CHAPTER-I

MALWA UNDER THE SULTANATE AND ITS
TRANSFORMATION INTO A MUGHAL PROVINCE
When the centre becomes weak centrifugal tendencies develop. The Delhi Sultanate, the foundation of which was laid with the accession of Qutbuddin Aibek in 1206, had to face many ups and downs during the process of its expansion and development. The Sultanate was presided over by great rulers like Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. But the weak successors of Firuz Shah Tughlaq were not able to keep control over the vast regions of the Sultanate. The fourteenth century saw both the zenith of expansion as well as the beginning of disintegration of the Sultanate. When the Sultanate was tottering to its fall a later Tughlaq Sultan, Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah in 1390–91 sent Dilawar Khan, whose real name was Husain, to Malwa as governor of the province. Dilawar Khan threw off his allegiance to the last Tughlaq Sultan and became independent ruler in 1401–2 and thus laid the foundation of an independent kingdom of Malwa on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi.

At that time Dhar was the headquarters of the province of Malwa. Dilawar Khan made it his centre of activity and took of his abode there. He strengthened his position with

2. Firishta, II, p.461. Firishta mentions that Dilawar Khan's grandfather was an inhabitant of Ghur. Therefore U.N.Day writes him as Dilawar Khan Ghuri(Medieval Malwa, p.8).
the support of nobles\(^1\) and restored law and order in Malwa. His son Alp Khan put of the fortifications of Mandu\(^2\). He assumed the title of Amid Shah Daud and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name in the year 1401-02.

Dilawar Khan acquired the territory of the whole of Malwa\(^3\) under his control. He then extended his authority over Nimar\(^4\) and the districts of Saugar and Damoh\(^5\). Chanderi too accepted his overlordship and finally came under direct control during the reign of Hoshang Shah. Dilawar Khan breathed his last in 1406-7.

**Hoshang Shah** — Dilawar Khan's son, Alp Khan succeeded him and ascended the throne of Malwa in 1406 and assumed the title of Hoshang Shah\(^6\). Soon after his accession he had to face the aggression of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah got him arrested. Hoshang Shah was, however, subsequently restored to the throne of Malwa.

Hoshang Shah reoccupied Mandu and Dhar. He was remained engaged in a war with Gujarat for one full decade. With the capture of border principalities, imposing his overlordship and matrimonial alliances, he strengthened and saved the Malwa borders on all sides. He died on 5th July, 1435\(^7\), while

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1. Firishta II, p.461.
3. Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, MS.fol.428b.
4. Hira Lal, Madhya Pradesh Ka Itihas, p.73.
5. Gorelal Tiwari, p.81.
7. Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol.52b.
marching towards Shadiabad.

Muhammad Shah — The eldest son and heir-apparent of Hoshang Shah¹, Ghazni Khan ascended the throne of Malwa with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah². He could do nothing and Mahmud Khan Khalji, son of Malik Mughith³, killed Sultan Muhammad by administering poison to him in wine⁴. Thus came to an end the Ghuri dynasty founded by Dilawar Khan.

Mahmud Khalji I — Mahmud Khan ascended the throne on the advice of Malik Mughith on 14th May, 1436⁵. His reign started with the invasion of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Mahmud defeated and drove back Ahmad Shah to Gujarat. This enhanced Mahmud's prestige. He fought bravely with the Rana Kumbha of Chittor and ravaged the Bahmani kingdom. Adil Shah of Khandesh submitted before Mahmud. He occupied Chanderi⁶, Gagraum⁷, Ajmer⁸, Mandalgarh⁹ and subjugated Dungarpur. The Sultan of Delhi concluded peace with him. With all these achievements Mahmud led Malwa to the peak of glory. He died on May 1469.

