 CHAPTER — III

INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BAHADUR QILAHI & KHANDESH

Administrative divisions of the Kingdom :-

After the conquest of Dwarka and Shankodhar in 1475, the Sultan divided Gujarat in five separate "Thanas" each under the charge of "Thanedar".

Accordingly Farhat-úl-Mulk was appointed at the "Thana" of "Dwarka and Shankodhar", 'Imád-úl-Mulk was placed in charge of Songadh in Surat District. Qiwam-úl-Mulk Malik Sarang was in charge of Godhra Thana in Panchmahals district and "Mahim" in the South was placed under Nizám-úl-Mulk. The administration of Ahmedabad was given to Khudawand Khán, the Sultan's brother-in-law, while the Sultan resided at Mustafabad - Junagadh. 1

Foundation of Mahmudabad :-

From 1475 to 1482, the Sultan was engaged with the internal affairs. During this period he also founded another city Mahmudabad, on the river Vatrak. This he might have began in 1479. It seems that the Sultan founded this city as a defence for Ahmedabad against the disturbances of the Rajput Kings of Mahikantha. It came into promine-

1. TF - Trans (Briggs) IV, p.62 TA Trans (De) III, pp.263-264.
nce when Sultan Mahmud III in 1557-1555, selected it as his residence.

Conspiracy of Khudawand Khan:

The Persian chroniclers write that after the conquest of Junagadh and Dwarka, Sultan Mahmud was in the habit of spending most of his time in Mustafabad. After his short stay in Ahmedabad, the Sultan returned to Mustafabad in the year 885/1480, leaving behind him, his eldest son Ahmad Shah there with Khudawand Khan, his brother-in-law, in charge.

The continuous absence of the Sultan from the capital, probably led Khudawand Khan to think of removing his master from the throne. Khudawand Khan planned to place Ahmad Khan on the throne and for this he contacted, Ray-i-Rayan, a Rajput noble, but Ray-i-Rayan disclosed the plot to the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. 2

It is believed that Khudawand Khan told Ray-i-Rayan that he was tired of the Sultan's incessant campaigns and also desired to remove Imad-ul-mulk, the Wazir. 3 It seems

2. TF - Text, IV, II p. 395, TA - Trans (De) p. 263-264.
3. Sikandar writes that Khudawand Khan was instigated by some rebellious people to place Prince Ahmad on throne cf. MS - Trans (F) pp. 65-66.
that a certain section of the nobles was really discontented, with the Sultān's constant campaigns and they were probably led by Khudawand Khan. It is also likely that Khudawand Khan was envious of Imād-ud-Daula and the position he held in the absence of the Sultan from the capital.

The reason, if chroniclers are to be believed, for including Rayi-Rayān, the Rajput noble, in the secret plot was that he was the friend both of Imād-ud-Daula and Khudawand Khan.4

Rayi-Rayān was faithful to the Sultan and so he informed Imād-ud-Daula immediately regarding Khudawand Khan's plans. Imād-ud-Daula immediately ordered Muhafiz Khan, the "Kotwal" of the city and Qiwam-ud-Daula Malik Sarang to remain ready on Ramadhan Id, the day chosen by the conspirators for action.

Imād-ud-Daula, pretended to join the conspirators. On Ramadhan Id, he attended on Ahād Khan with his retinue for prayers in the "Idgah" and returned as usual.

4. The chroniclers are silent about the position held by Rayi-Rayān, a Rajput noble, and so it is difficult to find out a clue of relationship of this noble with Khudawand Khan and Imād-ud-Daula.
"befooling Khudawand Khan of his agreement with him of placing Prince Ahmad on the throne." Khudawand Khan did not think of any further action because of the presence of Muhafiz Khan at the court and the secret preparations of Qawam-ul-Mulk Malik Sarang.

