CHAPTER-VII

Literature, Science and Craft
The Sultanate nobility was not merely concerned with political affairs but were actively engaged in cultural activities providing meaningful patronage to the men of letters, thus contributed much in the field of literature, science and craft. Since the nobles were well-versed in different branches of sciences, they produce a wide range of literature in different languages: Persian, Arabic, Awadhi and Hindwi. These literatures may be classified into two categories:

a) Literature composed by the nobles, and
b) Literature produced under noble’s patronage.

A. LITERATURE:

a) Literature composed by the nobles:

Evidences over the literary activities of some prominent nobles during the Sultanate period. The foremost was Majd ul-Mulk Bahauddin al-Jamji who came to India during the reign of Qutbuddin Aibek. Once Sultan Qutbuddin elevated two nobles to the ministerial posts, Bahauddin al-Jamji composed offhand a couplet expressing his displeasure at their elevation but to no effect. Awfi praises his literary genius and generous nature that once an emigrant poet Hamid Qahanduzi came to him with a couplet in his praise expecting reward, but since al-Jamji had no money thus, he also composed the couplet that if he had come earlier he would have received a good amount for each line.¹

Next to him was Qazi Ruknuddin Samarqandi (d. 1218 A.D.), a scholar and a poet. Considering his scholarship, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji appointed him the Qazi of Lakhnauti. In Bengal, he developed contacts with the yogis (Hindu ascetics) and learned Sanskrit. Then, he translated into Persian a well known Sanskrit yoga work Amritkund to acquaint the Muslims with Indian branch of knowledge and named it Hauz-ul-Hayat. It seems that this work was also rendered by him in Arabic under the title Mirat-ul-Ma’ani fi Idrak-i Alam-i-Insani. Ruknuddin Samarqandi himself admitted that Bhoj, a local Brahman, assisted him in this project of

¹ Awfi, Jawamiul-Hikayat as quoted by Siddiqui, Perso-Arabic Sources, p. 6; Siddiqui (ed.), Medieval India, pp. 33-34.
translation. It was introducing work on yoga into Islamic literature.²

**Malik Tajuddin Reza**, a **dabir** of Sultan Iltutmish, was held by the elite of Delhi in high esteem for his learning, culture and excellent poetry.³ Probably, he was the first Persian poet of eminence who was born in India.⁴ Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Qawwas mentions him as Taj Dabir alias Reza and quoted his verses to explain the meanings of certain words.⁵ When the Caliph of Baghdad sent robe of honour to Sultan Iltutmish, Taj Rezah recited an eloquent *qasida* commemorating the occasion which was widely appreciated.⁶

He has composed verses on the conquest of Gwalior fort by Sultan Iltutmish which had been put as inscription on the gate of the fort. He also composed *qasidas* in praise of Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz and his wazir Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi.⁷ He seems to have died in an old age at the time of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud which is indicated by a couplet composed by him on the appointment of Shams Dabir as the *mustafig-i-mamalik* (auditor general of the Sultanate).⁸

**Shamsuddin Dabir** was a resident of Samana and was distinguished for his eloquence in poetry. In the beginning he was associated with the leading Chishti Saint Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakr. Deviating from the Chishti tradition, Shaikh Fariduddin permitted Shams Dabir, out of love to recite the *qasida* composed in his praise.⁹ He attained the rank of *Malik-ul-Kalam* (Lord of Eloquence) during the reign

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⁴ Qamaruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India*, p. 72.


⁶ He was born in Delhi and seems to have lived till the time of Balban but the peak period of his artistic achievement was the reign of Iltutmish and Razia. His *Diwan* doesn’t exist. But some of his verses were quoted by other historians. See Qawwas, *Farhang-i-Qawwas*, p. 297; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 517; R. M. Chopra, *The Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 2012, p. 48; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 37; Iqbal Hussain, *The Early Persian Poets of India*, Patna, 1937, p. 154.


of Sultan Nasiruddin. Amir Khusrau being a personal friend mentions him in his works and wrote a *gasida* in his praise.\(^{10}\)

**Minhaj-i-Siraj**, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, was appointed as the *qazi*, *khatib* (preacher), *muhtasib* (censor) and *Imam* of Gwalior and was put in charge of all religious affairs.\(^{11}\) Besides being a good author of excellent historical account *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, he was a religious orator as well as poet.\(^{12}\)

**Amid Loyaki**, being a scion of the Loyak clan of Afghanistan, was the scholar and poet of the reign of Sultan Balban, who conferred him the title *Fakhr-ul-Mulk*. He held high office in the government which he could not perform with efficiency and suffered disgrace on the charge of misappropriation.\(^{13}\) Amid stayed for sometime in the company of Prince Muhammad, son of Balban, whose court at Multan was famous for the assembly of literary men. He was known as *gasida nigar*, the difficult form of Persian verse replete with rhetorics.\(^{14}\)

**Maulana Ziauddin Sunnami** held the post of *muhtasib* (public censor) since the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji up to that of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Maulana Ziauddin Sunnami was a distinguished scholar of religious sciences, particularly *tafsir* and *fiqih*, and was regarded an undisputed authority.\(^{15}\) He wrote *Nisab ul-Ihtisab*, a treatise (related to *hisbah* i.e. censure of public morality) in Arabic

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\(^{13}\) Whereas Badaoni mentions him Amir Fakruddin Amid Luraki, a native of Sunnam, as the controller of all the states of Hindustan. Badaoni also quoted many of his *qasidas*. See *Muntakhb*, pp. 96-99; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 98, 138-141.


on nature and maintenance of public morals. In his work, divided into sixty four
chapters, he explained the significance and objectives of hisbah and discussed in
detail the duties of muhtasib which indicates that it was a guide manual for
muhtasibs. The reference of his work has been preserved in several judicial works
including Fatawa-i-Firozshahi of Firoz Shah Tughlaq and Fatawa-i-Hammadiah
compiled during the sixteenth century.

Maulana Raziuddin Hasan al-Saghani was a native of Badaon and started his
administrative career as naib-i-mushrif (deputy account officer) in Kol (Aligarh).
Malfaz literature refers to Maulana Raziuddin al-Saghani as the compiler of
Mashariq-ul-Anwar, a collection of hadith.

