of these large mirrors are inserted inside *naqqashi* and *aina-kari* borders. The ceiling of this room is built with imported steel girders but decorated in the traditional *khatam-band* pattern. The *khatam-band* ceiling is divided into five panels, around the structural elements.

Fig. 8.85 Embellishments of *baithak.*

The main *diwan-khana* is located on the north side of the courtyard, where Karim Buksh Sethi and his *munshis* took care of the firm's national and international business.[100] The *diwan-khana* of Karim Buksh was the principal office which handled the vast trading activities of the firm K.B. & Sons.[101] Family sources state that there were two *diwan-khanas* on the north side, one on the ground floor which was used for business activities in the summer and a second one on top of it on the first floor which was used in the winter.

The west side of the courtyard has a veranda which led to the *mehman-khana* behind the *daftar-khana* and also has stairs to the first floor office. The east side of the ground floor has the well and *ghusal-khana* and the stairs to the first floor. The *daftar-khana* has a connecting door with the family's residence as well as the *mehman-khana*.

Fig. 8.86 View of *daftar-khana.*

While earlier *havelis* had low ceilings and small room sizes to cater for floor seating, and used furniture like wooden *takhts* (a low bed used for sitting and lying down) outdoors in the verandas, courtyard and covered parts of the roof terrace.[102] The Karim Buksh *haveli* was the first house of the Sethis to adopt higher ceilings and larger rooms which catered to the European decorative styles.

The style and character of architecture remained eastern while the decor of public and business areas changed internally. This change was representative of the fact that the earlier Persian *aadab* (manners) had been replaced by English etiquette. As the intellectual and cultural changes took place in India, patronage of craftsmen changed hands from the Mughal to the *umrah* and later the East India Company and the rich merchants.[103] Ahmad Gul Sethi and later his nephew Karim Buksh Sethi were among other merchant patrons like Lala Chunnamal in Delhi and Sheikh Omar Hayat in Chiniot who commissioned decorated domestic architecture. The patronage of craftsmen by the East India Company had introduced changes in the stylistic techniques, which employed European motifs and floral wreaths. The rejection of earlier lifestyles, the introduction of European lifestyle and the incorporation of western furniture heralded a great change in the built environment.

The European-influenced concepts of spatial arrangement and decorations changed the character of the traditional *haveli*. European objects and decorative pieces were easier to assimilate into the *havelis* than European furniture.[104] Changes in architecture took place when chandeliers were incorporated within the rooms; this necessitated the raising of the roofs as well as changes in the technology of the roof constructions to use iron girders instead of timber beams. The change in the furniture first came to the *mardana* parts of the *havelis* which were expected to entertain Europeans (as British; Scots, Irish & Welsh were collectively called.)[105] The new interiors needed to be larger so that chairs, tables and display cabinets could be accommodated. An interesting contrast between the Indian and European decorative traditions was that the Indians kept their valuable wares in *godam* which would be taken out and put on display on special occasions and festivals, while the Europeans permanently put their decorative wares on display. Karim Buksh Sethi's *daftar-*

khana baithak presented a new language of social display within the typology of the *mohalla*.

GROUND FLOOR
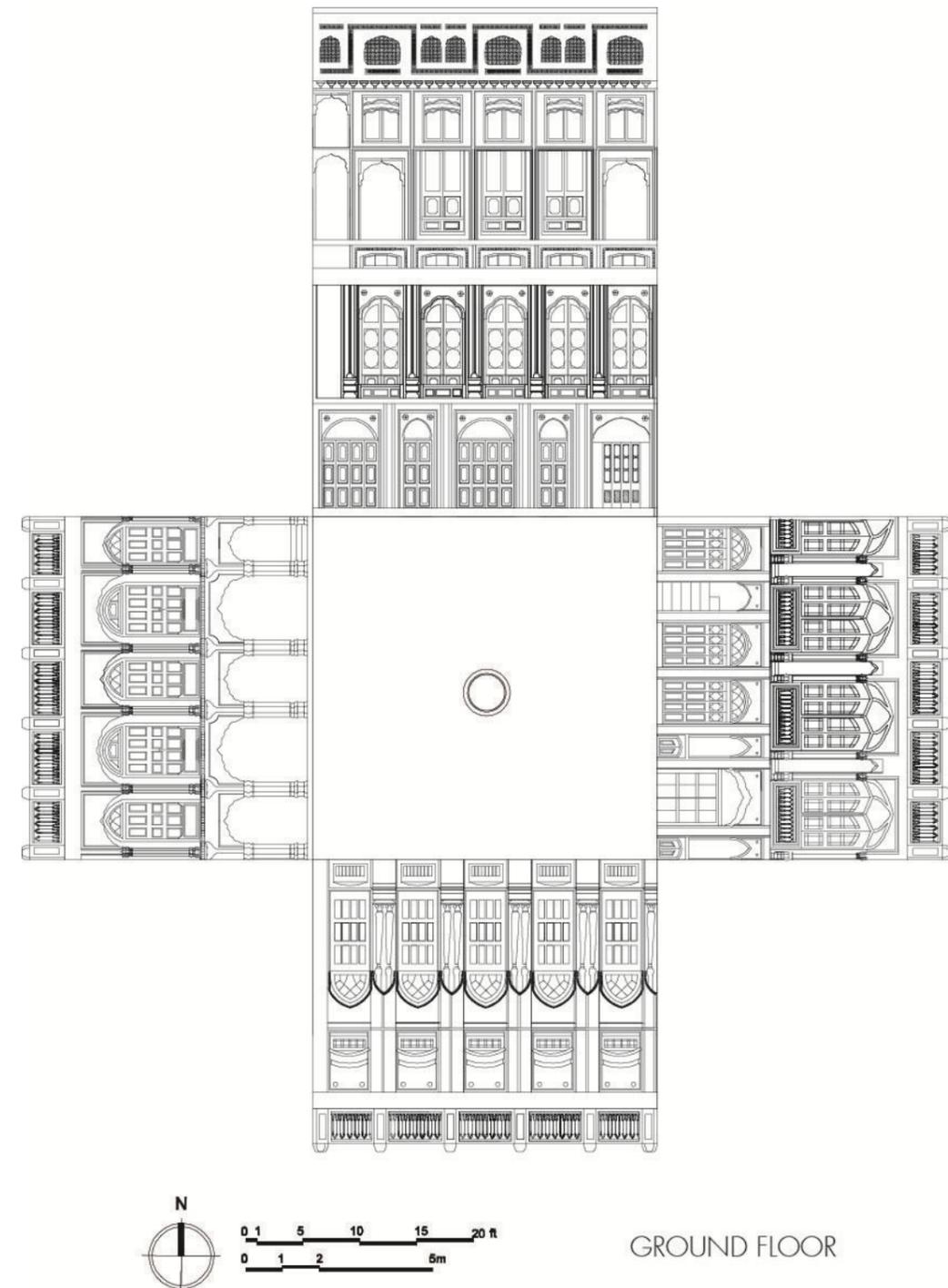
Fig. 8.87 Internal elevations of the courtyard

208
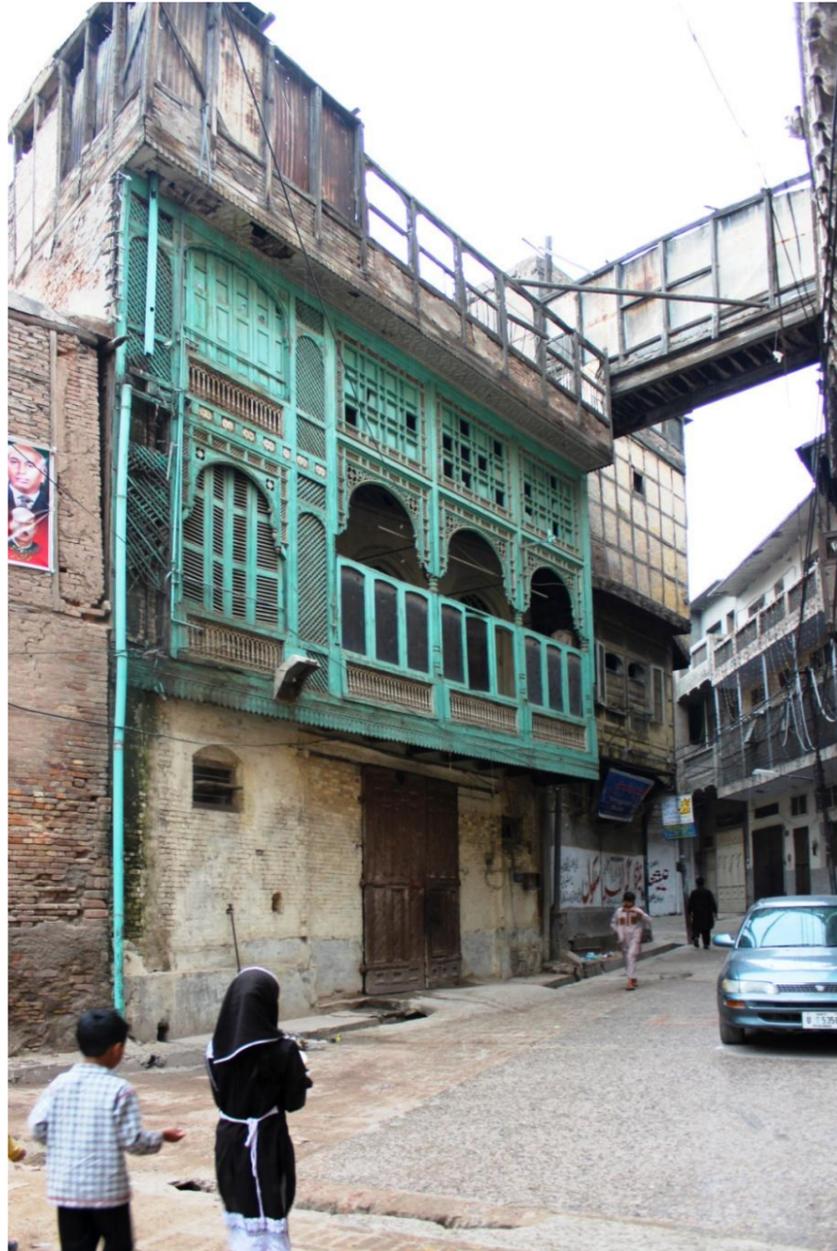
III. *Mehman-khana*

Fig. 8.88 View of Karim Buksh *mehman-khana*.

Karim Buksh Sethi built a separate but attached *mehman-khana* to house his guests and visitors which included prominent religious figures like the Pirs of Golra.[106] The vast *mehman-khana* was built on a lot measuring 4573 sq.ft. It included a *buggy-khana* (garage for carriages) on the ground floor and guest residences on the first floor.[107]
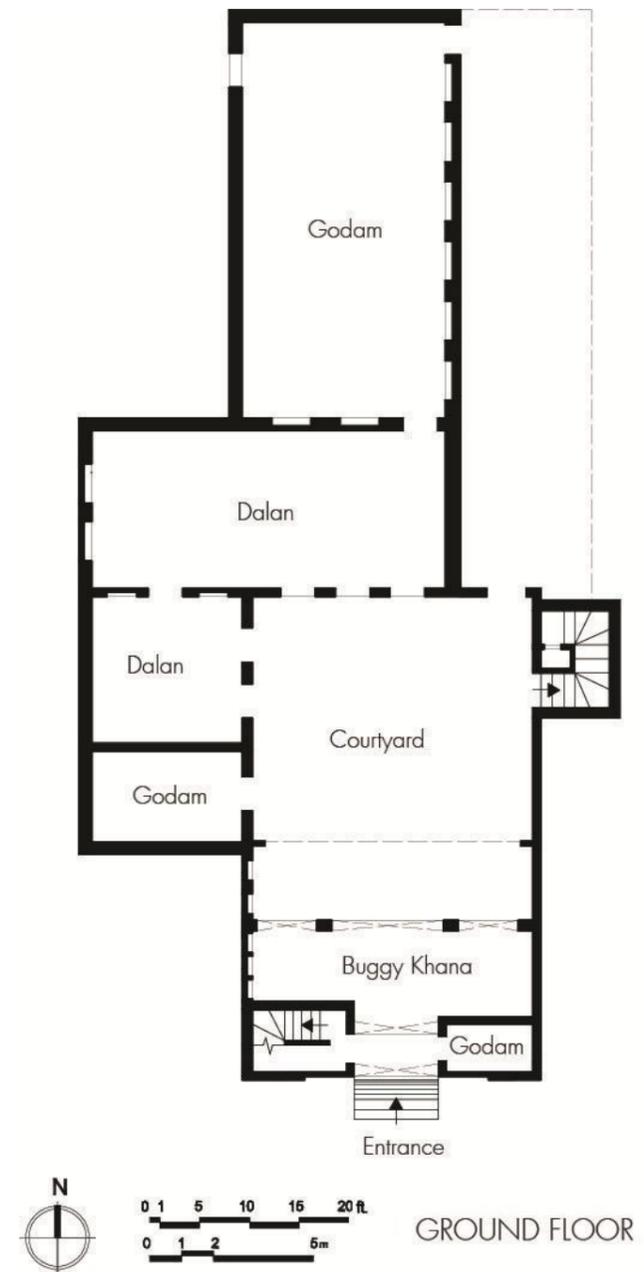
Fig. 8.89 Ground floor of *mehman-khana*.

209

The *buggy-khana* housed Karim Buksh's multiple *tongas* and carriages including a phaeton.[108] There were also rooms for servants' residences and the cooking of large meals to cater for the *daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana* took place in the courtyard. The horses for the carriages were kept at a barn in the vicinity of the Bazaar-e-Kalan road.[109]

Fig. 8.90 Interior courtyard of *mehman-khana*.

i. First Floor

The most important room of the mehman-khana was located on the south side of the first floor. Family sources call this front/south facing room of the *mehman-khana*, *'Pir Sahib wala-kamra* (Pir Sahib's room)'.[110] This room has a decorative balcony overlooking the *mohalla galli* and lies across the courtyard from the trade office. The room designated for the religious leader helped to support the Sethis' status as community leaders. There are other *dalans* on the west and north sides of the courtyard which also housed visitors, but these were not as embellished as the Pir sahib's *dalan*. This floor is connected to the Karim Buksh *mardana baithak* and his *daftar-khana*, enabling the guests to meet regularly with Karim Buksh Sethi in his *baithak*.

Karim Buksh *haveli* was constructed after a gap of nearly 40 years from the preceding *havelis* and became shaped by the particular activity and sets of activities that were important to the family and these sets of activities gave form to the resultant architecture. The series of more complex and large scale activities within the *haveli* resulted in the large complex arranged around three courtyards. These activities included socializing on a larger scale with important persons both British and Indian, which was indicated by the large decorated *baithak* (which by this time was commonly referred to as the drawing room) and the allocation of separate quarters to the Pir of Golra Sharif. The possession of more modern carriages and the value attributed to these resulted in the *buggy-khana* being located within the *haveli* complex. The *zenan-khana* had been greatly expanded with three large and separate basements.

Dalan

Dalan   Courtyard

Dalan

Courtyard

Dalan

Pir Sahib Room

N

0 1   5   10   15   20 ft.

0   1   2   5m
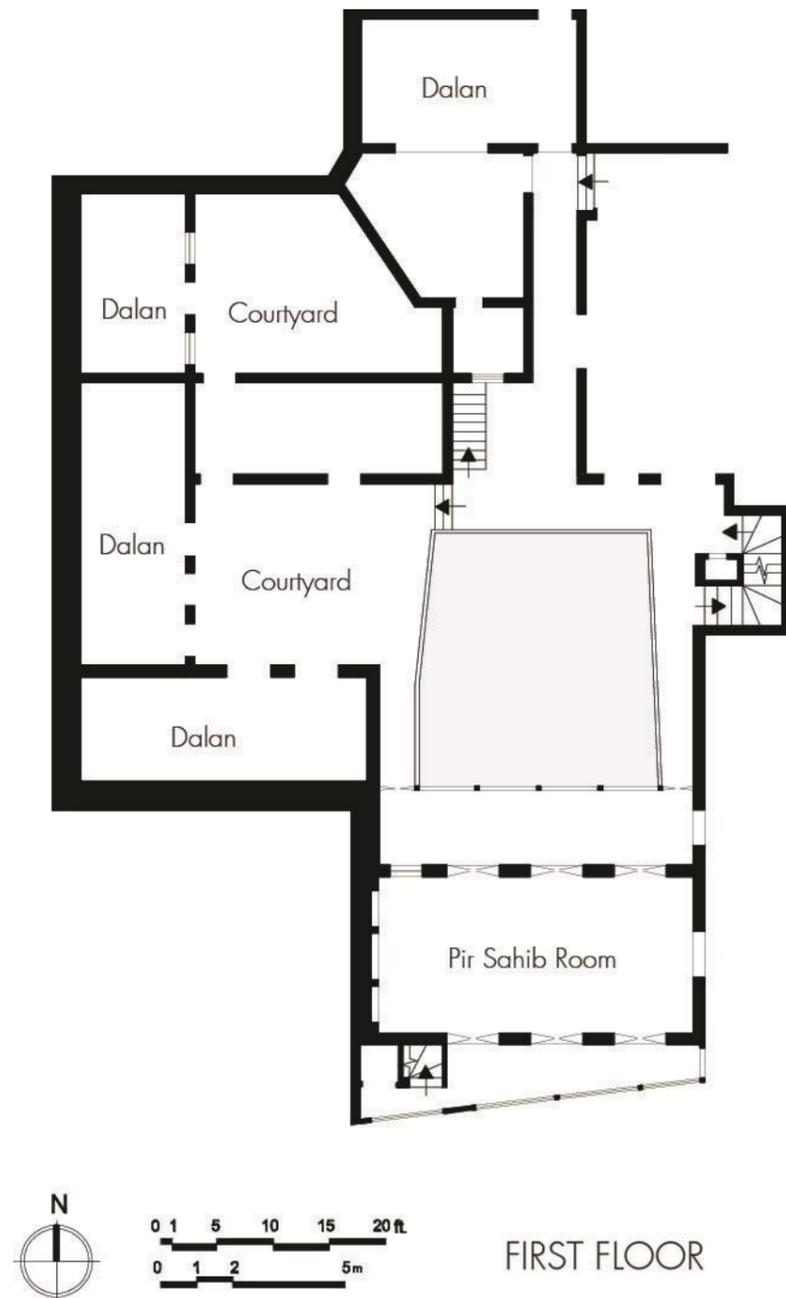
FIRST FLOOR

Fig. 8.91 First floor of *mehman-khana*.

8.4.2 Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli*

The Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* is contemporary with the Karim Buksh *haveli*, and lies across the street from it. Abdur Rahim Sethi was the son of Ahmad Gul Sethi and constructed his *haveli* next door to his father's in 1890.[111]. This *haveli* shares the existing family entrance of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* and there are connecting doors between the two at the second floor. This allowed the women of the neighbouring households to interact at every level.

I. *Haveli*

This *haveli* also separated the three realms of *daftar-khana*, the *mardana* and the *zenan-khana* in three distinct zones. The *daftar-khana* is located on the main Bazaar-e-Kalan road; this is connected to the *haveli* at the first floor level. This is in contrast to his father's (Ahmad Gul Sethi) *haveli,* which located the trade office inside the security of the *mohalla* and *haveli* complex. The design of this complex pushed the business activities outside the domestic realm towards the main road. This placement of the family's source of income within the public realm suggests that the city was at peace and that the Sethis trusted that their business quarters would be safe from looting. The *Serai* during this time had been converted into the Tehsil, which housed the District Police Superintendent's headquarters. It became the centre of the British administration of the city. The area had become a safe and elite residential address once again. The Abdul Rahim Sethi trade office is a three storey building with an entrance from the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and internal connections with the residential *haveli* on the second floor.

The *zenan-khana* and the *mehman-khana* are accessed from inside the *mohalla*. There is a *buggy-khana* built to house the families' horse driven carriages and servants. The *mehman-khana* is above this and has access from both the street and the residential areas of the *haveli*. The design of this *haveli* enables separation between *mardana* and *zenana* activities while allowing some degree of communication between the *zenan-khana* and *mardana* to facilitate the interaction of the men with the *mardana*.[112]

Fig. 8.92 Entrance to Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli.*

The residential *haveli* has a covered area of 6,095 sq. ft., and consists of a *teh-khana* and three storeys. The incorporation of the *buggy-khana* in this second *haveli* indicates that the carriage garage had become an important part of the urban *haveli*. The *buggy-khana* and the rooms above it are designed as the *mardana* domain. A staircase leads from the *buggy-khana* to the mezzanine floor which has the *baithak*, the main male reception room. The *baithak* has large windows overlooking the *mohalla galli*, which were kept open during the day. This room is highly embellished with *naqqashi* work on the walls and a *khatam-band* ceiling. There is also a staircase connecting this *baithak* to the first floor level of the *haveli*. This provided access for the male members of the *haveli* to come to the *baithak* and also allowed the servants to attend to the visitors.

i. Ground Floor

The main entrance to the domestic *haveli* is a wooden *teh-bari* arcade with two sitting *chabootrey* on either side of the doorway. This entrance originally catered to the *zenan-khana* of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* and later also provided access to Abdul Rahim Sethi's *haveli*. The *dehliz* leads into the first *deorhi* which turns 90° and then the second *deorhi* which again turns 90° into a third *deorhi* which leads into the courtyard. The second *deorhi* extends further to another *deorhi* towards the *haveli* of Ahmad Gul. The *deorhis* form a 'U' formation into the main courtyard. Even with the main doors open, the courtyard remains out of reach and view and the *deorhis* firmly established social convention and ensured that strangers, men, women, friends, and close friends/relatives all knew the limits of the territory open to each.[113] Each *deorhi* has a door which also acts as a defensive mechanism for the house. There is another aspect of the protective design of the entrance where the first *deorhi* gives way to two further *deorhis*, one leading to the courtyard and the other to the house next door. This combined with the turns in the *deorhis* keeps an element of surprise and apprehension for the first time visitor. During the last fifty years of the *haveli* design *chowkidars* were seldom kept at the door and the various doors of the *havelis* were usually kept open during the day. The relative safety of the *mohallas* allowed this, and social conventions along with design regulated the access into the *haveli*.[114]

The courtyard is square in form with brick paved floor and a central fountain. There are four surrounding *bala-khanas* with carved arcades and stained-glass windows. These served the family needs for social and private spaces. Three of the *bala-khanas*, on the south, west and eastern sides are raised 4ft. while the *bala-khana* on the north side is raised 2ft. from the courtyard floor. The facades on the south, west and eastern *bala-khanas* are identical with carved wooden facades and semi-circular windows, while the north *dalan* has a brick facade with gothic pointed arched openings. The *bala-khanas* on the south, west and eastern sides have their entrances tucked away on the south-east and south-west corners of the courtyard, while the north *bala-khana* has its entrance in the centre of the facade.

Fig. 8.93 Ground floor plan.

The south side *bala-khana* has the *teh-khana* under it. The eastern and western *bala-khanas* have storage spaces underneath them. There is a well and a *gusal-khana* on the north-west side of the courtyard. The well shaft goes up to the first and second floors, providing water to all the levels of the *haveli*.

Fig. 8.94 View of ground floor courtyard.
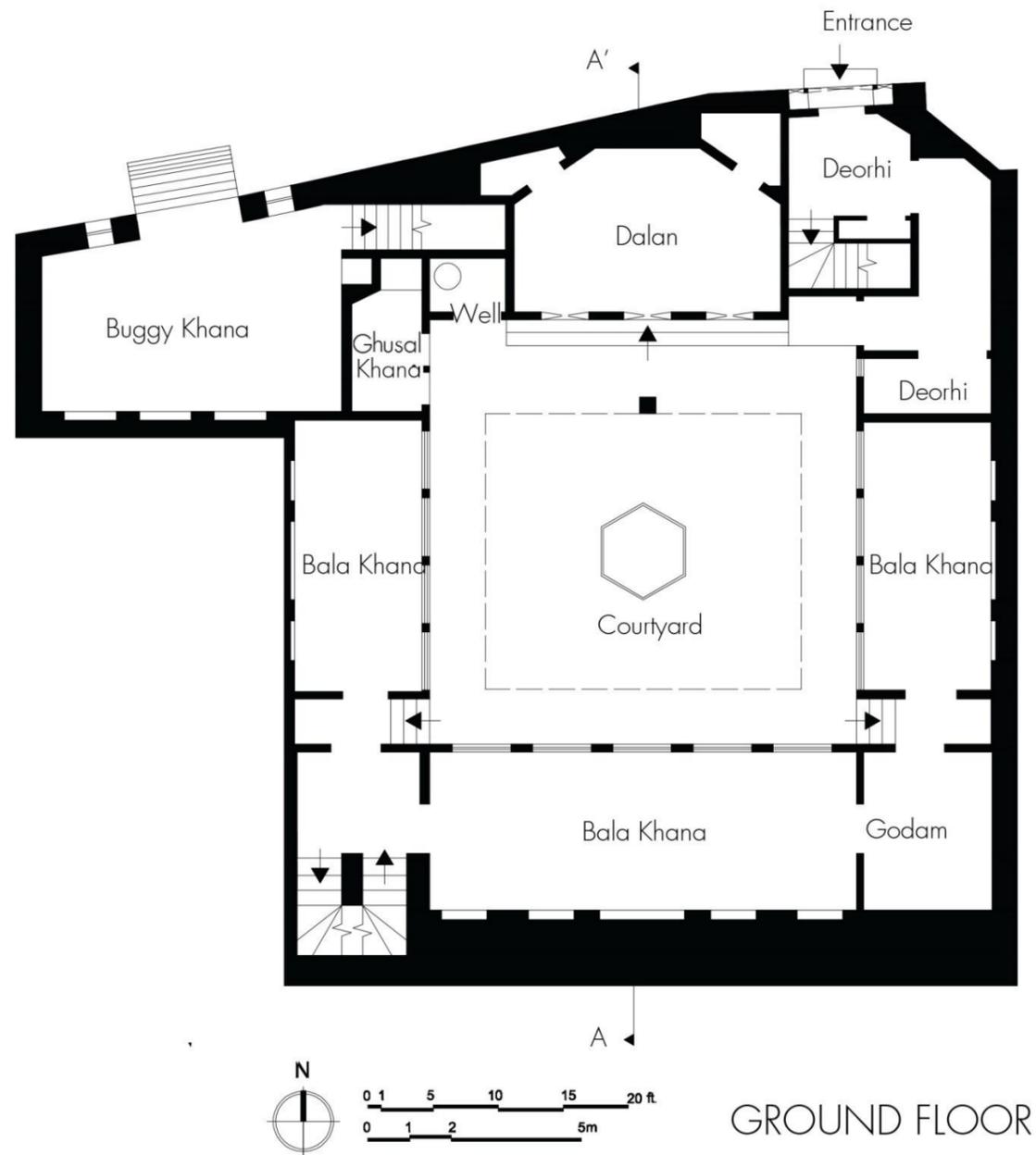
These variations in the design of the facades, the openings and the floor levels between the north *dalan* and the three other *bala-khanas* indicate that the former was constructed later than the latter sides of the courtyard. The north *dalan* has a carved timber column at its front which supports the roof above, indicating that this side was a later addition.