It may be noted here that bloodshed was avoided, probably, because of Imad-ul-Mulk’s timely action. Khudawand Khan, possibly failed to win over the powerful nobles and hence failed in his plan. It is difficult to understand why he should inform Ray-i-Rayen, who could not be trusted by him and was more faithful to Imad-ul-Mulk. Probably he did so because he did not know this Rajput noble better.

The Sultan tests the loyalty of the nobles:

On being informed of these events by Qaisar Khan, an officer of his household, Sultan Mahmud ostensibly proceeded towards Ahmedabad. The nobles received him at Cambay and requested him to proceed to Ahmedabad. The Sultan refused to proceed further and asked the nobles to allow him to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, after abdicating.


in favour of his son Ahmed.

At the same time he declared his firm resolution not to touch food or water till they gave their consent Firi-shītah states that the Sultan summoned all the nobles and asked them to accept Muṣaffār Ṣāḥih as their Sultan after him and insisting on his desire to proceed on Haj. 7

The nobles requested the Sultan to give up his idea for the time being, on the ground that the treasury lacked sufficient funds for the expenses. This they said was possible only after the conquest of Champaṇer. 8 The Sultan then abandoned the idea and proceeded to Ahmedabad.

From Imād-ull-Mulk, he also learnt the course of events during his absence from the capital. At this information, the Sultan humiliated the minister Khudawand Khan, either naming one of his pensions as Khudawand Khan, 9 or employing a person in meanest office of household to be called by his name. 10 This seems to be rather a mild punishment for such an offence. 7

This was the second conspiracy of the nobles during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd but differs in its nature and consequences from the earlier one of 1458. In the first conspiracy, the Sultan was frightened and had few nobles

9. Ibid - pp. 267-271
10. TF Text, IV, II p. 395.
at his command, while in this event, it seems that most of the nobles were with him.

Surprisingly, the Sultan, known for severe punishments did not take strong action and also he did not go into the details of the conspiracy. Why was it so? Did he consider this threat as less important? Why did he seek the permission of the nobles for pilgrimage to Mecca? Did he really wish to abdicate the throne in favour of his son?

The chroniclers' answers to these questions is that the Sultan did all this to test the loyalty of his nobles. What was the reason of testing the loyalty of the nobles at this time? Probably, he might have thought of invading Champaner during his stay in Mustafabad, and of testing the patience of his nobles for further engagements. Champaner had been the powerful stronghold of the Rajputs and hence without the co-operation and the loyalty of the nobles, its conquest would have been difficult. The Sultan got this opportunity and therefore he utilised it, for the success of his further plan.

Due to political pressure, the Sultan against his nature, ordered a very mild punishment to be given to the conspirator. A strong action might have affected the
political balance" of the state and would have been an obstacle in the "Invasion of Champaner". According to Firishtah Nizam-ul-Mulk, a noble suggested the Sultan to conquer the fort of Champaner, "from the plunder of which the expenses of the pilgrimage might be defrayed". Hence this might have forced Sultan Mahmud to deal leniently with the conspirators.

**BAHADUR GILANI'S PIRATICICAL ACTIVITIES ON THE COST OF GUJARAT:**

Bahadur was a native of Gilan, a town in Persia and joined the service of Bahamani Kingdom under its celebrated minister Mahmud Gawan. After the assassination of Mahmud Gawan on April 5, 1481, he went into rebellion against his ruler Mahmud Lashkari. Bahadur and Mahmud Gawan were the natives of same place and therefore it is likely that the death of the latter might have been considered by Bahadur as his and his countrymen's insecurity in Deccan. Hence, this might have resulted into his rebellion.

He occupied Babhol and gradually occupied the whole of Konkan. With this success, he extended his activities on the coast further to the North, so that the ships from the port towns of Gujarat were at his mercy and some of the Sultan's vessels were captured.

