

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

by

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The traditional urban courtyard house called the haveli developed in the subcontinent from the 16th century onwards. It was initially occupied by the Mughal umrah and mansabdars until the 19th century. The political transition of power from the Mughals to the British was reflected in the occupation of the umrah havelis by the merchants. The merchant havelis were much smaller than the grand sprawling umrah estates but indicated the rise of the merchants as the new elite of the land. The Sethi merchant-bankers built twelve havelis in the centre of Peshawar, 1800-1910, which grew from initially modestly sized houses to palatial umrah havelis by the late 19th century and finally to large mansions in the early 20th century. These havelis are reflective of not only the Sethi clan's prosperity and associations with centres of power in colonial India and Afghanistan but also of the narratives provided by the urban haveli as it underwent changes reflecting Mughal and later colonial sensibilities. These havelis are studied here through the elements of physical development, stylistic changes, and appropriation of symbols of power which represent changing social relations and cultural identities. Through this we may also understand the impact of trade, travel, commerce, culture and politics on the domestic house. (A glossary is provided at the end of the essay).

INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MERCHANT *HAVELIS*

The term *haveli* is used for the elite urban courtyard house, the concept identifying a house as a *haveli* originating in the Mughal era.¹ The *haveli* came to symbolise the patron's public and official recognition and thus legitimacy within urban society.² The basic components of the building type remained constant and widespread over a large region from India to Central Asia and Iran due to centuries of intercultural and economic exchanges between India, Afghanistan, Iran and central Asia during the Mughal Period (1526-1857).

The building and occupation of the urban *havelis* was widespread during the Mughal era. They were built predominantly by the *umrah* (nobles) and *mansabdars* (military officials). Many large *haveli* complexes were constructed near the fort palaces of the Mughal Emperors; their designs emulated the palaces having large public halls, *divan-khanas*, and private areas of the harem and service spaces for a large contingent of servants,

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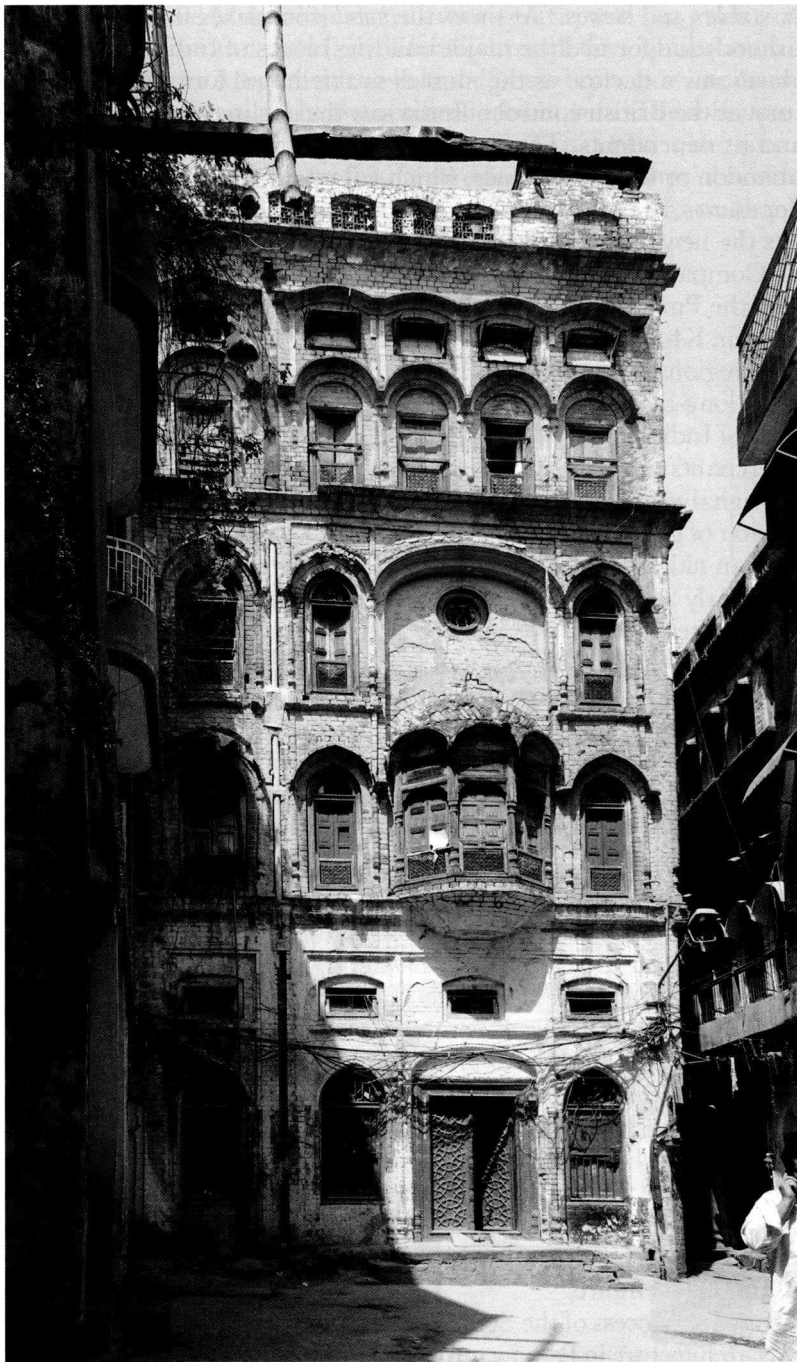


Fig. 1

Trader *haveli* in Bhabra Bazaar, Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

craftsmen, stables and stores.³ At times the *haveli* complexes formed a complete *mohalla* (neighbourhood) and formed the major building blocks of Indian cities.⁴

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.⁵ The 19th century saw the rise of the merchants and money lenders (bankers) as the new power brokers; as they lent their financial support initially to the East India Company and later the British Crown. Indian merchants, called *Khatri*s, 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 became rich through the extensive West Asia and Central Asian trade.⁶ These long-distance trade links helped the rich merchants to become the new affluent class of India.

The merchants subsequently occupied the physical and social space vacated by the declining Mughal *umrah*, the most prominent manifestation of which was the building and occupation of grand and well decorated *havelis* during the 18th and 19th centuries in many Indian cities.⁷ 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. These *havelis* allowed the merchants to transform their wealth into a physical presence on the horizons of the new colonial landscape, to create reputations, political influence and ultimately to create public representations of themselves. The production of a rich and opulent domestic architecture through trade portrays the cultural manifestations of the periods of socio-economic and political strength experienced by the merchants.⁸ 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 (Fig. 1).

SETHI TRADE AND PATRONAGE OF *HAVELIS*

Peshawar is located on the eastern end of the Khyber Pass between Afghanistan and India. The city carried strategic, military and historic importance, as an important frontier town of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. Indian and foreign merchants travelled regularly to the city which served as an important international trading post connecting Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and India, from the 13th to the 20th century.⁹ The Sethi clan members followed the prevalent trade patterns of the era, moving from Bhera to Chamkani and to Peshawar in the 18th century.¹⁰ 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 Sethis travelled widely for trade and continually associated themselves with powerful patrons, which helped to expand trade interests and build a substantial financial empire.¹¹

The economic success of the Sethi 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 family *havelis*, mosques, gardens, wells and other philanthropic works. Twelve Sethi *havelis* were constructed as a fraternal cluster from 1800-1910, in the area (later

called Sethi *kucha*) near the Mughal quarters, trade centres and the main processional route of the city. These large and embellished *havelis* through the appropriation and usage of design elements from the Mughal to the colonial periods provide important insights into the lifestyles and traditions of the Sethi merchant-bankers. These houses served as the physical expression of their patrons' position and status in the changing and fluid colonial world through the expression of a shared ethos. As such, they also chronicle the changes undergone by a society passing through turbulent political, social and cultural changes from the 18th to the 20th century (Fig. 2).

