

REVISITING THE DELHI SULTANS IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR PATRONAGE TOWARDS LEARNING AND EDUCATION

To some, the Delhi Sultanate may be considered trivial in comparison to the world famous Great Mughals that succeeded it. But the Delhi Sultans proved great patrons to culture and education. Through their monetary generosity, they endorsed the progression of knowledge. They ardently honoured scholars and litterateurs and so, warmly welcomed the erudite who fled the Central Asian regions. After the decline of Baghdad, Samarkand and Bukhara, Delhi rose as a seat of eminence and an epicenter of learning. And none but the Delhi Sultans are to be credited. In this article the benefaction provided by the Sultans of Delhi to Muslim education and educationists is discussed in detail, as well as a description of selected scholarly men and their works is made.

Mahmud of Ghaznah's (ruling reign 997-1030 A.D.) successful Indian campaigns brought western Punjab under Islamic rule.¹ This marked the first direct Muslim cultural and educational influence of a ruler, on India. He had a learned predisposition and brought back libraries to Ghaznah from Ray and Isfahan. He was a magnificent patron of the arts and his court was regularly visited by four hundred poets.² The author of *Tarikh-I Guzida*, Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, states that,

*He was a friend of learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, in so much that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 dinars.*³

Mahmud of Ghaznah encouraged scholars, poets and literary men to immigrate into and decorate his capital.⁴ The

Sultan's court had a consortium of stars namely the Arab Historian Al-Utbi.⁵ The renowned poets in his court included Unsuri, Ghadairi, Farrukhi, Asjadi, Manuchiri and Firdousy who composed the *Shahnama Islam*.⁶ Unsuri was his Poet Laureate who presided over the other poets.⁷ Allama Abu Rihan Al-Biruni, the greatest genius of the age, was also a part of the Ghaznah court. He wrote two of his celebrated books *Qanon-e-Masudi* and *Tarikh-ul-Hind* in this period,⁸ completing them in the period of Masud of Ghaznah.

Sultan Mahmud founded a university in Ghaznah as well, that contained an enormous collection of books in various languages and had an attached museum. He appointed an appropriate sum of money for the students to instruct them in sciences and arts, besides an adequate fund to sustain the university.⁹

Along with Ghaznah, for nearly two centuries from the tenth to the twelfth, Lahore marked the definite stage at which Muslim learning flourished on Indian soil. The definite literary predilections of the Sultans of Ghazna and the application of the resources of the state to the promotion of learning benefited Lahore, and it rose as a seat of learning.¹⁰ Sultan Mahmud and his successor Masud of Ghaznah were thus the pioneering Muslim rulers of India to make efforts of developing a literary environment in their Sultanate. Their contacts with the Abbasids influenced Arabic literature and learning in the region.¹¹ The literary styles and patterns set in their period would be popularised under succeeding Sultans.

The successors of the Ghaznavids were the Ghorids, and they inherited the tradition of knowledge from the former. Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori (1171-1206 A. D.) after his conquest, began establishing mosques and colleges in Ajmer¹². He paid great attention to the learned men around him.¹³ Muhammad Ghori took pleasure in educating his Turkish slaves in the best possible manner and raised them to the highest merit possible.¹⁴ Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was one of these fortunate slaves. In his childhood, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was brought from Turkistan to

Nyshapur and sold by a merchant to Qazi Fakhr-ud-Din bin Abdul Aziz Kufi.¹⁵ Qazi Fakhr-ud-Din, who belonged to Imam Abu Hanifa's lineage and was prominent for his academic abilities, gave Qutb-ud-Din his initial education.¹⁶ In his youth he was purchased by Sultan Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori.¹⁷ Under the supervision of his master he was appointed the chief commander of the royal army, to look-over the Sultan's conquests in India 1191 A.D. He remained at this post till the death of his master Muhammad Ghori in 1206 A.D.

The Delhi Sultanate marks a new chapter in the political, educational, social and cultural history of the subcontinent, and it began with the establishment of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din's reign. As an independent ruler Qutb-ud-Din reign lasted for four years stretching from 1206-1210 A.D.¹⁸ As a monarch, he held a cultured court and a society of educated men. He was a patron of letters.¹⁹ He respected ulema and learned men to the greatest degree.²⁰ Qutb-ud-Din took over the throne in Lahore,²¹ and remained retired there for a prolonged time due to his ongoing battle with Taaj-ud-Din Yalduz.²² The Sultan's love for education resulted in Lahore becoming a central city for noble, learned and religious men. His benefaction resulted in the city becoming ripe with scholars and Islamic clerics. Hasan Nizami narrates that such was the standard of Lahore that ninety out of every hundred people in the city, were scholars.²³ He spent his scanty free time snatched from the conduct of arduous campaigns in the company of men of learning and distinction. His generosity to poets and litterateurs earned him the title of '*Lakh-bakhsh*'.²⁴

One of the prominent learned men of that time was Hasan Nizami Nishapuri who had great command over Literature, History, Arabic and *Serat*. He completed his education in Nishapur,²⁵ but due to the unstable political condition of Nishapur he came to Delhi during the reign of Qutb-ud-Din. Upon the request of the Sultan he wrote a history of his reign and dedicated it to him. It was entitled '*Tāj al-Maâsir*',²⁶ which is the first documented Islamic history of the subcontinent. It recorded the years 1191-1217 A.D.²⁷

Forthcoming historians of *Tabakat-I-Akbari*, *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, *Ain-e-Akbari*, *Tarikh-e-Ferishta* took advantage of and consulted *Tâj al-Maâsir*.

Muhammad bin Mansoor bin Syed Mubarak Shah commonly known as *Fukhar-e-Mudabir* wrote his book *Silsila-ul-Insaab or Behr-ul-Insaab* and presented it to Qutb-ud-Din Aibak. This book contained one hundred and thirty six *shujrey* from the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)'s time to the authors. The author studied one thousand books to write his work.²⁸ His other work on history is the *Tarikh-e-Fukhr-ud-Din MubarakShah*. It details the era of Qutb-ud-Din. He also wrote a book in Iltutmush's era and dedicated it to him. Its name was *Adaab-ul-Hurb*.²⁹

Another scholar of this period was Imam Ruzi-ud-Din Al-Hassan Saghani, the author of the much acclaimed book *Mushariq-ul-Anwar*. His father came to the sub-continent from Saghan. He was born in Lahore wherein he got his early education from his father. Qutb-ud-Din recognizing his intellectual and academic capabilities offered him the position of 'The *Qazi* of Lahore'. Imam Ruzi-ud-Din turned down this proposal and instead went to other places such as Iraq, Makkah and Baghdad to further pursue knowledge.³⁰ Qazi Hamid-ud-Din Iftikhar Ali bin Umar al-Mahmudi and Maulana Baha-ud-Din Ushi were also individuals who added to the décor of the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din's court.³¹ According to *Tabakat-e-Nasri*, Bukhtiyar Khalaji's conquest of Bengal resulted in many mosques, madrassas and khankahs being built there.³² The *qazis* and *ulema* also benefited from this trend. Sultan Qutb-ud-Din founded the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque in Delhi in 1191 A.D. to mark the city's capture.³³ Ibn Battuta mentions and describes this mosque in his travels.³⁴ Another mosque, the Arai-Dhin ka Jhompra was established in the year 1200 A.D. at Ajmer by the Sultan. It was later beautified by Sultan Iltutmish.³⁵