11. *TF - Trans (Briggs) IV*, p. 64
Sikandar tells us that Bahadur sent his men to Cambay with the proposal of marriage for the daughter of Malik-út-Tujjar Dukhání for himself. Owing to the opposition of the people of Cambay Bahadur failed in his plan. As a result of this failure, Bahadur, started plundering the ports of Gujarat.¹¹

The reason, advanced by Sikandar, is not supported by other Persian chroniclers and so it is doubtful whether that was the only reason for which Bahadur attacked Gujarat shipping. The author of Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi, supposed to be the contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, does not mention this reason.¹²

The depredations of Bahadur on the coast of Gujarat extended to such an extent that Mahim, near modern Bombay, was attacked by Bahadur's Abyssinian Officer Yaqût, with a fleet of twelve ships, sacked and burnt.¹³

¹¹ MS - Trans (F) pp. 72-74
¹² Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi (hereafter MMS) Pol. 21-23
¹³ TF - Text, IV, II p.399 - writes Bahadur attacked while translator writes Yaqût attacked Mahim. (Briggs), IV, pp.71-72, other Persian chroniclers refer to this Abyssinian general of Bahadur.
The Sultan took this attack on Mahim seriously and so to check Bahadur from advancing further he sent a naval unit under Safdar Khan and Kamal Khan towards Mahim. The author of Maathir-i-Mahmudshahi states that due to storm the officers were separated from each other and therefore they could not fight a strong enemy at sea, with the result that both of them were captured by Bahadur's men and taken as prisoners at Dabhol. 5

The Sultan on being informed of the reverse met his generals at Mahim, ordered Qiwam-ul-Mulk Malik Sarang attack Bahadur by land. A fleet of three hundred vessels was also sent to support the army. Malik Sarang on reaching Agashi and Bassein, appealed to the Sultan to secure permission to him to pass through the territory of the Deccan ruler, so that Bahadur might be forced to submit.

On receipt of this request from Malik Sarang, the Sultan sent Bairam Khan with a letter, to the Deccan ruler, requesting him to help the army of Gujarat in suppressing the marauder. Accordingly Qasim Baridi, a minister of Bahamani ruler, led a campaign against Bahadur Gilani and after protracted operations he was defeated, captured and executed. Safdar-ul-Mulk, a captive of Bahadur, was released and all the ships which been seized
by Bahādur on the coast of Gujarāt, were restored to their owners. Safdar-Īl-Mulk sailed from Mahim for the north carrying valuable gifts for Sultān Mahmūd from the Bahmani ruler Maḥmūd Lāshkārī.

The piratical activities on the coast of Gujarāt were not unknown to the rulers of Gujarāt but Gilānī's incursion to Gujarāt ports deserves attention not from its results but from the way in which it was put down.

The Sultan of Gujarāt sent two of his naval officers to control the Situation in the sea but they failed to overpower Bahādur. The Persian chroniclers inform us that a storm was responsible for the failure of Safdar Khan and Kamāl Khan. Even if this argument is accepted it does not explained why the naval unit sent for the second time to assist the army failed in the attempt. The chroniclers inform us that it was only with the help of the naval force of the Sultan of Deccan that Bahādur Gilānī submitted. Therefore, this instance indicates that however strong the Gujarāt army may have been on land, it was not so on sea. Here it does not mean that the Sultāns of Gujarāt did not care for the protection of the ports of Gujarāt. They maintained naval units but not in sufficient strength, and due to this weakness, the activities of Bahādur on the sea-coast of Gujarāt, could not be checked.
This incident occurred sometimes in the year 1491 to 1494, but the Sultan failed to learn the lesson from it regarding the possibility of danger or invasion by sea. After six years of this event, the Sultans of Gujarat were helpless against the Portuguese, because of their weaknesses at sea, though for time being, Gujarat evaded this danger till her great noble, Malik Ayaz was alive.

