CHAPTER-V

Household and Domestic Life
The nobles enjoyed a comfortable and luxurious life in the Delhi Sultanate. The living pattern of the high-ranking nobles, Khans, Maliks and Amirs, their attire, food and houses were aristocratic indicating their rank and status.

A. Houses, Furniture and other Luxury Items:

Information lacks regarding the exact locations, plan and architecture of the private houses of the nobles during the Sultanate period. Reference suggests that none of the nobles lived in the precinct of the royal quarter rather they constructed their apartments in the peripheries. Besides, the nobles built their mansions wherever a new city was founded by the Sultan. Affif informs that a portion of projected city had allotted to the nobles by the Sultan where they constructed their beautiful and majestic houses. Thus, the new founded cities like Kilokheri, Tughluqabad, Firuzabad, Hisar Firuzah, Kaushak-i-Shikar and Daulatabad attracted the leading nobles (Khans, Maliks and Amirs) to settle down there. The author of Masalik-ul-Absar explains the plan, chalked out by the Sultan himself, of newly founded city Daulatabad where separate colonies were planned to be built for wazirs and secretaries, army officials, Qazis and Ulamas, Sufis, merchants and artisans respectively. Separate arrangements were also made to fulfill the needs of the colonies such as mosques, bazaars, public baths, flour-mills, ovens and craftsmen shops etc.

Malik Majd-ul-Mulk (the father of Zia Barani), the naib of Arkali Khan, built a palatial building at Kilokhari away from the royal mansions. Malik Tirmizi, the kotwal of Delhi, constructed the Badaon gate at Delhi and near this gate he had

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2 Affif, Tarikh, pp. 126, 128, 313; Eng. tr., pp. 91-92.
3 Barani, Tarikh, p. 130; Sijzi, Fawaid-ul-Fu’ad, p. 142; Eng. tr., p. 285; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 57; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 89; Eng. tr., pp. 160-161.
4 Barani, Tarikh, p. 430.
5 Affif, Tarikh, p. 134; Eng. tr., p. 96; Muhammad Bihamid Khani, Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, Eng. tr. Muhammad Zaki, Aligarh, 1972, p. 10.
6 Affif, Tarikh, p. 126; Eng. tr., p. 91.
9 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., pp. 31-32.
10 Barani, Tarikh, p. 209.
erected his private palace. But during the time of Sikandar Lodi, the leading nobles constructed their houses at Agra in the premises of royal residence. When Malik Bahlol Lodi was muqti of Sarhind, he had built a spacious haveli there. A change in the allotment of living space occurred during the time of Ibrahim Lodi when Shaikh Muhammad and Shaikh Jamal were permitted to reside inside the fortification.

Thus, the houses of the nobles were situated near the royal palaces and were modeled almost after the royal pattern. According to Afif the residence of Qiwam ul-Mulk was located near the western gate of the palace while Khwaja Jahan resided in the upper portion of the palace of Thousand pillars (Hazar Sutun) at Delhi and Jam and Banbh, the courtiers were provided residences near the Sarai Malka which was named Sarai Thatta, after their settlement. The better repose and composure in the houses of nobles reflected more security for them than for the Sultans. The houses of the nobles were spacious consisting of drawing rooms, baths, sometimes a water-tank, a broad courtyard and even a library. Separate apartments were built for the ladies. These houses were decorated with costly hangings and beautiful curtains. Furthermore, the houses of the nobles been plastered in different colours and sometimes the coating of gold and silver appeared on the walls. Various types of figures of trees and other objects were painted on the walls and ceilings of the houses of the nobles. Sultan Firoz Shah records that the painters of the time used to paint the pictures and portrait on tents, curtain and even on the furniture. It suggests the prevalence of paintings for decorative purposes. However, it was a common practice to paint images and pictures on the walls of the houses. Consequent upon, Sultan Firoz Shah ordered to erase all the images from the walls of the houses and palaces.

Amir Khusrau informs that the houses of Delhi were well kept and well furnished and looked like the corners of paradise. His evidence sheds light on plans

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12 Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daud, p. 36; Eng. tr., p. 446.
13 Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 17.
14 Mushtaqi, Waziat, p. 165; Eng. tr., p. 182.
15 Afif, Tarikh, pp. 63, 64-65, 253.
17 Afif, Tarikh, p. 374; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 58.
18 Firoz Tughlaq, Futuhat-i-Firozshahi, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr., pp. 27-28; Afif, Tarikh, pp. 290, 374; Habibullah, op. cit., p. 310; Ashraf, Life and Conditions, p. 207.
and architectural features of the houses. Generally the nobles constructed two stories houses with *suffa-i-taq* (vaulted halls), *hauz-khana* (pool of water), *ab-khana* (bathroom or privy), *kitab-khana* (library), *sahan* (courtyard), *dahliz* (threshold), *rawaq* (portico) with lofty pillars, painted walls and elevated facades. Amir Khusrau’s literary account finds support from a Sanskrit inscription of Firoz Shah’s reign that most of the houses were double-storied. The plan of the houses explained with one or two *dalans* or small halls with small rooms and an open courtyard bounded by a wall. Sometimes, the courtyard had *dalans* on all the four sides.

As for building materials, the houses in Delhi were made of stone and bricks being roofed with wood. Floors were paved with white stone like marble. Earlier, none of the houses was more than two storied and some were even single storied. But when the city was expanded beyond the old walls, the new towns differ in building architecture. Now, the multi-storied buildings, sometimes three or four storied, have been built by the higher officials with a small and winding staircase on one side. Most of these houses had attached gardens.

Providing the details of the house of Majdud-Daula in which *Sipahsalar* Iftakharuddin, uncle of Amir Khusrau, was staying on rent, Khusrau mentions that at the entrance of the house there was a paradise looking garden. The lofty hall and walls with twelve-arches corresponded the twelve towers of the zodiac. The *hauz-khana* (tank or reservoir) was considerably large. The walls of *kitab-khana* (library) was fully equipped and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions. The pillars of the house were high, straight and fine with wide open doorways. Stairs led to the roof of the house. The guest house, referred as *serai*, was generally built in the compound of the mansion of the noble. As for building materials, the houses in Delhi were made of stones and bricks being roofed with wood. Courtyard was surrounded with

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the large stone walls. Houses were made of bricks and timber while floors were generally paved with white stones like marble.  

The religious structure, mosques, was usually built in the vicinity of the nobles' quarter. Najmuddin Jilani, a merchant turned amir of Cambay, had built a spacious house and a masjid in Cambay. Ibn Battuta carried on the repair works in his house at Delhi costing four thousands dinars and built a mosque nearby. Shaikh Shihabuddin, Sahib-i-Diwan al-Mustakhraj, employed a unique plan and architecture in his house construction. He first excavated a spacious cave then in the basement he constructed chambers, store-rooms, an oven and a bath. He resided in this care-house for more than two years.

Sometimes governors used their residential mansions for administrative purposes too. Ibn Battuta met Qutbul Mulk, the governor of Multan at his residence where the governor was reviewing the provincial army sitting on a large carpeted dais. The army commanders and armed men were standing on his right and left. Troops passed in review before him and he was enrolling the archers, troopers and horsemen. Ibn Battuta records another important information that Amir Saifuddin Gaddah was being allotted a palace by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq which had been the palace of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji. The palace consisted of exceptionally large audience hall and an immense vestibule. On the entrance gate there was a pavilion which overlooked this audience hall through which one entered into the palace.

