MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 52
A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI
BY
J. A. PAGE, A.R.I.B.A.
Late Superintendent, Archeological Survey of India

WITH A TRANSLATION OF SIRAT-I-FIROZSHAHII
BY
MOHAMMAD HAMID KURAIISHI, B.A.
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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this memoir on the ruins of Kotla Firoz Shah at Delhi Mr. Page had in mind the desirability of attempting to retrieve for the reader the original “atmosphere” of the old fabric, with all its historical associations and charm; and to reveal the distinctive traits and outlook of those who founded and peopled it in the 14th Century A.D.

As a means to this, Mr. Page had recourse to the original narratives of the Mss-salman historians of the time (as translated in Messrs. Elliott and Dowson’s invaluable volumes) and has quoted in extenso from their writings. Verbose and redundant though these annals often are, they nevertheless reflect, as nothing else can, the mentality of their environment and period, and will, it is hoped, help the reader to visualise the life of the time, and repopulate for him the empty remains of what was once the royal retreat of a Turkish King of Delhi.

Besides the works, particularly by Muslim historians referred to by Mr. Page in his Memoir, there exists another trustworthy and contemporary account of Firoz Shah’s reign as narrated in the pages of Sirat-i-Firozshahi, a Persian manuscript in Nastaliq characters deposited in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur and enlisted in its Catalogue as No. 547. From the Catalogue it appears that nothing is known about the author of Sirat-i-Firozshahi but the verse at the end of the manuscript assigns the work to A.H. 772 (A.D. 1370), i.e., the twentieth year of the reign of Firoz Shah. Sirat-i-Firozshahi thus chronicles the events of the earlier part of Firoz Shah’s reign. It is divided into four chapters or balbs; and the folios of the second chapter dealing with the removal of the Minar-i-Zarrin (Golden Pillar) have been transcribed and translated by Mr. Mohammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., to form a supplement to Mr. Page’s Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah. The illustrations contained in the original not only add charm to the manuscript but portray the minutest details of the removal of the pillar—its carriage in boats and installation on the citadel at Firozabad, where it stands to the present day.

J. F. BLAKISTON,
Director General of Archaeology.

New Delhi, March 1936.
A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI.

FIROZABAD, THE TOWN.

".......

The Sultan having selected a site at the village of Gawin, on the banks of the Jumna, founded the city of Firozabad (1354 A.D.) before he went to Lakhnauti the second time. Here he commenced a palace, ........ and the nobles of his court having also obtained (giristand) houses there, a new town sprang up, five kos distant from Delhi. Eighteen places were included in this town, the kasba of Indarpur, the Sarai of Shaikh Malik Yar Paran, the Sarai of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the village of Gawin, the land of Khetwara, the land of Lahrawat, the land of Andhawati, the land of the Sarai of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultan Razia, the land of Bhari, the land of Mahrola and the land of Sultanpur. So many buildings were erected that from the kasba of Indarpur to the Kusht-i-Shikar, five kos apart, all the land was occupied. There were eight public mosques and one private mosque... The public mosques were each large enough to accommodate 10,000 supplicants." "It included eight public mosques and one private mosque, three palaces, a hunting box (shikargah) and, says Carr Stephen, out of 120 rest-houses which Firoz Shah built in Delhi and Firozabad it may be supposed that more than half were in his capital. No traces of the outer walls have yet been discovered, but the city was probably the usual approximate half-hexagon in plan with the long side or base facing the Jumna. If we can believe the description of Shams-i-Siraj, it more than doubled the size of Shahjahanabad, reaching, as it did, the "Ridge" to the north and a point near Hazr Khas to the south. It included a considerable portion of modern Delhi, namely, the Muhalla Bulbuli Khana, Turkman Darwaza, and Bhojla Pahari. General Cunningham has estimated its population at 150,000, and if, he continues, another 100,000 is added as the population of old Delhi, this brings up the total number of inhabitants in the Indian Metropolis during the reign of Firoz Shah to a quarter of a million."

The Tarikh-i-Firozshahi further tells that:

"After his return from Lakhnauti (in the year 755 H.—1354 A.D.) the Sultan was much occupied with building. He completed with care the kushk

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1 Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 302-3, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.
2 Sultan Firoz (1331-1388 A.D.) of the house of Tughlaq, the dynasty of Karama (half-breed) Turks founded by the Amir Malik Ghazi, in 1321 A.D. Sultan Firoz's mother was a daughter of the Rajput Raja Mal Bhuttii of Depalpur; and his father, Sipah Salar Raja, brother of Sultan Ghysaur-d-Din Tughlaq. He was born in 730 H. (~1310 A.D.) (Vide Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 271, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, and Laze Poste's Medieval India, pp. 122 and 130).
at Firozabad, and also commenced a kosh in the middle of that town." Kotla Firoz Shah (more correctly kosh= palace) thus formed the inner citadel of Firozabad. Building\textsuperscript{1} materials for the construction of Firozabad were obtained from Siri, Jahanpanah and Qila Rai Pithora; "trader's animals", says Shams-i-Siraj Afif, "being sent by the Government officials to the cities of old Delhi for a day, which had to convey one load of bricks to Firozabad\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{2}.

Two years later\textsuperscript{3}, we learn from Yahya ibn Ahmad, the Sultan "brought the stream of Firozabad from the mountains of Mandati and Sirmor"\ldots... and "formed another canal from the Khakhar (Khaghar) to the fort of Sarsuli, and from thence to Harbi-Khir (Firozabad)\ldots. He brought another canal from the river Jumma, and threw it into the tank of that city.\textsuperscript{3} "\ldots"

Sultan Firoz Shah's new city quickly became a very popular resort of the people of Delhi, and Shams-i-Siraj relates how:

"During\textsuperscript{4} the forty years of the reign of the excellent Sultan Firoz, the people used to go for pleasure from Delhi to Firozabad, and from Firozabad to Delhi, in such numbers, that every kos of the five koses between the two towns swarmed with people, as with ants or locusts. To accommodate this great traffic, there were public carriers who kept carriages, mules (sutur), and horses, which were ready for hire at a settled rate every morning after prayers, so that the traveller could make the trip as seemed to him best, and arrive at a stated time. Palankin bearers were also ready to convey passengers. The fare of a carriage was four silver jitalas for each person; of a mule (sutur) six; of a horse twelve; and of a palankin half a tanka. There was also plenty of porters ready for employment by any one, and they earned a good livelihood. Such was the prosperity of this district."

**KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, THE CITADEL.**

The Kotla or Citadel which forms an irregular polygon on plan, is now in a very ruinous condition, but much has been done by the Archaeological Department to secure it from further decay (Plate I). Further excavation and clearance, along the river front especially, are necessary before a fuller appreciation of its original features can be obtained, but sufficient evidence is already apparent in the several old structures it contains to serve as a fair basis on which one may construct a conjectural restoration of the citadel. The *vue d'oiseau* perspective drawing appearing in the accompanying Plate II is an attempt at such a restoration. Features irretrievably missing in the case of the Kotla ruins have been reproduced in the illustration on the analogy of similar features existing in contemporary structures of Firoz Shah still extant; e.g., the fortified enclosure of Qadam Sharif, and the multihomed mosques at Begampur, Khirki, Nizampur, and in the *Muhalla* Bulbuli Khana in Shahjahanabad.

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\textsuperscript{1} Delhi Zail Lists, Vol. II, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{2} Elliott & Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 8-9, Tariikh-i-Mubaranahah\textsuperscript{\textdagger}.

\textsuperscript{3} Firoz Shah has been called the Father of Indian Irrigation, and his canal which brought water from Khurabad to Sufaidon, where he had a hunting ground, is now known as the Western Jumna Canal (\textit{vide} Sanderson's \textit{Guide to Delhi Fort}, p. 38). (\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger})

\textsuperscript{4} Elliott & Dowson, Vol. III, Tariikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 303.
THE LAT PYRAMID.

An illustration of the Lat pyramid in the Asiatic Researches of the year 1802 (reproduced in Plate IV, Vol. VIII) shows it in a much better state of preservation than it is at present (Plate V), and depicts the low flat domes reproduced over the corner pavilions containing the ascending stairs. The top colonnade indicated in the perspective view (Plate III) is more conjectural, but evidence of the existence of a feature of this kind is apparent in the presence of a pair of broken columns still remaining in situ on the western edge of the roof.

The pyramid on which the Lat stands consists of 3 terraces progressively decreasing in size, and giving the building a stepped appearance. On each terrace is a series of vaulted cells surrounding the solid core of the structure into which the foot of the Lat of Asoka is built.

The Lat is a sandstone monolith 42' 7" in height, 35' being polished and the remainder rough; the buried portion measures some 4' 1". and Cunningham is of the opinion that the rough portion, standing above the level of the terrace, was buried in the ground in its original site. According to Shams-i-Siraj, one quarter of the monolith was hidden by the masonry of the pyramid originally, and Cunningham believes this to have been actually the case, owing to the existence of the stumps of the octagonal columns previously described, which would appear to have formed a cloister or open gallery round the topmost storey. The diameter of the Lat is 26' 3" inches at the top and 33' 3" inches at the base, the diminution being '39" per foot. It is said to weight 27 tons; while the colour of the sandstone is pale orange, flecked with black spots. Major Burt who examined it in 1837 gives its measurements as 35' in length with a diameter of 3' 4" feet; Franklin (As. Res.) a length of 50'; Von Orlich, 42'; William Finch, 24'; Shams-i-Siraj, 34', and its circumference 10'. In the matter of dimensions it resembles the Allahabad pillar more than any other, but it tapers more rapidly towards the top and is, therefore, less graceful in outline (Cunningham). Tom Coryat and Whittaker (Kerr's Voyages and Travels, IX, 423) state that the pillar was of brass; the chaplain Edward Terry records that it was of marble with a Greek inscription upon it, while Bishop Heber says that it was on "cast metal". Timur declared that he had never seen any monument in all the numerous lands he had traversed comparable to these monoliths.

The Tarikh-i-Firozshahi gives the following account of the erection of the lat of Asoka in Firozabad:

"After Sultan Firoz returned from his expedition against Thatta he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Delhi. In this part of the country there

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1 The first terrace measures 118' square, the second 83' square, and the third 55' square.
2 It is not within the province of this memoir to give an account of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka. He erected the granite pillars which bore the edicts spreading this new religion from Kabul to Oriessa. The dates of his accession and death are given by Sir John Marshall (A Guide to Taxila) as 273 and 232 B.C. respectively.
3 The polish on the surface of Asokan columns and sculptures is a very characteristic feature—a technique which had its origin in Persepolis where abundant examples still survive. (See "A Guide to Sanchi", p. 92, by Sir John Marshall.)
4 A translation of this inscription, which is in Pali character is given in the Appendix.
were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (shikk) of Salaura and Khizrabad in the hills (koh-payah), the other in the vicinity of the town of Mirat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pandavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Delhi, till Sultan Firoz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (kushk) at Firozabad, near the Masjid-i-jama, and was called the Minara-i-Zarrin, or Golden Column, and the other was erected in the Kuskh-i-Shikar, or Hunting Palace, with great labour and skill. The author has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed Bhim a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhim used to devour a thousand mans of food daily, and no one could compete with him. In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhim was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belonging to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Delhi, and when Bhim died these two columns were left standing as memorials of him. 

Removal of the Minara-i-Zarrin.—Khizrabad is 90 kos from Delhi, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Delhi, and there erect it as a memorial of future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 mans of grain, and the least of them 2,000 mans. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kuskh with infinite labour and skill.
Account of the Raising of the Obelisk.—At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mur Khan. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception, near the Jami Masjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and chunam, and consisted of several stages or steps (poshish). When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a gaz. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (do sar-i-an) and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi kalas. The height of the obelisk was thirty-two gaz; eight gaz was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing1 in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan King, named Sultan Firoz, etc., etc.”

THE CONNECTING BRIDGE.

The bridge shown in the illustration (Plate II) as connecting the pyramidal lait structure in the Kotla with the mosque adjacent is a conjectural feature, and relies for its authenticity on the existence below ground in this position of a lofty vaulted tunnel, closed at both ends and lacking a pakka floor, which connects the foundation of these structures. The walls of this tunnel, I can only assume, served as the foundation for an upper superstructure bridging the space between the pyramid and the mosque, of which connecting feature there is a persistent local tradition. There is also a logical purpose which such a bridge could have served, since it would have provided direct and secluded communication between the Zanana enclosures in the mosque mezzanine (infra) and the lait-pyramid.

1 See Appendix.
THE MOSQUE.

The illustration of the Jami mosque, as reconstructed on the analogous examples mentioned above, may be considered to represent with some accuracy the original appearance of this structure in the time of Firoz Shah.

Little indeed of the original masjid now remains, but evidence of its former features exists there almost intact, and is disclosed by a careful examination of the ruins. Plate IV.

The numerous columns of the prayer chamber and side limes, now long since disappeared, leave their indications in the roughly tooled stone blocks which supported them, spaced at regular intervals in the paved floor. The sub-divided bays below the entresol chambers reveal themselves in the little close-set mihrab-recesses in the walls at the north-west and south-west corners. The top roofs at these corners, as can be seen from an examination of the exposed core of the upper walls, were higher than the connecting central bays. Further evidence of the existence of these zena entresols lies in the presence of the narrow connecting passage-way in the thickness of the west wall at this level, and again in the ruined remains of the staircase ascending from this entresol level to the roof above, and descending to the ground floor below; both stair-ways being also contained in the thickness of the north and south walls. "The centre of the courtyard was marked by a deep pit which seems originally to have been a well, not improbably connected by galleries with the apartments on the river front, the water level being reached by some form of ghat." An attempt was made in 1914-15 to explore this pit but as the sides proceeded to tumble in, it was thought advisable to fill it up. Thus its present treatment does not purport to indicate what previously existed here. It has been suggested that the pit formed a shaft sunk to support the foundation of a domed structure erected above it—the octagonal building bearing the engraved marble slabs recording the ordinances of the emperor and referred to by the historians of the time.

