



3 DELHI: 12th TO 15th CENTURY



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Map 1
Selected Sultanate
cities of Delhi,
thirteenth-fourteenth
centuries.



In Chapter 2 we saw that regions like the Kaveri delta became the centre of large kingdoms. Did you notice that there was no mention of a kingdom with Delhi as its capital? That was because Delhi became an important city only in the twelfth century.

Take a look at Table 1. Delhi first became the capital of a kingdom under the Tomara Rajputs, who were defeated in the middle of the twelfth century by the Chauhans (also referred to as Chahamanas) of Ajmer. It was under the Tomaras and Chauhans that Delhi became an important commercial centre. Many rich Jaina merchants lived in the city and constructed several temples. Coins minted here, called *dehliwal*, had a wide circulation.

The transformation of Delhi into a capital that controlled vast areas of the subcontinent started with the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Take a look at Table 1 again and identify the five dynasties that together made the Delhi Sultanate.

The Delhi Sultans built many cities in the area that we now know as Delhi. Look at Map 1 and locate Dehli-i Kuhna, Siri and Jahanpanah.

THE RULERS OF DELHI

Table 1

RAJPUT DYNASTIES

Tomaras Early twelfth century–1165

Ananga Pala 1130–1145

Chauhans 1165–1192

Prithviraj Chauhan 1175–1192

EARLY TURKISH RULERS 1206–1290

Qutbuddin Aybak 1206–1210

Shamsuddin Iltutmish 1210–1236

Raziyya 1236–1240

Ghiyasuddin Balban 1266–1287

KHALJI DYNASTY 1290–1320

Jalaluddin Khalji 1290–1296

Alauddin Khalji 1296–1316

TUGHLUQ DYNASTY 1320–1414

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq 1320–1324

Muhammad Tughluq 1324–1351

Firuz Shah Tughluq 1351–1388

SAYYID DYNASTY 1414–1451

Khizr Khan 1414–1421

LODI DYNASTY 1451–1526

Bahlul Lodi 1451–1489



Do you think the circle of justice is an appropriate term to describe the relationship between the king and his subjects?

Birthright

Privileges claimed on account of birth. For example, people believed that nobles inherited their rights to govern, because they were born in certain families.

Gender distinctions

Social and biological differences between women and men. Usually, these differences are used to argue that men are superior to women.

Understanding Delhi under the Sultans

Histories are known as *tarikh* (singular)/*tawarikh* (plural), in Persian, the language of administration under the Delhi Sultans.

The authors of *tawarikh* were learned men: secretaries, administrators, poets and courtiers, who both recounted events and advised rulers on governance, emphasising the importance of just rule.

The circle of justice

Fakhr-i Mudabbir wrote in the thirteenth century:

A king cannot survive without soldiers. And soldiers cannot live without salaries. Salaries come from the revenue collected from peasants. But peasants can pay revenue only when they are prosperous and happy. This happens when the king promotes justice and honest governance.

Keep the following additional details in mind: (1) the authors of *tawarikh* lived in cities (mainly Delhi) and hardly ever in villages. (2) They often wrote their histories for Sultans in the hope of rich rewards. (3) These authors advised rulers on the need to preserve an “ideal” social order based on **birthright** and **gender distinctions**. Their ideas were not shared by everybody.

In 1236 Sultan Iltutmish’s daughter, Raziyya, became Sultan. The chronicler of the age, Minhaji Siraj, recognised that she was more able and qualified than all her brothers. But he was not comfortable at having a queen as ruler. Nor were the nobles happy at her attempts to rule independently. She was removed from the throne in 1240.

What Minhaj-i Siraj thought about Raziyya

Minhaj-i Siraj thought that the queen's rule went against the ideal social order created by God, in which women were supposed to be subordinate to men. He therefore asked: "In the register of God's creation, since her account did not fall under the column of men, how did she gain from all of her excellent qualities?"

On her inscriptions and coins Raziyya mentioned that she was the daughter of Sultan Iltutmish. This was in contrast to the queen Rudramadevi (1262–1289), of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal, part of modern Andhra Pradesh. Rudramadevi changed her name on her inscriptions and pretended she was a man. Another queen, Didda, ruled in Kashmir (980–1003). Her title is interesting: it comes from "didi" or "elder sister", an obviously affectionate term given to a loved ruler by her subjects.



Express Minhaj's ideas in your own words. Do you think Raziyya shared these ideas? Why do you think it was so difficult for a woman to be a ruler?

A Closer Look: Administration under the Khaljis and Tughluqs

The consolidation of a kingdom as vast as the Delhi Sultanate needed reliable governors and administrators. Rather than appointing aristocrats and landed chieftains as governors, the early Delhi Sultans, especially Iltutmish, favoured their special slaves purchased for military service, called *bandagan* in Persian. They were carefully trained to man some of the most important political offices in the kingdom. Since they were totally dependent upon their master, the Sultan could trust and rely upon them.

Client
Someone who is under the protection of another; a dependent or hanger-on.

Slaves rather than sons

The Sultans were advised:

A slave, whom one has brought up and promoted, must be looked after for it needs a whole lifetime and good luck to find a worthy and experienced slave. Wise men have said that a worthy and experienced slave is better than a son ...



Can you think of any reason why a slave would be better than a son?

The Khaljis and Tughluqs continued to use *bandagan* and also raised people of humble birth, who were often their **clients**, to high political positions. They were appointed as generals and governors. However, this also introduced an element of political instability.