The *bala-khanas* of the ground floor are much embellished with *naqqashi, chini-khanas, aina-kari*, inserted mirrors on the walls and *khatam-band* ceilings. The timber arcades around the courtyard are decorated with *pinjra-kari* and stained-glass windows. The *bala-khanas* on the west and eastern sides are shallower in depth while the south *bala-khana* is larger in size. The latter served as the master bedroom for the *zenan-khana*.[115] Rooms around the courtyard allow a variety of arrangements. Those on the north-south axis are

larger and offered living spaces for the family matriarchs to socialize. The smaller rooms on the east and west sides were used by the daughters and unmarried women of the house. The rooms in the corners of the courtyard were used for services like stores and bathrooms. All the *bala-khanas* have *chini-khanas* on the external peripheral walls which face the courtyard. These can be viewed from the courtyard when the windows/doors of the *bala-khanas* are opened. All the windows of the facades surrounding the courtyard can be opened horizontally to form an arcade around the courtyard. This helps to extend the view from the courtyard to a larger area allowing the external walls of the *bala-khanas* to act as the boundaries of the courtyard. Floral frescos are used to decorate the rooms; the combination of floral bouquets with the central fountain echoes the paradise theme and reinforces the presence of a garden within the *haveli.*

Fig. 8.95 North *bala-khana.*

N

0 1   5   10   15   20 ft.

0   1   2   5m

GROUND FLOOR
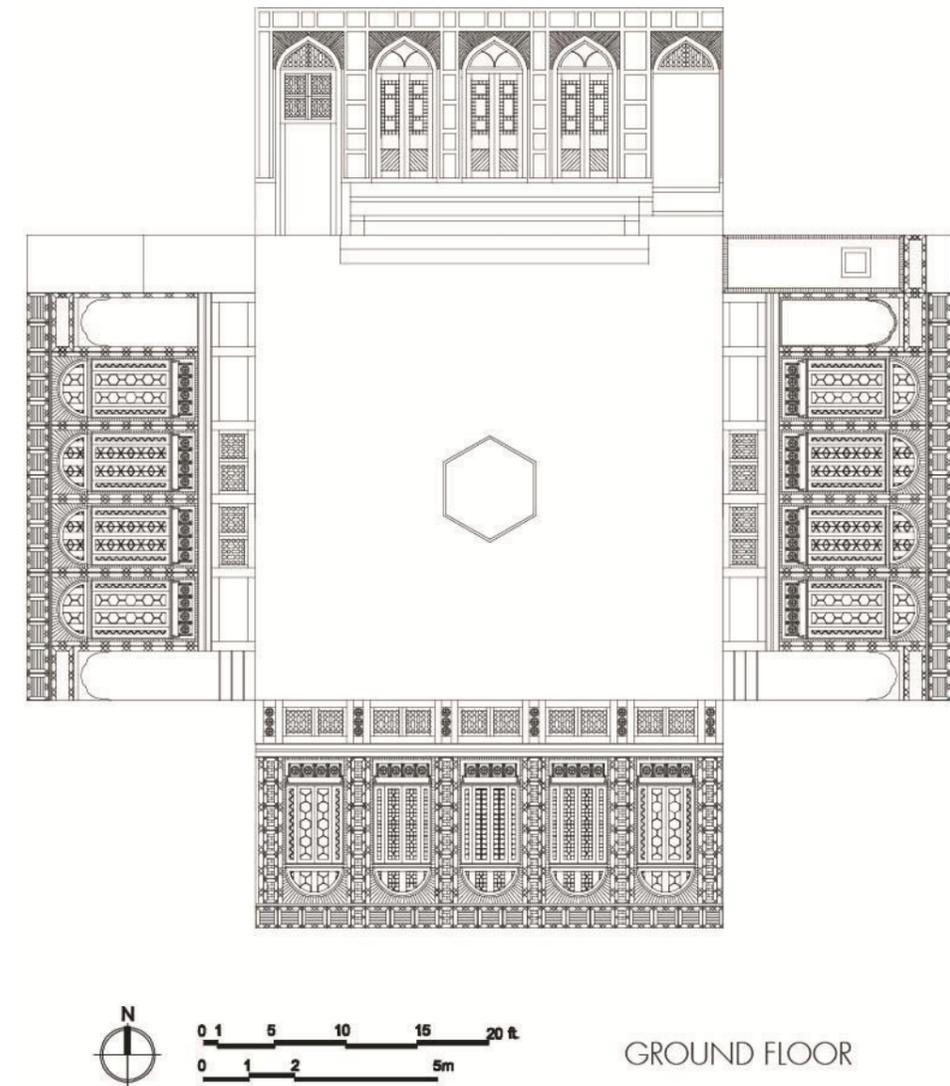
Fig. 8.96 Internal facades of the courtyard.

Fig. 8.97 Inside of south *bala-khana baithak.*

The main south *bala-khana* has a large *chini-khana* and decorative cupboards lining the walls on either sides of it. There are decorative wooden shelves above the doors which are carved in *pinjra-kari* and have *naqqashi* bouquets painted above them. This *haveli* retains many of its original furnishings, including Belgian glass chandeliers, Bukhara lamps, Persian carpets and some of the original furniture from the late 19th to early 20th century. There are large Belgian mirrors on the walls with decorative borders of *aina-kari* and *monabat-kari*. The *chini-khana* niches are decorated with painted mirrors, while the edges of the *chini-khana* are decorated with *aina-kari* work. The windows on this floor have semicircular and gothic arches. The adoption of both styles of arches in the *haveli* displayed intercultural exchanges and transactions with the British sponsored architecture of India. The tradition of the carved wooden arcade is present here but the style and motifs of carving have changed from the Mughal inspired arabesque/vegetal patterns to a more geometrical pattern inspired from colonial buildings. The style of *naqqashi* changed from the naturalistic depiction of the earlier *havelis* to a more stylized form.[116] The interior of this *haveli* is similar to the *haveli* of the merchant banker Rai Lala Chunnamal in Chandni

Chowk, Delhi, which was constructed in the 1860s.[117] Both *havelis* chronicle the changing aesthetics of Mughal India from the 1860s onwards. These transformations took place in art practices (like *naqqashi* and other decorative arts) and in the valuation and patronage of the colonial aesthetics, which had resulted from colonial encounters.[118]

The Sethis' role as intermediaries between the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman and the British Viceroy in Peshawar, Kabul and other places had increased their wealth and necessitated this amalgamation of the old with a newer and accepted aesthetic.[119]
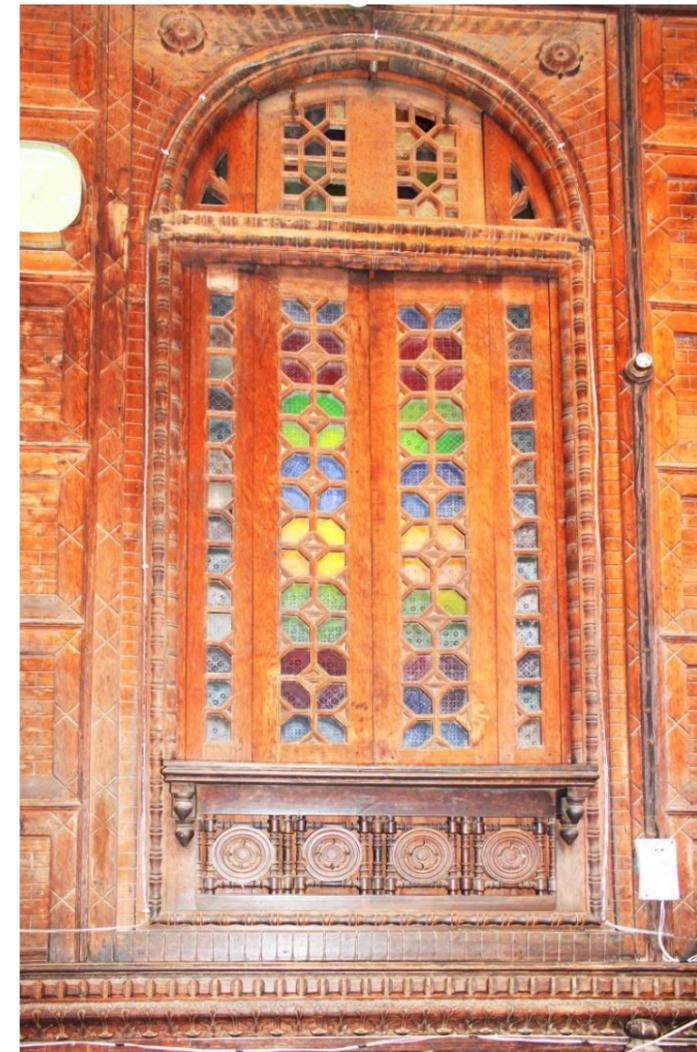
Fig. 8.98 Window of west *bala-khana.*

The Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* although contemporary with the Karim Buksh *haveli* shows a departure in stylistic vocabulary from it. While the Karim Buksh *haveli's zenan-khana* has more traditionally carved arcades and *naqqashi* decorations, the Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli's* arcade has simpler geometrical carvings. The *naqqashi* embellishments are more stylized in contrast to the naturalistic style of the Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli.* This *haveli* also uses large Belgian mirrors in *aina-kari* surrounds, a newer element to be introduced into the domestic realm.

Fig. 8.100 West *bala-khana.*

ii. *Teh-khana*

The *teh-khana* lies on the south end of the *haveli*. It was used for sleeping in the summer afternoons as it provided the coolest part of the *haveli*.[120] It has vents on the north side which open into the courtyard. It is built with small Jahangiri bricks and has tall Mughal arches supporting the roof. The roof of the basement is embellished with a *khatam-band* ceiling. This is the only basement in all of the Sethi *havelis* to be embellished. The staircase on the south-west corner led into the *teh-khana* and connects it to the ground and first floors.

Fig. 8.99 *Chini-khana* in south *baithak.*

Fig. 8.101 View of *teh-khana.*

Fig. 8.102 First floor plan.

iii. First Floor

The first floor has *dalans* on the north and west side and a *bala-khana* on the east side. The *bala-khana* is smaller than the *dalans* and has a storage space underneath. This room is similar to the *bala-khana* on the ground floor in terms of size and decorations. Its entrance tucked away in the corner of the courtyard, it is reflective of an earlier era, while the other rooms on the first floor open directly onto the roof terrace, reflecting a new spatial arrangements.

Each *dalan* has a large *pesh-khana* (reception room) which opens onto another smaller room. These rooms have Gothic windows and doors which suggest that they were constructed in the early 20th century. The north *dalan* is decorated with a *chini-khana* and has an embellished *khatam-band* ceiling. It opens onto a smaller semi-circular room which has a *chini-khana* and decorative *monabat-kari* decorations. This smaller private room lies towards the front of the *haveli* and possibly was used as a study/office space. Family

217

sources state this to be the main apartment for Karam Elahi Sethi, the son of Abdul Rahim Sethi.[121] The second *dalan* on the west side is also decorated with white stucco work and inset mirrors. This *dalan* opens onto a second smaller room which lies along the outer western periphery wall of the *haveli.* The second *dalan* has a decorative *chini-khana* and served as the sleeping quarters. Both sets of *dalans* on the first floor form small independent suites with an inner bedroom and an outer reception room. This is also a newer spatial arrangement only found earlier in the Karim Buksh *haveli.*

There is a *baverchi-khana* with a large hearth on the east side. There was a *takht* on the north side of the courtyard opening (*mang*) for taking meals, which was removed some years back.[122] This floor also has the well shaft on the north side which continues from the ground floor. There is a *ghusal-khana* next to it for washing and bathing and water dispersion to the *baverchi-khana* at this level.

Fig. 8.104 North *dalan*, first floor.

Fig. 8.103 West *dalan*, first floor.

iv. Second Floor

The second floor has a *dalan* on the west side and *bait-ul-khila* on the eastern wall. There was also a well shaft and small *ghusal-khana* next to it which were removed some years back.[123] The second floor level leads to the *chatti-galli* which crosses over to the top floor of the Karim Buksh *haveli.*

over-bridges (called *chhattas*) across the streets so that their women could move freely between the various households without coming into contact with people on the street.[125] This iconic element has been photographed over a period of time to become the most recognizable image of the Sethi *mohalla.*

Fig. 8.105 *Dalan* on second floor.
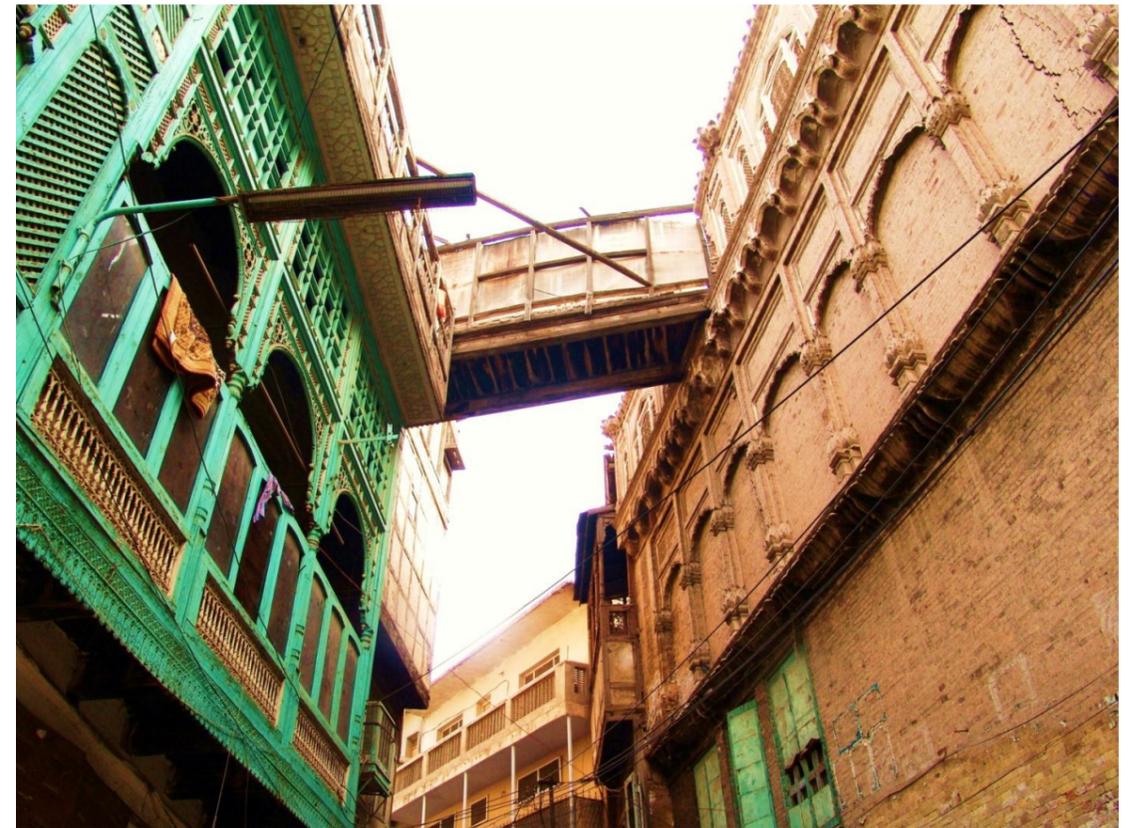
Fig. 8.106 View of *chatti galli* connecting the *havelis.*

This *haveli* was built next to the Ahmad Gul *haveli* (Abdul Rahim's father) and there are connecting doors between both on the ground and first floor. An interesting feature connecting the Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* to the Karim Buksh *haveli* is a bridge built over the *galli.* This bridge called the *chatti galli* (the covered street) was built in the early 20th century after the marriage of Karim Buksh Sethi's daughter with Karam Elahi Sethi and facilitated the movement of women between the two *havelis* (see fig 8.106).[124] There are other examples of this practice in parts of India where affluent Jains connected their *havelis* by

II. *Mehman-Khana*

The Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* has two apartments located on the mezzanine floor along its front facade towards the *mohalla galli.* These rooms are accessible from the main entrances and have windows opening to the outside. They serve the needs of the *mardana* as both were open to the public domain and separate from the main *zenan-khana.* There are stairs leading to these from the ground and first floors for access and service respectively. The *mehman-khana* on top of the *buggy-khana* has walls that are completely covered in floral frescos, with a painted *khatam-band* ceiling. This room was possibly decorated with European furnishings and decorative pieces like Karim Buksh Sethi's main *baithak*.

Fig. 8.107 *Mehman-khana* of *haveli.*

SECTION A-A'

1 Teh khana
2 Courtyard
3 Bala Khana
4 Dalan
5 Godam
6 Bridge
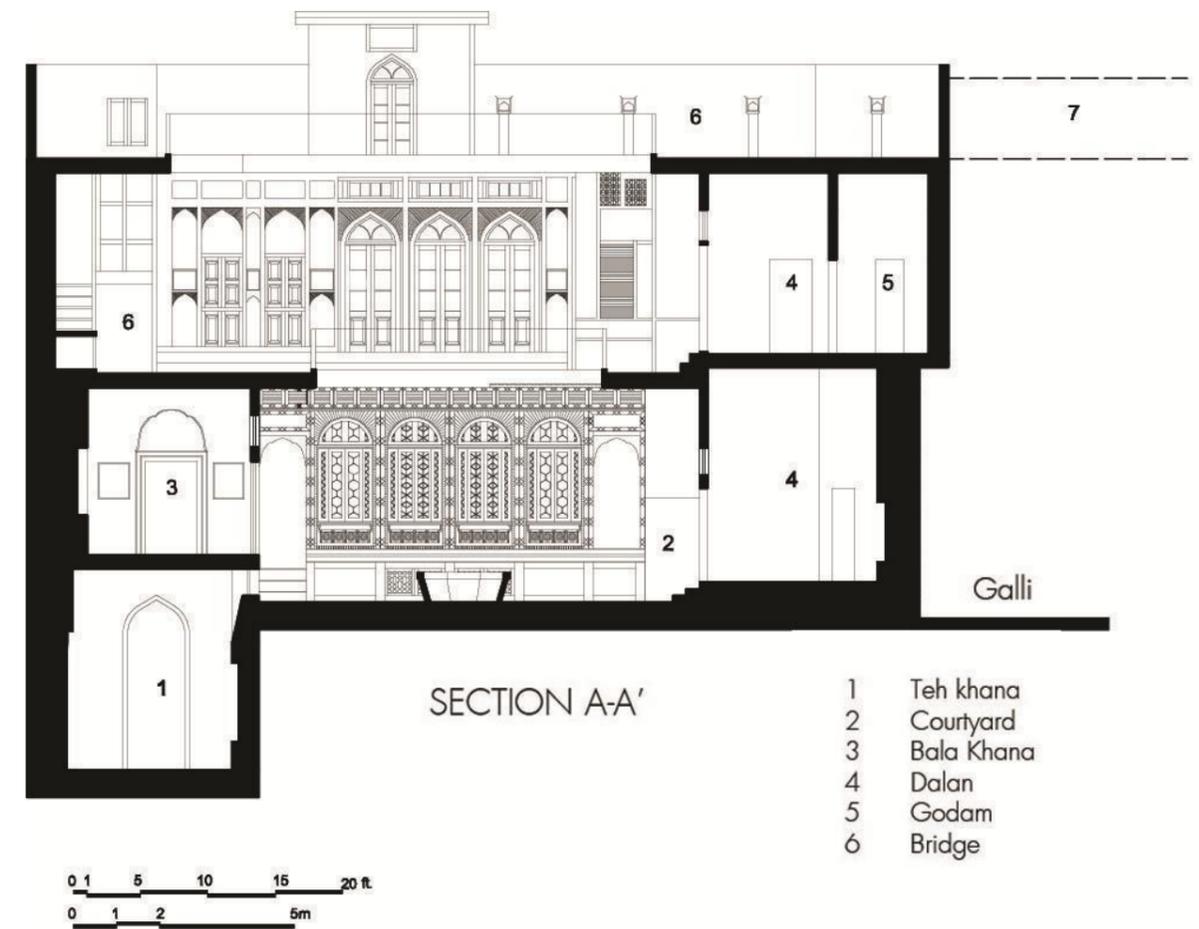
Fig. 8.108 Section of the *haveli.*

III. *Buggy-khana*

The adoption of the *buggy-khana* (garage) for parking the horse driven carriage was a newer typology within the urban courtyard house. *Umrah havelis* in large cities like Delhi and Lahore had provided spaces for elephants, horses, carriages and *tongas*.[126] The colonial era introduced faster horse driven carriages called phaetons that were housed in garage like spaces within the city *havelis*.[127]

Fig. 8.109 *Buggy-khana* of *haveli*.

IV. *Daftar-khana*

The trade office of the family is located on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. Built by Karam Elahi Sethi, this is an independent three storey building which has connecting doors to the domestic *haveli* on the second floor. These open on to the roof terrace of the family *haveli*. The *daftar-khana* has rooms on the first and second floors that housed the various *munshis* and accountants to carry out the family's businesses. The *daftar-khana* has a large *jharoka* facing the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. This *jharoka* is constructed of wooden arcades, which allowed the occupants to view the street. The building was converted into a residential unit in the mid 20th century, and the *jharoka* openings were closed off with shuttered panels.

Fig. 8.110 *Daftar-khana* of Abdul Rahim Sethi.

8.5 Family *Havelis* and *Daftar-khana* of Fateh Gul Sethi

The only surviving indication of the Fateh Gul Sethi family's business empire is the *daftar-khana* which was built opposite the Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli*. This is a three storey building. The ground floor has three small *godams*. The main *diwan-khana* is on the first floor which has large doorways opening into a *jharoka* overlooking the *galli*. The second floor *kotha* has a small room. The facade of this *daftar-khana* is similar to that of Abdul Rahim Sethi *daftar-khana*.

Fig. 8.112 Plan of first floor *diwan-khana*.

Fig. 8.111 *Daftar-khana* of Fateh Gul Family.

The arrival of the 20th century saw a change in residential typologies, led by changes in cultural norms. The city was abandoned for the cantonment and the *haveli* was deserted for the bungalow. In view of Karim Buksh Sethi's close relationship and support of the British which resulted in his award of a title of 'Khan Bahadar', an important question arises as to why Karim Buksh Sethi and his family members did not move out to the Cantonment on the out-skirts of the city. The answer lies at looking at the values held by the urban *umrah* and *rais* who considered the city walls to mark the boundaries of refined urban culture, while the colonial bungalows outside the city were like houses in the midst of a jungle, lacking all the amenities the *rais* valued so much in life.[128] The *haveli* in the city was considered to be the most cultured and refined living style for a person of distinction. The Sethi merchant-bankers were filling a gap in the social hierarchy as the *rais* of the city, at the same time

222

filling in the spatial hierarchy in the city: the *haveli* became an important marker of their status and identity.

Another reason many aristocrats inhabited old and sometimes depleted city *havelis* was that there was contempt for Indians who emulated the European lifestyle in the cantonments. This was expressed by the writer Nazir Ahmad through his fictional character Ibn-al-Waqt (the opportunist) who moved to the cantonment to appease his English friends, abandoning his *haveli* and lifestyle. His family retaliated by severing ties with him. When Ibn-al-Waqt became completely anglicized, he was scorned by the British (who complained that his emulation seemed as if he were mocking them) and told that he should go back to his Indian (native) ways (lifestyle, clothes, and habits).[129] A majority of Indians preferred the lifestyle of the traditional *haveli,* where European cultural influence could be restricted to the decorative details like the shape of an arch, column, the use of imported tiles, louvered shutters for *jharokas*, gilded plaster work and mirrors.[130] The *haveli* offered familiarity, comfort and dignity, an environment from where they could negotiate their position in the new order. The token or symbolic changes made inside this residence to appease their Colonial counterparts could be controlled. The Sethi merchant-bankers used their *havelis* as residences as well as business offices, these overlapping functions could not be catered in the bungalows outside the city.

But within their city *havelis*, the Sethi merchant bankers found it acceptable to introduce European style reception rooms which were used to entertain their *firangi* friends. These were furnished with European furniture and filled with European novelties. Fireplaces, mantelpieces, fanlights, mirrors, furniture, chandeliers, clocks and English crockery and decorative pieces were used to decorate these reception rooms. The *havelis* also utilised industrial technology like steel column and beam sections, tiles, stained glass, louvered door and window shutters, pre-fabricated cast and wrought iron brackets, balconies and balustrades.

India's cultural upheavals following colonization, capitalist development and technology were continuous from the 19th century onwards.[131] The era gave rise to new cultural, institutional and spatial articulations that reconstructed the traditional within the modern. The Sethi *havelis* expressed how Mughal India's concepts and objects were modified through interaction and exchange with the British. The transformations of the domestic architectural typology and the valuation and patronage of the cantonment and the bungalow had resulted from the colonial encounters.[132] But in the context of the Sethis it can be stated that their economic and political ties with the British allowed them to continue to occupy inner city *havelis*. The transformations of these showed the contestations in architectural space as European standards of aesthetics were adopted but spatial layouts still conformed to the traditional typology. The adoption of Mughal decorative elements indicated a refinement in taste as well as the creation of an aristocratic legacy for the family as inheritors of the revered Mughal traditions. These self-fashioned identities provided a social construct to give the Sethis legitimacy both with the Indians and the Europeans.

The appropriation of Mughal aesthetics gave a new relevance to the *havelis* during the era. It also gave these familiar forms and spaces new uses and meanings through amalgamation with newer forms. Thus the amalgamation of modern window styles, furniture, and decorative elements with traditional decorative styles formed a new indigenous identity that was pluralistic; adopting and using stylistic traditions of a glorious past with colonial features to construct a modern paradigm.