Contemporary malfaz literature mentions Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri, qazi of
Badaon, known for his piety and scholarship. He had compiled a book on fiqh entitled
Munafiq.

The name of a Jain scholar, Thakkura Pheru, mint officer of Sultan Alauddin
Khalji (treasurer of Khalji Sultans), stands out as a writer on a wide range of
scientific subjects and also a pioneer in popularizing science by writing in a simplified variety of Prakrit.

His known works are Kharataragaccha-yugapradhana-catuhpadhika,
Jyotisara, Dravyapariksha, Vastusara, Rayanapariksha, Dhatupatti and
Ganitasarakaumudi. Out of these seven works, five are dated.

16 Manuscript is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, MSS,
AMU, Sheftah 27.35; Nabi Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, pp. 640-641; Zafar-ul-
Islam, op. cit., p. 8.
18 Sijzi, Fawaid-ul-Fu‘ad, Lahore, 1966, pp. 103-105; Eng. tr., p. 229; M. G. Ahmad, The
Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, Allahabad, 1946, p. 250; Rashid, Society and Culture,
pp. 151, 162; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, p. 56; Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and
Politics, pp. 163-164.
19 Sijzi, Fawaid-ul-Fu‘ad, pp. 225, 236-237. In spite of his religious inclination, he could not escape the
criticism of his mystic friends. See Hamid Qalandar, Khair-ul-Majalis, p. 211; Eng. tr.,
20 This was a manuscript containing his seven works. A Jain saint Jina Vijaya Muni subsequently published it in 1961 under the title Thakkara-Pheru-viracita-Ramapariksadi-sapta-granitha-
samgraha in the Rajasthan Oriental Series from Jodhpur.
21 Bhandarkar mentioned it as Grihavastusara by Thakkura Pheru, son of the Parama-Jaina Chandra
of Sridhamkalasa family. Composed in 1372 (Samvat?) in Kamanapura. The work is in Prakrit.
See Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in
Rajputana and Central India in 1904-05 and 1905-06, Bombay, 1907, p. 38. An edition of
Vastusara with Hindi and Gujarati translation was published by Pt. Bhagwan Das Jain in the Jain-
Vividh-Granthmala, Jaipur, 1943.
Although it is not certain that when he entered into the royal services but he mentions that during the victorious reign of Alauddin, Khalji prior to 1315 A.D. and served many Delhi Sultans down to Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. After completion of Dravyapariksha, Thakkura Pheru occupied a high position in Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah’s mint at Delhi and became the mint-master.

**Dravyapariksha** (on assay and exchange of coins) is an important treatise written by Pheru on numismatics in 1318 A.D. It provides a continuous chronological list of the coin types minted in Delhi from its foundation under the Tomars to the early fourteenth century, distinguishing royal coinage on the basis not of the sectarian affinities of the issuer but of weight and precious metal content. Pheru himself mentions that he wrote this work on the basis of his direct experience of various types of coins while he was employed in the Delhi mint. The first part of this work deals mainly with techniques of refining gold and silver and of determining their fineness, thus provides the necessary technical background for currency exchange. The second part can be termed as a coin catalogue and is most valuable for the monetary history of the Delhi Sultanate. It contained the described name, provenance, weight, metal content and exchange value in terms of the Khalji currency, of some 260 types of coins issued by various kingdoms of north India in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

**Vastusara** (on architecture and iconography) was completed in 1315 A.D. and divided into three chapters. This treatise has probably served as a practical handbook.

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24 The earliest work *Catukpadika* was written in 1291, *Rayanapariksha, Jyotisara* and *Vastusara* in 1311 and *Dravyapariksha* in 1318.


for architects of Jaina temples in early Sultanate period. Pheru refrain therein to twenty five types of temples in this work and the architectural terms and designs show that the temple architecture of both Hindu and Jains was identical. Compilation of this work indicates that Hindu religious architecture was not neglected during the Sultanate period.

In Rayanapariksha (on gemology) Pheru has shown his practical experience of handling gems. He saw in Alauddin’s treasury a vast collection of gems. It gives a detailed description of the precious stones and of pearls with reference to their types, origin, size, colour including luster, qualities, mode of use, evaluation, medicinal value i.e. relief from snake bite, rejuvenation by taking powered stone with other medicines, units for weighing them are also given starting with rai and ending with taank.

A section of Dhatupatti (on metallurgy) on extraction of metals, though brief, is valuable for our understanding of medieval metal technology.

Zia Barani mentions Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqi, as the court historian of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He is said to have excelled in the skills of a secretary (dabiri) and in composition (insha). He elevated to the post of the Amir-i-Dad-i-Lashkar. He wrote Fathanama (Victory Records) in several volumes. Besides, he had written another historical account Tarikh-i-Alai but had not praised Sultan Alauddin Khalji.

Amir Khusrau in his Ijaz-i-Khusrawi mentions the literary excellence of Qazi Safi al-Din Buhair. He was a great scholar of his age in Islamic sciences, a genius

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and a profound scientist. He had composed a *qasida* in the art of *qalb al-lisanain* which was uncomparable in this art.\(^{35}\)

The author of *Basatin-ul-UNS*, Sadr-i-'Ala, Ahmad Hasan Abdusi entitled Taj (ul-Mulk) known as Ikhtisan was a noble of Ghiyas-uddin Tughlaq who accompanied him in his Lakhnauti expedition.\(^{36}\) He is generally mentioned to have composed *qasidas* on classical model.\(^{37}\) His monumental *Basatin-ul-UNS* has been considered a Hindu tale written in ornate Persian style containing matters of historical value.\(^{38}\) He joined the *Diwan-i-Insha* (post of *dabir*) at a very early age and accompanied Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in his eastward expedition in 1324 A.D. and wrote *Basatin-ul-UNS* after Tirhut expedition.\(^{39}\) He informs us that during his return journey a Hindu tale written in simple Indian language was brought to his knowledge which was the story of romance between the Prince of Ujjain and the Princess of Kashmir. Therefore, he decided to compose it in ornate Persian giving it a medieval Muslim style which he completed in 1325-26 A.D when he was only twenty-six years old.\(^{40}\) Bihamid Khani quoted the verses from *Basatin-ul-UNS* in his *Tarikh-i-Muhammad*.\(^{41}\) Ikhtisan was appointed to the post of *Dabir-i-Khass* during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and received the title of Taj (-ul-Mulk) from the Sultan.\(^{42}\)

The main characteristics of *Basatin-ul-UNS* are its floridity, rhetoricism, striking similes and metaphors, and subtle ingenuity. Though he was not a first ranking

\(^{35}\) *Qalb al-Lisanain* (shifting of two languages) is an art of writing which implies that if one goes through the writing from top to bottom, it is in Persian. Conversely, if the same is pursued from bottom to top it is Arabic. It is very rare art, very difficult to employ. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 74.


