

XIII.

HISTORY AND COINAGE OF MALWA.

I.

HISTORY.

General Summary.

THE old kingdom of Malwa was bounded by the Nerbudda on the south, the Chambal on the north, Gujerat on the west, and Bundelkand on the east. The limits of ancient Malwa were, therefore, much more extended than those of the present Province of that name, comprising as it did the existing Agencies of Indore, Gwalior, Banswarra, Western Malwa, Guna, Bhopal, and Bhopawar, and including, among others, the modern States of Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Jaora, Rutlam, Dhar, and Jhalawar. Hoshang Shah extended his sway over Gondwarra (Kherla), Hoshangabad, and Kalpi, and is said to have even penetrated to Jajnagar in Orissa. In the reign of Mahmud I, when the kingdom reached its zenith of power, the limits of Malwa were extended by conquest to Biana, Karauli, Ajmer, Rantambhor, Dongarpur, and Kechwara, while tribute was exacted from the Rajput States of Mewar, Kotah, and Bundi. It was at first ruled by a long series of Hindu kings, among the most celebrated of whom were Vikramajit (56 B.C.), and Raja Bhoja Deva (11th century A.D.) The grandson of Raja Bhoja was taken prisoner and his

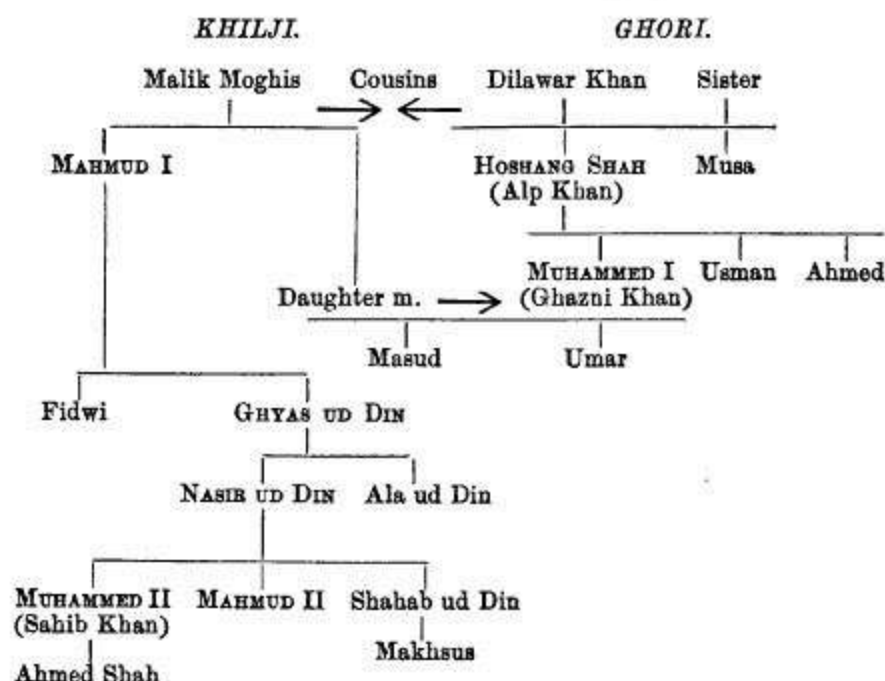
country conquered by the Raja of Gujerat, but Malwa soon recovered its independence under a new dynasty. Malwa was one of the last of the ancient Hindu States to submit to Muhammedan rule. In 399 A.H. (= 1008 A.D.), the Raja of Malwa joined the Hindu confederacy against Mahmud of Ghazni, who in revenge marched his devastating army through the country. The son of another Ghaznevide king, Ibrahim, is also said to have subdued Malwa, but both these expeditions can only be regarded in the light of forays. In 623-30 A.H. (= 1226-32 A.D.), the Delhi Emperor, Shams ud Din Altamsh, conquered Malwa, but the province revolted, and had to be resubdued in the reign of Nasir ud Din Mahmud, 646-49 A.H. (= 1248-51 A.D.), by his Wazir, Ghyas ud Din Balban, who afterwards usurped the Imperial throne. In the reign of Jelal ud Din Firoz II the people of Malwa again rose in rebellion, and resisted the inconclusive attempts of the Emperor to subdue them in 691-92 A.H. (= 1291-92 A.D.). The first permanent conquest of Malwa by the Muhammedans was effected by the Emperor Ala ud Din Muhammed, whose general, Ain ul Mulk, defeated and killed the Raja Mahlak Deo at Mandu, 705 A.H. (= 1305 A.D.), and was appointed Viceroy of the conquered province. In 744 A.H. (= 1343 A.D.), Katlagh Khan, the Viceroy of Malwa, was recalled, and the government of the province entrusted by the Emperor, Muhammed Tughlak, to a low-born ruffian, named Aziz Himâr, who by his cruelty and oppression raised the whole country in revolt. Aziz Himâr was killed by the insurgents, who were not subdued until the Emperor marched against them in person, 745 A.H. (= 1344 A.D.). Malwa remained a province of the Delhi Empire until the death of Muhammed III,

son of Firoz III, in 795 A.H. (= 1392 A.D.), when Dilawar Khan Ghorī, the Viceroy, asserted his independence, though he did not actually assume the ensigns of royalty till 804 A.H. (= 1401 A.D.), in the second reign of Mahmud II. In 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.), the Ghorī dynasty of Malwa was replaced by that of the Khiljīs, which lasted until the conquest of Malwa by Bahadar Shah, King of Gujerat, in 937 A.H. (= 1530 A.D.). Malwa subsequently, 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.), fell temporarily into the hands of Humayun, but was partially reconquered in 943 A.H. (= 1536 A.D.) by an officer of the Khiljī dynasty named Kadir Shah. In 949 A.H. (= 1542 A.D.), the Suri Emperor of Delhi, Sher Shah, became possessed of Malwa, to the government of which a noble named Shuja' Khan was appointed. Except for a short space, during which Isa Khan ruled Malwa on behalf of the Suri Emperor, Islam Shah, Shuja' Khan continued to govern this province until his death in 962 A.H. (= 1554 A.D.), when he was succeeded by his son Malik Bayazid; who after defeating his two younger brothers, Daulat Khan and Mustafa Khan, was crowned in 963 A.H. (= 1555 A.D.) under the title of Sultan Baz Bahadur.

In 968 A.H. (= 1560 A.D.) Malwa was conquered for Akbar by his general, Adam Khan. In 969 A.H. (= 1561 A.D.), Baz Bahadur recovered his kingdom, but was again dispossessed in the following year, 970 A.H. (= 1562 A.D.). For eight years Baz Bahadur maintained a guerilla warfare against the Moghal troops with varying success, but finally submitted in 978 A.H. (= 1570 A.D.), when the province of Malwa was incorporated in the Moghal Empire.

The following is a genealogical table of the Ghorī and Khiljī dynasties :—

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



The following table exhibits in a succinct form the independent rulers of Malwa, with the duration of their reigns, as derived from historical sources, and as shown by the dates on their coins:—

Name of Ruler.	Historical Reign.	Coin Dates.
Dilawar Khan	804-808	No coins.
Hoshang Shah	808-836	824, 829, 83x.
Nasrat Khan (Viceroy for Muzaffer Shah I of Gujerat) .	810	No coins.
Musa Khan (Rebel)	810	No coins.
Muhammed I	836-839	No coin dates.
Mahmud I	839-873	842, 845, 847, 848, 850, 851, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 860, 862, 869, 870, 871, 873.

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Name of Ruler.	Historical Reign.	Coin Dates.
Ghyas ud Din	873-906	*864, *865, *866, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 886, 887, 889, 890, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906.
Nasir ud Din	906-916	906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916.
Mahmud II	916-937	917, 918, 919, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931.
Muhammed II (Rebel) . . .	916-921	917, 921.
Ibrahim Lodi (occupation of Chanderi)	—	Square dateless coin.
Bahadur Shah (king of Gujerat)	937-941	Square dateless coin.
Humayun	941-943	942 (Mandu).
Kadir Shah (nominal vassal of Bahadur Shah of Gujerat) .	943-949	No coins.
Shuja' Khan (Viceroy for Sher Shah and Islam Shah) . .	949-962	No coins.
Baz Bahadur	962-968	Square dateless coin.
Adam Khan (Viceroy of Akbar)	968	No coins.
Pir Muhammed (Viceroy of Akbar)	969	No coins.
Baz Bahadur (restored) . .	969-970	No coins.
Abdullah Khan (Viceroy of Akbar)	970-972	Square dateless issue of Uj- jain.
Baz Bahadur carries on gueril- la warfare with Akbar . .	970-978	
Baz Bahadur's final submission to Akbar	978	

* Struck in his father's lifetime as heir-apparent.