8.6 Fourth Phase of *haveli* development during the British era; (1900-1910)

The Durrand agreement between Afghan Amir Sher Ali and the British in 1893 resulted in maintaining peace in the border tribal areas, allowing the British to concentrate on developing the administrative structures of the region until the tribal uprising of 1897.[133] The arrival of Lord Curzon in India in 1899 and the success of the British government against the many uprisings in the tribal areas around Peshawar marked what Dani calls the second phase of development of the city (1893 to 1919) under the British.[134] Lord Curzon held a *durbar* in Peshawar on April 2nd 1902 to inaugurate the new North-West Frontier Province.[135] Within this new political structure, many Indian notables were given positions that allowing them to participate in the affairs of the government, this included Karim Buksh Sethi's appointment as honorary magistrate.[136]

Many public monuments were built in Peshawar during this phase including the Hastings monument in the centre of Chowk Bazazan in 1892 and the Cunningham Clock Tower erected by Sir George Cunningham in 1900, to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.[137] The British re-organisation of the city saw the re-appropriation of the Mughal serai from 1860s to 1904 as first the Mission hospital and then as the *tehsil* headquarters and Fire Brigade.[138] The Serai/tehsil, once a centre of economic and administrative control and having served as a thoroughfare for international travellers, now became a centre of British law enforcement and administration of the city. These interventions again highlighted the importance of this area of Peshawar, giving it a strong architectural and urban identity.

8.6.1 Abdur Karim Sethi *haveli*

The Abdur Karim *haveli* has two entrances, one of which is located inside the *mohalla galli* while the second is placed on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. There is an entrance on the main road, through a wooden doorway placed within a brick cusped arch. The front facade has a large central wooden *jharoka* flanked by two smaller decorative *jharokas*. These openings towards the Bazaar-e-Kalan road indicate a stronger interaction between the *haveli* and the city, as well as a newer organization of the functions of this *haveli*.

Fig. 8.113 Abdur Karim Sethi *haveli*.

The entrance inside the *galli* follows the earlier typology of the tri-arched wooden opening. There are two *chabootras* on either side of the door. There is a *jharoka* projecting over this doorway. This doorway has been changed subsequently through the absorption of the two

chabootras and original doorway partially into the house, but these are still visible from the street and give indication of its original form (fig. 8.114).

Fig. 8.114 Main entrance inside *mohalla galli*.

This *haveli* was constructed in two phases, the first possibly took place in the early 19th century as indicated by the remaining structures. These consist of a *teh-khana* on the north side and *dalans* on the ground floor. The *teh-khana* is similar in size and construction to the *teh-kh*ana of the Karam Buksh *haveli*. The *teh-khana* vents open into an area of the ground floor which was the courtyard of the earlier *haveli*. The initial configuration of *dalans* around a central courtyard is indicated by the remnants of old wooden arcades on the ground floor. The four *dalans* possibly served as the *daftar-khana* and were accessible from the main entrance on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. The height of the ground floor rooms is at 8ft., which also indicates an older construction period.

Fig. 8.115 Main entrance on Bazaar-e-Kalan Road.

This *haveli* seems similar to the Karam Buksh *haveli*, as it possibly housed the *daftar-khana* on the ground floor and the residential quarters on the first floor. The similarity in functions and materials with the earlier *haveli* suggests that these were contemporary. There may have been rooms on the first floor *kotha* of the earlier *haveli*. The two entrances to the *haveli* were located to serve the two separate activities of the *daftar-khana* and the *zenan-khana*.

Abdur Karim Sethi took up the addition to the *haveli* in the early 20th century.[139] The new construction included *dalans* on the first and third floors and *bala-khanas* on the second

floor. The opening of the courtyard on the ground floor was closed to convert this area as well as the surrounding *dalans* to rental shops.

This concept of the public *dukan*/shop facing the street is a departure from the semi-public family-run commercial unit located within the semi-public street inside the *mohalla*. It also indicates that these premises may be rented to outsiders and thus have their door on the main street.

Fig. 8.116 Existing ground floor plan.
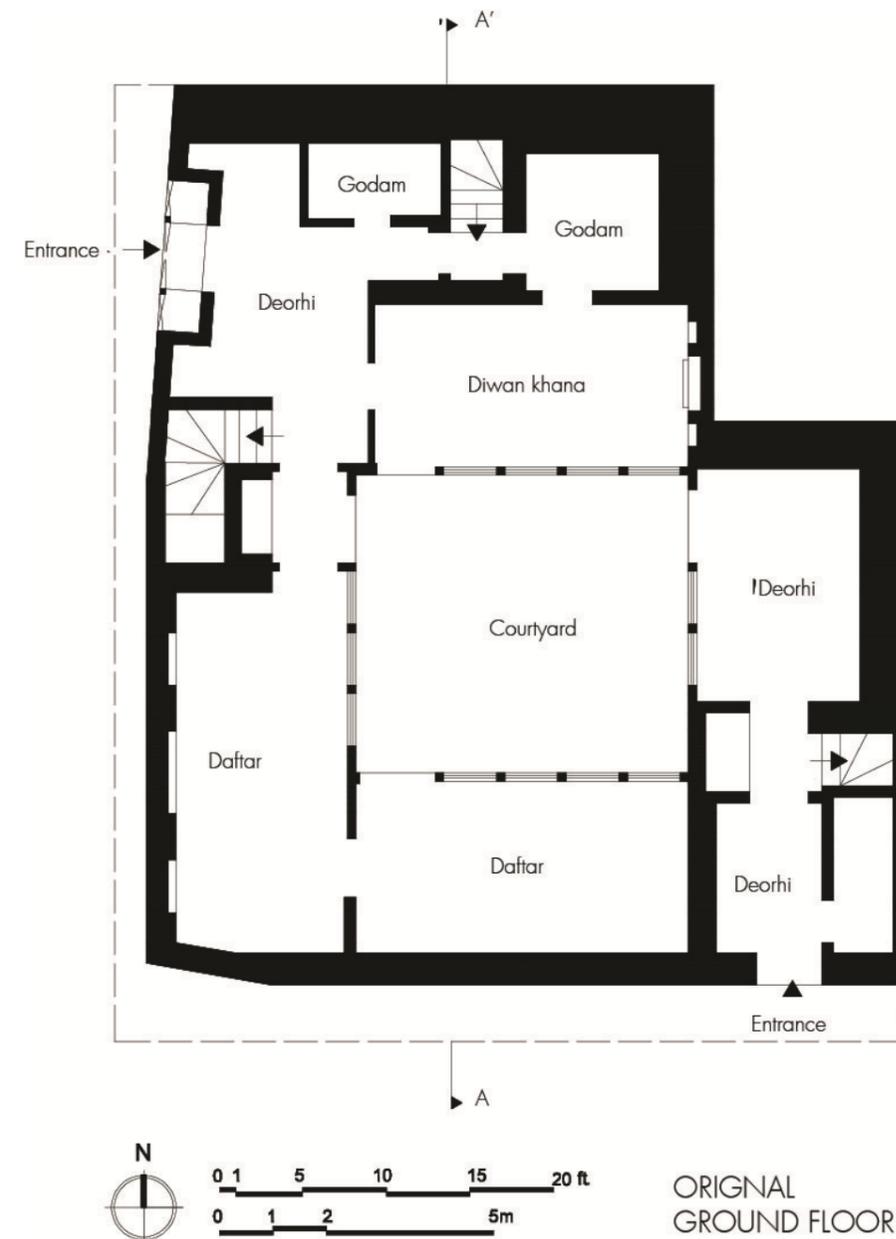
Fig. 8.117 Reconstructed ground floor plan.

These shops were separated from the residential area by closing off the front and side entrances through the addition of separate *deorhis* for the residential floors above.

The staircase next to the front entrance was separated from the ground floor area by closing off the *deorh*i. The staircase next to the side entrance also served the family's quarters of the *teh-khana* and the *zenan-khana* on the first floor.

I. *Zenan-khana*

The first floor of the *haveli* served as the *zenan-khana*. This area consists of a central courtyard with *dalans* on all four sides. The courtyard elevations follow a general symmetry in which arcades are not identical but their proportions and openings are similar. There is a change in design from the previous *havelis* as the internal facades of the courtyard are constructed in brick and have doors which open into the courtyard as compared to earlier timber facades with windows opening.

Fig. 8.118 Courtyard of *zenan-khana*.

The facades around the courtyard are decorated with *monabat-kari* pilasters and panels. These were possibly painted in *naqqashi* work. The doors are Georgian in design with solid bottom panels and glass top panels. They have Neo-Gothic archways with stained-glass

fanlights; these arches are highlighted with a cusped arch pattern in stucco work.[140] There are ventilators above the doorways with segmental arches. This is the first *haveli* to incorporate these new colonial aesthetics on its internal facades.
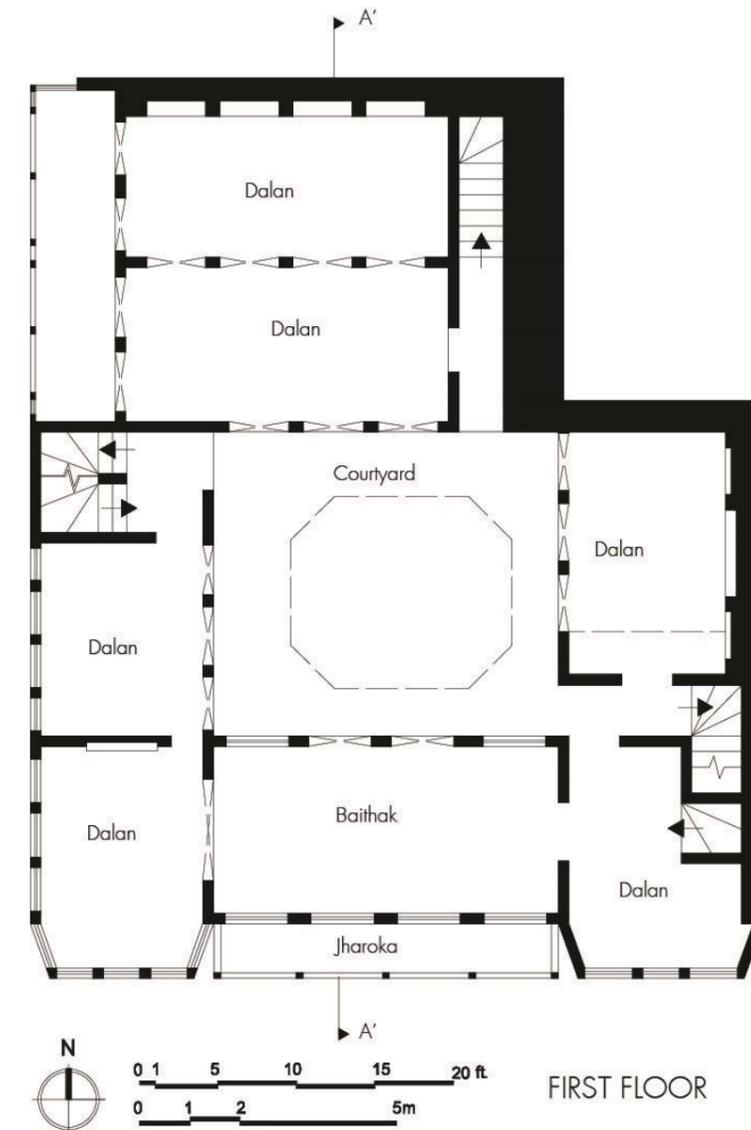
Fig. 8.119 Plan of first floor *zenan-khana*

The *dalans* on the north and south sides of the courtyard are larger, while the *dalans* on the east and west sides are smaller. This follows the site geometry with the front measuring 2/3rds of the depth of the lot. The south *dalan* faces the main road and has a *jharoka*

227

opening onto the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. This *dalan* was possibly used as a *mardana baithak* as its multiple full length doors open outwards to the *jharoka* facing the main street. The *jharoka* is built in timber with latticed work and diamond pane windows with stained-glass. The *jharoka* is an amalgamation of both Mughal and European stylistic elements as it combines flat Mughal arches with wrought iron grilles in the railing. The south *dalan* leads into a smaller embellished *dalan* on the south-east side. There is a large carved door between the two rooms which is decorated with stained glass (fig 8.120).

There are two smaller *jharokas* located at the front of the smaller rooms on the two wings of the *haveli*. The *jharokas* have three sided projections with *basta* windows and stained-glass fanlights. This amalgamation of the fanlight with the *basta* windows is another hybrid element of the *haveli*.

Fig. 8.120 Door connecting south *dalan* with south-west *dalan*.
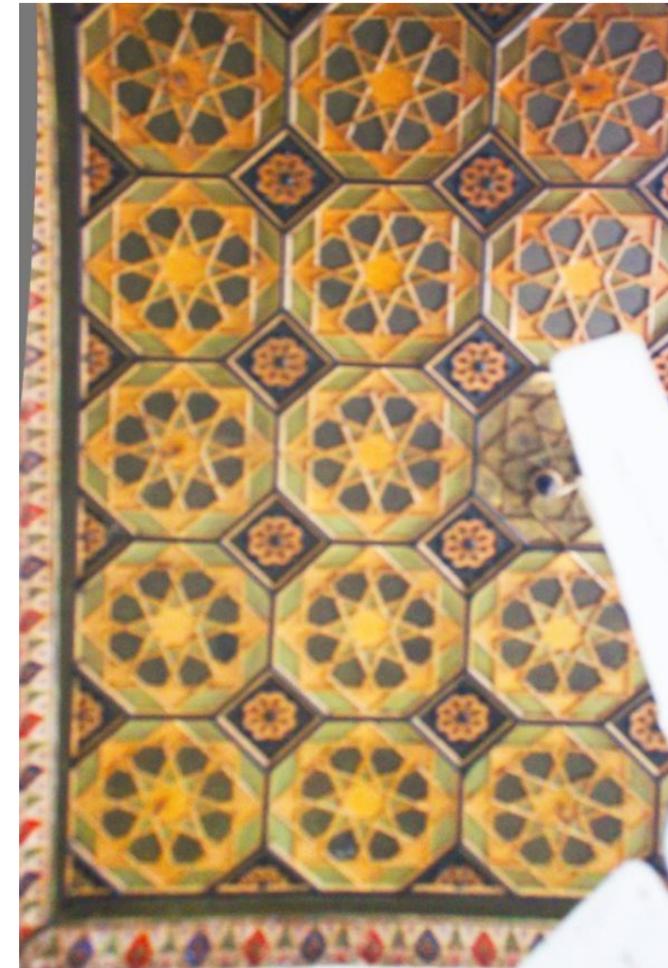
Fig. 8.121 *Khatam-b*and ceiling of south *dalan*.

The *dalans* of the first floor have high ceilings at around 14ft. high. The height of the *dalans* and *bala-khanas* were increased as interior decorative traditions incorporated large chandeliers in the rooms. The tradition of wood carving and *pinjra-kari* used in earlier *havelis* is absent from the first floor of this *haveli*. The decorative tradition of the *chini-khanas* is retained here in the east and south-west *dalans*. All *dalans* have painted *khatam-band* ceilings but the designs are simpler than earlier ceilings and the colour palettes have

changed from rich primary and secondary colours (red, blue, green, orange) to a softer pastel palette (Fig 8.121).

Fig. 8.122 South *dalan* view of the cupboards above the door.

The *dalans* on the south-west and north-west sides have *chini-khanas* and decorative mirrors on the walls. The decorative element of niches on the walls of earlier *havelis* has been replaced with cupboards which have Belgian mirrors on doors. Although this is a new element of the interiors, it is very similar to the earlier practice of inserting mirrors along the walls in *monabat-kari* work. The intention of both methods of decoration is to turn an ordinary room into a reflecting and glittering *'Shish-Mahal'*. There are cupboards constructed on the top of the doors of the south and east *dalans*, which were used to store and display the family's china and other valuables (Fig 8.123).[141] The *chini-khanas* are

amalgamated with the fireplaces. They act as physical symbols in the built fabric of the *haveli*, to create a memory and identity for the Sethis as era Mughal *umrah*.[142] The *chini-khana* was continually embedded in the domestic and commercial architecture of the Sethis during the colonial period, as a possible reference to aristocratic linage and dynastic continuity.

Fig. 8.123 *Chini-khana* in south-west *dalan.*

The north *dalan* opens into another *dalan* behind it; both of the *dalans* have doors opening into a *jharoka* over the *mohalla galli*. There is a room and a storage space on the mezzanine level. These *dalans* served as the residential quarters. There are stairs on the south-east and north-west sides which connect the ground floor to the first and second floors and the *kotha* on the third floor.

229

i. Second Floor/*kotha*

The second floor has two *bala-khanas* on the north and east sides respectively. The east *bala-khana* and the staircase entrances are styles taken from the nineteenth century. This *bala-khana* has *basta* windows in Mughal flat arched openings. The windows have *pinjra-kari* panels above them. The wooden frame and the panels of the *basta* windows are also carved. There is a *chini-khana* in this room which is an interesting amalgamation of niches in the earlier decorative style used in the Karim Buksh *haveli* while the top is decorated with Victorian style stucco flowers.

Fig. 8.125 East *bala-khana* on second floor.
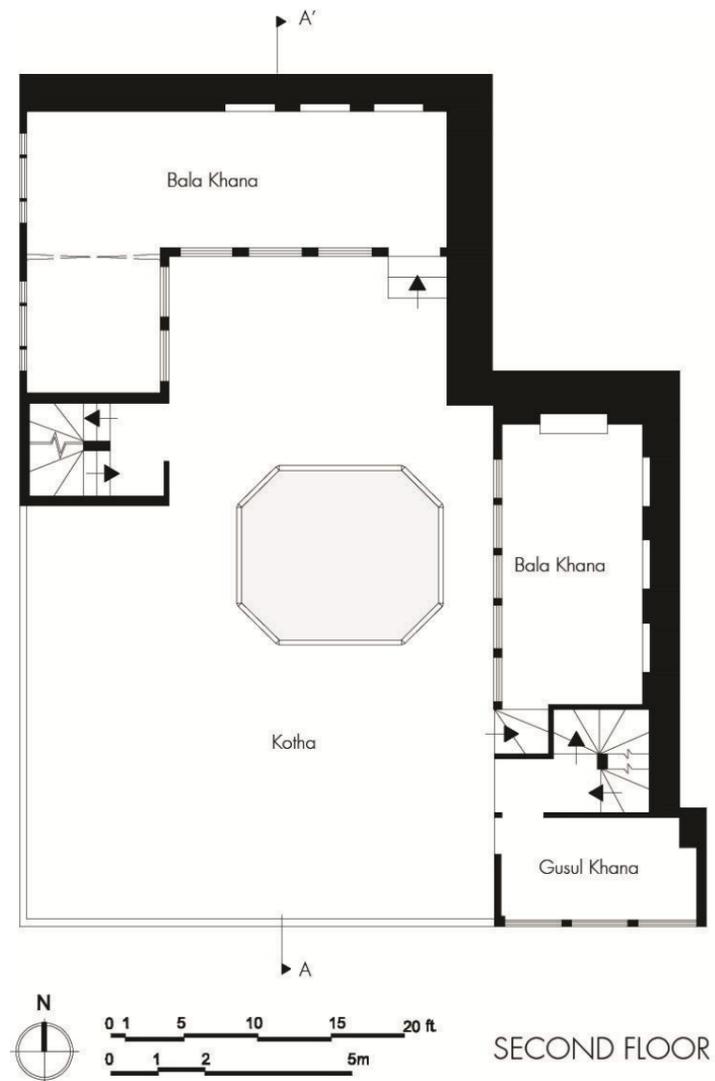
Fig. 8.124 Second floor plan.

Fig. 8.126 *Chini-khana* in east *bala-khana*

The north *bala-khana* in contrast is a newer construction from the mid 20th century with simple framed doors opening into the courtyard. The *mang* of the courtyard is octagonal in shape, its railing is wooden. The walls of this *kotha* are 7 ft high with wooden diagonal lattice panels in order to maintain the privacy of the rooftop. The *baverchi-khana* and *ghusal-khanas* are on the south-east side of the second floor *kotha.*
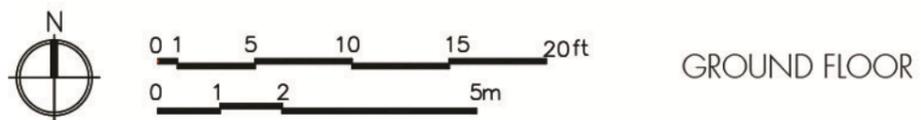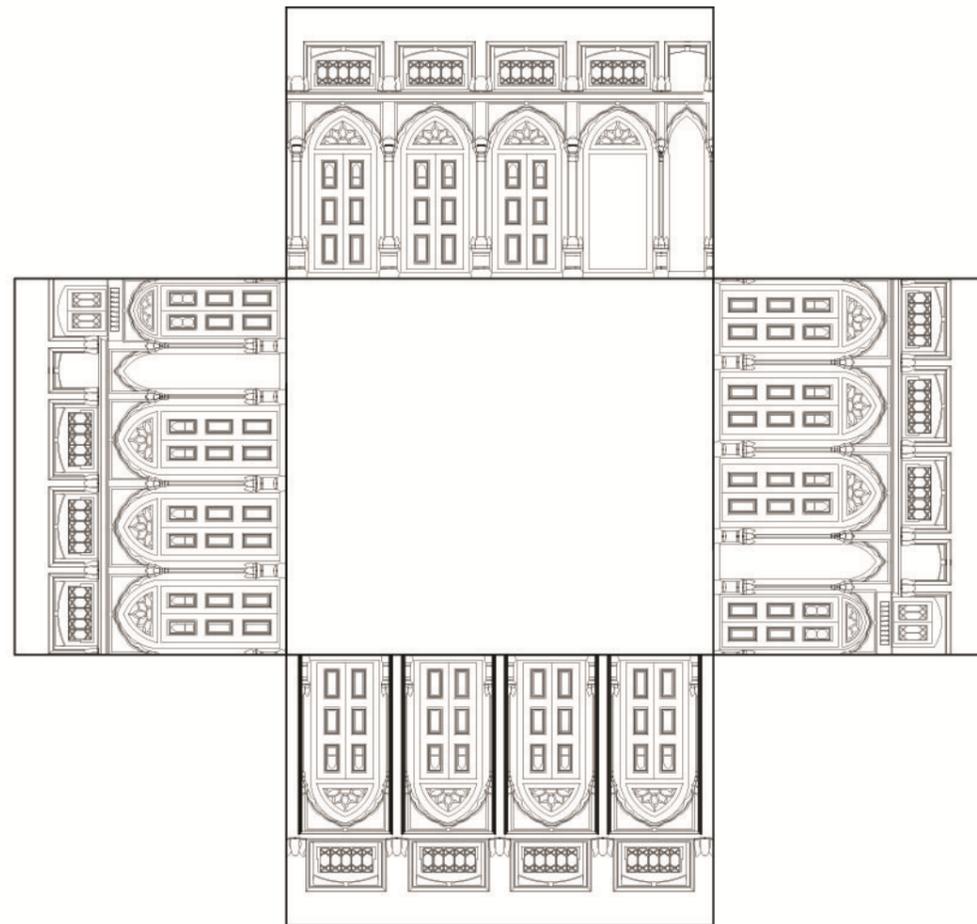
Fig. 8.127 Internal elevations of the courtyard.

SECTION A-A'

1	Teh Khana
2	Bala Khana
3	Diwan Khana
4	Dalan
5	Godam
6	Courtyard
7	Kotha
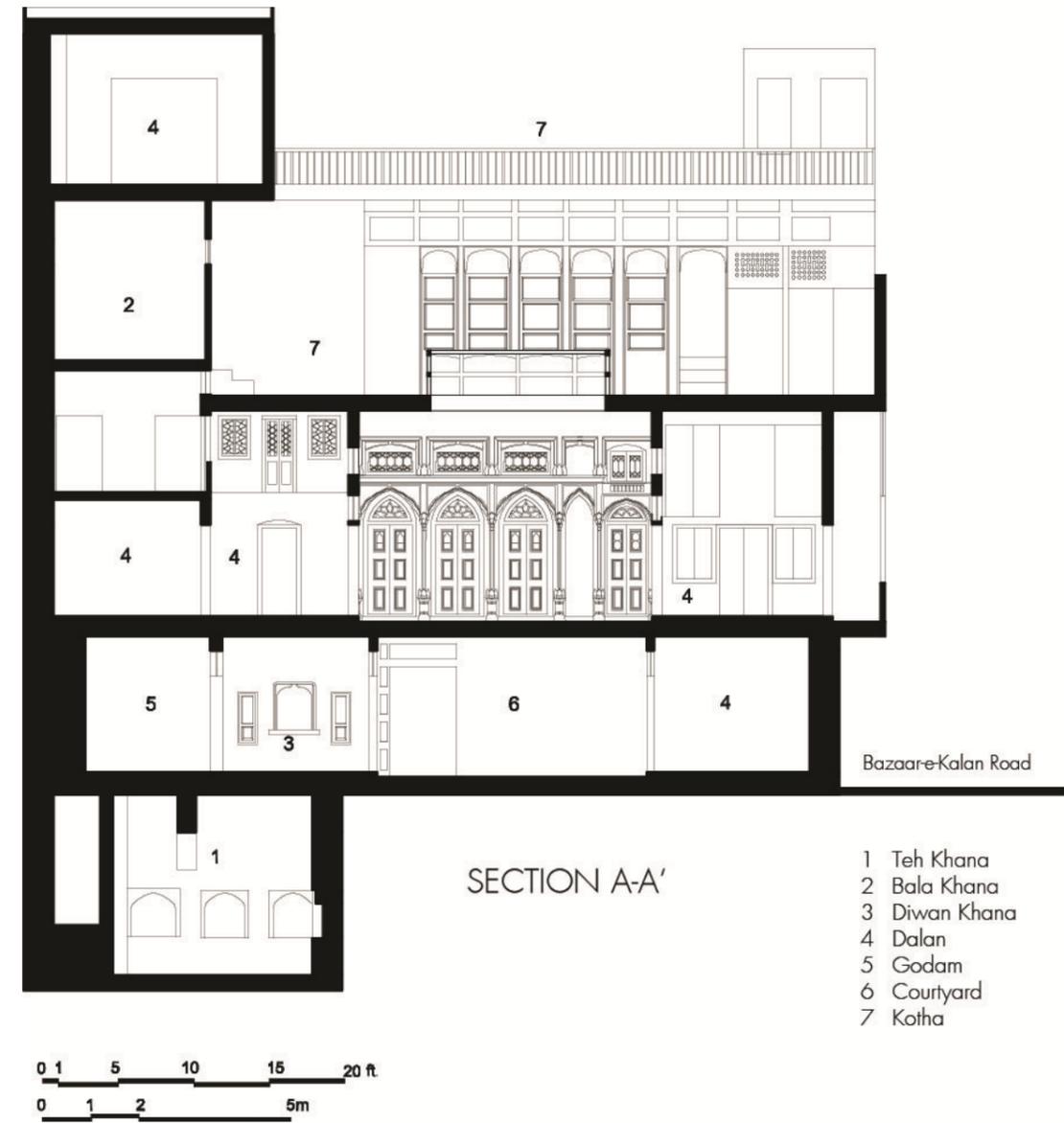
Fig. 8.128 Section of *haveli.*

ii. Third Floor/*kotha*

There is a *kotha* on the third floor on the north and east sides. The north side has a single *dalan which* is a feature common on the top floor of most Sethi *havelis.* This room is raised to enjoy the maximum views from this vantage point. This room was possibly used for a private retiring room for a male member of the family.[143]

8.6.2 Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*

This *haveli* was built from 1902 to 1908 by Abdul Jalil Sethi (son of Ahmad Gul Sethi).[144] It faces the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and has connections at the rear to other family *havelis* inside Sethi *kucha*. This is a complex of three quarters: the domestic *haveli,* the *daftar-khana* and the family mosque, which are built on a square plot of 8,000 sq ft.[145] The *haveli* is attached to a large garden at the rear of the site which is a common space for the *havelis* of two generations including the Ahmad Gul Sethi and Elahi Buksh Sethi *havelis*.