Astonished information has been supplied by Amir Khusrau that sometimes the nobles stayed in the rent houses. Sipahsalar Iftakharuddin, uncle of Amir Khusrau, stayed in a house of Majjud Daula on rent for which he had deposited the advance of two and a half month's rent at the time of occupation. A slave girl was appointed by

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26 Ibn Battuta, Rehla, Hindi tr, Rizvi, Tughlaq Kalin Bharat, part-I, p. 274.
29 Gibb, Ibn Battuta, p.189.
30 Ibn Battuta, Rehla, pp. 77-78.
Majddud Daula just to collect the rent. Likewise, once Ainul-Mulk Mahruru requested the Qazi of Pattan for arrangement of a rent house in that city.

Imitating the imperial tradition the nobles under Delhi Sultans spent extravagantly on their household. As for utilitarian articles in the houses of nobles, furniture, bed and beddings, pillows and colourful carpets, geometrical and naturalistic in pattern and embroidered screens find mention. Gold and silver ornamented bedsteads fitted with silk mattress were in use. Ibn Battuta gives a vivid picture of the household furniture of the residence that was allotted to him. It was full of all domestic necessities like furniture, carpets, mattresses, vessels and bed. The Indian beds were much lighter in weight. In travel, these beds were carried on by the slaves. It was made of four conical legs with four crosspieces of wood on which braids of silk or cotton were woven. The pillows and coverlets were made of silk. Mattresses and coverlets were generally covered with white linen or cotton slips. Blankets and quilts were also in use.

During rainy season, they used to sleep on the roof in khurmagah, a cubicle made of wood and covered with blanket-cloth but cots (palang) were generally used. They used long chairs with silk cushions. The curtains of zarbaft and silk, painted with the images and candle-sticks for lightening and lamps were among the necessary articles of the household.

B. Clothes and Dresses:

As for the dresses, it was below the dignity of the noble to wear linen. Hamid Qalandar mentions that fine and costly clothes form the garments of the nobles, thus, they wore fine silken cloaks in public and a loose shirt in private. Nobles and high officials also wore the kulah and a pag (turban) and colourful costly robes. Usually

32 Mahruru, Insha-i-Mahruru, Letter no. 27, pp. 60-61. Letter no. 132 has references to the same matter.
34 Ashraf, Life and Conditions, p. 219.
35 Barani, Tarikh, p. 117; Ibn Battuta, Rehla, pp. 119-120; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 58; Gibb, Ibn Battuta, pp. 205-206; Ashraf, Life and Conditions, pp. 207, 218-219. Common term for these articles of bedding included the bed was chaparkhat.
36 Barani, Tarikh, p. 117; Ibn Battuta, Travels, Vol. III, pp. 643, 685; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 35, 72, 80, 83, 149.
qaba and dakla were worn in the winter while silken were in use in the summer season. Dresses were made by the imported stuff of China and Iraq in the karkhanas at Delhi.38

Maintaining the traditional and prescribed dress code, the nobles used to wear different dresses on different occasions. On the basis of evidences the noble's dresses may be classified into: officials, formal for public occasions and private wear. The official dress was consisted of kulah (head-dress) made of brocade and studded with tiaras and pearls, a tunic made of brocade and velvet, and a white belt. The khila'i suit was much preferred dress for public occasions.39 The short Indian turban called pag, tunic of fine texture (silk and velvet) and ordinary shirt and drawers of fine muslin were the private dress of the nobles.40 It is mentioned that Malik Fakhruddin, kotwal of Delhi under Balban, used to change a new dress daily which consisted of qaba, yakta (summer dress), pirahan (shirt or the upper garment), izar (pajama) and dastarcha (short turban or handkerchief).41 Dresses of high ranked nobles is referred as jama, jama-i-rangeen and saropa or qaba-o-qadha (head to foot dresses) consisting of kulah (cap), kamar safed (white waist) and qaba-i-zarbaft (garment of golden embroidery).42

Amir Khusrau made sarcastic remarks on different kinds of dresses, thus says that jama-i-yak-shiqqadar (the garments with fissures or crevices) which wards off a whole hill of snow, yakta-i-bahraman (red coloured upper garment without lining which was very delicate like water and covers the beautiful ones upto the neck), yakta-i-hari (silken) which on account of its brilliant glare and fineness resembles the rays of the sun; yakta-i-chambbartari which had the quality of covering the defects (of poverty and misery) but had a defect of its own in that its wearer remained naked in spite of putting it on; yakta-i-parnan, a green, thin and delicate garment like the feather of the flies; the devagiri garments, white and fine like the spider's web; yakta-

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38 Barani, Tarikh, p. 273; Hamid Qalandar, Khair-ul-Majalis, Assembly no. 54, p. 183; Eng. tr., p. 140; Al-Umari, Musalik, Eng. tr., pp. 30, 39; Dr. Moti Chandra, Costumes Textiles Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi, 1973, p. 143; Nizami, Royalty, p. 194; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 39; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 52.
39 Amir Khusrau, Kutliyat-i-Khusrau, p. 774; Barani, Tarikh, p. 33; Ashraf, Life and Conditions, pp. 210, 221; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 39;
41 Barani, Tarikh, pp. 33, 117. Aiff, Tarikh, p. 434; According to Mutahhar it was some sort of cloak or shirts studded with gold. Diwan, ed. Abdur Razzaq, Patna, 1998, pp. 157, 188.
42 Barani, Tarikh, p. 136; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 34, 36, 91.
i-awadhi which had become sugar-coloured and stained on account of moisture; the jama (garment) of the special wardrobe was harsher (more coarse) than man-minded ones; katan-i-rusi, which was harsher than the temperament of the Russians and was narrower than the eyes of the people of Khata (China). The yakta-i-narma latif was like the skin of the snake which had been set as a memento and in lieu of that the green magna like jama-i-chuk (like green scum or kayee). The dastar, as thin as water, kulah-i-chihar taranji, the rose coloured yaktai (gulnari) a piece of long cloth (katan) which on account of its being excessively cool was ever in tremor and a piece of jar-mayji and one miyar-i-ma'abari (turban or veil made in Mabar or Madura) from which water easily came out, and yakta-i-zabadi had also been referred by him.43

The types and modes of the dresses prevalent during the period were the dastars (turbans) and ammama worn by the Ulemas and religious persons. The other clothes worn by them were pairahan, qaba (sleeved close-fitting jacket or coat open in front), aba (a kind of coat or cloak), jubba (a species of upper coat, resembling a skirt), rida (mantle), saravil (a sort of drawer of trouser like pajama), shalwar (baggy trouser), lungi (narrow strip of cloth passed round the waist and thigh), barani (a cloth for keeping off rains) and dotai (a kind of double cloth). Thick tabrizi cloak, the shirt and qamarband (waistband) were also worn by them.44 Amir Khusrau mentions a cap with three buttons and gold embroidered head dress.45 Some of the caps were so delicate and light that they could be blown off the head by the sweet breeze while others were made so heavy that they had better be thrown down on the ground.46 A change took place during the period of Lodi Sultans when caps were made of velvet or brocades.47

