

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272391668>

A lost city of Delhi through Persian histories

Article in *Studies in People's History* · December 2014

DOI: 10.1177/2348448914549897

CITATION

1

READS

1,630

1 author:



Najaf Haider

Jawaharlal Nehru University

13 PUBLICATIONS 50 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Thinking with numbers: Mathematical practices in Mughal India [View project](#)

Studies in People's History

<http://sip.sagepub.com/>

A lost city of Delhi through Persian histories

Najaf Haider

Studies in People's History 2014 1: 163

DOI: 10.1177/2348448914549897

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://sip.sagepub.com/content/1/2/163>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Studies in People's History* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://sip.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://sip.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

>> [Version of Record](#) - Dec 3, 2014

[What is This?](#)

A lost city of Delhi through Persian histories

Najaf Haider

Associate Professor of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

In descriptions of Delhi, one of its locations, Kilokhri, that formed a separate 'city' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, tends to be overlooked. This article seeks to rescue it from relative oblivion by exploring the literary sources of the time.

Keywords: Delhi, Kilokhri, Kaiqubād, Jalāluddīn Khaljī, Baranī

The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the early thirteenth century is widely held to have generated a new phase of urbanisation in northern India. This was naturally reflected, most of all, in medieval Delhi, with extensive ruins surviving from the time. In the reputed list of the cities of Delhi there is one which is missing, namely, the second city of Delhi. The ruins of this city have not, unlike the others, survived the ravages of time. The purpose of the article is to retrieve the lost city with the help of textual sources, following the pioneering work of Professor M. Athar Ali on the history of medieval Delhi.¹

On the basis of mostly extant architectural and epigraphic sources, much has been written on the first and arguably one of the most important cities of medieval India, variously known as *Shahr*, *Dihli*, *Ḥaẓrat Dihlī*, and finally *Dihlī i Buzurg*, the modern day Qutb-Delhi.² The history of the second city of Delhi to the best of my knowledge is yet to be written. The remains of the city do not exist and it does not remain listed among the putative cities of Delhi.³ The purpose of this

¹ M. Athar Ali, 'Capital of the Sultans: Delhi during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Delhi through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, ed. R.E. Frykenberg, Delhi, 1986, pp. 34–44.