The entrance leads into the first *deorhi* which has two flights of stairs, the one on the right going down to *the teh-khanas* and the left one leading up to the *bala-khanas* above. On the upper floor level a second *deorhi* leads to two *bala-khanas* on the west and south sides and has steps going down into the courtyard.
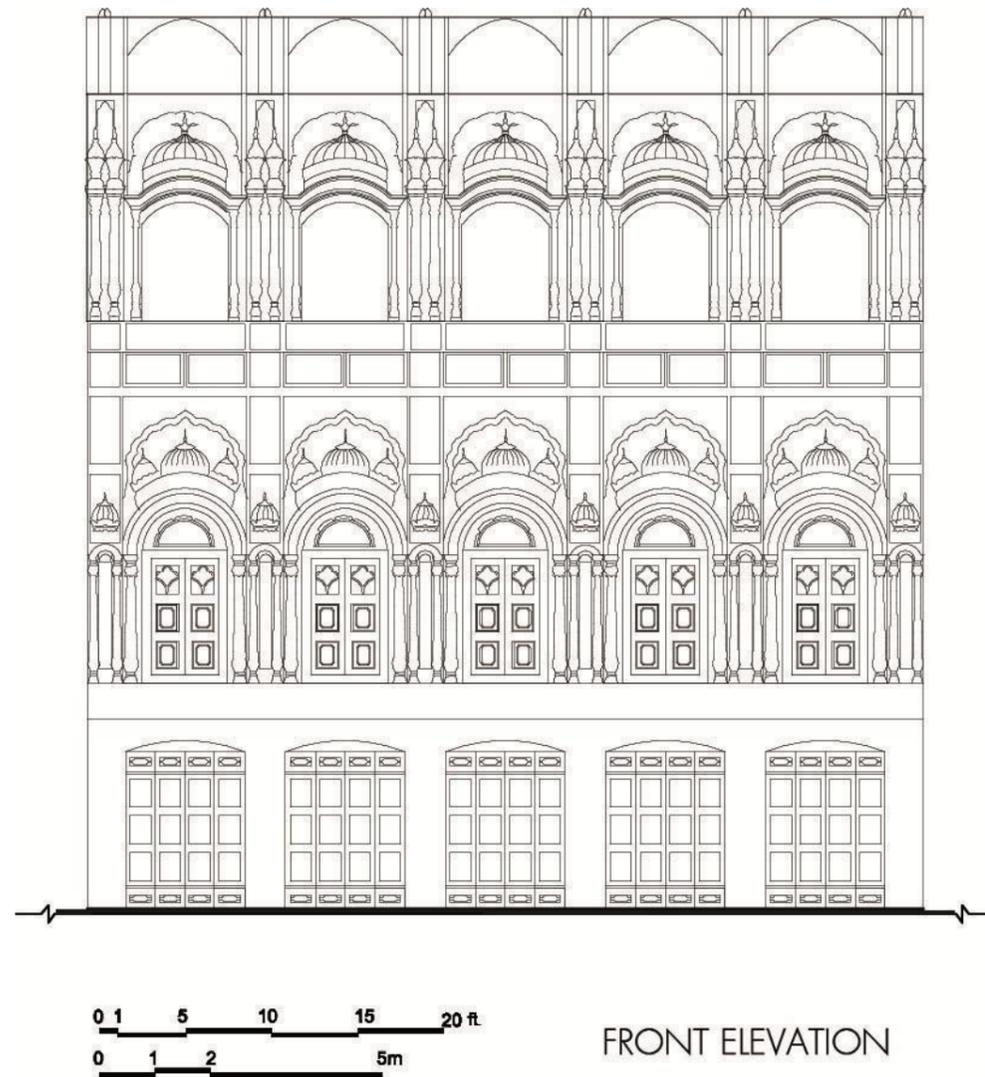
Fig 8. 129 Front elevation of *haveli*
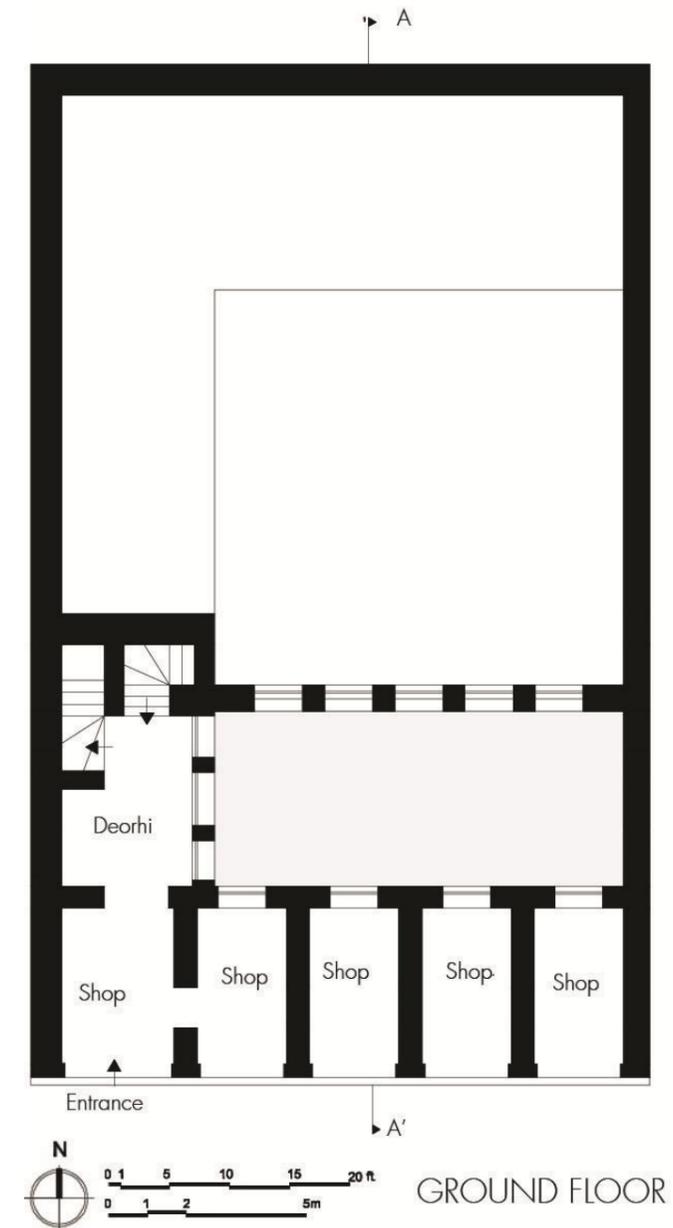
Fig. 8.130 Plan at ground level..

The *haveli* is built on four levels, with *teh-khanas* on the north, west and south sides. There are stairs on the south-west side which lead to the west and southern *teh-khanas*, while there is a north-west staircase which leads to the north and west *teh-khanas*.

Fig. 8.132 Juxtaposed views of south *teh-khana.*

i. Upper Ground Floor

The upper ground floor has three *bala-khanas* around the courtyard. The courtyard has a central fountain and pond, which is a feature, shared with the preceding Sethi *havelis*, but the circular pool has a different geometry from the earlier hexagonal and octagonal ponds. The *bala-khanas* on the north, south and west sides are raised 4ft. from the courtyard floor. The east side of the courtyard has a blank facade which is the common wall between the *haveli* and the *daftar-khana* and family mosque.

Fig. 8.131 Plan of *teh-khanas.*
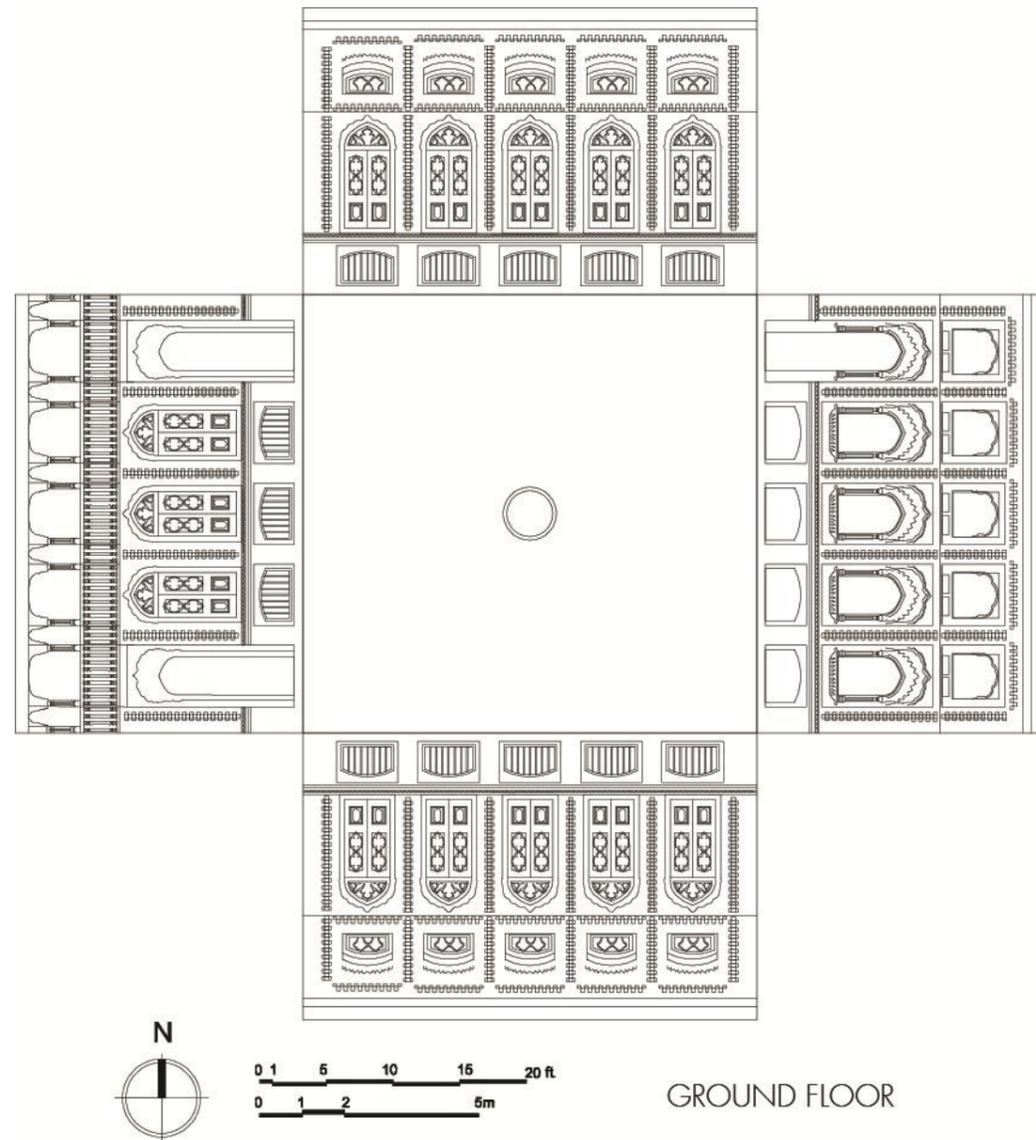
Fig. 8.133 Internal elevations of courtyard.

This is an interesting and successful combination of Indian and European elements and in a way acted as a metaphor for a hybrid and pluralistic society.
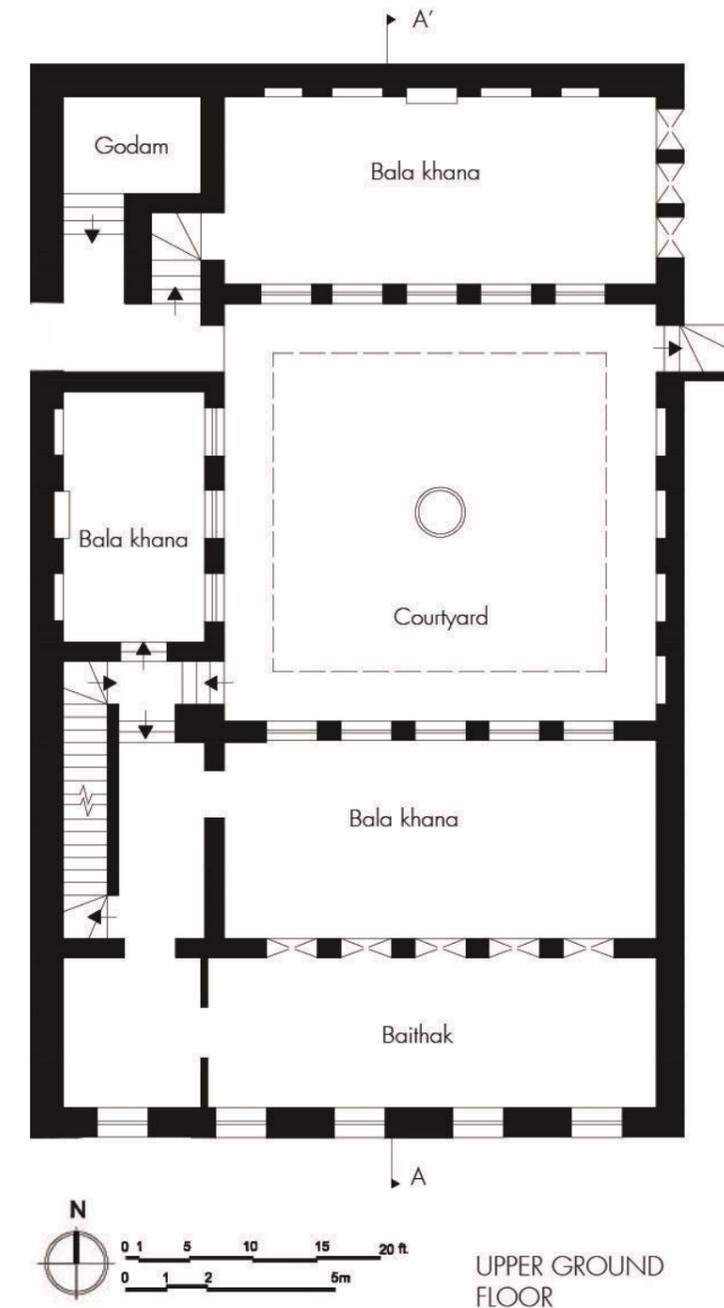
Fig. 8.134 Upper ground floor plan.

The facades around the courtyard have doors that open towards the courtyard instead of the windows of earlier houses. These French doors have solid lower and glass upper panels and can be opened to form an arcade around the courtyard. The doorways and their fanlights form a gothic arch which is placed under a pointed cusped archway. The combination of Mughal and Gothic styles, especially arches, had been found to be compatible and was used extensively in the era as these blended well with each other. [146]

234

There are *teh-khana* openings on the north, west and south sides of the courtyard, in the form of segmental arched openings with iron bars. The decorative panels along the openings are built in brick and mortar but designed to resemble stone rustication. The fourth blank wall on the east side is also decorated with panels and blind arches reflecting the geometry of the three surrounding facades/*aiwans* around the courtyard.

The main two rooms of the house are on the south, a *bala-khana* which leads into another *dalan* with windows overlooking the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. The south *bala-khana* is a reception room which has a large *chini-khana* on top of the fireplace. This feature dominates the room; there are two large Belgian mirrored cupboards on either side of the fireplace. These mirrors are the doors of the large cupboards on both sides. The ceiling of this *bala-khana* is 14ft. high and is divided into five *khatam-band* panels. The roof construction technology had changed by this time from the earlier wooden joists to steel sections that allowed larger roof spans. The design of this *khatam-band* ceiling is identical to the *baithak* of the Karim Buksh Sethi *daftar-khana.* This is an important thread that is shared by many *havelis* of the Sethis, that decorative elements of one are copied in the *havelis* that follow it.

Fig. 8.135 Interior of south *bala-khana.*

This room has five doors opening into the courtyard, which open to form an arcade. There are five doorways from this *pesh-khana* that open into the *dalan* facing the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. These two rooms were used as the main residential suite by Abdul Jalil Sethi. The windows of the bedroom open onto the street but are placed high in the wall with sill at 4 ft., so that they may be opened for daylight and ventilation but offer privacy to the occupants. The placing of this residential suite towards and opening to the main road is a departure from previous *havelis*, where the main residential areas were built away from the roads.

Fig. 8.136 North *bala-khana.*

The north *bala-khana* is the second big room at this level; it is approached from the north-west side of the courtyard. This is a large room with a *chini-khana*, mirrored cupboards and large arched doorways (now blocked) which provided connections to the *daftar-khana.* The ceiling style is similar to the north *bala-khana* with five *khatam-band* ceiling panels. The two decorative elements of *chini-khana* and *khatam-band* ceilings are used in all rooms of this *haveli*, as they became an important part of the Sethi architecture and formed part of the clan's identity as *umrah*. This was used as a billiard room for male friends and visitors.[147] This room has connecting doors to the *diwan-khana* as well as access from the family's *mehman-khana* (next to Ahmad Gul haveli), indicating that this was the male *baithak.*

235

There is a smaller *bala-khana* on the west side, which served as the women's *baithak*. This room has a lower ceiling of 8ft., and has a large *chini-khana* touching the ceiling. The fireplace is absent in this room, an indication that fireplaces were a newer decorative element to be used in male domains but not necessary in the traditional female domains.

ii. First Floor

The first floor has two suites on the south and west sides. The staircase opens into a *deorhi* which opens to two set of suites on the south and west sides. The south side has a small *dalan* which was possibly used for sleeping and a larger *bala-khana* along the front wall. This *bala-khana* is decorated with a *chini-khana* on top of a fireplace. There are Belgian mirrors on the doors of the two cupboards on either side of the *chini-khana*. This room has windows onto the courtyard but none towards the road, indicating that it was part of the *zenana*. There is a large and ornate door connecting the two rooms (fig 8.140).

Fig. 8.137 West facade of courtyard with *jharoka* at mezzanine level.

Fig. 8.138 View of first floor *kotha.*

There is one staircase connecting all the levels of the *haveli* on the south-west side. It connects the upper ground floor to a *dalan* at the mezzanine level. This *dalan* rests on top of the south-west *bala-khana* and has a decorated wooden *jharoka*/gallery opening towards the courtyard. The *dalan* served as a residential room and has *godam* located on both ends.

236
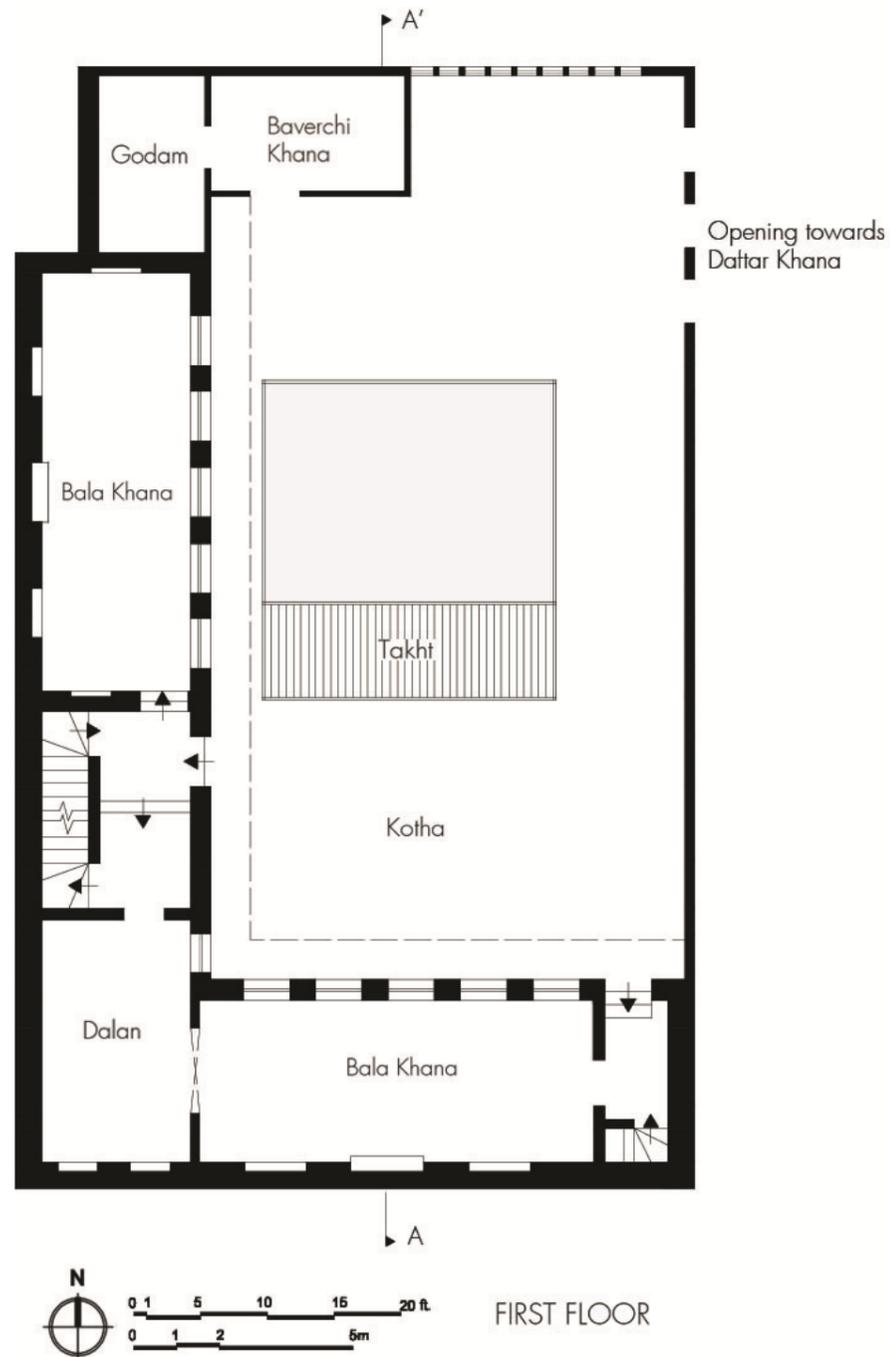
Fig. 8.139 First floor plan.

There is a *bala-khana* on the west side, which is smaller and is also decorated with a *chini-khana.* This opens onto another room on the west side. This room was removed some time ago and the only indication of it is the filled arches of the openings between the two. The openings have been converted into cupboards on either side of the *chini-khana.*

Fig. 8.140 *Chini-khana* in south *bala-khana.*

The construction of suites with two or more rooms started from the Karim Buksh and Abdul Rahim Sethi *havelis.* This is a more modern spatial allocation which forms a suite containing two rooms, a bedroom and a reception room. The bedrooms are small and the reception rooms larger. These units also indicate the concept of more privacy for couples

and small families which was missing in the earlier *havelis.* These distinctive patterns of spatial arrangement show that rooms had been given more specifically designated usages, based on relatively modern lifestyles.

All the rooms of this *haveli* indicate the European influence of the unornamented walls, as compared to the embellished walls of earlier *havelis.* The earlier style has given way to a trend towards increased articulation of internal surfaces with rich mouldings and external façade rustication.

Fig. 8.141 South *bala-khana*, first floor.

Fig. 8.142 Interior of west *bala-khana*, first floor.

The *baverchi-khana* and *ghusal-khanas* are located on the north side of the roof terrace while there is a *takht* constructed on the south side for eating meals. These indicate the continuation of communal cooking and eating at the first floor level. By the early 20th century, communal eating took place at the *dastar-khawan* on the ground floor main rooms or in newly converted dining rooms.[148]

iii. Second Floor *kotha*

The second floor *kotha* is on the south and east sides of the *haveli.* This has a 6ft. high external wall with decorative arched niches. There are benches built into the front/south wall which allow inhabitants to stand and see the street below. There is a decorative wooden railing along the courtyard side.