\(^{37}\) Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 182.


\(^{42}\) Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, p. 91.
poet, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq rewarded him sixty thousand Dinar-i-Muhammad (newly introduced gold coin) and sixty Arab and Tatar horses for one of his Qasida-i-Bahariya in praise of the Sultan. Qasidas mentioned in Basatin testifies the fact that at an early age of twenty six Ikhtisan was an accomplished scholar and a bilingual poet of Arabic and Persian and had acquired sufficient proficiency in Arabic prose and poetry. Some poems and qasidas of both the languages are quoted in it. His poems and qasidas were quoted by tazkira writers and Muhammad Bihamid Khani in his Tarikh which proves that Ikhtisan held the position of an established poet as well as a writer.

A work on lexicography, known as Dastur-ul-Afazil-fi-Lughat-il-Fazail (Manual of Scholarship in Vocabulary) was written by Rafi, the Hajib-ul-Khairat (Chamberlain of Charity works) at Delhi. During the transfer of capital he was forced to migrate from Delhi with hardships to Daulatabad the new capital. Before reaching Daulatabad, he stopped at Bir (a place between Khandwa and Itarsi) and was received by Malik Shamsuddin Jajniri, Minister Incharge of religious endowment, Sadr of Ustadabad (near Gulbarga). Shamsuddin Jajniri, as a Sadr, was impressed with the learning and sophistication of the author and took him to Ustadabad.

Rafi narrates the reason for the compilation of Dastur-ul-Afazil. In one of the meetings, the Sadr Shamsuddin points out the hurdles in acquiring knowledge owing to the lack of familiarity with the words and phrases, thus the verses of the poets of the classical age were difficult to understand. Thereupon, Rafi mentioned the
Farhangnama of Fakhr-ud-Daula-wal-Din Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi, alias Kamangar. But the Sadr remarked that since it is brief it cannot be helpful to the beginners. Encouraged by Shamsuddin Jajniri, Rafi started his work which could explain the difficult words of Persian for the use of migrants who came from Delhi to Daulatabad in Deccan. The work was compiled on the line of Farhang-i-Qawwas. Rafi's work was more detailed than the earlier lexicography, as he added some more important details. His work is in ornate Persian prose. He completed his work in 1344 A.D. and presented it to his patron Malik Shamsuddin. In compilation of Dastur-ul-Afazil, Rafi consulted various Diwans of classical poets as well as the dictionaries of different languages, such as Tazi (Arabic), Turki, Mughli, Pehlavi, Parsi, Afghani, Jahudi (Hebrew), Tarsai (Christian's), Nusrani and the dialect, spoken in the Hejaz and Transoxiana.

Another important literary personality amongst the Tughlaqid nobility was Malik Ain ul-Mulk, commonly known as Ain ul-Mulk Mahru. He was very competent and able amir. He was the statesman who figured in the list of important officers of the Tughlaqs. He served in Multan during Firoz Shah's period and was later appointed Mustaifi-i-Mamalik at the centre. Afif refers Ain-ul-Mulk as compiler of a number of works on different sciences, among them the most popular work was Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki commonly known as Insha-i-Mahru. It was the collection of letters which testifies his literary skill and is regarded as models of the Insha literature. It is worth noting that the works on practical letter writing formed part of the curriculum throughout the Sultanate period because it provided a model

50 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
51 Isami, Futuh-us-Salatin, Appendix-A, p. 924; Khan, History of Sadarat, p. 173.
52 Qawwas, Farhang-i-Qawwas, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Rampur, 1999.
53 Siddiqui, 'Historical Significance', pp. 82, 83-84; See also, Iden, 'Historical Significance of the Farhang Literature of Delhi Sultanate Period', Indo-iranica, Vol. XXXII, 1979, No. 3-4, pp. 14-20.
54 For details of sources, see, Rafi, Dastur-ul-Afazil, pp. 56-57.
55 His full name was 'Malik-ush-Sharq ul-Wuzara Ain-ul-Mulk Ain-ud-Daula Abdullah Mahru'. See, Mahru, Insha-i-Mahru, Letter no. 3; Nizami, Supplement, p. 64.
for official letter writing. The style of writing selected by Mahrū for inclusion in his Insha collection was direct and simple prose style that resembles in many ways the style developed in Persia under the Mongols.

In the preface of his Insha, Ain ul-Mulk narrates that he had been writing letters for some time on different occasions in his private and official capacities which cover a wide range of subjects. These letters were commended by some of his friends who wanted the copies of these letters to be preserved considering them as the models of epistolary branch of literature. Yielding to the demand of his friends, Ain ul-Mulk compiled a collection of those letters which was widely known as Insha-i-Mahrū or Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulkī. However, this work is a veritable source of information for the administrative and cultural history of the 14th century.

The Tughlaqīd noble, Tatar Khan (adopted son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq), was the governor of Zafarabad. He was a poet and used to compose verses. To cool down the temper of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, once he composed a verse and sent it to the Sultan. The Sultan praised these verses and called him back and honoured him with gifts.

