CHAPTER ELEVEN

GUJARAT AND KHANDESH

TIMURID INVASION AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF TUGHLUQ EMPIRE

The tottering Tughluq empire was shaken to its very foundations by the invasion of Timur in 801/1398-99. Cities and forts fell before him like ripe plums and soon the Central Asian hordes were at the gates of Delhi. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud got ready for battle, but his forces broke up in the very first encounter, and the Tughluq Sultan fled from the capital leaving his women and children behind. He took refuge with Zafar Khan, the Tughluq governor of Gujarat, who received him hospitably but declined to undertake the hazardous expedition to Delhi, which was desired by his royal guest. Despairing and disappointed, Mahmud made his way to Dhar, where he was welcomed by Dilawar Khan Ghuri, the Tughluq governor of Malwa, and was allowed to remain in hiding till the Timurid hordes had departed from India.

When the tide of the Timurid invasion rolled back, the provincial satraps, who had kept up the fiction of allegiance to the Tughluq roi feigning, proclaimed their independence. First among such satraps was Malik Nasir, the son of Malik Raja Ahmad Faruqi, who claimed descent from Umar Faruq, the second Orthodox Caliph. In his youth Raja Ahmad had attracted the notice of Sultan Firuz Tughluq during a chase; he was able to supply some food to the hungry Sultan, who as a reward conferred on him the districts of Thalner and Karanda on the border of the Deccan. Soon afterwards he conquered some neighbouring territory and carved out for himself a small principality in the valley of the Tapti. He, however, came into conflict with Sultan Mahmud Bahmani of the Deccan, and set out for Daulatabad where he approached Shaikh Zainuddin, who welcomed him as a disciple and said, 'Well done, Raja Ahmad!' From this circumstance the family

1 Yahya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, Calcutta, 1931.
2 Abdul Husain, Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shuli, Commonwealth Relations Office, No. 3842, 20a.
3 Yahya, 170.
4 Ferishta, Tarikh-i Ferishta, II, Bombay, 1832, 542-43.
derived the title of Raja. Before his death on 22 Sha'ban 801/29 April 1399, Raja Ahmad sent for his two sons, Malik Nasir and Malik Iftikhar; he nominated the former as his successor and bestowed the fort and district of Thalner on the latter. Immediately after the death of his father, Raja Nasir proclaimed his independence, assumed the insignia of royalty, caused the Khutba to be read in his name and 'thereby realized the wish which his father had carried with him to his grave'.

MUZAFFAR SHAH I, MUHAMMAD SHAH I

The example of Raja Nasir was soon followed by his more powerful and ambitious neighbour, Tatar Khan, son of Zafar Khan of Gujarat, whose father, Sadharan, entitled Wajihul Mulk, was a Rajput convert to Islam and had given his sister in marriage to Firuz Tughluq. After Firuz's death, his son and successor, Muhammad Tughluq, sent Zafar Khan as governor of Gujarat in 798/1391 but kept his son, Tatar Khan, at the capital. While Zafar Khan built up the nucleus of power in Gujarat, Tatar Khan took active part in the intrigues at the court of the later Tughluqs. Outmanoeuvred by his powerful adversary, Mallu Iqbal Khan, in 800/1397, Tatar Khan was forced to flee to Gujarat and began to importune his father to march on Delhi. Zafar Khan, deterred by the tokens of Timur's impending invasion, declined to undertake the hazardous expedition. On Timur's departure from India, Tatar Khan revived his importunities, but Zafar Khan, well-stricken in years, shrank from the risky enterprise.

At this stage commences a divergence in the accounts of our authorities. According to Abdul Husain, the official historian, Zafar Khan, finding his son insistent on his ambitious designs, abdicated in his favour, crowned him as Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah in Jamadi II 806/December-January 1403-4, while he himself retired into private life in the town of Asawal. Immediately after his accession, Muhammad Shah equipped a large army and moved out of Asawal with the object of marching against Mallu Iqbal Khan; but when he received intelligence of the revolt of the Raja of Nandod, to the east of Broach, he

6 Ferishta, II, 543-44.
8 Abdul Husain, ff. 3a-4a.
9 Yahya, 161-64.
10 Abdul Karim, Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi, Eton College Library, No. 160, Tabaqa, IX, year 800.
11 Abdul Husain, f. 19b.
set out against him, and after suppressing the revolt, resumed his march to Delhi. On his way he fell ill and, though treated by the best physicians, succumbed to his illness in Sha'ban 806/February-March 1404.12

The above theory of abdication has been challenged by non-official historians, like Sikandar, Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Ali Muhammad Khan, who maintain that Tatar Khan, being disappointed by his father's indifference towards his ambitions and being advised by ill-intentioned friends, imprisoned his father, Zafar Khan, by a sudden coup d'état and proclaimed himself king at Asawal. Thereafter he appointed his father's brother, Shams Khan Dandani, as his wakil-i mamalik and marched towards Delhi, as stated earlier. Meanwhile Zafar Khan made overtures to his younger brother, Shams Khan Dandani, and appealed to him to secure his release from his ignoble situation. Shams Khan, therefore, administered poison in a cup of wine to his nephew and thus brought about his death.13

It may be argued that Sikandar, Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Ali Muhammad compiled their chronicles during the Mughal period and were likely to be prejudiced against the founder of the sultanat of Gujarat. This charge, however, cannot be valid in the case of Yahya Sirhind, who categorically states that in 806/1404, Tatar Khan, having treacherously confined his father, adopted the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah, collected a large army and was leading it against Delhi; but while he was on his way, Shams Khan administered poison to him and he died owing to it on the same day.14 Yahya compiled his chronicle earlier than Abdul Husain and was at liberty to call a spade a spade.

An argument may be advanced that Abdul Husain wrote his chronicle while in Gujarat and Yahya compiled his history at a place far removed from the scene of action and as such was not in a position to know the truth. This argument is not, however, valid against Abdul Karim, who not only wrote his general history in Gujarat but also dedicated it to Mahmud Begarha on its completion in 905/1499-1500. He records both versions about the death of Muhammad Shah, but unequivocally selects the poison version as the asha-i riwayat or the most veracious report.15

But whatever may have been the cause of Muhammad Shah's

12 Abdul Husain, ff. 25b-26a.
14 Yahya, 172.
15 Abdul Karim, 806.
death, Zafar Khan lamented the loss of his son. Released from imprisonment, he proceeded post-haste to Patan, where Muhammad Shah was buried amidst universal mourning. Thereafter Shams Khan was sent back to Nagaur, and Zafar Khan carried on the administration as before. He refrained from assuming the insignia of royalty till 810/1407-08, when at the request of his nobles he proclaimed his independence as ‘Muzaffar Shah’ at Birpur on his way to Malwa, where he was proceeding to avenge the death of his friend, Dilawar Ghuri, who had been poisoned by his son, Alp Khan.16

After assuming the insignia of royalty at Birpur, Zafar Khan resumed his march to Malwa, which was both weak and distraught after the death of Dilawar Khan. The latter’s young and inexperienced son, Sultan Hushang (Alp Khan), came out of Dhar to meet his old and veteran adversary in battle but was beaten in the very first encounter and taken prisoner by Muzaffar. With Hushang as his prisoner, Muzaffar moved to the north as he had come to know that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur had launched a full-scale invasion on the nominal emperor, Mahmud Shah Tughluq, and after reducing Kanauj and investing Sambhal, had finally laid siege to Delhi. As soon as the Sharqi Sultan came to know about the movements of Muzaffar, he gave up his offensive campaign, and cutting short his siege, returned to Jaunpur in order to guard his own frontiers against the Sultan of Gujarat. Since his object had been attained, Muzaffar gave up the projected distant and risky campaign, and returned to his capital with Hushang as his captive, leaving Malwa in charge of his brother, Khan-i Azam Nusrat Khan.17

Nusrat Khan was not welcomed as a ruler in Malwa; within a year the nobles rose against him, selected Musa Khan from amongst themselves as their leader, and recovered Mandu in Rajab 811/November-December 1408.18 When Hushang came to know about this revolution, he appealed to Muzaffar and offered to hold Malwa for the Sultan of Gujarat, provided he was released from prison. Muzaffar, who had by now realized that it was difficult to govern Malwa directly, agreed to the proposal and sent him to Mandu under the escort of Prince Ahmad, son of late Sultan Muhammad Shah. Ahmad reinstated Hushang and returned to Gujarat.19

As soon as Muzaffar was free from the Malwa problem in 812/1409, his attention was drawn to the revolt of the Rajputs of Kathakot, which is situated in Vagad to the east of Cutch. The aged

16 Abdul Husain, 290-96; Abdul Karim, 810.
17 Abdul Husain, f. 30a; Abdul Karim, year 810; Yahya, 176.
18 Shihab-i Hakim, Mo’asr-i Mahmud Shahi, Bodleian Library, No. 270, f. 35a.
19 Abdul Husain, f. 30b; Abdul Karim, year 811.
Sultan sent a large force under the command of Khudawand Khan, who succeeded in suppressing the revolt and returned triumphant to the capital.\textsuperscript{20} This was the last campaign of the reign of Muzaffar.

There is some discrepancy among historians about the date and cause of Muzaffar’s death. Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad tell us that at the end of Safar 813/June-July 1410, Muzaffar was compelled to take a cup of poison administered to him by his grandson, Ahmad, who afterwards ascended the throne of Gujarat on 14 Ramazan 810/10 January 1411.\textsuperscript{21} Entirely at variance with this is the version given by Nizamuddin and Abul Baqi Nahavandi. They inform us that about the middle of 813/October-November 1410, Muzaffar fell seriously ill, and realizing that his end was near, abdicated in favour of his grandson, Ahmad Khan, who was raised to the throne. Though Muzaffar lingered on till his death in Safar 814/May-June 1411, the Khutba was read and coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah.\textsuperscript{22} Ferishta supports the abdication theory and states that Muzaffar fell ill at the end of Safar 814/May-June 1411 but passed away on 8 Rabi II 814/30 July 1411.\textsuperscript{23} Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim, both near-contemporary historians, refer neither to the poisoning of Muzaffar nor to his abdication in favour of his grandson. They simply state that Muzaffar died a natural death in 814/1411 and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad.\textsuperscript{24}

It will be noticed that the natural death theory of Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim is not irreconcilable with the abdication theory of Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Nahavandi, but it is certainly in conflict with the poison theory of Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad. It may be argued that Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim were the proteges of Mahmud Begarha, the grandson of Ahmad Shah, and as such could not be expected to have enjoyed complete freedom of expression. This charge of expediency cannot, however, be brought against Shihab-i Hakim, who refers to the death of Muzaffar, but does not throw even a hint to show that he was poisoned by his grandson.\textsuperscript{25} It may be noted that Shihab-i Hakim was the official historian of the sultanat of Malwa and his work was inspired by Mahmud Khalji I (839-73/1436-69), who was an inveterate enemy

\textsuperscript{20} Sikandar, 26-27; Nizamuddin, III, 94.
\textsuperscript{22} Nizamuddin, III, 95; Abdul Baqi Nahavandi, \textit{Mu'asir-i-Rahim}, II, Calcutta, 1925, 134.
\textsuperscript{23} Ferishta, II, 358.
\textsuperscript{24} Abdul Husain, ff. 32a-32b; Abdul Karim, year 814.
\textsuperscript{25} Shihab-i Hakim, f. 37a,
of the House of Muzaffar. Shihab-i Hakim would, therefore, have been only too ready to credit and record any rumour which reflected adversely on the character of the enemies of his patron. The contemporary official as well as non-official chroniclers of the sultanat of Gujarat are, thus, unanimous in maintaining that Muzaffar died a natural death.

It is significant to note that the poison theory appeared immediately after the downfall of the sultanat of Gujarat and the annexation of the province to the Mughal empire by Akbar. It was first propounded by Sikandar and Mahmud, and thereafter found an echo in the work of the eighteenth century chronicler, Ali Muhammad. It may be noted in this connection that these chroniclers record the poison episode centuries after the death of Muzaffar, and they neither disclose the source of their information nor name their authorities. It, therefore, seems obvious that they based their theory on oral tradition. A number of questions are naturally posed at this stage. Was the oral tradition so strong and popular as to survive down the centuries? If it was so strong, why did it not reach the other contemporaries of Sikandar and Mahmud? Nizamuddin, Abdul Baqi and Ferishta do record the death of Muzaffar but none of them even hint at the poison episode. It may, indeed, be argued that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad wrote their chronicles in Gujarat, and as such were in a better position to acquaint themselves with the local tradition than those who wrote their histories at distant places. This may be true of Abdul Baqi and Ferishta but certainly not of Nizamuddin, who was bakhshi of Gujarat from 991/1583-84 to 996/1587-88 and as such had every opportunity of discovering the so-called popular poison episode. He also enjoyed absolute freedom to record what he considered to be true.

Moreover the absolute dependence of Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad on 'hearsay' makes them slip into a very serious pitfall. They place the death of Muzaffar at the end of Safar 813/June-July 1410 and the enthronement of Ahmad in the middle of Ramazan 813/December 1410-January 1411. They thus unconsciously leave a fairly long interval of more than six months between the death of Muzaffar and the accession of Ahmad. Now the question naturally arises: What happened during this long interval? Did the throne of Gujarat remain unoccupied from Safar to Ramazan 813/July 1410 to January 1411? If Ahmad was so impatient for the throne, why did he wait so long to assume the reins of government after forcing his grandfather to take a cup of poison? Sikandar and Mahmud have no reply to give. They are silent and their silence knocks the bottom out of their poison theory. In view of the facts stated above it would
not be wrong to conclude that Muzaffar died a natural death in 814/1411 and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad, who assumed the title of Shihabuddin Ahmad Shah.

**AHMAD SHAH**

The succession of Ahmad Shah to the throne was contested by his uncle, Maudud Sultani alias Firuz Khan, who held the *iqta* of Baroda. In this rebellion Firuz was supported not only by his brothers, like Shaikh Malik Sultani alias Haibat Khan, Sher Khan and Sa‘adat Khan, but also by disaffected Hindu nobles, like Jiwandas Khattri and Priyagdas. The rebels collected a large army and assembled at Broach, where they waited for help from Hushang of Malwa, who wanted to exploit the situation in exactly the same manner as Muzaffar had done at the beginning of his reign. When Ahmad Shah came to know about this, he marched to Broach and pitched his tents on the bank of Narbada on 1 Shawwal 815/4 January 1413. He sent conciliatory letters to the rebels, who were by now divided among themselves. Their troops had begun to desert to the Sultan and dissensions among them had broken up the league. Firuz Khan, Haibat Khan, Sher Khan and Sa‘adat Khan threw themselves on the clemency of the Sultan, who allowed them to retire to their respective *iqtas*. Firuz was given the *iqta* of Navsari in place of Baroda, which he had formerly held. In the meantime Hushang, who had marched to the border of Gujarat, retreated when he learnt that the rebellion had been extinguished.26

Immediately after putting down the rebellion, Ahmad felt the necessity of transferring his capital from Patan to a central place. He selected a spot near Asaval on the bank of the Sabarmati, laid the foundation of the new metropolis in 815/1413, and called it Ahmadabad after his own name. There is some difference among historians as regards the date of the foundation of Ahmadabad. Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim, supported by Ferishta, place the foundation of Ahmadabad in 815/1413, but Sikandar, Mahmud, Nizamuddin and Ali Muhammad maintain that Ahmad Shah founded the city on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411.27 It may be noted in this connection that Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim compiled their chronicles more than a hundred years before Sikandar, Mahmud, Nizamuddin and Ali Muhammad.28 Moreover, they had access to

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26 Abdul Husain, ff. 33b-34b; Ferishta, II, 358-59; Nizamuddin, III, 95-97.
27 Abdul Husain, 34b; Abdul Karim, year 815; Ferishta, II, 360.
the state archives, which was not possible for the later chroniclers, who wrote after the downfall of the sultanat. On historical grounds, therefore, the statement of Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim must be preferred to that of later historians.