Fig. 8.143 View of *kotha.*

Fig. 8.144 View of the third and fourth floors of the *daftar-khana* from the *haveli.*

II. *Daftar-khana*

The *daftar-khana* is a separate building which is constructed on the eastern side of the *haveli*. The four storeys high building has an outer door towards the east side *galli* and an inner door from the courtyard of the Abdul Jalil *haveli*. The ground floor of the *daftar-khana* has *godam* for supplies and a *ghusal-khana*. The *ghusal-khana* is next to a well on the south-east side. This feature continues to the third floor and each level has a *ghusal-khana*. The first floor office served as the *diwan-khana;* this has doors connecting to the north *bala-khana* of the residential *haveli*. This room is decorated with a fire place and has a mezzanine overlooking it, which is embellished with a *chini-khana*. Both of these rooms have a painted *khatam-band* ceiling.
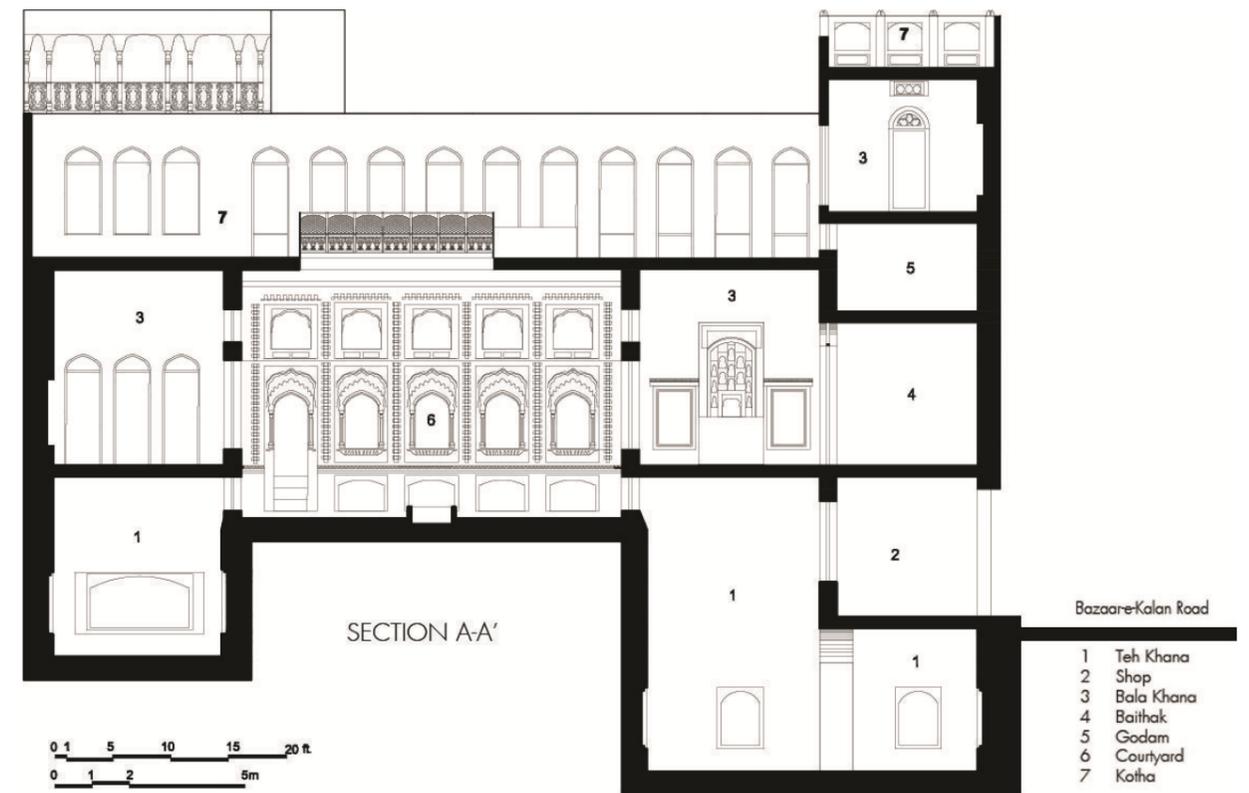
Fig. 8.145 Section of *haveli.*

239
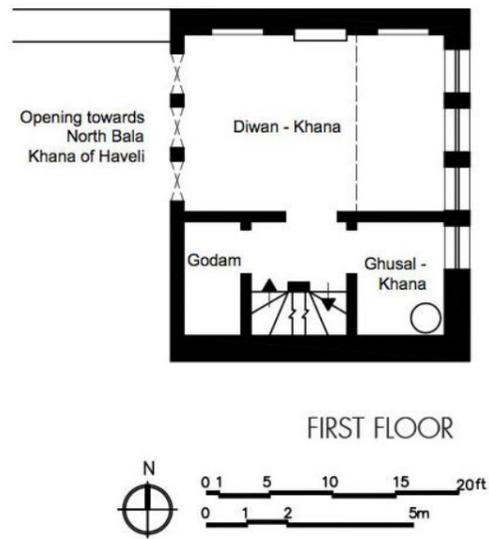
Fig. 8.146 Plan of first floor *diwan-khana*.

Fig. 8.147 View of *diwan-khana*.

Fig. 8.148 Second floor *dalan* of *daftar-khana*.

The first floor room also has a fire place with cupboards on both sides. This room has doors that open at the first floor level *kotha* of the residential *haveli*. The close connections of the *haveli* with the top three floors of the *daftar-khana* indicate that these were occupied by male family members. The *daftar-khana* has a room on the third floor level; this room has a *jharoka* overlooking the *kotha* of the *haveli.* The *dafter-khana* is the first trade office to have fireplaces in each room. The *daftar-khana* uses a pitched roof, which is possibly one of the first of its kind in the walled city for an Indian residence.[149] This gives strength to the perception that pitched roofs were considered more fashionable compared with flat roofs, but such a fashion forward statement could only be made in an auxiliary but symbolically important building of a *daftar* rather than in a residential *haveli*. This was another important symbol of the progressiveness of the Sethi merchant-bankers and their receptiveness to European architecture. The Sethi *havelis* in their fourth phase reflected a duality, as resources from both the local tradition and European colonial practices were used to demarcate boundaries of social status and create a range of connotations, from the"progressive" associations of "Englishness" to the "conservatism" of unmodified local tradition.[150]

This *haveli* is connected to the family *havelis* of Ahmad Gul Sethi through a doorway on the north-west side which leads into a family courtyard that leads into the *havelis* of Ahmad Gul Sethi, Elahi Buksh Sethi and Abdul Rahim Sethi. This courtyard also has the *mehman-khana* and trade offices of the Ahmad Gul Family. The courtyard has a door that leads to a public *galli* on the east side.

Fig. 8.149 Rear courtyard connecting *havelis*.

The *havelis* of the family connected at the centre to establish strong links with each other. This facilitated the meeting of women at the upper level connections between the houses and allowed the men to meet at the *daftar-khana* and the *mehman-khana*.

8.7 Continuity and change; the dynamics of the *haveli* form

The *havelis* of the Sethis were constructed in the various eras of pre-colonised and colonized India. The cultural, social and aesthetic sensibilities of these eras differed a great deal. The Afghan era can be seen as a continuation of the Mughal period as the Persian culture and Mughal architectural styles remained dominant. The British conquest of India heralded a new era in which the Persian culture and norms of the society were no longer relevant. The British appeared to many Indians as inherently superior in culture, science and values and therefore to be emulated. In this context the writings of Deputy Nazir Ahmad, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Altaf Hussain Hali formed the intellectual climate of the era. They encouraged Indians to get western education while at the same time warning Indians not to become too Anglicized. This literature thematised the issues raised by colonial encounters and was part of a larger shift in social and historical consciousness.[151]

The intellectual and cultural encounters between the British and the Indians taking place in society also affected the built environment. These many colonial transactions in architecture formed the Indo-Saracenic style in which an amalgamation of both stylistic traditions could be combined to produce newer forms and hybrids. One of the important ways that people make statements about identity is by making choices from the cultural resources available to them.[152] While the urban merchant *havelis* took up the stylistic traditions from the preceding *umrah havelis*, they responded to the social and cultural changes brought on by the colonialists through embedding such signs of 'progress' as Gothic window stained-glass, mantelpieces and European furniture. The more public facades of the *havelis* and the front rooms/baithaks and *diwan-khanas* were the major recipients of these changes.

The Sethi *havelis* fused together design elements that connected to and supported particular cultural norms and systems of activities. These elements of *dehliz, deorhis, sehn and kothas* formed what Rapoport calls 'systems of setting" which allowed the 'systems of activities' to occur.[153] The Sethi *haveli*s present an interesting dichotomy in being both 'enclosed' and 'open', facilitating 'a flexible relation between the inhabitants and the spaces

241

of their house, in terms of use and modernization'.[154] The *havelis* show this aspect by retaining their core while accepting and grafting other more transient elements of design. The construction and occupation of inner city *havelis* by the Sethis corresponded to their notion of living like *khandani* (aristocrats) people while a move outside the city to the cantonment might have labelled them as *nou-daulatiya* (nouveau riche). The site of the *mohalla* indicated their special position in society between the British and the Indians, as well as their position with reference to the religious leaders (Pirs of Golra) of the era. A bungalow in the suburbs was possibly not amenable to playing a position of leadership in society that the Sethis believed themselves to occupy.[155] There is no doubt that the building and occupation of inner city *havelis* was fundamental to the identity of the Sethis and their ritualistic lifestyles.

The identity of the Sethi merchants was demarcated by the palatial *havelis*, which empowered them socially, as well as reflecting the boundaries of status and wealth in the landscape. Their consistent occupation of an historic district which was a royal and colonial processional route, a trade centre and an administrative centre arise from their assignment of value to a space/place.[156] The area continued to be a central quarter of the city until the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, and the occupation of the *mohalla* was continued by the Sethi clan upto the 1980s, when some families at last moved out to the suburbs of the city.

The development of Indian building arts received colonial patronage through the holding of international exhibitions and the opening of many art schools by the British in the middle of the 19th century.[157] The training and education of local *mistries* and craftsmen in government sponsored schools was through incorporation of western techniques in the designs of Indian crafts.[158] These institutions sought to improve the prevailing *beradari* systems of the teaching of crafts and to improve the standards of the existing crafts. While these apprentice/artists' work was much appreciated overseas, the Indians did not patronize these educated artists as their appreciation of western decorative techniques grew.[159] The traditionally trained *mistris* continued to be patronised by the merchant-bankers. The changes in architectural and building craft styles can also be understood as a form of social and political-economic change. While the typology of the Sethi *havelis*

underwent a more gradual change the changes in the facades and styles was quicker. These indicate that the *mistris* were using European pattern books to design *haveli* facades. The city of Peshawar up to the late 19th century was a centre of woodcarving and *pinjra-kari*. But the decline of *pinjra-kari* can be gauged from the Sethi *havelis* constructed in the early 20th century which did not display this craft. *Naqqashi*, another major building craft of the Punjab was used sparingly in the fourth phase of Sethi *haveli* development. The appreciation of local crafts was revived in the 1930s and 1940s as educated Indians looked towards these as an important part of their identities. But industrialization and the lack of patronage of mistris and craftsmen had irreversibly changed and altered old techniques and traditional crafts.

Within the traditional city, the cultural assimilation was top down, first by the princes, then *umrah* and rich merchants: houses of officials set the standards and provided models for the transformation of architecture, which incorporated European facade elements as well as furnishings. The first alterations to the *haveli* were largely cosmetic, limited mostly to changes in ornamentation and detail. As more European style houses came up in the suburbs, *havelis* in the city came under pressure to adapt to these fashions. *Havelis* became more extraverted with windows on the first and upper floors. They came to be called mansions in the early 20th century instead of *haveli*; this was an important difference in the perception of the traditional house as a more modern residence (see Fig 8.149). These grand hybrid *havelis* were the role models for more modest houses, which also adopted some of the surface features of their more illustrious neighbours (see fig 8.150). The smaller houses however did not incorporate drawing or dining rooms within their compounds as did the affluent households like the Sethis.[160] The traditional *haveli* design was modified, transformed, influenced challenged and eventually replaced with European house types in new quarters outside the historic city core. The new spatial structure of the bungalow within the cantonment and Civil lines was indicative of the new social structure.[161] The colonial cantonment and Civil lines housed colonial officials like the collector, magistrate, district superintendent of police, civil surgeon etc, as well as people of indigenous society who belonged to the colonial set-up or appreciated its cultural values.[162]

The Sethi *havelis* were also affected by the social and cultural changes resulting in the abandonment, sale, division and alteration of the *havelis*. The *haveli* of Elahi Buksh was sold possibly by his grandsons after the family's bankruptcy.[163] This *haveli* was pulled down and replaced with another courtyard house modelled on modern lines. The family *havelis* of Fateh Gul's sons were also pulled down and replaced with modern houses. The *haveli* of Ahmad Gul belongs to a great grandson and lies vacant and locked. The *haveli* of Karam Buksh Sethi has been rented out to a primary school. The *haveli* of Fateh Gul is rented out to two sets of families on the ground and first floors. The Abdur Karim *haveli* has been given over to a free dispensary on the ground floor and an industrial school on the first floor. The *haveli* complex of Karim Buksh Sethi was divided into three independent portions.

Fig. 8.151 A small house in the inner city, Rawalpindi.

Fig. 8.150 An early 20th century mansion, Rawalpindi.

The *zenan-khana* of the Karim Buksh *haveli* was sold to the government of K.P.K., who have tried to restore it and have opened this to the public. The *daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana* have been divided among family members. The *haveli* of Abdul Jalil Sethi is occupied by his great grandson; this *haveli* has suffered structural damage to its north side *bala-khana* and first floor. The Karim Buksh *daftar-khana*, Abdul Rahim Sethi *haveli* and Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli* are occupied by families who have retained the *baithaks* of these *havelis* with their original furnishings. The important changes made by families to these *havelis* include the construction of modern washrooms on the ground and first floors,

construction of kitchens on the ground floors, conversion of a room into a dining room and air-conditioning units inserted in windows.

Many Sethi *havelis* were remodelled and many parts of the houses were completely rebuilt.[164] Taking inspiration from *umrah* palaces, these merchant mansions grew and peaked in the late 19th to early 20th century, but then faced a decline as they were partitioned, sold off and abandoned by residents as the houses no longer could accommodate their modern and altered lifestyles. Many residents moved to the suburbs of the city including the cantonment, civil lines and other colonies.[165]

The importance of the *umrah havelis* was that as they stood centred (socially) in the cities, they structured and held together various sectors of the city.[166] These elite quarters were the primary catalyst giving shape to the city, with the service and artisan classes developing their neighbourhoods around these social centres. The processes of building and inhabiting the *haveli* continued even after the decline of the *umrah*, as the typology held significance as an indicator of its patron's social position. The construction and occupation of grand *havelis* by merchants reveal their negotiations in making and remaking this space continually to create social identities for themselves. These include a multiplicity of appropriations and borrowing from Mughal and later colonial sources, both internally and externally to engage with a continually changing cultural milieu. The negotiations and the appropriations resulted in producing hybrid dwelling forms, which represented the dynamic encounter of the two cultures, and reflected a society where the balance of power was negotiated constantly.[167] As such, the *havelis* allowed the Sethis to define the terms of their public reputations.

[1] Muhammad Younas Sethi, *'Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal.'* (A brief account of the Sethi family of Peshawar) Unpublished Memoirs(2002): 37.

[2] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions: A social history of the haveli,* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 1998):17.

[3] National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Heritage Foundation. 2011.

[4] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions,* 16

[5] *Pinjra-kari* is an intricate form of lattice or trellis work done in light wood that is used on windows, doors, ventilators, railings or ornamental partitions and screens. In its original form, glues and nails were not used in this technique; the precision of the joinery alone holds it together.

[6] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-1898, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002): 228.

[7] Amos Rapoport, Vernacular Architecture and the cultural determinants of form, in *Buildings and Society; Essays on the social development of the built environment*, ed. Anthony D King, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980): 158-169.

[8] Amos Rapoport, *Vernacular Architecture*, 163
See Rapoport's discussions on the code specific indicators embedded in the traditional environment which regulate appropriate behavior.

[9] Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, (California: University of California Press, 2007): 5.

[10] Amos Rapoport, "Levels of meaning in the built environment", *in Cross-cultural perspectives in nonverbal communication,* ed. F. Poyatos (Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1988): 317-336.

[11] This phenomenon was part of the Indian culture before the 20th century and many craftsmen continued to do until 40 years ago. I remember many travelling craftsmen coming to my grandfather's house and sitting in the deorhi to show their wares or carrying out repairs. Bayly notes that many of these petty traders formed guilds in the late 19th and early 20th century and discontinued the practice of door to door salesman-ship. But this was more prevalent in the larger Indian cities and in smaller places like Peshawar, the practice continues to the present day; at a much smaller scale.

[12] Sikha Jain, "Havelis of Rajasthan Form and Identity," (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2002): 4.1.
See the author's discussions regarding the evolutionary approach where the courtyard is the primary space with other secondary spaces evolving around it as per the needs of the family.

Timur Khan Mumtaz in interpreting the *hasht-behist* form of the Muslim *haveli* stresses the importance of the center; the *sehn* as being surrounded by the eight heavens (rooms) and alluding to a paradisiacal garden form due to its connection with the open sky and water in the center of the courtyard.

[13] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions,* 17
The diwan-khana was a reception hall in the *havelis* of nobles and later rich merchants which was an emulation of the grander audience halls of the Imperial and sub-imperial palaces.

[14] This element is present in many other *havelis* with small openings above the courtyard. These are like light wells, and surrounded by wooden railings.

[15] The concept of *purdah* observed by Muslim women instituted the harem or *zenan-khana* within the house where non-related men would not enter or see the women. *Mehram* is a man who is related to a woman by marriage or kinship. Both Hindus and Muslim women observed *purdah* and had separate domains within the houses that separated the sexes. The *mardana* allowed a male domain where men met with their friends,

neighbours, business acquaintances. The women within the *zenan-khana* socialized with other women. Apart from the men of the family only female servants and sometimes elderly male family servants were allowed in the *zenan-khana*.

[16] Ebba Koch, "The Taj Mahal: Architecture, Symbolism, and Urban Significance," *Muqarnas*. Vol. 22 (2005): 128-149, accessed June 20, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25482427?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

[17] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions,* 23
See the author's discussions regarding decorative mirror work on the haveli walls and roofs of both Hindu and Muslim *havelis*.

[18] Khatam-band is a false ceiling which uses thin geometric sheets of deodar wood which are cut and fitted into a double grooved batten. Expansive ceilings are constructed by repeating the same pattern, the whole structure is fitted together without the use of nails.

[19] Arshad Ahmad Siddiqui, "*Shadi Khana Abadi"* in *Alam Mein Intikhab Peshawar,* ed. Syed Amjad Hussain, (U.S.A.: Literary Circle of Toledo, 1999): 654

See the author's description of arrangements for a wedding where wood, oil, spices, meat and rice which are delivered to the haveli are taken up to the *kotha* for storage and cooking.

[20] Jan Morris, *Stones of the Empire: The Buildings of the Raj*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983): 155. The window frames of these rooms are in the art deco style, which was introduced in India in the 1930s. This diffused into the domestic architecture in the 1940s and 1950s.

[21] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions,* 10

[22] Samra M. Khan, "Analysis of Environmental Sustainability and Architectural design in the Allah Buksh Sethi Haveli of Mohalla Sethain, Peshawar," (Master's Thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, 2009): 80, 141-143.

See the discussion regarding the effect of evaporative cooling by sprinkling water or rain on the brick paved surfaces of the courtyard and terraces.

[23] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668 ,* Westminster, Eng. : Constable, 1891. Electronic reproduction, (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Libraries, 2006), JPEG use copy available via the World Wide Web. Master copy stored locally on [3] DVDs#: ldpd_6093710_000 01,02,03. (*Columbia University Libraries Electronic Books.* 2006): 247.

[24] As the Historic Register of Peshawar, prepared by the Heritage Foundation reveals, there are not many havelis remaining that date from the early 19th century so very few buildings of the city have the smaller proportions or façade embellishments of the Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli.*

[25] National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

[26] Peshawar Document one; Walled City of Peshawar. National Register, Historic Places of Pakistan. 2004. Islamabad: UNESCO.

[27] Sethi, 38
This is based on the Sethi merchants' travels to Afghanistan and Bokhara for trade purposes. The young unmarried men of the family accompanied their fathers on foreign trade trips and would later on conduct this part of the business with the father remaining behind in Peshawar and managing the main trade office.

[28] Jain, *Havelis of Rajasthan Form and Identity*, 3.25

[29] The Walled City of Lahore. Document by PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants Limited, for the Lahore Development Authority as part of the Conservation Plan for the Walled city of Lahore (Lahore: Pack Art Press, 1988): 61-63. See discussion regarding the usage of *basta* windows until the early 19th century prior to the British invasion and introduction of full length French/casement style windows

[30] Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 12, 2015.
Sethi mentioned that in the early 20th century, many wells were fitted with hand pumps and water bearers also brought water to *havelis.* By the 1940s water pipes were laid and after the advent of tap water many dry wells were permanently closed.

[31] Razia Begum, interview by author, March 12, 2015.
She lived with her family in a similar haveli in Srinagar, Kashmir India and recalled that the underground and other storage spaces that the haveli had were used to stock rice, wheat, pulses, almond and other dry foods for annual and bi-annual usage.

[32] Samra Khan and Aisha Imdad, "Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas of the Sethi Havelis, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar," *South Asian Studies*, 27, 1, (2011): 75-88.

[33] This style is similar to the few remaining fresco paintings of the Serai Jehan Ara.

[34] "Wood, glass, geometry – stained glass in Iran and Azerbaijan," accessed June 28, 2015. http://islamic-arts.org/2014/wood-glass-geometry-stained-glass-in-iran-and-azerbaijan/

This technique of stained glass production is different from European. Instead of lead, strips of wood are used. A strip of wood has channels where glass is inserted. Channels are normally used in traditional woodwork to connect up two pieces of wood together without using nails. The glass is placed inside channels and wooden strips are glued together. The design of wooden stained glass based on geometry of a square or a triangle is widespread. Colours are very bright greens, reds, blues and yellows. Sometimes colourless glass is used.

[35] There are connections to other rooms, visible on the first floor south and west rooms, which have been blocked since.

[36] "Sethi House Peshawar, Condition Survey Report," (Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011)

[37] Nisar Sethi, interview by author, January 14, 2010.

[38] Rubina Qizilbash, "Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian," (Masters diss, University of Peshawar, 1991): 18, 19
See the author's discussions regarding the Sikh, Afghan and later British skirmishes over the control of the city which overlap with the construction and architectural decoration of this haveli.

[39] The Mahabbat Khan Mosque built in 1630s by Mahabbat Khan, the Mughal Governor of Shah Jehan, extensively used *naqqashi* within its interiors and exteriors, and became the earliest influence of this style of embellishment on the subsequent buildings of Peshawar.

[40] Sethi, 41
See the author's discussions about the joint business holdings of Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi.

[41] Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscape of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 60, 1 (2001):26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, doi: 10.2307/991677.

[42] Alexandar Burnes, 211

[43] James L. Wescoat, Jr., & Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Sources, Representations, and Prospects: A Perspective of Mughal Gardens," in *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, eds. James L. Wescoat, Jr. and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, (Washington D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1996): 26.

[44] Jonas Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): 31.

[45] Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam*, 36

[46] John S. Reynolds, *Courtyards, Aesthetic, Social and Thermal Delight* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002): 178.

[47] Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology, Collected Essays*, (India: Oxford University Press, 2001): 227.

[48] Eva Baer, *Islamic Ornamentation*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998): 93.

[49] Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, xxvii

[50] Lisa Ann Balabanlilar, "The Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent," (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2007): 119.

See the author's discussions regarding the Mughal's merging of Timurid (Persianate) and Indian traditions in architecture and landscape. I have added the European influences to this discussion in the context of the stylistic traditions of the Shah Jehani era which combined Persian, Indian and European (botanical plants) traditions in the designs of Interiors. The Mughals combined their heredity (royal) elements (Persianate) with those from Rajput India and Renaissance Europe, both successfully and seamlessly to forge a unique style. The impact of the Shah Jehani style lingered well into the early 20th century.

[51] Samra M. Khan, "Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase (*guldasta*) with fruit motif of the Sethi Havelis vis-a-vis the Paradigms of decorative motifs of Mughal India", *Pakistan Heritage*. Vol 3 (2011):141-148.

[52] Khan, *Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase (guldasta) with fruit motif of the Sethi Havelis*,

See the author's discussions regarding the frescos inside the Ahmad Gul *haveli* which show more realistic floral bouquets and fruits, and the vases are simpler and more realistic. The many variations of the motif include the bouquet-in-vase motif teamed with various fruits like pomegranates, peaches and grapes from Afghanistan and Central Asia, this haveli includes the native fruit Mango in this classic repertoire. The painting of local indigenous fruits of India like the mangos indicates hybridity, where the predominant and widely used pomegranate is replaced by a more Indian fruit.

[53] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, January 20, 2009.

[54] Saad Sethi, interview by author, April 20, 2014.

[55] Tillotson, 25

[56] Bernier, 247-248.

[57] Khan & Imdad, *Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas of the Sethi Havelis*

[58] Khan, *Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase,*

Such decorative *chini-khanas* were used at the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula built at Agra in 1628.

[59] Sethi, 44

[60] Saad Sethi, April 20, 2014

[61] Rabia Sethi, January 20, 2009.

[62] Qizilbash, 43
See Qizilbash's discussions regarding the construction of the Ahmad Gul Sethi haveli in the 1820s and the fact that the mistries kept working to complete the house till the mid 1830s.

Also: Razia Malik, interview by author, August 10, 2014.
She explained that her family moved into their grand mansion in Srinagar when a few rooms of the ground and first floor were finished. The family lived on the lower floors while the mistries worked on construction and embellishment of the top floor. This seemed to be a common practice as many families were previously living in cramped shared accommodation and were keen to move out.

[63] Sethi, 41
See Sethi's discussions regarding the employment of generations of artisans by the Sethis for the Ahmad Gul and later *havelis*.

[64] This is supported by the usage of segmental and gothic arches and stained-glass in the mehman-khana; these architectural features are not present in the main haveli.

[65] Chris King, "The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400–1660," *World Archaeology*, 41:3, (2009): 471-488, accessed December 12, 2013, doi:10.1080/00438240903112484

[66] Sethi, 41
See the author's detailed discussion regarding the construction of the Elahi Buksh *haveli*, which took place after the completion of the Ahmad Gul *haveli* by the brothers. The Ahmad Gul *haveli* may have been a *haveli* that served the joint family of the two brothers. After its completion, Elahi Buksh went on Hajj. His brother collected the construction material on the site of the Elahi Buksh *haveli* in anticipation of his return. On Elahi Buksh's return from Hajj he started the construction of this new *haveli*.

[67] Saad Sethi, interview by author, March 11, 2015.
Mr Sethi recalls that the external courtyard was planted with flower bushes and trees around a central fountain. It connected the havelis built around it as a communal space used by the men.

[68] "Sethi House, Peshawar, Condition Survey Report,"

[69] Sethi, 41

[70] Wasil Sethi, interview by author, March 11, 2015.

[71] Prasad, 3.1

[72] Sethi, 51

[73] Amos Rapoport, "Systems of activities and systems of settings," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space; An Interdisciplinary Cross: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study,*ed. Susan Kent, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1990): 9-20.

[74] The architectural style of the rooms indicates that this is the oldest part of the haveli complex. The arches used in the *zenana* courtyard are influenced by the Mughal flat arches of the Jehangiri era. The *daftar-khana* and *mehman-khana* use gothic arches in rooms.

Also see Amos Rapoport, "The meaning of the built environment. Beverly Hills." *CA: Sage Publications. Reitzes, Donald C., Elizabeth J. Mutran, and Linda A. Verrill (1995)," Activities and Self-Esteem: Continuing the Development of Activity Theory," Research on Aging* 17, no. 3 (1982): 260-277.

[75] Syed Amjad Hussain, *Alam Mein Intikhab; Peshawar* (Literary Circle of Toledo. U.S.A., 1999): 645.

[76] Samra M. Khan, "Sethi Haveli, an Indigenous Model for 21st Century 'Green Architecture'", *International Journal Of Architectural Research,* 4*,* 1, (2010): 85-98.