3. Malik Mughith was Hoshang Shah's cousin(U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p.33). He was wazir of Hoshang Shah and Ghazni Khan confirmed him to the same office(Firishta,II,p.476).
6. Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi, f.92a; Briggs IV,p.205.
8. Firishta II 496; Briggs IV, p.222.
Ghiyas Shah — Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Malwa. He made his policy to protect the vast territories, inherited from his father. He secured his border on Mewar side by helping Rana Udai Singh. He made efforts to give peace and prosperity to Malwa. He died of dysentry on March 29, 1501.

Nasir Shah — Abdul Qadir, the eldest son of Ghiyas Shah ascended the throne of Malwa during the lifetime of his father. Towards the end of his reign his son, Shihabuddin revolted against him. Therefore he nominated his third son, Azam Humayun and nominated him as his successor with the title of Mahmud Shah. Nasir died on December 1510.

Mahmud Khalji II — Mahmud Khalji's accession was immediately challenged by his elder brother Shihabuddin. On the advance of Mahmud from Behishtpur, Shihabuddin fled to Khandesh. Mahmud Shah made over the office of wizarat to Basant Rai as hitherto. The appointment of Basant Rai was not welcomed by the nobles and was murdered. They raised

1. T.A., III, p.357 and T.A.(Tr.) p.553. Both Briggs(IV,p.239) and Zafar-ul-Walih(p.210) mentions that Ghiyas Shah was administered poison.
6. Briggs, IV, 246 has Buswunt Row and the Cambridge History of India(Vol.III,p.365) has Basant Rai.
Sahib Khan, the eldest brother of Mahmud to the throne. Sultan Mahmud appointed Muhafiz Khan, a leader of the opposite group, as wazir. Muhafiz Khan became too powerful that he raised Sahib Khan to the throne. Showing his personal bravery Mahmud fled to Ujjain\(^1\) and sought help from Rajput Chief Medini Rai. He appointed Medini Rai as wazir. Medini Rai became too powerful and posed a grave danger to Malwa. So Sultan Mahmud sought help from Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat which impelled Medini Rai supplicated to Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar for a common cause. The Rana of Mewar took him captive in the action that ensued. Although he was released but became too weak. A few years later Mahmud lost hold even over Mandu, which was invaded and conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1531. Mahmud was defeated and taken prisoner and on the way to Gujarat he was killed as he attempted to flee. Thus came to an end both the Khalji dynasty of Malwa and the independent kingdom of Malwa.

**Bahadur Shah ascended the throne of Gujarat:**— The ailing Sultan Muzaffar Shah nominated his son Sikandar Khan who on his death\(^2\) ascended the throne of Gujarat. The nomination had enraged Bahadur Khan, who had left Gujarat and joined Ibrahim Lodi. A few weeks later Sultan Sikandar was assassinated on 26th May, 1526\(^3\). Bahadur Khan, during these disturbances in

Gujarat, received the information of his father’s death. He started for Gujarat and on his way got the news of Sikandar Khan’s assassination. He then entered Gujarat after encountering some opposition ascended the throne of Gujarat on 6th July, 1526.

Mahmud gives shelter to Chand Khan:— Sultan Mahmud Khalji II, owing to his gratitude towards Muzaffar Shah II gave asylum to Prince Chand Khan, the brother of Bahadur Shah. Razi-ul-Mulk\(^1\) was also making contacts with Prince Chand Khan in Mandu. Under these circumstances Bahadur Shah decided to punish Mahmud Khalji\(^2\).

Bahadur Shah occupies Malwa — Bahadur Shah reached upto the border of Malwa\(^3\). Mahmud Khalji called Silahdī and Muin Khan, the two powerful chiefs of Malwa for help. But they did not trust Mahmud and joined the camp of Bahadur Shah.