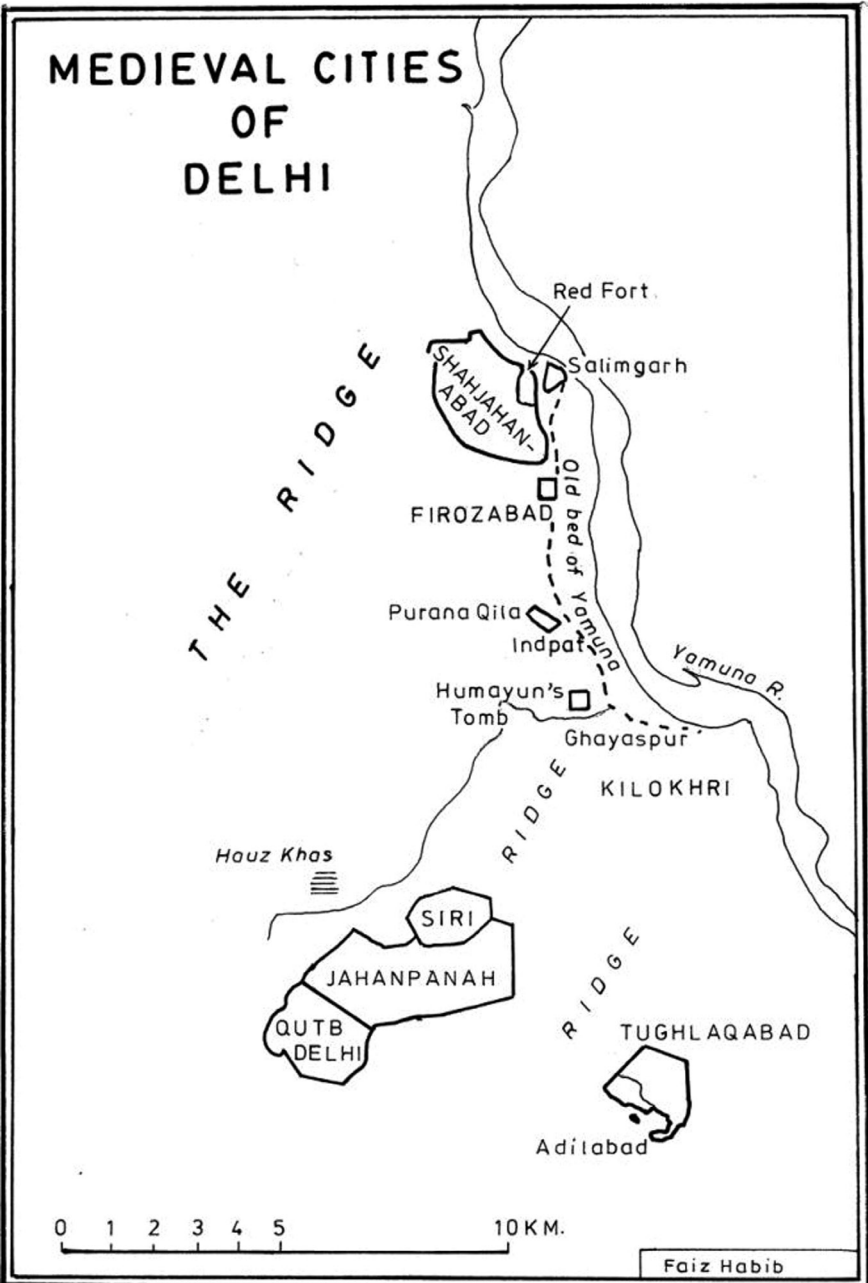
² Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (1876/repr. Delhi, 2002); J.A. Page, *Guide to the Qutb, Delhi*, Calcutta, 1927; Syed Ahmad Khan, *Aṣāru's Ṣanādīd*, 2nd rev. edition, 1854; repr. Delhi, 2002; B.M. Pande, *Qutb Minar and its Monuments*, Delhi, 2006. It may be noted that none of these studies is about the city which was located south of the Qutb complex of monuments (mosque, *minar* and *madrasa*). There is some discussion however, especially in Stephen, of the palaces of the early Turkish Sultans located to the north.

³ See, for instance, Gordon Risley Hearn, *The Seven Cities of Delhi*, London, 1906; and Percival Spear, *Delhi: Its Monuments and History*, 3rd ed. updated and annotated by Narayani Gupta and Laura Sykes, Delhi, 1994.

Studies in People's History, 1, 2 (2014): 163–171

SAGE Los Angeles/London/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC

DOI: 10.1177/2348448914549897



article is to reconstruct the history of the lost city with the help of textual sources and to draw attention to the spot where it may have once stood in full glory. The city was favoured for residence by Sultan Mu‘izzuddīn Kaiqubād (1286–89), the last of the early Turkish Sultans, at a place called, then and now, Kilokhri, on the left bank of the river Yamuna (see Map).⁴ There are three important sources of the description of the city at Kilokhri, namely, books of history (*tārīkh*), a long poem (*maṣnavī*) and conversations of two Chishtī mystics and their disciples (*maḥfūzāt*)—all composed in Delhi during the fourteenth century.

