



public affairs fell into a state of disorder.* Sheer Khan of Chundery, taking advantage of these distractions, rebelled, and was joined by Mahabut Khan of Mundsoor, as well as by many other of the malecontent nobles, who assembling a force advanced by the route of Depalpoor towards the capital. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen marched to attack them, and was joined by Einool-Moolk and many other of the Malwa chiefs, on which Sheer Khan retreated; but he was reduced to the necessity of fighting a battle near Sarungpoor, where he experienced a total defeat, and fled through Chundery to Eerich; to the former of which places the King pursued him before he returned. The adherents of Sheer Khan now wrote to him, that the King had retreated to Mando on account of the rains, and advised him to repair to Chundery, when by the assistance of the inhabitants he might still collect

* The author of the *Moontukhib-oot-Towareekli* has explained the state of affairs more fully than Ferishta. He states, that after Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen had placed the administration of his government into the hands of Nasir-ood-Deen, his younger brother, Shoojat Khan, through jealousy, united with Rany Khoorsheed, one of the King's favourite mistresses, to poison the King's mind against him, so that Nasir-ood-Deen was induced to fly from Mando. Shoojat Khan, in concert with the Rany, and without the King's knowledge, raised a force to attack Nasir-ood-Deen, but was defeated, and eventually pursued by the heir-apparent to Mando. Here several officers of rank joined Nasir-ood-Deen, and after a few days admitted him into the fort. Shoojat Khan and the King's mistress were seized and imprisoned, and Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen became reconciled to his son.



a sufficient force to oppose the King. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, on hearing that Sheer Khan was again in the field, detached Yekbal Khan and Mulloo Khan against him, who having attacked him within two coss of Chundery, Sheer Khan received a mortal wound, and his colleague Sikundur Khan was killed on the spot. Mahabut Khan of Mundsoor placed Sheer Khan on his own elephant and fled, but he died of his wounds on the road. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen arriving at the place where he was interred caused his body to be disinterred, and hung up in the town of Chundery, the government of which place he conferred on Himmut Khan, and after proceeding to Adilpoor he returned to Mando. On his arrival at the capital, he abandoned himself to the most shameless excesses, particularly that of drunkenness. He made it his business to discover and put to death all the adherents of his late brother, whose sins time ought to have buried in oblivion; and his own personal servants also suffered from his cruelty. It is said, that one day while lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir of water, he fell in. Four female slaves who were standing by, laying hold of him, at the risk of their own lives, pulled him out, and taking off his wet clothes dressed him again. On recovering from his intoxication he complained of violent head-ache; and the female slaves mentioned the circumstance of his falling into the reservoir in order to account for it; the King, however, was so enraged, conceiving it to be untrue, and that the females only said so by way of reproaching him for his inebriety,



he drew his sword, and put them all to death with his own hand, in spite of their cries for mercy, and although they exhibited the wet clothes which they had taken off from him.

In the year 908, Sooltan Nasir-ood-
A. H. 908.
A. D. 1502. Deen marched to attack the Rajpoots of Keechiwara. On arriving at Akbur-poor, he built a splendid palace, which was then much admired by all who saw it. Having plundered the whole of the Keechiwara district he returned to Mando, and on the following year (viz. 909) he proceeded towards Chit-
A. H. 909.
A. D. 1503. toor, where having received a large present in money from the Rana, and having procured from Raja Jewundas, one of the subordinate rays, his daughter, he returned to Mando. This lady was afterwards dignified with the title of the Chittoor Queen.

On the road back, news arrived that Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry, having declared war against Dawood Khan the ruler of Kandeish, had marched to reduce that province, and compelled the latter chief to take post in Aseer. The ruler of Kandeish owned allegiance to the present King of Malwa, and he considered it his duty to assist him. Yekbal Khan and Khwaja Jehan were therefore ordered to proceed with a large force to the south; but before it reached its destination, Ahmud Nizam Shah commenced his retreat to Ahmudnuggur, and Yekbal Khan, after causing the public prayers to be read in the name of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen at Boorhanpoor, returned to Mando.

Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen during the lifetime of his



father had often opposed his will, and having subsequently revolted, attacked his capital. The King now dreaded lest his own sons might, in imitation of him, rebel also. He in consequence always viewed them with distrust and jealousy. This feeling was so apparent to his son Shahab-ood-Deen, the declared heir to the throne, that he always entered his father's presence with apprehension; and the nobles, in the year 916, A.H. 916. wearied and disgusted with the persecution and cruelty of Nasir-ood-Deen, A.D. 1512. persuaded his son to assume charge of the government at once. For this purpose he left Mando and collected a large force. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, however, having opposed and defeated the Prince, the latter fled to Dehly, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his father, refused to come back. On the return of Sooltan Nasir-ood Deen towards Mando, he was seized with a fever, brought on by excess, at the town of Burtpoor; during which illness, although in the cold season, he bathed, and in a few days after died. He reigned eleven years and four months, having previously declared his third son, Mahmood, his successor.



SOOLTAN MAHMOOD II.

Ascends the throne, and secures the person of his brother Sahib Khan. — Sahib Khan is released, and is proclaimed King. — Mahmood retires from Mando, and meets with assistance from Medny Ray, an officer of his government. — The Prince Sahib Khan is defeated, and flies. — The Prince Shahab-ood-Deen dies on his road from Kandeish to Malwa, leaving a son, the Prince Musaoood. — The governor of Bhilsa espouses his cause, while the governor of Chundery espouses that of Sahib Khan. — The King of Dehly joins the league in favour of Sahib Khan, but it is dissolved by the ability of Medny Ray, who obtains an entire supremacy in the government. — Sooltan Mahmood retires to Guzerat, and obtains the aid of Moozaffur Shah. — Mando taken from the Hindoos, and Sooltan Mahmood is replaced on his throne. — The Guzerat army retires. Sooltan Mahmood is defeated and taken prisoner by the Hindoos, but is restored to his government. — The King of Guzerat dies. — Contests for the throne. — Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa receives one of the pretenders at his court, where he carries on intrigues against Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. — War ensues. — Mando taken by the King of Guzerat. — Sooltan Mahmood and his family fall into the hands of Bahadur Shah — they are sent to Champanere, and are put to death on the road thither. — Extinction of the race of Khiljy.

ON the news of the death of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen reaching his son Shahab-ood-Deen, he relinquished the idea of prosecuting his journey towards Dehly, but returning to Malwa, arrived at the capital, while his young brother, Mahmood, still remained at Nalcha. The command-



ant of Mando, Mahafiz Khan, having refused him admittance, the Prince fled to Aseer on the approach of his brother Mahmood, who, on entering Mando, was formally crowned with great pomp; upon which occasion no fewer than seven hundred elephants, with velvet housings embroidered in gold, formed part of the procession. Shortly after his accession, a conspiracy was formed against one Buswunt Row, a personal favourite of the King, who had attended him from the period of his birth; and he was put to death by the conspirators, who declared that he had laid a scheme to overturn the government: they also stated, in an address to the crown, that one Nizam-ool-Moolk, another of the King's friends, had trodden in the footsteps of Buswunt Row, and they consequently insisted on his being delivered over to them for trial. The King was alarmed at these desperate encroachments on his prerogative, but thought it advisable to give up Nizam-ool-Moolk to be tried, reserving the punishment in his own hands; but in spite of his wish to spare him, the King was constrained to banish him. Mahafiz Khan, the governor of Mando, presuming on the King's easy temper, had the boldness to address him one day in open durbar in the following words: "Your elder brother is now in confinement in this fort, and only waits for an opportunity to put you to death, and ascend the throne. If you have any desire to retain your crown, your only chance of securing it is to order his immediate execution. If not, you will merit the fate which awaits you." The