Another prominent noble who was intelligent, able, accomplished writer as well as poet was Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija entitled Ziya ul-Mulk, the mustanfī-

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62 Barani, Tarikh, pp. 423, 428, 451, 454, 527; Affīf says that Tatar Khan was from a trust worthy Turkish race. Wife of the ruler of Khurasan gave birth to a child, when he invaded Dipalpur and Multan territories. Sultan Tughlaq pounced upon Khurasani troops and began a general slaughter. Khurasani army was defeated and fled away. The child was left behind in the cradle diving the flight. Army brought this child to the Sultan Tughlaq, who brought him up like his son and named him Tatar Malik. Cf. Tarikh, pp. 388-89; during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq Tatar Malik became a brave soldier and was assigned to the centre of the army. Cf. Affīf, Tarikh, p. 389; He was the muqti of Hissar Firozah. Cf. Ibid., p. 148; Tatar Khan was assigned the post of muqti of Somargaon during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. See, Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 133; Zafarabad was also assigned to him Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 130. See, Bihamid Kani, Tarikh, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Part I, p. 352, f. 397 b, Part II, p. 227, f. 417 a; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, p. 125; He also enjoyed one post of Shiqqadar of Multan to Ghazni. See, Yaliya, Tarikh, pp. 124, 127; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 231; Later he became the governor of Lahore and bore the title of Bahram Khan. See, Ishwari Prasad, Qaranul Turks, p. 151; Khan, History of Sadrat, p. 180.
63 Affīf, Tarikh, pp. 389, 390, 393; Eng. tr., p. 228.
64 Affīf, Tarikh, p. 390; Eng. tr., p. 219. For the details of Tatar Khan and his literary contributions, see Fazlela Shahnawaz, ‘A Critical Appraisal of Tatar Khan’s Literary Contributions’, Aspects of Indian History, N.R. Farooqi and S.Z.H. Jafri (cds), New Delhi, 2013, pp. 189-194.
mamalik, under Sultan Firoz Shah.\textsuperscript{65} He possessed excellent literary taste and composed \textit{qasidahs}. He proclaimed himself superior over Shaikh Sa’adi of Shiraz.\textsuperscript{66} Later historians Yahya Sirhindhi, Badaoni and Nizamuddin Ahmad had quoted his quatrain in their works.\textsuperscript{67}

A Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta, the then \textit{Qazi} of Delhi, wrote a long ode in praise of the Sultan and presented it to the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.\textsuperscript{68} He also wrote pungently about his observations of his visit to the Indian sub-continent.\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Rehla} of Ibn Battuta is a valuable document for understanding the ways of life in the fourteenth century Muslim world.\textsuperscript{70}

\textbf{Malik Qabul Qara Khan} compiled a legal digest for the guidance of \textit{Qazis}. It was titled as \textit{Fatawa-i-Qara Khani} by him. He was a jurist flourished in the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq.\textsuperscript{71}

\textbf{Amir Ikhtiyarud-Din} was a noble at the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He is acknowledged for his talents and interest in literature. Only two \textit{qasidas} composed by him in praise of a new palace built by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq have survived.\textsuperscript{72}

\textbf{Qazi Abid} was appointed as Qazi by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Besides his religious duties, he also used to compose verses. A fragment of his compositions which was the translation of an Arabic piece has survived. Badaoni quoted the verses composed by Qazi Abid.\textsuperscript{73} Badaoni mentions \textbf{Qazi Zahir Dihlavi} as the brilliant poet during the later days of Tughlaq dynasty. His patron was Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. He had left a \textit{Diwan} (anthology) full of \textit{qasidas} in eulogy of Sultan Mahmud. Badaoni had quoted some of his \textit{qasidas} and said that in truth after Qazi

\textsuperscript{65} Afif, \textit{Tarikh}, pp. 454, 497; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 268-269.


\textsuperscript{68} Ibn Battuta, \textit{Travels}, Vol. III, p. 750.

\textsuperscript{69} Nabi Hadi, \textit{History of Indo-Persian Literature}, p. 139.


\textsuperscript{72} Nabi Hadi, \textit{History of Indo-Persian Literature}, p. 180; Nazir Ahmad, ‘Three Little Known Persian Poets’, pp. 43-44.

\textsuperscript{73} He was the \textit{qazi} during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Badaoni, \textit{Muntakhah}, Vol. I, p. 257; Eng. tr., p. 341; Nabi Hadi, \textit{History of Indo-Persian Literature}, p. 183.
Zahir no poet arose in Hindustan whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading.74

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi served among the courtiers of Saiyyid Mubarak Shah d. 1433 A.D. He presented a book of history as token of gratitude to the Sultan. His work Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi encompasses the period down to his time.75

Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhuu was wazir of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He was fond of the company of scholars and learned men. He collected books even from Transoxiana related to various subjects and engaged calligraphists to transcribe them. He invited the scientists from Khurasan, Iraq, Transoxiana and Central Asia. His special interest was in the field of medicine, thus he selected books on medical science and compiled the Tibb-i-Sikandar Shahi76 which according to Mushtaqi was matchless in standard and value.77

Before the compilation of Ma’adan al-Shafa Sikandar Shahi he first sought royal permission. He narrates that the fulfillment of this life depends on the maintenance of good health and treatment of illness through ilm-i-tibb (science of medicine).78 However, in its compilation Mian Bhuu consulted various Sanskrit classics such as Ja Deskarat, Ras Ratnako, Suandghar and Chintama etc. He studied Sanskrit and acquainted himself with Indian medical system Ayurvedic to which he further synthesized with tibb-i-unani. The terms and the names of the medicines, plants and herbs were translated into Persian and, if the equivalent of any term was not found in the Persian language, it was written with its original name in the Persian script with necessary explanation. As a result of his experimental and statistical

75 Nabi Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, pp. 623-624.
76 Also known as Ma’adan al-Shafa Sikandar Shahi, published from Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.
labour this voluminous work has been completed in 1502 A.D.\textsuperscript{79}

b) Literature produced under Noble’s patronage:

Nobles under Delhi Sultans possessed power and wealth thus in quest of
learning they imitated the Sultans and extended their patronage to the scholars, poets
and intellectuals. The tradition of this literary patronage started from the Mamluk
nobles and continued till the reign of Lodi Sultans.