Location, and Extent of the City

At present in Delhi there is a locality on the Ring Road, south of Sarai Kale Khan and north-east of Jangpura, by the name of Kilokhri, walking around the place or talking to the local people gives no indication of the location or history of Kilokhri or Shahr-i Nau. There is not a stone or sign post either to guide the visitor. There is, however, a bus stop called Kilokhri. It is quite clear from the literature produced in the period that Kilokhri–Shahr-i Nau was located on the west (right) bank of the river Yamuna, a few kilometres north-east of Qutb-Delhi. The river since then has changed course and moved east of the locality, with the Ring Road laid in between. The place was not entirely uninhabited or unknown before Mu‘izzuddīn Kaiqubād chose to build an imperial city. References to an early settlement in Kilokhri in Persian histories occur in traditions about the Chishtī mystic Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 1255). Kākī was staying in Multan with his preceptor Bahāuddīn Zakariya when the city was besieged by the Mongols in 1191 (an impossible date). Later, he set out for Delhi and halted at Kilokhri. The Shaikhul Islām, Jamāluddīn Muḥammad Bustāmī and Qāzī Ḥamīduddīn Nāgorī, the two leading theologians of Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish (1210–36), liked his company and visited him frequently. But they were much troubled in this by the distance they had to traverse. With Iltutmish’s help they brought Kākī to Qutb-Delhi (*Shahr*) and got a house for him next to the mosque of ‘Izzuddīn.⁵ A similar tradition is recorded by the historian Firishta, writing about the same time, in his biography of the same saint with a significant piece of additional information. Firishta writes that Kākī settled in Kilokhri ‘because of proximity to water’. The Sultan wanted him to be in the city but Kākī was unwilling to leave and his devotees had to travel to Kilokhri. Eventually he gave in and moved into the city.⁶

Subsequent to the departure of the mystic, the place became a site for military activity. During the short reign of Iltutmish’s son and successor Ruknuddīn Firūz

⁴ The spelling Kilokhri occurs in all the major sources that have been consulted for this essay.

⁵ Muḥammad Ḡhaṣṣī Shattārī, *Gulzār i Abrār*, ed. Muḥammad Zaki, Patna, 1994, p. 32.

⁶ Abu’l Qāsim Firishta: *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, Kanpur, vol. II, 1874, p. 379. It is mentioned in an earlier sufi *tazkira* (*Siyarul ‘Arifīn*) that he did not settle in Delhi because of scarcity of water. See Muḥammad Ikram, *Āb-i Kauṣar*, Lahore, 1964, p. 214.

(1236 AD) there was a rebellion against his rule by a number of officers of the state (*muqṭī's*).⁷ The Tajik *wazīr*, Nizām mulk Junaidī, who was part of the rebel alliance, was camping at Kilokhri. To suppress the rebellion the Sultan marched with an army from Delhi (*ḥazrat*) and reached Kilokhri. Junaidī lost courage and fled from Kilokhri to Kol (Aligarh). The Sultan moved on to deal with the other rebels, but in his absence Delhi too was lost and his sister, Raziya, was raised to the throne. While marching back to Delhi, Ruknuddin stopped at Kilokhri where he was captured by the army sent from Delhi.⁸ Quite obviously, Kilokhri was no more a sufi resort but had become some kind of a garrison town.⁹ Later, when the emissaries of the Mongol conqueror of Iran and Iraq, Hulāgu, arrived at Delhi in 1261 to wait on Sultan Naṣīr uddīn Maḥmūd, the entire route from Kilokhri to the royal palace in Qutb-Delhi was impressively arrayed with soldiers and civilian militia. While describing the events of this extraordinary occasion, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt i Naṣīrī* twice calls Kilokhri, *Shahr-i Nau* suggesting that a 'new town' indeed had come up by then.¹⁰ The town or encampment may have been a distant suburb of Qutb-Delhi on the river, and Professor Athar Ali did indeed draw attention to the availability of water as an impulse behind the expansion of Delhi towards the Yamuna.¹¹ Baranī's portrayal of Kaiqubād as an epicurean who liked to have a city for pleasure adds to the explanation. The riparian plain of Kilokhri was indeed reckoned as a good place to live and seek solace away from the hustle and bustle of an overpopulated city.¹² In the early fourteenth century, Qutb-Delhi was described as dirty and its air much less fresh than that of the other garrison town, Siri, so that people preferred to stay in the latter.¹³

⁷ Irfan Habib, 'Formation of the Sultanate Ruling Class of the Thirteenth Century', in *Medieval India 1. Researches in the History of India 1200–1750*, ed. idem, Delhi, 1992, p. 17.

⁸ Minhāj Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt i Naṣīrī*, vol. 1, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1963–64, p. 456.

