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Notes on the History and Topography of the Ancient Cities of Delhi.

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Save a brief notice in Fergusson's *Hand-Book of Architecture*, the only reliable information that we possess regarding the ancient cities of Delhi, is to be found in the valuable contributions of Colonel Lewis, Mr. Cope, and General Cunningham to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*.

My object in writing down the following notes has been, to supplement their descriptions by such additional information as I have been able to collect during a residence of more than six years in Delhi, in which I have been favoured with more than ordinary opportunities for studying the subject. I shall commence with the *Musjid Kutb-ul-Islam* which, from its age and from the circumstances connected with its construction, is by far the most interesting building in Delhi. In describing it, General Cunningham has fallen into a slight error; he attributes the whole of the additions, save only the *Alái Durwáza*, to *Shamsh-u-din Altamsh*; whereas we know from history, that that monarch only constructed a small portion of them, the grand extension towards the east having been erected by *Ala-u-din* in the beginning of the 14th century.

The portions built by these kings, as also the original work of *Kutb-ud-din Eibeg*, can still be distinctly traced, and I shall now proceed

to describe them in detail: first premising that there are certain portions which have been disarranged, or have otherwise suffered, during the restorations effected at various times; and the evidence of which must therefore be received with caution. These are: first, the colonnade and back wall between *a* and *b* (see Plate XXII.) which, with a strange want of discrimination, were reconstructed* by Major R. Smith from materials which had originally formed portion of the colonnade at H;—secondly, the windows in Kutb-ud-din's work, few of which escaped re-arrangement at the same time,—and, thirdly, the central grand Arch where Captain Wickham has inserted an impost for which the adjoining one afforded no warrant.

Let us commence with the pillars in the colonnades. In Kutb-ud-din's work† these are of *red and yellow sandstone*, as are also the lintels and domed roofs over them: they differ in height, in thickness, in the number of parts of which they are composed, and in the ornamentation with which they are covered, whilst the spaces between each pillar differ throughout varying between $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet, $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and every imaginable intermediate number; thus proving that they are the remains of older buildings worked up into a new design.

In the colonnades at E, F, and H, (Altamsh's work,) the pillars‡ are of *granite* neatly carved:—they also are of different lengths, and the spaces between vary like the last, ranging between $5\frac{3}{4}$ and 8 feet. They are much weathered and discoloured, which marks their antiquity, the whole proving that they too are old materials worked up again, but that they are not from the same source as those in Kutb-ud-din's work. In the colonnade at F, G, the pillars§ are also of granite, but clean and sharp as though fresh from the mason's chisel: they are plainly carved, are uniform in size, and are spaced at an equal distance apart of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet.|| This shews that they were made expressly for the work in which they now stand.

* Major Smith in his report admits that he re-arranged this colonnade, and the most superficial examination will serve to shew that the pillars belonged to Altamsh's work.

This is confirmed by the statement of one Siwa Ram (now deceased) who, as head mason of Government works at Delhi for nearly forty years, had much to do with these restorations; and who assured me that this was the case.

† See figs. 1 to 4, plate XXIII.

‡ See fig. 8, plate XXIII.

§ See fig. 9, plate XXIII.

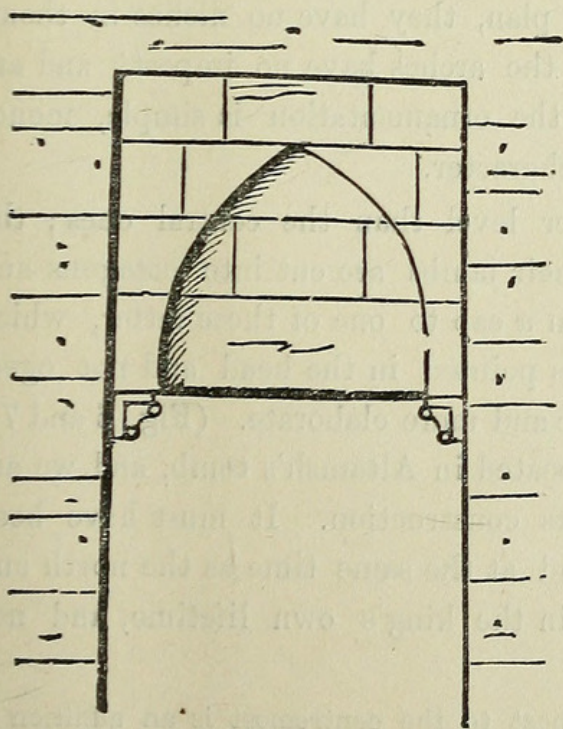
|| Some are $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet only.