1 List of Monuments, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, p. 73.
2 Firoz Shahi's statement is as follows:

"he caused his regulations to be carved on the masjid of Firuzabad of which the following may be taken as an example. It has been usual in former times to spill Mahomedan blood on trivial occasions and, for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the hands and feet, add noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverizing the bones of the living criminals with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion, and by nailing the hands and feet, by stoning alive, by the operation of hamstringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces. God in his infinite goodness having been pleased to confer on me the power, has inspired me with the disposition to put an end to these practices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore, in the daily prayers offered up for the royal family, the names of all those princes, my predecessors, who have reigned over the empire of Delhi, in hopes that these prayers, being acceptable to God, may in some measure appease his wrath, and ensure his mercy towards them. It is also hereby proclaimed, that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of Cotwalli, etc., payable to the public servants of government, as perquisites of offices, by small traders; that licences for the right of pasturage from shepherds, on waste lands belonging to the crown; fees from flower-sellers, fish-sellers, cotton-cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks and the precarious and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vintners, shall henceforward cease throughout the realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realise it at the expense of so much distress, occasioned by the discretionary power necessarily vested in tax-gatherers and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book. It has been customary to set aside one-fifth of all property taken in war for the troops, and to reserve four-fifths to the government. It is hereby ordered, that in future four-fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one-fifth only reserved for the crown. I will on all occasions cause to be banished from the realm, persons convicted of the following crimes: Those who profess atheism, or who maintains schools of vice; all public servants convicted of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes. I have myself
some form of chattri as is usual in such cases, and remains of capitals found near
the mouth of the well help to substantiate this theory. Franklin (As. Res.) who
saw the building in 1793 describes it as bearing four cloisters, the domed roofs of
which were supported by two hundred and sixty stone columns, each about 16'
in height. There was an octagonal dome of brick and stone in the centre of the
mosque and about 25' in height.
Zia-i-Barni, elucidating the masjid, says that on Fridays the gathering of wor-
shippers is such that there remains no room either on the lower flat or on the upper
storey and the courtyard. Timur visited the building and mentions it as follows
in his Mafnisat:

"I started from Delhi and marched three kos to the Fort of Firuzabad, which
stands upon the banks of the Jumna and is one of the edifices erected by Sultan
Firoz Shah. There I halted and went in to examine the place. I proceeded to the
Masjid-i-Jami, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and
thanksgivings for the mercies of the Almighty."

It is recorded in Ferishta1 that so impressed was Timur by the design of the
building that he erected a great mosque at Samarkand, modelled on the same
arrangement, employing masons he had taken back with him from India.

The public entrance to the piano nobile of the mosque was, of course, through
the domed northern porch; but direct access for the purdah-nashin ladies was
further provided by way of the stairs, mentioned above, from what (it is to be
inferred) were the Royal palaces and private apartments situated on the river
front to the south of the masjid, as illustrated in Plate II.

THE RIVER FRONT AND ROYAL PALACES.

That the royal apartments were located in this position is, I think, reasonably
to be adduced both from the ruined remains of a central mahal here and from
the analogy of the later Mughal palaces placed on the river front of the forts at
Delhi and Agra, such a position being naturally the most pleasant and desirable
one the citadel would afford; while the river itself would form a protection on
that side against hostile land forces in the event of a siege.

The dâlâns labelled "Zenana Palace" in the illustration were, I infer, reserved
for this purpose. Though now much ruined, their original division into a number

2 Fanamshaw thinks that this structure may have resembled the sunken octagonal chamber at the tomb of Sultan
Gharti, Mabjolpur Delhi Past and Present (1902) p. 226.
of small connecting chambers can readily be traced on the site; while the numerous little holes to serve as pigeon-nests are an interesting feature, as is again what seems to be the base of a pinjra stand for birds on the east wall. A curious decorative feature on the roof of these dalans still remains in the shape of a somewhat crude attempt at a mosaic, set in squares outlined with small pebbles embedded in the concrete of which it is composed. No evidence of a second storey on these river front palaces is apparent, but, from the decorative feature above mentioned as the presence of stair ascents, the roof was evidently intended to be used in the cool of the evening; and doubtless was sheltered from the sun by large crimson shawianas during the day, and screened for the use of the Zanana by kanats from the view of the public courts below.

The River wall below the Royal palace, and, in fact, practically all along this front, seems to have been treated as a low roofed terrace, with an open arcaded façade looking out on to the river, and must have been a very picturesque feature of the royal citadel (see Plate III). Narrow staircases descend at various points from this terrace to the river bed below.

INTERIOR COURTS AND GATES.

The actual ramp descending from the level of the royal private enclosure on the river front to the public quadrangle (marked Bari-Amm in the illustration) still remains, but the specific use to which this latter court was put can only be conjectured, it being impossible in the present state of decay of the Kotla to identify with any assurance the several palaces mentioned in the account by Shams-i-Siraj Afs cited on page 11 (infra).

The existence of the remains of the dual gates in the several positions indicated in the illustration afford, however, a clue to the number and relative positions of the various courts and enclosures into which the citadel was divided; and from this evidence (somewhat slender, it is true!) has been adduced the arrangement of the private courts and "grape garden" indicated in the illustration, which, it is assumed, were linked with the Royal quarters on the river front, whence private access to them was obtained.

Remains of what would appear to be the walls of a narrow dalan way forming the back of the court, marked "Bari Amm" in the Plate II, exist; but whether the wooden reception hall indicated here as a possible feature of the Court of Public Audience ever existed is again problematical.

That the quadrangle was divided off from the garden enclosure indicated to the right of it, is, I think, to be inferred from the existence of the separate pairs of gates in situ, one pair of which I have assigned to each court. A little further digging here would, in all probability, do much to clear up this point.

The probability of the existence of the garden enclosure above mentioned is inferred from the presence of the little square-vaulted pavilions it contains, which would be very appropriate to such a setting.

THE BAOLI.

There still exist the remains of a fine circular baoli immediately north-west of the pyramidal lat structure, with a range of subterranean apartments, which
from fragments still remaining appears to have had its upper terrace enclosed by a low open stone railing. A recent partial clearance of this terrace disclosed the remains of a system of water channels which, it seems, conveyed water from a couple of elevated tanks (surmounted with conjectured chattris in the illustration in Plate II) across to the water pavilion situated immediately to the north (left, in illustration) of the well. Encircling the lower surrounding chambers of the well is a series of contiguous water receptacles connected by pipes and ducts with the channels on the top terrace; and it seems probable that the attractions of the baoli as a cool retreat in the summer heats were thus considerably heightened by the ornamental display of ‘falling water. A large underground drain for the water overflow connected the baoli with the river front of the citadel.

A similar series of cool sun-sheltered chambers occur beneath the mosque where they were probably also connected with a central well referred to on page 6.

WATER TANKS AND DUCTS.

An interesting feature of the Kotla are the remains of a system of water-tanks and pipe-ducts to be found in the bay of the citadel immediately north of the main entrance court (Plate II).

THE CITADEL WALLS. MAIN ENTRANCE BAY.

The main entrance court to the west, as reconstructed from a study of the existing fragmentary remains, was surrounded by a series of low one-storeyed chambers, the roof of which served as a terrace from which the loop-holed upper wall of this bay of the Kotla could be manned. These chambers evidently served the purpose of guard-rooms, and were so arranged on plan as to convert the polygonal outline of the exterior fortified walls to a simple inner quadrangle, forming the entrance court, which was reached by way of an open passage from the front gateway. Immediately opposite this passage was an open colonnaded dâlan (which served, perhaps, as a waiting hall for visiting retainers) flanked by dual gates leading to the inner courts of the citadel. Towards the south end of the entrance court were found fragments of a low stone railing which probably enclosed a small raised dais before the dâlan at this end.

The court is now in too ruinous a condition to permit of an accurate detailed reconstruction of the lesser features; but the arrangement indicated in the accompanying Plate II may be considered to be substantially authenticated by the internal evidence still preserved in situ.

Outside the entrance gate there still remains one of the little ‘sentry boxes’ shewn in the perspective view, and the foundations of the other were disclosed recently during the clearance of the front. The low guard-walls before the gates shewn in the illustration are reconstructed on the analogy of a similar feature existing at Qadam Sharif; and, in fact, the remains of such a wall actually exist in the case of the smaller gate in the central wall bisecting the extreme south wing of the citadel. The smaller gate in the fausse brail at the main western entrance shewn in the perspective view is taken from an illustration of the gate appearing in Blagdon’s Brief History of India, dated 1805 A.D.
DEFENCE OF THE WALLS.

The enclosing walls of the Kotla generally which have lost their crowning merlons (kangura) and machicollations (damoghar) are pierced towards the top with two rows of loopholes (jhurna) for the discharge of arrows. A curious point in this connection is that there is now no apparent means by which these loopholes could have been reached by the defenders inside the Kotla walls, for with the exception of the main entrance bay mentioned above, there is no masonry terrace at that level, nor are any holes left which would have served to bond the members of a possible wooden staging to the walls. Nevertheless it is probable that such a timber staging was used in this position.

It is also curious to note that in some cases (e.g., the bays flanking the western central entrance bay and, again, the dividing wall of the extreme south wing of the Kotla) these loopholes are so arranged as to permit of the discharge of arrows into the interior of the courts. It has been suggested that the reason for this was that the retainers of a visitor might be kept under guard while the visitor himself was received in the inner court of the citadel; but I think this feature results merely from the fact that the outer courts\(^1\) were a subsequent addition to the original citadel, the arrow slits in the walls of the latter not being interfered with in the extension. There is certainly a logical reason for this in the case of the west entrance bay, which, as originally constructed, formed a very narrow salient exposed to the concentrated converging fire in an attacker. And the widening of the salient to counter this disadvantage was doubtless felt to be as necessary in those days as it is in the military tactics of the 20th Century.

In the other instance quoted in parenthesis above, the fact that these southern bays were added later to the original citadel is very apparent when one examines the junction of its walls where they impinge on the bastions of the original structure; the total absence of any "bond" of the masonry between them seeming conclusive on this point. This extension to the south would also have the tactical advantage of securing this end of the vulnerable river front palaces from a flank attack.

The remains of the ascending ramp at the south end of the river front still exist, and serve as the basis of this feature as restored in the perspective drawing (Plate III). A good deal of clearance of debris, from this end of the river front particularly has yet to be done before a better appreciation of its features can be obtained.

A feature of the citadel are said to have been the three tunnels, one of which led to the river, and the others to the Kushak-i-Shikar on the Ridge and to the Qila Rai Pithora respectively. The tunnels which have been described by the Reverend Father Hosten, S.J. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1911) have yet to be discovered; and that they ever existed except as a tradition is extremely problematical.

\(^1\) The addition of these bays and the extension of the citadel to the south were probably effected during the troubled period following on Firoz Shah's death in 1389 A.D.; at a time when any inherent weakness of the fortifications would soon have been disclosed.
CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE CITADEL.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi relates that "there" were three palaces in which Sultan Firoz used to sit publicly in State. One was the Mahal-i-sahan-i-gilin (the palace of the clayey court). It was also called the Mahal-i-dikh (dakh), i.e., the Mahal-i-angur, or palace of grapes. The second was called the Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chobin (Palace of the wooden gallery). The third was the Mahal-i-bari-amm, or palace of the Public Court, and it was also called the Sahn-i-miyanagi, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the khans, maliks, amirs, officials and distinguished literary men. The Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chobin was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the Sahn-i-miyanagi was used for general receptions". Firoz Shah is said to have introduced the system, afterwards adopted by the Mughal emperors, of the division of the Audience or Darbar into three classes according to the rank of those present.

FIROZABAD, THE ROYAL RETREAT.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif goes on to say that "Sultan Firoz had given up residing in Delhi, and stayed at Firozabad". Delhi, it would seem, however, still remained the capital of the kingdom, and continued to be used for State functions, for "when it was necessary to hold a court he left his devotions and proceeded to the capital". To use Lane Poole's simile, "Firozabad became the Windsor of his London".

FEATURES OF THE PALACES.

The Sultan, we are told, was possessed of a penchant for history and, in despair of getting an adequate historical record written of his own reign, caused the following lines of his own composition (az zabân-i khwesh), to be inscribed in letters of gold on the walls (imdrat) of the Kusk-i Shikár-rav, and on the domes of the Kusk-i muzul, and the walls (imdrat) of the minarets of stone which are within the Kusk-i Shikár-rav at Firozabad:

"I made a great hunt of elephants, and I captured so many:

"I performed many glorious deeds; and all this I have done:

"That in the world and among men; in the earth and among mankind, these verses

"May stand as a memorial to men of intelligence, and that the people of the world, and the wise men of the age, may follow the example." Which literary excursion it may be remarked, does not reveal the Sultan's pen to have been any mightier than was his sword in his vacillating campaigns undertaken in Bengal and Thatta.

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1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 343.
2 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, P. 71.
3 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 343.
4 Medieval India under Muhammadan rule, p. 144.
5 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 318.
6 This palace, it seems, was the one on the "Ridge".
Firoz adopted the practice. "The court to which these pampered servants ministered was luxurious but orderly. It is true the Sultan was somewhat addicted to wine, and on one occasion, in the midst of the Bengal campaign, the general Tatar Khan discovered his sovereign in an undignified position, lying half-dressed on his couch, with a mysterious sheet concealing something under the bed. Tatar Khan saw what was the matter, and both were speechless with surprise. At last he began a little sermon on the wickedness of indulgence at such a time of anxiety. The Sultan inquired what he meant, and asked innocently if anything untoward had happened. The Khan pointed to the hidden wine cups under the bed and looked solemn. Firoz said he liked a modest drop now and then to moisten his throat, but Tatar was not to be mollified. Then the Sultan swore that he would drink no more wine whilst the Khan was with the army. So the general thanked God and went out. But Firoz soon afterwards bethought him that the Khan was much needed at the other end of the kingdom, and sent him there in all haste. Several times the Sultan was lectured by holy men on his weakness, but he worked off his excesses by vigorous hunting, to which he was enthusiastically devoted, and the vice cannot have gone to such lengths as to interfere with affairs of state—at least so long as the able Hindu wazir 2 was there to control them."