It is significant to note in this connection that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad place the coronation of Ahmad on 13-14 Ramazan 813/9-10 January 1411, and the foundation of Ahmadabad on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, as stated earlier. It is difficult to believe that hardly forty-eight days after his accession to the throne Ahmad could have consolidated his position so well as to think of founding a city, which he proposed to make his capital. It may also be noted that immediately after his accession Ahmad was confronted by a formidable rebellion headed by his four uncles, who resented their nephew's elevation to the throne. In fact Ahmad was too much occupied with the suppression of the revolt to think of founding a city hardly forty eight days after his accession. This hypothesis gains further support when we find that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad place the foundation of the city of Ahmadabad on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, but defer the foundation of the first mosque of the metropolis to 815/1413.29 Contemporary epigraphical evidence tells us that the foundation of the first mosque of the reign of Ahmad Shah was laid on 1 Rajab 815/7 October 1412.30 It will be observed that there is (according to these authors) an interval of more than one and a half years between the foundation of the metropolis and its first mosque. It is difficult to believe that Ahmad Shah, a zealous Muslim as he was, should have laid the foundation of his metropolis on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, and deferred the foundation of its first mosque till 1 Rajab 815/7 October 1412. It is probable that the foundation of the metropolis was simultaneous with the foundation of its first mosque.

Hardly had Ahmad Shah laid the foundation of the new capital when he was called upon to deal with another insurrection led by Firuz Khan, Habiib Khan and Malik Badr-i Ala. This revolt was supported by some Rajput chiefs, prominent among whom was Rao Ranmal, the Raja of Idar. Ahmad Shah marched against them and encamped near Modasa. He offered conciliation as before, but getting no response stormed the fortress of Modasa. Most of the rebels, including Badr-i Ala, fell fighting. The news of the fall of Modasa unnerved Ranmal, who parted company with Firuz. The latter fled to his uncle, Shams Khan Dandani, at Nagaur, leaving

29 Sikandar, 37; Mahmud, 23; Ali Muhammad, Khatimah, 2-3.
behind his treasures which were seized by Ranmal, who surrendered them to Ahmad as a token of his submission.\textsuperscript{31}

The suppression of the revolt of Badr-i Ala did not mean the end of all troubles. Ahmad had now to face a fresh revolt of disgruntled nobles led by Shah Malik, who was in league with Hushang of Malwa and Kanha Satarsal, the Raja of Mandal. Hushang marched from his capital and pitched his tents on the frontier of Gujarat. When Ahmad Shah came to know of this development, he too marched to Champaner, and encamping there, sent his noble Imadul Mulk against his adversary. Confronted by Imad, Hushang retreated into his own territory under the pretext that he considered it below his dignity to fight a slave of Ahmad. As a result, Kanha Satarsal was frightened into abjuring his alliance with Hushang. Ahmad then despatched prince Latif Khan against the insurgents, who were compelled to disperse. Shah Malik took refuge with Rao Melaga, the Raja of Girnar in Saurashtra.\textsuperscript{32}

For harbouring the rebel fugitives, Rao Melaga (according to Gangadhara) incurred the hostility of Ahmad.\textsuperscript{33} Abdul Husain, however, is of the opinion that Ahmad was attracted by the lure of the conquest of the impregnable fortress of Girnar, which he attacked in 816/1414. Melaga opposed Ahmad but was defeated and forced to seek refuge in the fortress of Girnar. Thereupon Ahmad invested the fortress, and as the siege was prolonged, Melaga made overtures for peace. He offered to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultan and to pay tribute. Ahmad accepted the proposal and, leaving Saiyyid Abul Khair and Saiyyid Qasim Khan to collect the \textit{salami}, returned to Ahmadabad.\textsuperscript{34}

Soon after his return to Ahmadabad, Ahmad marched to Sidhpur, which was one of the most ancient pilgrim centres in north Gujarat. It was studded with beautiful temples, some of which were laid low. In the same year he introduced the \textit{jizya} and entrusted its administration to Malik Tuhfah, entitled Tajul Mulk, with instructions to put down all turbulent elements and to realize the iniquitous tax with a strong hand.\textsuperscript{35} Malik Tuhfa, therefore, suppressed some of the

\textsuperscript{31} Abdul Husain, ff. 36a-36b; Sikandar, 38-40; Nizamuddin III, 98-100; Ferishta, II, 360-61.

\textsuperscript{32} Abdul Husain, ff. 37a-37b; Abdul Karim, year 816; Sikandar, 40-41; Nizamuddin III, 100-1; Ferishta, II, 362.


\textsuperscript{34} Sikandar; 43-44; Nizamuddin, III, 102; Ferishta, II, 362.

\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{jizya} levied from the chiefs by the central authority should not be confused with the \textit{shari'at jizya}, which is a personal tax levied on non-Muslim inhabitants directly — Editor.
Rajput chieftains and collected both jizya and salami from them. It is significant to note in this connection that this iniquitous tax was unknown to Gujarat for nearly a century and quarter of Muslim rule. While he was busy demolishing temples at Sidhpur, Ahmad was called upon to deal with the invasion of Nandurbar by Nasir of Asir. Nasir, who had proclaimed his independence after the death of his father in 801/1399, first conquered Lalang, Songir and Dilkot. After that he captured by stratagem the hill fortress of Asirgarh from the pastoral chieftain, Asa Ahir, from whom it has taken its name. Raja Nasir founded a new city at the instance of Shaikh Zainuddin, the spiritual guide of the dynasty, who had come from Daulatabad to visit him; and as desired by the Shaikh, he named it Burhanpur after Shaikh Burhanuddin, a khalifa of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, who is buried in the hills above Daulatabad. On the eastern bank of the Tapti, where Shaikh Zainuddin had lodged, Raja Nasir founded a village, which he named Zainabad. Having thus established himself in eastern Khandesh, Raja Nasir resolved to extend his authority over Thalner, which was ruled over by his younger brother, Hasan alias Malik Iftikhar. In order to achieve this end, he sought the aid of Hushang of Malwa, who had married Nasir's sister. Hushang sent his son, Ghazni Khan, to the assistance of Nasir, while Hasan sought the help of Ahmad Gujarati. But before any assistance from Gujarat could arrive, the combined force of Nasir and Ghazni Khan captured the fort of Thalner and Hasan was taken prisoner. Nasir then invaded Gujarat to forestall interference from Ahmad and also to recover the parganas of Sultanpur and Nandurbar lost to Muzaffar by his father.

As soon as Ahmad came to know about this alarming development, he sent Malik Mahmud Turk to the threatened area and prepared to follow him in person without delay. Meanwhile Rao Punja of Idar, Rawal Trimbakdas of Champauer and Raja Satarsal of Mandal had combined against Ahmad; they also invited Hushang, who had not only marched right up to Modasa in Gujarat, but even sent word to Shams Khan at Nagaur promising to give him Patan if he joined the allies. Shams Khan curtly refused the offer and informed his young nephew about the danger threatening him.

In view of this dangerous situation, Ahmad left Malik Mahmud to relieve Sultanpur and to conduct a limited war against

36 Abdul Husain, f. 38b; Abdul Karim, year 817; Sikandar, 44-46; Ferishta, II, 362-63.
37 Hajind Dahir, I, 52.
38 Ferishta, II, 445-47.
39 Sikandar, 46-47; Nizamuddin, III, 103; Ferishta, II, 363.
Raja Nasir. He himself marched against Hushang on 10 Rajab 820/23 August 1417, and within a short period of six days he confronted his enemy at Modasa. The rapid movements of Ahmad seem to have completely frustrated the plans of the allies. Hushang upbraided them for their incautious optimism and retreated to Malwa without risking a battle. Abandoned by their chief ally, the Rajput princes retired to their respective principalities. Malik Mahmud then turned to Sultanpur, which had been besieged by Nasir and Ghazni Khan. They raised the siege and attempted to get away; Ghazni Khan succeeded, but Nasir had to surrender near Sultanpur on 1 Zil Hij, 820/9 January 1418. In the meantime Ahmad had marched from Modasa to Sultanpur. Abandoned by his allies, Nasir now appealed for terms. Peace was made on Nasir’s swearing fealty to Ahmad and acknowledging his overlordship. Ahmad, in return, gave him the title of ‘Khan’ and allowed him to use the red canopy (chatr), though he was subordinate to Gujarat. Nasir’s brother, Hasan, retired to Gujarat, where he and his descendants found a home for generations and intermarried with the royal house. With cordial relations thus established, Ahmad returned to his capital.40

Ahmad now realized that the real enemy was Hushang. Consequently he marched against Malwa on 19 Safar 821/28 March 1418. Hushang came out of his capital to give battle, but his troops broke up in panic when Malik Farid attacked the Malwa army from the rear. Hushang fled to Mandi; as the rainy season had set in, Ahmad returned to his capital but resumed the offensive in the following year at the commencement of the campaigning season. But he had hardly left Mankani, an outpost on the Gujarat-Malwa frontier, when he was waited upon by the Malwa envoys who sued for peace. Ahmad accepted these pacific overtures; and after scoring this prestige victory, he returned to his capital by the end of Rabi II 822/May 1419, as the rains were approaching. During the next year Ahmad remained busy in building and garrisoning bastions round about the eastern border adjoining Malwa. He repaired and strengthened the old forts.41

Relatively secure at home, Ahmad resumed his offensive against Malwa at the end of 824/December 1421. When he reached Sankhera on 22 Safar 825/15 February 1422, he received the news that Hushang had gone to Jajnagar (Orissa) to secure elephants in order to gain superiority over his rival. Ahmad made up his mind to exploit the opportunity, and advanced to Maheshwar, which fell to

40 Sikandar, 47-48; Nizamuddin, 103-4; Ferishta, 363-64.
41 Sikandar, 50-52; Nizamuddin, III, 107-8; Ferishta, II, 364-65.
him without much resistance. Entrusting the fallen fortress to his officers, Ahmad marched to Mandu and invested it on 12 Rabi II 825/5 April 1422. The siege continued till the advent of the rains compelled Ahmad to shift to a better encamping spot—Ujjain—where he remained during the rainy season. When the weather cleared, the siege of Mandu was resumed on 20 Ramazan 825/7 September 1422.42

In the meantime Hushang had succeeded in entering his capital and his return infused a new spirit in the defenders. Finding that he had failed to prevent the entry of Hushang into Mandu, and that the reduction of the massive fort was impossible in spite of the munjaniqs and iradas that he had specially ordered from Gujarat, Ahmad left the place and marched towards Sarangpur, where he was encountered by Hushang, who had reached the place by a more direct route. After a number of skirmishes, Ahmad defeated Hushang in a pitched battle and, seizing several elephants Hushang had brought from Jajnagar, he returned to his capital on 4 Jamadi II 826/15 May 1423. In consideration of the fatigue of his soldiers, Ahmad refrained from embarking on any military enterprise for three years and devoted himself entirely to the work of consolidation and administrative reform.43

When the army had been reorganized, Ahmad turned his attention to the Rajput princes of Gujarat, who had viewed the rise of the sultanat in their midst with apprehension and were ever ready to take advantage of its weakness. Ahmad, on his part, considered that the control of these principalities on the periphery was vital for the defence of the sultanat. In 829/1426 he, therefore, resumed his offensive against Rao Punja of Idar, the son of Rao Ranmal, who had not only joined hands with the enemies of Ahmad but had ceased to send any tribute for several years past. Ahmad despatched a force against Idar and immediately afterwards took the field in person against the Rajput Raja. The pressure of the Sultan made Punja abandon his capital and take refuge in the hills, thus harassing the Sultan’s army. To overawe the refractory feudatory, Ahmad founded Ahmadnagar (now called Himmatnagar) after his name on the banks of the river Hatmati, and made up his mind to stay there till the successful conclusion of the campaign.

Establishing himself at Ahmadnagar, he sent troops all over the principality to ravage and lay waste the land. In a skirmish with the royal troops, Rao Punja was entrapped in a precipitous defile and

42 Sikandar, 52-53; Nizamuddin III, 109; Ferishta, II, 365.
43 Sikandar, 53-56; Nizamuddin, 109-12; Ferishta II, 366-88.
was killed by falling into an abyss on 5 Jamadi 831/21 February 1428. Next day his head was recovered and brought before Ahmad by a wood-cutter. Punja’s son, IIar Rao, sought pardon; he was duly forgiven and installed in his father’s place on promising to pay a heavy tribute of three lakhs of silver tankas. Leaving Malik Hasan Safdarul Mulk in the thana of Ahmadnagar, the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad. Next year when IIar Rao was required to pay the promised tribute, he delayed payment under various excuses. When the news reached the Sultan, he marched against the refractory feudatory, who fled from his capital and took refuge in the forest. The Sultan entered Idar on 6 Safar 832/15 November 1428, and after laying the foundation of the Juma Mosque he returned to the capital.44

The subjugation of Idar created apprehensions in the heart of Rai Kanha, the Rajput ruler of Jhalawar, who, considering discretion to be the better part of valour, proceeded to Asir and sought the help of Nasir of Khandesh in 833/1430. The latter, chagrined at the subjugation imposed upon him by Ahmad Gujarati more than a decade back, had entered into a matrimonial alliance with Ahmad Bahmani by giving his daughter, Agha Zainab, in marriage to Alauddin, son of Ahmad Bahmani. Nasir could not venture to invite the wrath of Ahmad Gujarati by giving shelter to Kanha. He, however, sent him to Ahmad Bahmani with a letter of recommendation. Ahmad Bahmani not only welcomed Rai Kanha but provided him with a small force with which he raided Nandurbar and Sultanpur. When this was reported to Ahmad Gujarati, he immediately despatched a powerful army under his son and heir-apparent, Muhammad Khan, who forced the Deccanis to retreat to their own territory. Ahmad Bahmani then sent his own son and heir-apparent, Alauddin Ahmad Khan, to check the Gujaratis. But before reinforcements could reach the Deccanis, the Gujaratis had already reached near Daulatabad; Alauddin Bahmani was joined by his father-in-law, Nasir of Khandesh, and in one of the sharpest encounters that ensued, the allies were worsted. Prince Alauddin Bahmani was compelled to take shelter in the fort of Daulatabad, while Nasir and Kanha fled to Asir. Perceiving that it would be futile to besiege Daulatabad, Muhammad laid waste a part of Khandesh and retired to Nandurbar.45

While these developments were taking place in Khandesh, Khalaf Hasan, entitled Malikut Tujjar, a Deccani noble, occupied

44 Sikandar, 56-57; Nizamuddin, III, 118-15; Ferishta, II, 368-69.
45 Nizamuddin, III, 115-17; Ferishta II, 369-70.
Mahim, the most southern outpost of Gujarat. Ahmad Gujarati sent his younger son, Zafar Khan, to the relief of the town and asked Mukhlisul Mulk, the kotwal of Diu, to collect a fleet and sail to the coast of the Konkon in order to cooperate with the land forces. Zafar Khan blockaded Thana, which was a Bahmani outpost, by land and sea. Unable to maintain the defence for long, the commander of the fort withdrew and the town capitulated. The Gujaratis then laid siege to Mahim, while the relieving force, led by Ahmad Bahmani’s younger son, Muhammad Khan, approached the beleaguered outpost. The Deccanis complained to the prince that while the fighting was done by them, the credit for victory would be taken by Malikut Tujuar. The prince was deceived and withdrew, leaving Malikut Tujuar to his fate. This opportunity was fully exploited by the Gujaratis, who stormed the fort. Malikut Tujuar fought valiantly but lost the battle and fled to his master, Ahmad Bahmani.46