Next as regards the enclosure walls. At B, the original angle of Kutb-ud-din's mosque is plainly discernible, and there is so great a difference in the style and quality of the masonry, that we can easily see that the north wing is a later addition.

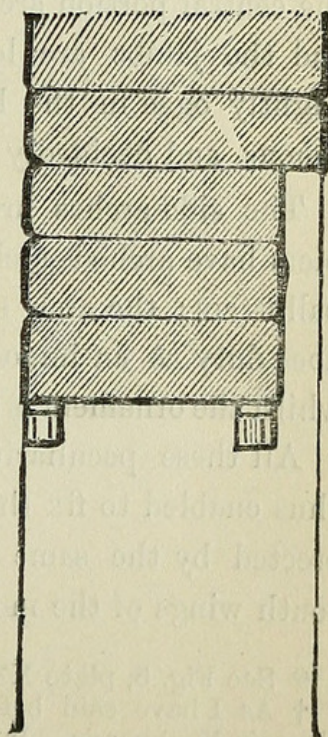
It is also evident that this latter is of the same date as the wall between E and F, a comparison of which with the wall between F and G, shews the following marked differences. In the first the stones are discoloured and weathered,—the remains of some older building—and a plain string course runs along the wall just below the springing level of the window arches:—in the second, the stones are clean, sharp and grey, evidently cut new for the work, and the string course is omitted: the junction of the two styles at F is clearly distinguishable. But the difference of style is most distinctly marked in the windows; those in E, F, are covered with lintels resting on corbels, a false horizontal arch being recessed on the outer face: those in F, G, have regular arches, with true voussoirs, running through the whole thickness of the wall.

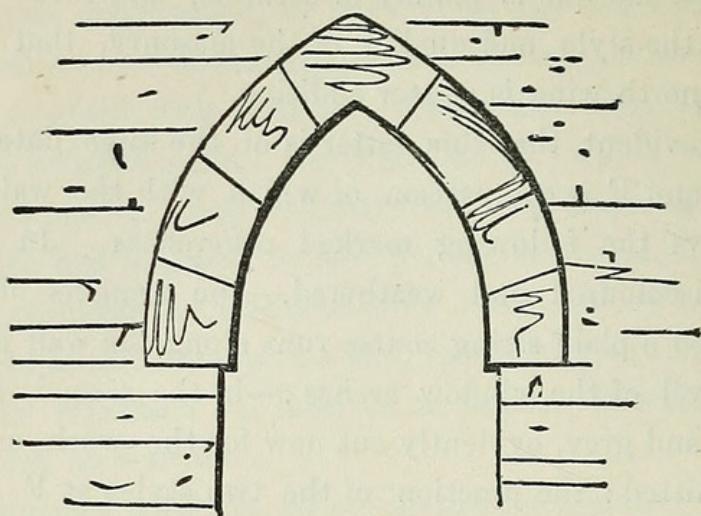
Sketch of Windows in E, F.

Elevation.



Section.



Sketch of Windows in F, G.

The absence of voussoirs proves that the former dates from the early part of the 13th century ; whilst the date of the latter is determined by the red sandstone gratings fixed in the windows, which are identical in style with those in the Alái Durwáza ; into the walls of which at F, G, they have been carefully bonded from the very first, the whole forming one work, the date of which is fixed by the inscriptions on the gateway.

Lastly, the great arches are quite different in style,* the piers in the central portion are square on plan, they have no niches in them, and the jambs are left uncut ; the arches have no impost† and are slightly ogee in the head ; and the ornamentation is simple, monotonous, and decidedly Hindu in character.

The side arches are on a lower level than the central ones ; the piers have arched niches ; and their jambs are cut into octagons and ballusters : the arch springs from a cap to one of these latter, which does duty as an impost, and it is pointed in the head and not ogee, whilst the ornament is later in date and more elaborate. (Fig. 6 and 7.)

All these peculiarities are repeated in Altamsh's tomb, and we are thus enabled to fix the date of its construction. It must have been erected by the same builders and at the same time as the north and south wings of the mosque, *i. e.* in the king's own lifetime, and not

* See Fig. 5, plate XXIII.




† As I have said before, the impost to the centremost is an addition of Captain Wickham's. It should be removed.