However, the dresses of the nobles were made of soft linen and no one hesitated in wearing such dress. No one was permitted to attend the royal court without boots and headgears.48 Sultan Alauddin Khalji imposed high regulations on purchase of

47 Mushtaqi, Waqvat, pp. 5-6; Nimatallah, Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 140; Eng. tr. Roy, p. 32; Ahmad Yadgar, Tarih-i-Shahi, p. 8; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, pp. 151-152; Ferishta, Tarih, p. 174.
48 Afif, Tarih, p. 280; Eng. tr., p. 163.
costly cloth from Sarai-Adl, such as tasbih, tabrizi, embroidered cloths with gold threads, Indian silk, Chinese silk, kamkhab, sushtar, hariri, bhiram, deogiri and other stuffs without obtaining a license from the superintendent of the market. In subsequent dynasty Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, following sharia, forbade the practice of painting the images on the dresses. Even the dresses of the nobility made of silk and gold brocades, and gold embroidery were also forbidden.

The chroniclers inform us that the dress of army officers, Khans, Maliks and others consisted of Tartaric gowns, taklawat and the Islamic Qabas (shirts) of Khwarizm, buckled in the middle of body and turban which were small made of fine muslin. They put on a full sleeves coat of jukh (or banat, a kind of silk) in white colour. The head-dress of the nobles was square (four-cornered) in shape ornamented with jewels and mostly with rubies. They plait their hair in hanging locks and put silk tussles in it. Gold and silver belts were used to bind tightly their waists and also wear shoes and spurs. They girt the sword only when travelling and not in residence. None of them wore cotton clothes.

Usually the wazirs did not girt the belts, like the soldiers, but let down in front of them the piece of cloth from the ends of the turban like that of Sufis while the Qazis (judges) wore gown called farajiyat that resembles an Arabic garment called dura, a loose coat made of red fur.

Evidence reveals that no one among nobles dare to wear alsi (cotton clothes imported from Russia and Alexandria) except those to whom the Sultan gifted those clothes. They make shirts resembling the short coats of Baghdad from the cotton thread. But the coats of Baghdad and nasafis (an Egyptian shirt from neck to knees) could strike no comparison with the Indian shirts. Sultan Alauddin Khalji presented a gold embroidered brocaded (jama-i-zardozi) robe with the picture of lion embroidered over it and a gold qamarband (waistband) weighing half a man to Malik |

49 Barani, Tarikh, p. 310; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 115; Nizamuddin, Tabagat, p. 89; Eng. tr., p. 176; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 113; Eng. tr., p. 203.
50 Firoz Tughlaq, Futuhat-i-Firozshahi, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr., p. 27.
51 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., p. 60; Ibn Battuta, Rehla, p. 33; Al-Qalaqshandi, Subh-ul-A'sha, Eng. tr., pp. 69-70; Moti-Chandra, Costumes Textiles, pp. 142, 143-144.
52 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr. p. 60; Al-Qalaqshandi, Subh-ul-A'sha, Eng. tr., pp. 69-70; Moti Chandra, Costumes Textiles, p. 143.
53 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., p. 52; Al-Qalaqshandi, Subh-ul-A'sha, Eng. tr., pp. 70-71; Moti Chandra, Costumes Textiles, p. 142.
Fakhruddin Kotwal. Nasiruddin was given such robe which was an Abbasid robe, black in colour, embroidered with gold and covered with precious stones. There was also a turban, matched with this robe. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq bestowed a silk robe with picture of a lion to Khudawandzada Zia ud-Din, Amir-i-Dad. The amount of gold used in its embroidering was shown on a tag sewn inside the robe. The mihrabi robe was given to Ibn Battuta by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq having the lining of mihrab on front and backside.

However, the nobles used to wear dresses of fine qualities. Amir Saifuddin Gaddah, on the occasion of his marriage with Sultan’s sister, wore a silken cloth, blue in colour, embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones. He also wore a cap matching to the dress. Sometimes Sultan presented his own dress to the nobles even from his wardrobe. Sultan presented precious robes along with the golden waistbands to his nobles some were even colourful and embroidered in gold zardozi.

It was a general norm that the Sultans used to gift the clothes to the nobles along with their wives twice in a year. For making these garments about four thousand silk embroidiers were engaged in the royal karkhanas during the time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Besides, they also embroidered the cloth which was imported from China, Iraq and Alexandria.

Wearing white dress (Jamaha-i-safed) was a distinction confined to the royal blood and to the nobles. Khan-i-Azam Ahmad Khan being the strict follower of sharia is mentioned to have put on white clothes and sprinkled two full vials of rose perfume (qumqum-i-gulab) upon them. While Malik Naib Barbak ordered to be tailored a loose shirt for himself. Jama-i-khwab (sleeping dress) of Khan-i-Azam

54 Barani, Tarikh, p. 271; Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 171; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 52; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 82.
59 Yahya, Tarikh, pp. 210, 243; Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, pp. 66, 68, 70; Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 7.
60 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., p. 39; Siddiqui, Perio-Arabic, pp. 118-119.
62 Afif, Tarikh, pp. 434; Eng. tr., p. 238; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 87; Eng. tr., p. 93
Lad Khan was made of fine and coloured malmat (muslin). The garments of Said Khan Yusuf Khai Lodi were of malmal (calico), jumar and khasa (silk fabric) while some of the nobles adhered to sharia in their dress code.

Amir Khusrau appreciated in his writings the specimens of the Indian textiles that they were so fine that body looked transparent if costumes made of such clothes were put on and some of their varieties could be wrapped in a nail. Some varieties of silk stuff worn and used by the nobles were atlas (satin), baharman (silk material which was available in all shades), bhiram, barad, bhiram (costly silk material) and cheenee, kirpas (malmat), astar, shirin baft, dara i-baf (white, fragile, as spider’s web), harir (a single layered material resembling sun rays in brightness and delicacy), kamkhab (brocaded silk), katan (silk having a shine like moonlight), katan-i-bihari, kataan-i-rusi (another variety of kataan or linen of Russia), khazz (silk stuff of super fine quality or coarse kind of silk), magna (mossy looking silk material), mashru, narmina (used for furnishings of silk), parniyan (painted harir/silk), patola, qasab, sushtar (Iranian, costly silken material used for men’s wear), tabrezi, tassej (fine costly silk material), jama-i-
Deogiri, *jama-i-wilayat*, *mawaz-i-marwari*, *rupak-i-bihar*, *yekta-i-awadh*, *chambartali* (a kind of thin cloth), *narmat-i-latif*, *shugqa-i-naranji* and *zarbaft* (costly brocaded silk). Besides these silk fabrics, various other kinds of fabrics or clothing material of cotton, woolen, linen, embroidered and painted and of gold work are referred. There are many references at different places of *deba* (brocade), *zarbaft* (cloth of gold), *zardozi* (embroidered cloth), *makhmal* (velvet), *atlas* (dull coloured satin-red, tending to be black), *mushajjar* (a kind of figured silk brocade of painted silk cloth), *daq* (a kind of costly stuff, painted and embroidered), *kirpas* (a kind of fine painted silk from China), *aksun* (a kind of rich black coloured brocaded silken cloth worn by high rank people), *Russian linen*, *qad-i-rangeen* (coloured cloth), *malmal* (muslin), *parcha* (cotton cloth) and *gamash* (silk). In his *Diwan*, referring to *jama-i-deogiri*, Khusrau mentions that it was so transparent and light that it looks as if one was wearing no dress at all.