**SUCCESSION PROBLEM OF KHANDESH:**

Towards the end of his reign, Sultan Mahmud was involved in a succession dispute in Khandesh. The Fārūqī rulers of Khandesh had been connected with the rulers of Gujarat, since the times of Malik Raja Farūqī. Khandesh almost existed as a subsidiary of Gujarat for a long time. These relations then also extended to marriage alliances between the two families.

The relations of Gujarat with the rulers of Khandesh date back to Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Ahmad Shah had to march against Nasir Khan the ambitious ruler of Khandesh, who planned to capture the western part of Khandesh from his brother Iftikhar Khan. Iftikhar Khan was driven out and he appealed to the Sultan of Gujarat, for help. He failed to secure the help of Ahmad Shah. Nasir Khan, with the help of the army of Malwa captured
the fort of Thalner and Iftikhar Khan was taken a prisoner. The joint army then attacked Sultapur and hence Ahmād Shah, marched against them and thus failed their plan of capturing Sultapur. The peace was concluded in which Nasir Khan of Khandesh acknowledged Ahmād Shah as overlord. Nāṣir Khan was given his title now with the grace of Ahmād Shah and as a special case, also allowed to use the red umbrella and canopy, though subordinate to Gujarat.  

Since this agreement in 1418, the Faruqui rulers of Khandesh were regularly paying their tribute to Gujarat. In 1498 or 1499, Mahmūd Begada had to move against 'Aḍil Khān II, one of the most powerful rulers of Khandesh, when he omitted to send the usual tribute. This ruler died in 1501 and was succeeded by his brother Dāūd Khān and his inglorious reign ended in 1508.  

16. TF - Trans (Briggs) IV, P. 292.  
18. Dāūd Khān mismanaged the administration of Khandesh. The period of seven years was very burdensome for the people. MMS Hikamat Bey Lib. MS. Fol. 127-130.
Baud Khan was succeeded by his son Ghizani Khan. He was poisoned by Malik Hisam-ud-din after two days of his accession.19

Ghizani Khan, had no male issue to succeed him and so a section of the nobles headed by Ni zam Shah favoured the claims of 'Alam Khan.20 At the same time A dil Khan the son of Hussain and grandson of Nasir Khan by the daughter of Mahmud Shah of Gujarat, then in Thalner, advanced claim on the throne of Khandesh. Sultan Mahmud, finding Khandesh was about to be involved in succession dispute thought of interfering in favour of his grandson, A dil Khan. Hence he advanced towards Khandesh.21

On reaching Asirgadh, the Sultan's army occupied it without any opposition. At Bhiwandi, Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, appealed to the neighbouring rulers for help, but he was checked by A dil Khan and Rumi Khan. Nizam Shah retreated to Amalner where he was joined by Ahmad Khan, a noble of Khandesh. Both Nizam Shah and Ahmad Khan started

19. TF - Trans (Briggs) IV, p.302.
20. It is no where explained whose son 'Alam Khan or on what grounds his claim to the throne rested. Cf. TF - Tr. (B) IV, p.303.
21. According to the author of MA'ATHIR-I-MAHMUD SHAHI the Sultan was requested by the people of Khandesh to take over its administration. MMS, MSS Vol.131.
ravaging, were again repulsed with many of his allies were killed.

After these successes, the Gujarat army captured Burhanpur. Here 'Alî dil Khân, was proclaimed as ruler of Khandesh and Khutbâ was read in the name of Sultân Mahmûd. 22

A noble Malik Lâdan Khalî, "the lord of nobles of this country", revolted and captured Asir but submitted on the advance of Gujarat army. The opposition thus was put down and the rebel leaders who submitted were pardoned and honoured with presents and titles. 'Alî dil Khân was accepted as their ruler by the nobles of Khandesh and Sultân Mahmûd conferred upon him the title of 'Alî zam Humâyûn. 23 The new ruler cemented his alliance with Gujarat by marrying a daughter of Sultân Mahmûd's son Prince Khâlîl Khân. 24

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23. IMS - Fol. 168-172.