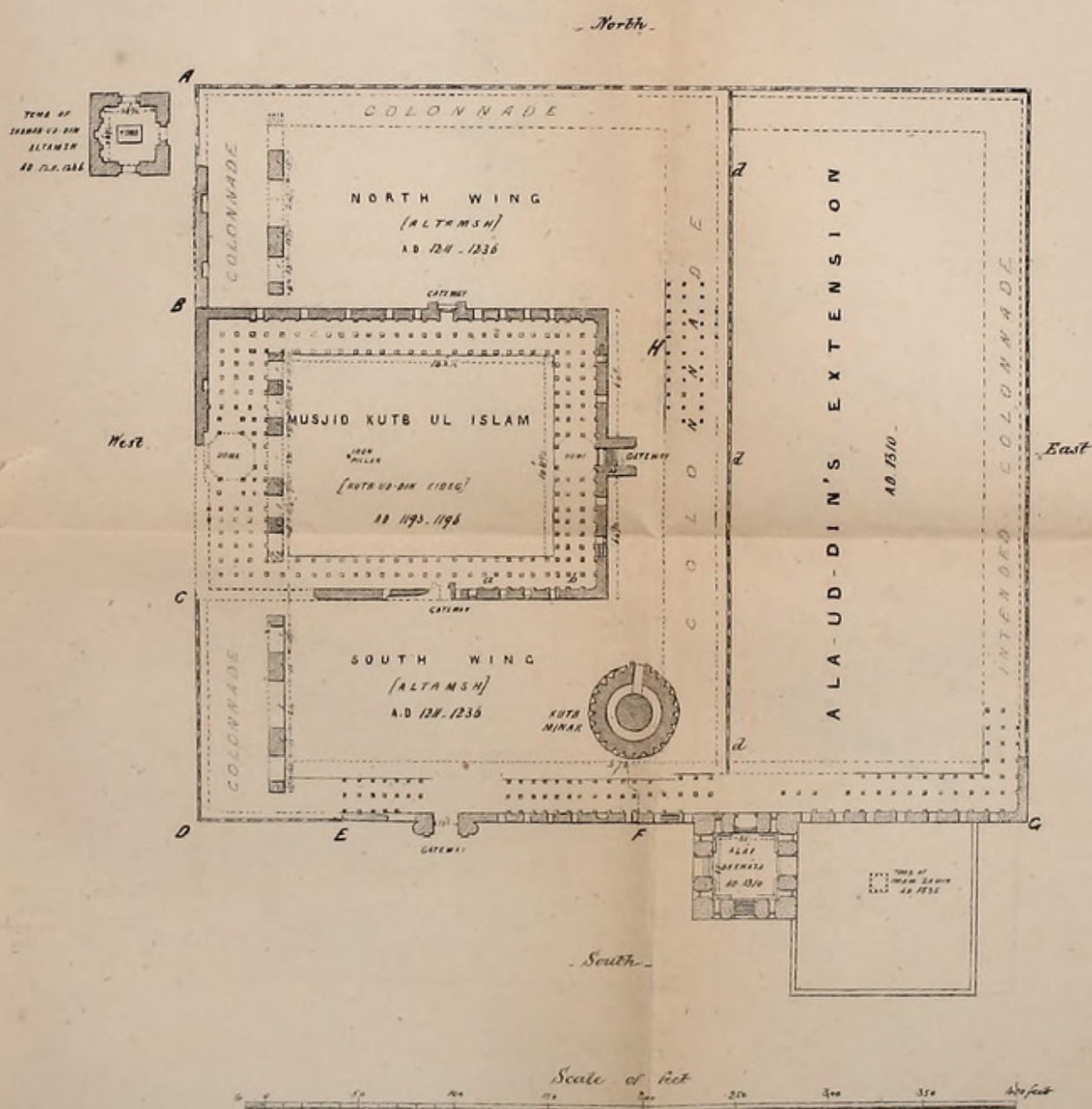
PLAN OF THE
MUSJID
KUTB-UL-ISLAM

ALA-UD-DIN'S
MINAR
A.D. 1310.



NOTE.

Kutb-ud-din's work is shown thus 
Altamsh's Do. Do. 
Ala-ud-din's Do. Do. 



during the reigns of his two immediate successors, as has been surmised by some writers, who forget how short and troubled was the rule both of Rukn-ud-din Firuz and of his sister Razia Begum.