GHORI KINGS.

DILAWAR KHAN.

Dilawar Khan's grandfather came from Ghor, and held office under the Delhi Government. His father was ennobled, and he himself attained high rank in the reign of Firoz III. During the reign of Muhammed III. 792-795 A.H. (= 1389-92 A.D.) he was nominated to the government of Malwa. On assuming independence in 795 A.H. (= 1392 A.D.), Dilawar Khan made Dhar his capital, though he often visited Mandu, which came to be the seat of government in the next reign. In 801 A.H. (= 1398 A.D.), Mahmud II, the Delhi Emperor, having been driven from his throne by Amir Timur, fled to Gujerat. As, however, his reception by the ruler of that kingdom, Muzaffer Shah I, was not satisfactory, he sought protection in Malwa, where he was hospitably entertained by Dilawar Khan for three years. This courteous treatment of the exiled Emperor was not pleasing to Dilawar Khan's son, Hoshang Shah, who retired in disgust to Mandu, where he remained during Mahmud's residence in Malwa, and which he employed himself in fortifying.

In 804 A.H. (= 1401 A.D.), Mahmud quitted Malwa for Delhi, where he resumed the reins of government, taking with him a quantity of money and jewels supplied by his loyal supporter, Dilawar Khan. On his departure Hoshang Shah returned, and shortly afterwards, at his instance, Dilawar Khan assumed royal state. He only survived his assumption of regal power four years, as he died suddenly in 808 A.H. (= 1405 A.D.). It has been alleged that his death was due to poison administered

by his son Hoshang Shah, and the invasion of Malwa by the King of Gujerat, Muzaffer Shah I, to revenge his friend's death, lends colour to this story, which however is discredited by Ferishta.

HOSHANG SHAH.

Alp Khan, better known as Hoshang Shah Ghori, succeeded his father as king in Malwa, and reigned twenty-seven years, 808-835 A.H. (= 1405-1431 A.D.). In 810 A.H. (= 1407 A.D.), Muzaffer Shah I, King of Gujerat, invaded Malwa to revenge the suspected murder of his old comrade Dilawar Khan. A battle was fought at Dhar, which resulted in favour of Muzaffer Shah. Hoshang Shah, who surrendered, was taken to Gujerat, and detained as a State prisoner. Nasrat Khan, Muzaffer Shah's brother, was left in charge of the government of Malwa, but his oppressive rule created universal disaffection. The people of Malwa accordingly rose in rebellion, drove out Nasrat Khan, and elected Musa Khan, the nephew of Dilawar Khan, as their leader. The astute Hoshang Shah took immediate advantage of this *émeute*, and persuaded Muzaffer Shah to release him, and reinstate him on his throne, as a vassal of Gujerat. Accordingly, in 811 A.H. (= 1408 A.D.), Ahmed Shah, the Gujerat king's grandson, accompanied Hoshang Shah to Dhar, and after reducing that place, and restoring his authority, returned to Gujerat. Meanwhile Mandu still held out under Musa Khan, and for a time defied all Hoshang Shah's efforts to capture it. The defection of Malik Moghis, the cousin of Hoshang Shah, however, compelled Musa Khan to surrender, and Hoshang Shah thereupon entered Mandu, and resumed the reins of

government. In 813 A.H. (= 1410 A.D.), Muzaffer Shah I died, and Ahmed Shah succeeded him on the throne of Gujerat. Unmindful of past favours, Hoshang Shah supported the cause of Firoz Khan and Haibat Khan, the sons of Nasrat Khan, against their uncle Ahmed Shah, by an incursion into Gujerat, which, however, was unsuccessful. In 816 A.H. (= 1413 A.D.), Hoshang Shah opened secret correspondence with certain disloyal nobles of Gujerat, and, taking advantage of Ahmed Shah's campaign against the Raja of Jalwara, led an army into Gujerat territory, which he began to lay waste. Ahmed Shah, however, postponing his attack on Jalwara, despatched a powerful force under Imad ul Mulk, which compelled Hoshang Shah to retire. In 821 A.H. (= 1418 A.D.), after the reduction of Jalner, at the solicitation of the Khandesh prince, Muhammed Iftikhar, who had been driven out by his elder brother, Malik Nasir, an attack was made on Sultanpur, a district of Gujerat, by Ghazni Khan, the crown prince of Malwa, which was frustrated by the sudden advance of Ahmed Shah. While Ahmed Shah was engaged in the Sultanpur direction, Hoshang Shah invaded Gujerat by way of Mahrassa, but the Rajas of Jalwara, Idar, Champanir, and Nandot, who had invited him to join the confederacy, failed him at this critical juncture, and he was obliged to retreat again into Malwa before Ahmed Shah's rapid advance. Ahmed Shah then marched into Malwa, defeated Hoshang Shah at Kalliada, and pursued him to the gates of Mandu, which was too strong for him to attack. In 822 A.H. (= 1419 A.D.), Ahmed Shah returned to Gujerat. In the latter end of the same year this king took measures for completing his conquest of Malwa, but, on Hoshang Shah sending an embassy to him with

splendid presents to appease his wrath, he accepted terms, and returned to Ahmedabad. About this time Hoshang Shah began to evince great partiality towards Malik Mahmud, the son of his cousin Malik Moghis, on whom he conferred the title of Khan, and the office of Deputy Wazir. He generally accompanied his sovereign in the field, while his father, the Wazir, usually remained at the capital. This is the first we hear of a man who afterwards ascended the throne of Malwa as Mahmud I. In 823 A.H. (= 1420 A.D.), Hoshang Shah undertook a successful campaign against Narsingh Rai, the chief of Gondwara, who was defeated and killed. On this occasion many elephants and a vast quantity of treasure fell into his hands, and the young Raja became his vassal. By this victory Kherla, the Raja's capital, together with the adjoining territory, came into Hoshang Shah's possession, a circumstance, however, which later involved him in hostilities with the Bahmani king of the Deccan. Hoshang Shah had previously built the city of Hoshangabad on the left bank of the Nerbudda to facilitate operations against the Hindu princes of Gondwara. In 825 A.H. (= 1421 A.D.), the king made an excursion in disguise to Jainagar with a small following for the purpose of obtaining elephants. He captured the Raja of Jainagar, and secured a large number of elephants with which the Raja had purchased his liberty. On his return to Malwa he was greeted with the news that his kingdom had been invaded, and his capital besieged by the king of Gujerat. The reason for this aggressive act is partially traceable to the rumour of Hoshang Shah's sudden disappearance, and the partition of the kingdom among his nobles. Ahmed Shah was, however, unable to make any impression on the strong fort of Mandu, which was

besieged for a month and a half, and contented himself with occupying the surrounding country, and marching through Ujjain towards Sarangpur. Hoshang Shah, reaching Sarangpur before him, sent a conciliatory message to Ahmed Shah, who consequently neglected to take the military precautions necessary in a hostile country. In a night attack on the Gujerat camp, 826 A.H. (= 1422 A.D.), the Malwa king was successful, but was himself defeated in turn by the Gujeratis next morning. Ahmed Shah then began his retreat towards Gujerat, but was so harassed by the attacks of Hoshang Shah, who had rallied his disordered troops, that he resolved to give him battle, which resulted in the total defeat of the Malwa army, and the capture of all their elephants. In 832 A.H. (= 1428 A.D.), Ahmed Shah I, the Bahmani king of the Deccan, attacked the frontier fortress of Kherla with a large force. Hoshang Shah marched to its assistance. The Bahmani army retreated, but was pursued by Hoshang Shah, who however fell into a skilfully laid ambush, and was signally defeated, leaving the ladies of his family, as well as his heavy baggage, in the hands of the enemy. The Bahmani king chivalrously sent the ladies back to Mandu with an escort of cavalry. In 835 A.H. (= 1431 A.D.), Hoshang Shah made an expedition to capture Kalpi, then in charge of Abdul Kadir, an officer of the Delhi Emperor. Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur was advancing for a similar purpose. The Jaunpur and Malwa armies were in sight, and about to engage, when Ibrahim Shah was suddenly recalled to defend his capital from Mubarik Shah, Emperor of Delhi, leaving Hoshang Shah free to devote his attention to Kalpi, which soon after surrendered. About this time Hoshang Shah, coming to be afflicted with a dangerous disease,

formally proclaimed his eldest son, Ghazni Khan, as his successor, and made Mahmud Khan, whose ambitious views were no secret, swear to support him. In view of the king's approaching end, intrigues dealing with the succession were rife at court. One party favoured Ghazni Khan, and another supported the cause of his younger brother Usman Khan, now in confinement in Mandu, while Mahmud astutely took advantage of these disputes to play for his own hand. Hoshang Shah died on the road to Mandu on September 7th, 1432 (836 A.H.). His eldest son Ghazni Khan was at once proclaimed king by Mahmud, after which the deceased monarch's remains were conveyed to Mandu, and buried in the noble mausoleum which is still to be seen there.