Qutb-ud-Din's son in law, Nasiruddin Qabacha, another Turkish slave of Muhammad Ghori,³⁶ ruled over Uch, Multan and the surrounding areas from 1203-1228 A.D. first as a

governor and later as a Ruler.³⁷ Multan at this time was a vibrant centre of learning, education, religion and culture. According to the author of *Siyar-ul-Aulia*, in this era Multan was considered the 'Qubat-ul-Islam' (Islamic center) of the 'Alam' (region) and many eminent scholars were gathered there.³⁸

Nasiruddin Qabacha and Sultan Iltutmish were political rivals, which is why it was Nasiruddin Qabacha's desire to promote only Multan culturally and religiously in comparison to the Delhi Sultanate. Nasiruddin Qabacha's court lasted for twenty two years and during this time besides the local/indigenous scholars and *sufi* saints, literary geniuses, poets and scholars from Central Asia also clustered into his court and made it a heaven for cultural and educational activities. According to the author of *Tabakat-i-Nasri*,

*...during the calamities of the infidels of China, a great number of men from Khurasan, Ghaur and Ghaznin presented themselves before him, (Nasiruddin Qabacha) and he bestowed upon the whole of them ample presents and provided liberally for them.*³⁹

Mohammad Ufi commented in detail about the numerous poets and contemporaries in Qabacha's court.⁴⁰

The erudite people affiliated with Nasiruddin Qabacha's court were Fazl-e-Multani, Shums-ud-Din Muhammad Bulkhi, Zia-ud-Din Sunjhari also Minhaj-ud-Din Siraaj the author of *Tabakat-e-Nasiri* and Sadeed-ud-Din Muhammad Ufi.⁴¹ Muhammad Ufi was the most renowned literary genius of the lot. He was the author of two greatly acclaimed books:

1) *Lubab-ul-Albab*: It was the first or most olden book written on Persian poets, giving an introductory and critical review of them. Being one of the only few books on Persian poets, it has immense importance even today. Muhammad Ufi dedicated his book to Nasiruddin Qabacha's vizier Ain-ul-Mulk Hussain al-Ashari.⁴²

2) *Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa Lawami-ur-Riwayat*: It is greatly renowned in Persian literature. This immense collection of stories was written on the request of Nasiruddin Qabacha, but it was completed only after the death of Nasiruddin Qabacha. He dedicated the book to Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish.⁴³

Another significant History book of this era '*Chuchnama*' was also translated from Arabic to Persian by Mohammad bin Ali bin Hammid bin Abi Bukkar Kufi in Qabacha's reign and dedicated to his vizier Ain-ul-Mulk.⁴⁴

In this era Uch, Multan and Thatta were the seats of learning. Education was imparted by scholars and Muslim divines (*sufis*) in shrines, mosques and the personal madrassas of scholars. The two major governmental madrassas that are mentioned include one as Madrasaa-e-Ferozi. Minhaaj-ud-Din Siraj attended the court of Nasiruddin Qabacha in 1227 A.D., where the control of this madrasa was handed over to him.⁴⁵ Apart from this another madrasa was the one established by Nasiruddin Qabacha when Qutb-ud-Din Kashani migrated from Mavra-ul-Nahar to Multan.⁴⁶ Nasiruddin Qabacha defeat at the hands of Iltutmish⁴⁷ diminished the scholarly status of the seats of learning of Multan and Uch.

Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.D.) reigned for twenty six years and was a real consolidator of the Sultanate. Termed the greatest sovereign of the early Turkish empire of India, he excelled all other Delhi Sultans with his intelligence and excellence as a ruler. He was a patron of the learned.⁴⁸ His court in grandeur and finery brought back memories of the courts of Mahmudi and Sanjani, possessing immense repute and prestige.⁴⁹ **There were three types of religious congregations held in his court: sermons, religious debates and *zikh* gatherings. Normally he heard sermons thrice a week but in Ramadan he frequented them to once every day.**⁵⁰

Iltutmish's profound generosity is displayed by his tremendous effort to gather holy men and scholars in his court at Delhi. He would spend ten million each year on them.⁵¹ He

showed deep respect and utmost faith to them. He particularly held mystics and *sufi* saints in high regard.⁵² Whenever he would hear about the arrival of a saint from Central Asia, he would make an effort to welcome him personally. On an occasion Sheikh Badr-ud-Din Ghaznah went to Sultan Iltutmish's residence, and was received at the palace door by the Sultan. In the same warm way he received Qutb-ud-Din Kashani.⁵³ He cordially welcomed Sheikh Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki on his coming to Delhi and he went out quite a distance to receive the *sufi* saints Baha-ud-din Zakariyya and Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi.⁵⁴ He would reverently address Sheikh Najeeb-ud-Din Nakhbandi as 'Father'.⁵⁵

Changez Khan's invasions led to a migration of many religious men, *sufis*, *ulema* and many elite into Northern India⁵⁶ Iltutmish's court transformed into an asylum for the learned who were driven from their homes by the Mongols and gathered lustre from the new-comers.⁵⁷ Giving an account of these proceedings in Iltutmish's era, the author of *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* narrates that people from all over the world gathered at Delhi, the capital, the centre of Islam and the government of India.⁵⁸ He further states,

*The misfortunes caused by the infidel Mughals, made the capital - the asylum of the universe- of that sovereign their asylum, refuge, resting place, and point of safety; and, up to the present day, those same rules are observed and remain unchanged.*⁵⁹

The traditions of these learned men became deeply rooted in the Indian society.⁶⁰ Iltutmish not only welcomed these scholarly and erudite men but also brought in foreign books of high learning into India. He acquired books from Baghdad for his sons like *Adaab-ul-Salateen* and *Maasr-ul-Salateen*.⁶¹ Sultan Iltutmish in his era also patronized the penning and translation of many books. Muhammad Ufi completed his famous book *Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa Lawami-ur-riwayat* in Iltutmish's reign and dedicated to him.⁶² Fakhri Mudbar dedicated his book *Adab-ul-Hurb* to Sultan Iltutmish.⁶³ Muhammad Jajarmi translated

Imam Ghazali's famous book on religious sciences '*Ihyâ-ul-Ulûm*' into Persian and dedicated it to Sultan Iltutmish.⁶⁴ Sultan Iltutmish's vizier Nizam ul-Mulk Junadi had asked Jajarmi to translate the book in order to spread Islamic learning in the region.⁶⁵

Khawaja Abu Nasr Nasri, Amir Roohani and Tajuddin Rezah were poets of distinguished merit who belonged to the Sultan's period. Taj-ud-Din Rehza, the *Dabir-I-Khas*, was a man of high calibre and talent in the sphere of old Persian poetry. He was an indigenous gem of the subcontinent as he was born and educated in India.⁶⁶ He mirrors the refinement of education imparted in the subcontinent. Iltutmish's vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Qawaam-ud-Din Muhammad Junaidi was a man of scholarly disposition and his court, like the Sultan's, was a haven for literary geniuses, scholars and poets, among which writers of the calibre of the aforementioned Taj-ud-Din Rehza were present.