It is mentioned that Balban would not allowed his nobles and courtiers to attend his private audience without stockings (*moza*). Amir Khusrau mentions that the shoes and boots were made of leather by *kafshdoz* (boot-makers) while Mushtaqi mentions *nalain-i-siyah* (black shoe) and *paaye-zaar* (hard shoe).
C. Food, Dishes and Utensils:

The dining carpets of the nobles consisted of varieties of dishes which were placed before the guests. Food was prepared mainly with flour, meat, sugar candy and butter. Among the varieties of dishes were meat, roasted meat, roasted sheep called zallah, meat cooked with ghee, onion and green ginger, rice cooked in ghee with chicken called hashim. Barani mentions meat of gopsand (goshti-gopsand), partridges (kabutar) and chicken (bacha-i-murg). Besides, the Indian dish called samusak was much favorite dish of the nobles. It was prepared with hashed meat and cooked with almonds, walnuts, pistachios, onions and spices. These ingredients were put inside a piece of thin bread and then fried in ghee to prepare samusak. There is mention of khushka (boiled rice) and cooked rice. Mushtaqi mentions biranj-i-sadah (plain rice), biranj-i-shirin (sweet rice) and biranj-i-namkeen (salted rice) served to the nobles. Indian dish called khichri i.e. mixed rice was also in use.

Amir Khusrau provides a list of delicious dishes which were served on the table. The barra-i-biryan (fried or roasted kid), rib of the goat which was served with the polaw (a dish composed of meat and rice; seasoned the cooked with butter, spices

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101 Hamid Qalandar, Khair-ul-Majalis, pp. 10-11.


106 Barani, Tarikh, p. 116; Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics, p. 159.


109 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 73; Eng. tr., p. 78.

110 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 149; Eng. tr. p. 164; Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, pp. 161-163.

111 Ibn Battuta says that it was quite popular among the Indian Muslims who ate it for breakfast daily. They cook mung (moong pulse) with rice and eat it with ghee (clarified butter). It was also called kisri. See Travels, Vol. III, pp. 611-612; Affi throw light on this dish, found from the kitchen of a famous noble of Firoz Shah, namely Imadul-Mulk Bashir Sultan, see, Affi, Tarikh, pp. 216; Eng. tr., p. 133; Muhammad Akbar Husaini, Javami-ul-Kalam (Mafizat of Shaikh Gesudaraz), Kanpur, A.H. 1356, p.216; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 68; Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate, p. 72; Idem, 'Food Dishes', p. 127.
and honey), gravy or abgosht or yakhni of biryani, the meat pieces cut out from the sides of skinned goat, the fat of the thick tail of dumba (a kind of sheep), ahu-barra (fawn), the head of goat (well-cooked but intact buz musallam like murg musallam) and the hilly dumba. A large variety of birds, fowls, such as waji (quail), tihoo (a bird smaller than a partridge), durraj (black partridge), charz (bustard, a bird of game whose flesh is tender and delicate) were cooked in a variety of ways. Mushtaqi mentions yakhni-dumba (mutton-soup), milk mixed with rice and different types of jugratha (coagulated milk), do-piyaza (curry made of meat and onion), sar-i-gospond (brain curry), sag, pickles, kabab (roasted or fried meat preparation), yakhni (beef-soup), roasted dumbas, buz-i-khassi (roasted meat of castrated goats), yakhni shorba-i-la’al (red soup of mutton), shorba-i-zard (yellow soup made of mutton), chicken, partridges and several other birds, chicken, partridges and the quails. Among the pakwan-i-hindi (vegetarian food preparations) there were puris (fried bread), suhaali, gulgula, gitehkndi, kadi (curd curry), baris, bara, phalauri, mangauri and mangaukhtti served to the nobles on the dining carpet.

Ijaz-i-Khusravi contains references to many articles of food such as kabab (meat cut in small pieces and roasted with onion and eggs and stuck on a skewer), roasted chicken, roasted lamb, sirka (vinegar), jughrat (curd) girda-i-paneer (cake of cheese), murabba, sikbat or sikbati (a dish made of meat, wheat-flour and vinegar), roasted meat of cow, qaisungur (a kind of meat syrup of birds), bughra.

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113 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 83, 147.
114 Ibid., p. 62.
115 Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 59.
116 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 83; Eng. tr., p. 87.
117 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 147, 148-149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, pp. 161-163.
121 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 51; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 216; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 83; Askari, Amir Khusrau, p. 51.
(a kind of dish called vermicelli or sewain invented by Sultan Bughra Khan), shulla (pulao or dish made up of rice, spices, butter, flesh or fowl).\(^{125}\)

Various types of breads and cakes such as khubz,\(^{126}\) qurs,\(^{127}\) nan,\(^{128}\) biryan (fried bread), nan-i-maidah,\(^{129}\) nan-i-tanduri,\(^{130}\) nan (bread) round like the circular disc of the sun, nan-i-tamuk (thin fine bread like chapatti) nan-i-turi (of Turkish or Mongol variety) which was puffed kāk (biscuit or dry bread),\(^{131}\) fried and baked cakes,\(^{132}\) sweet cake,\(^{133}\) ruqaq\(^{134}\) and tutmaj.\(^{135}\) There were tablets or cakes of sabuni sabuniya (a mixture of almonds, honey and sesame oil). A round dough cake made with ghee (resemble the bread called mashrikin in Arabia) which they stuffed with sweet called sabuniya and on top of each dough cake they put a sweet cake which was called khisht (brick-shaped), made of flour, sugar and ghee.\(^{136}\)

Desserts consisted of fresh fruits, dry fruits and sweets. Almonds, dried grapes, walnuts, guavas, melons, mangoes were much found of.\(^{137}\) Superior qualities of melons were grown in Khwarizm and it was imported to India after cutting into strips and dried in the sun. However, varieties of fruits were imported to India from Khurasan and thus were considered luxurious items.\(^{138}\)


\(^{130}\) Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58.