We are thus still able to trace the work of each of the three builders of the great mosque. The original building of Kutb-ud-din is shaded with detached lines on the annexed plan (Plate XXII.): it was an oblong enclosure, $142\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $108\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside dimensions, with the famous iron pillar towards its west end; behind which, and immediately in front of the western colonnade, towered five gigantic arches. These were a mere mask, carrying no roof, that of the chamber behind being at the same level as the other portions of the colonnade; as may be seen from the few remains of it which still exist. Shams-ud-din Altamsh, some years later, added the north and south wings (shaded with dots on plan), thus converting it into a triple mosque.

These wings were similar in design to the central portion; a mask of three large arches in front of a pillared chamber, with a colonnade enclosing an open space 353 feet broad, but only 200 feet deep, the eastern wall having run along the line *d, d, d*. Not a trace of this is now to be seen; but the back columns at H. shew signs of having been formerly built into it, and this, with other features, tends to prove that these pillars are standing "in situ."

In A. D. 1310, Alaudin commenced his grand extension (shaded with long lines on plan) which, if completed, would have made the inner enclosure 355 feet broad and 372 feet deep. He built the superb Alái Durwáza as a grand entrance from the city side; and to the north, near his palace in Siri, began a second and greater minar. General Cunningham is of opinion that this latter was stopped in 1312; this was probably the case, and it may with safety be surmised that, like the minar, the mosque was never completed.

Before quitting the subject, the difference of style between Ala-ud-din's work and that of Kutb-ud-din and Altamsh requires a slight notice. We know from Ferishta, that the former monarch had a large body of skilled artificers attached to his household, for whom he found constant employment; and these must have been well trained in the principles of Saracenic architecture and construction; for there is no very noticeable difference between their work and that of contemporary builders in other Mahomedan countries. But with the two

first Pathan kings it was different ; and there is a strange mingling of Saracenic design with Hindu construction, that is not a little curious. Thus, the idea of the Kutb Minar is borrowed from those still standing on the plain of Ghazni :—the great arches were of Mahommedan design, and so too was the square massive tomb of Altamsh. The details of the ornamentation are also more decidedly Saracenic than is generally supposed ; thus the curious battlements over the second and third doorways in the minar are almost exact copies of those in the mosque of Kalaon at Cairo, (built A. D. 1284), whilst the honeycomb work under the balconies of the same structure, differs in no perceptible degree from that in the Alhambra at Granada. But, side by side with much that is purely Saracenic, we find many details that are indisputably Hindu in character, as, for instance, the bell and chaplet ornament ; the wheel roses ; the lozenge inside an oblong pannel ; and the scroll tracery on Kutb-ud-din's arches ; whilst the arches are all *horizontal* and of purely Hindu construction.

The explanation of this phenomenon is a simple one :—the early Mahommedan settlers were rude soldiers, too much occupied with hard fighting to settle down into artizans ; their leaders might find leisure to plan and design, but for the actual execution of their projects they were compelled to depend upon the conquered people, who, in carrying out their orders, introduced many of those details with which the practice of centuries had familiarised them.

KUTB MINAR.

General Cunningham has written so fully and carefully on the subject of the Mahommedan origin of this column, that a few brief notes are all that need be added here. That Kutb-ud-din designed and commenced it, is generally considered to be proved by the occurrence in the lower story of Mahammad Ghorî's name, (shewing that it was begun in his lifetime, and therefore in that of Kutb-ud-din) ; and also from its bearing the name of this latter monarch. Its position with regard to Kutb-ud-din and Altamsh's work, may be adduced in favour of this view.

It stands symmetrically enough as regards the former, opposite to and just outside the south-east corner, but with the colonnades of Altamsh it fits in altogether awry, standing just 11 feet *outside* the

south one, and about 8 feet *inside* the east one. Had Altamsh designed it, he would surely have placed it more symmetrically. As it now stands, it is evident that the position of his colonnades was regulated by some considerations* which we cannot now determine, and that the Minar, which was already in existence, had to fit in with them as best it might.

As regards the age of the various portions as they now stand, the most superficial examination will shew that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamsh, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite; so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindu horizontal arches; the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamsh and Kutb-ud-din's time. In the two upper stories all is changed; the walls, steps and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, white marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true voussoirs, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were *newly designed* and built by Firuz Shah in A. D. 1368.

General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamsh. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above; it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true voussoirs; it is clear therefore that the old tablet of Altamsh has been simply re-built into the new work of Firuz Shah.

As regards the work executed in A. D. 1503, by Sikandar Shah Lodi, I can find no traces of it; and presume therefore that it consisted of *bonâ fide* repairs, such as those undertaken by the British Government forty years ago.