⁹ For a military encampment (*lashkar*) mushrooming into a city, see *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, ed. Latif Malik, Lahore, 1966, pp. 195, 311. Kumar's assertion ('Capitals and Kingship: Delhi and its Sultāns in the 13th and 14th Centuries' in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World*, ed. J.P. Hartung and Albert Fuess, Abingdon, 2011, p. 128) that Kilokhri was made the capital of the Delhi Sultanate during the reign of Ruknuddin Firoz has no basis and the authority cited by him (Minhāj Sirāj) makes no mention of it at all.

¹⁰ *Ṭabaqāt i Naṣīrī*, pp. 83–84.

¹¹ Athar Ali, 'Capital of the Sultans', pp. 35–36. The tank built by Iltutmish to supply water to the population of Delhi living to the south of the Qutb complex had gradually become insufficient. Another tank built to the east, called Hauz Rani, supplied water to those living to the north and east. In the late thirteenth century, the garden of Jasrat [var. Jastrath] situated near Hauz Rānī was a spot for Shaikh Nizāmuddin to pray and meditate and it was here that the idea of settling down in Ghayaspur came to him. *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, pp. 241–43. Today Hauz Rani is a densely populated locality in Saket where the dry tank can still be seen.

¹² Ḥamid Qalandar's father, Maulana Tājuddin, had a house in Kilokhri where he was born. When he was going through the emotion of spiritual distress he contemplated settling down in Kilokhri because it was on 'the bank of the river' and not very far from the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizāmuddin (Ḥamid Qalandar, *Khairu'l Majālis*, ed. K.A. Nizami, Aligarh, 1959, p. 47).

¹³ *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, pp. 195, 241.

Founding of the Royal Town

A somewhat detailed account of a fresh founding of the city at Kilokhri comes from the pen of a resident and intellectual of Delhi, Ziyāuddin Baranī, in a book of history, *Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhī*, composed in 1357. Baranī's reminiscences of the founding of the city and city life were based on the oral testimonies of members of his family and other officials of the state. His statements deserve a full quotation.

I was a child during the reign of Sultan Mu'izzuddin Kaiqubād, grandson of Sultan Balban, and the description of events which I have given in my history is based on what I heard from my father Mū'īdu'l Mulk and my teachers who were scholars of the age (*'allāma i rozgār*). Sultan Mu'izzuddin Kaiqubād, son of Bughra Khān and grandson of Sultan Balban, sat on the throne of Balban in the year 685 (an error for 686 A.H. or 1287 AD). He was 17 or 18 years old, and was a handsome young man of excellent qualities, and had a heart filled with the desire to enjoy the pleasures of life...

Kaiqubād gave up his residence in the City (*Shahr*; i.e., Qutb Delhi) and came out of the Red Palace (*kaushik i la'l*), built by Balban when he was a *khān*, in the capital of the Sultanate. On the bank of the river Jawan (Yamuna) at Kilokhri he laid the foundation of a grand palace (*kaushik-i-be-naẓīr*) and a splendid garden (*bāgh i be-badal*). Kaiqubād moved there and started living with his officers, nobles, close courtiers and servants. In the beginning, the nobility and the aristocracy built halting places (*farod khāna-hā*) near the royal palace. Gradually when they realized that the Sultan was inclined to stay in Kilokhri for a longer duration they built their palaces and houses in the quarters they had occupied (*maḥal hāi khwud*). The heads of each profession (*sarān i har ṭā'ifa*) also moved from *Shahr* to Kilokhri and took up residence there. Kilokhri became populous and flourishing (*ma'mūr wa ābādān*). It also became famous for the conviviality of the king and his courtiers. As the fame of Kilokhri spread far and wide, singers, jesters and performers (*bhānds*) thronged the court to make the city more populous and lively. Vices and immorality (*fisq o fujūr*) became the order of the day. Mosques became empty and wine houses (*khumārkhāna-ha*) became full. No one visited the mystic houses (*zāwiya hā*), and places of recreation (*mistaba-hā*) came up. The price of wine increased ten-fold. Everybody was busy seeking sensual pleasure. There was no sign anywhere of sorrow, fear or deprivation. People known for their wit, sense of humour and fine repartee settled in the city. Musicians and beautiful dancers got intoxicated with pride. The purses of perfume and wine sellers burst with gold and silver *tankas*. Beautiful and famous whores were adorned with gold and ornaments...¹⁴

¹⁴ Baranī, *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 130–31.