Different varieties of sweetmeats or halwa (a kind of sweetmeat made of flour, ghee and sugar)\textsuperscript{139} such as al-muqarrasa, jild-al-faras and Judge’s sweetmouthfuls,\textsuperscript{140} paludah (a kind of flummery or sweetmeat),\textsuperscript{141} shakkar-paich\textsuperscript{142} (a kind of sweetmeat made of rice or wheat and sugar, also paper to wrap with sugar in), zaliba-i-nabat or jalaibi,\textsuperscript{143} lauzina,\textsuperscript{144} ghulahakkari,\textsuperscript{145} shir-i-birin,\textsuperscript{146} and halwa-i-gajar have been mentioned.\textsuperscript{147}

Among the drinks, milk and sherbet was served before the meal, and barley-water called fiuqqa (a kind of drink made of water and barley and of dried grapes) was drunk just after the meal. Betel and areca-nuts were also served after the meal.\textsuperscript{148} Amir Khusrau mentions sharab-i-asir (grape-wine), sharab-i-naishkar (wine manufactured out of sugarcane) and sherbet of water and honey.\textsuperscript{149}

An Indian habit of chewing betel leaves was readily adopted by the nobles. Thus, in all the fests betel was distributed among the people.\textsuperscript{150} Betel was prepared with costly ingredients and was generally considered substitute of wine.\textsuperscript{151} Amir Khusrau devoted many pages to the virtues of betel leaf in his \textit{Ijaz-i-Khusrav}.\textsuperscript{152} Nobles used to sent betel leaves as gifts to each other.\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{143} Amir Khusrau, \textit{Ijaz-i-Khusravi}, Vol. IV, p. 325; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 305.
\textsuperscript{144} A Kind of sweetmeat in which almonds were mixed up or almond shaped confection. Amir Khusrau, \textit{Ijaz-i-Khusravi}, Vol. IV, p. 15; Idem, \textit{Maila-ul-Anwar}, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{146} This pudding was made of rice, cotton seeds and milk. According to Khusrau, it strengthens the bones. \textit{Ijaz-i-Khusravi}, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 199.
\textsuperscript{147} Sijzi, \textit{Fawaid-ul-Fird,} p. 110; Eng. tr., pp. 236-237; Rashid, \textit{Society and Culture}, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{150} Barani, \textit{Tarikh}, p. 247; Rashid, \textit{Society and Culture}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{151} Al-Umari, \textit{Masalik}, Eng. tr., p. 56; Siddiqui, ‘Food Dishes’, p. 130-131.
A large staff was maintained by the nobles to look after the management in the kitchen establishment. They were the valets, the cooks, the running footmen (daradaviya), the water-bearer (abdariya, which is the saqqa), the sherbet dispenser, the betel-givers, the arm-bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella-bearers, the laver-carriers, the chamberlains and the heralds. The master cooks received patronage from the nobles.\textsuperscript{154}

Food was cooked in the cauldrons (deg)\textsuperscript{155} and was served in trays,\textsuperscript{156} khwans (golden plates),\textsuperscript{157} plates, bowls and vessels of gold, silver,\textsuperscript{158} brass vessels,\textsuperscript{159} vessels of glass\textsuperscript{160} and was also served in large ceramic bowls or chinaware.\textsuperscript{161} Golden platters, coloured dishes, goblets, water-pots, leather and earthen pots\textsuperscript{162} and chamcha (spoons) were commonly used.\textsuperscript{163} Minhaj also mentions the golden vessels like tashtari, alamhazrar-sakheeda, baadli and badaltaaz.\textsuperscript{164} The vessels like large porcelain bowls, small saucers of leather, tin mugs (for barley-water), and golden vessels called suyum with stands called subuk were commonly used.\textsuperscript{165} Cups for vegetable juice are mentioned.\textsuperscript{166} Ewers (tasht), and among the drinking vessels jugs (musharrabah)\textsuperscript{167} and kasa (drinking vessels)\textsuperscript{168} for water and milk and jamdan\textsuperscript{169} are


\textsuperscript{155} Amir Khusrau, \textit{Qiran-us-Sadain}, p. 184; Mushtaqi, \textit{Waqiat}, pp. 82, 150; Eng. tr., p. 87; Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', p. 126; Askari, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', pp. 147-149; Siddiqui, \textit{Delhi Sultanate}, p. 78.


\textsuperscript{157} Barani, \textit{Tariikh}, p. 32; Isami, \textit{Futuh-us-Sulatun}, p. 434.


\textsuperscript{164} Minhaj, \textit{Tabaqat}, p. 316.


\textsuperscript{166} Amir Khusrau, \textit{Qiran-us-Sadain}, p. 183.


\textsuperscript{168} Amir Khusrau, \textit{Mulla-ul-Anwar}, p. 127; Mushtaqi, \textit{Waqiat}, pp. 72, 149.

\textsuperscript{169} Ahmad Yadgar, \textit{Tariikh-i-Shahi}, p. 25.
mentioned. Sometimes jugs of gold were also used. Ibn Battuta referred to the beautiful vases that were called bargdan (bowls for betel leaves), aqaba (wash-basin), khushbudan (perfume-case) and kafurdani (camphor vessel) was used by them. Ibn Battuta describes the rituals that were followed during formal meals. He tells us that when the guest finished eating, a cradle in the shape of container (with four legs and upper part woven of palm fiber) was placed in front of the honored guests.

D. Harem and Slaves:

Although it is difficult to determine the size and institution of the harem maintained by the nobles under the Delhi Sultans yet scattered references highlight the fact that the institution of harem and slave girls, in a large number, was maintained by the nobles. Thus, harem institution emerged as significant feature of the household of the nobles. Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, wazir of Firoz Shah, maintained a large harem with number of beautiful slave girls. He was fond of women thus there were about two thousand women of different countries including Rome and China were present in his harem for his pleasure. To avoid the stress of the state affairs, he used to enjoy company of the women.

Likewise, Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan, son of Ahmad Khan Sarang Lodi maintained large harem. The silken garments were tailored day and night for the ladies of the harem. Ladies observed strict purdah (veil). The hierarchy of the officials itself signify the institution of the harem. A hajib was posted at the gate followed by a pardadar to care the female apartments then a khwajasara posted at the inner gate of the harem. Inside the palace, close to inner gate, was deputed an old woman. To convey the message inside harem, the hajib passed it to the pardadar, and then the pardadar directed it to the khwajasar and the latter informed the old lady.

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171 Mutahhar, Diwan, p. 138; Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate, p. 81.
who passed it to the concerned woman. The daily necessities and the kitchen establishment of the harem were controlled by khwajasara.\textsuperscript{176}

According to Mushtaqi, Jalal Khan Lodi (known as Jighat and the muqta of Kalpi), Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani, muqta of Rapri, and Dilawar Khan son of Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua (later entrusted with the wizarat by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi) spent lavishly on women and pleasure. They were known for having a large number of women in their household and maintaining large harems. Dilawar Khan spent two and a half lakh tankahs annually on buying flowers and perfumes for his seraglio (harem).\textsuperscript{177} Mian Zabaruddin took his harem everywhere he went, either on hunting or on his visit to any shrine.\textsuperscript{178} Ahmad Khan son of Jamal Khan Lodi and Mian Mahabat, son of Mian Husain Farmuli maintained large harems and had maidservants.\textsuperscript{179} Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Sarwani used to send copies of Quran inside his harem for daily recitation.\textsuperscript{180} Mian Zaimuddin provided training to his harem ladies and slaves, thus none of his slaves and slave-girls were careless in offering prayers. The duties were assigned to the slave girls and boys after the completion of their training both in religion and manners.\textsuperscript{181}

As transport, the covered palanquins were used to carry the slave girls and harem ladies. Generally the nobles carry their slave-girls along-with them on horses but Tatar Khan did not follow this practice. He had constructed special palanquins for his slave girls made of wooden planks with curtains for the purpose of privacy and purdah.\textsuperscript{182} For carrying ladies of the harem of Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan, special carts were made with covered spaces.\textsuperscript{183}

The slave girls however, were also kept in a large number as concubines in the harem.\textsuperscript{184} Ahmad Shah Bhatti, a Lodi noble, was so inclined towards his beautiful slave girl that he had presented her jewelry worth ten thousands rupees.\textsuperscript{185} The nobles took large number of slave girls with them even when they were on military

\textsuperscript{176} Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 92; Eng. tr., p. 98; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, p. 267.
\textsuperscript{177} Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 87; Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 475.
\textsuperscript{178} Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., pp. 59, 88.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., p. 83.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 74.
\textsuperscript{183} Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 47-48, 93; Eng. tr., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{184} Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40.
\textsuperscript{185} Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 22.
expeditions and even on hunting excursions. These slave girls would ride on horses or on tanui (tangaah) and followed their masters. Ibn Battuta liked the slave girls more than his wives and always kept them in his company. The passion for a slave girl sometimes became the cause of bitterness among the nobles.