Exasperated by these two successive reverses, Ahmad Bahmani attacked Baglana, a small Rajput principality between Gujarat and the Deccan, and ravaged the frontier parganas of Sultanpur and Nandurbar in 835/1432. Prince Muhammad Khan, who had been staying in Nandurbar since his earlier expedition to the south-east, informed his father of his inability to hold the fort against the Bahmanis. Ahmad Gujarati, therefore, instantly marched to Nandurbar and Ahmad Bahmani withdrew to Gulbarga. Ahmad Gujarati started on his return march to Ahmadabad, but hardly had he crossed the Tapti when news arrived that Ahmad Bahmani had invested Tambol, which was valiantly defended by the Gujarati officer, Sa’adat Sultani. Ahmad Gujarati marched to the relief of the fortress. A pitched battle was fought from morning till evening but remained indecisive. Dismayed by the extent of his losses, Ahmad Bahmani retreated back to his own territory in the darkness of the night. Ahmad Gujarati repaired to the fort of Tambol and, after honouring the valiant defender, returned to his capital.47

Free from the Bahmanis of the Deccan, Ahmad turned his attention to the Rajputs of the north, who had not only supported their disaffected kinsmen in Gujarat but had also offered them shelter in time of trouble. Closest in contact with Gujarat was Mewar, then ruled over by Rana Mokal. Ahmad, therefore, marched against Mewar in Rajab 836/February-March 1433. Subjugating Ganesa, the Raja of Dungarpur, on his way, he destroyed the temples of Kelwarah and Dilwarah. Rana Mokal of Mewar proceeded to meet

46 Abdul Karim, year 833; Nizamuddin, III, 117-19; Ferishta, II, 370-71.
47 Abdul Karim, year 835; Nizamuddin III, 119-22; Ferishta, II, 371-73.
Ahmad, but before he could contact the invader, he was assassinated by his own followers. Thereafter Ahmad entered Mewar, and having taken ransom form the Rathor chieftains, he reached Nagaur, which was then ruled over by Firuz Khan, the son of Shams Khan Dandani and the nephew of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. Firuz, who had no desire to challenge the overlordship of the senior branch of the family, came out of the city, welcomed Ahmad and offered several lakhs of tankas as tribute. This voluntary acknowledgement of his authority pleased Ahmad so much that he generously returned the presents and confirmed his uncle in the government of Nagaur. Having thus accomplished his mission, Ahmad returned to his capital.48

Not long after his return, Ahmad was called upon to intervene in the dynastic feud of Malwa, which followed upon the death of Hushang in 838/1435. Hushang was succeeded by his son, Ghazni Khan, with the title of Muhammad Shah, but within a year he was poisoned by his wazir, Mahmud Khan Khalji, who seized the throne and ruled Malwa with the title of Mahmod Shah Khalji. In order to escape persecution, Masud Khan and Umar Khan, the surviving sons of Hushang, fled to Gujarat. The latter proceeded to the northern frontier of Malwa, while Masud stayed on in Gujarat and requested Ahmad to help him in gaining the throne of his father. Ahmad espoused his cause and in Ramazan 841/February-March 1438 marched against Mandu. He encamped on the bank of a tank in Jaisinghpur and sent Masud to begin the siege. As the siege was prolonged, Mahmud Khalji realized the futility of being cooped up in the fort. Meanwhile Umar Khan, the other son of Hushang, appeared in Chanderi and was proclaimed leader of the garrison by the nobles at that place. Mahmud, therefore, left his beleaguered capital in the charge of his father, Malik Mughis Khan-i Jahan, and proceeded to Sarangpur where he arrived early in 842/June 1438. Sarangpur capitulated and Mahmud marched against Umar Khan. In the encounter that took place between the two armies, Umar Khan was defeated and slain. After that Mahmud turned to Ahmad, who had moved to Ujjain to exploit his adversary’s difficulties. But at this time the army of Ahmad was so severely struck by a virulent form of epidemic plague that within two days several thousand people perished. This scourge frustrated the plans of Ahmad, who was compelled to retreat to Gujarat after promising Masud to return some time later to restore his ancestral throne to him. This promise he was unable to keep as he passed away on 4 Rabi II 846/.

48 Nizamuddin, III, 123-24; Ferishta, II, 373.
12 August 1442, leaving the throne to his son, Muhammad Khan, who succeeded him with the title of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah.49

Ahmad Shah, thus, extended the boundaries of the sultanat by his relentless wars. In these campaigns political interests more often than not transcended religious considerations. If he waged wars against the Rajput rulers of Gujarat, he also fought with the Muslim rulers of Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan.

Nevertheless the religious sentiments of Ahmad Shah, though somewhat exaggerated by the theological chroniclers, cannot be entirely ruled out. We are told that from the time of his attaining to majority till the time of his death, he had never omitted to perform the prescribed religious duties.50 At times his religiosity verged almost on iconoclasm. This is testified by his wanton demolition of the beautiful temples at Sidhpur and the imposition of the iniquitous tax, the jizya, which had been unknown to Gujarat before.

Apart from this iconoclasm, Ahmad was a ruler far above the average. He infused into his administration a spirit of unrelenting justice. It is on record that he did not hesitate to execute his own son-in-law in the market-place for a murder he had committed.51 Moreover he introduced the check-and-balance system in the revenue administration with a view to discouraging collusion among the amils (revenue collectors) and adopted the land-grant-cum-cash system for his army.52

Furthermore, he well-nigh realized the necessity of inducing Hindus into the hierarchy of the government. Manikechand and Motichand, belonging to the banya or commercial community, held the important offices of ministers under him.53 Moreover he is reported to have employed a Brahman for the specific purpose of searching out a suitable Hindu bride fit for the Sultan.54 In this way Ahmad Shah laid the foundation of what ultimately became a polyglot polity.

It may, however, be pointed out in this connection that Ahmad could not resist the urge of the flesh, and demanded the daughters of his vanquished foes as an offering to his authority. Such requisitions could not but meet with resistance from the Rajputs, who were proud of their lineage. Matrimonial alliance with the Muslims inevitably

49 Shihab-i Hakim, 258-59; Abdul Karim, year 846; Nizamuddin, III, 124, 316-20; Ferishta, II, 373-74.
50 Nizamuddin, III, 124.
51 Sikandar, 60-61; Mahmud Bukhari, 16.
52 Sikandar, 57-59.
54 Ibid., 324.
brought a stigma on the Rajputs as is testified by the case of the Waghela brothers, who courted the dishonour of their comperees in marrying their sister to Ahmad Shah. Rawal Satrasal Singh of Matar preferred death to the disgrace brought on him by his wife, who sent their beautiful daughter, Raniba, to the haram of the Sultan in order to secure the release of her husband from imprisonment. Such alliances were not without political and social implications. They made the allying Hindu family an outcaste among its own people, linking thereby the bride’s house indissolubly to the sultanat. The example of the Sultan was followed by the Muslim nobility. Out of such alliances sprang up a new class of Rajput-Muslims—the Mole Islam—which provided the most dependable support to the sultanat.

If Ahmad Shah encouraged matrimonial alliances between the Rajputs and the Muslims, he also tried his best to reconcile the Jain and the Islamic architectural styles in the moniments he built in his new metropolis of Ahmadabad. This blending of the two divergent styles explains why Muslim architecture assumed in Gujarat a distinct local form. Ahmad Shah built magnificent mosques, khanqahs and madrasas, where the seekers of knowledge drank deep from the fountain of learning. Describing the new metropolis, Hulwi Shirazi, the poet-chronicler of Ahmad Shah, says:

‘Innumerable are the colleges therein;
there are inns for the residence of travellers.’

Ahmad himself was a learned man, endowed with literary talents. He is said to have composed a panegyric in praise of Burhanuddin Quth-i Alam Bukhari and recited it in the presence of the saint as was the custom of the day. One of the couplets, translated into English, runs thus:

‘Burhan, the Proof, our Polar Star,
Our pattern and our guide—
The Proof, in whose convincing truth,
We, and all men, confide.’

Being a learned man, Ahmad was naturally fond of men with the same inclination. Badruddin Damamini, the renowned Egyptian savant who visited Gujarat in his reign, calls him ‘the learned of the sultans and the Sultan of the learned’.

55 Ibid., 319-20.
56 Ibid., 324-25.
57 Hulwi Shirazi, Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi, III; Sikandar, 36.
58 Sikandar, 36; Ali Muhammad, Khatimah, 27.
59 Hajiud Dahir, I, xiii.
NASIR AND MIRAN ADIL OF KHANDESH

In the meantime, Nasir of Khandesh had embroiled himself in hostilities with the Deccan. His daughter, Agha Zainab, complained that her husband, Alauddin Bahmani, who had succeeded his father in 839/1436, was neglecting her for his new handsome Hindu queen, who was given the name of Zib Chihra. In order to avenge his daughter's wrongs, Nasir, after obtaining the consent of Ahmad Gujarati, invaded Berar, where many of the amirs welcomed him owing to his descent from the Caliph Umar and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name. In 841/1437, Khan-i Jahan, the loyal Bahmani governor, shut himself up in Narnala and appealed for assistance to his king, Alauddin Bahmani. The latter sent against his father-in-law a large army under the command of Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan, who drove Nasir into his hill-fortress of Laling, whither Khalaf Hasan followed him after laying waste the fertile plains of Khandesh. Nasir made a sortie with 12,000 horse and a large force of foot but suffered a severe defeat, which so preyed upon his mind that it is said to have contributed to his death, which occurred on 19 Rabi I 841/20 September 1437. He was buried in the family vault at Thalner by the side of his father, Raja Ahmad.60

Raja Nasir was succeeded by his son, Miran Adil Khan, whose mother was the sister of Hushang of Malwa. Soon after his accession Adil wrote pressing letters to the sultans of Gujarat and Malwa for aid. In response to his appeal, Ahmad Gujarati immediately sent his army to Sultanpur. When Khalaf Hasan heard that a Gujarati force was advancing from Nandurbar to the succour of Adil, he raised the siege of Laling and retired to the Deccan with his plunder, which included seventy elephants and many guns. Thereafter Adil ruled in peace for about three years till he was assassinated in the city of Burhanpur on Friday, 8 Zil Hij 844/30 April 1441, and was buried at Thalner by the side of his father. Adil was succeeded by his son, Miran Mubarak.61

MUHAMMAD SHAH II

Now turning to Gujarat we find that Muhammad Shah, the son and successor of Ahmad Shah, marched against Rai Har, the son of Raja Punja of Idar, in 849/1446. Confronted with a huge army, Rai Har sought submission by offering his beautiful daughter in marriage to Muhammad, who was so infatuated by her beauty that only a few days after the wedding he agreed to restore the fort of Idar to Rai

60 Abdul Husain, ff. 55a-55b; Ferishta, II, 548-49; Hajjud Dabir, I, 53.
61 Ferishta, II, 549; Hajjud Dabir, I, 53.
Har, as desired by his beloved queen. Thereafter Muhammad advanced to Bakur. Gancsa, the Raja of Dumarpur, sought shelter in the hills, but when he saw the distress his people were suffering, he came out and, through the good offices of Khan-i Jahan Malik Munir Sultani, waited on the Sultan and regained his principality by agreeing to pay tribute. The Sultan returned triumphant to his capital. 62

Five years later Muhammad marched against Rawal Gangadas, son of Trimbakdas, the Raja of Champaner. Gangadas gave battle but was defeated and took refuge in the hill-fort of Pavagadh, above Champaner, which was closely invested by the Sultan. Finding himself in straits, the Rawal sent an emissary to Mahmud Khalji of Malwa appealing for help and offering to pay him one lakh of tankas for each day’s march to cover his expenses. 63 Mahmud marched to the relief of the Rawal with 1,00,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot and 2,000 elephants and ravaged the Sultan’s districts adjoining the borders of Malwa. 64 When Muhammad came to know of this new development, he raised the siege of Champaner and went to Godhra in order to collect more troops and arms, but he fell seriously ill and was removed to Ahmadabad, where he passed away on 8 Muharram 855/10 February 1451. 65

Muhammad Shah possessed neither the military genius and administrative skill nor the character of his great father. He had a pleasure-loving disposition and was so generous that people commonly called him Zarbakhsh or ‘giver of gold’. 66 Moreover, he was extremely mild and the mildness of his disposition earned for him the title of Karim or merciful. 67

Besides being merciful and generous, Muhammad revelled in the company of beautiful women and could not resist the urge of the flesh. We are told that the Jam of Thatta in Sind had two daughters, named Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali. The first was betrothed to Muhammad Shah and the second to Sirajuddin Muhammad Shah-i Alam, son of Burhanuddin Qutb-i Alam, the renowned saint of Gujarat. When Muhammad came to know that Bibi Mughali was more beautiful than his fiancée, he secured her hand for himself partly by force and partly by gold. 68

62 Sikandar, 63-64; Nizamuddin, III, 125-26.
63 Sikandar, 64; Nizamuddin, III, 126.
65 Nizamuddin, III, 126; Hajiud Dabir, I, 3.
66 Sikandar, 63.
67 Ferishta, II, 375.
68 Sikandar, 89.
In keeping with the policy of his father, Muhammad Shah espoused Rajput princesses. As we have seen Rao Har of Idar, finding his kingdom ravaged by the Sultan, sought submission by offering to him the hand of his handsome daughter in marriage. So tremendous was her influence on her husband that soon after her nuptials she got the kingdom of Idar restored to her father. 69 Under him Hindus enjoyed high official positions. A banya is said to have risen to the high position of being his counsellor and favourite companion. 70

QUTBUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II

A day after his death, the nobles raised to the throne Prince Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad Shah, who assumed the style and title of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah II. The young Sultan was at once confronted with the formidable task of defending his kingdom against the invasion of Mahmud of Malwa, who having crossed the frontier, had invested Sultanpur. Malik Alauddin Suhrab, who commanded the fort on behalf of the Sultan of Gujarat, purchased his safety by surrendering the fort and entering Mahmud’s service. Thereafter Mahmud marched on Broach where Marjan, the governor of the place, refused to surrender. Mahmud was about to besiege the town, when he was advised by Malik Alauddin to attack the capital instead. He, therefore, continued his march and arrived at Baroda, where he was joined by Rawal Gangadas of Champaner and other chiefs. Crossing the river Mahi, Mahmud marched right to Kaparbanj. On the last day of Safar 855/2 April 1451, Mahmud left his camp with the object of making a night-attack, but lost his way and, after wandering about the whole night, found himself at dawn in front of his own camp. Disappointed in his attempt to surprise the enemy, Mahmud arranged his army for fighting. In the battle that ensued Qutbuddin threw in his reserves at a very critical moment, with the result that the great army of Malwa was utterly routed, and Mahmud fled to Mandu leaving eighty elephants and his baggage in the hands of the victor, who returned triumphant to Ahmadabad. 71

Two years after his return, Qutbuddin was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Nagaur. His kinsman, Firuz Khan, had passed away, leaving the throne to be contested by his brother, Mujahid Khan, and his son, Shams Khan; and taking advantage of this