"The testimony of all contemporary chroniclers shows that Firoz was adored by the people. It was not only that he reformed abuses, checked extortion, reduced taxation, increased irrigation, and enlarged the markets and opportunities of labour: he was 'a father to his people', took care of the needy and unemployed, refused to dismiss aged officials but let their sons act for them,—'the veteran', he said, 'may thus stay at home in comfort, whilst the young ride forth in their strength'; he contrived the marriages of poor Muslims who could not otherwise afford the usual dowries, and provided state hospitals for the sick of all classes, native and foreign' . . . . "A devout Muslim, he kept the fasts and feasts and public prayers, and in the weekly litany the names of his great predecessors were commemorated as well as his own and that of the caliph who had sanctioned his authority. When an old man he went on pilgrimage to the shrine of the legendary hero Salar Mas'ud at Bahraich, and humbly shaved as an act of piety. He never did anything without consulting the Koran, and even selected a governor in accordance with a jadf or lucky omen in the sacred book. Making every allowance for the exaggeration of the court chronicler, his paeony, written after the Sultan's death, is probably not misplaced: 'Under Firoz all men, high and low, bond and free, lived happily and free from care. The court was splendid. Things were plentiful and cheap. 3 Nothing untoward happened during his reign. No village remained waste, no land uncultivated' . . . . "No king since Nasir-ad-din (Kihiji) had so appealed to the affections of his subjects; 'none had had shown himself so just, and merciful, so kind and . . . .

1 Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule by Stanley Lane Poole, pp. 149, 149-150, 151.
2 Makbul Khan, a converted Hindu named Katta of Telangane, who became a slave under Muhammad Taghsaq, and was raised to the office of Wazir by Sultan Firoz in the beginning of the reign.
3 Some prices may be quoted: wheat 3d. (s jisada) the quarter (masa); barley 1/4d., grain 1/4d. the quarter; sugar Id. to 1d. the sir or 1 lb.
religious—or such a builder." In the brief and modest memoirs which the Sultan left, he recites some of the successful efforts he made to repress irreligion and wickedness, and to restore good Government, just law, kindness, and generosity to the people, in the place of torture and bloodshed and oppression. "Through the mercy which God has shown to me," he says, "these cruelties and terrors have been changed to tenderness, kindness, and compassion......I thank the All-Bountiful God for the many and various blessings He has bestowed upon me".

EVENTS AT THE CITADEL.

In spite of the Sultan's large-hearted beneficence towards his subjects in general, he was rigid in his adherence to the tenets of the orthodox Sunni creed, and Brahman "infidel" and Shi'ah dissenter alike felt the weight of the Sultan's hand. We read of a Brahmin, "who persisted in publicly worshipping idols in his house!", being burnt on a pile of faggots in front of the Royal palace at Firozabad; which palace was also the scene of a deputation of Brahmins who protested, but unsuccessfully, against the imposition of the Jizya poll tax levied on them as "the very keys of the chamber of idolatry" by the Sultan "from which they had been held excused in former reigns". And in the Sultan's own memoirs he writes "The sect of Shi'ah's, also called Rawafiz, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave instructions and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (siydsat), and the rest I visited with censure (tazir) and threats (tahdid) of public punishment (tashhid-i-zijr). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed."

THE SULTAN'S GARDENS.

"Sultan Firoz had a great liking for the laying out of gardens which he took pains to embellish. He formed 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Delhi. All gardens received abundant proofs of his care, and he restored thirty gardens which had been commenced by Alau-d-Din (Khitji)....In every garden there were white and black grapes of seven varieties. They were sold at the rate of one jital per seer." This hobby of the Sultan was not without its remunerative side, for "of the various articles grown in the gardens, the Government share of the produce amounted to 80,000\(^2\) tankas, without taking into account the dues of the owners and gardeners", which it seems were paid in kind.

THE SULTAN'S BUILDINGS.

"Sultan Firoz excelled all his predecessors on the throne of Delhi in the erection of buildings, indeed no monarch of any country surpassed him. He-

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1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 385.
2 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Fustat-i-Firozshahi, p. 377.
3 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 345.
4 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 346.
5 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi pp. 364-7.
built cities, forts, palaces, bands, mosques and tombs, in great numbers. Of cities, there were Hissar Firozah and Fath-abad, of which the author has given an account in a previous chapter, Firozabad, Firozabad Harni Khira, Tughlakpur-i Kasna, Tughlakpur-i Muluk-i Kamut, and Jaunpur, besides sundry other places and forts which he repaired and strengthened. His palaces (kushk) were those of Firoz, Nuzul, Mahandwari, Hissar Firozah, Fathabad, Jaunpur, Shikar, Band-i Fath Khan and Salaur. Bands: Fath Khan, Malcha (into which he threw a body of fresh water, ab-i-zamzam), Mahpalpur, Shukr Khan, Salaur, Wazirabad and other similar strong and substantial bands. He also built monasteries and inns for the accommodation of travellers. One hundred and twenty khankahs (monasteries) were built in Delhi and Firozabad for the accommodation of the people of God, in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days. These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year. Superintendents and officers of the Sunni persuasion were appointed to these khankahs, and the funds for their expenses were furnished from the public Treasury.

HIS CHIEF ARCHITECTS.

Malik Ghazi Shalma was the chief architect, and was very efficient; he held the gold staff (of office). 'Abdul Haik, otherwise Jahir Sundhar (was deputy, and) held the golden axe. A clever and qualified superintendent was appointed over every class of artisans.

The Sultan also repaired the tombs of former kings. It is a custom among kings while they are on the throne to appropriate villages and lands to religious men in order to provide means for the maintenance and repair of their tombs. But these endowments had all been destroyed, and the grantees, being divested of them, were reduced to distress. The Sultan carefully repaired all the tombs and restored the lands and villages after bringing into cultivation such as had been laid waste. He also sought out and restored the Superintendents and officers of these endowments who had been driven out of them. The financial officer (divan-i wizarat) examined the plan of every proposed building, and made provision so that the work should not be stopped for want of funds. The necessary money was issued from the royal treasury to the managers of the building, and then the work was begun. Thus it was that so many buildings of different kinds were erected in the reign of Firozshah’.

THE ROYAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS.

“Sultan Firoz had thirty-six royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected...and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (rayati): others had no fixed income (ghair rayati). Thus among the rayati establishments there were the elephant, horse, and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar
establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one lac and sixty thousand tankas for their expenses, in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture,............

"In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the alam-khana or insignia, the carpet stores, and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six lacs of tankas were expended on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for the spring and summer, 80,000 tankas were expended on the alam-khana in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and wages of the work-people. About two lacs of tankas were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a khan or malik of high rank;.....

"The royal stables were in five different places, and, besides these, some thousands of horses grazed in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and were called sikh-punj. The camel establishment was distinct, and was in the district of Dublahan, where whole villages were appropriated to them and their keepers. Their numbers increased every year, because the great feudatories, when they came to Court, brought camels of all sorts among their presents to the throne."

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE KOTLA.

The following is a brief relation of events connected with the subsequent history of the Kotla from the retirement of its founder from affairs of State to its probable destruction in 1540 A.D. at the hands of the Afghan emperor Sher Shah Sur.

"The Sultan now grew old and feeble, for his age was nearly ninety years (1382 A.D.) and Khan-i-Jahan, the wazir, exercised unbounded authority...... All the affairs of State were in his hands. At length it came to this, that whatever Khan-i-Jahan said, the Sultan used to do ".

"One day the wazir represented to the Sultan that Prince Muhammad Khan......was on the point of raising a rebellion", whereupon the Sultan gave the order for his arrest. The Prince, however, discreetly remained away from court, and, in alarm at his position, gave his own version of affairs to his father, on which the wazir was dismissed from office.

The Prince, "gathering the slaves of Sultan Firoz, the amirs, and other people of the city" about him, attacked the house of Khan-i-Jahan, who was wounded and fled into Mewat, and his house was plundered.

THE SULTAN RETIRES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON MUHAMMAD KHAN.

"The Sultan......of necessity, gave over to the Prince the reins of government, with all the horses and elephants, wealth and state......He conferred

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1 Named Junn Shah. He was the son of the former wazir Makbul Khan. The two wazirs, father and son, between them virtually ruled the kingdom during the whole of the reign, the one for 18, the other for 20 years, so great was the reliance reposed in them by the Sultan. Junn Shah is said to have been responsible for the erection of several of the principal mosques built in Delhi, among which are numbered those named on page 16 (supra).

(Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Turish,-Firozshahi, p. 369 et seq.)
upon him the title of Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah, and then retired to his house to serve his God. In the cities, throughout the dominions, the khutba was repeated in the names of the two sovereigns, and Muhammad Khan took his seat upon the throne in the Palace of Jahanguma (on the "Ridge"). The deposed wazir was soon afterwards seized and beheaded.

The Prince "who was young and inexperienced, gave himself up to pleasure....and at length great irregularities arose in the administration. The slaves of the late government of Firoz Shah, of whom there were about a lakh in Delhi and Firozabad, abandoned the Prince and joined themselves with the late sovereign". Hence arose contention and strife, during which the Prince attacked and routed this following, who "fled to the palace and took refuge with the Sultan. Fighting went on for two days, when the insurgents brought out the old Sultan from the Palace"; which caused the adherents of the Prince to abandon him and rejoin their old master. Finding he could no longer maintain the struggle, the Prince fled to the mountains of Sirmor.

FLIGHT OF MUHAMMAD KHAN AND HIS SUPERSESSION BY SULTAN FIROZ'S GRANDSON, TUGHLAQ SHAH.

The Sultan then appointed Prince Tughlaq Shah his grandson, son of Fath Khan, to be his heir, and delivered all the affairs of government over to him.

DEATH OF FIROZSHAH.

"On the 8th Ramzan 790 H (26th September 1388 A.D.) Sultan Firoz died, worn out with weakness", whereupon Prince Tughlaq Shah "took his seat upon the throne in the palace of Firozabad"; and a force was then sent against Prince Muhammad Khan in his retreat in the mountains of Sirmor.

The new Sultan was, however, also "young and inexperienced, and gave himself up to wine and pleasure". Government was neglected and several of the Amiris and slaves raised a revolt. "Malik Mubarak Kabri (an adherent of the Sultan) was despatched with the sword in the palace of Firozabad as he was retreating through the door. A great outcry thereupon arose in the palace, and the Sultan hearing it escaped through the door opening on to the Jamuna" but was overtaken and killed at the ford near the Ridge. The reign of Sultan Tughlaq Shah had lasted 6 months and 18 days.

DEATH OF HIS SUCCESSOR TUGHLAQ SHAH AND ENTRONEMENT OF MUHAMMAD KHAN AT SAMANA.

On the news reaching Prince Muhammad Khan at Nagarkot he mounted the throne at Samana "for the second time", and with an assemblage of 20,000 horse and an innumerable host of foot marched to Delhi, where, however, the

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1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 17.
2 Ibidem.
3 Ibidem.
4 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 21.

"On the 25th Rabu-i-Akhir 791 (23rd April 1389) Sultan Muhammad took up his position at the palace of Jahannuma (on the Ridge) and Abu Bakr with his adherents and forces, was at Firozabad. On the 2nd Jumada-i awwal, the adherents of Abu Bakr, having taken the streets and walls of Firozabad, gave battle to the forces of the new Sultan. On that very day Bahadur Nahir came into the city with a party of his followers; and Abu Bakr Shah, being emboldened by his arrival, marched on the following day into Firozabad with his horse and foot. The battle began, and by the decree of God, Sultan Muhammad was defeated. He fled towards his own territories". Malik Sarwar (a slave of Firoz Shah, and afterwards the founder of the Provincial dynasty of Sharqi kings at Jaunpur) was then made wazir.

In the same year Sultan Muhammad again marched against Delhi, but was met and defeated by Abu Bakr again; and we read that "In consequence of the contention among the Mussalmans for the throne, the Hindu infidels gathered strength and gave up paying the Jizya poll tax and tribute".

In 1390 A.D. Sultan Muhammad yet again raided the city of Delhi, entering through the Badaun Gate, and took up his quarters at the Humayun Palace. "All the people of the city, high and low, and the bazar people, joined him;" but the Sultan found it advisable to flee through a back door in the palace on news of his antagonist Abu Bakr's approach. The old Firoz Shahi slaves, however, turned against Abu Bakr, who fled, and on their invitation Sultan Muhammad "entered the city and took his seat on the throne in the Palace of Firozabad".

**DEATH OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD.**

The somewhat tactless action of the Sultan in taking away the state elephants from the charge of the Firozshahi slaves excited discontent among them; "so they fled in the night" and joined Abu Bakr Shah, who was, however, defeated in a battle by a force sent against him by the Sultan, captured, and sent a prisoner to Mirat, where he died. Some 3 years afterwards the Sultan Muhammad Shah died (Jan. 1394 A.D.) having reigned 6 years and 7 months.

The late Sultan's second son, Humayun Khan, then ascended the throne under the title Sultan Alau-d-Din Sikandar Shah—but died 1 month 16 days afterwards.

**SUCCESSION OF PRINCE MAHMOUD AT JAHANPANAH.**

On the death of Sultan Alau-d-Din "Prince Mahmud was placed upon the throne in the Humayun palace (in Jahanpanah) and the title Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud Shah was given to him".

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1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 21.
2 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 22.
3 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 25.
4 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 27.
5 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 28.
REBELLION AND RIVAL SOVEREIGNTY OF HIS COUSIN NASRAT SHAH AT FIROZABAD.