Slaves and clients were loyal to their masters and patrons, but not to their heirs. Sultans had their own servants. As a result the accession of a new monarch often saw conflict between the old and the new nobility. The patronage of these humble people by the Delhi Sultans also shocked many elites and the authors of Persian *tawarikh* criticised the Delhi Sultans for appointing the “low and base-born” to high offices.

Officials of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq appointed Aziz Khummar, a wine distiller, Firuz Hajjam, a barber, Manka Tabbakh, a cook, and two gardeners, Ladha and Pira, to high administrative posts. Ziyauddin Barani, a mid-fourteenth-century chronicler, reported their appointments as a sign of the Sultan’s loss of political judgement and his incapacity to rule.



Why do you think Barani criticised the Sultan?

Like the earlier Sultans, the Khalji and Tughluq monarchs appointed military commanders as governors of territories of varying sizes. These lands were called *iqta* and their holder was called *iqtdar* or *muqti*. The duty of the *muqtis* was to lead military campaigns and maintain law and order in their *iqtas*. In exchange for their military services, the *muqtis* collected the revenues of their assignments as salary. They also paid their soldiers from these revenues. Control over *muqtis* was most effective if their office was not inheritable and if they were assigned *iqtas* for a short period of time before being shifted. These harsh conditions of service were rigorously imposed during the reigns of Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq. Accountants were appointed by the state to check the amount of revenue collected by the *muqtis*. Care was taken that the *muqti* collected only the taxes prescribed by the state and that he kept the required number of soldiers.

As the Delhi Sultans brought the hinterland of the cities under their control, they forced the landed chieftains – the *samanta* aristocrats – and rich landlords to accept their authority. Under Alauddin Khalji the state brought the assessment and collection of land revenue under its own control. The rights of the local chieftains to levy taxes were cancelled and they were also forced to pay taxes. The Sultan's administrators measured the land and kept careful accounts. Some of the old chieftains and landlords served the Sultanate as revenue collectors and assessors. There were three types of taxes: (1) on cultivation called *kharaj* and amounting to about 50 per cent of the peasant's produce, (2) on cattle and (3) on houses.

It is important to remember that large parts of the subcontinent remained outside the control of the Delhi Sultans. It was difficult to control distant provinces like Bengal from Delhi and soon after annexing southern India, the entire region became independent. Even in the Gangetic plain, there

were forested areas that Sultanate forces could not penetrate. Local chieftains established their rule in these regions. Sometimes rulers like Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq could force their control in these areas but only for a short duration.

Chieftains and their fortifications

Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth-century traveller from Morocco, Africa, explained that chieftains sometimes

fortified themselves in mountains, in rocky, uneven and rugged places as well as in bamboo groves. In India the bamboo is not hollow; it is big. Its several parts are so intertwined that even fire cannot affect them, and they are on the whole very strong. The chieftains live in these forests which serve them as ramparts, inside which are their cattle and their crops. There is also water for them within, that is, rain water which collects there. Hence they cannot be subdued except by powerful armies, who entering these forests, cut down the bamboos with specially prepared instruments.



Describe the ways in which the chieftains arranged for their defence.

The Mongols under Genghis Khan invaded Transoxiana in north-east Iran in 1219 and the Delhi Sultanate faced their onslaught soon after. Mongol attacks on the Delhi Sultanate increased during the reign of Alauddin Khalji and in the early years of Muhammad Tughluq's rule. This forced the two rulers to mobilise a large standing army in Delhi which posed a huge administrative challenge.

The Sultanate in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Take a look at Table 1 again. You will notice that after the Tughluqs, the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties ruled

from Delhi and Agra until 1526. By then, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajasthan and the entire south India had independent rulers who established flourishing states and prosperous capitals. This was also the period which saw the emergence of new ruling groups like the Afghans and the Rajputs.

Some of the states established in this period were small but powerful and extremely well administered. Sher Shah Sur (1540–1545) started his career as the manager of a small territory for his uncle in Bihar and eventually challenged and defeated the Mughal emperor Humayun (1530–1540, 1555–1556). Sher Shah captured Delhi and established his own dynasty. Although the Sur dynasty ruled for only fifteen years (1540–1555), it introduced an administration that borrowed elements from Alauddin Khalji and made them more efficient. Sher Shah's administration became the model followed by the great emperor Akbar (1556–1605) when he consolidated the Mughal Empire.



Imagine

You are a peasant in Alauddin Khalji's or Muhammad Tughluq's reign and you cannot pay the taxes demanded by the Sultan. What will you do?

Let's recall

1. Which ruler first established his or her capital at Delhi?
2. What was the language of administration under the Delhi Sultans?
3. In whose reign did the Sultanate reach its farthest extent?
4. From which country did Ibn Battuta travel to India?

KEYWORDS



iqta

tarikh

garrison

Mongols

gender

kharaj



Let's understand

5. According to the “circle of justice”, why was it important for military commanders to keep the interests of the peasantry in mind?
6. What is meant by the “internal” and “external” frontiers of the Sultanate?
7. What were the steps taken to ensure that *muqtis* performed their duties? Why do you think they may have wanted to defy the orders of the Sultans?

Let's discuss

8. Do you think the authors of *tawarikh* would provide information about the lives of ordinary men and women?
9. Raziyya Sultan was unique in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. Do you think women leaders are accepted more readily today?
10. Why were the Delhi Sultans interested in cutting down forests? Does deforestation occur for the same reasons today?

Let's do

11. Find out whether there are any buildings built by the Delhi Sultans in your area. Are there any other buildings in your area that were built between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries? Describe some of these buildings, and draw sketches of them.