During the thirteenth century, Persian became the language of culture with the
growth of corpus of translations of the Arabic classics into Persian under the
patronage of Delhi Sultans and their nobles. Among the emigrant scholars of the
Shamsi court, the most important was Muayyid-i-Jajarmi Abul Ma’ali, who was
directed by Junaidi, wazir of Sultan, to use simple language in his translation of Al-
Ghazali’s work on religious sciences \textit{Ihya-ul-Ulam} in 648 A.H./1250 A.D.). Only
fragments of this translation are now available.\textsuperscript{80} In the introduction, Jajarmi
records that to fulfill the need of the emerging Persian-knowing intelligentsia in India wazir
of Sultan Ilutmish, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, instructed him to render \textit{Ihya-ul-Ulam}
into Persian. Thus, he started the diffusion of Islamic learning in the Sultanate of
Delhi. He praises his patron Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi for his benevolence and
munificence to scholars.\textsuperscript{81}

As for the style employed by Jajarmi in the text, it is largely free from the
metaphors, affection and poetical artifices but the introduction to the work is marked
by floridity.\textsuperscript{82}

Persian translation by Jajarmi soon gained popularity and became a standard
work and both Amir Khusrau and Barani paid tribute to Jajarmi for his scholarly
translation.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{79} Siddiqui, ‘Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua’, p. 40; Askari, ‘Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India’,
p. 173.

\textsuperscript{80} Majduddin Muayyid Jajarmi, Persian translation of Al-Ghazali’s \textit{Ihya-ul-Ulam}, British Museum,
322-323. Amir Khusrau praises this translation for the simplicity of its style. Amir Khusrau, \textit{Ifaz-
Literature}, p. 360; Siddiqui (ed.), \textit{Medieval India}, p. 83; Chopra, \textit{Rise, Growth and Decline of
Indo-Persian Literature}, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{81} Tarjuma \textit{Ihya-ul-Ulam-id-Dim} as quoted by Siddiqui, \textit{Delhi Sultanate}, p. 169; Idem, \textit{Perso-
Arabic Sources}, pp. 48-49.

\textsuperscript{82} Siddiqui, \textit{Delhi Sultanate}, p. 170.
Nizamu-ul-Mulk Junaidi is said to have patronized a large number of scholars and poets. He was the patron of Sadid-ud-din Mohammad al-Awfi. Awfi composed *Lubab-ul-Albab*, a *tazkira* of Persian poets and dedicated it to Ain-ul-Mulk Ashari, *wazir* of Qubacha. Other work compiled by him was an encyclopedia of knowledge divided into many chapters, *Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa Lawami ur-riwayat*. The work is dedicated to Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, *wazir* of Sultan Ilutmish.

Among other eminent poets, Amir Ruhani had composed charming *qasidas* in praise of his patron Malik Nizam ul-Mulk Junaidi’s love for learning. Badaoni quoted a few lines of the *qasida* composed by him. Tajuddin Bukhari had also composed a *qasida* in praise of his patron Malik Nizamuddin Junaidi which has survived in earlier *tazkira* (anthologies). Azzuddin Alawi was a poet of Sultan Balban’s reign and enjoyed the patronage of Malik Junaidi (grandson of Nizamuddin Junaidi). Earlier *tazkira* writers have preserved a number of his verses in their works.

The first patron of Amir Khusrau was Balban’s nephew Alauddin Kishli Khan, better known as Malik Chajju. Young and genious Khusrau was treated by Malik Chajju with great affection and generosity. Later he was patronized byughra Khan, governor of Bengal under Sultan Balban. Then he shifted his loyalty to

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83 Of the six writers, mentioned by Khusrau only two are those who had adopted India as their country. They were Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, the author of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* and Majid-ul-Mulk Jajarmi, the translator of *Ihya-ul-Ulum-id-Din*. His Persian prose, with its flow and gentle expression was emulated by new writers, particularly by the doctors of Law. See Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusraw*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57. Barani also includes this translation by Jajarmi in the list of the classics of Arabic and Persian that were discussed in the Jamat Khana of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and says that it was a good seller like the *Awrif-ul-arif*, the *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, the Risala-i-Qushairi of Abu Qasim Abdul Karim Qushair, the *Lawaih* and the *Lawaih of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri and Fawaid-ul-Fuad* of Amir Hasan Sijzi. See Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 346; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 83.


Prince Muhammad, eldest son of Sultan Balban, and went Multan along with him. Malik Amir Ali Sar-i-Jandar, muqti of Amroha and Awadh during the time of Balban, known as Hatim Khan on account of his generosity, took Khusrau in his services after the death of Prince Muhammad. Amir Khusrau composed a poem Asp-namah in his praise. Later Khusrau joined services at the royal court.

Shams Moin, a distinguished poet as well as a prose writer, enjoyed the patronage of the naib-i-mumalikat (regent) Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri (assassinated in 1254 A.D.) and served him as his nadeem-i-khaas (boon associate). According to Barani, Shams Moin was one of the celebrities of the age and compiled volumes on the life and achievements of his patron Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri. When Malik Alauddin, popularly known Malik Chajju (son of Sultan's younger brother Kishli Khan), was elevated to his father's post of barbak and given the iqta of Baran, Shams Moin got a fabulous reward from him for composing a qasida in praise of Malik. Shams Moin is reported to have approached the court singers and made them commit his qasida recite at the nauroz celebration. Malik Chajju gave the singers ten thousand tankahs while Shams Moin got a full stable of horses in reward. Barani also quotes the couplets of the qasida in his Tariikh.

Siraji Khurasani reached Delhi from Makran during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish and attained reputation as a poet. His Diwan in praise of the princes and nobles of the Delhi court shows that he enjoyed their patronage. He had composed a qasida in praise of his patron Malik Nizamul-Mulk Junaidi yielded important information about their achievements and noble qualities.

Kamal Karim Nagauri was the compiler of a Persian work on Fiqh known as Majmu-i-Khani. The work is dedicated to 'Ulugh Qutlgh-i-Azam Muazzam Bahram Khan' (1388 A.D.) who was the tutor of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the

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91 Barani, Tariikh, pp. 66-69.
92 Ibid., p. 118; Amir Khusrau, Duwul Roni Khazir Khan, p. 8; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 156; Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics, p. 156; Rekha Joshi, op. cit., p. 85.
93 Barani, Tariikh, p. 113; Siddiqui (ed.), Medieval India, pp. 52-53.
94 Barani, Tariikh, p. 113; Amir Khusrau, Wasi-ul-Hayah, ed. Fazal Ahmad, Bombay, 1308 A.H., pp. 68-69; Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics, p. 155; Siddiqui (ed.), Medieval India, pp. 53-57; Wahid Mirza said that each of the musicians got 10,000 tankahs. But according to Barani the Malik gave the singers 10,000 tankahs. Cf. Barani, Tariikh, pp. 113-114; Wahid Mirza, op. cit., p. 36.
governor of Daulatabad. The date of compilation has not been mentioned but the reference section seems to suggest that it was compiled during Tughlaq period. Regarding the compilation of this work on fiqh, Kamal Karim Nagauri says that although there were collection of works in Arabic but the common people found it difficult to use the Arabic books. So, the work Majmu-i-Khani written in Persian. He listed near about one hundred thirty one works on fiqh and fatawa to which he consulted in the compilation of Majmu-i-Khani.