Sultan Iltutmish being of a scholarly disposition established numerous madrassas. He established a madrasa at Delhi called Madrasa-e-Muizzi⁶⁷ named after Muizzuddin Mohammad Ghori. A madrasa of the same name was founded at Badaun which was a centre of Muslim learning in Northern India.⁶⁸ Iltutmish built another madrasa at Delhi which was later repaired by Firoz Shah Tughluq and furnished with sandal wood doors.⁶⁹ During this era another madrasa of renowned magnificence and grandeur existed, called Nasiriyya, which was named after Prince Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud. In various periods Minhaj-us-Siraj, the celebrated author of *Tabakat-e-Nasiri*, was appointed the principal of this madrasa.⁷⁰ Mosque building had also become a trend by this period. Stipends were provided by Sultans, officers and other wealthy people to build mosques and uplift the religious spirit of the people. *Qazis* and *ulema* benefited from this trend.⁷¹

Sultan Iltutmish's son Ruknudin Feroz Shah, in his short reign (1236 A.D) ordered the translation of Imam Razi's book '*Sir-e-Muktoom*' into Persian.⁷² Razia Sultana (1236-1240 A.D.), Iltutmish's daughter, was the first ruling female of India. Razia

Sultana's distinguished intelligence and abilities have been detailed in the *Tabakat-e-Nasiri* and they can be used as proof of her being well educated.⁷³ Iltutmish had firm belief in the wisdom of his daughter Razia Sultana; he even gave preference to her over his sons and chose her to be his successor rather. On his preference for Razia, the Sultan is quoted to have said:

*"After my death it will be seen that not one of them [my sons] will be found to be more worthy of the heir-apparent ship than she, my daughter."*⁷⁴

What we do know is that Razia could read the Quran with correct pronunciation.⁷⁵ She exercised authority even during the reign of her father.⁷⁶ She was a patron of the learned.⁷⁷ Razia Sultana's excellent sense of judgement and eye for talent can be figured by her decision to appoint the learned Minhaaj-us-Siraj to the honourable position of principalship of Nasiriyya College of Delhi.⁷⁸ The Mu'izzi College of Delhi was thriving during her reign and it was once attacked by the Karmathians who were under the impression that it was a Jamiya-Masjid. Their impression is indicative that the College must have had immense magnificence and grandeur.⁷⁹ Amongst her reign's scholars and poets, the names of two have been traced: Nasir-ud-Din Ai-yitim Balarami and Amir Imam-i-Nasiri, the Poet.⁸⁰

Sultan Nasiruddin Mehmood (1246-1265 A.D.) was Iltutmish's youngest son. He was educated under his mother and was trained in the art of government.⁸¹ But it is said he cared more for manuscripts than campaigns. Twice a year he would write the Holy Quran in elegant, sophisticated calligraphy and sell the copies, using the money as his only means of subsistence.⁸² He possessed saint like qualities, with noted forbearance, benevolence, justness and was popular among the scholarly, loving both the learned and learning.⁸³ At his coronation many Syeds and ulema rushed to present themselves. He greatly endowed scholarships and it was his patronage that led the erudite Minhaj-us-Siraj to write the famous *Tabakat-e-Nasiri* which was named after Sultan Nasiruddin.⁸⁴ Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions in his book that he presented a *Kasidah* to the

Sultan. Minhaj also wrote a poetic piece *Nasiri Namah* for which he received a grant yearly.⁸⁵ The ulema of his era included Jamal-ud-Din Shafarkani, Qazi Jalal-ud-Din Kasani, Qazi Shams-ud-Din Bharaij, Jamal-ud-Din Bustami.⁸⁶ Renowned poets included Ameer-ud-Din Sanami⁸⁷ and Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj. Numerous mosques were constructed in his era.

Gias-ud-Din Bulban (1266-1287 A.D.) was an Al-Bari Turk of Turkistan like Iltutmish. Being captured by Mongols, he was sold on the streets of Baghdad. Khawaja Jamal-ud-Din Basri bought him and sold him to Iltutmish in India.⁸⁸ From here on, Bulban progressed to eventually become a vizier in Nasir-ud-Din Mehmood's period.⁸⁹

After Iltutmish, the Delhi Sultan who showed interest in the progression of knowledge was Sultan Bulban.⁹⁰ Sultan Bulban's court was rich in divines, poets, physicians and astronomers who were unparalleled in their respective branches.⁹¹ It ranked higher than the courts of Mahmud and Sanjar.⁹² The Sultan's benefaction is evident in his provision of shelter and asylum to the fleeing rulers of Iraq, Ajam, Khurasan, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Mawur-un-Nehr and Azerbaijan. He gave them princely allowances and named neighbourhoods after them.⁹³

Sultan Bulban was on the best of terms with theologians and saints. He was particular about his company with regard to his status as a ruler. But he had no hesitation in keeping his meals with men of learning and providing his support to these cultured men.⁹⁴ Sultan Bulban highly respected scholars and on their demise, would not only attend their funeral but financially support their family as well.⁹⁵ Men of different walks of life received patronage from the court of Sultan Bulban such as jurists, physicians, astronomers, mathematicians and theologians. The capital Delhi was also a haven for numerous craftsmen, artists and learned men who were fleeing the Mongols. According to Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, the scholars of this period were very devoted to the teaching profession and preferred it over working for state posts.⁹⁶ The prominent teachers included

Qazi Sharif-ud-Din who was shown special respect by the Sultan, Shamsuddin Kharezmî, Maulana Burhan-ud-Din Balkhi who the Sultan would visit after Friday prayers and Maulana Najm-ud-Din Damishqî, all of which were held in high regard by the Sultan.⁹⁷

The Sultan showed equal esteem to saints as he did to teachers. He had great faith in Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Masud Ganj Shakar of Ajodhan. Before becoming Sultan, Bulban personally visited him in his far away abode to attain his blessing. The renowned Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia could not refrain from complementing the Sultan, in a gathering, of his regularity in prayer and devotion to religion.⁹⁸ After Ilutmish, the only Sultan to whom the Sheikh showed respect was Bulban. Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zacharia and his son Sheikh Budr-ud-Din Arif, Qutb-ud-Din Bukhtiar Kaki, Baba Farid Ganj Shakr, Siddy Maula and many other mystic divines lived in Sultan Bulban's reign and supplemented the mysticism of the era.

Barani provides a list of professors who taught in the most renowned colleges and were the finest instructors of the period. Theologians, physicians, mathematicians, philosophers, astronomers, musicians and jurists bustled in large numbers in the city. Every subject known was taught in the city of Delhi by its illustrious teachers, leading it to be entitled by the contemporary historian as *Khair-ul-Asaar* 'The Best Period'.⁹⁹

Although he preferred divines and ulema over the scholarly, still poetic and literary work wasn't overlooked in Sultan Bulban's court. On the occasion of *Jashn-e-Nauroz* the works of the best poets of the time were sung by musicians. Once the musicians sang a poem by Khawaja Shams Moin that stirred the noble Kashli Khan Ala-ud-Din so much, he rewarded the poet with a gift of horses.¹⁰⁰ Sultan Bulban's love for the scholarly is exhibited further by his advice to his son, prince Sultan Muhammad:

Spare no pains to discover men of genius, learning and courage. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence,

that they may prove the soul of your councils, and the instruments of your authority.¹⁰¹

Similarly he advised his second son Kurra Khan Bagera, to beautify his domain as ruler with ulema, mystic saints, *Muhadaseen*, Tafseer writers, religious orators and *Hafiz*.¹⁰² A society of dancers, actors, musicians and story tellers were known to frequently meet at the prince's palace.¹⁰³ The nobility followed his doing and soon an atmosphere of societies sprung up in Delhi.