MUHAMMED I.

Ghazni Khan was crowned King of Malwa two days after his father's death with the title of Sultan Muhammed Ghorî. Business was transacted as usual by Malik Moghis and his son Mahmud. Muhammed soon proved himself a thoroughly depraved character without a single noble instinct. His jealousy of his brothers Usman and Ahmed prompted him to indulge in acts of fiendish cruelty. Several persons were put to death on the bare suspicion of favouring them, and he blinded his nephew and son-in-law, Nizam Khan, as well as the latter's three sons by his own daughter, for a similar reason. The only political event of importance in this reign was an incursion into Malwa by the Raja of Nandot, which was quickly repulsed by Malik Moghis. The king relinquished all interest in public business, which was left entirely in the hands of his minister, Mahmud, and

abandoned himself to drunkenness and debauchery. The nobles, dreading Mahmud's designs on the throne, sent secret messages to warn the king, who, instead of taking resolute measures, told Mahmud that he had heard of his intention to usurp the crown, and, leading him by the hand to the presence of his wife, the minister's sister, adjured him to at least spare his life. Though Mahmud disavowed any such disloyal motive, the king's doom from that hour was sealed, as the minister felt that, having been suspected of treason, there was no security for his own life except by his sovereign's death. One of the king's attendants was accordingly bribed to poison his wine, from the effects of which he died in 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.), after an inglorious reign of three years. On Muhammed's death the sceptre passed from the house of Ghori to that of Khilji.

KHILJI KINGS.

MAHMUD I.

An ineffective attempt was made by the late king's supporters to place his eldest son, Prince Masud, a boy of thirteen years of age, on the throne, but Mahmud had no difficulty in defeating it, whereupon the Prince's party took refuge in flight. Mahmud made a show of offering the crown to his father, Malik Moghis, who refused it. Mahmud I, the greatest of the kings of Malwa, was thirty-four years of age when he ascended the throne, under the title of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, in 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.). Most of the officers of the late king's court were confirmed in their appointments and estates. Malik Moghis was continued as Prime Minister, and he was also granted the privilege of the white

canopy and the silver quiver, distinctive marks of royalty. Shortly after Mahmud's succession a conspiracy was formed against him by Prince Ahmed, the youngest son of Hoshang Shah, and a number of discontented nobles who had remained unprovided for in the distribution of honours and estates. The conspirators' intention was to seize the person of the king, and to this end they got access to the courtyard of the palace by escalading a mosque which commanded it. Mahmud, aroused by the noise, attacked his assailants single-handed, and, with the assistance of his palace guards, who soon after joined him, quickly put them to flight. At the intercession of the king's father, Prince Ahmed was spared, and granted the estate of Islamabad. Mahmud soon had occasion to repent his magnanimity, as Prince Ahmed lost no time in assembling a force at Islamabad and raising the standard of rebellion. Taj Khan, *alias* Malik Barkhurdar, was sent to put down this revolt, but could make no impression on the fort of Islamabad. He accordingly asked for reinforcements, and Malik Moghis was despatched against the insurgents. The delay thus caused had given courage to the rebels, who were joined by Malik Ittibar of Hoshangabad, Nasrat Khan of Chanderi, and Kawam Khan of Bhilsa. Malik Moghis, or, as he was now known, Azim Humayun, despairing of the capture of Islamabad, bribed one of his servants to poison Prince Ahmed, whereupon the fort fell into his hands. The victorious minister then marched against the rebels at Hoshangabad, Chandausi, and Bhilsa, and reduced them without difficulty. On his return march to Mandu, 841 A.H. (= 1437 A.D.), he heard that Ahmed Shah, King of Gujerat, having espoused the cause of Prince Masud, was advancing on the capital with a large

force. By rapid marches Malik Moghis reached Mandu before the Gujerat army, which shortly after closely invested the fort. A fierce sortie of the besieged was unsuccessful, as information of the attack was conveyed to the Gujerat leader by Nasrat Khan, the displaced Governor of Chanderi. Mahmud gained over many of the faction of Prince Masud, and courted the popularity of the poorer classes by the free distribution of corn. Prince Umar, the younger son of Muhammed I of Malwa, now appeared at the head of a force at Chanderi, which opened its gates to him. The King of Gujerat on hearing this despatched his son Muhammed Khan with a force of 5,000 cavalry and 30 elephants to Sarangpur to make a diversion in favour of the Prince, who was also joined by the Governor of that place. In 842 A.H. (= 1438 A.D.), the King of Malwa resolved to take the field in person, and marched towards Sarangpur. On the way he was attacked by Malik Haji of Gujerat, who was guarding the road to Kaithal, but overthrew him with ease. Muhammed Khan, on hearing of Mahmud's advance, fell back on Ujjain, where he was joined by his father's army. Malik Ishak, the Governor of Sarangpur, after soliciting his sovereign's pardon for his disloyalty, informed him of the junction of the two Gujerat armies, and of Prince Umar's advance with a force from Chanderi to seize Sarangpur. On the advice of Malik Ishak, who had been forgiven and loaded with honours, this important town was occupied by the royal forces. News was now received that Ahmed Shah with 30,000 cavalry and 300 elephants was in full march on Sarangpur, and that Prince Umar, after burning Bhilsa, was advancing in the same direction. Mahmud determined to attack Prince Umar before he effected a junction with the

Gujerat army. In this measure he was signally successful. Prince Umar was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded. The remnant of his army fled to Chanderi, where Suleman, a relation of Prince Umar, was placed on the throne, and saluted as king with the title of Sultan Shahab ud Din. The King of Malwa next proceeded to attack Ahmed Shah. The enemy, however, was obliged to retreat to Gujerat owing to an outbreak of pestilence, which left Mahmud free to devote his attention to the reduction of Chanderi. Suleman, unable to meet Mahmud in the field, retired to the fort of Chanderi, where he soon after died suddenly. The Chanderi rebels, however, set up another pretender, and persisted in resistance. The siege lasted eight months, when Mahmud, becoming impatient, took the fort by escalade. The king's next expedition was in the direction of Gwalior, the territory of which he laid waste. Dungar Singh, the Raja of Gwalior, had besieged Narwar; and the object of Mahmud's raid into Gwalior, which was to relieve this town, having been successfully accomplished, he returned to Mandu. In 843 A.H. (= 1439 A.D.), the king built the magnificent mosque near the Rampura gate at Mandu, the remains of which are still to be seen, in memory of Sultan Hoshang Shah. In 844 A.H. (= 1440 A.D.), took place Mahmud's operations against the feeble Emperor of Delhi, Muhammed bin Farid. The Delhi nobles opened overtures with Sultan Mahmud to seize the Imperial throne, and the latter, accepting the tempting offer, marched with a large army to the capital. The Delhi army was commanded by the Emperor's son, the advance-guard of archers being under the leadership of Bahlol Lodi. Sultan Mahmud, considering it derogatory to his dignity to command his army in person

under these circumstances, placed it under the orders of his two sons, Ghyas ud Din and Fidwi. The fight raged all day without any decisive result on either side. Next day an accommodation was arranged, and Sultan Mahmud retreated to Malwa, which he reached in 845 A.H. (= 1441 A.D.). An insurrection at Mandu, which was only quelled by the timely exertions of Malik Moghis, is said to have been the real cause of Sultan Mahmud's hasty retreat to Malwa, while the Delhi Emperor was anxious to make peace on any terms. According to the *Tarikh i Alfi* this expedition of Malwa against Delhi took place earlier in his reign, about 841 A.H., Mahmud's hasty retreat being attributed to the sudden invasion of Malwa by a Gujerat army. After resting his army Sultan Mahmud crushed Nasir Khan of Kalpi, who had proclaimed his independence. He next directed his arms against Rana Kumbho of Chitor, and, capturing Kumbal Mir and the lower fort of Chitor, compelled the Rana to seek refuge in flight. During this expedition the Sultan's father Malik Moghis died, and Taj Khan was appointed to command the army in his place. In 846 A.H. (= 1442 A.D.), the Rana made a night attack on the Sultan's camp before Chitor, which was beaten off with severe loss to the Rajputs. On the following night the Rajput camp was in turn successfully attacked by the Malwa force, and the Rana driven to shut himself up in the upper fort. The advent of the rainy season compelled Sultan Mahmud to raise the siege of Chitor for the time, and he accordingly returned to Mandu. In 847 A.H. (= 1443 A.D.), an embassy arrived at Mandu from Mahmud, King of Jaunpur, with rich presents, informing him of the heretical leanings of Nasir Khan, the Governor of Kalpi, and requesting permission to punish the apostate, if he