Malik Tatar Khan, the leading noble under the Tughlaq Sultan, was known for his patronage extended in compilation of two famous works: Tafsir-i-Tatar Khani and Fatawa-i-Tutarakhani in about 1375 A.D.

Regarding Tafsir-i-TatarKhani, Afif says that Tatar Khan used to extend his patronage to the learned men. He organized a syndicate of writers (ulama) to prepare a tafsir (commentary) on Quran. For this purpose he had collected all the available commentaries on Quran and consulted all the Ulama of the Sultanate. So for every Quranic verse, several commentaries were collected and put together. In this compilation, he included different interpretations of various Ulama on delicate points. Thus, this work consisted of differences in the interpretations of the Quran within the orthodox (sunnit) creed. However, it was written by a board of Ulama on the instruction of Malik Tatar Khan which negates the view of the author of Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir who writes that Tafsir-i-Tatarkhani was written by Tatar Khan himself.

In view of K. A. Nizami, Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania was the greatest achievement

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96 Kamal Karim, Majmu-i-Khani, (MSS M.A. Library, A.M.U., 244.395 Shefah), ff. 2-3; Nizami, Supplement, p. 122; Zafar-ul-Islam, op. cit., p. 9; Nabi Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, pp. 292-293. For Qutlug Khan, see Barani, Tarikh, p. 481; Yahya, Tarikh, p. 106; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 117; Badaoni, Muntakhab, p. 231.
97 Majmu-i-Khani, MSS., M.A. Library, f. 3.
98 Ibid., ff. 3-4; Zafar-ul-Islam, op. cit., p. 10.
99 Nabi Hadi, History of Indo-Persian Literature, p. 140; Idem, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, pp. 594-595. These works were unknown to the scholars, until the introductory reference was given by Riyasat Ali Nadvi in his significant article, 'Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan aur Uski Yadgar ilmi Khidmat', in Ma'arif, Azamgarh, 1932, p. 96. According to him Tafsir-i-Tatarakhani and Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani were compiled with the same point of view. The Tafsir-i-Tatarakhani is a collection of all the previous Arabic works on tafsir.
101 Afif, Tarikh, p. 392; Nadvi, 'Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan', p. 96; Nabi Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, pp. 174-175.
of the Sultanate period on fiqh which surpassed all other works on Jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{103} The manuscripts of the work preserved in different libraries.\textsuperscript{104} Qazi Sajjad Husain edited the work which was published from Dairat-ul-Ma'arif al-Usmaniah, Hyderabad in 1984. This collection of fatwas was a great achievement of the time.\textsuperscript{105}

Regarding the compilation of Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi said that the work is dedicated to Tatar Khan by Maulana Alim Andapathi who was the noble of Sultan Alaeddin Khalji.\textsuperscript{106} In view of others it is as a study of comparative jurisprudence in thirty volumes with a digest of all the fatwa that had been issued under the previous Sultans of Delhi.\textsuperscript{107} On the other hand, the eighteenth century scholar says that it was originally called Zad-ul-Musafir and later ascribed to Tatar Khan and then called Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani.\textsuperscript{108} But, in fact, the Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania has been compiled by Maulana Alim bin Ala' al-Andapati (or Dehlavi, Andapati is called because Inderprast was the old name of Delhi), at the instance of Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan.\textsuperscript{109} It is quite impossible to believe that a single person could compile such a voluminous work consisting of thirty volumes. Thus, Asif's view is reasonably acceptable that a board of Ulama was called to compile the work and Maulana Alim would be the head of that board.\textsuperscript{110}

It is worth noting that the Tughlaqid noble like Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was much interested in the compilation of a work on fiqh, for which he had collected

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\textsuperscript{103} Nizami, \textit{Studies in Medieval Indian History}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{105} Asif, \textit{Tarih}, p. 392. K. A. Nizami quoting from Gulzar-i-Abhar mentions that this Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani was prepared at the instance of Sultan Firoz Shah as the Sultan was interested in fiqh. When Alim bin Ali compiled this famous work, Sultan wanted it to be dedicated to him but the compiler, in view of his indebtedness to Tatar Khan, declined to accede to the Sultan's wish. See \textit{Royalty}, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{107} Mahdi Husain, \textit{Tughluq Dynasty}, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.
\textsuperscript{110} Zafar-ul-Islam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 91. Similarly Fatawa-i-Alamgiri was compiled by the board of scholars headed by Shaikh Nizam during the reign of Aurangzeb.
various books on *fatawa* available at Delhi. Different views and interpretations of the Muftis were freely incorporated within this work and the differences of opinions expressed by various *muftis* were referred along with their names.\textsuperscript{111} The statement of the compiler that he had arranged its chapters on the pattern of *al-Hidayat* shows that it was the main work took up by the compiler.\textsuperscript{112} It further sheds light on the availability of the religious treatises in India during the Tughlaq period.\textsuperscript{113} Thus, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani* is significant because of its contents, which covers such contemporary social and religious issues as the prayers, fosterage, divorce, maintenance, manumission of slaves, oaths, international relations, fixed punishments, apostates, absconding slaves, missing persons, partnership and endowment.\textsuperscript{114}

Azizud-Din bin Abdullah, popularly known as Mutahhar of Kara, was a known poet during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah. He arrived from Iran and was posted as qazi of Kara (near Allahabad) by the Sultan. Most of the *qasidas* composed by him were in praise of Sultan Firoz Shah and his successor Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah.\textsuperscript{115}

Ain-ul-Mulk has extended his patronage to the poet Mutahhar of Kara\textsuperscript{116} but Mutahhar himself has not mentioned the name of his patron in his *Diwan*.\textsuperscript{117} However, a large number of *qasidas* in praise of Ain-ul-Mulk indirectly suggests that the poet was patronized by this noble.\textsuperscript{118} Besides him, Mutahhar also wrote a number of *qasidas* in praise of Malik Husamuddin and Karimuddin, sons of Ain-ul-Mulk.\textsuperscript{119} Once he received a village and a horse in *inam* from Ain-ul-Mulk which is a further testimony of his patron.\textsuperscript{120}

According to Badaoni he had composed about fifteen or sixteen thousand


\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., p. 14; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 78; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 32.