Minhaj Siraj in order to help his sister, who was facing financial problem in Khurasan, sent her forty Indian slaves along with money. The slaves were to be sold by his sister. Amir Khusrau mentions the Russian soldiers in the military contingent in Dipalpur under Ghazi Malik who were the slaves purchased by the Malik. The Chinese merchants used to supply Chinese products along with the slaves trained in different arts and crafts.

It is said that if slaves, being articles of property constituted wealth, their manumission would be an act of charity at par in merit with other gifts to the needy. It was therefore an action particularly to be acclaimed among the pious. Hasan Sijzi, an army officer, bought a slave girl in ten tankahs from his free slave Malih and manumitted her. Hasan also freed his two other slaves. Similarly, Imad ul-Mulk Malik Bashir Sultani, the leading noble of Firoz Shah, sought his own release from Sultan (as he was the Slave noble of Sultan) and then released all his slaves numbering about four thousand. He even granted much wealth and gold to each of his domestic slave to live comfortably with freedom.

Sultan Firoz Shah issued a farman to all muqtas for the collection of slaves. Thus every muqta, who came to attend the royal court, presented slaves to Sultan according to his resources. Those who presented more slaves received much favoured by the Sultan. Muqtais selected the slaves and dressed them in attractive clothes, caps.

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187 Ibn Battuta, Rehla, introduction, p. xxv, p. 106.
189 Minhaj, Tabaqat, pp. 214, 295; Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate, p. 52.
190 Amir Khusrau, Tughlaqnama, ed. Syed Hashimi Faridabadi, Aurangabad, 1933, p. 84; Siddiqui Delhi Sultanate, pp. 52.
195 Afif, Tarikh, p. 444; Eng. tr., p. 243.
socks and fine muslin cloth around their waist. Noble's attitude towards the slaves can be better judged by their behaviour that they brought up these slaves like their sons arranged their education and training.

E. Matrimonial Relations, Marriages and Divorce:

The matrimonial alliance took place among the nobles while sometimes with the members of royal family. Matrimonial relations between the royal family and the nobles of high repute also enhanced the social status of the nobility among the ruling class. Evidences show that the Sultan's sisters or other royal princesses were married to the high ranked nobles. Two daughters of Qutbuddin Aibek were married, one after the death of other, to Qubacha and the third daughter of Aibek was married to Ilutmish (when he was a Khan). To develop a sense of corporate solidarity amongst his noble Sultan Muizzuddin ordered affinal relations between some of his nobles. He commanded that the two daughters of Yalduz should marry Qutbuddin Aibek and Malik Nasiruddin Qubacha. A daughter of Ilutmish was married to Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Balban). Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aetikin married to the sister of Sultan Muizzuddin Bahram Shah which permitted him to take the naubat and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his residence.

To enhance their social position, the below ranked nobles make matrimonial relations with illustrious nobles as well as with the royal family. Sometimes matrimonial relations with the slave families sought to achieve these ends as in the case of Malik Saifuddin Ibak Yughantat who married his daughter to Malik Qamaruddin Kiran Temur Khan. Sultan Ilutmish during his lifetime materialized

196 Afif, Tarikh, pp. 268-269; Eng. tr., pp. 157-158.
197 Afif, Tarikh, pp. 271-273; Eng. tr., p. 159.
199 Minhaj, Tabqaqat, pp. 411, 418; Badaoni, Muntakhab, p. 56; Eng. tr. pp. 79-80; Nizamuddin, Tabqaqat, p. 21; Eng. tr., p. 46; Sunil Kumar, op. cit., p. 86.
200 Because of this matrimonial relation he was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khan and a canopy and a durbash (two branched baton) were conferred on him and was entrusted with the administrative works of the Sultaneate. Nizamuddin, Tabqaqat, p. 35; Eng. tr., p. 83. Balban had very close relations with the royal family. Both Sultans Masud and Nasiruddin Mahmud were his son-in-laws and his son Bughra Khan was married to the only daughter of Nasiruddin Mahmud by a second wife. Barani, Tarikh, p. 23; Amir Khusrav, Qiran-us-Sadayn, p. 18; Habibullah, op. cit., p. 136.
202 Minhaj, Tabqaqat, p. 248; Eng. tr., p. 744; Sunil Kumar, op. cit., p. 160.

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marriage of a daughter of MalikBahauddin Tughril of Banya to Malik Tajuddin
Arsalan Khan. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud had married the daughter of Ulugh
Khan (Balban). After the death of Sultan Iltutmish, Malika-i-Jahan married Malik
Qutlugh Khan who then became the muqti of Awadh after this matrimonial
alliance. Malik Izzuddin Balban (Yuzbak) was son-in-law of Malik Qutlugh Khan.
He was appointed to the post of Naib Amir-i-Hajib by Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud.

Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Altuniya who was the governor of Tabachinda (Bhatinda)
was married to Sultan Razia whereas a daughter of Malik Chajju was married to
Kaiqubad. The ascendancy of Malik Nizamuddin, wazir of Kaikubad, reached to
the highest offices that he became Dadbek (chief administrator of justice) and naib-
ul-nolk (deputy ruler) and his wife, who was the daughter of Malik-ul-Umara
Fakhruddin Kotwal, became directress of the royal hareem. A daughter of Alauddin
Khalji was married to Ghazi Malik (later Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq). Prince Shadi
Khan was married with the daughter of Malik Alp Khan. Prince Khizr Khan's
marriage was also arranged with a daughter of Malik Alp Khan. Malik Kafur
married the mother of Prince Umar, the third wife of Sultan Alauddin.