Barani does not quite tell us why the city was founded although his description is helpful in understanding how the long term presence of the court provided the stimulus for building and economic activities. Kilokhri was not meant to be the new capital of Kaiqubād's kingdom since there is no evidence to suggest that Qutb-Delhi ceased to be the capital of the Sultanate. The imperial mint continued to be located in the capital and coins minted in Kaiqubād's name have survived from only 'Ḥaẓrat Dihli' (Qutb-Delhi).¹⁵ When Kaiqubād returned from Awadh, after meeting his father, the people of Qutb-Delhi gave him a warm welcome. The Sultan stayed in his palace there and later left for Kilokhri.¹⁶ Barani's statement quoted earlier explicitly uses the term *dāru's salṭanat* for Qutb-Delhi and nowhere does the author in his long account call Kilokhri the new capital. It is therefore, difficult to fix the status of Kilokhri during the reign of Kaiqubād. At the same time the regular residence of the monarch and the court nobility in Kilokhri must have elevated the status of the city to the level of capital at least in the eyes of later historians.¹⁷

Festivities of *Nau Roz* in Kilokhri

Festivals were an important item on the imperial calendar, and their celebrations were occasions for the display of pomp and grandeur as also to project the image of a sovereign who provided occasions for his subjects to enjoy. *Nau Roz* was a festival celebrated to mark the beginning of the Iranian solar year. The first day of the year was the day of vernal equinox (21 March) when the Sun entered Aries (*burj i ḥamal*). We have in the pages of a long poem composed by Amīr Khusrau in 1289, an account of celebration of *Nau Roz* at Kilokhri in that very year. The palace (*qaṣr i nau*), a lofty building of brick walls, gypsum (*gach*) and stone dome (*sang-i safed*), was brilliantly illuminated. The nine arched doors of the palace were covered with curtains of silk brocaded with gold and silver thread (*zarbaft*). The main venue was decorated with five large canopies (*chhatrī*). The black canopy was laced with white pearls as if raindrops were falling from a dark cloud. The Sultan sat underneath it like the shadow of God on earth.¹⁸ The white canopy had gold stands studded with pearls. The red one had sapphires. The green canopy, sign of prosperity, had trees and leaves of diamond and pearls. The fifth canopy was made of flowers to give the impression of a large garden. On both sides of the river Yamuna red and black royal standards stood with 1,000 caparisoned horses studded with jewels. There was an array of elephants behind them like the walls of an iron fort. A floating garden was in the middle of

¹⁵ H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 63–65.

¹⁶ Barani, *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad, p. 165.

¹⁷ Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta, *Tārīkh i Firishta*, vol. 1, ed. Muḥammad Reza Nasiri, Tehran, 2009, p. 301 ('Kaiqubad made Kilokhri his *dāru's salṭanat*'). For the statement that Kaiqubād 'shifted his capital to Kilokhri' see Sunil Kumar, 'Capitals and Kingship', p. 129.

¹⁸ My attention to this verse was drawn by Said Reza.

the river ornamented with gems and pearls. The garden had trees of wax (*nakhḷ i mūm*) with fruits ready to drop and birds ready to fly. The court was decorated and scented with Chinese musk (*nāfa i chīm*).¹⁹

Transformation of Kilokhrī into *Shahr i Nau*

Even though a new city was built and imperial establishment transferred, Qutb-Delhi (*shahr*) was the capital of the Sultanate. The state secretariat and the mint remained there and powerful nobles and high officials had their offices and houses in the city.²⁰ The population of the city was dominated by ‘old families of distinguished lineage’ whose interests and fortunes were intertwined with the Turkish rule.²¹ As a result after the murder of Kaiqubād in 1289 when the Sultanate passed from the hands of the Turks into those of the *Khaljis*, who were considered a different, and subordinate ethnic group, there was much resentment against the ‘upstarts’ and Sultan Jalāluddīn *Khalji* (1290–96) had to reside and hold court in Kilokhrī.²² There is an explicit statement by Baranī that he made Kilokhrī the capital (*dāru’l mulk*) of his Sultanate.²³ The notables of Qutb-Delhi (mostly non-Turkish in the beginning) who accepted the kingship of the new Sultan travelled to Kilokhrī to offer allegiance (*bai’at*).²⁴