[77] Bernier, 247

[78] These flat arches are inspired from the pavilion of Hiran Minar (Sheikupura, Pakistan) constructed by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir in 1606.

[79] "Wood, glass, geometry – stained glass in Iran and Azerbaijan", accessed July 5, 2015. http://islamic-arts.org/2014/wood-glass-geometry-stained-glass-in-iran-and-azerbaijan/

[80] The Russian Imperial pottery called "Gardener" was highly prized in Russia, Central Asia and India. The Sethi *havelis' chini-khanas* even today display the families' collection of Gardener and expensive Moreno glass ware.

[81] Khan & Imdad, *Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas.*

[82] Khan & Imdad, *Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas.*

See the authors' discussion regarding the evolution of the chini-khanas of three Sethi havelis which shows the earlier design of the chini-khanas and their development into more elaborately decorated niches.

[83]. Khan & Imdad, *Analysis of Typological Evolution*

[84] E. Prioleau Warren, "English Mantelpieces," *The Decorator and Furnisher*, Vol. 27, No. 6 (1896): 167, accessed July 20, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25583330

[85] Sethi, 62

[86] Kamalika Bose, "Of Echoes and Silent Raptures; The Zamindari Mansions of North Calcutta", *Marg,* Vol. 61 #2, (2009): 12-25.

The use of colored, stained and etched glass was incorporated into Indian homes from the 19th century onwards.

[87] Nisar Sethi, November 10, 2009.

[88] Samra M. Khan, "Mechanisms for Natural Ventilation in the Sustainable Architecture of Sethi Havelis, Peshawar, Pakistan," *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning*, 9, (2010): 38-49.

See the author's discussion regarding the ventilation systems of the the-khanas of the Sethi havelis and how stack ventilation is used to cool the the-khanas.

[89] Moeena Sethi, interview by author, March 16, 2014.

Ms Sethi is the great Granddaughter of Allah Buksh Sethi (son of Karim Buksh Sethi). She narrates that her grandparents used to occupy the north *bala-khana* on the first floor as these rooms were constructed as part of the original *haveli.*

[90] Nisar Sethi, November 10, 2009.

[91] Samra M. Khan, *Analysis of Environmental Sustainability and Architectural design*, 125-126.

[92] Prasad, 3.2

[93] Plaque on the doorway informs us that the *daftar-khana* was constructed in Hijra 1319 which makes it 1901 in the Gregorian calendar.

[94] National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Heritage Foundation. 2011.

[95] Prasad, 3.1

[96] Yahya Sethi, interview by author, March 12, 2014.

[97] Yahya Sethi, March 12, 2014

[98] Sethi, 54
The author reports that Karim Buksh Sethi enjoyed close relations with the Chief Commissioner of Peshawar and was appointed as an honorary magistrate. Karim Buksh Sethi loaned his horse driven carriages and furniture to the Chief Commissioner's office whenever there was a higher official visiting.

[99] Derek Japha and Vivienne Japha, " Identity Through Detail: Architecture and Cultural Aspiration in Montagu, South Africa, 1850-1915," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (1991):17 - 33.

[100] Sethi, 57

[101] Sethi, 57

[102] These were too heavy to move quickly around in the monsoon rains which were frequent and sudden in the summer months.

[103] George D. Bearce, "Intellectual and Cultural Characteristics of India in a Changing Era, 1740-1800", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25, 1 (1965): 3-17, accessed February 10, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2051037.

[104] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions; A social history of the Haveli*, (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Limited, 1998): 123.

[105] Ahmad*, Ibn-al-waqt.* 54
See the discussion between Nobel Sahib and Ibn-al-Waqt regarding the furnishings required to entertain Europeans.

[106] Ismaeel M. Sethi, *The Living Truth; Babu Jee (R.A.) Syed Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din (Golra Sharif)* (Lahore: The Kissan Art Press, 1994): 85-87.

Ismaeel Sethi in this biography of Mehar Ali Shah, the Pir of Golra, narrates that Pir Sahib was a regular visitor to Karim Buksh's *haveli* in Mohalla Sethian.

[107] National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar.

[108] Sethi, 57

Phaeton was a sporty open carriage drawn by a pair of horses, typically with four extravagantly large wheels, a minimal body, which dove faster than regular carriages.

[109] Suhail Sethi, January 12, 2015.

[110] Translated as Pir Sahib's chamber.

[111] Rabia Sethi, November 12, 2008.

[112] Susand Prasad, "The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House." (PhD didd. Faculty of Fine Arts, The Royal College of Art, London, 1988):2.31.

[113] Pramer, 2.32

[114] Until 2010, the Abdur Rahim Sethi *haveli* had its main door and the two *deorhi* doors open during the day, as I have walked inside this *haveli* on multiple occasions, only stopping and announcing my arrival once I reached the courtyard. On my visit in February 2015, I found the front door open but the last door leading into the courtyard locked. This was opened upon my knocking and I was informed that the area was no longer safe to keep all doors open during the day.

The Ayub Sethi *haveli* (Karim Buksh was sub-divided between his two sons; this was the *daftar-khana*) kept its main door open in the 1980s as many visitors were allowed to walk in and photograph the *haveli*. The family started locking this door from the 1990s and stopped allowing tourist access.

[115] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.

[116] Khan, *Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase*

[117] 'Chunamal ki haveli", accessed December 28, 2015,
http://www.sodelhi.com/memorials-modern-architecture/chunnamal-ki-haveli.

After the British takeover of Delhi in 1857, Lala Chunnamal emerged as the wealthiest man in the city, who built the 128 roomed mansion in Chandni Chowk in the early 1860s.

[118] Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, (California: University of California Press, 2007): 5.

[119] Shah Mehmood Hanifi (2008) The Sethis of Peshawar and the British Recruitment of Secret Asiatic Agents. Mutual Evasion between Afghanistan and the Global Marketplace. Chapter 6. http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/chapter6.html. Accessed on September 10 2015

[120] Samra Khan (2010) Masters Thesis. Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

[121] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.
Ms Sethi narrated that her great grandfather got married to the Daughter of Karim Buksh Sethi in 1905 and the two *dalans* on the north and west of the first floor were constructed in 9 months to accommodate the married couple.

[122] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, March 12, 2015.

[123] Rabia Sethi, March 12, 2015.

[124] Rabia Sethi, interview by author, November 9, 2009.

Ms Sethi narrated that the daughter of Karim Buksh Sethi was married to the son of Abdur Rahim Sethi and the covered bridge was build to allow the women of the two households to mingle freely as it was not possible for them to use the street to meet each other daily.

[125] Omacanda Hāṇḍā and Dr. Madhu Jain, *Wood Handicraft: A Study of Its Origin and Development in Saharanpur,* (New Delhi: M.L.Gidwani, Indus Publishing Company, 2000): 45.

[126] Jain, 4.33

[127] Sethi, 57

[128] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities; Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005): 35.

Hosagrahar quotes from the Urdu fiction writer Vali Ashraf Sabuhi's book 'Dilli ki chand ajab hastian'

[129] Ahmad, *Ibn-al-Waqt.* 179

[130] Tillotson, 123

[131] Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities; Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*,1-11

[132] Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, 5

[133] Ahmad Hasan Dani, 157

[134] Dani, 158

[135] Dani, 158

[136] Nisar Sethi, interview by author, November 19th 2010,
Nisar Sethi is the grandson of Karim Buksh Sethi, and related that Karim Buksh Sethi received appointment as an honorary magistrate at the Tehsil in the early 20th century.

[137] "Cunningham clock tower", accessed on June 14, 2014,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cunningham_clock_tower

[138] Dani, 159- 165
Dani discusses what he calls the second stage of development of Peshawar and the region which would become the North West Frontier Province in 1901.

[139] Suhail Sethi, interview by author, February 7, 2015.

[140] These were used in British colonies In the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a Gothic Revival style.

[141] Suhail Sethi, interview by author, January 12, 2015.

[142] King, *The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses,*

[143] Razia Malik, interview by author, June 12, 2015.

[144] Saad Sethi, interview by author, February 21, 2015.
Sethi is the current resident of the haveli and a grandson of Karam Elahi. He maintains some original papers of the family and the construction date was tentatively provided by him.

[145] National Register Historic Places of Pakistan; Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar.

[146] Thomas R. Metcalf, "Architecture and the representation of empire: India, 1860-1910." *Representations* 6 (1984): 37-65, accessed October 17, 2013, doi: 10.2307/2928537

See the author's discussions on how the Gothic and Indo-Saracenic were amenable to be joined in larger, if idiosyncratic, conceptions, for the arches and ornamentation the two shared made them to some degree compatible.

[147] Saad Sethi, February 21, 2015.

[148] Razia Malik. June 12, 2015.

By the early 20th century many families had constructed dining rooms which had dining tables and meals were usually taken there.

[149] See postcard of the area from 1910, in Chapter 7, Fig 7.21.

[150] Derek Japha and Vivienne Japha, "Identity through Detail: Architecture and Cultural Aspiration in Montagu, South Africa, 1850—1915." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (1991): 17-33.

See the authors' discussions regarding the expression of cultural aspirations through changing and hybrid architectural forms.

[151] M. Asaduddin, "First Urdu Novel: Contesting Claims and Disclaimers", in *Early Novels in India,* ed. Meenakshi Mukherjee, (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2002): 124.

[152] Robert Thornton, "Culture: A Contemporary Definition, " in *South African Keywords*, eds. E. Boonzaier and J. Sharp, (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1989): 24-25.

Although the work and theories of anthropologist Robert Thornton are based on African examples of colonialism but some of these also stand true for India.

[153] Rapoport. 1990.

[154] Inga Bryden, "'There is no outer without inner space': constructing the *haveli* as home", *Cultural Geographies*, 11, (2004): 26–41, accessed March 13, 2015, http://cgj.sagepub.com/content/11/1/26.short

[155] Sethi, 58
See Sethi's description of Karim Buksh Sethi going out in his two horse carriage every evening from his house to the Company Bagh in the suburbs and how this spectacle added to his prestige and position within the city.

[156] Jennifer L. Campbell, "Colonialism and Postcolonial Nationalism in Peshawar, Pakistan: Tailoring the architectural fabric of Gor Khuttree Serai to reflect the reoccupation and reinterpretation of space and place, " in Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology; Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, eds. Peter Bikoulis, Dominic Lacroix and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown.

[157] Mahrukh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India," *Victorian Studies*, 24, 1, (1980): 53-81, accessed June, 16, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3826879.

The Great Exhibition in 1851, marked, a watershed in British awareness of Indian art which was to remain influential for decades to come. In the aftermath of the exhibition was a series of art schools opened across India during the 1850s.

[158] Osamu Notes, "E.B. Havell and the Metamorphoses of Indian crafts," *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies*, 12, (2000): 203-225, Accessed on June 23 2015, https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jjasas1989/2000/12/2000_12_203/_pdf.

See detailed discussions in chapter 6.

The British government in India opened art schools in Calcutta (1854), Bombay (1857), Madras (1851), and Lahore (1875).

[159] Tarapor, *John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India.*

India's critical success at the Great Exhibition notwithstanding, the subcontinent was being flooded with European and especially British articles and manufactures, many of them tawdry "Indianized" imitations in textiles and furniture designed to appeal to the newly anglicized Indian middle class and priced to undersell native products of the lower classes.

The Bagshot room had furniture and elaborate wood carvings in the 18th century Punjabi style, it was designed and executed in the Mayo school workshops and brought for assembly to England when the duke and duchess returned from India in 1890. The Queen's new Durbar room at Osborne House completed in 1892, was designed and executed by Bhai Ram Singh a an architect, trained at the Mayo School. But for the anglicized Indian middle classes, native handicrafts held little appeal. They were influenced towards acquiring western furniture, which led to the lack of patronage towards Indian products and styles. This was one of the social effects of the British imperial system, which effectively deprived the Mayo and similar craft schools of a much needed local market.

[160] This was noted in my grandfather's haveli in Peshawar, which internally kept the farshi-nisht well into the 1960s, and only then set one room (at the front of the house) apart with sofas and tables to serve as baithak for male visitors.

[161] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development; Culture, Social Power and Environment*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976): 3.

See the author's discussions regarding the influence of social and cultural perceptions on the physical environment.

[162] King, *Colonial Urban Development; Culture, Social Power and Environment,* 38

[163] Sethi, 89, 98

[164] The *zenan-khana* of the Karim Buksh Sethi house was given to his son Ayub Sethi who built new quarters above the entrance courtyard.

[165] Zahoor Sethi, interview by author, January 23, 2015.

Many Sethi families moved to Shami Road and University Town localities towards the west of the city.

[166] Hosgrahar, 17-20
The author discusses how her analysis of the urban form of Delhi today and accounts of seventeenth-century travelers, her discussions leads one to support the latter argument. The communities of artisans, soldiers, servants, and professionals in the service of the Amir formed the neighborhood in and around the haveli.

[167] Hosgrahar, 45

Chapter 9

Conclusions & Discussions

9.1 Importance of readings of domestic architecture

Historic studies of Indian architecture of the Indo-Islamic and colonial periods have generally concentrated on monumental and state sponsored buildings, which are assumed to reflect the philosophies and ideologies of these eras. While these are valid samples for this purpose, this thesis argues that the large body of domestic architecture constructed during these eras offers an equally compelling body of evidence to understand the political, social and cultural upheavals that took place in the Indian sub-continent. This thesis undertook the study of the Sethi merchant-bankers *havelis* to establish that domestic architecture constitutes a more honest representation of social and cultural norms. The first important aspect of this research was the knowledge gained through the study of the evolving forms of the Sethi *havelis* about the impact of the various historic and cultural eras on domestic architecture. The second important conclusion was that the imposing *havelis* constructed over a period of 100 years helped to create an identity for the patrons in the walled city's landscape, as well as establish and maintain their status within colonial and indigenous society.

While the study of *havelis* of central and northern Indian regions like Lahore, Delhi, Gujrat and Rajasthan have been studied and documented to a degree, this study significantly adds to these peripheral architectural forms; as *havelis* may be considered peripheral in the sense that state-sponsored architecture (palaces, forts, Jamia mosques, serais, churches, colonial buildings etc.) is considered central. In addition, the documentation and analysis of merchant *havelis* forms a niche that has not been studied conclusively on its own and especially within peripheral cultural landscape of towns and cities on the edge of the Indian

sub-continent like Peshawar, which add to the unique contribution of this work.[1] Peshawar slowly lost its importance as a centre of trade from the early 20th century as trans-national overland trade was replaced by larger oceanic trade. The multiple impacts on the city in the aftermath of the colonial constructed cantonment included the abandonment of the traditional *havelis* of the walled city by many residents in the 20th century, turning them into marginalised spatial entities. These *havelis* exist today more as glorious remnants of a bygone era and less as subjects of historical and architectural inquiry. This is possibly the most important factor that has led owners and custodians to value them less than the land they occupy and allow them to disintegrate.

The thesis develops a macro-to-micro framework for the research, which is composed of the trans-national, national, regional, city and community level studies to help understand the context of the houses. These are further explored through the multiple aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural conditions of Post-Mughal, pre-colonial and colonial eras. The *havelis* are studied through documentation, drawing, photography and archival materials, but the core architectural study is extended to the wider and complex network of other related public spaces, which constitute the imperial, colonial and commercial areas of Peshawar. These areas exerted influences as well as providing a stage for the development of the Sethi *havelis*.

9.2 Framing the study within economic, political, urban and domestic aspects

One of the first aspects to form the background of the study, taken up in Chapter 3, is the large scale cross-regional trade between Mughal India, Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia and Russia. This large economic bloc had long and sustained trade links which were dominated by various classes of Indian merchants ranging from petty traders to merchant-bankers. They provided a large portfolio of services including trading in various commodities, providing financial services to agriculturists, giving large loans to the Mughal Emperors and later the English East India Company. The volume of large scale trade was sustained by the Mughals and other regional rulers through the provision of a vast network of roads, safe caravanserais at regular intervals, *baolis* and *kos-minars*. The Indian merchants controlled

an extensive trans-regional cash network called *hundi,* which allowed money to be transferred quickly and efficiently. This allowed the merchant class of India to acquire wealth that gave them a powerful position in society.

The decline of the Mughal Empire produced a physical and social gap as the dependent *umrah* and *mansabdars* could no longer afford to retain their lifestyles and the large estates called *havelis* that went with them. The fall of Mughal Delhi and other cities of the Empire saw the abandoning of *havelis*, their fall into disrepair or tearing down and in the aftermath of the British takeover, many *havelis* were sub-divided or let out in multiple smaller units. The British replaced the Mughal *umrah* (as the leaders of society) by a new social hierarchy consisting of the notables. The notables were made up of supporters of the colonial order including the rich merchants of India. The merchants filled the social gap in the new order of society and also took up the physical gap left by the abandoned *umrah havelis*. This was a major driver behind the development of a newer typology of the embellished merchant *havelis.* The historic transformation of society through the replacement of the *umrah* by the merchants was reflected in the ownership and occupation of *havelis* by the latter, which served as a physical representation of the patron's newly elevated position in society. The typology manifested itself at different scales of a new urban form at the larger city level as well as within the domestic realm as it functioned on the multiple levels as home, office and public stage.

The thesis has filled a gap in scholarship with regard to understanding the role of regional spatial cultures within the overall landscape of Mughal and colonial architecture in India. Peripheral cities like Peshawar have been cast aside as marginal places and cultures, which are seen to have made no apparent contributions to the formation of notable architecture of the sub-continent. Within this context, chapters 4 and 5 have discussed the urban history and urban form of Peshawar. The city occupied an important geographical position and the factors of economics and empire building influenced its development in various eras. Located on the Grand Trunk Road and at the eastern end of the Khyber Pass, which connected India to Afghanistan, the city has historically been the main route taken by generations of invaders, traders and travellers entering into the Indian sub-continent. The city was part of the Mughal *suba* and a large trade centre of the region, indicated by the

imperial patronage of architecture including Serai Jahan Ara and the Mahabat Khan mosque. The subsequent eras underlined the importance of these buildings through continued usage and through the addition of more landmarks to emphasise this central part of the city. These factors are discussed in terms of their contribution in giving a strong identity to the Bazaar-e-Kalan road, which was drawn upon by the Sethi merchant *havelis.*

One of the fundamental aspects that come into discussion in this thesis is the notion that architecture serves as proxy for rulers, forming a physical manifestation of their power and presence. The city's elite *mohallas* and economic centres thus developed around the principal axis (Bazaar-e-Kalan road) defined by this architecture. In the aftermath of the decline of the Mughals and the subsequent occupation of the city by the Afghans, Sikhs and finally the British, the reoccupation of the strategic Mughal *serai* and building of subsequent monuments near it, indicated the importance and prestige of the areas lying adjacent to the Bazaar-e-Kalan road. This location held the *umrah* quarters of the city and as the Mughal *umrah* left the area, this was occupied by rich merchants of the city including the Sethi clan.

Colonial domination drew upon pre-colonial political, administrative and economic centres of the city to exercise control. The Serai was occupied as Tehsil; a colonial administrative centre, the insertion of the Hastings monument and the Cunningham clock tower on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and the renaming of the Kabuli gate as the Edwards gate were territorial interventions that facilitated hegemonic and authoritarian frameworks to be formed. These interventions in the physical environment were also meant to reclaim it as part of the colonial narrative. This was also underlined by the usage of this area for colonial activities like *darbar* processions and gatherings of visiting British royals and dignitaries. These periods of reuse, reinterpretation and appropriations of this area made it an important part of the city's collective memory. An extremely significant dimension that this thesis reveals is that there appears to be an important connection between pre-existing centres of power and creation of identities, as demonstrated by the Sethi merchants, who re-occupied and rebuilt on existing sites of *umrah* housing to claim the dominant identities associated with these areas.

The political ideologies of colonial governance in India became pre-occupied with the improvement of cities and their populations from the 1830s. Health, hygiene, education and religion were used as vehicles for the moral and physical improvement of the indigenous population. The introduction of the municipality in cities started in the 1860s and peaked in the 1880s with the formation of limited local self-governments. The eras also brought about the increased interaction between the British and a class of local leaders known as the notables. The inscription of authoritarian frameworks took the form of the establishment of the cantonment some distance away from the walled city. The old city and the cantonment were two different models of urban and suburban lifestyles. There were interesting contrasts between the colonial and Indian perspectives. While the old city was viewed as congested, unhygienic and old-fashioned by the young progressive Indians, it was abandoned in favour of the airy, hygienic and modern cantonment. The inner city *haveli* also became an unattractive residence for many in the late 19th and early 20th centuries who sought the more modern lifestyle provided by the bungalow.

This thesis discusses that the colonial rule in Peshawar created a built environment dominated by many authoritarian interventions. The city was bifurcated into clear territories of indigenous (black) urban and European (white) suburban areas, to improve governance and control. However, the study reveals that interactions between the mercantile indigenous society and the British were continuous and sustained. These complex connections gave rise to the construction of merchant patronised architecture within the colonial ordered urban fabric, which asserted their position in this new order. This included *haveli* architecture and philanthropic works that were built within the larger national, regional and city contexts of economy, politics and power. Peshawar as such was a contested space in multiple eras and on multiple levels. The Mughal buildings continued to stand as proxies for the original patrons even during British era occupations and Afghan, Sikh and British buildings and monuments further contributed to this physical environment, which continued to hold its position as a desirable residential address. The merchant *havelis* of Peshawar came into existence in the context of spatial contestations of domestic vs colonial architecture and the dynamics between the state sponsored and indigenous

forms co-existing and contesting the same space. Within this new order the building and continued occupation of Sethi *havelis* in the heart of the old city (along the Bazaar-e-Kalan road) presented a counter-narrative of indigenous values and spatial contestations. Not only did the *havelis* ideologically underline the indigenous values of *khandani* (aristocratic) lineage and social respectability of the patrons, they physically contested the space that had become occupied by newer colonial typologies.

This thesis has demonstrated (Chapter 6) that within these larger cultural and social changes affecting the transition of society going from the late Mughal to Colonial period, significant cultural, historical and trans-national forces formed and transformed Indian *havelis*. The *haveli* as a house form had developed to indicate the elevated social status of its patron. This physical representation was enhanced through the size and extent of the house which may encompass many parts dedicated to the family's public and private life, servants and storage. In the aftermath of the 1857 Indian uprising, the patronage of the urban *haveli* passed from the *umrah* to the merchants, reflecting the passing of power from one section of society to another. The urban dwellings of the merchants grew from minimal work-cum-home units to elaborate *havelis*. At the same time the exterior-interior segregations became more complex; the inner domain protecting the cohesive clustering of traditional lifestyles while the outer domain displayed the extraverted public identity of the notables.

The merchant *haveli* type operated simultaneously as a house and office and later as a place to hold public displays of communal rituals, within the fluid and ambiguous cultural and political eras of the 19th and 20th centuries. The functional aspects of the merchant *havelis* including home, work and communal activities were both juxtaposed and overlapped. This arrangement was possible due to the different functions shared common typological formats whereby interchange was easy. The merchant *haveli* kept these diverse activities separate, while maintaining the segregation of the male and female sections. These amalgamations were catered for by placing business activities on the ground floor and residential quarters on the first and upper floors or by arranging these separate

quarters around individual courtyards, side by side. Other design elements like *dehliz* and *deorhis*, helped to maintain communal privacy.

The form and decorative elements of *havelis* of the Mughal era underwent changes to incorporate European elements and thus present a hybrid style. This style was very much reflective of a society that had accepted European lifestyles to an extent in order to function in a new era. Stylistic elements on the facades of the *havelis* were the first indicators of this new era, closely followed by changes inside the house. These included new furnishings, materials and most importantly the incorporation of newer architectural spaces such as garages for carriages. A most interesting factor in these transformations was the fact that the seemingly traditional *haveli* was able to adapt in order to accommodate these modified lifestyles, as it had absorbed earlier lifestyles. This is the key reason for the longevity and use of the *haveli* form in India (well into the 1950s): it was a flexible typology which facilitated a relation and transition between the traditional and the modern. At all levels big or small, the urban *haveli* played dual roles: it was an urban entity with an eminent public status, as well as a private residential realm. This thesis shows that merchant *havelis* provided a hybrid paradigm as they housed divergent spaces of domestic, economic and communal activities. As such they provided an expandable space in contrast to the rigid functioning of the bungalow within colonial cities.

An important discussion taken up in chapter 6, is the role played by the indigenous architect; the *mistri* in the design and construction of buildings of the era. The sophisticated conceptualization of the *haveli* design indicates that *mistris* established an overall framework of some complexity. Within this framework the interrelationship between the spatial, aesthetic and environmental considerations of design were worked out. The newer colonial aesthetics were seen to be safe in the hands of colonial engineers and at times overseers of the P.W.D. While the Raj grappled with a suitable architecture of the era, it also formulated guidelines for the training of *mistris* in a western paradigm. These events affected the status of the *mistri* as his traditional knowledge was seen to be outdated and his involvement in the design of urban mansions and suburban villas of the educated and progressive Indians waned. A key transition that took place in the era was the patronage of the *mistri* and craftsmen by the wealthy merchants. The merchant *havelis* in incorporating the work of the *mistri* also became important channels of preserving the traditional systems of apprenticeship and craftsmanship. The thesis stresses that the merchant *havelis* provide a critical narrative of the proficiency and ingenuity of the *mistri*, and his successful amalgamations of the traditionalist and colonial paradigms within domestic architecture.

The movement and migration of the Sethi merchants from Bhera to Chamkani and finally to Peshawar is discussed in Chapter 7, a relocation which followed their trade interests as they changed from petty traders in small cities on the Grand Trunk Road, to large commodity merchant-bankers of central Asia who traded in *hundis* and bullion. The Sethis in expanding their trade interests and business empire were prudent enough to associate themselves with powerful patrons including religious leaders (Hazrat Muhammad of Chamkani and Pirs of Golra Sharif) political leaders (Ahmad Shah Durrani, Amir of Afghanistan), and colonial officials (Deputy Commissioners of Peshawar) which allowed them unhindered trading rights and protection. The construction of the Sethi *havelis* in the area of Mohalla Dhallan following the merchants' move from their much humbler location of Mohalla Baqir Shah indicated their rise up the social ladder to become the new nobility of Peshawar. The fraternal cluster of the *havelis* occupied the sites of earlier Mughal quarters near the Mughal *serai*. The thesis demonstrates that *haveli* architecture was used by the Sethis to make statements about themselves and their relationships to others within the environment. There was a clear hierarchy established by the *havelis* based on the fact that they were visually more dominant both in size and the richness of their facades (proclaiming them as high status residences) than other *havelis* of the area.