Sultan Bulban focussed especially on the education of his sons and grand sons. Tutors would strictly teach his sons. Their education included religious subjects, Grammar and syntax, Calligraphy and History. Khawaja Taj-ud-Din Bukhari taught Khan Bagera the book *Adab-ul-Salateen* for which the tutor was rewarded with two villages and one hundred thousand *jateel* coins.¹⁰⁴

While Bulban entertained his learned protégés, his son Prince Sultan Muhammad also called *Khan-e-Multan*¹⁰⁵ in the company of scholar friends indulged in philosophic discourses—thus giving a lead to the formation of literary societies, which under his initiative, honeycombed the whole Sultanate in a short time and became a valuable asset to education. Barani calls Prince Muhammad as the most cultured prince of the time.¹⁰⁶ The prince was a youth of promising talent with much taste in literature. This is exhibited by his writing down a choice collection of poetry by his own hands, belonging to the most well known authors. His piece of work amounted to twenty thousand couplets, with each of exceptional quality.¹⁰⁷

According to Francis Robinson, he was a dependable son, an able administrator and a patron of poets and scholars.¹⁰⁸ The Historian Barani narrates that the court of the young prince was frequently visited by the most learned, excellent and talented men of the age. There the merits of the most prominent poets were discussed by the learned members, and the *Shahnamah*, the *Diwan-i-Khaqani*, *Khamsa-e-Sheikh Nizami* and the *Diwan-i-sanai* were regularly recited and discussed upon.¹⁰⁹ His court

flourished with eminent scholars the most prominent of which were Khawaja Hasan Sanjari and Amir Khusrau. They would oft accompany him on his many expeditions. His palace was the meeting place of his literary society, of which Amir Khusrau was the honourable president.¹¹⁰

Prince Sultan Muhammad also invited Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz twice to his court in Multan on hearing of his splendid work, but the celebrated elder had to excuse himself due to old age.¹¹¹ Similarly he insisted Sheikh Uthman Turmudi, the age's most learned man and saint, to come to Multan and settle there. He invited many other lettered erudite men to add to the glamour of Multan as a seat of learning.¹¹²

Along with literary events, spiritual gatherings were also held in the Sultan's court. Ferishta narrates an occasion when Arabic poems were recited in court that bewitched all the saints present into a hypnotic state, and held the prince awake and tearful the entire night.¹¹³ In a Mongolian invasion near Lahore, the young prince met an early death with Amir Khusrau amongst many others, being imprisoned.¹¹⁴ The beloved martyr prince Muhammad's court was long remembered in the annals of the Sultanate.

To conclude, Amir Khusrau and Khawaja Hasan shed accurate luster on the prince's entourage commenting that the martyrdom of *Khan-e-Shaheed* had rendered all the lettered men of the Sultanate unlucky; had he still lived the talented would have continued to be supported.¹¹⁵

Regarding Malik Ala-ud-Din Kashli Khan, the cousin of Bulban, it is stated that Amir Khusrau commented to Barani once that no mother could give birth to another Kashli Khan so far as generosity and virtues were concerned.¹¹⁶ Malik Qutb-ud-Din Hasan Ghauri, Malik Amad-ul-Mulk, Malik-ul-Umra Fakhr-ud-Din Qotwal-e-Delhi, Malik Amir Ali Sarjan Daar all were mentioned by Barani by virtue of their generosity.¹¹⁷

Through Sultan Bulban's court in Delhi, prince Muhammad's court in Multan and the societies that engaged the

nobility, scholars and poets found a showcase for their talent. They received ample respect as well as monetary benefits from these platforms. Through these courts and societies the spread of knowledge gained much speed and so in Sultan Bulban's era the Delhi Sultanate, after the fall of Baghdad, began to be called the Muslim seat of learning. The city Delhi rose in esteem as a centre of learning, racing neck to neck with the likes of Bukhara.¹¹⁸ This status would not have been possible without the attention of the Sultans.

The next Sultan Kaiqubad ruled for a mere two years during which the high literary tone of the region could not be maintained.¹¹⁹ Progress of learning was not discouraged in his period, but with lack of interest from the Sultan, it also did not receive encouragement.¹²⁰

The dawn of the Khalajis, resulted in redemption of the spread of literary knowledge. An immense number of *belles-lettres* in different branches of learning were produced in the Khalaji period and an all-round literary activity was seen.¹²¹ Jalal-ud-Din Firoz Khalaji (1288-1295 A.D.), the dynasty's first Sultan, loved both learning and the learned.¹²² He wrote poetry to a degree and had a habit of inviting poets to his private gatherings to hear verses from them. Musicians and *ghazal* readers flocked to his court.¹²³ Those who companioned him in his court included the great Amir Khusrau attended gatherings with a newly prepared poem each time, on the Sultan's instructions.¹²⁴ Taj-ud-Din Iraqi, Moeed Jurjami, Pizar Aibak Duagoh, Moeed Dewana, Sadar-e-Aali Amir Arsalan Kalahi, Ikhtiyar Bagh and Taj-i-Khatib worked as historians, political writers and literary authors and also attended the royal court.¹²⁵ Even as a noble Jalal-ud-Din valued Amir Khusrau greatly; he kept him financially assured with a pension 1200 *tankas*¹²⁶ In his period of rule, Amir Khusrau was exalted from his previous status to that of a noble along with a royal gift of white robes. He was also bestowed the duty of *Muashaf Dari*: the Head of the Imperial Library.¹²⁷ Indeed, Sultan Jalal-ud-Din's efforts resulted in the creation of a strong intellectual atmosphere both in the royal chambers and out.

His nephew Ala-ud-Din Khalaji (1295-1316 A.D.), the successor was a man of different predisposition. Barani writes of him as being unlettered and actually hostile towards the patronage of education.

*He (Ala-ud-Din) was a man of no learning and never associated with men of learning.*¹²⁸

Barani believed he refrained from giving teachers their rightful dues. Nevertheless it is a fact that the Sultan possessed a shrewd economic sense and handled the finances of the Sultanate well.¹²⁹ As a reform he ordered all government granted lands, endowments and free gifts be returned by the people.¹³⁰ This action compelled students and teachers, whose needs used to be met by the government before, to now seek employment. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi is of a different view that the Sultan did not discontinue the benefits given to teachers but merely reduced them.¹³¹ The author argues that the literary standard of his reign was actually quite high due to the wonderful galaxy of scholars in the Sultanate. The calibre of these scholars equalled or exceeded those of Central Asian or Arab regions.¹³² Barani himself gives the names of forty six professors belonging to the capital Delhi city, who he believed excelled more than the scholars of Egypt, Turkistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Baghdad, Damascus and Tabraiz and Isfahaan.¹³³ The masses too had great regard for these scholars. When new texts arrived in the Sultanate the scholars would read them and then declare or deny their approval of them. Every book approved became popular while a disapproved book would vanish from the markets.¹³⁴