This was the political context to the commencement of a second round of building activities at Kilokhrī. The new Sultan ordered the completion of the palace of Mu‘izzuddīn Kaiqubād (*qaṣr i mu’izzī*) with greater embellishment. Jalāluddīn *Khalji* also ordered a splendid garden (*bāgh-i be naẓīr*) to be built in front of the palace and by the bank of the river Yamuna.²⁵

Kilokhrī now became afresh the ‘New City’, *Shahr-i Nau*. Jalāluddīn *Khalji* also got a fort (*hiṣār*) built in *Shahr-i Nau* with stone walls and watch towers (*burj*), each of which was put under the charge of an *amīr* or a *malik*. Amīr *Khusrau* composed the following verse in praise of the fort (*waṣf i hiṣār i kilokhrī*):²⁶

O king you have built such a wall around *Shahr-i Nau*
That stone can reach the moon from the pinnacles of its towers.

¹⁹ Amīr *Khusrau*, *Qirānu’s Sa’dayn*, ed. Qudrat Ahmad, n. d.: pp. 56–66.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 23. *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad, pp. 131, 165. Malikū’l ‘Umara was the *kotwāl* of Qutb Delhi and his nephew and son in law, Malik Nizāmuddīn, was *dād-beg* (judicial officer) of the City (‘*Ḥaẓrat*’).

²¹ *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad, p. 173.

²² Ibid., pp. 172–73; Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 83.

²³ *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, p. 176.

²⁴ *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. S.A. Rashid, Aligarh, n.d.: p. 196 (*mulūk o umarā ke az aṣl turkān na būdand*); Syed Ahmad, p. 175 omitting the negative (*mulūk o umarā ke az aṣl turkān būdand*).

²⁵ *Tārīkh i Firūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad, p. 176.

²⁶ Quoted by Baranī in *ibid.*, p. 176.

Although, it was difficult for those members of the aristocracy who already had houses in Qutb-Delhi to have another one in the new city,²⁷ yet due to the presence of the Sultan houses and markets began to be built on all sides here. Kilokhri acquired yet another layer of houses built by the nobles and officers of the new dispensation. One of these houses belonged to the father of Baranī who was made deputy (*nā'ib*) of Prince Arkalī *Khān*, and it is quite likely that Baranī moved to Delhi from Baran (Bulandshahar) at about this time. Merchants too migrated and built markets. The population of the city increased to the point that a mosque was built especially for Friday congregational prayers.²⁸ It is possible that the name *Shahr-i Nau* for Kilokhri hastened the designation of Qutb-Delhi as *Dihli-i Kuhna* (Old Delhi).²⁹

The river held charm and attraction as much for a Sufi as for a Sultan. We have already seen this in the case of Quṭbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. His successor, and more famous Chishti saint, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, chose to build his house and hospice (*jamā'at khāna*) in yet another suburb, called Ghayāṣpur, on the bank of Yamuna, next to the spot where Humāyūn's tomb was built in the sixteenth century.³⁰ The suburb was sparsely populated which may have influenced the decision, although the saint claimed that he was guided by a divine voice.³¹ After the founding of a royal city at Kilokhri by Kaiqubād the population of Ghayaspur too began to increase causing consternation to the Shaikh.³² The distance between Kilokhri and Ghayaspur was reckoned at about half a *kuroh* (1.458 km) with people travelling both by road and river to Ghayaspur located to the north of Kilokhri. In the beginning when his means as a practising Sufi were limited, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn would walk from Ghayaspur to Kilokhri-Shahr-i Nau for the Friday prayer.³³ At some point of time, not known to us, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn got a house in Kilokhri in front of the Friday mosque where he would meet his devotees who could not make it to his hospice at Ghayaspur.³⁴ The mosque at Kilokhri would also attract those who

²⁷ Ibid.,

²⁸ Hamid Qalandar, *Khairu'l Majālis*, pp. 125–26 (37th *majlis*); Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, p. 195.