* Probably owing to the nature of the site, which falls rapidly to the south-east from about the point marked E on the plan.

LALKOTE.

General Cunningham has endeavoured to identify the grey granite walls of the large citadel that lies around the Kutb mosque and minar with the Lalkote, or "Red fort," constructed by Anang Pâl in A. D. 1060. Now, as he himself admits, no Mahommedan writer alludes to any *citadel** of that name, either when describing the capture of the city, or on any other subsequent occasion. On the contrary, Zia Barni speaks of the final assault as being made through the Ghazni gate of Rai Pithora's fort, which we know to have been a distinct place from Lalkote; and the possession of which evidently implied the capture of the whole city. Had Lalkote been a strong citadel, as Cunningham supposes, a subsequent attack upon it would doubtless have been necessary, in order to secure quiet possession of the place, and this second assault would have been recorded in history.

We know that the palace in which Rai Pithora resided, when the city was captured, stood upon the site of the Kutb-ul Islam mosque, to make room for which it was removed. I am decidedly of opinion that *this* was the building known among the Hindus as Lalkote, and that only on this supposition can the total disappearance of the name from history be explained. The work of Anang Pâl would thus be but a small one, containing probably the one temple built by that monarch and the famous Iron Lath; and it would derive its name, like the Lall Mahal and Ruby Palaces of a later date, from the red sandstone of which it was built, and which was afterwards worked up into the great arches, the Kutb Minar, and the tomb of Altamsh.

SIRI AND THE SITE OF ALA-U-DIN'S ENTRENCHMENT.

I now pass to the consideration of General Cunningham's arguments in favour of identifying Siri and the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment with the ruined city of Shahpoor, and his rejection of the theory, upheld by Lewis, Cope and Burgess, that the first of these was merely the name of the citadel around the Kutb.

Neither Ferishta nor any other writer makes mention of Shahpoor. As regards the origin of the other three places, we learn: first, that

* The prohibition against beating kettle drums in Lalkote mentioned by General Cunningham is merely a regulation of the *palace* in which Kutb-ud-din took up his first abode.

Ala-u-din built a fort, or city, called Siri : secondly, that he rebuilt the walls of the ancient citadel of Delhi ; and, thirdly, that he built a palace* on the spot where he intrenched himself during the Mogul invasion of A. D. 1303.

There is much that is plausible in General Cunningham's arguments, but a little consideration reveals their weakness, which, indeed, appears at times on the very surface, as, for instance, where he admits (page lxix.) that the present walls of the Kutb citadel were rebuilt by Ala-u-din, although he has already described them as the work of Anang Pâl:—and again, at page lxviii., where he confounds the palace built on the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment with the famous Kasr Hazâr Situn ; forgetting that this latter was commenced by Nasir-u-din Mahmud, and completed by Ghaias-u-din Balban at least fifty years before the Mogul invasion.†

Let us first endeavour to ascertain, from their style and characteristics, the age of the present ruins of Shahpoor and of the Kutb citadel. The walls of the latter are very strong and massive ; the curtain is flanked by towers placed at short intervals ; the ditch is deep and broad ; the main gates are judiciously set in the re-entrant angles of the bastions ; strong outworks are thrown up at the weak points of the defences ;—all this marks a late date, when the science of fortification was well matured and thoroughly understood. This view is confirmed by the existence of an arch with true voussoirs in a barbican at the north-west angle, the shape of which is exactly similar to those generally used by Ala-u-din. It forms an integral portion of the wall in which it occurs, and has evidently been there from the first ; whilst the style of the masonry, and the manner in which it is bonded in with the main wall, shew distinctly that the barbican is of the same date as the rest of the walls, and we have thus proof positive that these, as they now stand, are the work of Ala-u-din and not of Anang Pâl.

At Shahpoor then are the remains of a palace and city wall of no great size or strength. The style of these, as shewn in the shape of the arches, walls and domes, is that of the end of the fourteenth or begin-

* Be it observed that this is always spoken of as a *palace*, and not as a city or fort.

† In the Ayin Akhberi a palace of this name is said to have been built by Mahommed Togluck, but I believe this to be a mistake.

ning of the fifteenth century; and no earlier date can with safety be assigned to them. This confirms the traditional report which assigns their construction to the Sultan Bhailol Lodi, who ascended the throne A. D. 1450, and whose remains are interred close by; and we are warranted in asserting that Shahpoor was not in existence until 150 years after the Mogul invasion, and thus General Cunningham's identification of it with Ala-u-din's palace and entrenchment of A. D. 1303 falls at once to the ground.