Barani enlists numerous artists, physicians, philosophers, saints, professors, historians, astronomers and poets of this time period. Amongst the historians Amir Arsalan Kohi¹³⁵ and Kabi-ud-Din are mentioned with Kabi-ud-Din being the writer of an official history of Ala-ud-Din's reign. Unfortunately this work has been lost.¹³⁶ In the healing art Maulana Baruddin Damashqi, Maulana Sadruddin and many others made themselves well known.¹³⁷

Calligraphers, *qaris*, *ghazal* singers and music artists mentioned in the list shows that these arts too weren't ignored in Ala-ud-Din's time and they elaborated the capital Delhi. Poets like Amir Hasan Sijzi, called the '*Sadi of India*' wrote many pieces in this period, and became quite renowned for writing *ghazals*. In prose his book *Fawâid-ul-Fuâd* that chronicled the meetings and sayings of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia earned widespread appreciation in India.¹³⁸ Amir Khusrau is known to have written some of his finest writings in this reign, and it is termed as the most productive period of his life. His poetry had reached a sense of maturity and flawlessness, with him writing the *Khamasa* as well as completing his third *diwan*.¹³⁹ Sudr-ud-Din Aaly, Fukhr-ud-Din Khowaas, Humeed-ud-Din Raja, Maulana Arif, Abdul Hakim, Shahb-ud-Din Sudr-Nisheen are the poetic stars of his court and most of them received pensions from the court.¹⁴⁰ Thus Sultan Ala-ud-Din's reign was abounding with more learned men, poets, saints and scholars than that found in the reign of any Sultan of Delhi.¹⁴¹ India in this period, could boast of scholars having the eminence of Ghazzali and Razi.¹⁴²

According to Ferishta the informed men of Sultan Ala-ud-Din's court helped soften his hard mind towards literary men occasionally. For instance one day he rewarded Qazi Mughisuddin for providing advice regarding Islamic jurisprudence, with 1000 *tankas* and a gold embroidered vest against expectations.¹⁴³ It is also apparent from Khusrau's poem that the Sultan favoured him often even once with a village as a present for a poem.¹⁴⁴ These favours were for only a select few. The Emperor failed to have his own offspring educated which resulted in their developing a profligate living.¹⁴⁵

Sultan Ala-ud-Din's Deccan policy resulted in the formation of new connections with the South. Many Hindu authors praised the Sultan's valour in their works.¹⁴⁶

Thus Sultan Ala-ud-Din's period can be termed as a paradox: he himself focussed less on education and gave a priority to other state issues primarily finance while the people of

the state themselves produced some of the best literary works the Delhi Sultanate would be remembered for.¹⁴⁷

Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah, though as a ruler brought reminiscence of Sultan Kaiqabad, had the ability to compose verse and he raised the number of benefits and scholarships that his father had reduced.¹⁴⁸

The rule of the Tughluq dynasty furthered the literary aspects of the subcontinent. Sultan Giyas-ud-Din Tughluq (1321-1325 A.D.) possessed a warm heart and a liberal mind. He was a model of justice and goodness and was highly considerate in his treatment of others.¹⁴⁹ Barani relates of him that on special festivities he would gather the scholars, *muftis* and madrasa teachers of the city and gift them by hand. The *sufi* saints who were unable to leave their *khanqahs* were sent presents to their abodes.¹⁵⁰ Amir Khusrau is said to have lived a life of great prosperity under him by receiving a pension of one thousand *tankas* monthly and he wrote the history of this prince under the title of *Tughluk Nama*, but the work is inadequate.¹⁵¹

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351 A.D.), the son of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, was considered a researcher and philosopher first and a Muslim afterwards.¹⁵² He was encyclopaedic and well versed in rational as well as theological sciences.¹⁵³ He was a man of great ability, expert in philosophy and dialectics. He was authoritative and seldom listened to any dictation of another. In many ways he was ahead of his age.¹⁵⁴ In term of religion he was a pure intellectualist.¹⁵⁵ Barani writes that he knew the entire Quran as well as *Hidaya-e-Kamil* by heart. He was also familiar with Philosophy, Astronomy and poetry. His generosity and large-heartedness knew no bounds and the rewards he would bestow often left the recipient astonished. The Sultan's bountifulness attracted many a scholar and artist to Delhi to receive stipends. Ibn-e-Fazl AlDamishki relates that in his period thousands of teachers were engaged in the act of teaching *qirat* and writing in madrasahs and they were paid through the Royal treasury.¹⁵⁶ Sultan Muhammad Tughluq possessed a rational frame of mind. Ishwari Prasad praises his

liberalism and contacts with Hindus. The Sultan's relationship with the ulema though was strained.¹⁵⁷

The Sultan's achievements are mentioned well in numerous texts belonging to various regions such as the *Ayan-ul-Asr*, the *Durar-ul-Kaminah*, the *Masalik-ul-Absar*, and the *Subh-ul-Asha*.¹⁵⁸ Near the end of his reign, he developed the unsuitable idea of shifting the Sultanate's capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, the old Hindu city of Deogiri.¹⁵⁹ He directed the scholars and poets of the city to emigrate into the new capital. They naturally refused but the Sultan had his order implemented. He faced mass rebellion as a result, in Gujrat and Daulatabad.¹⁶⁰ The efflux of the learned cream from Delhi dimmed its literary standard. The Sultan to make amends ordered scholars from other cities to settle in Delhi though this didn't prove fruitful much. The efforts of Firoz Shah Tughluq would later bring back literary glory to Delhi.¹⁶¹

Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388 A.D.), Muhammad bin Tughluq's successor and cousin took a sharp and constant interest in the promotion of arts and learning. The cultural achievements that he left behind are the combined cultural sum of the entire Tughluq dynasty.¹⁶² Sultan Firoz Tughluq left his predecessors far behind in the amount of bounties and scholarships that he bestowed. He began to bestow not just rewards but actually grants to both teachers and pupils alike. Barani narrates that teachers obtained thousands of rewards and villages from him. The recipients of a hundred, two hundred *tanka* scholarship began to receive four, five or seven hundred *tankas* of fixed scholarship. And the students who requested ten *tankas* were now given a hundred, two hundred or three hundred *tankas* of grant.¹⁶³

The number of ulema and the level of learning in the Sultanate both soared because of his policies.¹⁶⁴ The people who received these grants included ulema, saints, madrasa instructors, *muftis*, *muzakars*, those working in mosques, students, *hafiz* and *qaris*. The grants soared into the thousands.¹⁶⁵

Along with renewing old endowments, land too became an item of donation.¹⁶⁶ All these reforms left the learned men of the Sultanate self sufficient and so with no financial worries to occupy their minds, they focused entirely on gaining *ilm* and spreading it.¹⁶⁷

The Sultan also had three palaces built where he would sit publicly, named the Palace of Grapes (*Mehal Sehan-e-Gulban*), the Palace of the Wooden Gallery (*Mehal Chaja Chobees*) and the Palace of the Public Court (*Mehal Aam Bagh*). The first was kept specifically for the purpose of meeting distinguished literary men.¹⁶⁸ The Sultan conversed with them on many important topics.¹⁶⁹

Additionally, the Sultan directed his attention to rebuilding old madrassas and mosques, and constructing many new ones. His efforts bore fruit and teachers and pupil flocked to the newly made buildings to give or gain education.¹⁷⁰ Ferishta counts forty mosques, thirty madrassas and twenty *khanqahs* built by the Sultan.¹⁷¹ The Sultan himself quotes in his book:

*I built many mosques, colleges and monasteries that the learned and the elders, the devout, and the holy might worship God.*¹⁷²

The buildings reconstructed included Jamia Mosque Delhi, a madrasa belonging to Sultan Iltutmish's period that he had furnished with sandal wooden doors, the tomb of Ala-ud-Din Khalaji and the mosque and madrasa attached to it.¹⁷³

Sultan Firoz Shah also had the work places or *karkhanas* that supplied provisions to the government offices and royal chambers converted into vocational institutions. Prisoners of war were taught different crafts in these institutions so that they could develop a means of livelihood when released. At a point twelve thousand slaves were learning various crafts or *kasib* in these institutions. Some of the slaves spent their time in reading and memorising the holy book, others in religious studies while others in copying books.¹⁷⁴ The thus Sultans made great efforts to impart both literary and technical education.¹⁷⁵

The newly created institutes included firstly the magnificent Firoz-Shahi Madrassa built at Firozabad. The Emperor financed its construction with enormous funds resulting in the creation of a college with hugely extraordinary architecture and an exalted level of learning. Both professors and students resided at the college with provisions being given to the needy amongst them. Travellers too could seek its abode. A mosque and reservoir were also attached to it, with the mosque always humming with the recitation of the Quran by students. Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi was the college's worthy principal who taught *Fiqh*, *Tafsir* and *Hadith* to the residing pupils.¹⁷⁶

Secondly we have Balaband Sayri, a beautifully built madrassa run by the principal Maulana Syed-ul-Aima Wal-Ulma Najm-ul-Millat Wald-Deen Samarkandi. Arrangements of free food were present in this institute.¹⁷⁷ According to Banerjee, it was an institute that symbolised strength.¹⁷⁸

And thirdly the Sultan had a mosque and madrassa built near the tomb of Fath Khan.¹⁷⁹

Sultan Firoz Tughluq utilised his innovatory intelligence in creating inventions. He invented the *Tas-i-Ghariyal* which was placed on the roof of the Firozabad palace, from where it announced the hours of the day.¹⁸⁰ He also had an observatory constructed and financed the conversion of its devices into more efficient models.¹⁸¹

Many books were written in Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq's period. He himself authored the *Fatuhah-e-Firoz Shahi*. He also dictated the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*.¹⁸² Ziauddin Barani dedicated his renowned work to the Sultan. *Ain-i-Mulki* was another literature work penned by Ain-i-Mulk. Poetry found contribution from Maulana Mutahhar Kara, Malik Ahmad, Maulana Khwaigi, Qazi Abid and others. Other books written on subjects other than literature in this period include *Maktubat-i-Ahmad Munyari*, *Irshad-u-Salikin*, *Khulasat-ul-Alfazi*, *Fiqh-i-Firoz Shahi*, *Tibb-i-Firoz Shahi*, *Fawood-i-Firoz Shahi*, *Patur bazi*, *Rahat-ul-Insan* and *Manaqib Makhduma-i-Jahaniyan*. Two astronomical books

that were written included the *Zikr-Munsobat-Kawakib* and *Ziqr-Munsobat-Burooj*. Sultan Firoz Shah was an astronomy enthusiast himself and drew up astrological charts.¹⁸³ His interest in the field promoted research in the science, resulting in many works being written on the subject.¹⁸⁴ From the days of his rule onwards many translations from Sanskrit to Persian were carried out.¹⁸⁵ The Sultan had a Hindu book that discussed astrology, philosophy and divination translated into Persian by Iz-ud-Din Khalid Khany, designating it as *Dulayil Firoz Shahi*.¹⁸⁶ Last but not least, he concentrated much on the education of his son prince Fath Khan and had tutors arranged to instruct him.¹⁸⁷

The credits to Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq include making education cheaper and easier to attain for the masses. With the numerous madrassas and mosques he had constructed, without a doubt the level of learning in Delhi soared after its decline in Muhammad Tughluq's period. Delhi began to transform back to its past brilliance. Sutan Firoz Shah is also credited with adding a new centre of learning and culture to India, Jaunpur.¹⁸⁸ He strived to promote learning both in the Sultanate's capital Delhi as well as the provincial capitals. This later proved very beneficial for India, with Delhi undergoing deterioration as a result of Timur's invasion. From then on, the provincial capitals acted as centres of learning, and this would have been impossible had they not been furnished by Sultan Firoz Shah in his period.

The progress of learning is ambiguous in the Syed dynasty that followed the Tughluqs. The most significant feature of this period is that Badaun, a city within a hundred miles of Delhi, became a seat of learning.¹⁸⁹ The last Syed Sultan, Syed Ala-ud-Din stayed at Badaun for thirty years. With regard to the extraordinary attention given to the place, Francklin writes:

*In this ancient city of Badaun, many prince of the Pathan Dynasty kept their Courts for a series of years during the reign of that dynasty of Hindustan. There, as in many parts of Cuttar, are to be seen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges and mausoleums.*¹⁹⁰

The dawn of the Lodhi dynasty began with Sultan Bulul Lodhi. Even though he had to focus on consolidating his domain more, he still pleased the company of scholars. He enjoyed their company and bestowed them according to their merits.¹⁹¹

The successor, Sultan Sikandar Lodhi (1489-1517 A.D.) was a poet himself who wrote under the alias of *GulRukh*, and highly valued literary merit. His period saw the writing of much prose and poetic works including *Furhung Sikandari*.¹⁹² The renowned biography on saints *Siyar-ul-Ârifîn* was also authored in this time by the Sultan's court poet, Jamali Dehlawi.¹⁹³ When Jamali Dehlawi returned from the *Hijaz* he received a verse from Sultan Sikander Lodhi.¹⁹⁴

The Sultan refashioned and remodeled the establishment of all the mosques throughout his territory and gave great encouragement to learning so that most of his military officers were well educated men. The Sultan also pensioned holy men throughout the Sultanate and sent them stipends twice a year.¹⁹⁵

He patronized musicians and handicraftsmen.¹⁹⁶ Sultan Sikander Lodhi established madrassas throughout the Sultanate, with a desire to raise the educational level of his people.¹⁹⁷ Distinguished scholars were appointed as the heads of these institutes. Schools were found in Mathura and Narwar that were open to all.¹⁹⁸

After capturing Fort Nurwur, Sultan Sikandar stayed there for six months to build mosques. He also established a college and placed in it, many holy and learned personages.¹⁹⁹

His ground-breaking administrative reforms included an insistence on a certain educational level for all his civil and military officers. All the army officers promoted during the period were scrutinized with regard to their origin and education by the Sultan. The other was his famous decree of substituting Hindi by Persian as the language of the lower administration, a step which forced the administrative Hindus to learn Persian and for that objective to attend schools. Hindus who had hitherto

never learned Persian, commenced in his reign to study Muhammadan literature.²⁰⁰ According to Abdul Qadir Badaoni a Hindu Brahmin professor actually taught Muslim transmitted sciences in a Muslim college; indeed a rarity that can be credited to the Sultan's reform.²⁰¹ Many Sanskrit-to-Persian translations were written and compiled under the instruction of the Sultan. For instance, *Tibb-i-Sikandari* was created which was a translation of the *granths* of Vedic medicine, written under the supervision of Minister Miyan Buhwah.²⁰² The *Waqiati Mushtaqi* adds that Miyan Buhwah's house had turned into a meeting place for scholars and philosophers who arrived from various Muslim countries. He also had calligraphists and learned men employed to writing books on every science.²⁰³

Another feature of Sultan Sikandar's educational policy was a growing emphasis on rational sciences. The pioneers of rational sciences of that time were Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Aziz-Ullah, both of whom received immense respect from the Sultan. Badaoni narrates the greatness of the Sultan, who would come to attend their gatherings and show the utmost respect on entering by quietly settling in a corner to avoid disturbing the students.²⁰⁴ Thus, owing to the two administrative steps he took, the reign of Sikander Lodhi is now a landmark in the history of medieval Indian education.