had not time to do it himself. This permission was readily granted, and Nasir Khan was in due course expelled from Kalpi by a Jaunpur force. Nasir Khan fled to Chanderi, and thence despatched a message to his sovereign imploring his assistance to recover Kalpi. Sultan Mahmud accordingly sent an embassy to the Jaunpur king, requesting him to reinstate Nasir Khan, who had now returned to the right path, but Mahmud Shah failed to send any direct reply to this communication. Sultan Mahmud, incensed at this indignity, set his army in motion towards Chanderi, where he was met by Nasir Khan. He then continued his march to Kalpi, whither he was followed by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur. A general action ensued, but the result was indecisive, though a detachment of the Malwa force had succeeded in cutting off the baggage train of the Jaunpur army. After this engagement Sultan Mahmud retired to Fatehabad. Other acts of hostility between the two kings followed, but the terms proposed by the Jaunpur king, which included the restoration of Nasir Khan, were ultimately accepted by Sultan Mahmud, and peace was declared in 849 A.H. (= 1445 A.D.). In 850 A.H. (= 1446 A.D.) the king again commenced operations against Rana Kumbho by laying siege to Mandalgarh. The Rana purchased peace by the payment of a large sum in jewels and cash, and Sultan Mahmud returned to his capital. He next reduced Muhammed Khan, the Governor of Biana, to submission, captured the fort of Anandpur, and exacted a heavy contribution from the Rajas of Bundi and Kotah. In 854 A.H. (= 1450 A.D.), the king, at the solicitation of Raja Ganga Das, marched to relieve Champanir, which was closely invested by Muhammed Shah, the King of Gujerat. Muhammed Shah, on being

apprised of the approach of the Malwa army, destroyed his camp equipage and military stores, and retired to Ahmedabad. Champanir was relieved, and Sultan Mahmud, after receiving a valuable present in money and horses from the Raja as a reward for his services, returned to his capital. In 855 A.H. (= 1451 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud set out with a large force with the intention of conquering Gujerat, but the expedition proved an ignominious failure, and the Malwa army suffered its first real defeat during this reign. Sultanpur was first besieged, and captured. Malik Sohrab, its Governor, despairing of relief, surrendered to Mahmud, whose service he entered. He was nominated to the command of the Malwa army, with the title of Mubariz Khan. On the march to Gujerat news was received of the death of Mahmud Shah, and the accession of Kutub ud Din to the Gujerat throne. Sultan Mahmud sent the usual letter of condolence to the new King of Gujerat, but at the same time proceeded to lay waste his territories as far as Baroda, which he accomplished without opposition. The traitor, Malik Sohrab, took this opportunity to make his escape to his own master, the King of Gujerat. In 856 A.H. (= 1452 A.D.), a battle was fought at Kapparbanj between the armies of Gujerat and Malwa, ending in the total defeat of the latter, which was chiefly due to the fact that Muzaffer Khan of Chanderi, who commanded the left wing, withdrew from the action after plundering the headquarter tents. This action disorganised the left wing, which fell back before the enemy. Sultan Mahmud, leaving the centre, of which he was in command, galloped with a small body of cavalry to assist the shattered left wing, but the party was cut off, and, on its return, the main body had been defeated. The King of Malwa, by

a desperate effort, however, had managed to reach the royal pavilion, and plundered it of some of the regalia, which were returned eighty-three years afterwards on the restoration of Mahmud II to his throne by Muzaffer Shah II of Gujerat.

In 857 A.H. (= 1453 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud made peace with the King of Gujerat, and entered into an offensive alliance with him against Rana Kumbho of Mewar. In 858 A.H. (= 1454 A.D.) the Sultan reduced the Rajputs of Kerauli, and placed his son, Prince Fidwi, in charge of the district, which included Rantambhor and Ajmir. Shortly after his return to Mandu, the Sultan, at the solicitation of certain disaffected nobles, marched against the fort of Mahur in Berar, which was under the dominion of the Bahmani King Ala ud Din. The latter advanced with a large force to oppose the Malwa army, which retreated. About this time the territory of the Raja of Buglana, a tributary of Malwa, was invaded by Mubarik Khan of Khandesh. The Malwa army was accordingly again set in motion. The Khandesh chief was routed, and Buglana relieved. Sultan Mahmud next made an expedition in the direction of Chitor, as a result of which the Rana of Mewar submitted, acknowledged the suzerainty of Malwa, and paid a large indemnity. In 859 A.H. (= 1454 A.D.) the Sultan occupied the Rajput province of Mandor. In the same year he laid siege to the fort of Ajmir, which was stormed after severe fighting, in which Rana Gangadhar Rai was killed. Rana Kumbho of Mewar attacked the Malwa army near Mundalgarh on its retirement from Ajmir, and defeated it, the magnificent "Jai Kumbh," or pillar of victory, at Chitor, being built by him at a cost of nearly a million sterling to commemorate the event. In 861 A.H. (= 1456 A.D.) the

Sultan besieged and captured Mandalgarh, where the temples were demolished, and mosques erected out of their remains. In 862 A.H. (= 1457 A.D.), Prince Ghyas ud Din ravaged the country of the Bhils and Kols, while Prince Fidwi took the fort of Bundi by storm. In 863 A.H. (= 1458 A.D.), Mahmud made an expedition against the Rai of Dungarpur, who submitted, and paid a large indemnity.

In 866 A.H. (= 1461 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud crossed the Nerbudda for the purpose of subduing the Deccan, to the sovereignty of which a boy of eight years, Nizam Shah, had succeeded, and marched within a short distance of Bidar, where a battle was fought. The Malwa army was defeated, and fled, but Mahmud rallied two thousand cavalry, and, waiting till the Deccanics were fully engaged in plundering the camp, attacked them in rear, and completely routed them. Bidar, the Deccan capital, was then besieged, but Malik ut Tujjar, the Deccan general, having marched with a large force to raise the siege, Sultan Mahmud thought it advisable to retire to Mandu. In 870 A.H. (= 1465 A.D.), Kherla was captured by a Deccan force under Nizam ul Mulk Turk, but in the following year the Malwa general, Makbul Khan, defeated the Deccanics, took Elichpur, and reoccupied Kherla. Mahmud himself meanwhile was on the march to invade the Deccan, but, on reaching the Daulatabad frontier, news reached him that the King of Gujerat was advancing in his rear to assist the Deccan king, so he was obliged again to retire to Mandu. It was during this expedition that Sultan Mahmud was met by envoys from Mustanjid-billah Yusuf, the Caliph of Egypt, who presented him with a dress of honour, as a token of friendship, and a letter styling him the Defender

of the Faithful. In 871 A.H. (= 1466 A.D.) a peace was concluded between the sovereigns of Malwa and the Deccan. In the same year Sultan Mahmud caused the public accounts to be kept according to the lunar year. In 872 A.H. (= 1467 A.D.), Makbul Khan, the Governor of Kherla, after plundering the town, and making over the fort to the native Raja, fled for protection to the King of the Deccan. A massacre of Muhammedans in Kherla ensued, and the Raja of Kherla, being joined by the Gonds, took to robbing travellers. Taj Khan accordingly was despatched to reoccupy Kherla. The Raja was defeated, and obliged to fly, but was delivered up to the Malwa general by a Gond whose protection he had sought. After this success Sultan Mahmud received Khwaja Jawal ud Din, an ambassador from the court of Abu Said, King of Bokhara, and sent him back laden with honours and presents. Ala ud Din was at the same time deputed to accompany him to Bokhara as envoy from the court of Malwa. In 873 A.H. (= 1468 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud undertook his last campaign, which was against the Zemindars of Kachwara, who had raided Malwa territory. After punishing them he built the fort of Jalalpur on their frontier to hold them in check. During his march back to Mandu the king suffered severely from the excessive heat, and died on the road in the end of 873 A.H. (= 27 May, 1469), after a reign of thirty-four years, and in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He had the reputation of being brave, just, and polished, and was held in high estimation by his contemporary sovereigns. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, and he was generally successful in his military undertakings. Under his rule Malwa reached its highest prosperity as a kingdom, which extended to Gujerat on

the west, Bundelkhand on the east, Mewar and Harauti on the north, and the Satpura range on the south. A significant proof of the excellence of this sovereign's rule is shown in the fact that the kingdom suffered no diminution during the long reign of his indolent and dissipated successor.