69 Ibid., 63.
70 Ibid., 66.
71 Abdul Karim, year 855; Abdul Husain, ff. 70a-71b; Sikandar, 69-80; Nizamuddin, III, 127-29, 331-84; Ferishta, II, 370-77.
situation, Rana Kumbha of Chitor occupied the territory. Shams Khan fled to Ahmadabad to seek help and gave his daughter in marriage to Qutbuddin, who immediately set out to avenge the wrong done to Shams Khan. On his way Gita Deva, the Raja of Sirohi, attended his camp and prayed for his help in recovering the fortress of Abu, which had also been seized by Rana Kumbha. Qutbuddin deputed Malik Shaban to take possession of Abu and hand it over to the Raja, but Malik Shaban was defeated by Rana Kumbha’s troops with great slaughter. Enraged by this defeat, Qutbuddin laid waste all the low lands of the Rana’s territory, defeated him in the field of battle and besieged him in Kumbhalgarh. As the siege was prolonged, Rana Kumbha was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of ample compensation to Shams Khan and a heavy indemnity to Qutbuddin, who returned to his capital.\footnote{72 Sikandar, 82-84; Nizamuddin, III, 129-31; Ferishta, II, 377-78.}

Not long after his return to Ahmadabad, Qutbuddin received a mission from Mahmud Khalji proposing a treaty of alliance between the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa against Rana Kumbha of Chitor. These overtures were favourably received by Qutbuddin and a treaty was concluded. It was stipulated that Qutbuddin should ravage such parts of the Rana’s territories as were contiguous to Gujarat while Mahmud should seize the country of Mewar and Ajmer. It was also agreed that whenever necessary they should not fail to help and assist each other. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, intelligence arrived in 861/1457 that Rana Kumbha had broken all his pledges and attacked Nagaur. Qutbuddin, therefore, set out for Kumbhalgarh. On his way he captured Abu, and made it over to Gita Deva, the Raja of Sirohi, who had been expelled from his mountain fortress by Rana Kumbha. On the other side, Mahmud Khalji moved to Mandasor in order to harass Rana Kumbha. Thereupon Qutbuddin attacked Kumbhalgarh but failed to take it and returned to Ahmadabad.\footnote{73 Nizamuddin, III, 336; Hajind Dahir, I, 201; Ferishta, II, 550.}

While Qutbuddin was campaigning in Kumbalgarh, Raja Mubarak of Khandesh attacked Baglana. Its ruler, Rai Manu, sought the help of Mahmud Khalji to whom he owed fealty and allegiance. In 857/1453 Mahmud sent Iqbal Khan and Yusuf Khan with a huge army to Baglana. Mubarak gave battle but fled back to Asir after suffering a heavy defeat. Next year Mubarak again attacked Baglana but Mahmud Khalji again came to the rescue of the Raja, and deputed his son, Ghivasuddin, to Baglana. Mubarak retreated to his country without risking a battle. Thereafter Mubarak reigned without undertaking any expedition till his death on 12 Rajab 861/5 June
1457, and was succeeded by his son, Malik Aina, who assumed the
title of Adil Khan II.74 Two years later Qutbuddin of Gujarat passed
away at Ahmadabad in Rajab 863/May 1459. As he was young and
had hitherto enjoyed good health, his death aroused the suspicion
that he had been poisoned by his wife, the daughter of Shams Khan
of Nagaur, so that her father might succeed to the throne of Gujarat.
When Qutbuddin was in the agony of death, his nobles killed Shams
Khan, and the Sultan’s mother ordered her slave-girls to tear the
unsuspecting queen to pieces.

Qutbuddin was brave but he possessed a violent disposition, a
capricious temper and a sanguinary nature. Often he put to death
some of his most confidential servants and favourites without the
slightest provocation. Under the influence of liquor he was particu-
larly reckless in shedding blood.75 More often than not on his
return from a battle-field, he abandoned himself to his passions and
sensuality.76 He had a number of queens in his haram but the most
favoured was the Rajput princess, Rani Manjhari, who wielded great
influence over her husband.77 Furthermore, he appointed Hindus to
some of the highest offices under him. Among his nobles we find
Aminchand Maneck, who was sent at the head of an expedition along
with Malik Gadai to help Firuz Khan of Nagaur against Rana
Kumbha.78

Qutbuddin kept up the traditions of his dynasty for architectural
works. He completed the mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at
Sarkhej, which his father had begun, and constructed the Hauz-i
Qutb with the Nagina Bagh in the centre.79 The Sultan could com-
pose verses in Gujarati and one such verse has come down to us.80

DAUD: MAHMUD I BEGARHA

On the death of Qutbuddin, the amirs raised to the throne Daud
Khan, the late Sultan’s uncle; but immediately after his accession
Daud elevated a farrash (carpet-spreader) to the dignity of a noble,
effected economies in the royal household and reduced the allowances
of the amirs. These acts of the Sultan were unconventional and must
have given umbrage to the amirs, who led by Malik Shaban
approached Bibi Mughali and persuaded her to allow them to raise

75 Ferishta, II, 380; Nizamuddin, III, 134.
76 Sikandar, 82.
77 Ibid., 87.
78 Ibid., 83.
79 Mahmud Bukhari, 27; Ali Muhammad, Khatimah, 19.
80 Saiyyid Muhammad Rizvi, Jumati Sahiyya, V, Juma, 24.
Fath Khan, then only thirteen years old, to the throne of his father on 1 Sha'ban 863/3 June 1459, with the title of Sultan Nasiruddin Abul Fath Mahmud Shah. He is commonly known as Mahmud Begarha, because he conquered the two Rajput forts (garhs) of Girnar and Champaner.

Four months after his accession, young Mahmud was faced with a formidable conspiracy hatched by leading nobles like Kabiruddin Azdul Mulk, Maulana Khizr Safiul Mulk, Pirahah Ismail Burhanul Mulk and Jhajju Muhammad Nizamul Mulk. They went to Mahmud and told him that Malikush Sharq Malik Shaban was intriguing to depose him and Mahmud, new as he was to political intrigues, believed them. Consequently they arrested Malik Shaban on 29 Ziqad 863/27 September 1459, and imprisoned him. During the following night Malik Abdullah, the darogha of the elephant-stables, informed Mahmud privately of the real state of affairs. The young Sultan consulted his mother and decided on his course of action. Early in the morning he proceeded to the place where Malik Shaban was confined, and stamping his foot on the ground demanded the immediate surrender of the traitor so that he might suffer instant death. The gaolers complied with the royal order, thinking that the designs of their masters were on the point of being fulfilled. But as soon as the Sultan had secured the person of his loyal minister, he ordered his fetters to be removed and begged his pardon. Finding the tables turned against them, the conspirators assembled their troops to give battle. When the Sultan came to know about this, he ordered the royal elephants to be assembled and with 3,000 adherents issued out from the citadel with a bow in his hand and a quiver at his back. Seeing the Sultan moving about in person, the assembled troops deserted the conspirators, who in their turn took to their heels. The conspiracy having been thus frustrated, Malik Shaban was restored to his office; but shortly afterwards he retired and Mahmud assumed charge of the administration of his kingdom.

In 866/1462 Mahmud of Gujarat went on a hunting expedition and encamped on the bank of the Khari, where he received an appeal for help from the infant Bahmani ruler, Nizam Shah of the Deccan, whose dominions had been ravaged by Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Mahmud Begarha, consequently, moved to the border, where another messenger informed him that Mahmud Khalji had

81 Abdul Husain, ff. 76b-82b; Abdul Karim, year 863; Ferishta, II, 380; Sikandar, 85-95; Nizamuddin, III, 133-95.
82 Sharfuddin, Tarikh-i Gujarat, Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh), No. 102.
83 Abdul Husain, ff. 99a-109b; Abdul Karim, year 863; Sikandar, 93-99; Nizamuddin, III, 136-98; Ferishta, II, 381-84.
defeated the Deccanis. He, therefore, marched into Khandesh and cut off the retreat of the Malwa army, which was compelled to retire by way of Gondwana and suffered terribly. Next year Mahmud Khalji again invaded the Deccan but retreated on hearing that the Sultan of Gujarat was marching against him. Thereafter Mahmud Begarha wrote to Mahmud Khalji that it was unfair on his part to molest a child, who had not reached the age of maturity, and warned him that if he ever attacked the Deccan, he would find his own dominions overrun by the army of Gujarat. The threat proved effective in preventing further hostilities between Malwa and the Deccan. 84

In the following year Mahmud Begarha led an expedition against the Raja of Dun, a place situated between Gujarat and Konkan, as the Raja had been guilty of piracy. The Raja gave battle, but confronted with heavy odds, he took refuge in his hill-fortress. Mahmud Begarha scaled the fort with his retinue. The Raja sent his old mother with the keys of the fort to the Sultan and sued for peace. Mahmud restored the stronghold to the Raja on his agreeing to pay a tribute. 85

In 871/1466 Mahmud Begarha marched against Rao Mandalik, the Yadava Prince of Girnar, now called Junagadh. A body of Rajputs, called pradhans or ‘chief’s men’, gave battle but perished fighting. The state was pillaged and the Rao was obliged to pay tribute to the Sultan, who returned to his capital. In the following year it was brought to his notice that the Rao was in the habit of using the insignia of royalty in public. He, therefore, commanded him to discontinue this practice, and the Rao readily obeyed. Two years later Mahmud Begarha decided to incorporate Girnar into his kingdom and led a large army against Rao Mandalik, who sued for peace and pleaded that he had remitted tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal. This had no effect on Mahmud, who was bent on the annexation of Girnar. Mandalik had no alternative but to defend himself. Confronted with heavy odds, Mandalik retired to the citadel of Uparkot, which was closely invested by Mahmud Begarha. 86

The fall of this inaccessible fortress is traditionally associated with domestic treason. It is said that Mandalik had forcibly taken to

84 Abdul Husain, ff. 118a-27a; Abdul Karim, years 866-67; Sikandar, 11-19; Hajjul Dabir, I, 17-18; Nizamuddin, III, 139-41; Ferishta, II, 384-85.
85 Abdul Husain, ff. 134a-39b; Abdul Karim, year 860; Nizamuddin, III, 41-42; Ferishta, II, 385.
86 Abdul Husain, ff. 149b-50a; Abdul Karim, years 871-74; Sikandar, 115-21. Hajjul Dabir, I, 19-20; Nizamuddin, III, 143-47; Ferishta, II, 387-89.
himself Mohini, the handsome wife of his kamdar, Vishal, who schemed in secret for the downfall of his master. Finding the provisions in Gînar running short, Vishal sent a messenger to the Sultan advising him to avail himself of the opportunity and to take the fort by assault. The Sultan acted on this advice and before long the Rao, reduced to straits, came down to surrender the fort on 10 Jamadî II 875/4 December 1470.87 Thereafter Mandalik joined the service of the Sultan and through the influence of Shamsuddin Durwesh embraced Islam. He was given the title of Khan-i Jahan and his kingdom was incorporated in the sultanat of Gujarîat. At the foot of the hills, Mahmud Begarha founded the city of Mustafabad, which became the capital of the Sultan.88

While Mahmud Begarha was besieging Gînar, Jai Singh, the son of Gangadas of Champaner, had ravaged the territory between Champaner and Ahmadabad. He, therefore, sent Jamaluddin Muhammad to govern this tract, conferring on him the title of Muhafiz Khan, and intended to follow him personally in order to conquer Champaner. But the Sultan was called upon to deal first with the frontier tribes of Sumras, Sodas and Kahlas, who lived on the border of Cutch and claimed to be Muslims, though they were absolutely unaware of the shari‘at. They were Ibâhatiyas and intermarried with the Hindus. Mahmud Begarha, therefore, marched against them in Ramazan 876/February-March 1472. The Ibâhatiyas confronted the Sultan with 30,000 horse but soon surrendered. Mahmud forgave their offences and gave them amnesty. He brought some of their leaders with him to Mustafabad and asked the ulama to instruct them in the tenets of Islam.89

In the following year it was reported to the Sultan that 40,000 archers had risen against his maternal grandfather, Jam Nizamuddin of Sind, and were harassing the inhabitants on the border. He, therefore, equipped a large army and again crossed the Rann of Cutch by forced marches. On hearing of his approach the rebels dispersed. Some of his amirs advised him to incorporate Sind into his kingdom, but he declined because his mother was descended from the Jams of Sind, and it would be unbecoming on his part to seize the territory.

87 Banchodji, Tarikh-i Surah, Eng. tr., J. Burgess, Bombay, 1882, 117-18; Sikandar, 122-23.
88 Abdul Husain, f. 159b-70a; Abdul Karim, year 875; Sikandar, 120-25; Hajjud Dabir, I, 20-21; Nizamuddin III, 148-54; Ferishta, II, 389-90.
89 Abdul Husain, f. 173b-74a; Sikandar, 127; Hajjud Dabir, I, 23; Nizamuddin, III, 148-49; Ferishta, II, 390-91.
He hunted as far as the bank of the Indus and then returned to Mustafabad. 90

On his return from Sind, Mahmud Begarha was called upon to deal with a new situation. Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi, who was returning from the Deccan to his native country in a vessel bound for Hurmuz, was driven ashore to Jagat (Dwarka), where the pirates robbed him of all his property and left him adrift on the shore with his two young sons. After many hardships Maulana Samarqandi arrived at Mustafabad and appealed for redress to the Sultan, who sent him to Ahmadabad on 16 Zil Hij 873/27 June 1469, and marched against Jagat, which was soon evacuated by its Rajput prince, Bhim, who took refuge in the island-fortress of Bet Sankhodhar. Mahmud Begarha proceeded towards Bet Sankhodhar through a dense forest, in which his army had to face great difficulties owing to lions and poisonous snakes. There ensued a sea-fight in which Mahmud Begarha defeated Bhim, who was taken prisoner on 13 Jamadi I, 874/18 November 1469, and sent to Ahmadabad where he was impaled. The plundered goods of Maulana Samarqandi were delivered back to him. 91

The incessant campaigns of the Sultan combined with his contemplated invasion of Champainer created discontent among the nobles, who, with Khudawand Khan at their head, hatched a conspiracy to dethrone their master when he was to go in a procession to the Idgah on the festival of Idul Fitr, 1 Shawwal 855/4 December 1480, and put Prince Ahmad on the throne. The conspiracy, however, leaked out owing to Rai Rayan, the chief Hindu noble, who kept his friend, Imadul Mulk, informed about the movements of the conspirators. Imad secretly summoned his troops from his iqta, and Qaisar Khan Faruqi privately informed the Sultan of the affair. Instead of arraigning the conspirators for treason, Mahmud Begarha decided to test the fidelity of his nobles, and publicly announced that he intended to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son, Prince Ahmad, as his regent. The Sultan made all necessary preparations for the pilgrimage; then summoning his nobles, he left the matter to be finally decided by them, but he would neither eat nor drink until he had received their decision. Perceiving that their plot had been discovered, the courtiers found themselves in a quandary. After some parleys, they sent Nizamul Mulk to the Sultan.


requesting him to conquer Champaner before making a pilgrimage to Mecca. This advice was accepted but Champaner could not be attacked till 887/1482.92