Bahadur Shah besieged the fort of Mandu and on March 28, 1531 he could enter the fort\(^4\). Mahmud and his seven sons were chained and sent to Champaner. In an attempt to flee, he and his sons were killed. Thus on March 31, 1531, he caused the Khutba to be recited in his own name. This was virtually a

1. Razi-ul-Mulk was an old noble of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.
4. T.A., III, p.217; Firishta,II, p.530; Zafar-ul-Walih, p.196; Mirat-i-Sikandari, p.277, Only Nizamuddin makes the information that Mahmud tried to kill his wife and children.
declaration that Bahadur Shah was the Sultan of Malwa or that Malwa became part of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah allowed Muin Khan and Silahdi to remain in the occupation of their territories. But virtually Bahadur Shah wanted to crush the strength of Silahdi. On return from Khandesh, he moved against Silahdi. He tactfully got him arrested in the fort of Dhar. After his arrest, Bahadur Shah occupied Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen.

Bahadur Shah was now free from Raisen and turned his attention towards Chittor. He besieged Chittor in February 1533, but on receiving news of coming of Humayun upto Gwalior accepted the offer of peace from Chittor and returned back. He wanted to establish amicable relations with Humayun and sent an emissary with a letter and presents and Humayun made a same return.

Bahadur Shah incurred the displeasure of Humayun when he gave shelter to Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the Mughal rebel.

1. Commissariat, Vol.1, p.327. Commissariat opines, "Bahadur Shah must need consider his conquest of Malwa incomplete so long Silahdi, the powerful Rajput fief, holder of Raisen, Ujjain and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in eastern districts of Malwa".


He sent Tatar Khan to launch an invasion against Agra. Tatar Khan attacked and occupied Bayana. Humayun sent Askari and Hindal against Tatar Khan. Tatar Khan was killed with three hundred of his soldiers. However, correspondence was going on between Humayun and Bahadur Shah asking the latter to expel Muhammad Zaman Mirza. But Bahadur Shah replied in a rude manner. This disgrace was a challenge to the Mughal Emperor.

While Bahadur Shah was engaged in his second attack on Chittor in Nov. 1534, Humayun entered into Malwa¹ and reached Sarangpur by Jan. 1535. Humayun deliberately reached Ujjain where Purbiya Rajputs supported him.

Bahadur Shah received information that Humayun had come to Mandsor. Bahadur Shah arrived at the place and the two armies pitched their tents. Humayun soon encircled Bahadur Shah's camp and cut off his supplies. Moreover he was betrayed by Rumi Khan². Bahadur Shah, therefore, fled to Mandu³. Humayun occupied the camp of Bahadur Shah.

Sadr Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, the two generals of Gujarat, collected forces after the departure of Bahadur Shah and rushed to Mandu⁴ followed by Humayun who stayed at Nalcha. Humayun was

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2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, pp.307-8; Zafar-ul-Walih, p.239.
4. Akbarnama(Tr.), Vol.I, p.303. Abul Fazl writes, 'Sadr Khan and Imadul Mulk Khasakhail took, with 20,000 horses, the direct route to Mandu while Humayun halted at Nalcha; Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i-Gujarat, p.15, does not give the number of soldiers.
further strengthened by the joining of Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Hindu Beg and Qasim Husain Sultan who arrived at Nalcha. Humayun laid the siege of the fort. As the fort was well protected by nature, Humayun soon hinted for some understanding. He sent Saiyid Amir and Bairam Khan to Bahadur Shah with a proposal that Gujarat should remain with Bahadur Shah and he should leave the rest of his territories for Humayun. The hostilities were to come to an end at day-break but the Mughals made an unexpected night-attack and forced their way into the fort. Bahadur Shah retreated to Songarh, the citadel of the fort of Mandu and finally fled towards Gujarat. Thus Mandu was fully occupied by Humayun by the middle of 1535.

Bahadur Shah was now in Champaner. Humayun pursued him but as he reached the city Bahadur Shah fled to Cambay. Humayun also followed him to Cambay via Ahmedabad and finally Bahadur had to take shelter in Diu and signed an agreement with the Portuguese. Humayun was successful in occupying Central Gujarat and placed his officers under the viceroyalty of Mirza Askari. He returned to Malwa but Mallu Khan of Mandu, Muin Sikandar Khan of Satwas and Mihtar Zambur of Handia were joined and occupied Ujjain.

1. Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i-Gujarat, p.16.
3. Humayun Nama, Gulbadan Begum, p.132.
Mirza Askari could not manage the affairs of Gujarat which encouraged Bahadur Shah to start from Diu. Unsuccessful to overcome the situation he left Gujarat and proceeded to Agra. This return of Askari compelled Humayun to leave Malwa\(^1\) and joined Askari at Chittor and together proceeded to Agra.

The kingdom of Malwa was virtually evacuated after an occupation of one year, leaving no garrison and governor to possess the territory for him. Thus Malwa was left to its own fate.

**Malwa Regains Independence Under Qadir Shah** — After reoccupying Gujarat Bahadur Shah enjoyed nominal hold over Malwa by appointing Mallu Khan in Mandu\(^2\) and Muhammad Shah Asiri incharge of Malwa. But after the death of Bahadur Shah Imad-ul-Mulk the wazir of Mahmud Shah II of Gujarat, sent a canopy with the title of Qadir Shah and the right of minting coins to Mallu Khan\(^3\).

Thus Khutba was recited and Mallu Khan as Qadir Shah became the ruler of Malwa. He sought the allegiance of the

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1. **Humayun Nama**, p. 133, "Mirza Askari's people left Ahmadabad and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mirza Askari and Yadgar Nasir Mirza had conspired and wished to go to Agra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go; he left the important affairs of Gujarat and turned away and went to Agra. Here he spent as much as a year"; Abu Turab Wali, p. 32 writes, Tardi Beg informed Humayun that Askari Mirza and Hindu Beg and other Mirzas had left for Agra to create trouble.


local Rajputs. He was successful in tackling with the internal affairs of Malwa.

**Sher Shah And Malwa Affairs** — While Qadir Shah was making efforts to consolidate the kingdom of Malwa, he received a farman\(^1\) of Sher Shah to march against Humayun who had already been defeated by Sher Shah at Chausa. Sher Shah had already enthroned himself in 1539-40\(^2\). Qadir Shah was not prepared to act upon. He even asserted his position in his reply. While his letter was still on its way Sher Shah sent his son Qutb Khan to join Qadir Shah. Qutb Khan near Chanderi came to know about the unfriendly attitude of Qadir Shah and turned towards kalpi. But he was opposed by the Mughals as he returned. He offered battle and was killed\(^3\).

In April 1542, Sher Shah started for Malwa. Qadir Shah met Sher Shah at Sarangpur\(^4\). Sher Shah welcomed him and bestowed upon him a red pavilion and other royal articles. But when Sher Shah tried to transfer him to Bengal, he fled to Gujarat\(^5\). Shujaat Khan was sent to pursue him but he had to return without success\(^6\). Sher Shah made fresh administrative

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2. *Tarikh-i-Daudl*, p. 216; Qanungo, Sher Shah, p.208, gives the date as beginning of December, 1539.
3. Elliot, IV, p. 379; Qanungo, Sher Shah And His Times, pp.223, 225.
5. T.A.,III, p.413; Elliot, IV, pp.394-95; Qanungo, Sher Shah And His Times, p.335.
arrangements and after appointing his officers marched against Raisen in March, 1543 and conquered Raisen. After the occupation of Raisen, Sher Shah appointed Shujaat Khan the governor of Malwa. Islam Shah Sur removed Shujaat Khan and appointed Isa Khan the governor of Malwa. After the death of Islam Shah, Shujaat Khan was again appointed governor of Malwa by Muhammad Adil Shah. Shujaat Khan managed the administration of Malwa well and died in 1554-55.

**Baz Bahadur Succeeds Shujaat Khan** — Miyan Bayazid, the son of Shujaat Khan was able to set aside his rival Daulat Khan Ajiyala and assumed royalty with the title of Baz Bahadur Shah. He was devoted to music and cultural activities. His love for Rupmati has taken a legendary shape quite popular in Malwa. This negligence of administration invoked the jagirdars and officers to oppress the people and also attracted Mughal Emperor towards Malwa.