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203 Minhaj, Tabaqat, p. 265; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 767. It is reported that Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud
appointed Tajuddin Arsalan to Banya after this matrimonial relationship. Despite the loss of
political control over Banya, Bahauddin's family was still important and prestigious in the
91; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 129; Isami, Futuh-us-Salatin, p. 146; Eng. tr., p. 268; Nizamuddin,
Tabaqat, p. 36; Eng. tr., p. 87; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 71.
131; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 72.
206 Minhaj, Tabaqat, pp. 299; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 827; Badaoni, Muntakhab, p. 92; Eng. tr., p. 131; S.
B. P. Nigam, 'The Life and Career of Qutlugh Khan, The Step-father of Sultan Nasiruddin
207 Minhaj, Tabaqat, p. 252; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 749; Badaoni, Muntakhab, p. 85; Eng. tr., p. 121;
Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 32; Eng. tr., p. 77; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 68; Yahya, Tarikh, p. 29; Eng.
tr., p. 27.
208 Badaoni, Muntakhab, Vol. I, p. 158; Eng. tr., p. 221; Yahya, Tarikh, p. 54; Eng. tr., p. 51.
50, 51; Eng. tr., p. 120, 121.
210 Nizami, Royalty, p. 85.
211 Amir Khusrau, Duval Rani Khizr Khan, p.; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 122; Nizami, Royalty, p. 86.
212 Amir Khusrau, Duval Rani Khizr Khan, p.; Nizami, Royalty, p. 85.
213 Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 123.
Having two wives was common among the nobles. Malik Ali Gurshasp (later Sultan Alauddin Khalji) had two wives: a daughter of Sultan Jalauddin Khalji and the other a sister of Malik Alp Khan.²¹⁴ Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji married the daughter of Malik Dinar (superintendent of royal elephants) and having appointed him muqta of Gujarat with the title Zafar Khan.²¹⁵ It is mentioned that Sultan Alauddin Khalji forbidden the nobles to form any matrimonial alliances without the royal consent.²¹⁶

Amir Bakht was given the province of Chanderi and married with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s sister²¹⁷ and Azam Malik al-Bayazidi was also relative of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq by a matrimonial alliance.²¹⁸ Another royal princess was also married with Maulana Yusuf who became ‘Dawar-ul-mulk’ during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah.²¹⁹ Malik-ul-Hukama, iqtadar of Broach, was brother-in-law of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He was married to the daughter of Sultan’s step-mother, the widow of Tughlaq Shah while Amir Saifuddin Gaddah was also married with another sister of Sultan.²²⁰ Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk entitled Malik-ush-Sharq (deputy prime minister) was married with Sultan Firoz Shah’s sister.²²¹ Some nobles became the son-in-laws of Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah) such as son of Malik Imaduddin Simnani, son of Malik ul-Ulama, son of the Shaikh ul-Islam and the son of Sadr-i-Jahan al-Bukhari.²²²

The matrimonial relations among the nobles were usual, thus Prime Minister Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz (Turk by race) married his two daughters with the two sons of Khudawand Zadah Qiwaruddin (Iranian immigrant to the court). The alliance was arranged by the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.²²³ He also gives a brief

²¹⁴ Haji al-Dahir, Zafar-ul-Walih, ed. D. Ross, p. 154; Alauddin and Ulugh Khan were son-in-laws of Sultan Jalauddin Khalji, Barani, Tarikh, p. 229; Badaoni, Muntakhab, pp. 182, 190; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 256; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 57; Eng. tr., pp. 133, 194; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 101; Nizami, Royalty, p. 85.
²¹⁵ Badaoni, Muntakhab, p. 209; Eng. tr., pp. 282-283; Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p. 37; Eng. tr., p. 30; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 125; Lal, Khalji, p. 35.
²¹⁹ Yahya, Tarikh, p. 98; Eng. tr., p. 100.
²²⁰ Ibn Battuta, Rehla, p. 113.
²²¹ Aff, Tarikh, p. 282; Eng. tr., p. 164.
description of the marriage ceremony. Due to some official engagements, wazir himself was absent thus Sultan acted as guardian in his absence and reached the wazir’s residence at night to attend the ceremony of the marriage. Grand Qazi read the statement of the dowry, Sultan stood until the Qazi was reading it while the other qazis, amirs and Shaikhs remained seated. Sultan placed the dowry items before the grand Qazi. Then, the other nobles requested the Sultan for not performing all the rituals but Sultan completed it to the end and left the place after handing over the charge to a high ranked Amir.224

Ibn Battuta, who was the Qazi of Delhi, had married more than one time. He was married with the sister of Sharif Ibrahim, the court official (kharitadar i.e. keeper of paper and pens) and the governor of Hansi and Sarsati.225 During his stay at Delhi (about nine years) he retained a large number of slave girls too.226 Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had married some of foreign immigrants to his own relations or to the daughters of his ministers. Saifuddin, an Arab from Syria, was married to the Sultan’s sister.227 Azam Malik Bayazidi Bistami, who was married to the daughter of the Sultan’s sister, was entrusted the governorship of the iqta of Kara.228 The two sons of Qiwamuddin from Tirmuz whom the Sultan had honoured with the title of Khudawanzada were married to the daughters of the wazir, Khwaja Jahan.229 References regarding the intermarriages are available for the nobles under Lodi Sultans.230

The concern of the family life, nikah and talaq, is evident in the contemporary fatawa literature.231 Earliest reference of divorce is given by Minhaj. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aetigin, naib of Sultan Muizzuddin Bahram Shah, married the sister of the Sultan who was earlier divorced by the son of Qazi Nasiruddin.232 According to Amir Khusrau incompatibility or infertility led to separation of the couples by means

226 Ibn Battuta, Rehla, Introduction, p. LVI; During his stay at Maldives Island, Ibn Battuta married the daughter of wazir Sulaiman. Brief account of the marriage ceremony is also given by him. For details see, Gibb, Ibn Battuta, pp. 249-250.
230 Mushafai, Najat, pp. 7, 103; Eng. tr., pp. 6, 111; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 173.
231 In the related chapters Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania has discussed many problems related to divorce. Zafar-ul-Islam, op. cit., p. 96.
of divorce. Nizamuddin mentions that one of the daughters of Sultan Iltutmish was married to Prince Muhammad (muqta). Accidentally in a state of intoxication he divorced her by uttering the word talaq (divorce) three times. When he recovered from the influence of liquor, he felt deeply pained by what he had done. Legally he could not take her back to his harem unless she was married to someone else and then divorced by him. So, as there was no remedy except the ceremony of legalizing it again, the lady was married to Shaikh Sadruddin Arif, son of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya (a man of genuine piety). He promised to marry and divorce her the next day. But after consumption of the marriage, when the Shaikh was asked to divorce the lady again, she said to him that she had sought shelter in his house from that perfidious man and God would not allowed that she should again be made over to his tender mercies. So she was not prepared to be divorced. The Shaikh then said that he could not be less than a woman and did not divorce her. This incident led to the bitterness between the muqti and the Saint. Similarly, Shaikh Jamali quoted that Qadr Khan, governor of Multan in an excited state of mind divorced his wife. The Qazi advised him to allow the divorced wife to marry with a Suhrawardi saint to facilitate her restoration to him but the latter refused to divorce his new wife.

Ain-ul-Mulk Mahrul includes a very important document in his Insha-i-Mahru. It is an agreement to be executed by the Maliks, prominent Amirs and Khans, all the nobles, courtiers and officcrs of the state. The document declares an oath that whatever women any noble have (or wished to have as wife would be), without any pretext or interpretation of shariat, divorced from him and every time that a noble by pretence contracted defective marriage by decree of the gazi of the shafite sect, the nikah would not be valid. Every noble had accepted this condition and covenant.