In 887/1482 Malik Sundha, the khasakhail of Rasulabad, made a plundering raid on Champaner in search of supplies, which had fallen short owing to an unusual drought; but he was driven back by Rawal Jai Singh, son of Rawal Gangadas of Champaner, who sallied forth fiercely and carried fire and sword into the territories of the Sultan. The latter was highly incensed by this incident, and having assembled his forces, set out for Champaner on 1 Ziqad 887/12 December 1482. Jai Singh came out to meet his enemy but was obliged to take refuge in the hill-fortress of Pavagadh, which the Sultan closely invested. During the investment the Rawal sent his minister, Suri, to Mandu to seek help from Sultan Ghiyasuddin, the son and successor of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who readily agreed and marched as far as Na'lcha. Mahmud Begarha, leaving his officers to continue the siege, marched to Dohad to meet Ghiyasuddin Khalji, but the latter retired to Mandu, and Mahmud Begarha returned to Champaner to continue the siege. He ordered the construction of a mosque in his military lines as a token of his firm resolve not to desist from the siege until he had taken the fortress. In the meanwhile a cannon-ball fired by one of the tops or mortars of the Sultan created a breach in the city-wall and caused consternation among the garrison, who, in a state of confusion, fired their huqqas or rockets, which instead of falling on the army of the Sultan fell on the palace of the Rawal. Finding their end near, the Rajputs performed the jauhar-rite. They flung into fire their women and children and charged on the enemy with their swords and fought to the end. Thus on 2 Ziqad 889/21 November 1484 fell the fortress of Champaner—the last bastion of Rajput glory in Gujarat. Mahmud Begarha made Champaner one of his principal places of residence and gave it the name of Muhammadabad.93

While Mahmud Begarha was hunting near Champaner in 892/1486, a band of Samarqandi merchants complained to him that the Raja of Abu had robbed them of their four hundred horses and a few mans of the musk of Tartary, which they were bringing to Gujarat. The Sultan made good their loss and gave them a furman to the Raja, demanding restitution of their plundered property. This

92 A bdul Husain, ff. 184b-89; Sikandar, 133-34; Hajjcd Dabir, i, 25-26; Nizamuddin, III, 153-59.
93 Abdul Husain, ff. 191b-207b; Abdul Karim, years 887-89; Sharfuddin, ff. 15a-16a; Sikandar, 134-37; Hajjcd Dabir, i, 27-31; Nizamuddin III, 158-62; Firishta, II, 396-98.
terrified the Raja, who not only restored the goods to the merchants but also sent some valuable gifts for Mahmud Begarha, who passed them on to the merchants.94

In 896/1490 it was reported to Mahmud Begarha that Bahadur Gilani, a rebel noble of the Bahmanis, had committed various acts of piracy off the coast of Gujarat and had carried on depredations as far as the island of Mahim and Cambay. In order to punish the marauder, Mahmud Begarha sent Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan, but they were defeated and sent to Dabul as prisoners. Thereupon Mahmud Begarha sent a large army under Malikush Sharq Qawamul Mulk, who discovered that he could not reach Bahadur Gilani without invading the Deccan. Mahmud Begarha, therefore, sent Bahr Khan with a letter to Mahmud Bahmani reminding him of the claims which Gujarat had on the gratitude of his dynasty, and requesting that the rebel be brought to book. In response to this letter, the Bahmani Sultan sent his minister, Qasim Baridul Mamlik, who with the help of Ahmad Nizam Shah undertook a campaign against the pirate, but it was not till 901/1495 that Bahadur Gilani was defeated and slain, and full reparation was made to Gujarat.95

Freed from the menace of Bahadur Gilani, Mahmud Begarha turned his attention to Raja Adil Khan II of Khandesh, who had not sent his tribute for a long time. Adil II had, in fact, become one of the most powerful rulers of Khandesh; he had not only consolidated his authority but extended it over Goudwana and Garha-Mandla. He had suppressed the depredations of the Kolis and Bhils, strengthened and extended the defences of Asir, and fortified Burhanpur by building a citadel on the Tapti. In consequence of the great strength he had acquired, he assumed the title of Jharkandi Sultan or 'King of the Forest'; and contrary to the practice of his ancestors, he not only withheld the annual tribute to the Sultan of Gujarat but openly declared that he owed no allegiance to that monarch. As a result Mahmud Begarha marched into Khandesh in 904/1498 and laid waste the country. Adil moved out to oppose the army of Gujarat; but failing to resist the power of Mahmud Begarha, he was obliged to pay the arrears of tribute before the forces of Gujarat retired to their own country. Thereafter Adil maintained friendly relations with Gujarat and visited the court of his suzerain.96

94 Abdul Husain, ff. 208b-9b; Hajjud Dabir, I, 32-33; Sikandar, 144; Nizamuddin, III, 162-63.
96 Ferishta, II, 401, 550-51.
Raja Adil II of Khandesh passed away on 15 Rabi I 907/28 September 1501, leaving the throne to his younger brother, Daud Khan, who fell completely under the control of two brothers, Husam Ali and Yar Ali, and made the former the wazir of his realm with the title of Husamuddin. At the instigation of the latter, Daud contrived to embroil himself with Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who invaded Khandesh and could not be expelled until Daud had purchased the aid of Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa by the humiliating concession of causing the Khutba to be recited in his name. His inglorious reign came to an end with his death on 1 Jamadi 914/28 August 1508. His son, Ghazni Khan, succeeded him, but after a short reign of ten days he was poisoned by Husamuddin.

Meanwhile Mahmud Begarha was confronted with the great naval power of the Portuguese, whose discovery of the Cape route in 1498 had diverted the bulk of the spice trade from Egypt and the Red Sea to the Cape route in less than a decade, and thereby deprived Egypt and Turkey of the commercial advantages of the lucrative trade between Europe and the East and also seriously affected the sources of the revenue of Gujarat, which then served as the emporium of commerce for the Indian sub-continent. This brought about an alliance between Egypt, Turkey and Gujarat against the Portuguese intruders on their monopoly.

The struggle commenced when in 913/1507 Qansah-al-Ghauri, the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, sent an expedition to the coast of Gujarat for the extirpation of the Portuguese from the Indian waters. The Egyptian fleet was placed in charge of Amir Husain, who was the governor of Jedda at that time. He was accompanied by Salman Rais, who had been sent by Sultan Salim, the Ottoman ruler, to help the Egyptian enterprise and also to effect a combination with the Gujarat flotilla organized by Malik Ayaz, the famous governor of Junagarh and Diu under Mahmud Begarha. The combined fleet anchored at Chaul. When Mahmud Begarha came to know about the arrival of the fleet, he first went to Mahim and thereafter to Diu. In the meanwhile he received a letter from the wali of Hzumuz describing the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese. This further enraged Mahmud Begarha, who sent Malik Ayaz with the Gujarat flotilla to help the allies against their common foe.

97 Hajjud Dabir, I, 54.
98 Ferashta, II, 551.
The Portuguese squadron was commanded by Dom Lourenco, son of the Portuguese viceroy, Francisco de Almeida (1505-9). In Ramazan 913/January 1508, a pitched naval battle was fought near Chaul, in which about four hundred Rumiis fell and two to three thousand Portuguese were killed. A cannon-ball fired by the allies struck Lourenco’s ship, which sank along with its Portuguese commander. This victory of the allies was the occasion of much jubilation and Mahmud Begarha is reported to have bestowed a khilat on Malik Ayaz as a token of the appreciation of his services.  

In order to avenge the Portuguese defeat as well as the death of his son, Francisco de Almeida personally led a fleet up the west coast of India on 12 December 1508, with 18 ships and 1,200 men. He found the Egyptian fleet and the justas of Gujarat assembled near Diu. On 3 February 1509, there ensued a desperate sea-fight in which Almeida scored victory over the allies. Amir Husain’s fleet was completely broken up and Malik Ayaz made peace with the Portuguese by returning the prisoners captured at Chaul and by helping to provision their fleet. The Portuguese returned triumphant to Cochin on 18 March 1509, with little loss.

The significance of the naval actions at Chaul and Diu with the Portuguese was not lost on Mahmud Begarha, who sent an ambassador to Albuquerque (1509-1515), the new Portuguese governor. The envoy met the governor at Cannanore in September, 1510, and conveyed to him the Sultan’s desire for peace and alliance; he also handed over two letters—one from the Christians stranded in Gujarat and the other from Malik Gopi, the Hindu minister of Mahmud Begarha, known as Gopicaica to the Portuguese. Malik Gopi’s letter suggested an alliance between the Sultan of Gujarat and the Portuguese and sought an assurance to the effect that Portuguese ships would not cruise about ruining the maritime trade of Gujarat. In return Malik Gopi undertook to get the Christian captives set at liberty and to secure freedom for Portuguese ships to frequent the ports of Gujarat.

The above proposals evoked a favourable response from Albuquerque, who summoned the envoy and expressed his desire for the settlement of the terms of the alliance. He placed his army and fleet at the disposal of Mahmud Begarha and requested the restoration of the Christian captives at his court. In his letter of 16 September

100 Shafuddin, f. 18a; Shamsuddin, ff. 35a-36b; Ross, 547.
1510, addressed to Malik Gopi, Albuquerque hoped for an alliance between the Sultan of Gujarat and D. Manuel, the King of Portugal, by virtue of which the Sultan would find his harbours safe and his ships free to navigate the seas. Soon after these negotiations, Albuquerque captured Goa from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur (916-41/1510-34) on 25 November 1510. The fall of Goa immensely increased the prestige of the Portuguese and brought about a great change in the attitude of the Indian princes towards them. Mahmud Begarha set free the Portuguese prisoners at his court, and Amir Husain, the Egyptian admiral, after obtaining the Sultan’s permission, set out from Cambay for Yaman. The formidable confederacy of Egypt, Turkey and Gujarat against the Portuguese was thus broken up.

In the month of Safar 914/June 1508 there arrived at Muhammadabad-Champauver an embassy from Sultan Sikandar Lodi (894-923/1489-1517) with a pair of rhinoceros, thirty horses and other precious commodities for Mahmud Begarha, who in his turn bestowed a rich khilat on the ambassador and sent some parrots, herons and Arabian horses as presents for Sikandar Lodi. These presents, according to Nizamuddin and Firishta, were sent as a matter of friendship. But whatever may have been the intentions of Sikandar, the fact remains that it was for the first time that a ruler of Delhi sent presents to a ruler of Gujarat, and as such this step was not without diplomatic significance.

Mahmud Begarha was obliged to intervene in the succession disputes which broke out on the death of Ghazni Khan, who had left no male heir to the throne of Khandesh. Some of the nobles selected one Alam Khan, a scion of the Faruqi dynasty, who was also backed by Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Adil Khan, son of Ahsan Khan, also advanced his claims to the throne and he was supported by his maternal grandfather, Mahmud Begarha. Khandesh itself was divided into two factions, one supporting the Ahmadnagar protege and the other supporting the Gujarat claimant. The adherents of Alam Khan under Malik Husamuddin established themselves in Burhanpur, where they were joined by Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad Shah of Berar. Malik Ladden Khalji, the leader of the Gujarat party, shut himself up in Asir, where he was besieged by the partisans of Alam Khan. Mahmud Begarha marched to Thalner

103 Ibid., 215-72.
105 Shamsuddin, ff. 37a-37b.
106 Nizamuddin, III, 171-72; Firishta, II, 404.
with his grandson, Adil Khan. When news of his arrival reached Burhanpur, Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad Shah withdrew, carrying their claimant with them, and Malik Husamuddin was obliged to submit to Mahmud Begarha, who held a darbar at Thalner on 19 Zil Hij 914/10 April 1509, and installed his protege on the throne of Khandesh with the title of Azam Humayun Adil Khan III. Malik Laddan was given the title of Khan-i Jahan and Malik Husamuddin that of Shahryar.107

Adil Khan III, now established on the throne of Khandesh, further cemented his alliance with Gujarat by marrying a daughter of Khalil Khan, son of Mahmud Begarha, who afterwards succeeded his father as Muzaffar Shah II. Thereafter Adil Khan shifted his capital from Thalner to Burhanpur, and had Malik Husamuddin Shahryar, who was again plotting with Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, assassinated. But this did not stop disaffection. In 916/1510 Sher Khan and Saif Khan conspired with Ahmad Nizam Shah; they raised the standard of revolt at Asir and invited the pretender, Alam Khan, from Ahmadnagar. Adil Khan immediately reported the situation to Mahmud Begarha, who sent Dilawar Khan, Qadr Khan, Safdar Khan and other nobles with twelve lakhs of tankas and a considerable force to the rescue of his grandson. When the Gujarati force arrived at Nandurban, the rebels took to their heels and fled to Kowil. Finding his country free from menace, Adil Khan gave the Gujarati nobles leave to go back, while he himself returned to Burhanpur at the close of 916/1510.108

Very early in the following year Mahmud Begarha fell ill and sent for his son, Prince Khalil Khan, from Baroda and gave him fatherly advice; but as his condition improved slightly, he permitted the prince to return to Baroda.109 At this time Farhatul Mulk reported to the Sultan that Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia had sent an embassy under Yadgar Beg Qizilbash with elegant presents.110 The Sultan ordered all necessary preparations to be made for the reception of the embassy,111 but before the envoy could arrive at the capital, Mahmud Begarha had breathed his last on Monday, 2 Ramazan 917/23 November 1511, and was buried at Sarkhej in the mausoleum he had constructed for himself during his life-time.112

Mahmud Begarha is regarded not only as the greatest of the

107 Shamsuddin, ff. 39b-47b; Hajjud Dabir, i, 56-57.
109 Sikandar, 151.
110 Nizamuddin, III, 172.
111 Hajjud Dabir, i, 88.
112 Sikandar, 151; Nizamuddin, III, 172; Ferishta, II, 404; Hajjud Dabir, i, 88.
sultans of Gujarat but holds a prominent place among the warrior princes of India. Though the ruler of a small region, Mahmud Begarha was in reality much more powerful than his contemporary Sikandar Lodi of Delhi; and it must have been a matter of no small gratification to him when a little before his death the sovereign of Delhi sent him some presents acknowledging thereby the independent status of the Sultan of Gujarat. Mahmud, according to Varthema, the famous Bolognese adventurer, presented a striking appearance with a flowing beard that reached his girdle, and his moustache was so long that he tied it over his head.\textsuperscript{113} From his very childhood Mahmud, according to Barbosa, had been nourished on some poison with the result that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead.\textsuperscript{114} To satisfy his proverbially voracious appetite, he is reported to have eaten daily one Gujarati man of food and another 5 seers of parched rice as dessert; and at night two plates of samosas (meat-patties) were placed on each side of his bed, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he woke up from his sleep. For breakfast he took a cup of honey with a cup of butter and one hundred and fifty golden plantains.\textsuperscript{115} The works of Varthema and Barbosa were translated into European languages and thereby Mahmud Begarha gained an unenviable notoriety. It is to this ruler that Samuel Butler, the English satirist of the seventeenth century, makes reference in his \textit{Hudibras}:

\begin{quote}
'The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad.'
\end{quote}

Mahmud was a brave Sultan who constantly led campaigns against the neighbouring princes. These campaigns were motivated by territorial ambitions rather than religious zeal. He fought successfully against the neighbouring Rajput princes as well as Muslim rulers. He did not debar Hindus from rising to some of the highest positions in his government. Malik Gopi, a Brahman, for instance, was the chief minister of the Sultan.