Let us next enquire, what remains still exist of that monarch's numerous buildings. Of these there are two distinct groups, and two only: first, the walls of the Kutb citadel, and the mosque, minar and palace within it; and, secondly, the mosque near Nizam-u-din Aulia's tomb, with the palace adjoining it, the remains of which are now known as the "Lall Mahal."* The first of these palaces cannot possibly be the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment, for we know that this was on the open plain beyond the suburbs of Delhi. In order to ascertain whether the last fulfils any better the requirement of the case, let us examine carefully the history of Turghai Khan's invasion.

We are told that the Mogul Chief was induced to invade India by learning of the absence from the capital of two large armies which, as events shew, constituted the whole strength of Ala-u-din's forces. One of these, under the king himself, was besieging Chittore: the other, with which was the bulk of the Cavalry, was absent in Bengal; hearing of the Mogul invasion, the king hastily returned with the former, and proceeded to entrench himself, until succour could arrive from Bengal and the other provinces.

These succours could only reach him from the Doab, across the river Jumna; for to the north lay the Mogul army: to the west and south-west were the Mewaties, then, as always, a turbulent and disloyal race; to the south lay the dense jungle and forest through which, 200 years later, Shir Shah cut the great imperial road between Delhi and Agra. It thus became a matter of vital import, that Ala-u-din should hold in strength the principal crossing of the river. Owing to the range of Hills which lies to the east of the city, this crossing can only have been at one of two points; either through the gap at Togluckabad, or somewhere near Ghaiaspoor. The

* For a description of this, see Note A.

first of these must even then have been a swamp, and 20 years later was converted into a lake by Toghluck Shah; the presumption is therefore in favour of the latter site; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact of the suburbs having grown in this direction, (they would naturally creep along the principal road leading from the city :) whilst the old lines of road across the river seem to have led towards this part of its course. I conclude therefore that Ala-u-din would naturally entrench himself at this point, covering not only the fords of the Jumna, but also the towns and palaces of Ghaiaspoor and Kilukheree; whilst he would throw a strong body of troops into the old walled city and its citadel, so as to render them safe against a sudden attack.

If such were his position, we can understand the otherwise unaccountable apathy of the Moguls who, for two months, lay encamped opposite to his entrenchment without venturing to attack it, or to besiege the city. Had they attempted either course, they would have exposed themselves to an attack in the rear; and so they could effect nothing save a few marauding expeditions into the district about and against the unwall'd suburbs, until the approach of succour and (as is conjectured) the sudden assassination of their leaders by the emissaries of Nizam-u-din Aulia forced them to decamp. If Ala-u-din had entrenched himself, as Cunningham supposes, at Shahpoor, he would have been shut up as in a trap, cut off from all succour and unable to prevent the enemy from besieging both the city and his own position; although he could easily have saved Jahanpanah from being plundered by them; and as we learn from Ferishta that he was *not* able to check their foray, we must presume that it was because his position was some distance away:—in fact at Ghaiaspoor. I conclude therefore that in the Lall Mahal we have the remains of the palace built to commemorate the repulse* of the Moguls in A. D. 1303.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain to what place the name of Siri must be assigned. We must bear in mind that Shahpoor was

* May this not be the reason why Nizam-ud-din Aulia lies buried close to this palace? The flight of the Moguls was universally ascribed to the exercise of his supernatural powers, and what more likely than that the buried him here as being the scene of his supposed victory?

probably not built until the middle of the fifteenth century; that the walls of the Kutb citadel were rebuilt by Ala-u-din; and that there are no remains whatsoever of any other citadel or strong fort built by him.

The most prominent references in history to the fort of Siri are those connected with the troublous times which preceded and followed the invasion of Timur. In them it is always spoken of as a place of great strength, as the citadel of Delhi in fact. Thus Mallu-Khan* by its possession kept in awe the conflicting parties of Mahmud Togluck and Nasrat Shah;—twice† it withstood successfully all the forces that Khizr Khan could bring against it; and it was only taken by him after a third siege which lasted for four months: whilst thirty years later it was again besieged for three months without success. These facts, it need hardly be said, point rather to the Kutb citadel than to Shahpoor; for the former is a work of great natural and artificial strength; whereas the latter is a weak place, which had for defences a slight wall without any ditch, and which was commanded by the Brij Mandil and other lofty buildings in the adjacent Jahanpanah. In fact the history of this period can only be made intelligible on the supposition that the Siri held by Mallu Khan was the Kutb citadel; that Mahmud Togluck held the old city of Rai Pithora and Jahanpanah; whilst Firuzabad was occupied by Nasrat Shah; and we have then no reason to call in question the truth of Ferishta's statement regarding the meeting of Mallu Khan and Nasrat Shah at the grave of Khawaj Kutb-u-din Bakhtiar Kaki, a statement which completely identifies Siri with the Kutb citadel, within which the tomb of this famous saint may be seen to this very day.