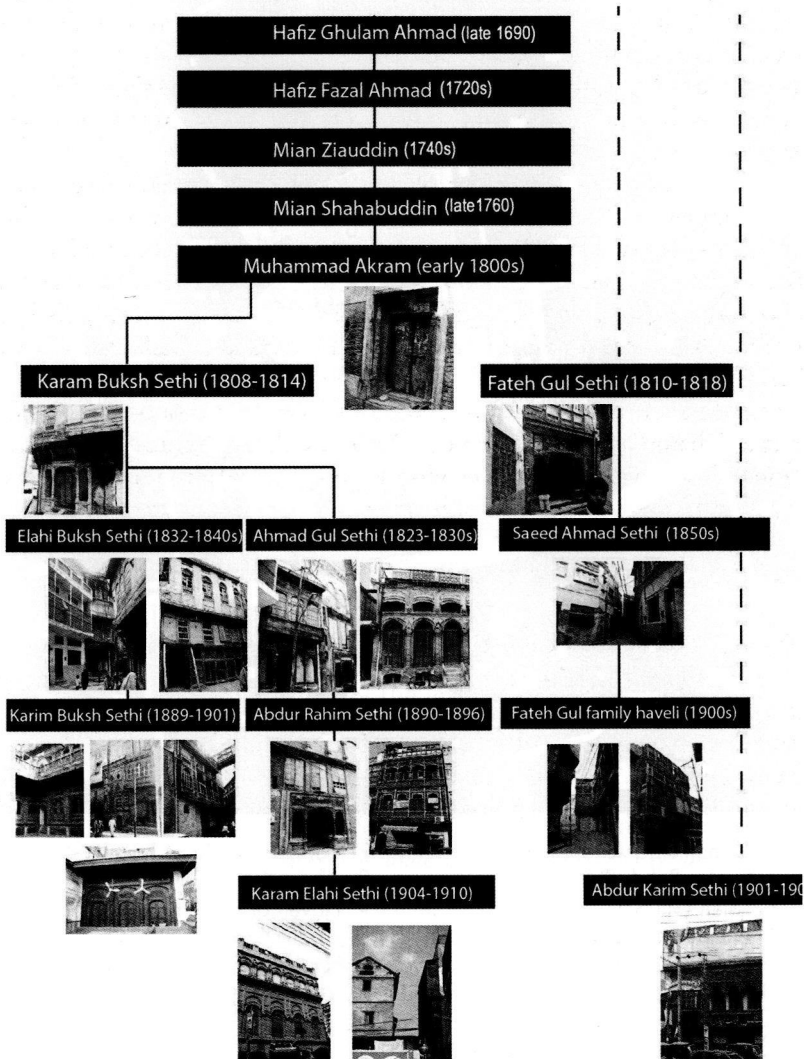
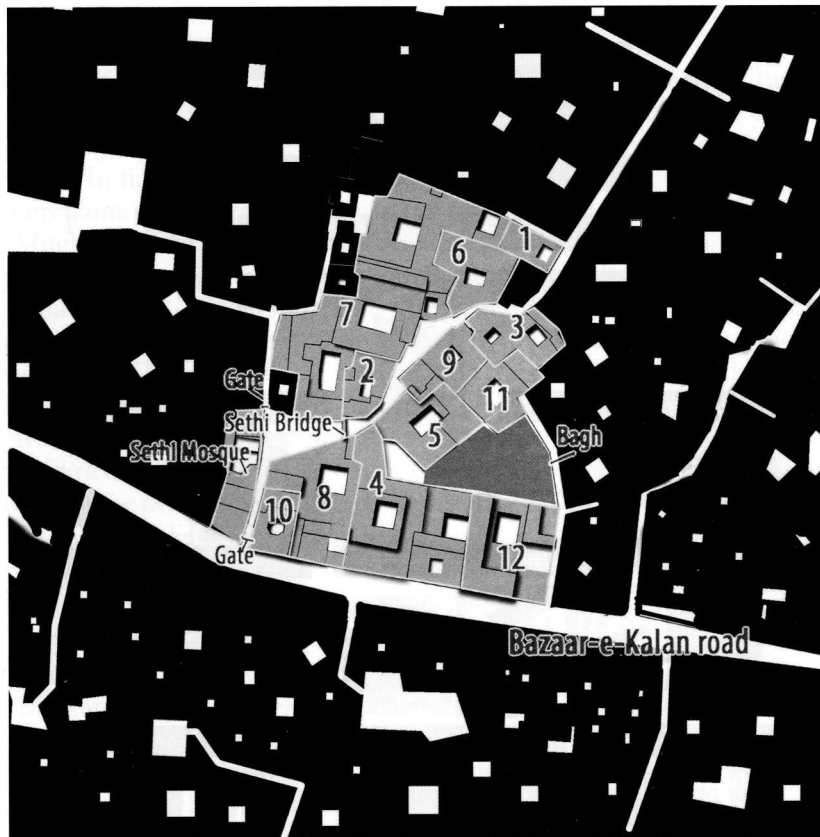


Fig. 2
Family tree of Sethi merchants.
Author with Huzaiifa Feroz

SETHI HAVELIS: PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

The Sethi *havelis* from the 1800s to the 1900s, along with their residential uses progressively acquired more complex commercial and social functions, displaying a more multifaceted social structure. These *havelis* 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 in their design. Within these broad categories they are further divided into four phases in which each shows a distinctive and different architectural system which



- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Muhammad Akram house | 7 Karim Buksh Sethi haveli |
| 2 Karam Buksh Sethi haveli | 8 Abdur Rahim Sethi haveli |
| 3 Fateh Gul Sethi haveli | 9 Haveli of Fateh Gul's Grandson |
| 4 Ahmad Gul Sethi haveli | 10 Abdur Karim Sethi haveli |
| 5 Elahi Buksh Sethi haveli | 11 Haveli of Fateh Gul family |
| 6 Haji Saeed Ahmad Sethi haveli | 12 Abdul Jalil Sethi haveli |

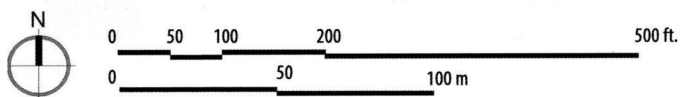


Fig. 3

The twelve Sethi *havelis* in Kucha Sethian.

Author with Huzaiifa Feroz

was developed according to traditions of indigenous society and its interactions with external centres of power. These helped to accommodate and represent the new form of social organization and the cultural aspirations of the residents (Fig. 3).

First phase of Sethi *haveli* development during the Durrani era (1800-1818)

The Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli* is the earliest surviving *haveli* of the Sethi clan, built around 1808.¹² Construction was undertaken by Karam Buksh since his affluence as a successful merchant allowed him to combine his business and domestic needs into one *haveli*. It comprised 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. 4).

The Fateh Gul *haveli* is located at the furthest end of the *mohalla* on the north-east side in a narrow winding *galli* (lane) which is about 8ft wide. It was roughly contemporary with the Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli*, constructed around 1818, with a site area measuring 591 sq. ft.¹³ The external façades are decorated with *munabat-kari* (stucco). This is a unique feature of this *haveli*: the decorative building craft of *munabat-kari* covering an entire façade was not found among other *havelis* of this era in the old city.¹⁴

Both *havelis* have entrance porches with 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. The doorways have two *chabootras* or *choki* (seats) on either side of the door. These were provided to seat *chowkidars* (watchmen) or *darbans* (gate keeper) who kept watch at the entrance. These were also spaces where certain petty traders might sit and transact their business with the family.¹⁵