Early in his reign, however, certain disaffected amirs, headed by one Sadat Khan, rebelled and raised Nasrat Shah to the throne, "in the palace of Firozabad under the title of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah. But he was a mere puppet, and all the direction of affairs was in the hands of Sadat Khan", who was, however, soon afterwards expelled by the old Firozshahi slaves, and killed. Thus "in Delhi and Firozabad there were two kings"; and "fights came to be daily occurrences between the two cities".

"The districts in the Doab and fiefs of Sambhal, Panipat, Jhajjar and Rohtak were in the possession of Sultan Nasiruddin, while Sultan Mahmud held no place except the forts of old Delhi and Siri".

"In the month of Shawal 800 H (1397 A.D.) the vazir, Ikbal Khan joined himself to Sultan Nasiruddin. He placed the Sultan upon an elephant, and conducted him into Jahanpanah......Sultan Mahmud was shut up in Old Delhi."

"On the third day Ikbal Khan treacherously attacked the Sultan Nasiruddin, who, being unable to resist, fled with a small party of men and elephants to Firozabad", whence he escaped across the Jumna with his family and dependants.

"Firozabad then came into the possession of Ikbal Khan, who kept the Sultan Mahmud in his power as a puppet and himself directed all matters of Government."

Such were the conditions of affairs at Delhi immediately prior to Timur's raid.

TIMUR'S INVASION.

"In the month of Safar 801 H. (Oct. 1398 A.D.) intelligence came that Amir Timur, King of Khurasan had attacked Talina, and was staying at Multan, and that he had put to the sword all the soldiers of Sarang Khan, who had been taken prisoner by Pir Muhammad (Timur's son). This intelligence filled Ikbal Khan (the vazir) with dread and anxiety. Amir Timur continuing his march, besieged Bhatnur, took the Rai Khul Chain prisoner, and put the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Samana, and many inhabitants of Dibalpur, Ajodhan, and Sarsuti fled in terror to Delhi. Many prisoners were taken and most of them received the glory of martyrdom. Then he crossed over the Jumna into the Doab, and ravaged the greater part of the country. He made a halt at the town of Loni, and there he put to the sword all the prisoners whom he had taken between the rivers Sind and Ganges, in all 50,000 men, more or less: God knows the truth. Such was the terror inspired by him, that Musulmans and Hindus fled before him, some to the mountains, some to the

1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 31 (footnote 1, Tahkut-i-Abhari).
2 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 33, Turukh-i-Mubarakshahi.
3 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 34, Turukh-i-Mubarakshahi.
4 Ibidem, pp. 34, 35 and 36.
deserts, some to the waves of the rivers, and some to Delhi. In Jumna-I awwal, having crossed the Jumna, he halted at Firozabad, and next day he took up his position at the top of the Hanz-i Khas. Ikbal Khan (the wazir) came out with his elephants, and gave battle to Amir Timur in the maidan. At the first charge, he was defeated by the warriors of Timur, and escaped through a thousand difficulties with his elephants into the city. But as they retreated into the city, many men were crushed under their foot and died, and heaps of dead were left. When night came on, Ikbal Khan and Sultan Mahmud, leaving their wives and children behind, came out of the city. The Sultan fled to Gujrat, and Ikbal Khan crossed the river Jamna and went to Baran. Next day Amir Timur granted quarter to the city, and took the ransom money\(^1\) from the inhabitants. On the fourth day he gave orders that all the people in the city should be made prisoners, and this was done\(^2\).

Timur in his memoirs (Maf'uzat-i Timuri) speaks of "a plundering excursion against the palace of Jahanuma, a fine building erected by Sultan Firoz Shah on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jamna", which is situated 5 miles from Delhi. It was from this hill that Timur reconnoitred the ground on which to join battle with the Delhi forces; and he mentions that he encamped before the battle in a position opposite to Jahanuma. It was at this camp that the 100,000 "infidels" captured on his way to Delhi were massacred in cold blood. Such was the orgy of slaughter, that Timur gloatingly tells of a "Maulana\(^3\) Nasiru-d-din Umar, a counsellor and a man of learning, who, in all his life had never killed a sparrow, now in execution of my order slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus who were his captives".

"After the defeat of Sultan Mahmud at the Maidan in the neighbourhood of Hauz Khas, Timur marched towards the fort (Jahanpanah) and carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and returned to the side of Hauz Khas. This is a reservoir which was constructed by Sultan Firoz Shah and is faced all-round with stone and cement (gatch). Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultan Firoz Shah stands on its bank. When I had pitched my camp here, the princes and amirs and nayans, and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory. The Delhi Sultan and his wazir had escaped "through the Hauz Rani and Baraka gates of Jahanpanah, both of which are to the south of the Jahanpanah\(^4\)." Timur's camp at Hauz Khas was to the east.

Timur goes on to recount that he "mounted his horse and rode towards the gate of the maidan (This gate\(^5\) is one of the gates of Jahanpanah and opens towards Hauz (Khas). I alighted at the Idgah, a lofty and extensive building.

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\(^1\) It was out of the collection of this ransom that the massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi arose.

\(^2\) Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Maf'uzat-i Timuri, p. 435.

\(^3\) Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Maf'uzat-i Timuri, p. 441.


and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there, and for my throne to be set up in the Idgah. I took my seat on the Throne and held a court. Timur speaks of 120 enormous elephants and rhinoceroses which were brought out of the fort (Jahanpanah) and paraded before him. "As the elephants passed me I was greatly amused to see the tricks which their drivers had taught them. Every elephant at the sign of the driver bowed his head to the ground, made his obeisance, and uttered a cry. At the direction of their drivers they picked up any object from the ground with their trunks and placed it in their drivers hands, or put it into their mouths and kept it. When I saw these mighty animals so well trained and so obedient to weak men, I was greatly astonished, and I ordered that they should be sent to Turan and Iran, to Fars, and Azur, and Rum, so that the princes and nobles throughout my dominions might see these animals."

In alluding to the several causes which led to the sack of Delhi and the wholesale massacre of its inhabitants, Timur mentions a "palace of Hazar Situn (thousand columns) which Malik Juna (Muhammad Tughlaq) built in the fort called Jahanpanah"; and in lamenting this event, Timur writes: "By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi by name Siri, Jahanpanah, and Old Delhi had been plundered." It is noteworthy that Firozabad is not specifically included in this catalogue, and, it is to be assumed, escaped the general pillage.

"When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Delhi, I took a ride round the cities. Siri is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick and are very strong. Old Delhi has also a similar strong fort, but its larger than Siri."

"From the fort of Siri to that of Old Delhi, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall built of stone and cement. The part called Jahanpanah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (Shahr-i-abadan). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahanpanah has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahanpanah. The fortifications of Old Delhi have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the Masjid-i-Jami."

"I had been in Delhi fifteen days, which time I passed in pleasure and enjoyment, holding royal Courts and giving great feasts. I then reflected that I had come to Hindustan to war against infidels. Having made these reflections I again drew my sword to wage a religious war. I started from Delhi and marched three kos to the fort of Firozabad, which stands on the banks of the Janna, and is one of the edifices erected by Sultan Firozshah. I halted there and went in to examine the palace. I proceeded to the Masjid-i-Jami, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and thanksgivings for the mercies

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1 This Idgah is not to be confused with the Idgah of Khairpur which was built after Timur’s departure in 1404-5 A.D. by Iqbal Khan; although it was probably in the vicinity of this latter. List of Monuments Mahmood Zaidi, Vol. III, p. 184.
2 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Mafjanat-i-Timuri, p. 444.
4 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Mafjanat-i-Timuri, p. 445.
of the Almighty. Afterwards I again mounted and proceeded to pitch my camp near the palace of Jahanuma (on the Ridge). Here Bahadur Nahir sent to me as a tribute two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly. The envoy presented them to me, and told me that these two parrots had belonged to Sultan Tughlaq Shah, and that they had lived at the courts of the Sultans ever since. The sight of these parrots and the sound of their voices gave me great satisfaction, so I gave directions that they should be brought before me in their cages every day that I might listen to their talk.”

Timur says “I had determined to build a Masjid-i-Jami in Samarqand, the seat of my empire, which should be without rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stone masons (among the artisans and mechanics enslaved during the sack of Delhi) should be set apart for my own special service.”

“From Delhi, Timur returned by the skirt of the hills.” “Then he marched through Kabul to his own territories, and arrived at his capital, Samarqand,” after ravaging the Hindu shrines at Meerut and Hardwar and plundering Lahore en route.

“After the departure of Timur, the neighbourhood of Delhi, and all those territories over which his armies had passed, were visited with pestilence (scabas) and famine. Many died of the sickness, and many perished with hunger, and for two months Delhi was desolate.”

**SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.**

“In the month of Rajab, 801 (March, 1399 A.D.), Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Nasrat Shah who had fled from the malevolence of Iqbal Khan into the Doab advanced with a small force to Mirat. The people of the Doab who had obtained deliverance from the hands of the Mughals began to rally and he (Nasrat Shah) entered Firozabad with about 2,000 horse. Delhi although ruined came into his power.”

The vazir, however, had the good fortune to capture a force of elephants sent against him by the Sultan “and his power increased daily while Sultan Nasiru-d-Din grew weaker and weaker.”

“Delhi fell into the power of Iqbal Khan, and he took up his abode in the fort of Siri”, which in a short time became repopulated. “The district of the Doab and the lands in the neighbourhood of the capital came into the possession of Iqbal Khan; but the territories in general remained in the possession of the Amirs and Maliks who held them”. “In the year 804 H. (1401) Sultan Mahmud (Cousin of Nasrat Shah) left the Khitta of Dhar and proceeded to Delhi. Iqbal Khan came forth to give him a formal reception, and the Sultan went to the Humayun palace at Jahanpanah. But the reins of Government were in the hands of Iqbal Khan and so hatred sprang up between him and the Sultan”. Iqbal Khan after an ineffectual seige of the Sultan Mahmud, who had taken up his quarters, in Kanauj, returned to Delhi, and was shortly afterwards defeated.

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1 Elliot and Dawson, Vol. III, Mezfaat-i-Timuri, p. 449.
2 Elliot and Dawson, Vol. IV, Tursh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 36.
3 Elliot and Dawson, Vol. IV, Tursh-i-Mubarakshahi, p. 38.
and slain in battle near Ajodhan in November 1405 by Khizr Khan, Viceroy at Multan, who sided with Timur on his invasion and subsequently became the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty. A deputation was then sent to Sultan Mahmud urging him to take the Government and "in the month of Jamada-i-Aakhir the Sultan left Kanauj with a small force and proceeded to the capital, where he assumed the sovereignty". Ikhtiyar Khan who had been prominent in the restoration of the Sultan "received the gift of the palace of Firozabad"

"Khizr Khan, who had defeated the late Wazir Iqbal Khan in the battle above referred to, subsequently directed his forces against the Sultan, and proceeded to Delhi and besieged it; Sultan Mahmud being in the fort of Siri and Ikhtiyar Khan in the Palace of Firozabad"

Later Khizr Khan, continuing his plundering excursions, again "proceeded to Delhi and invested the fort of Siri. Sultan Mahmud was in the Fort, and, Ikhtiyar Khan held the palace of Firozabad for him. The contest went on till Ikhtiyar Khan joined Khizr Khan, who then moved from before Siri and took possession of the fort of Firozabad. Thus he became master of the fief of the Doab and the neighbourhood of the Capital". Owing to a shortage of grain and forage, however, Khizr Khan returned to Firozpur, and in the same year the Sultan Mahmud died after a reign of 20 years 2 months"

Khizr Khan", "by descent a Sayyid", then definitely took over the Government as Viceroy of the Amir Timur, and "on the 30th May 1414 A.D. entered the fort of Siri, and posted his army in the palace of Sultan Mahmud". His successor Mubarak Shah appears to have resided, when at the capital, either in the "palace of Delhi" or in that at Siri, before he eventually determined to build a city on the banks of the Jamna, where on the 17th Rabii-ul-awwal 837 H. (31st October 1433) he laid the foundation of a city which he called Mubarakabad. "He devoted much time and care in the direction of this building". The Sultan was however assassinated during a visit to inspect the progress of the works.

The two succeeding rulers of the Sayyid dynasty, Muhammad Shah and his son Alau-d-Din, appear to have resided at Badaun and Delhi9 at which latter city (in 1448 A.D.) the Afghan Malik Baholol Lodi "ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Baholol" and we obtain no further reference to Kotla Firozshah either as a residence of the Sultan or of any of his Amirs. The palace at Delhi, in its turn, gave place in the succeeding reign of Sikandar Lodi to "Agra, where the king himself generally dwelt," and Delhi took second place till Sher Shah (Sur) left Agra for Delhi in the year 947 H. (1540) and, actuated by unworthy feelings, he destroyed the fort of Alau-d-Din which stood at Siri conspicuous for its strength and loftiness, and built on the bank of the Jum8 (Jamna) between Firoza-
bad and Kilukhari in the vicinity of Indrapat, a new city about 2 or 3 kos distant from the old one. The name of this fort he called Shergach, and the walls of it were of great breadth, length and height, but on account of the shortness of his reign he did not live to complete it.

Though the Tarikh-i-Daudi of Abdulla makes no specific mention of Firozabad in this connection it is only to be expected that it, too, served as a quarry for Sher Shah’s new city; and its ruins were doubtless again exploited by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan when he built his new city Shahjahanabad in 1648 A.D.

1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, Tarikh-i-Daudi, p. 477.
APPENDIX.

The Topra pillar now set up on the roof of the three storied citadel of Kotla Firoz Shah at Delhi contains seven edicts of Asoka, besides several minor inscriptions of pilgrims and travellers.

The first six edicts and part of the seventh edict are inscribed on the four sides of the pillar; while the remaining lines of the seventh edict run all around the pillar. A translation of the edicts is reproduced below from Dr. Hultzsch's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. 1:

**FIRST PILLAR EDICT.**

North face of pillar.