General Cunningham endeavours to dispose of this very direct piece of evidence, by asserting that Ferishta knew nothing of the topography of Delhi; and he suggests that he was probably mistaken, and that the meeting in question took place at the tomb of another saint; one Shaikh Nasir-u-din Mahammad (better known as Roshun Chiragh Delhi) "which is just outside the south-east corner of Shahpoor." Now unfortunately for this emendation, this latter tomb is situated *within the walls of Jahanpanah and was in the possession of Mahmud Togluck*. It could not possibly therefore be the place where

* A. D. 1394—1396.

† A. D. 1411—1414.

his two enemies met publicly to swear a solemn league against him. As for Ferishta's knowledge of Delhi, a glance at his preface, and at the life prefixed to Briggs's translation of his history, will suffice to shew that the first portion of his great work (with which alone we are concerned at present) was composed before he had ever seen the city. He commenced to write in A. D. 1596, finishing the whole work in A. D. 1609 : and, if he ever visited Delhi at all, it must have been in A. D. 1606, when proceeding on his embassy to Jahangir's camp at Lahore. But as his history was compiled from no less than fifty-five chronicles, the writers of many of which lived in Delhi and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote about, it is in point of fact their topography, and not his, that we have to do with, and we may accept it as thoroughly reliable in a simple matter like the one under discussion. I see no reason to doubt therefore that Siri was the name of the Kutb citadel :—and judging from the date of its appearance in history, I think we may fairly assume that the name was first given it by Ala-u-din when he rebuilt and strengthened it in A. D. 1304.

I now come to General Cunningham's* quotation from the *Ayin Akhberi*, to the effect that "Shir Shah destroyed the city of Ala-u-din which was called Siri, and founded another :" to which Syud Ahmad has added, on whose authority is not stated, that the materials of the former were used in the construction of the latter city. Now without for one moment impugning the accuracy of the General's translation and subsequent deductions, I must call attention to the notorious discrepancies which exist in the various copies of the *Ayin Akhberi*. In the one† now lying before me, not a word is said about the destruction of Siri ; on the contrary it is Firuzabad‡ and its palaces which are said to have been demolished by Shir Shah. This is a much more probable statement than the one in General Cunningham's copy, and borrows strength from an argument adduced by him against the likelihood of Shir Shah's bringing his building material all the way from the Kutb citadel, when Shahpore was only three and a half miles away. Now as Firuzabad lay still nearer, occupying indeed a portion of

* Page lxviii.

† A handsome quarto belonging to the "Delhi Society" (vernacular) and presented to that body by Colonel G. W. Hamilton, Commissioner of Delhi, whose fine collection of Persian MSS. is well known.

‡ See extract at the end : note B.

the site of the new city, it is evident that it would be a much more convenient quarry, and we can understand why Shir Shah pulled it down for the sake of the materials in it. In point of fact, Shir Shah was a reckless destroyer, and scrupled not to remove any building which could afford him material for his works; thus in the *Araish-i-mahfil* we read that he demolished the Koshuk Sabz, or Green Palace, which was situated in the old city, and Nur-ul-Haq also records other demolitions.

There remains one argument which, in appearance at least, tells against the identification of Siri with the Kutb citadel. Sharif-u-din, the historian of Timur, relates how that conqueror sacked equally the three cities of Delhi; *viz.*, Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi; the first of which lay to the north-east; the last to the south-west and the second between the two. Now we know, both from history and from the evidence of the ruins themselves, that there were then three groups of cities in existence; the first comprising the Kutb citadel, old Delhi and Jahanpanah; the second, Ghaiaspoor, Kilukheree, and the new city around them; and the third, Firuzabad and its three palaces. The two first were apparently connected by walled gardens, country houses and enclosures; the two latter were separated by an open plain, that of Firuzabad, which was the scene of Timur's battle with Mahmud Togluck. That the Delhi plundered by the Moguls comprised the two first of these groups is evident from the fact recorded that, on quitting the hapless city, Timur marched three miles to Firuzabad: which is the exact distance between it and Ghaiaspoor; and we are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Siri here spoken of is the new city around the latter place.