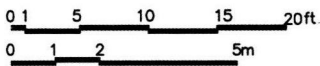
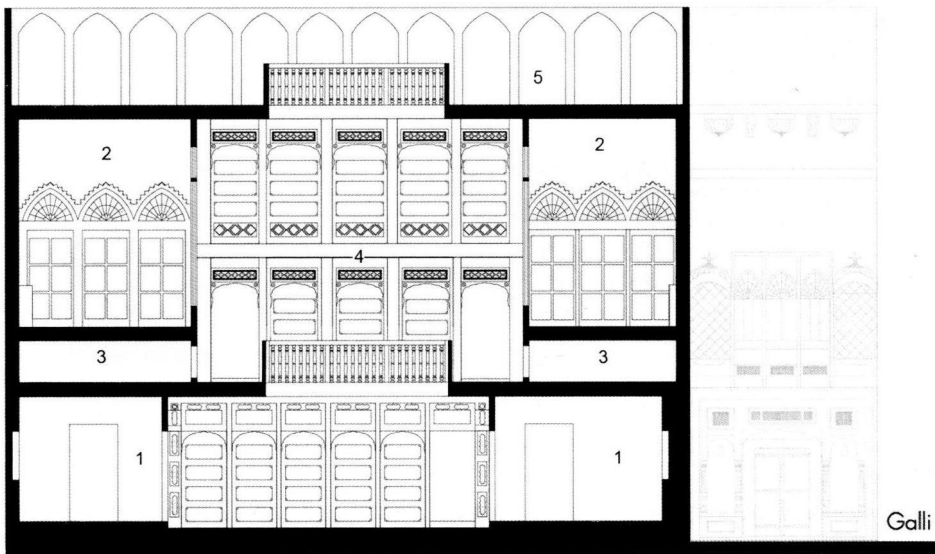
The *havelis* served the dual purposes of the families' business premises and residence. These were two separate activities which required careful allocation of spaces for each so as to allow the smooth carrying out of business affairs while providing privacy for the women and family. These *havelis* had only one entrance from the street, so in order to control and regulate various people's entry to the house, the *dehliż* (entrance) acted as an important means of signage, indicating the threshold. This was a 'culture-specific code' which communicated the intent of the environment to reinforce the appropriate behaviour of the visitor: whether one was allowed to enter or required to wait.¹⁶ 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 *dehliż* (entrance) along with the *deorhi* (lobby) and the *angun* (courtyard) were important transitional elements that connected the *beruni* (external) to the *underoomi* (internal).¹⁷ The *dehliż* led to a *deorhi*, which was a focal space that led to the *daftar-khana* on the ground floor and via a staircase to the *zenan-khana* on the first floor.

The *havelis* were organized around a square courtyard and all rooms on the ground, first and second floors opened towards this primary source of daylight and air. The ground floor of the Karam Buksh and Fateh Gul *havelis* served as the *daftar-khana* for the business. Both had a main *bala-khana* (raised room) which served as the *diwan-khana* (main office) within the ground floor and were highly decorated, indicating their status and importance within the spatial hierarchy (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4

Juxtaposed images of Karam Buksh Sethi *haveli* and Fateh Gul *haveli*



SECTION AA'

- 1 Daftar
- 2 Bala Khana
- 3 Godam
- 4 Courtyard
- 5 Kotla

Fig. 5

Section of the Fateh Gul *haveli*.

Author with Mashal Arshad



Fig. 6

Juxtaposed first floor embellished *dalans* of the Karam Buksh and Fateh Gul *havelis*.



Fig. 7

External wall of Ahmad Gul *haveli*.

The first floors of the *havelis* house the main residential quarters called the *zenan-khana*. There are *dalans* (rooms) around the courtyard and a *baverchi-khana* (kitchen), located on the first floor since the ground floor is the business/male domain. The first floor façades or *ivān* along the courtyard have arched openings which are decorated with both wood carving and *pinjra-kari* (latticed woodwork). These are the most decorated façades of the *haveli*, fronting the family rooms which were used for different activities: sitting rooms, work spaces, bedrooms in the afternoon and nights if the weather was 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*. All of the rooms have windows that may be opened to form arcades along the courtyard, allowing the space to expand and be used as a larger space for celebrations and festivals.

The first floor *dalans* are richly embellished with *chini-khanas* (elaborate niches), decorative wall panels containing mirrors and *taq* (niches). There are *munabat-kari* and *aina-kari* (inlay mirror work) borders around the *chini-khanas* and doors. The *chini-khana* is one of the important elements in the embellishment of the interior, showing the desire not just to decorate a surface but also to serve as a vessel to hold and display the family's valuables in the form of china and glassware (Fig. 6). 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 façades, *naqqashi* in the case of the Karam Buksh *haveli* and *monabat-kari* on the Fateh Gul *haveli*. Both techniques were employed in the nearby Mughal buildings of Serai Jehan Ara and Mahabat Khan Mosque.¹⁸ These were the first *havelis* to begin the process of identification of the Sethi merchants as the indigenous *rais* (rich aristocrats) of Peshawar, through the use of Mughal inspired embellishments. They were followed by larger and more embellished houses-cum-offices in the next phase of *haveli* building.

Second phase of Sethi *haveli* development during the Afghan and Sikh eras (1823-1840s)

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 Barakzai Sardars (1818-1838) and the Sikhs (1838-1849). The Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi *havelis* constructed during this era displayed the clan's economic prosperity as well as the 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 (Fig. 7).¹⁹ The merchant *havelis* here emulated the *umrah* estates of Mughal times which consisted of fortified premises housing domestic and official buildings. The *havelis* 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.²⁰

These *havelis* deviated from the earlier practice of combining the domestic and commercial realms. They were constructed as independent units within a complex



Fig. 8
Juxtaposed internal views of Ahmad Gul haveli.



Fig. 9
Internal and external views of the mehman-khana, Ahmad Gul haveli.

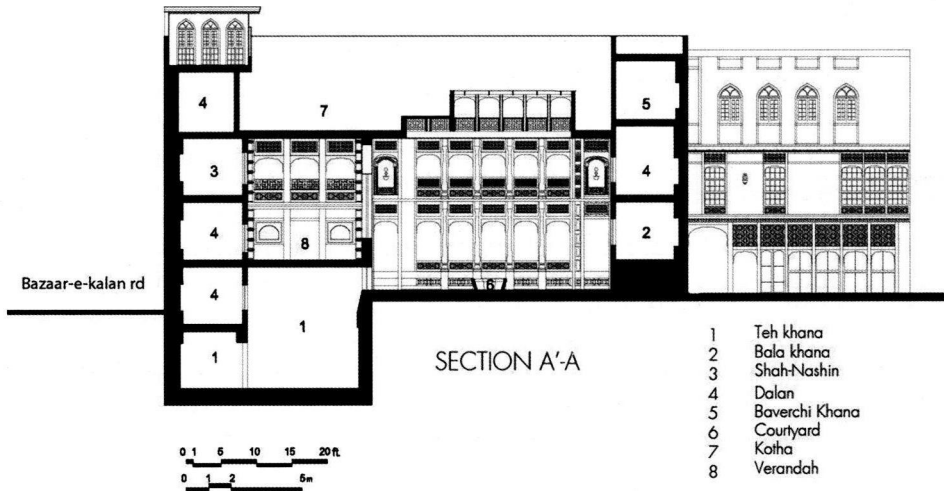


Fig. 10
Section of the Ahmad Gul haveli.
Author with Hasan Ejaz

containing the clan's *daftar-khana* as a separate but inclusive entity.²¹ The Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh *havelis* opened onto a common forecourt which would also serve later family *havelis*. 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 Ahmad Gul *haveli* was composed of all the design elements of *umrah havelis* - a large courtyard, central water fountain, embellished and carved façades surrounding the courtyard - indicating the patron's position among the *rais* of the era. Many attributes of Mughal 'paradisical gardens' were emulated by the Ahmad Gul *haveli* courtyard through the presence of the central fountain, and the portrayal of flowers and trees in *naqqashi* (fresco) paintings on the façades of the courtyard together with floral carving on the surrounding wooden arcades (Fig. 8).²² The interiors of all *bala-khanas* on the ground and first floors are highly embellished with traditional *naqqashi*. 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 Shah-Jehani stylistic traditions. These decorations and ornamentation are again intended to bring a garden inside a dwelling. The Ahmad Gul *haveli* has large *teh-khanas* on two levels on the south side. These spaces offer two more levels of comfortable living for the joint family in the summer afternoons for private and communal occupation. The family constructed a separate *mehman-khana* (guest house) in the late 1880s.²³ This was a two storey complex constructed on the north-east side of the *haveli*, catering to the friends of the family, merchants from out of town and eminent visitors (Fig. 9).