The encouragement of Delhi Sultans led many works of poetry, essay and history writing to be produced in this period. The following Historical works of this period are significant not only because of the information they provide, but also because they were used extensively by Mughal historians as a basis of Indian history. Hasan Nizami's *Tâj al-Maâsir*, was the Sultanate's first official History. It gave an account of the years 1191-1217 A.D. *Tabakat-e-Nasiri* by Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj Jurjani, detailed the History of Ghor, Ghaznin and Delhi up till 1261 A.D. In the words of Rosenthal it is a vast dynastic Historiography. *Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi* by Ziauddin Barani describes the period from Balban's rule to Firoz Tughluq's (1266-1357 A.D.). Amir Khusrau versified History in *masnavi* form with his *Qiran-ul-Saadain: The Ashiqa, The Nuh Sipih* and

The Tughluqnama. His *Khazana-ul-Futuh* narrates History in prose. *Futah-us-Salatin* is another original historical source, poetic in nature, composed in Muhammad Tughluq's life. *Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi* by Shams Afif dealt with Firoz Shah Tughluq's reign only. *Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya bin Ahmad Sarhandi is a primary source for the Syed dynasty from 1400-1134 A.D.²⁰⁵ Along with these histories, a lasting attribute of the Sultanate was Persian poetry that reached its pinnacle in the form of the eternal Amir Khusrau. His poems suggest the pivotal role he played in unifying the cultural identity of Muslims in India.²⁰⁶ For him, India was superior to all other nations in science and wisdom; a feeling he expressed passionately in his verses.²⁰⁷

To conclude, the Delhi Sultans were enlightened and generous Sultans who left behind a definite cultural tradition of learning. They showed a sustained interest in learning and education. Their patronage of scholars, writers and poets promoted the socio-cultural advancement of the Indian society. In the fourteenth century, the rule of the Khalaji and Tughluq dynasties was a turning point for the Sultanate. Their policies, such as Daulatabad's appointment as the new capital, introduced foreign Islamic traditions into the predominantly Hindu south for the first time. Furthermore the widespread mosques and madrasahs that they established or rebuilt led to a higher level of general education. The imperial court at Delhi turned the city into a cultural centre wherein intellectuals from far and wide gathered.

Notes and References

- 1 Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.
- 2 Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 131-132.
- 3 Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, "Tarikh-I Guzida," In *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 3, translated by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, ed. John Dowson (Lahore: Islamic Book Service 1979), 61.
- 4 Bosworth, 134.
- 5 Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillian and Co. Ltd., 1950), 465.
- 6 Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mohomedan Power in India*, translated by John Briggs, vol. 1 (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1977), 74.
- 7 Bosworth, 131.
- 8 Al-Biruni, "Tarikh-ul-Hind," In *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 2, translated by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, ed. John Dowson (Lahore: Islamic Book Service 1979), 1.
- 9 Ferishta, vol. 1, 64.
- 10 G. M. D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj, being the Evolution of the Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1981), 13-14.
- 11 Bosworth, 133.
- 12 Hasan Nizami, "Tâj al-Maâsir," *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 2, translated by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, ed. John Dowson, 215.
- 13 Ferishta, vol. 1, 108.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 113.

-
- 15 Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabakat-e-Nasiri*, translated by H. G. Raverty (Lahore: Amir Publications, 1977), 513.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ferishta, vol. 1, 109.
- 18 Ibid., vol. 1, 112.
- 19 Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1987), 148.
- 20 Ibid., 124.
- 21 Siraj, 525-526.
- 22 Jackson, 28-29.
- 23 *Tâj al-Maâsir* cited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India during the Thirteenth Century* (Aligarh: Department of History Muslim University Aligarh, 1961), 265.
- 24 Ferishta, vol. 1, 112. *Lakh-bakhsh* is one who bestows lakhs.
- 25 Maulana Syed Abdul Hai, *Nuzhut-ul-Khawatir*, vol. 1, translated by Abu Yahya Imam (Lahore: Maqbol Academy, 1965), 298.
- 26 Ferishta, vol. 1, 111.
- 27 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Munshram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), 55-60.
- 28 Ibid., 74.
- 29 Ibid., 66.
- 30 Hai, *Nuzhut-ul-Khawatir*, vol. 1, 208.
- 31 Muhammad Ufi, *Lubab-ul-Albab*, vol. 1, 188-203 cited by Syed Subah-ud-din Abdur Rahman, *Bazm-e-Mumlookia* (Azam Ghar: Mutba-e-Mauraf, 1955), 9-13.
- 32 Siraj, 559-560.
- 33 Sir John Marshal. "The Monuments of Muslim India," In *The Cambridge History of India: Turks and Afghans*, vol. 3, ed. Sir

- Wolseley Haig (Delhi: S. Chand & Co. And Arrangement with Cambridge University Press, 1958), 576.
- 34 Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354 A.D.* ed. E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power, translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1929) 195.
- 35 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 136.
- 36 Ferishta, vol. 4, 860.
- 37 Siraj, 532.
- 38 Ameer Khord, *Siyar-ul-Aulia*, translated by Ijaz-ul-Haq Qudsi (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1980), 150.
- 39 Siraj, 534.
- 40 Edward G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 2 (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), 479.
- 41 Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 117.
- 42 Brown, vol. 2, 478-479.
- 43 Ibid., 477-478 and Brown, vol. 1, 283.
- 44 Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate: Urbanisation and Social Change* (New Delhi: Viva Books, 2009), 165-166.
- 45 Siraj, 541.
- 46 Hai, *Nuzhut-ul-Khawatir*, vol. 1, 275-276.
- 47 Ferishta, vol. 4, 862.
- 48 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 155.
- 49 Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi*, translated by Syed Moin-ul-Haq (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1991), 74.
- 50 Siraj, 175.
- 51 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 155.

-
- 52 Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400: From Restrained to Calculated Defiance* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 111.
- 53 Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India during the Thirteenth Century*, 117.
- 54 Anjum, 111.
- 55 Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India during the Thirteenth Century*, 117.
- 56 Alam, 117.
- 57 Siraj, vol I, 599.
- 58 Ibid., 598-599.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Alam, 117.
- 61 Barani, 237.
- 62 Brown, vol. 1, 283.
- 63 Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Munshram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), 55-60.
- 64 Siddiqui, 168-169.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 S. M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Star Book Depot, 1961.), 173.
- 67 Siraj, 646.
- 68 Abul Hasnaat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadeem Islami Darasgahain* (Lahore: Milli Printers, 1979), 17.
- 69 Firoz Shah Tughluq, *Fatuh-at-i Firoz Shahi*, translated by Dr. Muhammad Abdullah Chughtai (Lahore: Kitab Khana Nauras, 1952), 27.
- 70 Siraj, 644, 667.
- 71 Simon Digby. "The Sufi Shaikh of Authority in Medieval India," In *India's Islamic Traditions 711-1750 A.D.*, ed. Richard M. Eaton (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 237.