GHYAS UD DIN.

Ghyas ud Din, Mahmud's eldest son, who ascended the throne on the death of his father, appointed his younger brother, Fidwi Khan, to the Governorship of Rantambhor. He nominated his own son, Abd ul Kadir, heir-apparent (Wali Ahd) under the title of Nasir ud Din, appointed him Prime Minister, gave him the insignia of the Royal Umbrella, and conferred on him the command of 12,000 horse. The king abandoned himself to a life of sensual pleasure, and left all power in the hands of his son. His name became a proverb for luxury. None dared to intrude upon the Sultan with unpleasant news, which had to be conveyed to him in a circuitous manner. He is said to have possessed a seraglio of 15,000 women, including his Amazon guard of 500 Turkis and 500 Abyssinians, but in spite of this he was very particular about his religious observances, and was characterised by humanity and justice. No rebellion among his subjects, nor invasion of Malwa territory by an enemy, occurred in this reign until 887 A.H. (= 1482 A.D.), when Rantambhor was attacked by Bahlol Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, and Lalpur was destroyed. Ghyas ud Din despatched Sher Khan, Governor of Chanderi, to resist the invasion, and he was so successful that Bahlol Lodi not only returned to Delhi, but paid him a sum of money to induce him to

refrain from molesting his country. In the same year, 887 A.H. (= 1482 A.D.), Kawal Patai, the Raja of Champanir, sent a message to Ghyas ud Din to beg his assistance against Sultan Mahmud of Gujerat, who had invested his fort. Ghyas ud Din agreed, and put his army in motion. On hearing this, Sultan Mahmud, leaving the conduct of the siege to his general, advanced towards Mandu, upon which Ghyas ud Din got a *fatwa* from his Kazis that it was unlawful for one Muhammedan king to help an infidel against another, and returned to Mandu. In 903 A.H. (= 1497 A.D.), towards the close of his life, the king was disturbed by intrigues between Shuja'at Khan, his youngest son, and the heir-apparent. Shuja'at Khan entered into a conspiracy with the Rani Khurshed; one of the royal mistresses, to poison the king's mind against his elder brother, who was obliged in consequence to fly from the capital (905 A.H. = 1499 A.D.). Thereupon Shuja'at Khan, in concert with the Rani, but without the king's knowledge, raised a force, and attacked his brother, but was defeated, and pursued to the fort of Mandu, which was surrendered to Nasir ud Din after a few days' siege (906 A.H. = 1500 A.D.). Shuja'at Khan was put to death with all his family, and Nasir ud Din, having assumed the reins of government, was formally crowned, with the consent of his father, who however was found dead in his seraglio a few days after, the result, it was supposed, of poison administered by his son, though there was not much foundation for this rumour.

Ghyas ud Din had reigned for thirty-three years, but there can be little reason to doubt that his power was never anything but nominal, and that in his closing years, at least, his mind was affected.

NASIR UD DIN.

Nasir ud Din ascended the throne in 906 A.H. (= October, 1500 A.D.). His accession was disturbed by domestic feuds, and public affairs fell into disorder. The contemplated invasion of his kingdom by the King of Gujerat was abandoned owing to his conciliatory attitude. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by Muhabbat Khan of Mandisor and other malcontent nobles, rebelled, and advanced towards the capital. The king marched to meet him, and forced him to battle near Sarangpur, which resulted in his total defeat. Shortly after this Sher Khan again took up arms at the solicitation of the people of Chanderi. The king despatched a force against him under Ikbāl Khan, who attacked him near Chanderi. Sher Khan was again defeated, and died of wounds received in the battle. The king subsequently caused his body to be exhumed, and hung up on the gate of Chanderi. On Nasir ud Din's return to the capital he gave himself up to shameless excesses and fiendish cruelty, and put to death all the adherents of his late brother he could lay his hands on. In 908 A.H. (= 1502 A.D.) the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kachiwara, whose territory he ravaged. In the following year, 909 A.H. (= 1503 A.D.), he proceeded to Chitor, where he extorted a large present of money from the Rana, as well as a Rajput lady of high rank for his harem. On his way back he was informed that Ahmed Nizam Shah had marched to reduce the province of Khandesh, and had forced its ruler, Daud Khan, to shut himself up in the fort of Asir. As the ruler of Khandesh owed allegiance to the King of Malwa, the latter sent Ikbāl Khan with a large force to his assistance, on the approach

of which Ahmed Nizam Shah retreated to Ahmednagar. Prayers having been read at Burhanpur in the name of Nasir ud Din, the troops returned to Mandu. Towards the close of his reign the king was filled with jealous fear of his sons' designs against him. Shahab ud Din, the declared heir-apparent, feeling that his life was in peril, was at last persuaded by the malcontent nobles, who were wearied of the king's licentiousness and cruelty, to assume the government, 916 A.H. (= 1510 A.D.). He accordingly left Mandu, and collected a considerable force, but was defeated by the royal army. He fled towards Delhi, and refused to return in spite of his father's remonstrances. On the return of Nasir ud Din towards Mandu after his successful campaign, he was seized at Bhurtpur with a fever, which proved fatal. Nasir ud Din died after a reign of a little over eleven years, having previously designated his second son Mahmud as his successor.

MAHMUD II.

On hearing of his father's death Shahab ud Din returned to Mandu, but was refused admittance by the Governor, Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud meanwhile hurried back to the capital from Nalcha, and was formally crowned there with great pomp, 916 A.H. = (1510 A.D.). It is said that as many as 700 elephants marched in the coronation procession. Shahab ud Din, on his brother's approach, had fled to Asir. Shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed against the king's favourites, of whom Balwant Rao was murdered, and Nizam ul Mulk banished. The king next incurred the hostility of Muhafiz Khan, who had used disrespectful language towards him in Darbar, and advised him to order the execution of his

elder brother Sahib Khan, a prisoner in the Mandu fort. Mahmud, incensed at the gross insubordination of Muhafiz Khan, wounded him with his sword. Muhafiz Khan thereupon collected his retainers, and attacked the palace, but was repulsed by the royal guards. The king, failing to raise a sufficient force, escaped from Mandu, upon which Sahib Khan was immediately released, and proclaimed king by Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud, having called upon all loyal vassals to rally round his standard, was soon joined by Medni Rai, a Rajput, Shirza Khan, Governor of Chanderi, and other nobles, and marched on the capital. A battle was fought outside Mandu, which, chiefly owing to the gallantry of Medni Rai and his Rajputs, was declared in Mahmud's favour. Sahib Khan fled to the Mandu fort, which was closely invested. Sahib Khan rejected the king's overtures for an accommodation, by which he was to receive a stipulated annuity if he relinquished all claims to the throne. Mahmud, accordingly, bribed some of the nobles within the fort to admit him, and Sahib Khan and Muhafiz Khan, having discovered the treachery of their adherents, made their escape to Gujerat (917 A.H. = 1511 A.D.). Sahib Khan was at first well received by Muzaffer Shah II, King of Gujerat, but a fracas having arisen between his followers and those of Mirza Ibrahim, Ambassador of Shah Ismail of Persia, he thought it advisable to quit Gujerat, and proceeded, *viâ* Asir and Burhanpur, to Berar, where he was assigned an estate by Murad Shah. Nasir ud Din's eldest son, Shahab ud Din, who had taken refuge with the ruler of Khandesh, had meanwhile died of fever, while on the march towards Mandu for the purpose of bringing forward his claim to the throne. His son, Makhsus Khan, was at once proclaimed

king under the title of Sultan Hoshang II, by his father's faithful adherent, Ikbāl Khan. Finding, on their arrival at Mandu, that Mahmud's power was firmly established, they threw themselves on his mercy. Shortly afterwards, however, at the instigation of his minister, Medni Rai, Ikbāl Khan was executed. This arbitrary act, and the growing influence of Medni Rai, so alarmed the nobles that they began to conspire against the king. Buhjat Khan of Chanderi and others sent a message to Sahib Khan, who had, in the meanwhile, sought an asylum in Delhi, inviting him to return and assume the reins of government. They at the same time addressed a letter to Sikandar Lodi, the Delhi Emperor, and solicited his assistance on behalf of Sahib Khan, as Malwa, they declared, was no longer a Muhammedan province, being under the sway of Medni Rai and his Rajput minions. A force of 12,000 cavalry was accordingly despatched from Delhi to Sahib Khan's aid under Imad ul Mulk Lodi, who was accompanied by the prince's old adherent, Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud at this juncture seemed beset with misfortunes, as not only was Sahib Khan in revolt with a Delhi force at his back, but Muzaffer Shah II, King of Gujerat, with a large army, had invaded Malwa, and penetrated to the vicinity of Mandu, while Sikandar Khan of Bhilsa had also broken into rebellion, and Prince Makhsus and his party had joined the enemy. Muzaffer Shah was first attacked, and compelled to retreat to Gujerat, 919 A.H. (= 1513 A.D.). This potentate does not seem to have been much disposed for active interference in Malwa affairs, and indeed according to the *Mirat i Sikandari* he withdrew his army without coming in contact with Mahmud's force. The author of the *Tabakat i Nasiri* says that Muzaffer