The Elahi Buksh *haveli* was begun after the completion of the Ahmad Gul *haveli*.²⁴ It was constructed across an enclosed garden from the Ahmad Gul *haveli*, which had fruit trees, rose shrubs and a central fountain.²⁵ This *haveli* was pulled down in the 1980s and replaced by a new house.²⁶ No physical remains, historical documents or maps are available to draw any conclusions about this *haveli*. There are family accounts that state that it had large decorated *bala-khanas*, *teh-khanas* and was decorated in a manner similar to the Ahmad Gul Sethi *haveli*, with many identical features of design, stylistic and decorative elements.²⁷

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 (Fig. 10).²⁸ 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 sustained by the Sethis 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.

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.

Third phase of *haveli* development during the British era (1880–1900)

The Karim Buksh Sethi *haveli* and the Abdur Rahim Sethi *haveli* form the third phase of *haveli* development (Figs 11 and 12). Karim Buksh built the largest *haveli* complex of the *mohalla* (and of the city at the time), 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.²⁹ The Abdur Rahim Sethi *haveli* is contemporary

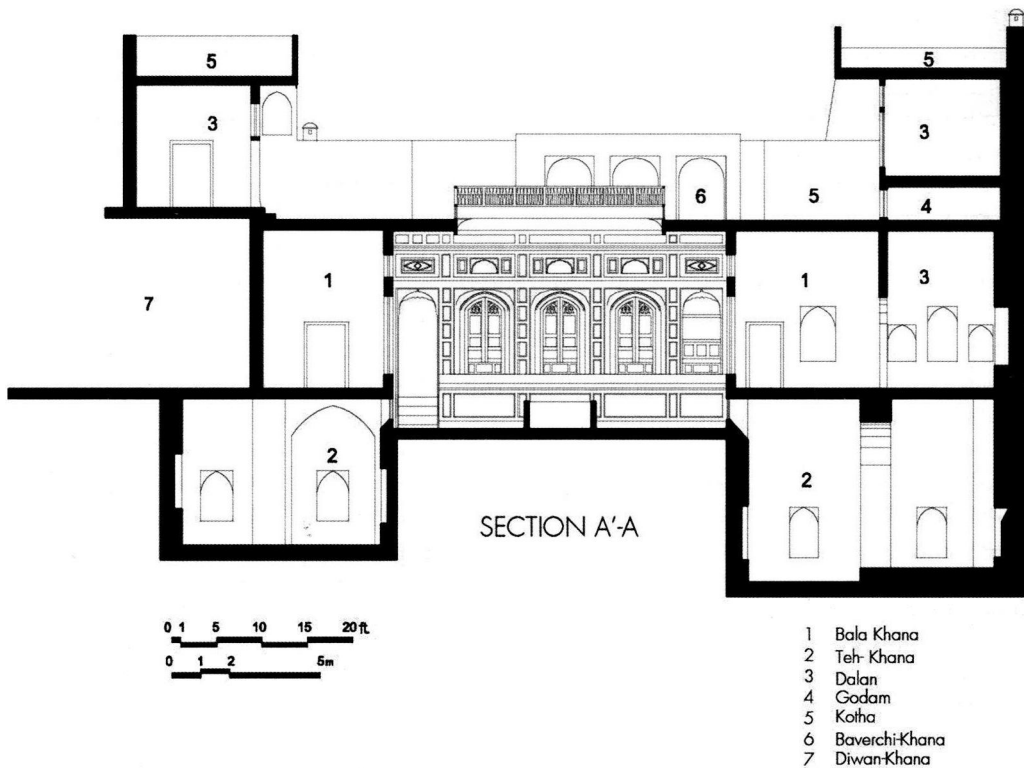


Fig. 11
Section of Karim Buksh *haveli*.
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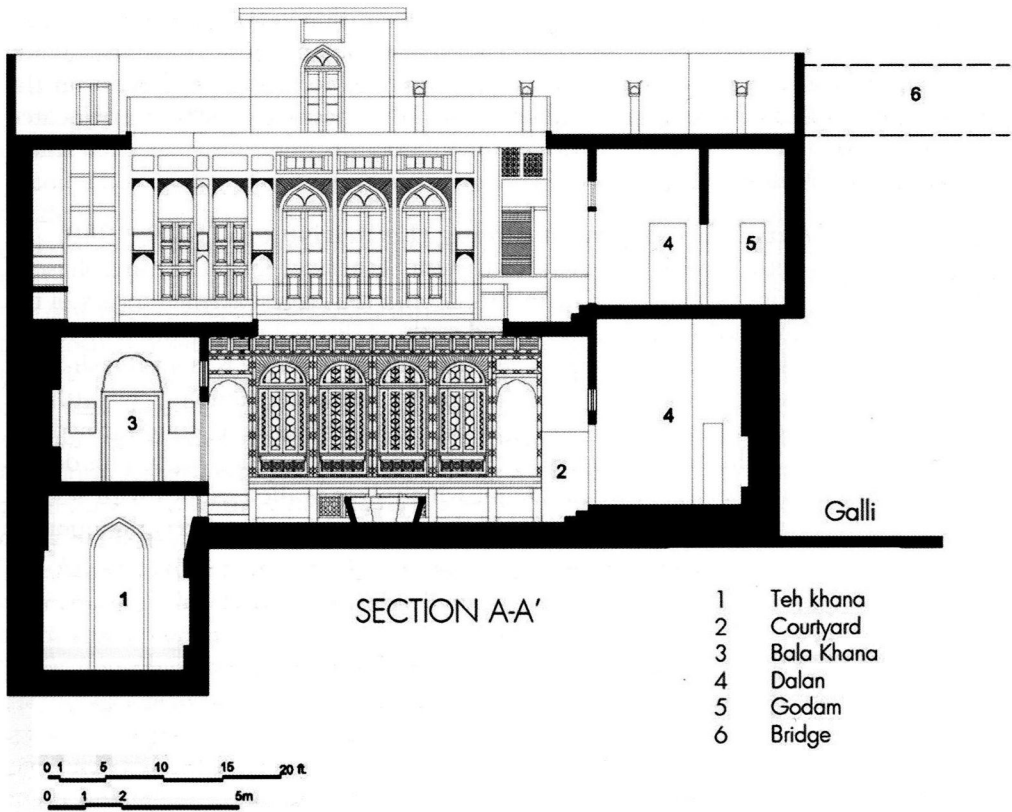


Fig. 12
Section of Abdur Rahim haveli.
Author with Hasan Ejaz

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 1890.³⁰

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. This *haveli* also separated the three realms of *daftar-khana*, the *mardana* (men's quarters) and the *zenan-khana* in three distinct zones. The *daftar-khana* is located on the main *mohalla galli*, this has multiple connections to the *haveli* at the ground, first and second floor levels. 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, and act as a stage for the transactions in his vast business empire.

These *havelis* have *chini-khanas* and *khatam-band* (parquet) ceilings in every room, indicating the patrons' wealth and the importance given to these embellishments of interior space. The *bala-khanas* of the ground floor of both *havelis* 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. Floral frescos decorate the rooms, the combination of floral bouquets with the central fountain echoing the paradise theme and reinforcing the presence of a garden within the *haveli*. There are richly embellished *chini-khanas* in all *bala-khanas* of the ground floor. These *chini-khanas* were used to display china bowls, plates, glassware and crockery from Russia and Bukhara.³¹ The explorations and variations in the designs of the *chini-khanas*, the use of different materials and decorative techniques, indicate the importance of the *chini-khana* within the decorative tradition of the period.³² The wooden *khatam-band* ceilings have painted geometric designs and elaborate Bukhara lamps hung from them. The designs around the room are floral and the flowers depicted are from the region and from 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.