\textsuperscript{120} Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, part II, p. 14.
verses but he regarded Mutahhar more a 'mulla' than a 'poet' because he did not find something good in his work. While Bihamid Khani called him the Khatm-ush-Shura (the last of the great poets) and a favourite of the Sultan as every year he recited beautiful qasidas in praise of Sultan at his court and received awards and favours.

Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, the wazir of Firoz Shah Tughlaq was a great patron of learning. Maulana Daud of Dalmau compiled his famous Hindi masnavi Chandayan under his patronage. Badaoni praises Chandayan in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. He completed this work in 1373 A.D. during the reign of Firoz Shah at Dalmau when Malik Mubarak son of Malik Bayo was the chief of the town. He dedicated his work to Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah as is evident in Chandayan when he used the term khond resembling the Persian term khawind for Khan-i-Jahan. It shows that Khan-i-Jahan was the patron of Maulana Daud.

Masnavi of Maulana Daud continued to attract the attention till the reign of Akbar. Badaoni writes that there is no need for him to praise it because of its great fame in the country. Mahkhum Shaikh Taqi-ud-Din Waiz Rabbani used to read occasionally some verses of it from the pulpit or member. When certain learned men of the time asked the Shaikh the reason of choosing the Hindi masnavi, he replied that the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers and comfortable to the interpretation of some of the ayats (verses) of the Quran. However, Chandayan is a long poem in early Awadhi

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122 Bihamid Khani, Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, Eng. tr., p. 23.
123 Several MSS at Bhopal, Maner, Kala Bhavan, Bikaner and Shilma are found. These are edited by Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, K.M. Institute, Agra, 1962; Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1967; Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Bombay, 1964.
129 Jauhari, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246.
script and the manuscript fragments dating from mid 16th century have been found to transcribe Awadhi in Perso-Arabic script.

In patronizing the literary personages, the name of Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija is much significant. Under his patronage a Persian work on music, Ghunyat-ul-Munya (Pleasure of Desire), was completed. It is an earliest testimony of the Indo-Persian aristocratic patronage to Indian music during the medieval period. In the preface, the anonymous author records the name of Sultan Firoz Shah and his noble Malik Shamsuddin Ibrahim Hasan Abu Rija, the then governor of Gujarat, at whose instance he composed the work Ghunyat-ul-Munya. The author praised his patron Abu Rija for his literary taste and support to the scholars.

Explaining the reason of compilation of this work on music, the author records that his patron Abu Rija, to ease the pressure of administrative work, found relief in listening Persian sama and Hindi sarod. His companions sometimes enquired from him the meanings of the complex verses which he used to explain in detail with great elegance. Thus, Abu Rija asked the author to compile a work on the intricacies of music and for that purpose, brought together the group of singers and musicians, a large number of experts of the Hindi language, players of different musical instruments and exponents of various forms of music. The author further consulted numerous Indian books on music such as: Bharata, Sangit-Ratnakara, Sangit-Ratnavali, Sangit-Binod, Sangit-Mudra, Satanak and Raga Avarna. In this work, the author confines himself to an exposition of Indian Music, for he had discussed the Arabo-Persian musical system in a book already written by him on the basis of an Arabic work named Farid-ul-Zaman-fil-Ma'arefati-Ilham (Unique of the age regarding knowledge of melodic modes). The Ghunyat-ul-Munya deals with

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131 Sujit Mukherjee, A Dictionary of Indian Literature, (One) (Beginnings – 1850), Orient Longman, p. 68. The story was popular enough to be translated into Magadhi, Maithili and Bangla languages.


133 Anonymous, Ghunyat-ul-Munya, p. 3; Nizami, Supplement, p. 130; Nabi Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, p. 207.


137 Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 109.
(theory), amal (practice) and adab (etiquette) of Indian art, music and dance.

Thus, Ghunyat-ul-Munya is not only a known earliest Persian work on music that gives information about musical theory but also a significant work of cultural history. It reveals the prevalence of the popular Sanskrit works on music, musical instruments and musical forms in the ruling circle of the 14th century. Thus, the work is the evidence of musical assemblies at the royal court where music and dance were essential. In spite of the religious prohibition, the Sultans, the nobles and saints cultivated a good taste for music.

Mian Bhua, intellectual wazir of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, seems to have patronized the scholars to take important Sanskrit works and translate them into Persian. Similarly Umar bin Yahya al-Kabuli who was under the service of Mian Bhua was encouraged by him to compile a voluminous work on classical Indian Music which is known as Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi entirely based on Sanskrit sources.

Umar bin Yahya was an Afghan had mastered himself in Sanskrit language and utilized old Sanskrit works in compilation of Lahjat. The preface of the work shed light on the literary taste and passion of Mian Bhua for the knowledge of different sciences and arts. Umar Yahya consulted so many Indian works such as Sangit Ratnakar, Sangit Sangarah, Ud Bharat, Sudha Nidhi, Sangit Samassaya, Sangit Kalpataro and Sangit Matanga. After years of systematic researches, he brought out Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi on musicology containing seven chapters in about 1514 A.D.