Shah's departure was the result of a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by Mahmud, who reproached him for taking advantage of his misfortunes to attack him. Malik Zadah, however, who had been despatched to reduce Sikandar Khan to submission, was defeated and slain. The Machiavellian diplomacy of the minister Medni Rai triumphed over the powerful confederacy formed against the king. At his instigation Imad ul Mulk tried to persuade the Chanderi chief, Buhjat Khan, to coin money, and read prayers in the Delhi Emperor's name. Buhjat Khan, however, spurned the idea of disloyalty to Sahib Khan, and made an excuse for holding aloof from the Lodi army, which shortly after was recalled to Delhi. Sikandar Lodi, on hearing that the King of Malwa was on the march with a large army to oppose his small force, ordered it to fall back on Delhi. Meanwhile Sahib Khan, who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammed II, 921 A.H. (= 1515 A.D.), had despatched Muhafiz Khan by a circuitous route to invest Mandu. This force was opposed, and defeated by Habib Khan with a body of Rajputs near Nalcha, and in the encounter Muhafiz Khan was slain. Sahib Khan and Buhjat Khan, being now in desperate straits, made overtures for peace, which resulted in the cession to the former of the districts of Raisin, Bhilsa, and Dhamong, for his support. Sahib Khan was also given ten lakhs of tankas and twelve elephants by the king. The subsequent history of this rebel is wrapped in obscurity, but we know that he died during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi (923-932 A.H. = 1517-1525 A.D.), who, taking advantage of his death, obtained possession of the person of his heir Ahmed Shah, and placed a dependant of his own in charge of Chanderi, from whence it passed in

later days, by Rana Sanka's gift, to Medni Rai. The copper coin No. 321 in Thomas's *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, which follows the Malwa square type of currency, is supposed to commemorate this fraudulent acquisition of Chanderi by Ibrahim Lodi. The minister, Medni Rai, who was now the *de facto* ruler of the State, spared no efforts to oust all Muhammedans from State offices, and fill them with Rajputs. Even the guards at the gates were all Hindus. Many of the old Muhammedan nobles were executed without cause, their houses plundered, and their estates confiscated. This intolerable state of things created great discontent among the Muhammedan chiefs, and induced Ghalib Khan, the Governor of Mandu, to refuse admittance to the king on his return from a hunting expedition. Though this particular conspiracy was not successful, it foreshadowed the end. After this incident Medni Rai removed all Muhammedans from public offices, except a few personal servants of the king. The king himself now became alarmed at the ascendancy of the Hindus, and directed his minister to disband the whole of the Rajput army, but such a drastic measure was of course out of the question. A temporary compromise was then effected by which all personal offices of the State were to be filled by Muhammedans, all former Muhammedan officers to be restored to their posts, and all Muhammedan women released from Rajput seraglios. It was clear, however, that the state of tension that now existed between the king and his minister could not last long. The king, provoked by the insults of Salivahan, a Rajput henchman of Medni Rai, ordered his personal guard to waylay and murder both. The former was slain, and the latter severely wounded. The Rajputs, on hearing of this incident, proceeded to attack the palace,

but were repulsed by the king with a handful of attendants. Medni Rai, who was too astute to break altogether with his sovereign, ordered his retainers back to their quarters, and made his peace with the king. The minster, however, distrusting the king's intentions, never went to the palace without an escort of 500 armed men, and this measure so greatly disturbed Mahmud's mind that one night he left the fort of Mandu with a faithful Rajput attendant, Kishna, and his favourite wife, and never drew rein till he reached the frontier of Gujerat, where he was cordially received by the king, Muzaffer Shah II. It should be explained that the above is Ferishtah's account of this episode in Mahmud's reign, and there is reason to believe that it is to some extent partial. The misfortunes which fell to Mahmud's lot at this period were not altogether due to Rajput treachery and family discords, which were no doubt encouraged by the Lodi Emperors in Delhi. They must, in part at any rate, be attributed to the valour and ability of Rana Sanka of Chitor, at this period the acknowledged chief of the Rajputs, who gained many victories over Mahmud, and wrested from him, according to Baber, the provinces of Sarangpur, Chanderi, Bhilsa, and Rathgarh.

The Gujerat king readily consented to assist Mahmud to regain his throne, and in 923 A.H. (= 1517 A.D.) they both set out for Malwa at the head of a Gujerat army. Medni Rai, having left his son Rai Pithora, or the Rai Raian, with a considerable force, to defend Mandu, proceeded to Chitor to seek the aid of Rana Sanka. Dhar opened its gates to the two kings, who then advanced on Mandu. After a siege of two and a half months' duration, the fort fell by assault, in which 19,000 Rajputs are said

to have been slain, 924 A.H. (= 1518 A.D.). Muzaffer Shah, having restored Mahmud to his throne, returned to Gujerat, leaving an auxiliary force of 3,000 cavalry under Asaf Khan for duty at Mandu. Bhilsa, Raisin, Sarangpur, Chanderi, and Gagrone being still in possession of the Rajputs, the king took the field to reduce them and advanced to Gagrone, where he was opposed by Medni Rai and his ally, the Rana Sanka, 925 A.H. (= 1519 A.D.). The sanguinary defeat of the Malwa army, which followed, was mainly due to the impetuosity of Mahmud, who, in spite of Asaf Khan's remonstrances, insisted on bringing on an action before his troops were rested and fed. After performing prodigies of valour, and being several times wounded, Mahmud at last fell into the hands of Rana Sanka, who showed him every mark of attention, and conveyed him to Chitor, where he was detained until he was cured of his wounds. The Rana then chivalrously furnished him with an escort, and sent him back to Mandu, where he assumed the reins of government. In the battle of Gagrone the golden girdle and jewelled crown of Mahmud II fell into the victor's hands. They formed subsequently (940 A.H. = 1533 A.D.) part of an indemnity paid by the Rana's grandson, Vikramajit, to Bahadur Shah of Gujerat. During this period of disorder many of the Malwa chiefs, such as Sikandar Khan at Sivas, Medni Rai at Chanderi, and Silhaddi of Bhilsa, had declared their independence, and appropriated the revenues of their respective districts, while a not inconsiderable portion of the kingdom had been appropriated by the Raja of Chitor, so that the finances of the State were reduced to a very low ebb. In 926 A.H. (= 1519 A.D.) Mahmud marched against Sarangpur, which was held by Silhaddi, but he miscalculated

his strength, and was defeated. While, however, the enemy were engaged in plunder, he rallied a few troops, and, charging the Rajputs, gained possession of Sarangpur. After this exploit Mahmud returned to Mandu, where he appears to have passed a peaceful existence till 932 A.H. (= 1525 A.D.), when his interference in the affairs of Gujerat led to his ruin, and the extinction of his dynasty. In that year the King of Gujerat, Muzaffer Shah II, having died, the succession devolved on Bahadur Shah, whose younger brother, Chand Khan, sought refuge at Mandu, where he was kindly received by Mahmud. About the same time a Gujerat noble, named Kazi ul Mulk, arrived in Mandu from Delhi, whither he had gone to induce the Emperor Baber to espouse the cause of his master, Chand Khan. After a secret audience with this prince, Kazi ul Mulk returned to the Moghal court at Agra. Bahadur Shah remonstrated with Mahmud for his unfriendly act in giving countenance to these intrigues. Mahmud however paid no heed to these protests, and allowed a second interview between the prince and his envoy. Bahadur Shah accordingly determined to adopt measures for the overthrow of the Khilji dynasty. The time however was not yet ripe for the accomplishment of this purpose.