Traditional characteristics in high-status *havelis* during the late 19th century were modified considerably by the impact of British taste. The Sethi *havelis* indicate that the contact and associations between the Sethi merchant bankers and the British increased, as modern materials such as wrought iron grilles, girders and stained glass were incorporated. The larger scale of the rooms also indicates that possibly western furnishings were brought in and used as a means of social development (Fig. 13). 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.³³ In cold England, the most important feature and focus of a room artistically and practically was the fireplace.³⁴ Within the relatively hotter Peshawar (with nearly seven 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.³⁵ Previously, the *chini-khana* had occupied the central and focal position within a room. Now, the fireplaces were successfully amalgamated with the decorative *chini-khana* to form an important hybrid which signified the blending of two cultures: Indian and colonial.

The Karim Buksh Sethi *daftar-khana* was constructed in 1901 and formed a large and independent unit.³⁶ This was a departure from the earlier trade offices which were built either inside the residential *haveli* or within the family compound. The Abdur Rahim Sethi trade office, a three storey building, also had an independent entrance from the Bazaar-e-Kalan road and internal connections with the residential *haveli* on the second floor. The *daftar-khanas* now called trade offices were the first spaces to be influenced by the European concepts of spatial arrangement and decoration, which changed the character of the traditional *daftar-khana*. European objects, decorative pieces and later, furniture, were assimilated into these spaces, which were used to entertain Europeans (as the British - English, Scots, Irish and Welsh - were collectively called).³⁷ The new interiors became larger to accommodate chairs, tables and display cabinets. Changes



Fig. 13

Bala-khana of Abdur Rahim Sethi haveli.

Fig. 14

Interior of main baithak of Karim Buksh daftar-khana.

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 construction to use iron girders instead of timber beams. Karim Buksh Sethi's *daftar-khana baithak* (formal sitting room) presented a new language of social display within the typology of the *mohalla* (Fig. 14).

Karim Buksh Sethi built a separate but attached *mehman-khana* to house his guests and visitors, including such prominent religious figures as the Pirs of Golra.³⁸ The vast *mehman-khana* was built on a lot measuring 4573 sq.ft. It included a *buggy-khana* for horse-driven carriages on the ground floor and guest residences on the first floor.³⁹ The adoption of the *buggy-khana* (garage) for parking the carriage was a new feature within the urban courtyard house. *Umrah havelis* in large cities such as Delhi and Lahore had provided spaces for elephants, horses, carriages and *tongas* (horse carriage).⁴⁰ The colonial era introduced faster horse driven carriages (phaetons) that were housed in garage-like spaces within the city *havelis*.⁴¹

Karim Buksh *haveli* was constructed after a gap of nearly forty years from the preceding *havelis* and was shaped by the need to accommodate a series of more complex and large scale activities, resulting in a large complex arranged around three courtyards. These activities included socializing on a large scale with important persons both British and Indian, 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* was greatly expanded with three large and separate basements.

Both *havelis* reflect the changing aesthetics of Mughal India from the 1860s onwards. These transformations took place in art practices (such as *naqqashi* and other decorative arts) and in the valuation and patronage of the colonial aesthetics which stemmed from colonial encounters.⁴² The Sethis' role as intermediaries between the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman and the British Viceroy in Peshawar, Kabul and elsewhere had increased their wealth and necessitated this amalgamation of the old with a newer and accepted aesthetic.⁴³

A notable feature connecting the Abdur Rahim Sethi *haveli* to the Karim Buksh *haveli* is a bridge built over the *galli* (Fig. 15). This *chatti galli* (covered street) was constructed in the early 20th century after the marriage of Karim Buksh Sethi's daughter with Karam Elahi Sethi in order to facilitate the movement of women between the two *havelis*.⁴⁴ This iconic element has been photographed frequently and has become the most recognizable image of the Sethi *mohalla*.

At the beginning of the 20th century, changes in cultural norms led to a change in residential typologies. The city was abandoned for the cantonment and the *haveli* was deserted for the bungalow. In view of Karim Buksh Sethi's close relationship with 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 outskirts of the city.⁴⁵ The answer lies in 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



Fig. 15

View of *chatti galli* connecting the *havelis*.

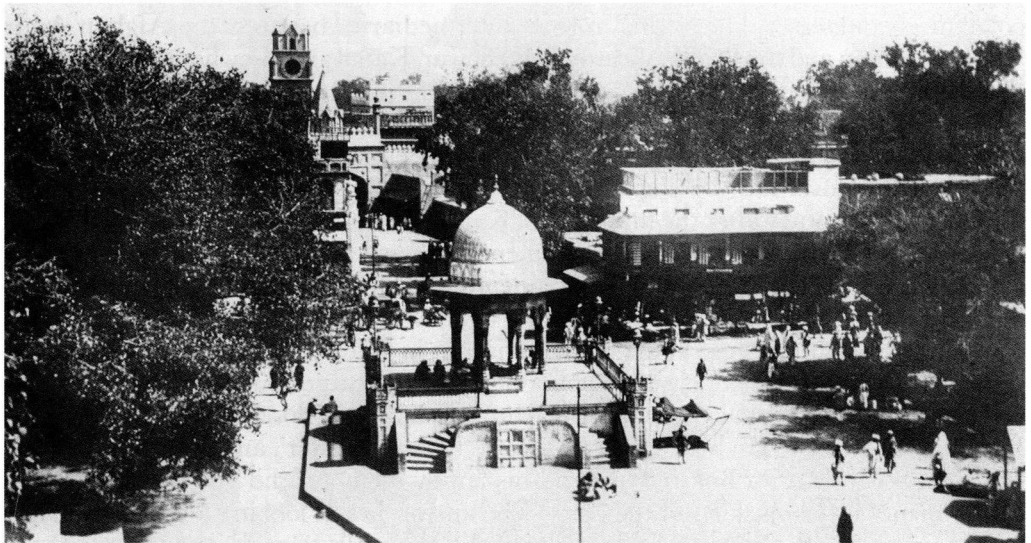


Fig. 16

Hastings memorial, postcard (1910)

the midst of a jungle, lacking all the amenities which the *rais* valued so much in life.⁴⁶ The *haveli* in the city was considered to provide 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 filling in the spatial hierarchy in the city: the *haveli* became an important marker of their status and identity. But within their city *havelis*, the Sethi merchant bankers found it acceptable to introduce European-style reception rooms for the entertainment of their *firangi* (foreign) 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 such products of industrial technology as steel column and beam sections, tiles, stained glass, louvered door and window shutters, pre-fabricated cast and wrought iron brackets, balconies and balustrades.

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 the maintenance of peace in the border tribal areas, allowing the British to concentrate on developing the administrative structures of the region.⁴⁷ The establishment of law and order in and around Peshawar (1893 to 1919) facilitated the physical growth and development of the city and its suburbs (cantonment and Civil Lines) under the British.⁴⁸ Lord Curzon, the Governor-General held a *darbar* in Peshawar on April 2nd 1902 to inaugurate the new North-West Frontier Province.⁴⁹ Within this new political structure, many Indian notables were given positions allowing them to participate in the affairs of the government. This included Karim Buksh Sethi's appointment as an honorary magistrate.⁵⁰

Many public monuments were built in Peshawar during this phase including the Hastings memorial (Fig. 16) 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.⁵¹ The British re-organisation of the city saw the re-appropriation of the Mughal *serai* from the 1860s to 1904 as first the Mission hospital and then as the *tehsil* headquarters and Fire Brigade.⁵² The *serai/tehsil*, once a centre of economic and administrative control, 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.

The Abdur Karim *haveli* was built with two entrances, one of which is located inside the *mohalla galli* while the second opens towards the Bazaar-e-Kalan road (Fig. 17). The opening towards the road indicates a stronger interaction between the *haveli* and the city, as well as a newer organization of the functions of the complex. The ground floor front housed rental shops. The concept of the public *dukan* (shop) facing the street in the early 20th century was a departure from the earlier semi-public, family-run commercial unit located within the semi-public street inside the *mohalla*. It also indicates that these premises may be let to outsiders and thus have their door on the main street. 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.