9.3 Sethi *havelis* and reflection of cultural, social and historic influences and values (1800-1910).

The analysis (Chapter 8) demonstrates that the construction of the twelve clan *havelis* was undertaken in four distinct stages. These are reflective of the political conditions of the city

from the relative calmness of the Durrani period which moved to anarchy at the end of this era to the Sikh period. *Havelis* constructed in this first phase reflect the prosperity of the patrons as well as the adoption of embellishments, which were from royal and *umrah* residences. The second period of development is most conspicuous by the construction of *havelis* within tall fortified walls with multiple *deorhis* and doorways for protection against attacks. The following British period represented an era of calm and the Sethi merchant-bankers associated with the British flourished as notables and more importantly as spies in Afghanistan and Central Asia. This third phase of *haveli* development was distinguished by the construction of sprawling *havelis*, the largest of which was the Karim Buksh *haveli*, which boasted three separate courtyards. The fourth phase of *haveli* development took place on the Bazaar-e-Kalan road: these were extraverted and adopted elements to identify themselves as mansions. An extremely significant dimension of the *Sethi havelis* that this thesis reveals is that the construction of the larger *havelis* marked the rise of the Sethis as elite class of Peshawar in the Colonial era, replacing earlier dominant groups.

Mughal cultural values expressed through architecture were adopted by the *umrah* and later by the merchant-bankers. The embellished Sethi *havelis* indicate the importance attached by the Sethi merchant-bankers (living in an important but small city) to emulate aspects of Mughal culture, and show a perceived need by them to integrate themselves into a larger community of *umrah* who were associated with the Mughals. One of the significant issues that became apparent through the study is that the embellished architecture of merchant *havelis* was a means to ideologically claim their hierarchy in society and formed an important aspect of their identity. The *havelis* displayed high levels of craftsmanship in many 18th and 19th century building crafts such as *naqqashi*, *khatam-band*, *pinjra-kari*, woodcarving, *aina-kari* and *monabat-kari*. These crafts were developed in the Mughal era and trickled down from imperial buildings to *umrah haveli* and later the merchant *havelis*. The use of the *chini-khana* in all rooms of the Sethi *havelis* is a very important part of the embellishment of the house. It shows that the heavenly concoctions associated with the *chini-khana* in a Mughal palace made their way into the domestic realm, and vice versa it showed the aspiration of ordinary *havelis* to become royal

residences. The Sethi *havelis* reveal that during the 19th and early 20th centuries, merchant-bankers of Peshawar (along with many merchant groups) rather than the *umrah* were the primary patrons of *mistris* and craftsmen of the region. The use of these crafts to embellish *havelis* over a wide geographical area from Delhi to Shikarpur and Multan to Peshawar indicates the widespread movements of the *mistris* and craftsmen of the era and the dispersal of a similar aesthetic in many cities of India. The emulation of Mughals as well as colonial aesthetics indicates the cosmopolitan outlook of *haveli* patrons of the era. It should be noted that the sophisticated architectural and spatial configuration of the *havelis* was achieved through an understanding and development within a tradition - that is, in western terms, it is a vernacular architecture structured by patrons, *mistris*, artisans and craftsmen.

The thesis discusses how the Sethi *havelis* show connections with the Mughal and colonial idioms as well as forming interesting amalgamations of the two styles, reflecting similar hybridity of the Indian society. These *havelis,* growing from small houses within a *mohalla* to elaborate mansions on the main Bazaar-e-Kalan road, established important examples of hybrid forms of architecture of 19th and 20th century Peshawar. They also reveal the relationship between a dwelling and its social and historical contexts. The innovations in construction materials, designs and decorations and furnishings were absorbed into the *haveli* form, supporting the prevalent cultural and social values.

9.4 Using domestic architecture to create status and identity

The study of the physical layout of the remaining Sethi *havelis* is critical for understanding how organization of space and its decorative features carries cultural meanings. The various *haveli* complexes inform us about the functioning of the mercantile household in the 19th and 20th centuries, and their emulation of *umrah* lifestyles with separated spheres for domestic, social and business activities. These lavish *haveli* complexes also indicate the cultivation of wide social and political relationships, which the Sethis had sustained as the urban elite of Peshawar. The status of Ahmad Gul Sethi, Karim Buksh Sethi and later Karam Elahi Sethi among the merchant bankers of Peshawar and with the British were

largely formed and negotiated through social interactions and hospitality carried out within their *havelis*.

The Sethi *havelis* display the critical role of the domestic architecture of the merchants to create newer and dynamic spatial patterns. This thesis emphasizes that they acted as vital channels of indigenous patronage of architecture, introducing an alternative spatial culture to that of the cantonments of colonial cities. The construction of family *havelis* in a cluster helped in the formation of a distinct and dynamic identity for the Sethis. This identity negotiated with and responded to a range of diverse and sometimes opposing paradigms to sustain itself.

The Sethi merchant-bankers were active in multiple centres, domains and inter-dependent networks, as their ready held cash made them indispensible for a variety of powerful patrons. The commissioning of mosques and other philanthropic work as well as association with holy men ensured their exalted position in Indian society. This position justified the building of palatial *havelis* to support their ritualistic lifestyles. Their financial and moral support of the colonial rule allowed them to participate in the local governments as well as to earn titles. These social positions again led to building mansions (*havelis*) that reflected the aesthetics of the Europeans. In addition to its actual findings, this thesis makes a case for rethinking the role of domestic residences within the architectural historiography of the sub-continent.

The decision to occupy a historic district which was a royal and colonial processional route, a trade centre and an administrative centre, arises from an assignment of value to the area.[2] These *havelis* were built and continually occupied to build a presence on the physical environment which allowed the Sethis to be important actors within the social and political stage of the city. The commissioning of subsequently grander *havelis* provided a backdrop to the family's identity as Peshawar's *rais* and helped formulate their public identity and participation in both indigenous and colonial societies. The *havelis* allowed a certain lifestyle to be adopted by the merchant bankers and provided the framework which

authenticated their positions of authority as Indian elites and in their interactions with the British.

9.5 Sethi *havelis* within the domestic architecture of 19th and 20th century Peshawar and the larger region of Pakistan

Cities provided the sites for negotiations between the colonisers and the colonised: patronage of institutional/public architecture was carried out by the British, whereas the patronage of domestic architecture was carried out by the Indians. Both realms combined to form the colonial city, accepting and contesting one another. Places with strong existing architectural and urban traditions clearly reveal cultural transformation through their changing landscapes and hybrid forms.[3] The Bazaar-e-Kalan road, connecting the key urban spaces of the city, host to Mughal, Sikh and Colonial interventions, was the main area of the walled city, demonstrating large scale and paradoxical colonial interactions between the colonisers and the colonised. These intellectual and cultural encounters between the East and the West within Peshawar provided the canvas upon which colonial transactions within the city's domestic architecture (as exhibited by the Sethi havelis) took place. Adoption and emulation of western values within the *havelis* and at the same time the retention of traditional typologies (in opposition to colonial ones) and Mughal decorative elements made the domestic architecture a vibrant and contested space. The Sethi *havelis* thus displayed the negotiations between a range of interconnected historical processes and cultural phenomena. These negotiations were crucial for the Sethi merchant-bankers to retain their physical and symbolic space as well as identity in the colonial built environment.

Colonial culture clearly divided the physical environment to achieve dominant and dependent landscapes. The thesis establishes that the Sethi merchant-bankers' domestic architecture was uniquely outside of these categories as it arose out of interactions between the British/coloniser and the Indians/colonised. The mercantile architecture was not a marginalised spatial form, but an alternative and creative entity indicating a unique inter-dependence within colonial society. The processes of building and inhabiting the Sethi

havelis reveal a multiplicity of intentions; to create identities for the patrons by engaging in the physical environment as well as negotiating a place within it. The *havelis* helped to structure and hold together the domestic *mohalla* within this significant quarter of the walled city. The Sethi *havelis* can be understood as examples of enduring and composite forms of domestic architecture that display the dynamics of a fluid colonial India. The thesis also argues that the construction of the mercantile *havelis* within the heart of colonial Peshawar made the built environment more plural and participatory, in contrast to traditional perceptions of colonial cities. As such they were instrumental in creating an identity for their patrons that was multi-faceted; composed of familiar and contradictory elements of Indian *umrah* and British intermediary.

The study of merchant *havelis* is a less explored area of research, and taken up can reveal interesting information about the pre-colonised society and its particular narrative within the colonial city. The colonial era does not offer much documentation about the role of indigenous people in the economy, politics and society of India.[4] Here the physical artefacts of the indigenous urban *haveli* can be read in conjunction with archival documents, maps and historic narratives to fill in a critical gap in knowledge about the era.

9.6 Applications of the research and future directions

This study developed an extensive historic, cultural, social, political and economic background in order to look at how domestic space was imagined, produced, and modified within the culture of post-Mughal and colonial governance of Peshawar, North West Frontier Province. The importance of post-colonial architectural studies lies in analyzing how central frameworks of power intersected with local actors in shaping the built environment, and how these spaces came to represent the colonial as well as the indigenous narratives. One of the central conclusions of this thesis is that, tracing the cultural and social histories of buildings and settlements, needs contributions from architectural history as well as disciplines such as social history, political history, cultural

studies, cultural anthropology, urban geography, cartography and literature. The reading of the built environment within these broader and deeper contexts can reveal significantly newer dimensions in the field of architectural research.

This study would hopefully be one of the first of many further researches on late-Mughal, pre-colonial and colonial domestic architecture as potential sites of contemporary enquiry. In this connection, the study emphasises the importance of engaging with spaces of domestic architecture, which may appear to be of lesser and secondary/peripheral importance but can actually disclose vital information about a society and its engagements within the larger contexts of city and regions. These may be taken up in marginal sites like Peshawar, urban centres at the ends of the empire, which played important roles in pre-modern eras but were abandoned economically, socially and culturally post-Independence Pakistan and India.

This study will specifically lead to more research and scholarship about the historic architecture of Peshawar and steps towards its documentation and conservation. Scholarship is no doubt the first vital step in giving tangible and intangible heritage appropriate meaning and value. The thesis is envisioned to provide a basis for other studies on *havelis* of Pakistan as important structural and historic elements of the landscape and history of cities. Within the city of Peshawar, the thesis endeavours to give importance to the domestic architecture of the city as important heritage sites.

There are many challenges facing heritage conservation in Pakistan today, including pressures of population, migration, a powerful land mafia and weak heritage protection laws, terrorism and all conspiring towards the destruction of historic fabric to build new modern buildings.[5] Regional development policies focus on economic issues, which inadequately support conservation objectives. There is also a lack of knowledge within the

Government Developmental bodies that jeopardises the protection and conservation of architectural and cultural heritage of the city and the region.[6] Moreover the few efforts towards conservation show ambivalence towards the non monumental architecture and as a result have severely depleted the historic fabric in cities. Education and advocacy are the two important factors that help to build clear and pro-active policies about the stewardship of heritage architecture, with the engagement of both the public and private sectors.

The research and writing of this thesis will lead towards publishing my work to contribute to substantially increasing knowledge about the Sethi *havelis* and the unique role that they occupy within the history of the region. Increased knowledge will help sustain interest and direct finances towards the conservation of the Sethi *havelis*, it will also help in the conservation of the larger historic quarter they occupy, which includes the Serai Jehan Ara, the Ghata Ghar, Hastings monument, as well as the remaining *havelis* along this route. These conservations will help to revive the area and attract tourism to give sustainable financial benefits for all stakeholders. It is hoped that these benefits will ensure the long term protection and sustainability of the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

[1] Peshawar was physically and politically marginal compared to central regions of Delhi, Lahore and other cities of Northern and central India.

[2] Jennifer L. Campbell, "Colonialism and Postcolonial Nationalism in Peshawar, Pakistan: Tailoring the architectural fabric of Gor Khuttree Serai to reflect the reoccupation and reinterpretation of space and place." 2009. Edited by Peter Bikoulis, Dominic Lacroix and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown. Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology; Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

[3] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005): 13.

[4] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 10.

[5] The multiple problems that Peshawar faces as a city on the north-western end of Pakistan include being host to about 4-6 million Afghan refugees during the Soviet-Afghan war (1979-1989), resulting in alteration in the walled city's fabric; replacing old *havelis* by modern houses and plazas. In the after-math of the civil war in Afghanistan, the region was flooded with drugs, weapons and crime, factors which contributed to the rising of a powerful land mafia which appropriated/grabbed many historic sites within the city and demolished them for commercial purposes. The architectural and cultural heritage of the city has also suffered under the extreme brand of terrorism (brought in by hard core Islamists from the tribal areas and in the aftermath of the deployment of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, 2001-to date), which saw parts of the Qissa Khawani Bazaar and Bazaar-e-Misgarah blown up and musicians and craftsmen of musical instruments of Dabgari *bazaar* and Koocha Risaldar asked to migrate or face prosecution.

[6] Peshawar Development Authority, Department of Museums and Archaeology and the Public Works Department, who have been responsible for removing, destroying, defacing and encroaching upon the few remaining historic architecture sites of the city, so denying their role as fundamental yet unprotected manifestations of the architectural and cultural heritage of the city and the region. These bodies have been responsible for building overhead bridges too close to the Qilla Bala-Hisar, for the badly restored cells of Serai Jehan Ara as well as the rapidly collapsing gates of the serai whose ownership (federal vs provincial body) is still undecided, the badly done conservation/ renewal of the Sethi house (one of the havelis that was bought by the government in 2001. All of the restorations carried out in the historic fabric of Peshawar suffer from the lack of expertise and funds.

Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. "The Islamic city–Historic myth, Islamic essence, and contemporary relevance." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 02 (1987): 155-176.

Aggerwal, Mamta. "Classification of Society during Mughal Period/Indian History", *History Discussion*. accessed May 12, 2014, http://www.historydiscussion.net/society/classification-of-society-during-mughal-period-indian-history/700.

Ahmad, Nazir. *Ibn-al-Waqt*. Reprint Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2013.

Akbar, Jamel. "Gates as signs of Autonomy in Muslim Towns." *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 141-147.

Al-Hathloul, Saleh Ali. "Tradition, continuity and change in the physical environment: The Arab-Muslim city." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1981.

Alam, Muzaffar. "Trade, state policy and regional change: aspects of Mughal-Uzbek commercial relations, C. 1550-1750." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient/Journal de l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Orient* (1994): 202-227.

Ali, Ihsan. "Report on Excavations at Gor Khuttree." *Peshawar (2003-04) Frontier Archaeology* 3 (2005): 227-276.

Allami, Abul Fazl. "Ain-i-Akbari," [Vol. 1] Book the First, The Imperial Household. On buildings, 222-225. Accessed October 2, 2015, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00litlinks/abulfazl/ain_zzcontents.html

Asaduddin, Mohammad. "First Urdu novel: Contesting claims and disclaimers." *Annual of Urdu Studies* 16 (2001): 76-97.

Asher, Catherine Blanshard. *Architecture of Mughal India*. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ata-Ullah, Naazish. "Stylistic hybridity and colonial art and design education", *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum* 2 (1998): 68-81.

Auerbach, Jeffrey. "The picturesque and the homogenisation of Empire." *The British Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (2004): 47-54.

Babur, Zahiruddin Muhammad. "Babur Nama or Tuzuk-i-Baburi, trs. from Turki by Mrs. AS Beveridge, 2 vols., Luzac & Co., London, 1922; trs. from the Persian version by John Leyden and William Erskine as," *Memoirs of Babur* (1926).

Baer, Eva. *Islamic Ornamentation.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Bala, Renu. "Society and culture of the Punjab late eighteenth early nineteenth century." PhD diss., Guru Nanak Dev University, 2011.

Balabanlilar, Lisa Ann. "The Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent," PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2007.

Balabanlilar, Lisa. "Lords of the auspicious conjunction: Turco-Mongol imperial identity on the subcontinent." *journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007): 1-39.

Ballantyne, Tony. "Archive, discipline, state: Power and knowledge in South Asian historiography." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3 (2001): 87-105.

Bashir, Ahmad. *Akbar. Tareeq* # 42. Edited by Mubarik Ali. Lahore: THAAP Publication, 2011.

Bayly, Christopher Alan. *Rulers, townsmen and bazaars: North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Bearce, George D. "Intellectual and cultural characteristics of India in a changing era, 1740-1800." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 01 (1965): 3-17.

Begley, Wayne E. "Four Mughal Caravanserais Built during the Reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān." *Muqarnas* (1983): 167-179.

Beisembiev, T. K. "Farghana's contacts with India in the 18th and 19th centuries (according to the Khokand chronicles): In Memory of Sir E. Denison Ross, the Eminent British Orientalist." *Journal of Asian History* 28, no. 2 (1994): 124-135.

Bell, Gertrude. Archives, accessed October 23, 2014 http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1366

Bentley, Jerry H. "Cross-cultural interaction and periodization in world history." *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 749-770.

Bernier, Francois. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668.* Archibald Constable, 1916. Accessed April 12 2014, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6093710_000/

Beverley, Eric Lewis. "Colonial urbanism and South Asian cities." *Social History* 36, no. 4 (2011): 482-497.

Blake, Stephen P. *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639-1739.* Vol. 49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bose, Kamalika. "Of echoes and Silent Raptures: The Zamindari Mansions of Northern Calcutta." *Marg,* Vol. 61, #2 (2009): 12-25.

Bremner, G. A. *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, C. 1840-1870.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Bryce, Derek, Kevin D. O'Gorman, and Ian WF Baxter. "Commerce, empire and faith in Safavid Iran: the caravanserai of Isfahan." *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 25, no. 2 (2013): 204-226.

Bryden, Inga. "'There is no outer without inner space': constructing the haveli as home." *cultural geographies* 11, no. 1 (2004): 26-41.

Burnes, Alexander. *Travels into Bokhara: being the account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia: Also, Narrative of a voyage on the Indus, from the sea to Lahore. Performed under the orders of the supreme government of India in 1831, 1832, 1833.* Vol. 1. Philadelphia: EL Carey & A. Hart, 1835. Accessed October 11 2013, https://archive.org/details/travelsintobokha03burn

Burton-Page, John. *Indian Islamic architecture: Forms and typologies, sites and monuments.* Boston: Brill, 2007.

Campbell, Jennifer Lynn. "Architecture and identity: the occupation, use, and reuse of Mughal Caravanserais." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011.

Campbell, Jennifer L. "Colonialism and Postcolonial Nationalism in Peshawar, Pakistan: Tailoring the architectural fabric of Gor Khuttree Serai to reflect the reoccupation and reinterpretation of space and place, " in Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology; Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Eds. Peter Bikoulis, Dominic Lacroix and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown.

Carvalho, Pedro Moura. "What Happened to the Mughal Furniture? The Role of the Imperial Workshops, the Decorative Motifs Used, and the Influence of Western Models." *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 79-93.

Çelik, Zeynep. "New Approaches to the" Non-Western" City." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 374-381.

Chadwick, George F. *The Park and the Town.* London: The Architectural Press, 1966.

Charlesworth, Michael. "The picturesque, William Hodges, photographs, and some problems in recent interpretation of images of India." *Word & Image* 23, no. 3 (2007): 376-380.

Chida Razvi, Mehreen. "The Mughal city of Lahore in European travel accounts (1556–1648)." In *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers.* Edited by Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Ozlu. Oxon: Routledge, 2015.

Chopra, Preeti. *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Correia, Jorge, and Muath Taher. "Traditional Islamic cities unveiled: the quest for urban design regularity." *Gremium* 2, no. 4 (2015): 21-36.

Dale, Stephen Frederic. *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1750.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

Dalrymple, William. *White Mughals: love and betrayal in eighteenth-century India.* New Delhi: Penguin, 2002.

Dalrymple, William. *The Last Mughal: The Fall of Delhi, 1857.* London: Bloomsbury, 2006.

Dalrymple, William. *Return of a King: the Battle for Afghanistan, 1839-42.* London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Peshawar: Historic city of the Frontier.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 1995.

Dar, Saifur Rahman. "Caravansarais along the Grand Trunk Road in Pakistan: A Central Asian Legacy." In *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Dar, Saif ur Rahman, "Whither the Historical Gardens of Punjab? Garden Tradition of the Punjab." in Eds Mahmood Hussain, Abdur Rahman & James L. Wescoat's The Mughal Gardens: Interpretation, conservation and Implications. Lahore: Feroz Sons, 1996.

Das, Himanish. *Principles of design and craftsmanship in the traditional architecture of Jaisalmer.* PhD diss. Cardiff University, 2005.

Das, Munshi Gopal. *Tarikh I Peshawar.* Lahore: Kohe-Noor Press, 1874.

Dhar, Parul Pandya. *Indian Art History: Changing Perspectives.* New Delhi: DK Printworld Ltd., 2011.

Eaton, Natasha. "'Enchanted Traps?'The Historiography of Art and Colonialism in Eighteenth-century India." *Literature Compass* 9, no. 1 (2012): 15-33.

Eickelman, Dale F. "Is there an Islamic city? The making of a quarter in a Moroccan town." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 03 (1974): 274-294.

Elphinstone, Mountstuart. *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and Its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India: Comprising a View of the Afghaun Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Eraly, Abraham. *The Mughal World: Life in India's Last Golden Age*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007.

Ettehadieh, Homeyra. Choona Mandi Haveli Conservation On-site Review Report, edited by Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2001. Accessed on January 6 2016, http://archnet.org/print/preview/publications=388&views=i

Eyüce, Ahmet. "Interdependence of Traditional House Form and Settlement Pattern." *Intercultural Understanding*, volume 2 (2012):17-24.

Gaborieau, Marc. "Indian Cities," in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 94/1 & 94/2, editors Salma K Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and Andre Raymond, 181-204. Boston: Brill, 2008.

Gandhi, Rajmohan. *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013.

Garella, Veena. "Safeguarding ShahJahanabad: Heritage buildings in a living city." 10th International Seminar. Newcastle -upon-Tyne, 11-16 April 2005. http://conferences.ncl.ac.uk/unescolandscapes/files/GARELLAVeena.pdf

Gauthier, Pierre. "Conceptualizing the social construction of urban and architectural form through the typological process." *Urban morphology* 9, no. 2 (2005): 83.

Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004.

Chatterjee, Kumkum. "Cultural flows and cosmopolitanism in Mughal India The Bishnupur Kingdom." *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 46, no. 2 (2009): 147-182.

Golombek, Lisa. "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives." *Muqarnas, Volume XII: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture.* Leiden: E.J. Brill. (1995): 137-147.

Gopal, Surendra. "A brief note on business organisation of Indian merchants in Russia in the 17th century." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient/Journal de l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Orient* (1986): 205-212.

Gommans, Jos. "Mughal India and Central Asia in the Eighteenth Century. An Introduction to a Wider Perspective." *Itinerario* 15, no. 01 (1991): 51-70.

Gommans, Jos JL. *Mughal Warfare: Indian Frontiers and Highroads to Empire 1500–1700*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Grabar, Oleg. "Reflections on the study of Islamic Art." *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* (1983): 1-14. accessed November 21, 2013, http://archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.jsp?document_id=3881

Grewal, Jagtar S. *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Grey, Charles. *European adventurers of Northern India, 1785 to 1849*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distri, 1929.

Groat, Linda N., and David Wang. *Architectural research methods*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Guha, Ranajit. "Not at home in empire." *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1997): 482-493.

Gurha-Thakurta, Tapati. "Tales of the Bharhut Stupa: Archaeology in the Colonial and Nationalist Imaginations", in *Paradigms of Indian architecture: space and time in representation and design*, edited by Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, 26-58. London: Routledge, 2014.

Habib, Irfan. "Potentialities of capitalistic development in the economy of Mughal India." *The Journal of Economic History* 29, no. 01 (1969): 32-78.

Hadjichristou, Yiorgos. "Rediscovery of the Courtyard, as a Major Intangible Cultural Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage in the Digital Era* 1, no. Supplement 1 (2012): 361-366.

Hakim, Besim Selim. *Arabic Islamic Cities; Building and Planning Principles*. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.

Handa, Omacanda and Madhu Jain. *Wood handicraft: a study of its origin and development in Saharanpur*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing, 2000.

Hanifi, Shah Mahmoud. "Impoverishing a colonial frontier: cash, credit, and debt in nineteenth-century Afghanistan." *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 2 (2004): 199-218.

Hanifi, Shah Mahmood. *Connecting histories in Afghanistan: market relations and state formation on a colonial frontier*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Hanifi, Shah Mahmood. "Connecting histories in Afghanistan: market relations and state formation on a colonial frontier." Accessed March 23, 2015, http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/.

Hardgrove, Anne. "Merchant houses as spectacles of modernity in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu." *Contributions to Indian sociology* 36, no. 1-2 (2002): 323-364.

Hastings, Edward George G. *Report of the Regular Settlement of the Peshawar District of the Punjab*. Vol. 1, 1878.

Havell, E.B. *Indian sculpture and Painting,* (London: John Murray, 1908): 235-266.

Havell, E.B. "Art Administration in India." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58, no. 2985 (1910): 274-98.

Haynes, Douglas E., and Nikhil Rao. "Beyond the Colonial City: Re-Evaluating the Urban History of India, ca. 1920–1970." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no. 3 (2013): 317-335.

Haynes, Douglas. "Imperial Ritual in a Local Setting: the ceremonial order in Surat, 1890–1939." *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 03 (1990): 493-527.

Heidari, Shahin. "New Life – Old Structure." *Network for Comfort and Energy Use in Buildings.* Windsor, U.K. 27th-30th April 2006. Accessed March 13 2009, http://nceub.org.uk/dokuwiki/lib/exe/fetch.php?media=nceub:uploads:members:w2006:session3:w2006_heidari.pdf

Hillenbrand, Robert. "Studying Islamic architecture: Challenges and perspectives." *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 1-18.

Hosagrahar, Jyoti. "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 1 (2001): 26-45.

Hosagrahar, Jyoti. "South Asia: Looking Back, Moving Ahead-History and Modernization." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 3 (2002): 355-369.

Hosagrahar, Jyoti. *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.

Hussain, S. Amjad. *The Frontier Town of Peshawar: A Brief History*. Peshawar: The Inter-Lit Foundation, 1993.

Hussain, S. Amjad. *Alam mein Intikhab, Peshawar.* Toledo: Literary circle of Toledo, 1999.

Ibbetson, Denzil. *Panjab Castes, Being a Reprint of the Chapter on" The Races, Castes, and Tribes of the People" in the Report on the Census of the Panjab*. Languages Department, Punjab, 1970.

Islam, Sirajul. *Social life in Dhaka: 1763-1800*, edited by Sharif Uddin Ahmed. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1991.