In 933 A.H. (= 1526 A.D.) the Emperor Baber had defeated Rana Sanka and the Hindu confederacy in the decisive battle of Kanwa. One of the Rana's most powerful allies in this battle was Medni Rai of Chanderi, against whom the Emperor turned his arms in the following year, 934 A.H. (= 1527 A.D.). After a short siege the fort was taken by storm, and all the defenders, including Medni Rai, were slain. Chanderi was then made over by the Emperor to Ahmed Shah, the son of

Sahib Khan (Muhammed II), whose cause he affected to espouse. Baber was prevented from following up his successes in Malwa by insurrections in the eastern provinces of his empire, which necessitated his immediate presence there. Sultan Mahmud, instead of taking steps at this juncture for the defence of his kingdom, menaced as it was by the sovereign of Gujerat, embroiled himself unnecessarily with the Rajputs. Rana Sanka having died about this time was succeeded by his son Rana Rattan. Mahmud without any provocation despatched Shuja' Khan with a force to ravage the district of Chitor. Rana Rattan, who was aware of the state of tension that existed between the rulers of Malwa and Gujerat, advanced to the frontier of the former kingdom. Mahmud marched to oppose him, and endeavoured to conciliate his quondam enemies, Silhaddi and Muin Khan, the adopted son of Sikandar Khan, but without avail, as they joined the forces of Rana Rattan. The ambassador of the Chitor Rana, with Bhupat, son of Silhaddi, and Muin Khan, waited on Sultan Bahadur, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, and complained to him that Sherza Khan, the Governor of Mandu, had plundered the country of their master, and that Mahmud was plotting the murder of Silhaddi and Muin Khan. The embassy was kindly received by Sultan Bahadur. On hearing of this circumstance Mahmud took alarm, and sent an envoy to Bahadur Shah asking permission to pay him his personal respects, and congratulate him on his accession to the throne. A favourable reply was returned, but Mahmud evaded the meeting, either through fear or from shame at his recent unfriendly conduct in connection with Chand Khan, and returned to Mandu, where he set about repairing the fortifications. Bahadur Shah, in-

censed at Mahmud's behaviour, marched at once on Mandu, which was closely invested. Deserters from Mahmud's army had joined him in great numbers *en route*, and Miran Muhammed, the ruler of Khandesh, also accompanied him. Mahmud with only 3,000 men defended the capital with heroic courage, but, on the night of the 26th February, 937 A.H. (= 1530 A.D.), Bahadur Shah, with a small forlorn hope, escaladed the walls by the Sangor Chitori, which, owing to its supposed impregnability, had been left unguarded, and thus got possession of the city. Chand Khan succeeded in escaping during the confusion, and made his way to the Deccan. Mahmud retired to his palace, and prepared to defend himself to the last, but was at last compelled to surrender with all his family. Bahadur Shah was inclined at first to treat him kindly, and even to restore him to his kingdom, but Mahmud, unable to control his irritable temper, abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face on one occasion, after which he was ordered into confinement with his seven sons, and sent to the fort of Champanir with an escort under Asaf Khan. On the way, at Dohad, the party were attacked by a large force of Bhils and Kols, and Asaf Khan, thinking that the attack had been made with the intention of rescuing the royal party, ordered the king and all his sons to be put to death. Mahmud II had reigned twenty-one years. Though deficient as a ruler, he was a man of dauntless bravery, and the misfortunes that beset his latter days enlist our sympathy. The House of Khilji was now without any male representative, except Ahmed Shah, who was in the service of the Emperor Baber.

GUJERAT SUPREMACY.

After the conquest of Malwa by Bahadur Shah, the kingdom was incorporated in the State of Gujerat, and partitioned into districts, which were assigned to various chiefs, Kalan Khan being appointed Faujdar of the province. Silhaddi, who was the first to join the conqueror's standard, obtained Ujjain, Sarangpur, and Raisin, but having given offence to Bahadur Shah by aspiring to independence, he was defeated and shortly afterwards captured by a treacherous stratagem. The reduction of Ujjain, Sarangpur and Bhilsa quickly followed. Meanwhile Bhopat, the son of Silhaddi, had fled to Chitor, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rana. Bahadur Shah, deputing Imad ul Mulk to meet Bhopat, marched himself to Raisin to oppose Lokman, the brother of Silhaddi. The reinforcements from Chitor under Bhopat and Rana Sanka were forced to retire before the Gujerat force, and Raisin eventually surrendered. In the final assault, Lokman and Silhaddi (who had meanwhile been released from confinement and deputed to negotiate with the defenders), with a hundred of their relations, fell victims to the "Jauhar" ceremony, in which 700 women also perished. Alam Khan was put in charge of Bhilsa, Raisin, and Chanderi. Bahadur Shah spent the next year in reducing recalcitrant chiefs to obedience, and restoring order in the province. Among the Gujerat nobles who obtained grants of districts at this time, was Mallu Khan, who afterwards ruled Malwa as Kadir Shah. He was made Governor of Sarangpur by Bahadur Shah. In 939 A.H. (= 1532 A.D.), after wresting Gagrone from the Rana of Chitor, and deputing Imad ul Mulk to reduce

Rantambhor, Sultan Bahadur returned to Gujerat. In the same year Bahadur Shah sent an embassy to Humayun at Agra, which was well received. In 940 A.H. (= 1533 A.D.) he invaded Mewar, which was now ruled by Vikramajit, the son of Rama Rattan, and laid siege to Chitor. The Rana applied for assistance to Humayun, who made a diversion to Gwalior in his favour. Humayun at the same time sent repeated messages to Bahadur Shah demanding the abandonment of his enterprise against Chitor, and the surrender of all rebel refugees from the Imperial dominions, especially Muhammed Zaman Mirza, the Emperor's brother-in-law, and several Lodi Amirs. To these demands Bahadur Shah returned insolent replies, which so angered the Emperor that he determined on the reduction of Malwa and Gujerat. Meanwhile the siege of Chitor was pressed on with vigour, and at last the Rana was obliged to purchase the retirement of the Gujerat troops at a high price, including the crown and regalia of Kutub Shah, which Mahmud I, King of Malwa, had carried off in 856 A.H. (= 1452 A.D.) In 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.), Bahadur Shah, in pursuance of an arrangement with the rebel Lodi chiefs at his court, who supported the claim of Ala ud Din, the uncle of the late Sultan Ibrahim, to the Imperial throne, again laid siege with a large army to Chitor, where he would be at hand to assist the enterprise if required. Through a mistaken policy he failed to declare openly against Humayun, though he furnished the Lodi faction with large sums of money. Tatar Khan, the son of Ala ud Din Lodi, who had advanced towards Agra with a considerable body of troops, was defeated by the Imperial army under Hindal Mirza. Humayun's road to Malwa was now open, but he lingered at Ujjain until

Bahadur Shah had brought his campaign against the Chitor Rana to a successful issue. After the capture of Chitor, 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.), a bloody victory, which was due chiefly to the powerful artillery under Rumi Khan, Bahadur Shah marched to meet Humayun, who was advancing from Ujjain. The two armies came in sight of each other at Mandor. Here Bahadur Shah, by the evil advice of Rumi Khan, who was disgusted at being refused the Governorship of Chitor, entrenched himself, and declined to give battle. As the Imperial troops held the open ground, they were able to cut off all supplies. After the two armies had faced each other for two months without any decisive result, Bahadur Shah was reduced to such straits that he was obliged to abandon his camp and fly to Mandu with a small following. The Gujarat camp was plundered and a number of prisoners taken. Rumi Khan was one of the first to enter the Imperial service. Humayun pressed on to Mandu, which was closely invested. Bahadur Shah opened overtures and offered to cede Malwa to the Emperor. During the progress of these negotiations, the garrison being thrown off its guard, a small body of troops escalated the walls and opened the fort gates to Humayun, 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.). Bahadur Shah escaped in the confusion to Champanir with a few followers. The citadel surrendered after some little parley, but, to Humayun's deep disgrace, the town was abandoned to pillage and massacre for three whole days.

HUMAYUN'S RULE.

Humayun was now supreme in Malwa. After a brief halt at Mandu he invaded Gujarat, which fell into his hands without much trouble. The year 942 A.H. (= 1535

A.D.) was spent by Humayun in Gujerat, Malwa being governed during his absence by his lieutenants. In 943 A.H. (= 1536 A.D.), while engaged in the pursuit of Bahadur Shah, who had fled to Diu, alarming news reached Humayun of insurrection in Behar and the eastern provinces, revolt in the neighbourhood of Agra, and disaffection in Malwa. In the latter province the Imperial troops were hard pressed by the rebels under Sikander Khan and Mulla Khan, and had even been forced to surrender Ujjain and Hindia. The Emperor, having appointed Hindal Mirza his lieutenant in Gujerat, hurried to Mandu, which he made his headquarters for the time. His presence had a tranquillising effect in Malwa, which was quickly reduced to submission. After Humayun's departure a reaction took place in Gujerat in favour of Bahadur Shah, who defeated Hindal Mirza, and drove the Imperial troops from the province, 943 A.H. (= 1536 A.D.). Shortly afterwards Humayun withdrew his army from Malwa, and retired to Agra, where his presence was urgently required to quell an insurrection. No sooner, however, had the Imperial forces left Malwa than Mandu was occupied by Mallu Khan, who ascended the throne under the title of Kadir Shah, and thus Malwa, as well as Gujerat, slipped from the unsteady grasp of Humayun.