**Incorporation of Malwa As a Mughal Subah** — On 10th March, 1561 Akbar sent Mughal army towards Malwa. The command of army was given to Adham Khan which included such generals as

3. Vide L.M.Crump, Lady of the Lotus(London 1926); Rupmati "The Melody Queen of Malwa" (Chandra Kant Tiwari), PIHC,1977, pp.244-249.
4. Rupmati "The Melody Queen of Malwa" (Chandra Kant Tiwari), PIHC, 1977, p.246.
Pir Muhammad Khan, Abdullah Khan, Qiya Khan Kang, Shah Muhammad Khan Gandhari, Adil Khan and his son, Sadiq Khan, Habib Guli Khan, Haider Ali Khan and others⁴. The Mughal army reached Sarangpur and Baz Bahadur who resided at Sarangpur moved out three kos from the city, pitched his camp and arranged his army². But he could not withstand the bravery of Adham Khan and was defeated. Baz Bahadur fled towards Khandesh. Adham Khan occupied the female inmates of his harem and all his royal belongings³. However Rupmati could save her by taking a cup of poison⁴.

Adham Khan offended Akbar — The acquisition of so much wealth and seraglio of Baz Bahadur disbalanced the mind of Adham Khan. He hosted a great feast and gave presents to the officers which was a sign of royalty. For administrative convenience he divided Malwa into four divisions i.e. Mandu, Sarangpur, Mandsor and Handia. He took Sarangpur for himself and Mandu with Ujjain was given to Pir Muhammad. Sadiq Khan was given Mandsor and its dependencies while Handia was put under the charge of Qiya Khan⁵.

After learning all the facts of the victory and acquisitions by Sadiq Khan who had returned to Agra from Malwa, Akbar was greatly enraged because Adham Khan sent to him only a few elephants. Akbar started for Malwa on 27th April 1561 and on the way the fort of Gagraum was surrendered by the officer of Baz Bahadur without offering resistance. Akbar put his own officer there and marched towards Sarangpur. However Adham Khan was on the way to Gagraum for the purpose of conquest. He came across the royal camp by surprise but joined the royal camp.

Maham Anga reached here on the next day and warned Adham Khan who surrendered all that he acquired from Baz Bahadur's palace to Akbar. Akbar reconfirmed him and other officers to their former places. However Adham Khan was soon removed from Malwa and Pir Muhammad was put in charge of Malwa.

Baz Bahadur Regains Malwa — Pir Muhammad became unpopular for his insolent activities of torture and bloodshed. He attacked and captured Bijagarh and Sultanpur. He moved up to Burhanpur against Khandesh and acquired large booty after plundering the city. Baz Bahadur who had collected forces

5. Akbarnama, II, p.152
6. Akbarnama, II, p.166
gave battle to Pir Muhammad who was returning from Burhanpur. Pir Muhammad was defeated and crossing Narbada he was drowned. Thus Baz Bahadur once again reoccupied Malwa and Mughal officers returned to Agra.

**Final Annexation of Malwa into A Mughal Subah** — Akbar realised that in Malwa competent officers should be appointed who possessed great courage and understanding together with judicious acumen and composure. He, therefore, sent Abdullah Khan Uzbeg who was well-acquainted with the geography and vantage points. He also appointed Khwaja Muinuddin Ahmad Farkhundi to work for revenue administration. As Abdullah was to administer the country, Khwaja Muinuddin was to please the peasantry and the poor masses.

On receiving the news of the advance of Mughal army Baz Bahadur lost hope and Mughal forces gave him battle. His army was routed and he fled to Rana Udai Singh of Chittor. Abdullah Khan took possession of Malwa and Mandu was made the headquarters. Abdullah Khan sent Mughal officers to occupy important and strategic places. Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi's efforts established peace in Malwa.

Thus Malwa was annexed to the Mughal empire as a Mughal Subah in 1562. As a subah of Mughal Empire Malwa once again blossomed forth into prosperity and peace.