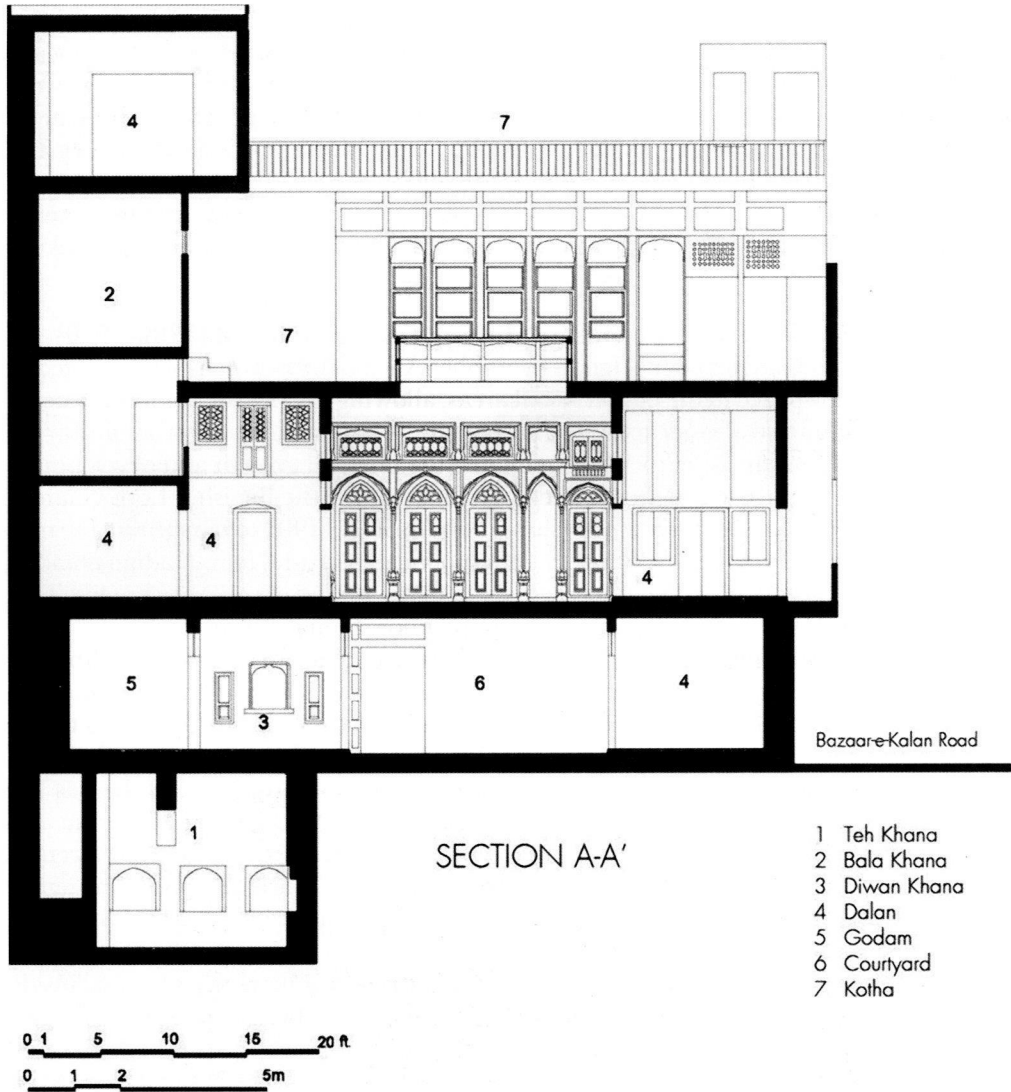


Fig. 17
Section of Abdur Karim Sethi *haveli*.
Author with Mashal Arshad

The Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*, built 1902-08, faced the Bazaar-e-Kalan road, with connections at the rear to other family *havelis* inside Sethi *kucha* (Fig. 18). This is a complex of three quarters: the domestic *haveli*, the *daftar-khana* and the family mosque, built on a square plot of 8,000 sq ft.⁵³ The first alterations to the *haveli* were largely cosmetic, limited mostly to changes in ornamentation and detail. As more European-style houses were built in the suburbs, *havelis* in the city came under pressure to adapt to these fashions: they became more extraverted with windows on the first and upper floors. They came to be called mansions in the early 20th century instead of *havelis*; this was an important difference in the perception of the traditional house as a more modern residence. The public façade of the *haveli* signalled the newer aesthetics of the Indian mansion modelled on the European townhouse with service areas on the lower floors and residential areas on the upper floors.



Fig. 18
Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*.

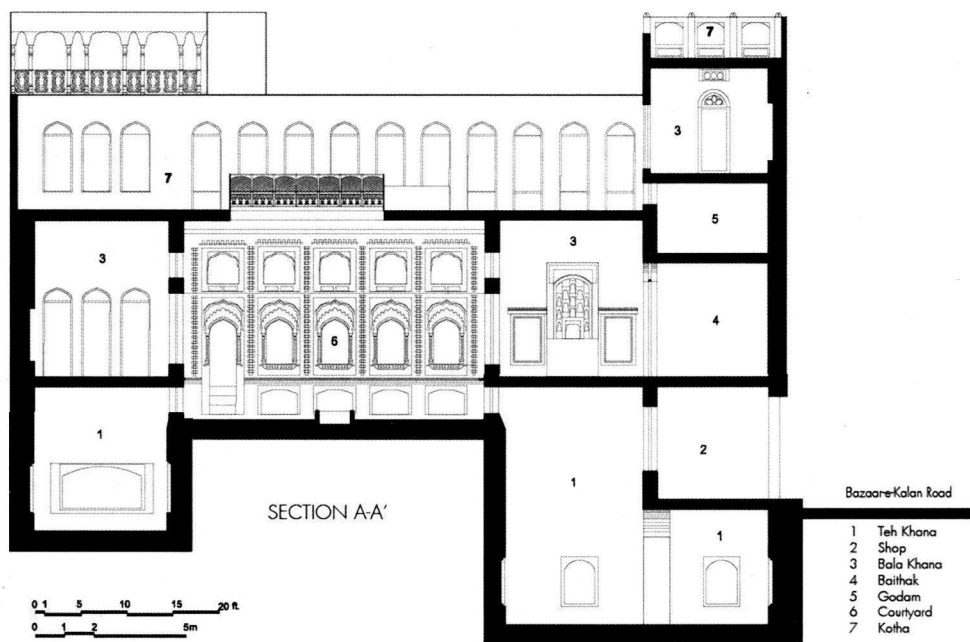


Fig. 19
Section of Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*.
Author with Mashal Arshad



Fig. 20
Courtyard façade of the Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli*.

The internal façades of both the Abdur Karim and Abdur Jalil *havelis* have doors that open towards the courtyard (Figs 19 and 20). These were French doors with Gothic fanlights placed within pointed cusped archways. The combination of Mughal and Gothic-style arches had been found to be compatible and was used extensively in the era since these blended well with each other.⁵⁴ 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. All the rooms of the Abdur Jalil *haveli* indicate the European influence of unornamented walls, rather than the embellished walls of earlier *havelis*. The earlier style has given way to a trend towards the increased articulation of internal surfaces with rich mouldings and external façade rustication.