It is worth-mentioning that both these works deal with the two prohibited pleasures i.e. music and dance, and displayed the author’s command over the subjects. The authors of musicological treatises not only translated the Sanskrit works

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139 A manuscript is preserved in Lucknow University Library and the other is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh (MSS. AMU. Univ. 288). Umar bin Yahya al-Kabuli, Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi, ed. Shahab Sarmadee, New Delhi, 1999.
into Persian rather frequently added pertinent comments on certain musical feature.\(^{142}\)

A dictionary, Majma-ul-Ajam, has been compiled by Shihab Abdusi Asim under the patronage of Dawud Khan, an Afghan noble of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. The work was completed in 1493 A.D. and dedicated to the patron Dawud Khan.\(^{143}\)

### B. SCIENCE AND CRAFT:

The learned men of Central Asia and far flung regions came to Delhi and showed their utmost interest in religious and secular sciences especially in the science of astronomy and astrology. In view of Afif astronomy was one of the fourteen known sciences of the time.\(^{144}\) Although the pursuit of astronomy was condemned by the orthodox Ulemas but Amir Khusrau considered nothing short of blasphemy in the practice of astronomy. Being a rationalist theologian, Minhaj was also free from such influences and considered the study of astronomy a cultural pursuit.\(^{145}\)

The astronomers and astrologers from both the communities i.e. Hindu and Muslim were patronized by the nobles under Delhi Sultans following the Indian tradition. Amir Khusrau took interest in astronomy and astrology. His interest in the subject seems to have encouraged him to gain familiarity with the achievements made by Hindus in scientific fields.\(^{146}\) Thakkura Pheru, mint master of Sultan Alaeddin Khalji, wrote Jyotitsara, a manual on astronomy and astrology in 1315 A.D.\(^{147}\)

Very little information is available regarding the interest of Saiyyid Sultans and their nobles in the science of astronomy and astrology. Although no work on astronomy during the Lodi period has yet come to light but evidences support the patronage extended to astronomers and astrologers by the Lodi Sultans and their nobles.\(^{148}\)

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\(^{143}\) The manuscript of the work is preserved in British Museum London. Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 95.

\(^{144}\) Afif, *Tariikh*, p. 258; Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 331-332; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 86.


Information evinced noble's interest in creative astronomy. Siraji Khurasani mentions the astrolabe in one of his *qasida* composed in praise of Ziauddin Muhammad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi.\textsuperscript{149} Mutahhar extolled in a *qasida* the patronage extended by Malik Ain-ul-Mulk Mahr to the men of talent, subtleties of poetry and music and the calendar and astrolabe.\textsuperscript{150}

One of the senior Lodi noble, Daulat Khan Lodi, *muqta* of Lahore, was deeply interested in the subject and promoted study and research in it by reserving a place for experiments in his own palace. He had got placed a *kursi* (astrolabe) with a wooden rod for calculating the correct time. He posted skilled men to maintain records of the shadow of the rod on the *kursi* and engraved it on the astrolabe. On the basis of shadow and changing position they came to know the passage of time. However, the most expert astronomers of the time were engaged to carry out the process.\textsuperscript{151} Another noble Mian Sulaiman Farmuli also had a rod fixed on *kursi* (astrolabe) at his palace for calculating the time.\textsuperscript{152}

The Sultanate nobles were known for their inventions. Mian Taha Farmuli and Mian Maruf Farmuli were experts in alchemy, made gold and silver, though Khwaja Shaikh Said Farmuli had taken an oath from Mian Taha that he would not practice alchemy. Mian Taha was well-adept in arts of calligraphy and inscribing and cutting paper and cloth.\textsuperscript{153} He had technical mastery in ivory works and had made a sheet of paper from the ivory which neither break nor developed crease marks even when folded and unfolded many times. He had also invented a flag from ivory with same characteristics. This flag was whiter than the flag of cloth. He had also invented another flag from *laaq* (gun-material/extracted from wood of a tree) which was also not broken or stuck. He also invented a cap of ivory for Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He uniquely invented an ornament for the wife of Ahmad Khan, son of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. He carved out a *khobni* (ear-ring) of ivory resembling the bud of water-lily and inserted a black bee made of ebony inside the bud. Whenever she worn this ear-ring, it remained in the form of a bud but as soon she moved her head, it opened into


\textsuperscript{150} Mutahhar, *Diwan*, p. 24; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 128.


\textsuperscript{153} Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 181, 183; Eng. tr., pp. 198, 200.
flower and the bee came out and began to fly near her eyes. When she stopped moving her head, the bee went back and the flower got closed up. Contemporary sources record that Mian Taha made an artificial pearl that has the same lustre as the original one. Sultan Sikandar Lodi estimated its value at thirty lakh tankahs, although it was made of mica and was much cheaper.

C. LIBRARIES:

As for personal libraries, Minhaj incidentally refers to the collection of books by Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlugh, the muqti of Baran who showed him two chests of books at Gwalior. Likewise, Amir Khusrau witnessed a library (kitab-khana) of a noble equipped and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions. Amir Khusrau had himself possessed a rich library as the references to innumerable books bearing on different subjects in his epistles contained in his Ifaz-i-Khusravi. Furthermore the works composed and compiled during this period itself shed light on the huge collection of books by the nobles Rafi Maruf, Hajib-i-Khairat who compiled Dastur-ul-Afazil under the patronage of Shamsuddin Muhammad, the provincial Sadr of khitta-i-Ustadabad (Gogi in Telingana) mentioned various Persian classics utilized by him. In this compilation, Rafi Maruf found all needed works in the library, such as the diwans of poets, dictionaries of different languages: Tazi (Arabic), Turki, Mughli (Mongol language), Pehlavi (ancient Persian), Afghani, Hebrew and the Hijazi (Arabic) and Transoxiana, which show the richness of the personal collection. Similarly Tatar Khan had a large collection of books at the time of the compilation of Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania and Tafsir-i-Tatarkhania. A library was even possessed by a sub-ordinate official of Mian Zainuddin, muqti of Badaon, during the period of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Likewise, the library of Ghazi Khan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi.

To conclude, nobles under the Delhi Sultans not only showed their interest in religious sciences but also in secular sciences. Besides, they were known for their innovations in the field of art and crafts, science and technology as well. Further from the perusal of these literary contributions of the Sultanate nobility it is clear that not only the study of Persian and Arabic but also of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Awadhi and Hindavi was encouraged. On account of the literary activities of the nobles of Delhi Sultans and their patronage to poets and scholars, significant works on different subjects were produced. The subjects chosen by these nobles and their patronized scholars were Indian tales, *masnavis, qasidas* (Panegyric), history, *farhang* literature (Lexicographical work), *insha* (letter writing), *fiqh* (Religious literature) *tafsir* (Commentary on Quran), *fatawa* (Muslim Jurisprudence), *tibb* (medicine), astronomy and astrology, mathematics, gemology, mining and metallurgy, numismatics and music which itself a strong testimony of their varied contributions. Thus, the nobles of the Sultanate period not only patronized the art, literature and music but were also the innovators in the field of science, technology and crafts.