Translation.

"King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years. (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy. But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day and will progress still (more). And my agents, also, both the high ones and the low ones, and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up fickle (persons). In the same way the Mahānāmas of the borderers also (are acting). For (their) instruction (is) this, viz., to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure according to morality (and) to guard (their speech) according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR EDICT.

North face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?

(It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity. The gift of spiritual insight also has been bestowed by me in many ways. On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me (even) to the boon of life. And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me. For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.), in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration. And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.

THIRD PILLAR EDICT.

North face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking); 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.' They do not at all regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.' Now this is indeed difficult to recognize. But indeed this ought to be regarded thus: These (passions), viz., fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful. Let me not ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions). The following
-ought to be specially regarded; 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that
-action to my (happiness) in the other (world).

FOURTH PILLAR EDICT.

West face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devanānupriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-
six years. My Lajukas are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.

I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to their discretion in order that
the Lajukas should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow
welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).
They will know how to cause pleasure and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people
of the country through those who are devoted to morality in order that they may attain (happiness)
both in this (world) and in the other (world). The Lajukas also must obey me. They will also
obey the agents who know (my) wishes. And these (agents) will also exhort those (people), in
-order that the Lajukas may be able to please me. For, as one feels confident after having en-
trusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep
my child well', so the Lajukas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country
people. In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unper-
turbed, for (this) purpose I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discre-
tion of the Lajukas. For the following is to be desired, (viz.), that there should be both impar-
tiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishment. And my order (reaches) even
so far (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punish-
ment has been passed, (and) who have been condemned to death. (In this way) either (their)
relatives will persuade those (Lajukas) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them)
they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world). For
my desire is this, that even when the time (of respite) has expired, they should attain (happiness)
in the other (world). And various moral practices, self control, (and) the distribution of gifts
are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR EDICT.

South face of pillar.

Translation.

King Devanānupriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years the following animals were declared, by
me inviolable, (viz.), parrots, maimas, the araṇa, the ruddy geese, wili geese, the māndimukha,
the gelā, bats, green-ants, terrapins, bonev fish, the Vedaveyaka, the Gaṅgā-pupṣukha, skate-
fish, tortoises and porcupines, squirrels, the srimara, bulls set at liberty, iguanas, the rhinoceros,
white doves, domestic doves (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible. Those
(eph-goats), ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also
those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old. Cocks must not be caponed,
Huns containing living animals must not be burnt. Forests must not be burnt either uselessly
or in order to destroy (living beings). Living animals must not be fed with (other) living
animals. Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāṭurmāsīs, (and) on the
Tishya full-moon during three days (viz.), the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (itihi)
and invariably on every fast day. And during these same days also no other classes of animals
which are in the elephant park (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed. On the
-eighth (itihi) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on
the three Chāṭurmāsīs (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams,
boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise) must not be castrated (then),
On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsi, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsi, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded. Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in
this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).

Sixth Pillar Edict.

East face of pillar.

King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written
by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing those
(rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects. (Thinking): 'thus
the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured),' I am directing my attention not only
to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness,
and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to
all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds. But
this is considered by me (my) principal (duty), viz., visiting (the people) personally. (When I
had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

Seventh Pillar Edict.

East face of pillar.

King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress
by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion
of morality. Concerning this, King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. The following
occurred to me. On one hand, in times past, kings had this desire that men might (be made to)
progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not
made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality. How then might men (be made to)
conform to (morality)? How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of
morality? How could I elevate them by the promotion of morality? Concerning this, King
Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. The following occurred to me. I shall issue proclama-
tions on morality, (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

Round the pillar.

Hearing this men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably
by the promotion of morality. For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me,
(and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), (in order that those agents)
(of mine) too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality
to them) in detail. The Lejukas also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men—
these two were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted
to morality'. Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Having in view this very (matter),
I have set up pillars of morality, appointed Mahāmātras of morality, (and) issued (proclamations)
on morality. King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. On the roads banyan trees were
caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men, (and) mango-
groves were caused to be planted. And (at intervals) of eight Kos wells were caused to be dug
by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) were caused to be built. Numerous
drinking places were caused to be established by me, here and there for the enjoyment of cattle
and men. (But) this so called enjoyment (is) (of little consequence). For with various comforts
have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself. But by me this has been done.
for the following purpose: that they might conform to that practice of morality. Devānāṃ-
priya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Those my Mahānātras of morality too are occupied with affairs
of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are
occupied also with all sects. Some (Mahānātras) were ordered by me to busy them-
selves with the affairs of the Samgha; likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also
with the Brāhmaṇas and the Aśāvikas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with
various (other) sects; (thus) different Mahānātras (are busy ing themselves) specially with different
(congressions). But my Mahānātras of morality are occupied with these (congressions) as
well as with all other sects. King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Both these and
many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the
queens, and among my whole harem (they are reporting) in diverse ways different worthy recipients
of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves
also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote)
noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality. For noble deeds of morality and the
practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz., compassion, liberality, truthfulness,
purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men. King Devānāṃpriya
Priyadarśin speaks thus. Whatevers good deeds have been performed by me, those the people
have imitated, and to those they are conforming. Thereby they have been made to progress and
will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy
to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to
slaves and servants. King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus. Now this progress of morality
among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.), by moral restrictions and by
conversion. But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by con-
version, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed
are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable. But there are also
many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me. By conversion, however,
the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably (because it leads)
to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals. Now for the fol-
lowing purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall
reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall) shine, and in order that (men) may conform to
it. For if one conforms to this, (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.
This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-
seven years. Concerning this Devānāṃpriya says. This rescript on morality must be engraved
there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long
duration."

Besides the edicts, there are three short inscriptions recording the victories of Chāhamāna Visaladeva, Vigraharāja, king of Śākambari or Sambhar son of Annalladeva
dated Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164). Among the smaller inscriptions on the pillar mention
may be made of the name of Sri Bhadra Mitra or Subhadramitra written in Gupta script2,
and also other names of Subargakaras (goldsmiths) viz., Surya Vishnu, Varma, Har
Mugha (or Singha) and his son Kumara. The name of a wandering mendicant Siddha
Bhayanaka Natha Joji occurs on the pillar. According to Cunningham all these
inscriptions were engraved when the pillar stood on its original site at Topra3. Later
on after its removal two more records were added on to it both in Nagari and dated
Samvat 1581 (A.D. 1524); the engravers being Amara and Vyas son of Sāguna. The
last mentions the name of Sulitāna Ibrāhima or Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. (A.D. 1517-25).

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1 Indian Antiqurary, Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 213.
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PLATES.
KOTLA FEROZ SHAH: DELHI.
VUE D'OEIL OF A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RUINED CITADEL. (Founded 1371; abandoned c. 1490 a.d.)
KOTLA FEROZ SHAH: DELHI. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF RIVER FRONT.

RECONSTRUCTED ON THE EXISTING INTERNAL EVIDENCE AND ON ANALOGOUS CONTEMPORARY STRUCTURES.

[Signature]

November 1913.
Arrival of boats with pilars at the back of the xerika, near Pella. (p. 125)

Removing wheels of the cart from side and tying ropes and pulling up the pillar to place it in the boat.
TRANSLATION OF THE EXTRACTS [FOLIOS 91 (b) TO 105 (b)]
FROM SIRAT-I-FIROZSHAHI.

A Persian manuscript in Nastaliq character dated 1002 A.H. in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna. The extracts deal with the removal of the so-called Minarat-i-Zarrin (golden pillar)—the monolith containing the edicts of Asoka from the village of Topra near Khizrabad to Firozabad now known as Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi.

The Golden Pillar.

[91-b] Verse—
1. This pillar, high as the heaven, is made of a single block of stone and tapers upward, being broad at the base and narrow at the top.
2. Seen from a hundred farsang1 it looks like a hillock of gold, as the Sun when it spreads its rays in the morning.
3. No bird—neither eagle, nor crane—can fly as high as its top; and arrows, whether Khudang or Khudag,2 cannot reach to its middle.
4. If thunder were to rage about the top of this pillar, no one could hear the sound owing to the great distance (between the top of the pillar and the ground).
5. O God! how did they lift this heavy mountain (i.e., the pillar)?; and in what did they fix it (so firmly) that it does not move from its place?
6. How did they carry it to the top of the building which almost touches the heavens and place it there (in its upright position)?
7. How could they paint it all over with gold, (so beautifully) that it appears to the people like the golden morning!
8. Is it the lote-tree of paradise (tahal) which the angels may have planted in this world or is it the heavenly "sidra?"3 which the people imagine to be a mountain?
9. Its foundations have been filled with iron and stone; and its trunk and branches (i.e., shaft and capital) are made of gold and corals.4

And truly as the removal of the stone monolith and its erection in front of the mosque by the order of the King is a wonderful achievement, the methods employed in its removal and erection are being recorded in this book, in order that the description may be useful for those who wish to know the details thereof. This work was done at the time when [92-a] by the grace of the Almighty God, the King (whose kingdom may ever endure) was able to conquer the country of Sind—and this country is so very difficult to control and administer that people generally believe the task to be impossible, and the continuance of disturbance there for generation after generation have affected the kingdom like a chronic disease, as is well known to the public; yet the King with the help of his grand cavalry5 and star-like army marching under the victorious banners shining as the bright Sun, may God ever keep them victorious, totally subdued that province, and (was able to) bring the chiefs, headmen and zamindars of that province together with their

1 A farsang varies from 2½ to 8 miles.
2 Khudang-poplar, hence arrows made of indigenous poplar. Khudag—arrows imported from Khata. Distances were sometimes counted in arrow-shots in those days.
3 The (imaginary) pulp tree in the 7th Heaven, marking the limit beyond which no human or celestial beings have any knowledge of anything (Muntahal Arab).
4 In the original MS the first word (عثر) of the last hemistich is superfluous. The words رمی (at the beginning of the next prose line ought to come at the end of the verse.
5 Gardus or some other word has obviously been left out between همکب and مکب.
wives, children and near relations to the capital—as has already been mentioned in this book in the chapter dealing with the King's wars and heroic deeds--; and when the victorious banners returned to Firozabad, the capital (may it remain safe until the end of the world), it so happened that the King resolved to go out hunting towards the Sirmur hills. On a former hunting expedition too the King had visited the neighbourhood of these hills and had seen the stone pillar in the village Topra\(^1\) on the bank of the Janān (Jamma)\(^2\) which flows into (i.e., supplies water to) the Firoz-bah canal.

On the pillar is an inscription, the characters of which are unintelligible to the men of this period; but the (native) historians have a tradition to the effect that four thousand odd years have passed since this pillar and a temple were erected at this place. Another inscription on the pillar is only 249 years old and is said to mention that Bisal Deva, Chohan, Rai of Samihal, who came to worship certain idols on the banks of the Saraswati river, found this pillar in its present position. It is also said that Deo (or Dowa) the Mongol king and Qatlug Khwaja, the Mongol, visited this place with their armies; and that later on Tirmishirin\(^3\) also visited the place and attempted to split the pillar by burning a huge fire around its base, but the pillar did not crack—though some effect of the fire may still be traced. The firewood required for the purpose was got together by ordering that each man of his army who rode an animal was to bring a load of firewood twice.

The King of Islam now prayed to the Almighty God that he may be enabled to remove the stone pillar and re-erect it near the Jum'ah mosque of Firozabad on the bank of the Javan (Jamma). With this purpose the King went on a (second) hunting expedition to the Sirmur hills, and in the village of Maqbulabad, alias Topra, which is situated on the banks of the Jatan (Chitang)\(^4\) the stream which feeds the Firoz-bah canal stood the stone pillar, the like of which in height and circumference had not been seen by any one.

(Verse) None ever saw such a beautiful pillar under the canopy of the heavens which is unsupported by any poles.

The King saw this pillar (for the second time).

The sages and wise men of the time were simply astonished at the sight, and though they dived deep into the sea of thought they succeeded not in bringing out the pearl of the solution of these secrets—namely whence and how this heavy and lofty stone monolith was brought to this place and what were the exact engineering methods employed in its erection here. Verily such an achievement could hardly have been accomplished by human beings for the simple reason that it is beyond the powers of Man. Some of the learned infidels, on the authority of their Hindi books, said that the pillar had grown out of the (bowels of the) earth and reached the heavens\(^5\); while others said that underneath the pillar was a magical talieman and that nobody could remove the pillar, and that if excavations were made around the base of the pillar large vipers, snakes, scorpions and wasps would come out and bring the people to grief. [93-u] Such were the things which the King heard; (but) as he was determined to remove the pillar he said: "By the grace of the Creator, who sees and hears everything, we shall remove this lofty pillar and make a minar of it in the Jum'ah Mosque of Firozabad where, God willing, it shall stand as long as the world endures." So the King ordered the engineers and all the wise, shrewd, and ingenious men of the time to devise, each man according to his own intelligence, understanding and ingenuity, the means of taking

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\(^1\) Alias Maqbulabad, as related on folio 92b.

\(^2\) Tirmishin, ruler of Bukhara and Mawara Naur, was the son of (†) Dowa, and brother of Kattugh Khwaja, of the family of (Changis Khān). Tirmishin invaded India in 725 H. (1328-29 A.D.), and carried his arms to within sight of Delhi, the ruler whereof, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, was absent in the Deccan at that time. (Badayuni, Persian Text, p. 227-28).

\(^3\) "Aff in his Tūrān-i Free, 66, p. 310 gives the name of the river as Jamma. But the text reads more like Channab.

\(^4\) It might be Chitang. But it should probably be Jamma.