KADIR SHAH'S RULE.

Kadir Shah, though practically independent, owned nominal allegiance to Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, who kept his son Langar Khan as a kind of hostage near his person. This Langar Khan met his death at the hands of the Portuguese at Diu in 943 A.H. (= 1536 A.D.), along

with his master Bahadur. Through the good offices of his friend Imad ul Mulk, the Wazir of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujerat, Kadir Shah was granted the privilege of the Royal Umbrella, and the right of striking coins, so that, when that minister fled from Gujerat in 944 A.H. (= 1537 A.D.), he sought an asylum in Malwa. Daria Khan, the Sultan's Wazir, demanded his surrender from Kadir Shah, which the latter refused. Kadir Shah was at first threatened with invasion, but the distracted state of Gujerat at this time prevented this being done. Subsequently, in 950 A.H. (= 1543 A.D.), after Daria Khan's fall, Imad ul Mulk was allowed to return to Gujerat. Bhopat, son of Silhaddi, at this time reoccupied Raisin, but paid tribute for it to Kadir Shah. Shortly after his accession Kadir Shah received a firman from Sher Shah, then King of Bengal, stating that the Emperor Humayun was on the march to attack him, and requesting him to distract Humayun's attention by a movement towards Agra. Kadir Shah, incensed at this epistle, addressed Sher Shah in reply as an equal, an insult which that potentate never forgave.

SURI SUPREMACY.

In 949 A.H. (= 1542 A.D.), Sher Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, marched to the conquest of Malwa. Kadir Shah submitted, under the impression that he would be continued in the government of Malwa, but on learning from Sher Shah that he was nominated to the charge of Lucknow, he fled with his family to Gujerat. Shuja' Khan, a relative of Sher Shah, was then appointed Governor of Malwa. Kadir Shah made an attempt to regain his kingdom, but was defeated by Shuja' Khan, who succeeded in possessing himself of the whole country

of Malwa without any further fighting. After governing the country peacefully for some years an incident occurred which led to his temporary deposition. An Afghan, named Usman Khan, made himself obnoxious in the Darbar, and, on being remonstrated with by the royal servants, beat one of them severely. Shuja' Khan therefore had both his hands cut off. He took his complaint to the Emperor, Islam Shah, who told him he could exact his revenge in a short time from Shuja' Khan, who was about to visit the court. Accordingly, on Shuja' Khan's arrival, he was attacked in the city of Gwalior, and wounded by Usman Khan, who was immediately cut down by Shuja' Khan's attendants. The Emperor being much irritated at this occurrence, Shuja' Khan thought it wise to quit Gwalior and return to Malwa, which he did without taking leave. Islam Khan, thereupon, marched to Sarangpur to seize Shuja' Khan, who however refused to take up arms against the son of his old master, and fled to Banswara, when Isa Khan was appointed Governor in his place. Not long afterwards, however, the Emperor on his march towards Lahore reinstated Shuja' Khan in the government of Malwa. According to the *Tarikh i Alfi* it was not till the reign of Islam Shah's successor, Muhammed Adil, that Shuja' Khan was restored to Malwa. Shuja' Khan now divided Malwa into several districts, of which he gave Ujjain to his second son, Daulat Khan, the favourite of the Emperor; Raisin and Bhilsa to his youngest son, Mustafa Khan; and to his eldest son, Bayazid Khan, Sivas and Hindia, while he retained himself the government of Sarangpur. In the period of anarchy which preceded the restoration of Humayun to the Empire of Delhi, Shuja' Khan meditated declaring

his independence, and coining money, but death cut him short before his purpose could be accomplished. He died in 962 A.H. (= 1554 A.D.), after a rule of twelve years.

BAZ BAHADUR'S RULE.

Shuja' Khan's eldest son, Bayazid Khan, under the title of Baz Bahadur, then assumed the government. His brother, Daulat Khan, having asserted a claim to a share in the kingdom, and obtained the support of the Sarangpur division of troops, Baz Bahadur thought it politic to temporise, and Ujjain and Mandu were accordingly ceded to him, while Mustafa Khan was left in possession of Raisin and Bhilsa. After this arrangement Baz Bahadur marched to Ujjain, on pretence of paying his brother a visit of condolence. Daulat Khan, unsuspecting of treachery, was murdered by Baz Bahadur, who had his head hung up on the gate of Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur then proceeded to bring the whole of Malwa under his rule, and was formally crowned Sultan in 963 A.H. (= 1555 A.D.). Baz Bahadur next turned his attention towards his younger brother, Mustafa Khan, who after sustaining several defeats, fled from Malwa, leaving Raisin and Bhilsa open to the occupation of his brother. A disastrous campaign against the Gonds succeeded, in which the Malwa army was almost annihilated. Baz Bahadur, stung with shame at this defeat, abandoned himself to dissipation and sensual ease. He was a great lover of music, which he cultivated with assiduity, and his attachment to Rupmani, a celebrated courtesan of that age, became so notorious that their loves have been handed down to posterity in song, and many stories are still told in Mandu of this romantic episode and its dramatic close.

MOGHAL SUPREMACY.

Akbar, the great Emperor, taking advantage of the distracted state of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army under Adam Khan in 968 A.H. (= 1560 A.D.) for its conquest. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movements of this force until it had arrived within a short distance of the capital. Hastily collecting a few troops he advanced impetuously, though without order, to give battle. After displaying great gallantry his troops deserted him, and he was obliged to seek safety in flight, leaving Adam Khan free to occupy the country. Adam Khan, having heard on his arrival at Mandu of the beauty of Rupmani, was determined to take her into his harem. She gave him an assignation at her house, but he arrived only to find her dead. True to her old love, she preferred death to dishonour, and poisoned herself to avoid falling into the hands of her lover's conqueror. Adam Khan was soon after recalled, and Pir Muhammed was nominated Governor of Malwa in his place. In the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* it is related that Akbar was displeased with Adam Khan for keeping all the spoils of victory, including Sultan Bahadur's singing girls, in his own hands. The Emperor at this time thought it advisable to visit the conquered province in person, a journey which was accomplished in sixteen days. He had, in fact, arrived at Sarangpur before his general knew he had left Agra. In 969 A.H. (= 1561 A.D.), Pir Muhammed marched against Burhanpur, which he captured, the inhabitants being put to the sword. Baz Bahadur, who was in the neighbourhood, concerted measures with Tufal Khan, Regent of Berar, and Miran Mubarik Khan of Asir, for Pir Muhammed's overthrow. The confederates routed Pir Muhammed, who was drowned

in the pursuit, and drove the Moghal troops out of Malwa, whereupon Baz Bahadur was restored to his kingdom. He had hardly been seated on the throne, however, when Abdullah Khan Uzbek, another of Akbar's officers, reoccupied Malwa, and compelled him to seek an asylum in the hills of Gondwara, 970 A.H. (=1562 A.D.). Baz Bahadur made occasional raids from these mountain fastnesses, and sometimes even secured temporary possession of small districts, but what he gained by force of arms he soon lost again owing to his habits of indolence and apathy. Growing tired at last of this guerilla warfare and wandering life, he in 978 A.H. (= 1570 A.D.) determined to surrender to the Emperor, who gave him a commission as commandant of two thousand cavalry, but he died not long after. After this Malwa remained a province of the Moghal Empire, until its conquest by the Mahrattas. In 972 A.H. (= 1564 A.D.), Akbar paid a second visit to Malwa, the Governor of which, Abdullah Khan, had given cause in his administration for the royal displeasure. This man rushed into rebellion, but was quickly crushed, and punished. In 1025 A.H. (= 1616 A.D.) the Emperor Jehangir visited Malwa, and gives a description of it in his *Memoirs*.

In the reign of Akbar (1594 A.D.), Malwa, "the Province of pleasant climate," consisted of 12 Sarkars and 301 Pergannahs, with an area of 42,66,221 Bighas, and a revenue of Rupees 60,17,376. The Sarkars of Malwa were Ujjain, Raisin, Kanauj, Chanderi, Sarangpur, Mandu, Hindia, Mandor, Gagron, Kotri Paraya, Bijagarh, and Nandubar (Shahabad). The chief towns of the province were Ujjain (the new capital), Chanderi, Mandu (the old capital), and Dhar.

L. WHITE KING.

(To be continued.)