- 72 The translator's name is not known though he mentioned Iltutmish and Ruknudin Feroz Shah as his patrons. Siddiqui, 171.
- 73 Siraj, 637-638.
- 74 Ibid., 639.
- 75 Ferishta, vol. 1, 119.
- 76 Siraj, 638.
- 77 Ibid., 637.
- 78 Rafiq Zakaria, *Razia, queen of India* (New Delhi: Popular Prakashan, 1966), 134.
- 79 Siraj, 646.
- 80 Ibid., 647.
- 81 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 221.
- 82 Ibid., 250-251.
- 83 Siraj, 674.
- 84 Barini, 73.
- 85 Siraj, 670-71, 681.
- 86 Ibid., 681, 685-686, 694 and 702.
- 87 Syed Subah, 192-193.
- 88 Siraj, vol. 2, 56-57.
- 89 Ibid., 64-68.
- 90 Siddiqui, 140.
- 91 A. B. M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1961), 309.
- 92 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 264.
- 93 Ferishta, 131.
- 94 Barani, 102.
- 95 Barani, 103.

-
- 96 Siddiqui, 140.
- 97 Ahmad, *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.)*, 260.
- 98 Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India during the Thirteenth Century*, 120-121.
- 99 Barani, 192-194.
- 100 Ibid., 195-196.
- 101 Ferishta, vol. 1, 137.
- 102 Barani, 181.
- 103 Ibid., 131.
- 104 Barani, 237-238.
- 105 Ibid., 189.
- 106 Ibid., 132.
- 107 Ferishta, vol. 1, 134.
- 108 Francis Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors: And the Islamic Dynasties of India, Iran and Central Asia (1206-1925)* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 85.
- 109 Barani, 132.
- 110 Ferishta vol. 1, 134.
- 111 Barani, 133-134.
- 112 Ibid., 133.
- 113 Ferishta, vol. 1, 134.
- 114 Barani, 190.
- 115 Ibid., 135.
- 116 Barani, 194-195.
- 117 Ibid., 204.
- 118 Ibid., 192-196.
- 119 Ibid., 218.
- 120 Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Asraf, 1942), 170.

- 121 Kishori Saran Lal, *History of the Khiljis A. D. 1290- 1320* (Karachi: Union Book Stall, N. D.), 339.
- 122 Barani, 305.
- 123 Ibid., 307.
- 124 Ferishta, vol. 1, 147.
- 125 Barani, 306-307.
- 126 Ibid., 305.
- 127 Ferishta, vol. 1, 147.
- 128 Barani, 434.
- 129 Ibid., 445-468.
- 130 Barani, 416.
- 131 Qureshi, 170.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Barani, 513.
- 134 Ibid., 516.
- 135 Barani, 524.
- 136 Qureshi, 171.
- 137 Barani, 525-526.
- 138 Barani, 522-523.
- 139 Dr. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Lahore: Punjab University Oriental Publications, 1962), 105.
- 140 Ferishta, 176.
- 141 Mirza, 107.
- 142 Barani, 514.
- 143 Ferishta, vol. 1, 167.
- 144 Mirza, 108.
- 145 Barani, 532-533.
- 146 Lal, *History of the Khiljis A. D. 1290- 1320*, 280.

-
- 147 Barani, 515.
- 148 Ibid., 553.
- 149 Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, vol. 1 (Allahbad: The Indian Press Limited, 1936), 53.
- 150 Barani, 623.
- 151 Ferishta, 187.
- 152 Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1963), xxiv.
- 153 Barani, 659-662.
- 154 Prasad, 257.
- 155 Ishwara Topa, *Politics in Pre-Mughal Times* (Delhi: Idarah-I Adabiyat-I Delhi, 2009), 192.
- 156 Ibn FazlUllah Al Umri Al-Damishki, *Masalik-ul-Absar* (Dehli: Nadwatul Musanafeen, 1961), 25.
- 157 Prasad, 257-258.
- 158 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture* (Allahbad: Kitab Mahal, N.D.), 55.
- 159 Robinson, 96.
- 160 Isami, *Futah-us-Salatin*, ed. Agha Mehdi Husain (Agra: 1938), 481-523.
- 161 F. E. Keay, *A History of Education in India and Pakistan* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1959) 110-111.
- 162 Jamini Mohan Banerjee, *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976), 180.
- 163 Barani, 784.
- 164 Yahya bin Ahmad Sarhandi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, translated by Dr. Aftab Asghar (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1976), 204.
- 165 Barani, 784.
- 166 Tughluq, 30-31.
- 167 Barani, 785.

- 168 Shams-i Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi*, ed. Wilayat Husain (Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 1891), 343.
- 169 Banerjee, 180.
- 170 Barani, 784.
- 171 Ferishta, vol 1, 515.
- 172 Tughluq, 24.
- 173 Ibid., 27-28.
- 174 Afif, 270-271.
- 175 Ibid.
- 176 Barani, 788-791.
- 177 Ibid., 791-792.
- 178 Banerjee, 190.
- 179 Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Michigan: Aryan Books International, 2002), 147.
- 180 Ibid., 142.
- 181 Qureshi, 173.
- 182 C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Section 2, Fasciculus 3 (London: Luzac & Co., 1939), 508-509.
- 183 Banerjee, 180-181.
- 184 Siddiqui, 126.
- 185 Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 246.
- 186 Ferishta, vol.1, 203.
- 187 Ibid., 202.
- 188 Qureshi, 173.
- 189 Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 53.
- 190 William Francklin, *The history of the reign of Shah-Aulum* (London: R. Faulder, 1798), 51.

-
- 191 Ferishta, vol. 1, 245.
- 192 Ferishta, vol.1, 253.
- 193 Ahmad Yadgaar, *Tarikh-I-Shahi*, translated by Syed Nazir Niazi (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 2004), 47.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ferishta, vol.1, 254.
- 196 Abdullah, "Tarikh-i-Daudi," in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 4, translated by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, ed. John Dowson (Lahore: Islamic Book Service 1979), 24.
- 197 Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, 244.
- 198 Yusuf Husain, *Glimpse of Medieval Indian Culture* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), 76.
- 199 Ferishta, vol. 1, 252.
- 200 Ibid., 254.
- 201 Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, vol. 2 (Karachi: Karimsons Publishers, 1976), 323.
- 202 Abdullah, "Tarikh-i-Daudi," ," in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 4, translated by Elliot, ed. Dowson , 451.
- 203 Rizqullah Mushtaqi, "Waqiati-Mushtaqi," In *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. 4, translated by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, ed. John Dowson, 451.
- 204 Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Munatakhil-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by George S. A. Ranking, vol. 1 (Karachi: Karimsons, 1976), 213.
- 205 See Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and Historiography During the Reign of Akbar* (Harbans Mukhia, 1976), 1-14 for a summary of Histories produced in the Delhi Sultanate.
- See also Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1983). See also P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India:*

Studies in Indo-Muslim Historical Writing (London: Luzac & Co., 1960) and Storey, 493-529.

206 Hardy, 93.

207 Dr. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Lahore: Punjab University Oriental Publications, 1962), 183.