\(^5\) Aff (p. 306) mentions that the Hindus believed the pillar to have been used as a stick (lihr) by Bhim, the hero of the Mahābhārata. Almost every big column of ancient days in India is called the lihr of Bhim or Bhimsen.
down the pillar, its removal to Firozabad, which is the resort of all the occupants of the inhabited quarter, and its re-erection in the Jum'ah Mosque of Firozabad, and to let the King know of the various methods they would suggest. But in truth, those who for their shrewdness, sagacity and ingenuity claimed to be the equals of Avicenna, Plato, Galenus, Aristotle and Buzurj-mihrl, caught the skirts of inability with the teeth of excuses in this task, and considered that the removal of the pillar was absolutely impossible. Thereupon His Majesty the King of Islam who has been adorned and amply endowed by God with all religious and worldly virtues and with sound knowledge and perfect wisdom, himself devised ingenious plans and methods of each operation connected with this achievement. The felling and transporting of the pillar was accomplished with the help of divine inspiration, in accordance with human understanding as revealed in the king's wise plans in the month of Muharram 769 A.H. (September 1367 A.C.). And every detail of the work including the tying of ropes and construction of masonry piers; pulling the ropes in all directions and balancing the pillar with their help; the employment of elephants for dragging the (fallen) pillar, and following on their failure [33-5] the employment of longer ropes with 20,000 men and their success in carrying the pillar to the banks of the Jamna; then arranging well-balanced boats for the pillar, loading the pillar on the boats and floating the same; its journey to Firozabad; the making of all the arrangements over again for removing the pillar and carrying it in front of the Jum'ah Mosque, there constructing a (large) building, raising and placing the pillar thereon with the help of pulleys, etc., and re-erec
ing the pillar according to the laws of wisdom—a gift of the most exalted God, all this was done exactly in the same way as was ordered by His Majesty the King, may God perpetuate his rule and sovereignty.

The plan of taking down the pillar to the ground was suggested by the King (as follows):—

Construct six wooden piers like unto the piers of a dome, each ten yards in circumference and of the same height as the monolith itself. Two of these piers should be constructed behind the pillar and two (to the right and two) on the left. The distances of the piers should be six yards from each other and seven yards from the monolith. The piers then should be strengthened with iron nails and wrapped with raw hides and ropes, each pier being further supported on three sides by two very thick and long wooden (slanting) supports on each side. The wooden piers should then be joined to each other by means of (two) large wooden beams in the middle and at the top, and on each of the beams a wheel should be fixed in a vertical position whereon the ropes could easily pass. Such wheels should be fixed at five places, two on either side of the monolith and one at the back. Then in order to hold and move (i.e., to tighten or relax) these ropes, five pulleys (or winches) should be set up (on three sides of the pillar, i.e., two at either side and one at the back), and behind the pulley at the back (of the monolith) should be the end pier (après) and another wheel should be fixed there with the necessary rope tied to it. The ends of these six ropes should be tightly bound round the pillar so that its upper portion [34-6] may be firmly held by them. And to the two piers in front of the pillar should be tied thick strong ropes, running from end to end, in twenty places so that there shall be a rope at every yard. So that when the top of the pillar is lowered, it shall rest on the ropes. And four long ropes should be tied to the top of the pillar. These ropes may be pulled towards the front when it is desired to incline the pillar from its upright position and at the same time the ropes at the pulleys may be relaxed.

1 i.e., the earth as distinguished from the water which covers the remaining three quarters of our Earth.
2 Name of the prime minister of Nishabur-wa, the famous Sassanian King of Persia.
3 The manuscript does not contain these words; but in order to make up the 6 piers spoken of in the previous line I have added these words in the translation.
4 The illustration it will be seen, does not tally with the description in the manuscript; two of the beams have 2 pulleys each.
5 Only five of the ropes are shown in the illustration.
6 The illustration shows only ten of these ropes.
yard by yard until the pillar rests on the horizontal ropes tied in front. Then the particular rope on which the top of the pillar rests may be slowly relaxed and untied; the pillar pulled towards the front and the ropes at the pulleys relaxed bit by bit and the operation repeated until the head of the pillar shall rest on the pāsheb in front. [This pāsheb should be constructed at a distance of six yards from the base of the pillar; it should be fifteen yards in length, ten yards in width, and sixteen yards high, but the height should decrease gradually to form a slope until it is) only five yards on the side facing the pillar. This pāsheb should be made of mud, and on all four sides it should be strengthened with wooden supports.]¹

[94-a] Illustration showing the erection of the piers and pulleys and the tying of ropes, for taking down the stone pillar. (Illustration Fig. 1).

[95-a] And this pāsheb should be constructed at a distance of six yards from the base of the pillar; it should be fifteen yards wide, ten yards deep and sixteen yards high but the height should decrease gradually to form a slope until it is only five yards on the side facing (i.e., nearest) the pillar. This pāsheb should be made of mud and on all four sides it should be strengthened with wooden supports.

Illustration showing the pāsheb on which the stone pillar should rest while it is being taken down. (Illustration Fig. 2).

[95-b] And the stone (pillar), before it is taken down, should be covered all round with long reeds and wrapped with raw hides; and large quantities of paddy straw should be placed over the pāsheb so that the stone may not receive any hurt or injury. And when the pillar rests on the pāsheb, mud to the depth of about a yard may be removed from under the pillar, keeping all the ropes at the back and sides quite taut. When one yard of mud is removed, the ropes at the back pulleys may be (slowly) relaxed. This should be repeated again and again until the pillar lies prone on the ground.

The Royal order was followed and accordingly the pillar laid its head low on the ground.

*The device of placing the pillar on the flat cart (gadān) known as lađha in the Hindi language.*

—The King of Islam, whose rule be perpetuated, ordered the preparation of a cart equal in length to the length of the stone pillar and provided with ten² wheels, each ten yards in circumference. The cart should then be placed length-wise near the pillar and on the side nearest the pillar, the wheels of the cart should be pulled off and their axle-rods supported on a pākkā brick wall constructed at a distance of six yards from the pillar. A pāsheb should then be constructed from the top surface of this wall to the base of the pillar, and on the other side of the cart where the wheels are still on their axles should be erected (a row of) four pulleys at a distance of ten yards³ from the cart. The ropes of the pulleys should then be tied to the pillar at four points; four other ropes may also be tied (to the pillar) in between¹ (sic) and pulled with the handle². Then let the pulleys revolve as much as is desirable and (when the pillar has been raised and is to be lowered down on the cart then) yield the ropes slowly until the pillar is correctly placed and balanced on the cart. Then the (pākkā) wall may be removed from under the axle-rods, the wheels re-attached to the cart, and earth, etc., cleared from below the same, so that it may be ready to start. The Royal orders were acted upon and the result was exactly as it was expected.

[96-a] Illustration showing the erection of pulleys and the raising of the pillar in order to place it on the lađha. (Illustration Fig. 3).

¹ The passage in square brackets is deleted by the scribe. The way of doing this is interesting. At the beginning of the passage he has written hā i.e., 'omit' or 'delete' and at the end hā, i.e., 'up to this point'. The passage is given in its proper position on folio 93-a (r).
² 'Ard (p. 306) says that the gadān had 42 wheels, but that is evidently incorrect.
³ A yard was equivalent to about two feet.
⁴ The word in the manuscript is 4" as I have translated.
⁵ The extra four ropes do not appear to be shown in the illustration.
The device of carrying the pillar on the gardian or ladha.—The King ordered that ten large iron rings should be attached to either side of the cart. (96-b) Thick long ropes may then be tied to the rings at one end and to the necks of elephants at the other. Similarly three thick ropes may be tied to the front of the cart and passed on to the necks of bullocks; so that the cart may thus be dragged forward from three sides, by bullocks in front and by elephants on the right and left. Four ropes may also be tied at the back of the cart and a party of men should hold them, pulling the ropes backward where the ground may slope thus preventing the cart from going down by force and out of control as that would not be free from danger; and where the ground in front of the cart may rise the party holding the back ropes should also help in dragging the cart forward. So in truth it was done; but the mountain-like elephants, lofty and furious, though they tried to drag it with all their prowess, did not succeed in their efforts and could not move the cart; so the King ordered the elephants to be removed and the pillar to be dragged by men both slaves and free men. Great Khans and well-known persons, courtiers, well-to-do gentlemen and ordinary men all caught hold of the ropes only too willingly (lit. passed the ropes over their obedient necks) to drag the cart forward. The cart began to move and all were pleased beyond measure, and, in token of this practical demonstration of their loyalty, exclaimed.

(Verse).

The load which could not be carried by a thousand of your furious elephants, we carry it with ease on our own necks.

And thus, with all desirable order and systematic arrangements, the pillar was taken to the bank of the Jamna where a boat was ready. God be praised and thanked.

(Illustration showing the arrival of the ladha with the stone pillar, at the bank of the Jamna River. (Illustration Fig. 4).

The device of placing the pillar on the boat.—(The King ordered that) the cart carrying the pillar should be brought to [97-b] the gâh where the boat was to be moored. At the place where the boat shall be tied, the ground should be dug as much as necessary¹, so that it may be all right.² The wheels towards the boat side may then be removed from the cart so that on this side the cart (axles) should rest on the ground. Four pulleys should then be erected in a line (lit. facing each other) behind the pillar at a distance of ten yards and two pulleys at each end of the pillar at the same distance. To these pulleys strong ropes should be tied and a pâshkeb of thick wooden beams constructed from the pillar right down to the middle of the boat where the pillar will rest. Then the ropes of the four pulleys opposite the pillar as well as the four ropes (of the corner pulleys?) which would be held by men, should be relaxed yard by yard but all the time held firmly so as to move one end of the pillar exactly as much as the other. In this way it should be moved until the pillar rests exactly in the middle of the boat.

In the boat itself each alternate opening should be filled in with lime-mortar, the other being left for draining water. Further, a large frame (târan) should be prepared with ten long beams of sembâl and ārâ trees and suspended along either side of the boat. These frames will be helpful in loading and floating the boat. And on the other, i.e., river-side of the boat, should be bound two large boats to serve as a support.³ When the pillar is correctly placed in the boat it should be tied with ropes in eight places to the boat and to the târan. Then all should say Bismilläh-i-majrihâ wa mursâhâ, i.e., in the name of God may the boat go and anchor, and the boatmen should begin to row.

¹ To permit of the boat being brought close to the river bank.
² The manuscript does not give the verb after ١٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ ...
³ At the time of loading, the main boat will naturally incline to one side. These extra boats will not allow it to over-turn or incline too much.

Quranic verse recited by Muhammadans when a boat first begins to move because Noah recited it for his Ark.
Illustration showing the pulling off of the wheels of the cart from one side and the tying of ropes and pulling (up) of the pillar so that it may be placed in the boat.

(Illustration Plate VI, a).

[98-b] until the raft arrives near the fort of Firozabad at the ghat where we have ordered the deepening of the bank of the Jamna.

Illustration showing the arrival of the boat and pillar by the bank of the Jamna, the bringing of a cart near the boat, and the tying of ropes to the pillar in order to remove it from the boat, and place it on the cart.

(Illustration Plate VI, b).

[99-a] From the boat (the King ordered that), the pillar should be removed and carried to the mosque of Firozabad, just in the same way as it was carried on the cart before and shifted from the cart on to the boat;

Illustration showing the departure of the cart with the monolith for the town of Firozabad.

(Illustration Plate VI, c).

[99-b] Illustration showing the arrival of the cart with the pillar, in front of the mosque of Firozabad.

(Illustration Plate VI, d).

[100-a] Illustration showing the construction of the foundations of a structure, 61 yards square (on which to raise the pillar).

(Illustration Fig. 5).

[100-b] so that by the grace of God Almighty the pillar may be erected in the mosque; and whatever the King had wished or intended God was gracious enough to grant.

The method of erecting the pillar and making it a minâr in the Jam'âh Mosque of Firozabad.

The King of Islam ordered that a large pit sixty one yards square be dug to a depth of seven yards, and the whole of it filled in with stone and mortar (masonry), until the masonry is level with the ground surface, where it should measure only 60 yards square. To these dimensions it (the plinth) should be raised to a height of three yards of which the lower one yard may be left out of consideration and the top of the remaining two yards considered as the floor of a series of arched chambers. Thus the walls of the chambers shall commence at a height of three yards (from the ground surface) and raised to a height of six yards and a half, the roof being eight yards wide and serving as the floor of the second storey.

Illustration showing the building of the 1st storey and the raising of the pillar on the top of this storey by means of ropes.

[101-a]

(Illustration Fig. 6).

Above this should be constructed on (intersecting ?) arches, the second or middle storey, forty-four yards square, six yards and a half in height with its roof eight yards wide and forming the floor of the third storey.

[101-b] Illustration showing the (plan of the) second storey.
[102-a] And the third storey of this building should be 28 yards square in plan. Of this, a space of nine yards in width on all four sides should be covered by eight domes, leaving a space of ten yards square in the centre where the pillar shall have to be erected. On this central space should be constructed, very carefully, a pakka masonry platform with stone and mortar. The third storey should also be six yards and a half in height, the total height of all the three storeys together being 22 yards and a half.

Illustration showing the raising of the pillar two years at a time, first at one end and then at the other (lit. from right to left and from left to right). (Illustration Fig. 8.)

This illustration shows how the pillar was carried up (to the top of the building). After the masonry was raised to a height of two yards on each side, it would be commenced at the other side, and raised to the same level as the first side so that the top of the pillar may be rolled over to that side. Then again the masonry (and the pillar) would be raised to a further height of two yards on this side and the process would be repeated on the other side, the masonry being raised two yards at a time and the pillar raised accordingly (and placed on the finished masonry whence it would be rolled over to the other side after the intervening gap was filled).