Jaffar, S.M. "Peshawar: Past and Present", in *Peshawar: City on the Frontier*, edited by Ahmad Salim. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Jain, Shikha. "The havelis of Rajasthan: form and identity." PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2002.

Jain, Shikha "Understanding Courtyard Design through Havelis of Rajasthan", *Insite* 09, (2011)**:** 18-21, accessed May 12, 2014, http://www.academia.edu/1009411/Understanding_Courtyard_Design_through_Havelis_of_Rajasthan

Japha, Derek and Vivienne Japha, " Identity through Detail: Architecture and Cultural Aspiration in Montagu, South Africa, 1850-1915," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (1991):17 - 33.

Jayawardena, Kumari. *The white woman's other burden: Western women and South Asia during British rule*. Oxon: Routledge, 2014.

Jayyusi, Salma K., Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and Andre Raymond, eds. *The City in the Islamic World, Volume 94/1 & 94/2*. Boston: Brill, 2008.

Johnston, Anna. "The British Empire, colonialism, and missionary activity," in *Missionary Writing and Empire,1800–1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Jordan, Harriet. "Public Parks, 1885-1914." *Garden History* (1994): 85-113.

Kamran, Tahir. "Lockwood Kipling's Role and the Establishment of the Mayo School of Art (1875–1898)." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third Series)* 26, no. 03 (2016): 443-461.

Karan, Pradyumna Prasad. "The pattern of Indian towns: a study in urban morphology." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 23, no. 2 (1957): 70-75.

Keene, Derek. "Cities and Empires", *Journal of Urban History, Vol. 32 No. 1, November* (2005) 8-21.

Khambatta, Ismet. "The meaning of residence in traditional Hindu society." *Dwellings, Settlements, and Tradition, University Press of America, Lanham, MD* (1989): 257-274.

Khan, Hussain Ahmad. "Rationalizing the Mystical Relationship of Art with Artist: Art Discourses in England and formative years of Mayo School of Arts, Lahore (1875-1895)." *Historian (20745672)* 7, no. 1 (2009): 89-109.

Khan, Hussain Ahmad. "Tracing the Genealogy of Art Instruction in Colonial Lahore: German Philosophy, Design Pedagogy and Nineteenth-Century England." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 2 (2015): 43-55.

Khan, Nisar. "Hasht-Bihisht metaphor of metaphysical manifestation in architecture & urban design of Islamic realm." (2011) accessed June 22, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/12617353/Hasht-Bihisht_Metaphor_of_metaphysical_manifestation_in_architecture_and_urban_design_of_Islamic_realm

Khan, Samra M. "Sustainable Architecture, Public Space, and the importance of Place Making" in *Architecture and Sustainability: Critical Perspectives for Integrated Design. Generating Sustainability concepts from Architectural Perspectives*, edited by Ahmad Z. Khan and Karen Allacker. 269-278. Belgium: Acco, 2015.

Khan, Samra Mohsin. "Analysis of Environmental Sustainability and Architectural Design." Masters diss., Allama Iqbal Open University, 2009.

Khan, Samra and Aisha Imdad. "Analysis of Typological Evolution of Chini-khanas of the Sethi Havelis, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar," *South Asian Studies*, 27, 1, (2011): 75-88.

Khan, Samra M. "Analysis of the Bouquet-in-Vase (*guldasta*) with fruit motif of the Sethi Havelis vis-a-vis the Paradigms of decorative motifs of Mughal India", *Pakistan Heritage*. Vol 3 (2011):141-148.

Khan, Samra M. "Sethi Haveli, an Indigenous Model for 21st Century 'Green Architecture", *International Journal of Architectural Research, 4,* 1, (2010): 85-98.

Khan, Samra M. "Mechanisms for Natural Ventilation in the Sustainable Architecture of Sethi Havelis, Peshawar, Pakistan," *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning*, 9, (2010): 38-49.

King, Anthony D. *Colonial urban development: Culture, social power and environment*. London: Routledge & Paul, 1976.

King, Anthony D. "Colonial cities: global pivots of change." In *Colonial Cities; essays on urbanism in a colonial context*, edited by R.J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp, 7-32. Springer Netherlands, 1985.

King, Chris. "The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400–1660." *World Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (2009): 471-488.

Kipling, J. Lockwood. "Indian Architecture of Today." *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 3 (1886).

Koch, Ebba. *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, USA, 2001.

Kramrisch, Stella. "Traditions of the Indian craftsman." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 224-230.

Lamb, Helen B. "The Indian Merchant." *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 281 (1958): 231-240.

Lapidus, Ira M. *A history of Islamic societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Latif, Syed Muhammad. *History of the Punjab; from the remotest antiquity to the present time*. New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House (Pvt.) Limited, 1964.

Lehrman, Jonas. *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Leonard, Karen. "Banking Firms in Nineteenth-Century Hyderabad Politics." *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 02 (1981): 177-201.

Leonard, Karen. "Indigenous Banking Firms in Mughal India: A Reply." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 02 (1981): 309-313.

Levi, Scott. "India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 4 (1999): 519-548.

Levi, Scott. "The Indian merchant diaspora in early modern central Asia and Iran." *Iranian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 483-512.

Levi, Scott. "Multanis and Shikarpuris: Indian Diasporas in Historical Perspective." *Global Indian Diasporas: Exploring Trajectories of Migration and Theory* (2007): 31-63.

Lipsett, H. Caldwell. "Lord Curzon in India: 1898-1903 (1903) (2011)." *Digitized Afghanistan Materials in English from the Arthur Paul Afghanistan Collection.* Paper 260. 49. Accessed January 22, 2016, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1260&context=afghanenglish

Lusardi, Antonio. "Myth and reality of Paolo Avitabile, the last European Free Lancer in India." *La Révolution française. Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française* 8 (2015).

Markovits, Claude. *The global world of Indian merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Mathur, Saloni. *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

McFarlane, Colin. "Governing the contaminated city: Infrastructure and sanitation in colonial and post-colonial Bombay." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 2 (2008): 415-435.

McKean, John. "Sir Banister Fletcher: pillar to post–colonial readings." *The Journal of Architecture* 11, no. 2 (2006): 187-204.

Mehta, Makrand. *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective: With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat, 17th to 19th Centuries.* Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991.

Mehta, Rama. *Inside the Haveli.* New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1996.

Metcalf, Thomas R. "Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910", *Representations*, No. 6 (Spring, 1984): 37-65.

Metcalf, Thomas R. *Ideologies of the Raj.* Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Metcalf, Thomas R. "Imperial Towns and Cities", in *The Cambridge illustrated history of the British Empire*, edited by Peter James Marshall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Michell, George, and Mumtaz Currim. *The majesty of Mughal decoration: the art and architecture of Islamic India.* New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Money, Annemarie. "Material Culture and the Living Room The appropriation and use of goods in everyday life." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7, no. 3 (2007): 355-377.

Morris, Jan. *Stones of the Empire: The Buildings of the Raj.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Morris, Morris David. "Trends and tendencies in Indian economic history." *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 5, no. 4 (1968): 319-388.

Mueen-ur-Rahman, Syed. *Ghalib aur Inqilab-i-satavan* (Ghalib and the 1857 revolution), Lahore: Al-Waqar Publishers, 2006.

Naghizadeh, Mohammad, and Mohammadmehdi Goodarzisoroush. "Explaining the Criterion to assess the Islamic architecture and city; A survey in an overt and covert reality in Islamic architecture and city." *International Journal of Architecture and Urban Development* 1, no. 2 (2012): 45-50.

Nakatani, Sumie. "Hometowns of the Marwaris, Diasporic Traders in India." *Regional Routes, Regional Roots?: Cross-Border Patterns of Human Mobility in Eurasia.* SRC Comparative Studies on Regional Powers, Issue:14 (2013) accessed August 23, 2014 https://srch.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/rp/publications/no14/14-06_Nakatani.pdf

"National Register, Historic places of Pakistan: Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar", Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

Nilufer, F. "Hidden Morphological Order in an Organic City." *Protibesh* 9 (2004): 34-41.

Notes, Osamu. "E.B. Havell and the Metamorphoses of Indian crafts," *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies*, 12, (2000): 203-225.

Okada, Amina. *A Jewel of Mughal India: The Mausoleum of I'timad Ud-Daulah.* Vol. 1. Milan: 5 Continents, 2003.

Oldenburg, Veena Talwar. *The making of colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Palsetia, Jesse S. "Merchant charity and public identity formation in colonial India: The case of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40, no. 3 (2005): 197-217.

Pandey, Sunjay Kumar. "The Rise and Decline of Indian Trading Communities in Central Asia," In *Central Asia in Retrospective & Prospect,* edited by Mushtaq A. Kaw, 315-326. New Delhi: Readworthy Publications, 2010.

Panicker, Shaji K. 'Indian Architecture' and the Production of a Postcolonial Discourse: A Study of Architecture + Design (1984-1992). PhD diss, University of Adelaide. 2008.

Panzac, Daniel. "International and domestic maritime trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th century." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 02 (1992): 189-206.

Parker, Samuel K. "Artistic practice and education in India: A historical overview." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 21, no. 4 (1987): 123-141.

Parimoo, Ratan. "Revival of Indian Architecture: The debate and the plight of the Mistri." *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 12, no. 1 (2015): 45-67.

Parthasarathi, Prasannan. "Rethinking wages and competitiveness in the eighteenth century: Britain and South India." *Past & Present,* 158 (1998): 79-109.

Patel, Alka. "Mercantile architectural patronage in Hyderabad, late 18th -19th centuries", in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*, edited by Alka Patel and Karen Leonard, 139-164. Boston: Brill, 2012.

Patel, Alka. "Reinscribing Home: The Architectural Patronage of Hyderabad's Banking and Mercantile Communities." Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition, 31 October-2 November 2008
The University of California, accessed on November 3, 2014, Irvinehttp://www.humanities.uci.edu/arthistory/indomuslimcultures.html

Patterson, Steven. "Postcards from the Raj," *Patterns of prejudice* 40, no. 02 (2006), 142-158.

Petruccioli, Atillio. "The Courtyard House: Typological Variations over Space and Time." In *Courtyard Housing: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Brian Edwards, 2-26. Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2006.

Pramar, Vickram Singh.   *A social history of Indian architecture*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Prasad, Sunand.   "The havelis of north India: the urban courtyard house." PhD diss., Royal College of Art, 1988.

Prashad, Vijay. "The technology of sanitation in colonial Delhi." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 01 (2001): 113-155.

Qizilbash, Rubina. "Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian." Masters diss, University of Peshawar, 1991.

Rabbat, Nasser. "Toward a Critical Historiography of Islamic Architecture." *Collections électroniques de l'INHA. Actes de colloques et livres en ligne de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art* (2005).

Rahman, Abdur. "The Gardens of Peshawar". In *The Mughal Gardens: Interpretation, conservation and Implications*, edited by Mahmood Hussain, Abdur Rahman and James L. Wescoat. Lahore: Ferozsons, 1996.

Rahman, Mahbubur, and Ferdouse Ara Haque. "Multiple Courtyard Mansions of Dhaka: Form and Context." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (2001): 57-71.

Rapoport, Amos. *House form and culture*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1969.

Rapoport, Amos. "Vernacular architecture and the cultural determinants of form", in *Buildings and society: Essays on the social development of the built environment*, edited by Anthony D. King, 283-305. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.

Rapoport, Amos. *The meaning of the built environment: A nonverbal communication approach*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982.

Rapoport, Amos. "Levels of meaning in the built environment", in *Cross-cultural perspectives in nonverbal communication,* edited by F. Poyatos, 317-336. Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1988.

Rapoport, Amos. "Systems of activities and systems of settings". In *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space; An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study,* edited by Susan Kent, 9-20. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1990.

Ray, Himanshu Prabha. "Questioning Art History: Locating Religious Identities." In *Indian Art History: Changing Perspectives*, edited by Parul Pandya Dhar. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld Ltd. 2011.

Raychaudhuri, Siddhartha. "Indian elites, urban space and the restructuring of Ahmedabad city, 1890-1947." PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997.

Raychaudhuri, Siddhartha. "Colonialism, Indigenous Elites and the Transformation of Cities in the Non-Western World: Ahmedabad (Western India), 1890-1947." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 03 (2001): 677-726.

Raymond, André. "Urban life and middle eastern cities: the traditional Arab city." *A Companion to the History of the Middle East* (2005): 207-226.

Reynolds, John. *Courtyards: aesthetic, social, and thermal delight*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002.

Richards, John F. *The Mughal Empire*. Vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Sabzwari, Kamila. *The perishing havelis of Sindh*. Lahore: Ferozsons, 2003.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism; Western concepts of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Salamé, Richard. ""Clocks and Empire: An Indian Case Study". Accessed on June 4 2015, http://library.brown.edu/ugresearchprize/Salame-ClocksandEmpire.pdf

Samizay, Rafi. "Order and Randomness in Patterns of Islamic Architecture and Urbanism." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Culture, Space and History*. (1990), accessed January 14 2015, http://iaps.architexturez.net/system/files/pdf/iaps_10_1990_1_128.content.pdf

Schrader, Heiko. "Moneylenders and merchant bankers in India and Indonesia." *Financial Landscapes Reconstructed* (1994): 341-356.

Schrader, Heiko. *Changing financial landscapes in India and Indonesia: Sociological aspects of monetization and market integration*, Vol. 2. Hamberg: LIT Verlag Münster, 1997.

Sen, Siddhartha. "Between dominance, dependence, negotiation, and compromise: European architecture and urban planning practices in colonial India." *Journal of Planning History* 9, no. 4 (2010): 203-231.

Sengupta, Tanya. "Producing the province: colonial governance and spatial cultures in district-headquarter towns of colonial Bengal, 1786 – *c.* 1900". Ph.D. diss, University of Westminster 2011.

Sethi House, Peshawar; Condition Survey Report. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2010
Sethi, Ismaeel M. *The Living Truth; Babu Jee (R.A.) Syed Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din (Golra Sharif).* Lahore: The Kissan Art Press, 1994.

Sethi, Mohammad Younis. '*Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal.'* (A brief account of the Sethi family of Peshawar) Unpublished Memoirs, 2002.

Shah, Ibrahim. "Jāmi' Masjid Andarshahr commonly known as" Masjid Mahābat Khān": The question of attribution." *Islamic Studies* 33, no. 4 (1994): 497-500.

Shah, Ibrahim. "Calligraphic Specimens in the Mahabat Khan Mosque, Peshawar." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 44, no. 4 (1996): 389-410.

Shah, Ibrahim. "The Mahabat Khan Mosque: Historical Perspective." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 45, no. 3 (1997): 315-324.

Shah, Ibrahim. "The Mahabat Khan Mosque: A Comparative Study." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 47, no. 4 (1999): 97.

Shah, Ibrahim. "A Short Survey of Hindu Temples in Peshawar." *South Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2008): 119-132.

Shah, Ibrahim. "Dating the Hindu Temple at Gor Khatri." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 61.2 (Apr-Jun 2013): 39-45.

Sharma, Jyoti P. "The British Treatment of Historic Gardens in the Indian Subcontinent: The Transformation of Delhi's Nawab Safdarjung's Tomb Complex from a Funerary Garden into a Public Park." *Garden History* (2007): 210-228.
Sharma, Jyoti P. "Mughal gardens of the indian subcontinent and the colonial legacy: the treatment of Delhi's Shalamar Bagh." *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 4, no. 2 (2009): 32-47.

Sharma, Jyoti P. "The Colonial Tourist: Seeking the Picturesque in Pre-Mutiny Delhi.*" South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2010): 136-145.

Sharr, Adam (ed). *Reading architecture and culture: researching buildings, spaces, and documents.* London: Routledge, 2012.

Shehzad, Ghaffer. 'Lahore...Nawahi Abadkari o Tauseeh'. In *Tarikh* 43, Lahore no., edited by Dr Mubarik Ali. Lahore: THAAP Publication, 2011.

Singh, Ajit. "Confrontation, comparison and reconstruction of the walled city of Shahjahanabad." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006.

Sinha, Amita. "From tradition to modernity: The role of the dwelling in social change." *EDRA21, April* (1990): 6-9.

Sinopoli, Carla M. "Monumentality and mobility in Mughal capitals." *Asian Perspectives* (1994): 293-308.

Smailes, Arthur E. "The Indian city: A descriptive model." *Geographische Zeitschrift* (1969): 177-190.

Subramanian, Lakshmi. "Banias and the British: The role of indigenous credit in the process of imperial expansion in Western India in the second half of the eighteenth century." *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 03 (1987): 473-510.

Subramanian, Lakshmi. "Arms and the merchant: The making of the Bania Raj in late eighteenth-century India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 24, no. 2 (2001): 1-27.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Early Modern Circulation and the Question of 'Patriotism'between India and Central Asia." In *Writing Travel in Central Asian History*, edited by Nile Green, 1-34. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Sultana, Razia. "Peshawar: An Integral Part of Competing Empires of Durranis, Sikhs and British." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture,* Vol. XXXII, No.1 (2011): 29 - 49.

Tandan, Banmali. *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh, 1722-1856: Its Evolution in an Aesthetic and Social Context.* Cambridge: Zophorus, 2008.

Tarapor, Mahrukh. "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India." *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1980): 53-81.

Tarar, Nadeem Omar. "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture, and Art Education in the Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab", *South Asian Studies*, 27:2 (2011): 199-219.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste. *Travels in India. 2 vols.* Translated by V. Ball from the original French edition of 1676. Edited by William Crooke. New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1925.

Taylor, Hilary A. "Urban public parks, 1840-1900: design and meaning." *Garden History* (1995): 201-221.

Temple, Nicholas. "Cultivating Architecture", in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, Edited by Paul Emmons, John Hendrix and Jane Lomholt, xix. Oxon: Routledge, 2012.

"The Walled City of Lahore", Report by Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants Limited (PEPAC), Lahore: Pack Art Press, 1993.

Tillotson, Giles Henry Rupert. "Indian architecture and the English Vision", *South Asian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1991): 59-74.

Tillotson, Giles Henry Rupert. *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Tillotson, Giles Henry Rupert. *Paradigms of Indian architecture: space and time in representation and design*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Tillotson, G. H. R. "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780–1880." *The Raj. India and the British* (1990): 1600-1948.

Tillotson, Giles Henry Rupert. "Painting and Understanding Mughal Architecture." *Collected Papers on South Asia* 13 (1997): 59-79.

Tillotson, Sarah. *Indian mansions: A social history of the Haveli*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 1998.

Thornton, Robert. "Culture: A Contemporary Definition". In *South African Keywords*, edited by E. Boonzaier and J. Sharp, 24-25. Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.

Vandal, Pervaiz and Sajida Vandal. *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh*. Lahore: Research and Publication Centre, National College of Arts, 2006.

Vandal, Sajida Haider. *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab*. Islamabad: UNESCO, 2011.

Warren, E. Prioleau. "English Mantelpieces. I." *The Decorator and Furnisher* 27, no. 6 (1896): 167-167.

Washbrook, David A. "Progress and problems: South Asian economic and social history c. 1720–1860." *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 01 (1988): 57-96.

Wescoat, Jr., James L. & Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*. Washington D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1996.

Wescoat Jr, James L. "The Changing Cultural Space of Mughal Gardens." *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture* (2011): 201.

Whitehead, Clive. "The historiography of British imperial education policy, Part I: India." *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (2005): 315-329.
"Who's Who in the Peshawar District", Confidential. Corrected upto January 1st 1931. The India Office, British Library.

Wilburn, Alayna. "Imperial Knowledge and Cultural Display: Representations of Colonial India in Late-nineteenth and Early-twentieth Century London." Masters diss., University of Kentucky, 2008.

Wilson, H. H. "Art. IV.—Summary Review of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang, from the Translation of the Si-yu-ki by M. Julien, and the Mémoire Analytique of M. Vivien de St. Martin." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 17 (1860): 106-137.

Yapp, Malcolm A. "British perceptions of the Russian threat to India." *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 04 (1987): 647-665.

Yousafi, Allah Buksh. *Beesvein Sadi key Suru ka Peshawar* (Peshawar at the start of the 20th century). Karachi: Sharif Art Press, 1984.

Zia, Zia-ur-Rahman. *Peshawar Sher ka Mohalla Sethian aur Bazaar Ander Shehr* (Peshawar City's Sethi Mohalla and Ander Shehr Bazaar). Islamabad: Lok Virsa, 2008.

Glossary

aadab	etiquette, the proper way of doing things.
aina-kari	inlay mirror work
angun	courtyard
aroosi	sash window
azan	call for prayer
bagh	garden
bahi-khata	current account registers
baithak	formal sitting room
bait-ul-khila	toilet/outhouse/privies
bait-ul-mal	royal treasury
bala-khana	raised room
baolis	step wells
bania	moneylender; derived from the Sanskrit term vanjj meaning a merchant.
banjara	Indian gypsies
baradari	a pavilion with twelve openings
barsaat	overhead bridge connecting two houses, which is enclosed
basta window	sash window
baverchi-khana	kitchen
bazaar	market
begum	female head of the household
beradari	caste
beruni	external or public area (street)
bima	insurance
biradari	family
bukharcha	bay window
burj	tower
buggy-khana	garage for carriages and buggies
chabootra	raised platform
chahar-bagh	four-fold gardens
chajja	overhang
charpai	light bed with stretched woven hemp on a wooden frame
chatty galli	covered street; an overhead covered bridge between houses
chattri	dome-shaped pavilions
chini-khana	Elaborate niches that display decorative items
choki	a square platform found on both sides of the main door
chowkidar	guard at door
churidar mehrab	cusped arch
daftar/daftar-khana	office
dak	post
dalal	commission agent
dalan	room
darban	gate keeper

darbar	court	**godam**	store
darwaza.	door; but also used to indicate the large gateway into the city.	**godown**	warehouse or storage place
dastaks	passports	**hammam**	bath house, usually used for public baths
dastar-khawan	tablecloth, cloth spread on the floor for eating	**hasht-behist**	nine-fold plan, mandala
dehliz	entrance	**hasta**	measure equaling one step
deodar	a large Himalayan cedar	**haveli**	urban courtyard mansion
deorhi	lobby, foyer	**hookah**	an upright smoking pipe
diwan	head accountant	**hundi**	mercantile bills of credit
diwan-i-amm	hall of public audience	**imam**	prayer leader
diwan-khana	men's office, main trade office where the owner of the business sits	**imambarga**	Shia prayer/community centre
dharamshala	religious rest house/sanctuary	**iwan**	façade
dhobi	washer	**izora**	lower panel
dukan	shop	**jagir**	estate
farshi nashist	floor seating	**Jahangiri/Lahori eent**	small size bricks manufactured in Jahangir's era in Lahore.
firangi	foreigner	**jalli**	terracotta trellis
gachbori	Gypsum plaster stucco work used to decorate facades	**jamadar**	sweeper
galli	alley, street	**jharokas**	protruding balcony. which is shuttered for *pardah*
gamasha	commercial agent	**jogi**	Hindu monks practicing yoga, also travelling monks.
gaz	a yard in Mughal times (33 inches)	**kacha brick**	unbaked brick
ghanta ghar	clock tower	**kabaili**	tribal people living on the India (currently Pakistan) and Afghanistan border
ghusal-khana	bathroom	**kafir**	non-believer, non-Muslim
gokha	a square platform found on both sides of the main door to a haveli	**karakul**	lambskin

karkhana	local production units/small indigenous factories
kashi-kari	glazed tile surface
khandani	aristocratic
khata	account book
khatam-band	parquet ceiling, also called *tarseem-band*
khattri	mercantile race
khewa-khanas	tea houses
khisht tarásh	tile makers
kidmatgars	servants
koochey	streets
kos-minar	towers marking distance of 1 kos= 3 km
kothi	establishment, agency and merchants house.
kotha	roof terrace
kothi	establishment, agency and merchant's house.
kotwali	police station
kucha	street
lekha-khata	individual account books
madrassa	school
mahajan	chamber of Commerce; of the merchants' guild.
makan	house
mama	maid
mandi	market

mang	roof opening of a courtyard
mansabdar	Mughal military official
mardana	men's quarters
madrassa	school
marwari	merchants from the region of Mewar
mashki	water-bearer
mehman-khana	guest quarters, guest house
mehram	males who are related by blood; father, brother, son, grandfathers, uncles on father's and mother's side and also husband.
mimar	architect
minar	tower
misls	twelve sovereign states that formed the Sikh Confederacy
mistri	architect
mochi	cobbler
mohalla	urban residential neighborhood
monabat-kari	painted stucco work
munshi	accountant/clerk
nagarseth	merchant body leader
naqqash	fresco painter
naqqashi	fresco work
naqsha naveez	draftsman
nautch	dance
nawab	Muslim ruler, viceroy of a Mughal province

nazrana	gift-giving	**sarrafs/ shroff**	money changers
nou-daulatiya	nouveau riche	**sehn**	courtyard
parchin-kari	stone inlay work	**serai**	caravanserai, inn
pardah	segregation of women from the public view	**shahi guzargah**	royal route in the city
patwar-khana	land records office	**shamashana**	crematorium
pesh-khana	front room	**shaminana**	awning, tent
pinjra-kari	latticed woodwork	**sharafa**	cornice
pinjarah-saz	lattice workers	**sheesham**	Indian rosewood
powindas	Lohani Afghan traders who spend their lives in carrying on traffic between India	**sherbet**	cold sweet beverage
pucca bricks	kiln-baked bricks	**Shish Mahal**	crystal palace, palace of mirrors
punjali	wooden lattice work also called pinjra-kari	**subah**	province
purdah	veiling of the face, gender segregation	**subedar**	governor
pustin	sheepskin coat	**sutar**	one-eighth of an inch, also called sut
qarina	bi-lateral symmetry	**sutraghar**	man with a measuring thread meaning a mistri/architect
qasba	small town	**tajariti daftar**	trade office
qilla	fort	**tajori**	safe
qissa- khawans	story tellers	**takht**	raised platform/ wooden bed for sitting or lying.
rais	rich aristocrat	**taq**	alcove, niche
raj	kingdom	**tarkhan**	wood carver, carpenter
riayah	subjects	**tatti-khana**	toilet
sahukar	moneylender	**teh-khana**	basement
salatin	Princes, plural of Sultan	**tehzeeb**	culture

telli	oil trader
ti-bari	three arched verandah/opening
tonga	horse carriage
tosh-khana	room for storing valuables.
umrah	Mughal nobles
underooni	internal or private area(house)
ustad	master craftsman
veranda	open structure with a roof, portico
vihara	Buddhist monastery
waqf	endowment, trust
waziri eent	small size brick used in the Mughal era also called Jahangiri and Lahori brick.
zamindar	Large landowner
zenana /zenan-khana	women's quarters