Moreover Mahmud possessed abundant capacity for decisive action, as is borne out by his successful suppression of two revolts. He was also a wise and just administrator. We are told that the relative of a powerful noble, Bahaul Mulk, committed a murder. In order to save the offender, Imadul Mulk and Azdul Mulk induced an innocent person to plead guilty and he was consequently hanged for a murder he

\textsuperscript{114} Duarte Barbosa, \textit{A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in 1514}, Hakluyt Society, 57.
\textsuperscript{115} Sikandar, 96.
had not committed. Sometimes afterwards, when the true facts of the case were brought to the notice of the Sultan, he ordered both Imadul Mulk and Azdul Mulk, to be executed for their heinous act.\textsuperscript{116}

Besides being a just ruler, Mahmud was also a benevolent monarch, who was always solicitous for the welfare of his people. He saved his soldiers from the clutches of the usurious money-lenders by appointing \textit{khazanchis} (treasurers) at different places to advance money to such soldiers as were in need of loans.\textsuperscript{117} Moreover, he personally consoled the families of those who had fallen in his wars. On his return from the successful expedition against Girnar, the Sultan halted for three days at Sarkhej before entering Ahmadabad. During these three days his eyes were often filled with tears and his countenance marked with grief. When Najmuddin, the qazi of Ahmadabad, went out of the city to congratulate and welcome the Sultan, he is reported to have said, ‘Oh, Qazi! It is well with me, but you should tell me of those whose sons and brothers have been killed during the last five years.’\textsuperscript{118}

Equally solicitous was the Sultan for the welfare of his other subjects. He helped his subjects in the repair and restoration of old houses and also in getting wells dug for those who planted shady trees by the roadside.\textsuperscript{119} He constructed fine caravanserais and inns for the comfort of travellers. The merchants were happy because the roads were safe for traffic.\textsuperscript{120} The Sultan was a great builder. He founded Mustafabad at Junagadh and Muhammadabad near Champaner, and adorned them with lofty buildings and beautiful gardens. The \textit{Bagh-i Firdaus} (Garden of Paradise), which was about ten miles long and two miles broad, and the \textit{Bagh-i Shaban} (Garden of Shaban) were laid out during his reign.\textsuperscript{121} He also built lofty mosques and madrasas for seekers of knowledge.\textsuperscript{122}

Though Mahmud was denied a systematic education, he is credited with having equipped himself with considerable knowledge through associations with the \textit{gens de lettres}. No one who came into contact with him could describe him as unlettered. Ibn-i Afrash, in his translation of the \textit{Shifa} of Qazi Ayaz, mentions several instances of the Sultan’s quick judgement in deciding different points of law. He talked on religious, historical and other subjects with such care that he could pass off for one well-versed in these branches of learn-

\textsuperscript{116} Abdul Husain, ff. 40b-41a.
\textsuperscript{117} Sikandar, 104.
\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Ibid.}, 112.
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Ibid.}, 105.
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Ibid.}, 100-1.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Ibid.}, 105.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid.}, 101.
He took keen interest in the Persian translations of Arabic works. The well-known *Biographical Dictionary* of Ibn-i Khallikan was rendered into Persian by Yusuf bin Ahmad under the title of *Manzarul Insan* and dedicated to Mahmud Begarha. Likewise he patronized Sanskrit. His court-poet, Udayaraj, wrote a poem, called *Mahmudacarita*, in praise of the Sultan. The poet describes his patron as a crown-jewel of the royal race as if he was a Kshattriya. He says hyperbolically,

‘In battle Mahmud is equal to Bhima, in beneficence he surpasses Karna, in sport he is like Narayana, in mercy he resembles Rama, in wisdom he is better than Brihaspati and in beauty he excels Manamatha.’

Mahmud Begarha was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince Khalil Khan, who ascended the throne on 3 Ramazan 917/24 November 1511, and assumed the title of Abun Nasr Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah II. On 25 Shawwal 917/15 January 1512, he gave audience to Yadgar Beg, the Persian envoy, with his forty *Qizilbash* (red cap) followers, who had been waiting near the capital ever since Mahmud Begarha’s death. Among the presents which the envoy placed before the Sultan were a turquoise cup of great value, a chest full of jewels and thirty *Iraqi* horses. Muzaffar bestowed on the envoy and his suite rich *khilats*, and soon left Ahmadabad for Baroda on his way to Champauer, to which capital he seems to have been followed by the Persian ambassador and his team.

At Baroda Prince Muhammad *alias* Sahib Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji (905-16/1500-10) of Malwa, waited upon Muzaffar to seek his help in recovering the throne of Mandu, which had been seized by his younger brother, Mahmud, after the death of his father. In the protracted fratricidal war that followed Nasiruddin’s death, Mahmud’s claim to the throne was supported by his powerful Rajput adherent, Medini Rai, against his elder brother, Prince Muhammad, who was forced to flee to the neighbouring court of Gujarat, where he was warmly welcomed. Muzaffar promised

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123 Ibid., 100-10.
124 Hajjud Dahir, I, 32, 126.
126 Hajjud Dahir, I, 97.
127 Sikandar, 174; Nizamuddin, III, 173-74.
128 Sikandar, 174; Forishta, II, 405.
129 Nizamuddin, III, 383.
to enquire into the merits of his claim and deputed Qaisar Khan to
the border town of Dohad in order to study the real state of affairs
in Malwa. Meanwhile Prince Muhammad was offered the royal hos-
pitality at Champaner along with his followers.  

While at Champaner Prince Muhammad and his followers fell
out with the Persian ambassador and plundered his lodging. When
Muzaffar was informed of the strife, he sent his minister, Malikush
Sharq Imadul Mulk, who at once put down the riot and shifted the
ambassador to the royal apartments. Soon afterwards on 14 Ramazan
918/23 November 1512, Muzaffar despatched the Persian ambassador
in the escort of Khurasan Khan to the coast, where two large ships
were made ready to carry him and his suite. At the time of his de-
parture he was presented with seven elephants, a rhinoceros and
other animals and birds with some wonderful horse-armours and other
precious commodities.  

Some time before the departure of the Persian ambassador, Prince
Muhammad, who was quite ashamed of the whole unhappy episode,
quitted Champaner without taking formal leave of Muzaffar. He first
sought refuge with Adil Khan III of Khandesh and then with
Alaunid Imad Shah of Berar. Not long after the departure of
Prince Muhammad from Gujarat, Muzaffar received the intelligence
that Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa had entrusted the entire admi-
nistration of his country to Medini Rai, who had not only acquired
supreme power in the state but had reduced his master to the posi-
tion of a mere puppet. As the increasing influence of Medini Rai was
likely to tilt the balance of power in favour of Rana Sanga of Mewar,
Muzaffar decided to intervene in the internal affairs of Malwa. In
the month of Shawwal 918/August-September 1512, he marched
from Champaner with a huge army and halted for a few days at
Godhra on his way to Malwa.  

Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Muzaffar in the affairs
of Malwa, Rao Bhim (1509-15), son of Rao Bhar Mal of Ida, raided
the country to the east of the river Sabarmati. Ainul Mulk Fauladi,
governor of Patan, who was on his way to Godhra to join the Sultan,
turned aside to punish the Rao, but he was defeated and his brother,
Abdul Malik, along with two hundred men, was slain. When Muzaffar
came to know of this, he personally marched against the Rao who,

130 Sikandar, 175; Ferishta, II, 405-6.
131 Nizamuddin, III, 174-75.
132 Sikandar, 176-77.
133 Nizamuddin, III, 385; Ferishta, II, 408.
134 Sikandar, 176-78.
finding it difficult to face the royal army, fled to the hills in 919/1513. Muzaffar laid waste the country and ordered the general destruction of the metropolis of Idar. Rao Bhim then sought the intercession of Malik Gopi, the favourite Hindu minister of Muzaffar, and was forgiven on paying the large tribute of twenty lakhs of tankas. Muzaffar accepted it and proceeded to Godhra in order to resume his campaign against Malwa.\footnote{135 Hajjud Dabir, I, 99-100; Firishta, II, 407, Nizamuddin, III, 176.}

Meanwhile Affonso de Albuquerque (1509-15), the Portuguese governor, had sent Tristao Dega to Muzaffar with the terms and conditions of an alliance with Gujarat, which he had received from his monarch, Dom Manuel, by December 1512. Among other things the terms of the alliance included (1) permission for the Portuguese to erect a fortress at Diu for the security of the persons and property of the subjects of the king of Portugal; (2) an order to the traders of Gujarat that they were to send their merchandise to no place except Goa, where they would find all that they needed for a homeward-bound cargo; (3) agreement on the part of the ruler of Gujarat not to receive in his kingdom any Rumis or Turks 'because they were the capital enemies of the Portuguese'.\footnote{136 Albuquerque, III, 245.}

When Tristao Dega arrived at Cambay, he found that Muzaffar had gone on an expedition against Mandu. He, therefore, had to wait till his return at Champaner, where he delivered to him the letters which he had brought. Muzaffar agreed not to allow the Rumis or Turks to enter his territory again, but he turned down the Portuguese request for the construction of a fort at Diu. He, however, after further conversation, offered certain other islands along the coast of Gujarat, where the Portuguese could build a fortress and make a settlement, but Tristao would not accept them on behalf of his country, because he had no permission from Albuquerque to do so. He, therefore, left Champaner for Goa with an envoy from the Sultan of Gujarat.\footnote{137 \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 60.}

Before Tristao and the envoy of Gujarat could reach Goa, Albuquerque himself arrived at Diu in August 1513, on his way back to his metropolis after he had tried in vain to take Aden. Malik Ayaz, governor of Diu, received him very kindly and the two conversed together. Albuquerque stayed at Diu for six days and set sail for Goa after his ships had taken in their store of water, leaving behind the Portuguese ship, \textit{Exnobrejas}, laden with merchandise for sale in the charge of Fernao Martinz Evangelho as his factor, and Jorge
Correa as his scrivener, with secret instructions to report on political matters.\textsuperscript{138}

On his voyage back to the south, Albuquerque halted at Chaul and gave an interview to the envoy from Gujarat, who had accompanied Tristao. The envoy conveyed his monarch's request for permission to send a trading company of the Gujaratis to Malacca and also for a safe conduct of the ships of Gujarat to navigate in those waters. He also complained of the capture of a ship, \textit{Meri}, belonging to the Sultan when he was at peace with Portugal and asked for its restitution. Albuquerque told the envoy that he had never made war upon Gujarat, nor burned its villages, nor bombarded its fortresses, but if the ships and the subjects of the Sultan of Gujarat had received any harm at the hands of the Portuguese, it must have been on account of his having taken the side of those rulers with whom the king of Portugal was at war. He, however, declared that he had caused the aforesaid royal ship to be refitted at Cochin and would return it to the Sultan through the envoy. As soon as Albuquerque reached Goa, he passed on the captured ship to the ambassador, who set sail in that ship to Cambay.\textsuperscript{139}

Immediately after the return of the envoy to Gujarat, Fernao Martins Evangelho, the Portuguese factor at Champaner, reported to Albuquerque that Malik Ayaz was greatly opposed to the Portuguese and had persuaded Muzaffar not to accede to their demand as regards Diu. Albuquerque, therefore, sent Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira as ambassadors with costly presents to the court of Gujarat to negotiate on this matter with Muzaffar. The embassy reached Surat on 15 March 1514, and after a short stay proceeded to Champaner, where they met Malik Gopi, who told them that Malik Ayaz had advised the Sultan not to grant to the Portuguese a site for fortification at Diu as 'it was in order to wrest his kingdom eventually from him'. Not deterred by this report, the ambassadors proceeded to Ahmadabad, where they were cordially received by Khudawand Khan, the wazir, who presented them to the Sultan. The ambassadors offered the presents which they had brought with them and the Sultan conferred on them dresses of honour. In the negotiations which followed, the plenipotentiaries explained to Khudawand Khan that the main purpose of their visit was to request for a site at Diu, where the king of Portugal might construct a fortress for the safety of his men and property. The wazir placed these proposals before the Sultan, who was willing to grant them a site at Broach, Surat, Mahim,

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 59.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 59-61.
Dumas or Bacar, but not at Diu, which he had already granted to Malik Ayaz. The embassy thus failed in its mission and left Gujarat for Goa on 15 September 1514.\(^{140}\)

In the following year Rao Bhim of Idar passed away and was succeeded by his son, Bhar Mal (or Bihari Mal), but the latter's claim to the throne was contested by his cousin, Raimal, who sought the help of his brother-in-law, Rana Sanga of Mewar. The Rana seized this opportunity and by sending his army to Idar set up Raimal on the throne. Muzaffar could ill-brook this interference by the Rana of Mewar in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state, which had for generations owed allegiance to the sultans of Gujarat. In order to expel the pretender, Muzaffar despatched Nizamul Mulk, the son of the last Rawal of Champaner, who succeeded in restoring Bihari Mal to the throne. Nizamul Mulk then pursued the pretender into the hills, but in the battle which followed he was defeated with severe losses. Muzaffar reproved his general for having exceeded his instructions and recalled him to the capital. He, then, sent Nusratul Mulk to Idar, but before Nusratul Mulk could reach Idar, Nizamul Mulk set out for Champaner, leaving Zahirul Mulk with no more than a hundred men to hold Idar. Raimal marched on Idar and inflicted a crushing defeat on this small garrison. However, Nusratul Mulk, who was at Ahmadnagar, pressed on and drove away Raimal to the hills in 923/1517.\(^{141}\)

Muzaffar now turned his attention to Malwa, where the increasing domination of Medini Rai had reduced Mahmud Khalji to insignificance. Unable to bear the predominance of his powerful minister, Mahmud escaped to the frontiers of Gujarat to seek the help of Muzaffar. The latter readily responded, and taking Mahmud with him, he marched against Malwa on Tuesday, 15 Zil Hij 923/29 December 1517.\(^{142}\) Medini Rai entrusted the command of Mandu to Rai Pithaura, while he himself repaired to Dhar with 12,000 cavalry and a large force of elephants. Muzaffar and Mahmud reached Dhar with a formidable army on Friday, 18 Zil Hij 923/1 January 1518, and Medini Rai, finding it difficult to resist the combined army, quitted Dhàr and went to Chitor to seek help from Rana Sanga.\(^{143}\) Dhar fell without much resistance, and the two sultans marched to Mandu, where they arrived on 23 Zil Hij 923/6 January 1518 and laid

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140 Ibid., IV, 93-105.
141 Hajjud Dabit, I, 101-2; Nizamuddin, III, 178-79.
142 Qanit, Tarikh-i Muzaffar Shahi, ed. M. A. Chaghtai, Poona, 1947, 19; Sikandar, 182-84.
143 Qanit, 26; Nizamuddin, III, 180; Firishta, III, 408,
siege to the fortress.\textsuperscript{144}

Rai Pithaura, who had secret knowledge of Rana Sanga’s forthcoming aid, feigned negotiations and asked for an armistice, which Muzaffar readily granted on Friday 25 Zil Hijj 923/8 January 1518. This truce, however, came to an end on 24 Muharram 924/5 February 1518, when Muzaffar came to know about the arrival of Rana Sanga at Ujjain. He sent Azam Humayun Adil Khan III of Khandes, who was his nephew and son-in-law, with Qawamul Mulk to check the progress of the Rana and Medini Rai, while he directed the investment of the fort in person. The battle actually began on 3 Safar 924/14 February 1518, and by the break of the following day Muzaffar had carried Mandu by escalade. Finding the Gujarati troops in their midst, the Rajputs performed the jauhar-rite and fought till life was left in them.\textsuperscript{145}

In the meanwhile Muzaffar came to know about the arrival of Medini Rai at Dhar. Leaving Mandu in charge of Mahmud, Muzaffar moved to Dhar on 5 Safar 924/16 February 1518, and Medini Rai, finding it difficult to offer resistance, took to his heels.\textsuperscript{146} Muzaffar returned to Mandu where he reinstated Mahmud on his throne. This was followed by a grand banquet which Mahmud gave in honour of his benefactor on 15 Safar 924/26 February 1518.\textsuperscript{147} Thus having restored the balance of power between Mewar and Gujarat, Muzaffar returned to Champaran after leaving at Mandu a contingent of 10,000 horse under Asaf Khan.\textsuperscript{148}