And the central space (in the 3rd storey) which is ten yards square and where the pillar shall be erected, should be carefully measured and marked so that the distance between the pillar and the domes should be exactly eight yards on each side. Of the total twenty-two yards length of the pillar, the lower two yards should be fixed into the central masonry platform and the remaining twenty yards be visible. Thus the building being twenty-one yards and a half in height and the visible portion of the pillar twenty yards, the total height would become forty-two yards and a half (when the pillar is erected). On the top of the monolith should then be set up a capital made of coloured stones and consisting of a pedestal (kurst) a myrobalan-shaped ornament (balilah), a globe (minjaj) and a crescent (mahl). The height of this capital should be seven yards and a half so that the total height (of the top of the pillar from the ground) may be full fifty yards. (Moreover), at the top of the third storey, at the four corners, should be placed the figures of four lions, each four yards square in plan and five yards in height.

Illustration showing the third storey. (Illustration Fig. 9.) [103-a] Description of the methods of constructing the building and raising the stone pillar.

By the command and suggestion of the King of Islam it was ordered that the following method be employed for raising the pillar:

First, a sloping pashen, twenty-eight yards wide, be constructed from the ground up to the roof of the first storey which is nine and a half yards in height. Eight pulleys should then be set up on this roof and two at the corners. The two ends of the pillar should be tied to the corner pulleys; and ten more ropes should be tied to the pillar and held by men. Then twenty poles of wood, called sing by the Kehars in India, should be placed at intervals across the pashen, and two thick wooden beams equal in length to that of the pillar itself, and each five yards in circumference should be placed along the pillar, one on either side. Now let the pulleys be turned and the hand-ropes drawn. As the pillar is pulled upward, the two thick supporting beams shall move along with it. When the pillar has been taken over the pashen to the level roof of the first storey, it should be rolled close to the pulleys and kept there. Then on this

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1 Three domes on each side.
2 I.e., inclusive of the plinth which was three yards high.
3 Two illustrations follow here. A third is given about the centre of the page.
4 Balbal-gah (Khalis) is clearly written in the manuscript, but it is no doubt a mistake, for the actual distance between the domed space and the pillar could not be more than 4 yards each way.
5 The height of the building should be 28' yards as given before. The total height is correct.
side, where the pillar is placed and the pulleys stand, a space of about the circumference of the pillar be left out at either end and the rest of the building raised to a height of two yards. Now the stone pillar should again be raised with the help of ropes and placed on the top of the newly raised walls. (When the gap has been filled in), the pillar may again be rolled over to that side and leaving out a space of about the circumference of the pillar the rest of the structure raised to a height of two yards exactly in the same way as before. In this manner the pillar may be raised two yards at a time until it reaches the top of the building of which the total height would be twenty-one yards and a half. Then the whole of the top surface (of the third storey) should be levelled up, the central space, where the pillar is to be set up, with stone and mortar and the surrounding portion with stone-in-mud.

Then the pedestal on which the pillar will stand should be firmly fixed in the centre of the platform with such precision and accuracy that it may be perfectly level, without the slightest inclination to any side. Three stone beams each measuring seven yards in length, one yard in height and one yard deep should then be fixed on the south, east and west of the pedestal. Over the stone beam fixed on the south side of the pedestal should then be placed another stone beam seven yards in length and one yard high; and over the eastern and western beams, two blocks of stone each measuring two yards in length and one yard in height. Then on the north side should be placed (not fixed) two beams, one, seven yards in length above the other, which should be one yard broad. These two beams should be kept ready (but not fixed) until the pillar is erected in its proper position.

The stone pillar should now be placed on a cart with small and revolving wheels and moved to one side until the base of the pillar is in line with the top.

After this, 24 pulleys should be set up in this way:

On the south side namely towards the mosque, 8 pulleys.

On the east, i.e., to right of the stone pillar, 6 pulleys.

On the west, i.e., to left of the stone pillar, 6 pulleys.

At the east and west angles of the pillar and near its base 2 pulleys on either side (i.e., four pulleys in all).

The pulleys on the east and west should be set up (in two rows, the first row of three on each side being) four yards and (the second row at a distance of) seven yards (from the pillar).

Besides these, four piers should be constructed on each side of the pillar, by the side of the piers of the domes, thus:—near the upper extremity of the pillar, two piers, each twelve yards in height; five yards lower down (i.e., towards the base of the pillar) two piers, each eleven yards in height; five yards further down, two piers each ten yards in height; and [104-a] five yards further towards the base of the pillar, two piers, each nine yards in height.

And on the south, east and west sides (of the pillar) should be constructed a solid structure of the shape of a tower or bastion (barj) eight yards in height. The pulleys should then be turned; the kahars use their sāng sticks, and the people exert themselves to raise the pillar.

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1 Literally the words २३५३४३५३६३७३८३९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९३० in the manuscript mean "borrowed structure", i.e., one which is only for show. The arched chambers around the central solid space served no structural purpose.

2 One on each side and close against the pedestal stone.

3 And of course one yard high and seven yards long like the lower one on the south.

4 i.e., the central line of the whole pillar should be in straight line with the central line of the gap left on the north side of the pedestal.

5 N. E. and N. W.

6 This clause as it stands in the manuscript is unintelligible. Compare text lines 15 and 16, folio 103 (b).
soon as the upper extremity of the pillar has been raised one yard above the (levelled) surface, a stone-in-mud structure may be constructed under it at once. When this structure is completed, the ropes of the pulleys may be pulled again and as the upper end of the pillar rises higher and higher the stone-in-mud structure should also be raised. When the pillar arrives in front (i.e., about the level) of the twelve yard pier the beam and wheel may be removed from that pier and a sloping pāsheb in stone-and-mud constructed under the column. Now the ropes of the pulleys should again be pulled; and three more wheels and three more pulleys should be set up on either side of the pillar, and the ropes pulled. When the pillar has been raised five yards higher, the upper one-third of it will reach the beam of the eleven yard pier. From this pier the beam, wheels, etc., should now be removed. The King’s orders were obeyed and the pillar reached (the top level of) this pier. (The King then ordered that) all the ropes which were tied to the lower one-third of the pillar should be turned about (i.e., shifted) and tied to the upper one-third only; and that all the wheels, the ropes of which have any inclination towards the lower end of the pillar, should be set up near the upper end so that the angle of inclination of the lower end of the pillar may not be more than is really desirable. So it was done and the pillar (i.e., its upper end) was raised another 5 yards and nearly to a vertical position. But as on three sides of the pillar was a stone structure and the King feared lest the pillar base should strike against the stones with a sudden force and be injured, which God forbid, according to the King’s orders and to alleviate his [104-5] fears, the pillar was tied with 35 strong ropes to the two masonry piers in front of it and instructions were given that these ropes should be tied correctly so that while permitting the pillar to be raised to the perpendicular position they would prevent it from striking (against the stones around its base). And that a large pillow of sack-cloth ten yards long and one yard in diameter should be filled with grass and placed between the pillar and the surrounding stone structure, so that the pillar should move slowly without striking against the stone structure with a sudden force. So it was done; (and) on Wednesday the 4th of the month of Şafar, 769 (A.H.) (=30th September, 1367 A.C.) the pillar stood erect in the desired position. The same day, according to the Royal orders, the two stones on the north which were kept ready for the purpose, were also fixed at the base of the pillar which was thus enclosed by stones to a height of two yards on all sides. No other man’s schemes, not even a word from any wise man, engineer, architect, mason, or labourer¹ had anything whatsoever to do with this achievement. From the scheme of taking down the pillar, its transportation by boats, removal to the boats and from the boats to the fort, and its re-erection therein, as well as the construction of the building on which it was erected, every one of these works was done exactly according to the orders and suggestions of His Majesty the King, the refuge of Faith, may God give him power always to preserve and establish pious institutions (for public welfare). Amen.

Then on the north side, too, which was vacant up to that time was constructed a bastion of stone-in-mortar above the stones surrounding the pillar base so that the pillar was enclosed by solid structures on all sides to a height of eight yards. Then, all the pulleys and, piers, supports and buttresses, everything in short set up for erecting the pillar, [105-ø] were pulled down with the exception of the four masonry piers around the pillar. After this, a pavement of coloured stones was laid all round the monolith which was gilded, and a gild finial, seven and a half yards in height, and consisting of a pedestal (kurra כורס a myrobalan-shaped ornament (haalu חלון), a flat moulding (idd איד a, a dental red (ḥafr חפור), a vase (subh סוף), a second red and smaller vase (subuchah סובך) and a third red, a flask (surah סורה) and a crescent (mūḥ מעה) was put up on the top of the pillar as the crowning ornament². Then the covering of

¹ The words sāt-bār, dūnā and kīnas used in the manuscript for masons and labourers are all Hindi words.

² Afif (Turākh-i-Firozshahi. p. 362) says that the vases, etc., of the finial were made of copper and gilded over.
A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI.

reeds which had been wrapped and bound all round the body of the pillar since the 10th of the month (of Muharram) was removed, and, as it was removed, the men repolished the pillar before descending. After this the four masonry piers were also dismantled. Then the King sent for the wise men and for his engineers, architects and masons, and said, "This lofty pillar, while it was standing on the ground, was buried in the foundations to a depth of three yards but now that it has been erected on the top of such a lofty building, only two yards of it is fixed in the masonry, though in fact it ought to have been more firmly fixed here. But if more of it is taken down or fixed into the masonry, its height will decrease. What should be done that it may be firmly fixed and yet not lose anything of its present height." Everyone was bewildered and considered it to be impossible. Deep as they dug into the depths of thought and imagination, and much as they tried to find an answer worthy presenting, they succeeded not. With the perfection of understanding which the Almighty God has bestowed upon His Majesty, the refuge of the country, the King ordered that up to a height of two yards and a half the pillar should be enclosed on each side by six stones placed one above the other, each upper stone being recessed a third of a yard and the whole constructed and arranged like the pedestal of a candlestand. Thus, it would be a further support for the pillar which will be more firmly fixed and as each upper stone will recede half a yard it will not detract anything from the height of the monolith. At this speech [105-b] all began to bless the King, praying for the eternal existence of his powerful Kingdom; and the stones were arranged in steps according to the Royal instructions.

Then, at the base of the pillar, was laid the pavement of coloured stones—white marble, red stone (sang-i-Maryam) and black-stone, which were brought from all parts of the country; the temporary buildings constructed for the erection of the pillar, were dismantled; and the structure with the domes forming the uppermost storey, was provided with staircases and (finished); then the building of the middle storey described above was completed and decorated (paved); and, last of all, the lowest storey was taken up and similarly finished.

After this a corridor (saibād) was built between the mosque and the pillar which latter now stood within the outer enclosure of the mosque. And after it had remained an object of worship of the polytheists and infidels for so many thousands of years, through the efforts of Sultan Firoz Shah and by the grace of God, it became the minār of a place of worship (masjid) for the Faithful. May God make this mighty Kingdom rich with the treasure of rewards and strengthen its supports. All praise is due to God.

(And from the taking down of this heavy pillar from its old site to its re-erection at Firozabad), none but his Majesty, whose rule be perpetuated, had any say in the matter of general plans or particular details.
شیخ عثمان مخبری کا مزار مصر کی علامت

علمیہ صدر، لفظ اسلامیہ کا علمیہ صدر

ضریبہ اسلامیہ کا علمیہ صدر

ئامہ اسلامیہ کا علمیہ صدر

تاریخ قراطین جیتیہ
منجوب ازبیکت
امکن سالم واصفه
نیاوردشماری
مناره نزدیک

آسانی سایمت نزدیک باره گرفت
می‌خواستم پیکره زارا مرگ نزدیک
پی‌میرش و بدان جدایی و تکه‌کلیک
رخ‌گذار بر سر احتیاط، برد ارغام

باید این که گرازی که برای استناد
پی‌میرش برد در و بالا دیوانی، داستان
پی‌میرش در بر.Pop انتکد در بقا، گشایش
پی‌میرش این که مالیک بزرگی که شناخت

طوفان است این که طوفان است پندا شناخت
پی‌میرش گرد مجهز شناخته، دم و عکای
پی‌میرش بیدار در جراحی استاد
طوفان آوردن ستاره، مناره و پرک بدنینی، پنیر کوی بدن، جراحی زمینه، پریامی که کار باش‌دا بیاون آورده

دلمه آوردن درون، کتاب بی‌شمار شناخت، کتاب صورت، استاد زرتشتی آمیک، ایران ایست

پی‌میرش یک تالاب، مرستیل بستر شنی و حفرات صنعا، راه‌های راه‌های اکثر بنا می‌کند. به‌رنگ سمندر، قصه‌سی
ضبط آن در رشته، هنر عکس صورتی می‌گیرد، مغز قانونان، پیام‌های پیام‌های، می‌گوید افسانه، دیکتاتور، اخلاق، اخلاق
این حال بی‌پایایی، پیش‌خیل نیست، روایت موفقیت، دیگری و روایت موفقیت، روایت موفقیت، روایت موفقیت، روایت موفقیت.
طرح پیش‌بینی بیداری. ویژه‌تر اینکه از آن‌که بخشی که درون‌کردن ان‌ستم‌م از
محتوای اصلی و سیر روی‌پرونده و نتایج‌ها و صفت‌های وقایع و محتوای دستاپویی و
افزار اصلی و ابزار ابزار درون‌کردنی آمیخته باشد و نیز بر مبنای اسکیم
کردن و پیش‌بینی کردن مدل‌های توزیعی خالی از اشکال باشد و درون‌کردن
و بررسی‌ها و طرح‌ها، نیز وجود بخش از آن‌که این‌گونه کردن درون‌کردنی این
در نظر بگیری بر مبنای درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه ساختن
ویژه‌تر است و نه ساختن. این‌گونه درون‌کردنی که برای بخش‌های
دایره‌ای از به‌کارگیری باشند و انتقال آن‌که از است و نه
پس از این‌گونه درون‌کردنی که برای بخش‌های
درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه
است و نه ساختن. این‌گونه درون‌کردنی که برای بخش‌های
نیز برای بخش‌های
در نظر بگیری بر مبنای درون‌کردنی این
در نظر بگیری بر مبنای درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه
و درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه
نیز درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه
نیز درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و نه
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نیز درون‌کردنی الیه‌ی برای ساختن است و

پیش کرک گفت که این دستورالعمل بین‌المللی پیش‌بینی می‌کند که باز هم در برخی از جنگ‌های اخیر، حمله به رسانه‌ها و خبرنگاران به‌طور مستقل از ارتش‌های نشان نگرفته شود. این آگاهی به وقوع این حملات و حملات دیگر باید به روزرسانی‌های دولتی و زیرساخت‌های خبری کمک کند.