Now what authority had Sharif-u-din for giving it this name? He was, as every one knows, a Persian born at Yezd and residing in Shiráz, where in A. D. 1424 (*i. e.* twenty-six years after Timur's invasion) he wrote his history. This he compiled from the elaborated reports, or annals, prepared by Timur's secretaries under his own eye; and from them of course he derived his knowledge of the topography of Delhi, which it does not appear that he ever visited, and at the siege of which he was not present. We have therefore simply to enquire what special opportunities Timur and his secretaries had, during their stay of one month in the place, for prosecuting enquiries as to the

names and localities of the various portions of a large and straggling city like Delhi. Turning to Ferishta, we find that Timur crossed the Jumna on the 13th January A. D. 1398, and on the 15th fought and conquered Mahmud Togluck. On the 24th, when the first outbreak in the city took place, we learn that, "according to his custom after a success, he was busy in camp celebrating a grand festival,"—the nature of which was such, that for five days they could not convey to him any intelligence of the outbreak, and it is to be presumed that this scene of debauchery had been going on for some days. On the 29th he was sufficiently recovered to enter the city and take part in the carnage, which lasted for fifteen days more, when he marched out to Firuzabad and so home to Samarcand. Amid such a scene of constant riot, murder and debauchery, it is absurd to suppose that the principal actors in it could settle down quietly to topograph the city; and any statements made by them, which are unsupported by other evidence, or which are opposed to the assertions of better informed writers, must be received with extreme caution. It is true that Khondemir, in his *Habibu-s-siyar*, refers to Siri as one of the three cities of Delhi plundered by Timur; but this writer also was a foreigner, and passed the first forty-eight years of his life under the rule of Timur's descendants, residing for the greater portion of the time at Herat, where he wrote his history,* the facts for which he must of course have derived from Mogul and not from Indian sources. His statements therefore are mere echoes of those in Sharif-u-din, and with them must stand or fall.† We are thus I conceive, fairly warranted in assuming that Timur and his secretaries were in error. We know that the city around Ghaiaspoor never had any specific name; what more likely then that, finding here a mosque, palace and other buildings of Ala-u-din, and being told that that monarch built a city or fort called Siri, they confounded the two, and misapplied the name of the Kutb citadel to the city on the banks of the Jumna?

* Begun A. D. 1520.

† It is true that Khondemir came to India in A. D. 1528 and, whilst with Baber in Bengal, is said to have revised his work (see Elliott's *Historians of India*, page 123,) but it is doubtful whether he had then seen Delhi and, if he had, his visit must have been a hurried one.

This exhausts all the evidence at present available on the subject, and a calm consideration of it forces us to the conclusion that the Kutb citadel is the fort of Siri;—that Shahpore is a modern place of no importance; that Lalkote has long since been swept off the face of the earth; and that the Lall Mahal marks the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment in A. D. 1303.

THE VARIOUS CITIES OF DELHI.

I shall conclude with a few brief notes on the rise and duration of each of the ancient cities, shewing which of them were contemporaneous; and we shall thus get a clear idea of what that very indefinite word DELHI meant at various epochs in its history.

The Delhi of the Hindus and early Pathan Kings (A. D. 1060 to 1250) comprised only the walled city, now known as Rai Pithora's, and its citadel: which latter, when rebuilt by Ala-u-din, received the name of Siri.

A. D. 1250 to 1321.—By the end of the 13th century a large suburb had grown up outside the walls, stretching along the road to Ghaiaspore and Kilukheree, near which the great main road to the east and south-east crossed the river Jumna. At these two places, country palaces had been erected by Ghaias-u-din Balban, Kaikobad, and Jalal-u-din; around which a new city was gradually springing up.

A. D. 1321 to 1354.—During the reigns of the two first kings of the house of Togluck, the city of Togluckabad and the fort of Mahommadabad (or Adilabad) were erected; and the suburbs above referred to were enclosed with a wall, receiving the name of Jahanpanah. Togluckabad was never a populous place, and seems to have been quickly abandoned. The insane removal of its inhabitants to Daulatabad would have much to do with this; but the finishing blow was probably given in A. D. 1354, when Firuz Shah removed the seat of government to his new city of Firuzabad, which he had just completed.

A. D. 1354 to 1398.—Delhi was now at the zenith of its greatness and contained larger population and more wealth than at any other period of its history; but the invasion of Timur was a death-blow to its prosperity and it sank rapidly from this time.



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