The Abdur Jalil *daftar-khana* was the first trade office to have fireplaces in each room. The *daftar-khana* had a pitched roof, which is possibly one of the first of its kind in the walled city for an Indian residence. This gives strength to the perception that pitched roofs were considered more fashionable than flat roofs, but such a fashion statement could be made only in an auxiliary but symbolically important building such as a *daftar* rather than in a residential *haveli* (Fig. 21). 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.⁵⁵

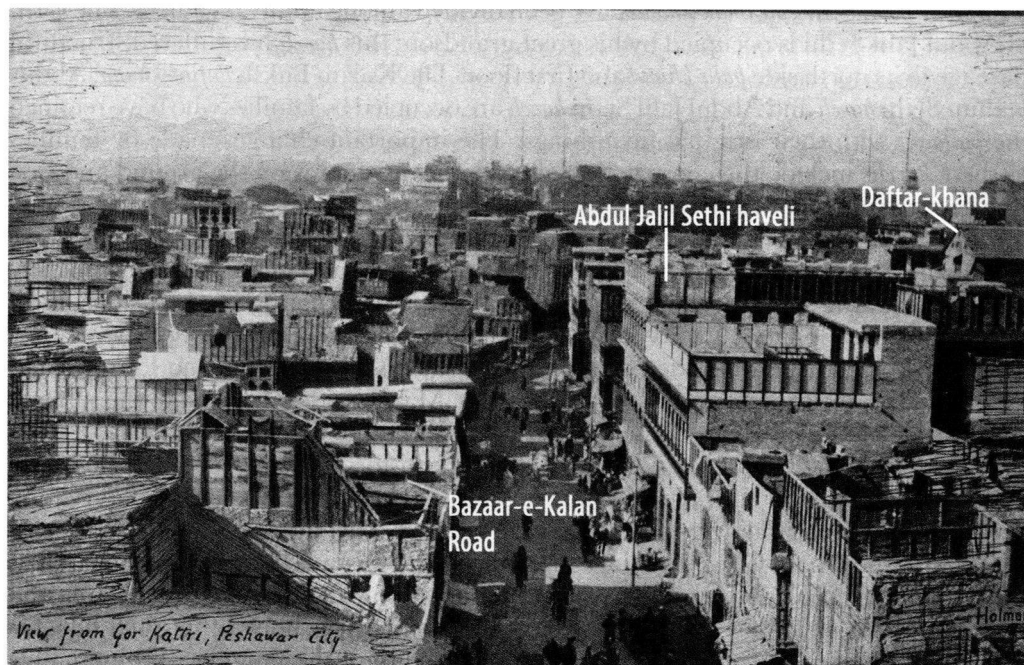


Fig. 21

A postcard (1910) showing the view from Gor Kattree (Serai Jehan Ara): the Abdur Jalil Sethi *haveli* and *daftar-khana* can be seen.

THE DECLINE OF *HAVELI* ARCHITECTURE

Haveli construction in the Sethi Kucha stopped in the early 20th century, as a result of 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ Most of the Sethi *havelis* have been divided into smaller parts as family feuds and economic issues have forced owners to split tenancies, to sublet the *havelis* for inappropriate usage or abandon them for the suburbs. Four *havelis* have been torn down but the rest are now protected against destruction by law.⁵⁸

The *haveli* of Elahi Buksh was sold, possibly by his grandsons after the family's bankruptcy.⁵⁹ It was pulled down and replaced by 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.

The *zenan-khana* of the Karim Buksh *haveli* was sold to the government of Khyber Pukhtoon-khawa (K.P.K.), which has tried to restore it and has opened it 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*, Abdur Rahim Sethi *haveli* and Abdul Jalil Sethi *haveli* are occupied by families who have retained the *baithaks* 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 the insertion of air-conditioning units in windows.

Many Sethi *havelis* have been remodelled and many parts of the houses completely rebuilt.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

The Sethi *havelis* played a unique role within the history of the region: their alteration and dilapidation should be halted. Their conservation individually and the conservation of the larger historic quarter they occupy is essential. This includes the Mughal Serai Jehan Ara, the Ghata Ghar, Hastings monument, the Qissa Khawani *bazaar* as well as the remaining *havelis* along this route. Such conservation will help to revive the area and attract tourism, bringing sustainable financial benefits. It is hoped that such benefits will ensure the long term protection and sustainability of the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

CONCLUSIONS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE; THE DYNAMICS OF THE *HAVELI* FORM

The *havelis* of the Sethis were constructed in the various eras of pre-colonised and colonised 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.

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.⁶² The Sethi *havelis* present an interesting dichotomy in being both 'enclosed' and 'open', facilitating 'a flexible relation between the inhabitants and the spaces of their house, in terms of use and modernization'.⁶³ The *havelis* show this aspect by retaining their core while accepting and incorporating 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) 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 the position of leadership in society that the Sethis believed themselves to occupy.⁶⁴ 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 arose from their assignment of value to a space and place.⁶⁵ The intellectual and cultural encounters between the British and the Indians taking place in society also affected the built environment. These colonial transactions were recorded in the architecture in the form of the Indo-Saracenic style, an amalgamation of two stylistic traditions that combined to produce newer forms and hybrids. The urban merchant *havelis* took up the stylistic traditions from the preceding *umrah havelis*, and 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 façades of the *havelis* and the front rooms/*baithaks* and *diwan-khanas* were the major recipients of these changes.

Considered broadly across their large geographical area of incidence, the *umrah havelis* stood centred (socially) in their cities, so structuring and holding together various sectors of the city.⁶⁶ 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 the Sethi 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.⁶⁷ The Sethi *havelis* within the colonially ordered urban fabric, were instrumental in creating an identity for their patrons that was multi-faceted, composed of familiar and contradictory elements of both the Indian *umrah* and the colonial British.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Note: All images are by the author unless otherwise stated.

NOTES

- 1 Shikha Jain, 'The havelis of Rajasthan: form and identity' (PhD thesis. De Montfort University, 2002), 1.1.
- 2 Jain, op.cit., 1.2.
- 3 Jyoti Hosagrahar, 'Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, 1 (2001), 26-45, accessed January 22, 2014, doi 10.2307/991677.
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.
- 4 Sarah Tillotson, *Indian mansions: A social history of the Haveli* (Hyderabad, 1998), 1.
- 5 Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism* (London, 2005), 23.
- 6 Scott Levi, *India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade*. See also Christopher Alan Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars; North Indian society in the age of British expansion, 1770-1870*, (Cambridge, 1983), 4-8.
- 7 Jyoti Hosagrahar, op.cit., 'Mansions to Margins'.
- 8 Chris King, 'The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400-1660', *World Archaeology* 41, 3 (2009), 471-88, accessed December 12, 2013, doi: 10.1080/00438240903112484.
- 9 Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-1898, (Lahore, 2004), 55-76.
- 10 Mohammad Younis Sethi, *Peshawar ka Sethi Khandaan, Mukhtasir Ahwal* (A brief account of the Sethi family of Peshawar) (Unpublished Memoirs, 2002), 16. A copy of this manuscript is with the author.
- 11 Sethi, op.cit. The Sethis moved from Bhera to Chamkani to trade under the patronage of religious leader Hazrat Ibrahim and his son Mian Muhammad Omar.
See also Sumie Nakatani, 'Hometowns of the Marwaris, Diasporic Traders in India', accessed December 3, 2014, https://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/rp/publications/nol4/14-06_Nakatani.pdf
- 12 Sethi, op.cit., 37.
- 13 National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.
- 14 National Register: Historic places of Pakistan; Peshawar Document One: Walled City Of Peshawar,