Immediately after his return to Champaran, Muzaffar realized the significance of the occupation of Mamluk Egypt and Hijaz by the Ottoman Sultan Salim I (1512-20) as well as his victory over Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia. This introduced the prospect of a new and powerful alliance against the Portuguese as well as of greater control over the Indian Ocean for trade with Egypt and beyond, and of greater security for pilgrims to Mecca. The importance of friendly relations with the Ottomans was thus brought home to Muzaffar. He wrote to Sultan Salim I congratulating him on his victories in Iraq and Persia; still the greater part of his letter was full of an account of his own victories in Malwa, which he had recovered from Medini Rai and his Rajput confederates and restored to Mahmud Khalji.\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{144} Qanli, 27.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 30-48; Sikandar, 183-58.
\textsuperscript{146} Qanli, 55-56.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 62-70.
\textsuperscript{148} Nizamuddin, III, 183.
The news of the fall of Mandu compelled Rana Sanga and Medini Rai to retire to Chitor, but in 925/1519 the Rana inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud, who was wounded and taken prisoner. Muzaffar sent reinforcements to Malwa but it was too late; for the Rana, after the wounds of Mahmud were healed, had restored him to his throne in 926/1520.\textsuperscript{150} In the same year Raja Adil Khan III, who had so successfully served his father-in-law, Muzaffar, in the Malwa campaign, passed away at Burhanpur and was succeeded by Miran Muhammad Shah, his eldest son by the daughter of Muzaffar.\textsuperscript{151}

Flushed with his success, Rana Sanga decided to measure his strength with the more powerful Muzaffar. He penetrated into the territories of Gujarat as far as Idar, which he occupied, and then marched on to Ahmadnagar, where he defeated Mubarizul Mulk in 926/1520. The Rana compelled Mubariz to retreat to Ahmadabad and then returned to Chitor. In order to chastize the Rana, Muzaffar sent Malik Ayaz who besieged the fortress of Mandasor. The Rana asked for peace but his request was turned down. But soon afterwards the jealousy between Ayaz and Qawamul Mulk compelled the Gujaratis to patch up peace with the Rana. Muzaffar was very much incensed by this development and in 928/1522 he made preparations to march in person against the Rana; but before he could start from Ahmadabad, the son of the Rana arrived with gifts from his father and the expedition was abandoned.\textsuperscript{152}

In 930/1524 Alam Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi of Delhi, who had been a refugee at the court of Gujarat since the days of Mahmud Begarha, informed Muzaffar that according to reports received by him from Delhi, there was great dissatisfaction with his nephew, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as he had put the great amirs to death, and the chances of Alam's obtaining his father's throne appeared to be good. Muzaffar, accordingly, gave him a standard, a drum, 40,000 Muzaffaris and sent him to Delhi with a strong detachment to secure his ancestral throne.\textsuperscript{153}

In the following year Prince Bahadur Khan was annoyed with his father, Muzaffar, who refused to treat him on equal terms with his elder brother, Sikandar Khan, the heir-apparent, and left Gujarat. Passing through Dungarpur, Chitor and Mewat, he reached Delhi on the eve of the battle of Panipat.\textsuperscript{154} Bahadur was cordially received by Ibrahim and, consequently, the young but experienced prince took

\textsuperscript{150} Nizamuddin, III, 401-2; Sikandar, 192-93.
\textsuperscript{151} Ferishta, II, 554.
\textsuperscript{152} Nizamuddin, III, 184-91; Sikandar, 193-203; Ferishta, II, 411-15.
\textsuperscript{153} Hajjud Dabir, I, 120; Sikandar, 203-4; Nizamuddin, III, 192-93.
\textsuperscript{154} Sikandar, 304-5; Hajjud Dabir, I, 128.
up the Lodi cause. This made him popular with the Afghan army but roused the jealousy of Ibrahim. When Bahadur discovered this, he refrained from further activities and sent letters to Babur seeking his assistance. Babur sent him a gracious and encouraging reply and invited him to join the Mughals. Consequently, in the actual battle fought at Panipat, Bahadur remained a mere spectator. Immediately after the defeat of the Afghans, when Bahadur was halting at Baghapat, near Delhi, on his way to Jaunpur in response to the invitation of the nobles of that kingdom, he received a letter from his adherents in Gujarat informing him of the death of his father, Muzzaffar.

The deceased Sultan was so merciful that he is commonly known as Muzzaffar, the halim or clement. He carried his clemency to such a length that the criminal, the turbulent and the rebellious forgot all fear of punishment and took to highway robbery and violence without apprehension, while libertines shed blood even within the city-walls of the metropolis, and ‘the Sultan would not extend the hand of punishment from out of the sleeve of patience’. When the people went to him and complained of these atrocities, he would calmly say, ‘You must pray and I also will pray to the Almighty to put an end to oppression and the oppressors.’ Again, we are told that owing to the carelessness of the royal affalabhis (water-carriers) a musk-rat was boiled down and its remains were poured over Muzzaffar’s head during his bath. The Sultan summoned the offenders and said, ‘I am an old man and can pardon the offender but my sons are young—how will you satisfy them? Will your lives be safe if you are equally careless with them?’

In keeping with the traditions of eastern potentates, Muzzaffar was in the habit of making nocturnal rounds of the capital in disguise in order to obtain first-hand information about the state of affairs prevailing in his kingdom. The Sultan always spoke with propriety and never offended anyone. He used to say, ‘If I were left alone in a solitary place, no one would do me any harm for I have never done, and am not doing, any harm to anyone.’ Muzzaffar loved his subjects immensely. When Gujarat was in the grip of a great drought, he lifted

155 Sikandar, 204-5.
157 Mir Abu Tural, Vali, Tarikh-i Gujarat, ed. E. P. Ross, Calcutta, 1900, 3.
158 Hajjud Dabir, I, 128-29.
159 Sikandar, 223-24.
160 Ibid., 214.
161 Ibid., 220-21.
162 Ibid., 213.
up his hands in prayer and is reported to have said, ‘Oh, Lord! If for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world and relieve them from this drought.’ Moreover, Muzaffar displayed his high sense of justice and respect for law when in response to the summons of the qazi of Champaner he attended the qazi’s court like an ordinary person, while the qazi remained seated. The suit was decided against the Sultan who complimented the qazi on his impartiality and sense of justice.

Muzaffar was of a charitable disposition. His munificence was not confined to his subjects in Gujarat but was also extended to the deserving people of Mecca and Madina, where he is reported to have constructed a ribat or hospice consisting of a madrasa and sabil (water-channel), etc. For the maintenance of these institutions he set apart a special endowment and the proceeds thereof were sent to these places every year. Furthermore, ships were provided free of cost for those who wished to make the pilgrimages to Mecca and Madina. The expenses of these pilgrims while on board were also met by the state treasury. In addition to these charities, the Sultan sent to the aforesaid cities two copies of the Quran transcribed by his own hand with gold-water, and made a special annual grant for the upkeep of these presents and the maintenance of those who made use of these copies for the purposes of recitation.

Linked with the religious piety of Muzaffar was his strict observance of religious injunctions. We are told that he never tasted anything intoxicating and abstained from even mentioning the name of intoxicants. It is reported that his favourite horse was one day seized with grips of pain and when all other remedies failed, he recovered on being administered pure spirits. The mir-i akhur (master of the horse-stables) reported the incident to his sovereign, who ‘bit the finger of sorrow with the tooth of regret but did not ride that horse again’. We are told that when Mahmud Khalji of Malwa took Muzaffar round his palace, they entered a building in which there was a quadrangle, painted and gilded with rooms all round. As soon as they were at the centre of the building, the doors of all the rooms were opened and two thousand women beautifully attired and decorated like huries and fairies appeared with plates full of gems and

163 Ibid., 205; Hajjud Dabir, I, 122.
164 Hajjud Dabir I, 131.
165 Ibid., 131.
166 Sikandar, 219.
168 Sikandar, 209-10.
golden ornaments. Mahmud observed: ‘They all belonged to me and are now at your disposal.’ Muzaffar lowered his eyes, thanked his host and begged them to return within the pardah ‘as looking on what is unlawful is a crime’.169

It must not, however, be taken to mean that Muzaffar was an extreme puritan. Born of a Rajput mother, Rani Hirabai, he had a lot of Hindu blood circulating in his veins. He was unorthodox enough to marry as many as three Rajput princesses, viz. Rajbai, the daughter of Rana Mahipat, Lakshmibai, the daughter of a Gohel Rajput, and Bibi Rani. The last was a lady of great beauty and exercised tremendous influence on the Sultan. The control of the palace and the army was in her hands. Seven thousand state-servants were in her service and she was a counsellor of great influence in the affairs of the kingdom.170

Moreover Muzaffar was extremely fond of music, so vehemently frowned upon by orthodox Muslim theologians. He was himself an accomplished musician; he could not only play upon a number of musical instruments but could hold his own against any master of musical science. His love for music, dance and drama can very well be gauged from the swang or role of Saraswati (goddess of learning) enacted at his court by Bai Jhau, the chief patar or dancing-girl of the Sultan. It took six months for hamsa or the traditional vehicle of Saraswati to be constructed; it was made wholly of gold, studded with precious stones. On the appointed day Bai Jhau, attired in the garb of the goddess, cast an ecstatic spell on the audience with her music and dance.171

Besides being a musician, Muzaffar was a fine calligraphist. He used to transcribe every day a passage from the Quran in the naskh style, and when the copy was completed he sent it either to Mecca or Madina for the use of those who recited it publicly.172 The Sultan had learnt the Quran by heart173 and was well-versed in the religious sciences. We find him studying Baizawi’s Malimut Tanzil, the well-known commentary on the Quran, and taking part in discussions of a religious and literary character.174 He had learnt Arabic grammar from Bahraq and the hadises (or the Prophet’s traditions) under Majduddin Muhammad al-Iji, whom he elevated to the position of a wazir with the title of Khudawand Khan.175 He also

169 Ibid., 189-91.
170 Ibid., 203-33.
171 Ibid., 222-23.
172 Ibid., 214-15.
173 Ibid., 208.
174 Ibid., 205-6.
175 Hajj ud Dabir, I, 119, 127.
greatly promoted learning with the result that men of letters from Iran, Turan, Arabia and Asia Minor found it worth their while to settle down in Gujarat during his liberal reign.\textsuperscript{176}

Muzaffar was, thus, merciful, gentle, pious, just, munificent, kind and clement. Though personally unselfish and amiable, he was fatally weak. It was with great difficulty that he could bring himself to act with sufficient sternness and energy, even when these qualities were most needed. Notwithstanding this weakness, Muzaffar was a benevolent, liberal, tolerant and cultured ruler.

\textbf{SIKANDAR; MAHMUD SHAH II}

When Muzaffar passed away on 22 Jamadi II 932/5 April 1526, Prince Sikandar Khan, the heir-designate, ascended the throne with the support of two powerful nobles, Imadul Mulk Khushqadam and Khudawand Khan al-Iji. The new Sultan was by all accounts a very handsome person, but he was destitute of all political sagacity. We are told that whenever he passed through the market-place, all persons, male and female, came out of their houses and shops to have a glimpse of the Sultan.\textsuperscript{177} He was so exultant and happy in the pride of his youth and the glory of his state and authority that ‘all his days were like the days of the Id and all his nights like the nights of \textit{shab-i barat’}. He collected together every means of pleasure which it is possible to conceive. Amongst other things he had a concubine, called Nazuk Lahar, to whom he was greatly attached.\textsuperscript{178} In less than a week he had estranged the old nobility by lavishing favours and honours on his personal favourites, and given himself up completely to pleasures. Consequently on the night of 14 Sha‘ban 932/26 May 1526, he was murdered by Imadul Mulk Khushqadam, who raised Nasir Khan, Muzaffar’s youngest son of hardly six years, to the throne with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah II. The king-maker, thereafter, wrote to the neighbouring chiefs, Imadul Mulk of Berar and Rana Sanga of Chitor as well as to Babur, requesting support for his government.\textsuperscript{179}

\textbf{BAHADUR SHAH}

As the plans of Imad meant the loss of independence for Gujarat, some old nobles headed by Taj Khan Narpali sent Khurram Khan to Prince Bahadur with the offer of the throne of Gujarat. Khurram Khan met Bahadur at Baghpant and delivered the message. Without any loss of time Bahadur reached Ahmadabad by rapid marches and ascended

\textsuperscript{176} Ferishta, II, 418.
\textsuperscript{177} Mir Abu Turab Vali, \textit{Tarikh-i Gujarat}, ed. E. D. Ross, Calcutta. 1909. 3.
\textsuperscript{178} Hajiul Dahir, I, 128-29.
\textsuperscript{179} Sikandar, 239-49.
the throne of Gujarat on 26 Ramazan 932/6 July 1526; after that he marched to Champaner and executed Imadul Mulk Khushqadam and other assassins of Sikandar. The infant ruler, Mahmud II, was also murdered. Thus Bahadur was left without any rival with the exception of Chand Khan, who had already taken refuge in Malwa. Firmly established in his kingdom, Bahadur embarked upon his ambitious designs of campaigns and conquests.

Twice he invaded the Deccan in order to help his nephew, Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh, who had allied himself with Alaeddin Imadul Mulk of Berar against Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Amir Ali Barid of Bidar. So successful were these operations that Burhan Nizam Shah and Ali Barid were obliged to yield the issues in contest with Khandesh and Berar, and to cause the Khutba to be read in the name of Bahadur.

In the meanwhile Nuno da Cunha (1529-38), the new Portuguese governor, had attacked Diu on 16 February 1531, but a little earlier Mustafa, the Turkish admiral, accompanied by Khwaja Safar Salmani, had succeeded in entering Diu with a large Rumi fleet and a picked train of artillery. The combined navy of the Gujaratis and the Rumis completely routed the Portuguese fleet which, after repairing the damage, sailed back to Goa on 15 March 1531 in considerable disorder. Bahadur commemorated this naval success by erecting a tower of victory at Diu and naming it Burj-i Bahadur Shahi. Mustafa, the Turkish Admiral, was given the title of Rumi Khan and was placed in charge of the naft khana or the royal arsenal.

Free from the Portuguese menace, Bahadur turned his attention to Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, who had not only been harbouring his younger brother, Chand Khan, the pretender to the throne of Gujarat, but had also ravaged the territories of Rana Ratan Singh of Chitor who, as a friend and an ally, had sought the help of Bahadur. Bahadur, therefore, accompanied by Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh, pushed on to Mandu and took it by escalade. He caused the Khutba to be read in his name on Friday, 12 Sha’ban 937/31 March 1531, and annexed Malwa to his hereditary kingdom. Mahmud Khalji was taken prisoner and sent to Champaner, but he was killed in an affray on his way to Gujarat.