پیش‌بینی شد که این حملات باعث نگرانی می‌شود و ارتباط خبرنگاران و رسانه‌ها با جنگ‌های مختلف را نگران کرده است. این موضوع به توجه عمده‌ای باید داشته باشد که در منطقه جنگ‌های مختلفی به وجود می‌آید و کشورها و سازمان‌های بین‌المللی باید به جلوگیری از این حملات بهرهبرداری کنند.

هر چند که این حملات به‌طور مستقل از ارتش‌های نشان نگرفته شود، اما این موضوع به توجه عمده‌ای باید داشته باشد که در منطقه جنگ‌های مختلفی به وجود می‌آید و کشورها و سازمان‌های بین‌المللی باید به جلوگیری از این حملات بهره‌برداری کنند.
1. Erection of piers and pulleys and tying of ropes, for taking down the stone pillar.
داستان کردن برخی از این خاطرات مثلاً می‌تواند برای میلیون‌ها گز در دنیای ما بسیار زیبا و از دیدار سالم باشد. در اینجا کردن داستان کردن برخی از این خاطرات مثلاً می‌تواند برای میلیون‌ها گز در دنیای ما بسیار زیبا و از دیدار سالم باشد.
دیوان سنتی را پوشش داده و اگر دانشمندان یا محققان که کتابت و جستجو و ارائه مطلب سنتی را بر عهده دارند، بهترین راه‌حل را برای این موضوع می‌پردازند.

تدریج توزیع سنتونی‌ها در بقیه دوستان که تحت تأثیر این موضوع قرار می‌گیرند.

بی‌سختی اسلام و پیامبرانه و دانش‌مندان با خودشان به‌اندازه‌ای که می‌توانند، بهترین راه‌حل را برای این موضوع پیشنهاد دهند.
دان پاشیب ازاسداشگر خشنگر کشیده‌گر گیرین طرف گل ارتفاع باشیب برخی‌گر باشد.

ومین پاشیبت ارتفاع علی‌هوسو قعر ها و عرض دوز اطروت پناه‌گر لین پاشیب‌ا

ارگن برجاست در پیاده‌ی ساختی تربیت گردن.

مثال پاشیبت کر وقت فروآوردن سگل بر پا کردن.

2. *Pasheb* on which the stone pillar would rest while taken down.
نایب سر سرور و میرفروغ کردو، جلیل‌العربیان و پدری شهردار پیامک علیه پیامک کردا می‌رود و در جای مسجد و سفارشات و دستورالعمل‌های مختلفی و برای مسلمانان فتح‌الدین وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند.

در نهایت، بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند. بیان‌ها و درخواست‌ها را به پیامک وابسته گردیده‌اند.
مثال انصب چنگ‌ها و شیبدان ساخالی بالا سبب لر می‌شود.

3. Erection of pulleys and raising the pillar in order to place it on the ladha (cart).
گرگشتی است که در بیانات بقیده‌ان عضیه دندانی ای در زمینه (شروع) می‌پیگیرد. برخی از است که در دندان‌های خروجی و درگیر می‌باشد. در استان و در واقع است که در دندان‌های بزرگ‌تر و درباره سطوح نماینده نمی‌باشد.

در معنی‌های طبیعی بیان‌های خوبی نمی‌خواهد. در نتایج گفتارهای که در است باید تشخیص داده شود.

در مثال‌های این و در نتایج گفتارهای که در است باید تشخیص داده شود.

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مثال ریزان از یک گذرگاه تون بغل‌آب‌بجوم

4. Arrival of the lodur with the stone pillar, at the bank of the Janum river.

۴۷ ستعلق دو ریزان سکان کرتشتی بیاندن گرون و باستانن نکورست ایل
تا بختیار عنوان آغاز و درک‌های کنترل اخلاق‌ها اشتغالیه‌ای که از آرای حضرت محمد (ص) درخواست می‌کردند.

در مورد عنوان بسیار نیاز دارد.

تدریب پنج کرون ضعف و ساختن مناره و صبح‌پی Snape در وزارت

با شاه اسماعیل فرمود: "با همه یک‌گزین مرطوبما و دمگی آن با فکر در مجموع علی‌رغم را. سگی‌ها دیگر بی‌دیده می‌کنند. با بی‌غیری فراموش. بی‌حجابی‌ها با شکوه و رضایت کننده تن از سگی‌ها و مقامات کننده با رضایت و شکوه گرفته. با تنهایی آن‌ها به‌حزر." دوکان باSTD از الباستی نذورت‌های دوکان کند از رضایت شکوه گرفته نیم چنین.

با دوکان بر حضور بخش‌گر با استقرار دان بام شیمی پیش‌بینی فرآیند شد.

مثال عارف هرچه ول و بال‌برون گذرا کشش طناها دایی می‌شود.
مثال راست کردن، بنیاد عمارت مماری شخصی که بایستی که گروه شخصی که

5. Constructing foundations of a structure, 61 yards square thereon to set up the pillar.
14
Plan of the second storey.
6. Building of the 1st storey and raising the pillar on to its top by means of ropes.

"ازا شگایمت مربوطه در کان میلان است طول بیش و چاگرگژی در بچه دیچپ دیچپ آگز طاق
در دیپ کند باز صفیع شنگش گزد و در این طاق عادات میلینم‌ایش بشر باشد بیشتر گز"
دعارت مرتب سپرده مثال بیست دو شکر و ده درشت نهشت گر در بخش گروه از انتهای بخش گروه
طرف دویست گذشته دخالت کردن از می‌توان که با نام محل کردن سرگش است
و در دویست گذشته یکجا با دستگاه دو نماینده از سرگش می‌پذیرد طریق ارتقای خیابان می‌باشد
سپس شش نماینده با استفاده از ارتقای عوارض پر رمزی بودن نیمه این نماینده دو نماینده باشد
مثال یکصد سنت بالادوکان کری از زمین استما و از زمین استما
این مثال استک سنت را پایه بالادوکان پایان پرداخته یکصد نمایندگان شده کسی
به دویست روم که کانست دویست عوارض کردن یکصد مشت در خانه‌ای فلخاله
در دویست یکصد دو نمایندگان کردن بالادوکان کردن یکصد مشت در خانه‌ای فلخت
بالادوکان پایه بالادوکان نامب خاص پرداخته یکصد مشت در خانه‌ای فلخت
زادن مشت تا دو نمایندگان کردن سنت خود که دو نماینده استدلال
بایست کردن که مثال گفته با و میان سنت مناره بیشتری که می‌گویم مشت باشد و
ازدحام می‌باشد که مشت یک مشت از ارتقای عوارض و نماینده گر بیشتری
که مشت دو نماینده چشته دو نمایندگان شور و بالادوکان سنت مناره کری و بیشتری
و به‌اوج از ارتقای مشت نمگر از زمینه‌ای می‌گویند بالادوکان ارتقای منا ره
پنجاه گزارش کرده. بالادوکان سیون پر رمزی می‌باشد بروز خیابان کردن
و ارتقای آن پنج گزاره باشد.
۲۱

در سمت شرق و بالین بروان سلاح بارشانی و انتظار و اثبات اسلام فرمان

بر حسن نیکائی یک‌دوز دوم دوم رافت از جنگاران مرتاب کنند و پیرامون ما ایستاده بخشید راست

کمک بر زیر به هشت گرگ و باشم پیش با لالی سلاح عارت اسم ربک کنند و ویرانه سنجش که پرور ورتق دو استادن و طالبان را رسته دها برست سنجش فرع

بده از افراد و پاشید به سختی رسانه چپ پایان می‌دهد که انجام سالخواهند و ودود پی

یپک سطح بطول سلاح مناره‌ها بردریز گرایر مدار دست‌های زمان بی‌پا و پشت‌درگاه اند

و نماهای وستی گردن. پرچین که سلاح مناره با التری آید آن ودود سطح بان و سلطه گری

سنجش که پشت به آن دوالت درود از سلاح مناره‌ها در تری آید چپ سطح مناره از پاشید با

ساخت مشید از آن علیه خلیفه یبرد و ودرکی بی‌پایا داده. بزا دانان طرف که سنجش رشید

است و پشت را به هاد و پدیدورسنجش زمان گذارانه. با سطح را برای تفعیق دوگزای

کنند. بازطنابا با سلطه مناره را کشیده با لالی این سلاح که ودود بر سر شده است

بگذرانند. بازطنابا علتان فرذ رود برند و تنها برج و درسنجش دو سیبندان زمان گذاران

با سختی بارانغی دوگزمان عارت کمکنند پیم به ریز و دوستان گر زمان

ی برند سلحاً که می‌یافت یک می‌گر ساخت عارت بینت پیون آنجا رشید

تیم ملی را را تفاوت که می‌ست سمتی ساخت یکج و درسنجش دو سیبند عارت مارمیت

بی‌پیه سطح و دو سیبند و پایان راست و بجوار برنده که زور و عقرب

از طرف ملی نبودند لین بازسیر سقطه تبول بجوار گرایر تفعیق یک

وعشک یک گرز و بزرگت جوینی و شری و وخبات این ابتدای گر

بی‌پایان یک گرز طول بستن گرز بزرگت جویینی با الیکی می‌کرد بنیان تیپ

بی‌پایان یک گرز طول بستن گرز بزرگت جویینی با الیکی می‌کرد بنیان تیپ
3. Third storey of the structure on which the pillar was set up.
سلام

پیشگیری در ازدواج در زندگی رسمی نباید شیوه‌گر و باعث ازسرانگیزی در زندگی‌ها و ازدواج‌ها گردد. دور کنند دوزی‌های گزین دو نفر. هر یک از اسراران پیشگیری در زندگی رسمی و ازدواج می‌باشد. در زمان این امر نباید در زندگی رسمی و ازدواج خود نگاه به وقت ازسرانگیزی دوزی‌های گزین دو نفر شود.

روز عید نوروز و تقویت اولیه پیشگیری در زندگی رسمی و ازدواج می‌باشد. در زمان این امر نباید در زندگی رسمی و ازدواج خود نگاه به وقت ازسرانگیزی دوزی‌های گزین دو نفر شود.

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وودو طرف دگر شرقی دوغی طرف دو گان گزی دارا تنازع یک گزی بسته. وودو طرف
کربند شال خاکه یاد که چون طرف چپ گزی بلندی دارد. گزی یک گزی بلندی بسته. وودو طرف
را پیا زدن یک سمت جنگلا دارا دیگر زنی که در سمت در سمت جنگلا دیگر زنی که در سمت
باید. بعد سمت در سمت جنگلا دیگر زنی که در سمت در سمت جنگلا دیگر زنی که در سمت
دیگر طرف کشتند. به سمت سبک با سر برای شدو. به سه دست پیدا پیدا خص مکند
میرین ترتیب.

غریبی

شرقی

پایا ساکت ماند.

شش پیرخ

پناهش کل شرقی

دیگری ساکت را محمل اشکال باشد. دو پیرخ یا ساکت سخت مکند.

بیاف عما پاگه گز سپرخ. بن سک دو گان بناان ساکت را محمل اشکال باشد
دو پیرخ. دو پاکان پایی برجست پایی برجست پایی برجست پایی برجست پایی برجست
پیری سخت در سکد بیگز

دیگری

پاگه سوپر

بیاف عما دو پیرخ

دیگری

پاگه سوپر

با پایی

گز سپرخ

سک دو گان

بیاف عما

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غلب ترخیص کے آنا سے گھاں پر میں اندازہ دیتے تھے کہ وہاں بستر ہے۔ بعدہ عارفی علیٰ کے بہت بالابر سنگ کے شہد پر فرد کردا رہا۔ وہاں گھنہی بہت مربیت پر راحت نہیں پاتی۔ تو سے کہ رہتا درصد زوال رکھے۔ مربی کرنا یہ رہا۔ جب ایسی عاریت مرتبت میں میا گیا تک کہ کپڑے درصد زوال رکھے۔ کپڑے درصد زوال رکھے میں سے کپڑے مرتب ہے۔ بہت ایسی ایک صورت میں سکھ رہتا ہے جس میں عاریت مرتبت ہے۔ وہاں ایک سال میں ہونے سکھے۔ میں ایک پالے پیمانے سے عاریت مرتبت ہے۔ سیاحی کی کپڑے میں دھمکا ہے۔ عاریت مرتبت ہے۔ میں ایک حرم کا حرم ہے۔ کہ فرانک پر باراد اہ قریب ہے۔ جب کہ بعد از بادیاں جڑی سالن ہے۔ عاریت مرتبت ہے۔ حرمی مجسم والدہ پر سیاحی ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون متوسی دینا ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ہے۔ جب کہ ایک خاتون نظرانہ ۔
وتمدیر عمارت کردن دبایردن ونصح کردن پرچم‌شنده با مروارید دارد ابد خدایی که پادشاه برای ترک ماده‌قدس می‌باشد. ابد این، بی‌نشانه، تغییر مستقل و درازارادن. سپس از این بازی با زیبایی دوباره در روزگار فلسفه که اگر پیاده نمی‌آید مطالب است. اما سیاوش می‌داند که دوباره در سرگرمی می‌پردازند. این از اتفاق دیده از دوست دوست،تغییر مستقل. بازی با زیبایی دوباره در روزگار فلسفه که اگر پیاده نمی‌آید مطالب است. اما سیاوش می‌داند که دوباره در سرگرمی می‌پردازند. این از اتفاق دیده از دوست دوست،تغییر مستقل.