²⁹ First reference to this designation is found in Yazdi, *Ẓafarnama*, ed. M. Ilaḥdad, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1887, II, p. 125), cited in M. Athar Ali, 'Capital of the Sultans', p. 40.

³⁰ Bāyazīd Bayāt, *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, ed. Hidayat Hussain, Calcutta, 1941, p. 234.

³¹ *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, pp. 242–43.

³² Ibid., p. 243.

³³ *Khairu'l Majālis*, pp. 125–26. For travel by boat, see the story in *ibid.*, p. 202, of the two sons of 'Imād Firdausī, who, on boat, passed by Shaikh Nizāmuddīn's *khānqāh* in Ghayaspur as they rowed down to Imād Firdausī's *langar* (free kitchen) in Kilokhri.

³⁴ Conversation containing this information were held in 1312. See *Fawāidu'l Fawād*, pp. 136, 139.

lived in Siri for Friday prayers.³⁵ Subsequently Ghayaspur became a suburb of Kilokhri when the latter expanded northwards.³⁶

Nothing is known of the history of this city from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It does not figure in the account of the cities of Delhi by Ibn Baṭṭuta who lived in Jahānpanāh, another city in Delhi founded by Muḥammad Tughluq, during 1334–42 AD. The author of Timūr's exploits in Delhi offers a description of only three cities, namely, Jahānpanāh, Sirī and Old Delhi (*Dihli-i kuhna*), apart from Firoz Shāh's capital, Firuzabad.³⁷ The city must have suffered a setback after it ceased to be the centre of political gravity. During the reign of 'Alauddīn *Khaljī* (1296–1316 AD), Sirī, situated between Qutb-Delhi and Kilokhri-Shahr Nau, was the capital (*Dāru'l Khilāfa*) of the Sultanate and Qutb-Delhi was the second major city.³⁸ While Sirī and Qutb-Delhi were fortified for protection from Mongol incursions, Kilokhri-Shahr-i Nau, was left out.³⁹ Badāūnī observes that the ruins of Kilokhri were to be seen in his own time on the bank of the Yamuna river near the ford (*guzar*) of Khwāja Khizr.⁴⁰ One possible explanation for its physical disappearance could be the practice of recycling building material. When Sher Shāh was building his own city of Shergarh over Humāyūn's Dinpanāh, he demolished the surviving structures of uninhabited Sirī and reused the material.⁴¹ Even in the fourteenth century, plenty of building material was sourced from one city to build another.⁴² As a result, *Shahr-i Nau* survives today only in the pages of Persian histories.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 195.

³⁶ M. Athar Ali, 'Capital of the Sultans', p. 23. It is for this reason that Abū'l Faẓl locates Kilokhri at Humayun's tomb. *Āin-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, vol. I, Calcutta, 1872, p. 513. Also see Carr Stephen, p. 115, for the statement that Humāyūn was buried in Kilokhri.

³⁷ Sharfuddin 'Ali Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. Muhammad Ilaḥdad, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1887, p. 125.

³⁸ *Fawā'idu'l Fawād*, p. 311.

³⁹ This is shown by the fact that when Delhi was under threat from the Mongols, during the reign of 'Alauddīn *Khaljī*, Shaikh Nizāmuddin was advised to leave his hospice at Ghayaspur and move to the City (*Shahr*), *Khairu'l Majālis*, pp. 259–60.

⁴⁰ 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhabu'l Tawārīkh*, ed. Ahmad Ali and William Lees, vol. 1, Calcutta, 1864, p. 157.

⁴¹ Abdullāh, *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī*, ed. S.A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, pp. 148–49, 217–18.

⁴² Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, ed. Wilayat Hussain, 1891, p. 376.

There was a practice that whenever merchants would come to Firuzabad from outside with their goods laden on beasts of burden, the men of the *dīwān* would forcibly make them transport bricks from Old Delhi (*Dihli-i qadīm*) where the seven forts (*hiṣār*) built by seven kings [Iltutmish to Balban!] had fallen and their bricks were lying all around in heaps of debris... This practice called *dauri/duri* was prohibited by the king (Firūzshāh Tughluq).