2004. Karachi: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of NWFP and Heritage Foundation, Pakistan.
- 15 Tillotson, op.cit., 16.
- 16 Amos Rapoport, 'Vernacular architecture and the cultural determinants of form', in Anthony D. King (ed.) *Buildings and society: Essays on the social development of the built environment*, (London, 1980), 163. See Rapoport's discussions on the code-specific indicators embedded in the traditional environment which regulate appropriate behaviour.
- 17 Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*, (Berkeley, California, 2007), 5.
- 18 Serai Jehan-Ara was the Mughal caravanserai built in 1640 by the imperial patronage of Princess Jahan-Ara, the daughter of the 5th Mughal king Shah Jehan.
- 19 Rubina Qizilbash, 'Decorative woodwork in Muhallah Sethian' (Masters thesis, 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*.
- 20 The Mahabbat Khan Mosque built in 1630s by Mahabbat Khan, the Mughal Governor of Shah Jehan, used *naqqashi* extensively within its interiors and exteriors, and became the earliest influence on this style of embellishment on the subsequent buildings of Peshawar.
- 21 Sethi, op.cit., 41 See the author's discussions about the joint business holdings of Ahmad Gul and Elahi Buksh Sethi.
- 22 The Mughals' aesthetic sensibilities manifested themselves through elaborate gardens within their architecture, filled with trees, flowers and water.
- 23 This is supported by the use of segmental and gothic arches and stained-glass in the *mehman-khana*; these architectural features are not present in the main *haveli*.
- 24 Sethi, op.cit., 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*.
- 25 Saad Sethi, interview with 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.
- 26 'Sethi House, Peshawar; Condition Survey Report', Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2010.
- 27 Wasil Sethi, interview with author, March 11, 2015.
- 28 C. King, op.cit.
- 29 Sunand Prasad, 'The havelis of north India: the urban courtyard house' (PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, London, 1988), 3.1.
- 30 Rabia Sethi, interview with author, November 12, 2008.
- 31 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 porcelain from Russia and expensive Murano glassware from Italy.
- 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 *ibid.*
- 34 E. Prioleau Warren, 'English Mantelpieces', *The Decorator and Furnisher*, 27, 6 (1896), 167, accessed July 20, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25583330>
- 35 Sethi, op.cit., 62.
- 36 A plaque on the doorway informs us that the *daftar-khana* was constructed in Hijra 1319 which makes it 1901 in the Gregorian calendar.
- 37 Deputy Nazir Ahmad, *Ibn-al-Waqt*, (Lahore, 2013), 54. See the discussion between Nobel Sahib and Ibn-al-Waqt regarding the furnishings required to entertain Europeans.
- 38 Ismaeel M. Sethi, *The Living Truth; Babu Jee (R.A.) Syed Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din (Golra Sharif)* (Lahore, 1994), 85-87. Ismaeel Sethi states in this biography of Mehar Ali Shah, the Pir of Golra, that Pir

- Sahib was a regular visitor to Karim Buksh's *haveli* in Mohalla Sethian. The Pirs of Golra were spiritual leaders, who resided in the area of Golra Sharif near the city of Rawalpindi. They exerted great influence over the population of this region and beyond.
- 39 National Register, Historic places of Pakistan, Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar. Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.
- 40 Jain, op.cit., 4.33.
- 41 Sethi, op.cit., 57.
- 42 Saloni Mathur, op.cit.
- 43 Shah Mehmood Hanifi, *The Sethis of Peshawar and the British Recruitment of Secret Asiatic Agents. Mutual Evasion between Afghanistan and the Global Marketplace* (2008), chapter 6. <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hanifi/chapter6.html>. Accessed on September 10 2015
- 44 Rabia Sethi, interview with author, November 9, 2009. Ms Sethi stated that the daughter of Karim Buksh Sethi was married to the son of Abdur Rahim Sethi and the covered bridge was built 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.
- 45 The title Khan Bahader was conferred on Muslim subjects during the Raj as a formal title of respect and honour, meaning a 'brave' Khan.
- 46 Hosagrahar, op.cit., *Indigenous Modernities*, 35. Hosagrahar quotes from the Urdu fiction writer Vali Ashraf Sabuhi's book *Dilli ki chand ajab hastian*.
- 47 Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar: Historic city of the Frontier*, (Lahore, 1995), 157.
- 48 *ibid*, 158. The Europeans were generally housed in the cantonments, the native forces were also housed there separately in soldier housing. The native civilians associated with the colonial rule were accommodated in the Civil Lines. These two European suburban sites were later favoured by rich Indians as well.
- 49 *ibid*, 158.
- 50 Nisar Sethi, interview with author, November 19, 2010. Nisar Sethi is the grandson of Karim Buksh Sethi. He related that Karim Buksh Sethi received his appointment as an honorary magistrate at the Tehsil in the early 20th century.
- 51 'Cunningham clock tower', accessed June 14, 2014, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cunningham_clock_tower
- 52 Dani, op.cit., 159-65. 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.
- 53 National Register Historic places of Pakistan; Mohalla Sethian, Peshawar.
- 54 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, since the arches and ornamentation they shared made them to some degree compatible.
- 55 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 on the expression of cultural aspirations through changing and hybrid architectural forms.
- 56 Sethi, op.cit., 85-86, 89, 94. Also Nisar Sethi, interview with author, November 15, 2009, and Gul Najam Jami, interview with author, September 11, 2009.
- 57 Sethi, op.cit., 96, 98.
- 58 The Khyber Pukhtoon-khawa government has established a Heritage Fund and Documentation Centre, which apart from documenting historic 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.
- 59 Sethi, op.cit., 89, 98.
- 60 The *zenan-khana* of the Karim Buksh Sethi house was given to his son Ayub Sethi who built new quarters above the entrance courtyard.
- 61 Zahoor Sethi, interview with author, January 23, 2015. Many Sethi families in the 1960s moved to the suburbs of Shami Road and University Town towards the west of the city.

- 62 Amos Rapoport, 'Systems of activities and systems of settings', in Susan Kent (ed), *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space; An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, (Cambridge, 1990) 9-20.
- 63 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
- 64 Sethi, op.cit., 58. Sethi provides a vivid description of Karim Buksh Sethi riding out in his grand carriage every evening from his house to the Company Bagh, indicating that this outing was part of the rituals that confirmed the Khan Bahadur's prestige and position within the city.
- 65 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 P.Bikoulis, D.Lacroix and M. Peuramaki-Brown (eds), *Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology*, Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada.
- 66 Hosgrahar, op.cit., 'Mansions to Margins'. The author discusses how her analysis of the urban form of Delhi today and accounts of seventeenth-century travellers leads one to support the latter argument. The communities of artisans, soldiers, servants, and professionals in the service of the Amir formed the neighbourhood in and around the *haveli*.
- 67 *ibid*, 45

GLOSSARY

<i>aina-kari</i>	inlay mirror work	<i>mansabdars</i>	military officials
<i>angun</i>	courtyard	<i>mardana</i>	men's quarters
<i>baithak</i>	formal sitting room	<i>mehman-khana</i>	guest house
<i>bala-khana</i>	raised room	<i>mohalla</i>	neighbourhood
<i>baverchi-khana</i>	kitchen	<i>munabat-kari</i>	stucco
<i>beruni</i>	external	<i>naqqashi</i>	fresco
<i>buggy-khana</i>	garage for carriages and buggies	<i>nou-daulatiya</i>	<i>nouveau riche</i>
<i>chabootra/choki</i> ...	seats	<i>pinjra-kari</i>	latticed woodwork
<i>chalti galli</i>	covered street	<i>rais</i>	rich aristocrat
<i>chimi-khanas</i>	elaborate niches that display decorative items	<i>sehn</i>	courtyard
<i>chowkidars</i>	watchmen	<i>serai</i>	inn/caravanserai
<i>daftar-khana</i>	business office	<i>shah-nashin</i>	king's abode
<i>dalan</i>	room	<i>taq</i>	niches
<i>darbans</i>	gate keeper	<i>teh-khana</i>	basement
<i>dehliz</i>	entrance	<i>tehsil</i>	county
<i>deorhi</i>	lobby	<i>ti-bari</i>	triple bay
<i>diwan-khana</i>	main office	<i>tongas</i>	horse carriage
<i>dukan</i>	shop	<i>umrah</i>	nobles
<i>durbar</i>	court	<i>underoomi</i>	internal
<i>farshi-nashist</i>	floor seating	<i>zenan-khana</i>	family residence
<i>firangi</i>	foreign		
<i>galli</i>	lane		
<i>godam</i>	store in haveli		
<i>haveli</i>	courtyard house		
<i>iwan</i>	façade		
<i>khandani</i>	aristocrats		
<i>khatam-band</i>	parquet ceiling		
<i>khatris</i>	Indian merchants,		
<i>kotha</i>	roof terrace		
<i>kucha</i>	street		
<i>mahals</i>	palaces		