Bahadur soon realized that his conquest of Malwa would remain

180 Hajjud Dahir, I, 129; Sikandar, 251-65.
181 Sikandar, 268-73; Firishta, II, 427-28.
182 Whiteway, 224-28; Danvers, I, 400-2.
183 Mutli, Ganj-i Maani, Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 251, 21a.
184 Hajjud Dahir, I, 220.
185 Sikandar, 274-78; Nizamuddin, III, 405-9; Firishta, II, 530-31.
incomplete so long as Silhadi, the powerful siefe-holder of Raisen, Sarangpur and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in the eastern districts of Malwa. He, therefore, arrested Silhadi while he was on a visit to Bahadur's camp and marched against Raisen, which was defended by Lakshman Singh, brother of Silhadi, while Bhupat, a son of Silhadi, fled to Chitor to seek help from Rana Bikramajit, whose sister he had married. Bikramajit advanced towards Raisen but withdrew when Bahadur sent Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh against him. Bahadur then delivered a final assault on Raisen and carried the fortress by storm at the end of Ramazan 938/ May 1532. The conquered territory was conferred upon Alam Khan Lodi, who had been expelled from Kalpi by Humayun and had sought shelter at the court of Gujarat.186

Flushed with his repeated successes, Bahadur decided to punish Rana Bikramajit of Chitor for helping Lakshman Singh during his siege of Raisen. So much had the power of Mewar diminished under this 'Commodus of Rajputana' that Bahadur could commence his operations directly with the siege of Chitor. The powerful artillery of Rumi Khan made an extensive breach in the ramparts of the Rajput stronghold, which fell on 3 Ramazan 941/8 March 1535; Bahadur granted it not to Rumi Khan, to whom he had promised it when the siege had begun, but to Burhanul Mulk Bimbani. This greatly disappointed Rumi Khan, who made up his mind to take revenge by playing Bahadur false by ruining his cause, and waited for an opportunity.187

The opportunity did not take long to come. Bahadur had already incurred the displeasure of Humayun by giving shelter to the political refugees of whom the chief was Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a turbulent Timurid prince and brother-in-law of Humayun, who had escaped from the confinement in which he had been placed near Bayana. Humayun demanded the surrender of the fugitive but Bahadur's reply, couched in insolent language, so offended Humayun that he marched to Sarangpur while Bahadur was occupied with the investment of Chitor.188

Immediately after the fall of Chitor Bahadur moved to Mandasor, where he was confronted by Humayun, who had cut him off from the capital of Malwa and threatened his hold on Gujarat. At this critical juncture Taj Khan and Sadr Khan urged Bahadur to deliver an attack

186 Sikandar, 282-89; Nizamuddin, III, 217-26; Ferishta, II, 432-37.
188 Abu Turab Vali, 2-13; Abul Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, Eng. tr. II. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907, 294-95.
on the Mughal army while the Gujarati troops were flushed with their victory at Chitor. But Rumi Khan advised Bahadur to entrench his army and rely on its greater superiority in guns. The voice of the Turkish artillery captain prevailed over the counsels of the Gujarati cavalry commanders, and Bahadur entrenched himself in a huge araba or fortified camp, bristling with artillery which at this time was the finest in India. 189 Confronted by the great guns of Gujarat, Humayun adopted the tactics, secretly suggested to him by Rumi Khan, of cutting off all Bahadur’s supplies and forage-parties. Complete blockade and gradual starvation made the position of Bahadur untenable; and the treachery of Rumi Khan became at last evident when the Turkish captain deserted his master for Humayun, with the result that at dead of night on 21 Shawwal 941/25 April 1535, Bahadur fled to Mandu. 190

Humayun set out in the pursuit of Bahadur, who finding himself hard pressed at Mandu continued his flight to the fort of Champaner. Though Bahadur had put the fortress in a state of defence, he did not feel himself secure in it. He handed over his treasures to his trusted minister, Asaf Khan, to be taken to Sulaiman, the Magnificent, of Turkey. They consisted of 400 chests of gold, ashrasfs, gold-bars and gold-bricks. With this gorgeous treasure Asaf Khan left the Indian shore and went to Jedda. From there Bahadur’s letter of appeal for aid against Humayun and the accompanying treasures were sent to the great Caliph, who on account of the powerful resistance by the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean could not afford to be hasty. 191

Before the Ottoman Caliph could think of any constructive plan, Humayun reached Champaner to find that both Bahadur and his treasure had gone. Bahadur had escaped to Cambay, where some time back he had gathered a fleet of 100 war-ships in order to fight the Portuguese. But he was now afraid that after his departure they might fall into the hands of the Mughals. 192 So he burnt them and sailed for Diu, where he turned to the Portuguese for help. On 25 October 1535, a treaty of alliance between Bahadur and Nuno da Cunha was concluded. Under the terms of this treaty the Portuguese agreed to assist Bahadur against his enemies by land and sea. In return they received permission to erect a fortress at Diu and a site was granted for the purpose. 193

189 Abu Turah Vali, 13-14; Hajjud Dahir, I, 239-40.
190 Sikandar, 307-9; Abul Fazl, I, 301-3.
192 Hajjud Dahir, I, 243.
193 Danvers, I, 406.
When Humayun reached Cambay, he found that Bahadur had already left the port for Diu. Having failed in his immediate object, Humayun turned to Champaner, which he took by escalade on 9 Safar 942/9 August 1535. To commemorate his victory, Humayun caused coins to be struck at Champaner in his name both in silver and copper. The conquest of Champaner was followed by that of Ahmadabad, which he placed in the charge of his younger brother, Askari, with Hindu Beg as his minister and commander-in-chief.

After completing the conquest of Gujarat, Humayun pushed on towards Diu in pursuit of Bahadur; but he had hardly reached Dhandhuka, when urgent messengers from Agra overtook him, bearing the alarming news of the revolt of Sher Khan Sur in the eastern provinces of his kingdom. Humayun was, therefore, constrained to retrace his steps from Gujarat, and he proceeded to Agra by way of Burhanpur and Mandu. The emperor had hardly turned his back on the province, when a counter-revolution commenced in favour of Bahadur, who soon afterwards emerged from his retreat at Diu and assumed charge of the operations. His army swelled in number as he marched till he pitched his tents at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad. Hindu Beg advised Askari to assume the ensigns of royalty in Gujarat in order to encourage his soldiers, but Askari was dreaming of proclaiming himself emperor of India. So without offering a single battle in defence, he pushed on towards Agra. Bahadur closely followed the retreating Mughals, and as he approached Champaner, Tardi Beg evacuated the fortress, which was reoccupied by Bahadur on 3 Zil Hij 942/24 May 1536.

Immediately after regaining his kingdom, Bahadur received news about the arrival of a large Portuguese fleet at Diu. As he had recovered his kingdom without any substantial help from the Portuguese, he regretted the concessions with which in the days of his distress he had purchased their help against Humayun. The Portuguese lost no time in commencing the construction of their fort, which was completed within five months in March 1536. Further, Bahadur resented the refusal of the Portuguese to give him permission to erect a wall to cut off the fortress from the city of Diu. Bahadur hastened from Champaner to settle these issues and also to recover, if possible, the rights he had bartered away. On reaching Gogha he deputed

194 Sikandar, 315.
196 Hajind Dabir, I, 250; Abul Fazl, I, 217.
197 Abul Fazl, I, 317-21; Abu Turab Vali, 29-72.
198 Mahmud Bukhari, 38.
199 Whiteway, 240-44.
Nur Muhammad Khalil, one of his confidential officers, to the Portuguese governor, with instructions to persuade him by any device to pay a visit to the Sultan. The envoy was thrown off his guard under the influence of wine, and revealed the secret intentions of his monarch.

Next morning the governor sent the envoy back with the excuse that, owing to indisposition, it was impossible for him to wait on the Sultan. Bahadur then took four or five of his favourite officers in his barge and, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, he went straight to the ship of the Portuguese governor, felt his pulse and found that the sickness was a mere pretence. He sought to return to the shore at once, but the Portuguese attempted to detain him, ostensibly that he might inspect the gifts which they had brought for him from Goa, but doubtless with a view to obtaining a pledge that he would abandon his designs against them and of extorting further concessions from him. Bahadur told them to send the gifts to him and hastened to leave, but a Portuguese priest placed himself in his way and ordered him to stop. The Sultan impatiently drew out his sword and cleft him in twain. The Portuguese vessels, which were near by, closed in and a scuffle ensued. When the Sultan wanted to leap into his own barge, the Portuguese drew away the vessel with the result that the Sultan fell into the sea. The Portuguese struck him with spears and lances till he was drowned. This took place on 3 Ramazan 943/13 February 1537.200

Bahadur was a brave and ambitious ruler who possessed the martial valour of his ancestors and surpassed his grandfather, Mahmud Begarha, in military glory. He was so famed for his rapid movements that making Ilghar-i Bahaduri (March of Bahadur) became a proverbial saying, applied to anyone who covered a great distance in a short time. Besides being brave and hardy, Bahadur was an ambitious prince whose mission in life was to widen the frontiers of his empire. Within the short period of six years after his coronation, he obtained the homage of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Ali Barid of Bidar, defeated the Portuguese in a naval action, annexed the kingdom of Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, and then turned his attention to the Rajput rulers of Raisen and Chitor. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his alliance was sought by Muslim as well as Hindu rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, while the discontented princelings of the house of Timur sought his protection.

Bahadur's campaigns were not motivated by religious ideas. Born

200 Sikandar, 321-22; Abu Turab Vali, 32-33; Mahmud Bukhari, 38-39; Abul Fazl, I, 323-24.
of Lakshmibai, the daughter of a Gohel Rajput, Bahadur had inherited the liberal policy of his tolerant father. In pursuance of the policy of his forebears, he married the sister of Raja Baharji, the Rajput chieftain of Baghna. Moreover, he freely received Hindus in his service. Nar-singh Deo, the nephew of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, and Prithvi Raj, the nephew of Rana Sanga, were two of his trusted Rajput nobles. He allowed Karma Singh, the minister of Ratana Singh, to repair a temple at Satrunjava. All these factors went a long way to make Bahadur popular with his subjects. This explains to some extent why the ra'iyyat of Gujarat sent deputations of their elders to suggest to Bahadur to depute some one to collect the revenue that was due to him, even when he was in exile at Diu after being defeated by Humayun.

Besides being tolerant, Bahadur had inherited his father's love for music. He patronized Manjhu Kalawant, who was supposed to be unrivalled in his art throughout India. It was the bewitching effect of his music that ultimately succeeded in stopping the ruthless massacre ordered by Humayun after the fall of Mandu. Soon afterwards Bahadur lost his kingdom; but when Manjhu rejoined him, he is reported to have remarked, 'Today, I have, so to say, regained everything I had lost.' This remark pays a brilliant tribute to the musician on the one hand, and to Bahadur's love of music on the other.

Moreover, Bahadur was generous and munificent. When famine stalked the land, he opened langars or alms-houses for the poor. Wherever he went, he dispensed his charity and to no one did he give less than a gold ashrafi. We are told that the small and great of the city lived comfortably. He was so generous to his people that the nobles and soldiers were unwilling to go to their homes and remained near him in the hope of sharing his bounty.

In striking contrast to this generosity stands his sanguinary, passionate, violent and rash disposition. This is testified by the fact that at the very outset of his reign he got murdered all his near relatives, excepting his nephew, Mahmud Khan. Nazuk Lahar, after the death of Sultan Sikandar, was taken to the seraglio of Bahadur, who also like his elder brother was greatly attracted by her; but under the influence of wine, he became displeased with her for some trivial fault, and in a fit of uncontrollable passion drew his sword and cleft

201 Sikandar, 271-72.
202 Epigraphia-Indica, II, 1892, 35-47.
203 Hajud Dabir, I, 249-50.
204 Sikandar, 311-18.
205 Ibid., 263.
206 Ibid., 326.
her in twain. Soon afterwards he realized his mistake, but it was of
no avail. Moreover, Bahadur was addicted to all sorts of intoxicants.
It was while in his cups that he dictated his reply to Humayun, who,
greatly incensed by the impolite tone of the letter, made up his mind
to march against Gujarat.

In sum, then, Bahadur’s character presents an admixture of opposed
qualities. Though brave, warlike, ambitious, kind-hearted, tolerant and
generous, he at times, nevertheless, became ferocious and violent.
Occasionally he showed rashness even in dealing with his favourites.
He was fond of displaying the trappings of royalty, and like many
eastern potentates, he loved both magnificence and power. He was
lavish in his gifts, and his generosity and tolerance won him the
affection of his people.

As Bahadur had left no son, Muhammad Zaman Mirza claimed
the throne of Gujarat on the ground that the queen-mother had adopted
him as her son and got the Khutba recited in his name in the chief
mosque of Diu by bribing the Portuguese. But the amirs of Gujarat
frustrated all his designs and invited Miran Muhammad Shah of
Khandesh, son of Bahadur’s sister, who had been nominated by the
late Sultan as his successor. In order to overcome constitutional
difficulties, they decided to read the Khutba in the following form:
‘Miran Muhammad Shah, son of the sister of Bahadur Shah.’ Miran
Muhammad Shah set out from Burhanpur to ascend the throne of
Gujarat, but died on 13 Ziqad 943/4 May 1537, on his way and was
buried at Burhanpur.

On the death of Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi an attempt was
made to raise to the Khandesh throne his young son, Ahmad, but the
majority of the amirs supported the cause of Muhammad’s brother,
Mubarak, who was duly proclaimed king of Khandesh. Soon afterwards
a deputation from Gujarat waited on Mubarak Shah and demanded
the surrender of Mahmud Khan, the minor son of Bahadur’s brother,
Latif Khan, who during his uncle’s reign had been placed in the
custody of Miran Muhammad. But Mubarak Shah, who had hoped
to receive the summons to the throne of Gujarat for himself, delayed
in handing over Mahmud. But when the Gujarati amirs assembled their
forces and assumed a threatening posture, Mubarak delivered Mahmud
to the amirs, who carried him off to Gujarat and enthroned him as

207 Ibid., 247-48.
208 Ibid., 503-4.
209 Ibid., 323-24.
210 Abu Turab Vali, 35.
211 Ferishta, II, 335.
Nasiruddin Abul Fath Mahmud Shah II. 

It was in Mubarak Shah’s reign that Khandesh came under Mughal suzerainty. Frightened by the march of Akbar to Mandu in 972/1564, Miran Mubarak Shah sent his daughter for the haram of Akbar and agreed to recite the Khutba in the name of the Mughal emperor. This made no alteration in the status to which the rulers of Khandesh had long been accustomed. They had for many years been subject to the suzerainty of Gujarat; and though it appears that the feeble Mahmud Shah II had not ventured to assert his suzerainty, they now merely exchanged their former allegiance to Gujarat for allegiance to Akbar, who allowed them to rule over Khandesh under his suzerainty till it was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1009/1601.

Meanwhile the affairs of Gujarat had fallen into great confusion. Taking advantage of the boyhood of Mahmud, the powerful nobles usurped the control of the whole government and kept the Sultan under surveillance till about 956/1545, when with the help of Saiyyid Mubarak Bukhari and other loyal amirs, he tried to assert his position as a king and shifted his capital to Mahmudabad, whence he governed with some authority. Humayun, after his return from exile, sought Mahmud’s help in annihilating the Afghans on the Indian soil. In response to this request, Mahmud was planning to march towards Mandu, when he was assassinated on the night of 12 Rabi I 961/15 February 1554. The assassination of Mahmud was followed by chronic anarchy and disorder. The ambitious amirs became independent in their fiefs and quarrelled among themselves, while puppet princedlings, like Mahmud III, Ahmad III and Muzaffar III, were propped up on the throne of Gujarat by one faction or another. Taking advantage of this situation, Akbar, at the invitation of Itmad Khan, the powerful minister of Muzaffar III, marched to Gujarat in 980/1573 and with little difficulty annexed this maritime province and coveted emporium of commerce to the Mughal empire.

212 Sikandar, 326-29; Abu Turab Vali, 39-40; Ferishta, II, 444.
213 Hajiud Dabir, I, 64-87.
214 Sikandar, 360-62; Hajiud Dabir, I, 294.
215 Abu Turab Vali, 43-49; Mahmud Bukhari, 40.