The dowry seems to form an important item of marriage expenditure. When sipahsalar Ali Usman have accepted forty thousand tankahs by his newly married son, the saint Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri exclaimed and said to the sipahsalar that when his son would have a daughter then he will also fetched forty thousand tankahs. It was easy to marry in Maldives Island because of no dowry custom

236 Mahrul, Insha-i-Mahru, Letter No. 12, pp. 24-25.
there. During his stay at Maldives Island, Ibn Battuta married four times one by one. 238

F. Means of Conveyance:

During the Sultanate period, horses were the main means of transport. 239 Nobles also carried their loads on horses while oxen were used by the common people. 240 Nobles possess large number of horses of different breeds. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Madhu, in charge of the fort, had thirty horses of fine breeds. 241 Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi has one hundred and twenty horses in his paigah (stables) and once he presented all these horses to his officer Saddu Khan. 242 While Azam Humayun Sarwani had forty five thousand sawars and maintained separate stables for the horses of different colours and breeds. 243 Another Lodi noble is mentioned to have been granted annual allowance of one lakh tankahs for the purchase of horses. 244 The nobles also received horses from Sultan as gifts. Once Sultan Sikandar Lodi gifted one hundred horses to Mian Muhammad. 245 Besides horse, camels were also used by the nobles. 246 It is mentioned that possessing of few varieties of camels was the privilege of only Sultans and high ranked nobles, Khans, Amirs or wazirs. 247 Generally camels were used to carry their goods. 248

The other means of conveyance commonly used by the nobles under the Delhi Sultans was dula or decorated palanquin. Besides horses, camels and elephants, dula was used for short distance journey. 249 According to Ibn Battuta, the palanquins were

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239 Mir Khurd, Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 180; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 69, 82, 86, 97.
241 Barani, Tarikh, p. 554; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, p. 172.
242 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 84.
243 Ibid., p. 86.
244 Ibid., p. 70.
245 Ibid., p. 96.
246 Amir Khusrau, Ijaz-i-Khusravi, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 138; Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., p. 35; Auff, Tarikh, p. 173; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 82; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 60.
248 Ahmad Yudgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 24.
possessed by every person of status. The kahars (palanquin-bearers) were engaged by officers to carry them from place to place. It is also noticed that to cover long distance journey, nobles used palki that was dignified means of conveyance. Malik Chhajju was sent from the capital city to Multan by Sultan Jalauddin Khalji in a palanquin. Khusrau Khan was sent by the other nobles in a palki from Deogir to Delhi. Journeys were performed in a palki from Mabar to Delhi, Delhi to Lahore and from Patan to Delhi.

These palanquins of nobles were covered with rich trappings and were surrounded by retainers like horsemen, footmen, horn-blowers, torchbearers, musicians and servants. Drums were also beaten during the procession of a noble. Palanquins with curtains were also used to carry their ladies. Nobles like Tatar Khan (Tughlaqid noble) used covered palanquins for his slave girls and dola of harem ladies were covered with silk curtains.

Afif referred an ornamental carriage which was sent by Sultan Firoz Shah for Khwaja Jahan, while Malik Shamsuddin Damghani got a silver palanquin from Sultan Firoz Shah when he was appointed the governor of Gujarat. A very graphic

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250 Ibn Battuta, Travels, Vol. III, p. 740; Afif also mentions that the distance from Delhi to Firozabad was five kas. The means of conveyance were the human carriers. A regular service of carts, camels and horses shuttled daily between these two places at fixed hours. Kahars were available with doli. The fare of cart was four jital; of oxen six jital; of horses twelve jitals and of doli half tankahs. Tarikh, p. 136; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 59. Barani also mentions that for long distance journey kahars were commissioned. Tarikh, p. 400.

251 Barani, Tarikh, p. 184; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 60.

252 Barani, Tarikh, p. 184; Chawla, ‘Mode of Transport’, p. 257; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 61.


254 Isami, Futuh-us-Salatin, p. 469.


256 Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 137.


258 Barani, Tarikh, p. 542; Afif, Tarikh, p. 492; Amir Khusrau, Duwal Rani Khazir Khan, pp. 233-254; Isami, Futuh-us-Salatin, pp. 329-335; Ibn Battuta, Rehla, pp. 990, 122; Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 137; Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma (tr.), In the Bazaar of Love: The Selected Poetry of Amir Khusrau, Delhi, 2011, p. 111; Ashraf, Life and Conditions, pp. 208-209; Verma, op. cit., pp. 176-177; Tatar Khan Farnuli’s son was bringing his wife from his father-in-law’s house. On reaching the edge of the river they put the palanquin on board the boat. Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 53. He also mentions that a noble carried his lady in a tami (a chariot similar to tanga), Ibid., p. 24; Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 47, 49, 72; Nimitallah, Makhzan-i-Afghani, Eng. tr., (anecdotes from Waqiat), p. 148.


260 Afif, Tarikh, p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 62.

261 Yahyn, Tarikh, p. 132; Eng. tr. p. 139.
description of a palanquin sent by Makhmdum Jahan, Sultan's mother, is given by Ibn Battuta that the *dola* (palanquin) which resembles a cot had its roof made of braids of silk or cotton and on top of these there was a covered piece of wood made of bamboo. The palanquin is carried by eight men in two lots of four, who rest and carried it in turn. Usually the *kahars* (palanquin-bearers) used to carry it.\(^{262}\)

Boats as a means of transport were also used by the nobles.\(^{263}\) For the long distance journey via river boats were preferred by the nobles. When Minhaj set out for India passed through Ghazna and Multan and he reached Uchch in a boat.\(^{264}\) After reaching India, Ibn Battuta took a five day boat trip down the great river to the delta-port Lahiri in the company of governor Alau-ul-Mulk. He describes the governor's ship that had a separate cabin for the governor.\(^{265}\) Ferishta mentions that when Malik Mubarak Khan was intimated the advance of the army of Timur, he embarked with his family and treasures in two hundred boats prepared for the purpose and proceeded down the river.\(^{266}\) A Lodi noble, Nasir Khan Nuhani, after the completion of marriage ceremony went to his house with his newly wedded wife in a boat and thus palanquin was placed in the boat.\(^{267}\)

Thus, it may be concluded that nobles were in a position to live extravagantly because of their immense wealth. They resided near the royal palaces and built their houses on the pattern of the royal palaces. Some of them even lived in the rented houses. The architecture and the engineering skills have been mentioned, though meager, by Amir Khusrau and Ibn Battuta which tend us to believe that the noble's houses were double storied, well furnished, contained vaulted halls, *haus*, bathroom or privy, library, courtyard, threshold and portico with lofty pillars, painted walls and high doorways. They possessed palatial houses with all necessary comforts, costly and attractive furniture, carpets, gold and silver utensils.


\(^{266}\) Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 156.

\(^{267}\) Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 49; Eng. tr., p. 50.
They used to wear expensive dresses of silk, gold embroidered, brocaded and even sometimes studded with precious stones, jewels and pearls. Varieties of dishes were served to them on their dinning carpets. These dishes were served to them in a prescribed manner in gold, silver, glass and even in chinaware utensils. The harem institution and slave-girls as a part of noble’s household reveals the fact that the nobles maintained slave-girls in larger number. Because of these slave girls, harem expanded with their busy domestic life and enhanced house-hold establishment. Moreover, we find indication of polygamy, widow remarriage, docile husband, divorce and, above all, the practice of harsh dowry system prevalent among the nobles.