King was at first confounded with this language, and asked the governor in an angry tone how he presumed thus to address him? Mahafiz Khan, seeing he had gone too far to retreat, continued to answer the King in a disrespectful tone and manner. The King, unable to restrain himself, seized the sword which lay by his side, and without drawing it from the scabbard struck Mahafiz Khan two blows on the head with all his strength. The blood flowed from the wound, and Mahafiz Khan made his escape home, where collecting all his personal attendants and guards, he marched to the palace. The nobles, who rather promoted than wished to suppress the rebellion, remained quiet in their houses; while the King, collecting his body-guard, consisting chiefly of foreigners, such as Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians, made a stand in the palace-yard, and compelled Mahafiz Khan, after having lost many men, to retreat to his own house. The King now used his endeavours to collect a larger force, but in vain; for most of the officers with their retainers had joined Mahafiz Khan. The royal party remained under arms all night, and in the morning, assisted by some of the inhabitants, forced their way out of the fort. The King's departure was the signal for Mahafiz Khan to release the Prince Sahib Khan, and to place the crown on his head. Sooltan Mahmood, having encamped on the plain, summoned the chiefs of provinces to attend him; and the first person of rank who joined his standard was Medny Ray, a Rajpoot chief, accompanied by all his family, and a large force of his tribe. After him came Shirza



Khan, governor of Chundery, and subsequently many other nobles of the surrounding districts. The King now issued a proclamation, inviting, with promises of promotion, all persons who should quit the standard of Sahib Khan and Mahafiz Khan, and join the royal army. At the same time he marched towards the capital, and was opposed by the rebel forces. A severe engagement took place, during which the Prince Sahib Khan charged in person at the head of a small body of cavalry, and attacked the King's personal guard, but he was repulsed. The fate of the action was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medny Ray and the Rajpoot infantry, who preserved a compact phalanx, and with spears and daggers broke the enemy, and obliged Sahib Khan to take refuge in the fort of Mando, many of his troops being compelled to seek protection in the caves surrounding the hill. Sooltan Mahmood, unwilling to drive his brother to extremity, sent word to him, that notwithstanding what had happened he forgave him on account of their mother, and promised to allow him a stipulated annual amount, which he might receive wheresoever he chose, provided he relinquished the idea of ascending the throne, which, the King observed, he considered it his duty to defend with his life. Sahib Khan, relying on the strength of the fort, refused to accede to terms. Sooltan Mahmood now closely invested the place, and received overtures from some of the chiefs within, that they would admit him into the fort by a certain gate. The Prince Sahib Khan, and Mahafiz Khan, discovering the correspondence,



and placing no further reliance on their adherents, secured all the jewels they could collect, and made

Shuval, their escape to Guzerat in the month of A. H. 917. Shuval, in the year 917; where a dispute December, having arisen between the Prince Sahib A. D. 1513.

Khan and the ambassador of Shah Ismael of Persia, he was compelled to quit Guzerat* also, and go to Aseer; where having collected three hundred cavalry he went to Gavul, and solicited the assistance of Imad Shah. That prince being on friendly terms with Sooltan Mahmood refused his aid to replace him on the throne, though he assigned to him an estate and the revenue of a few villages. Meanwhile, Sooltan Mahmood, having been re-established on his throne, gave a new form to his government. It is proper to observe here, that at the period when Sooltan Mahmood made his escape from the capital, his eldest brother, the Prince Shahab-ood-Deen, who had taken refuge with the ruler of Kandeish, marched towards Mando, for the purpose of bringing forward his claims to the throne, both as the eldest son of the late Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen and because he had been originally declared heir-apparent. His constitution, however, being weak, and the heat of the weather excessive, he contracted a fever on the road†, which terminated

* For the details, see history of Guzerat, vol. iv. p. 80.

† No other cause seems necessary to account for the sudden death of the Prince than the bare circumstance of his travelling between Kandeish and Malwa in the months of November or December. The experience of several late years has proved that few individuals can traverse those unhealthy regions with impunity at that season of the year.



his existence, leaving his son, Mukhsoos Khan, under the care of his minister, Yekbal Khan, who instantly proclaimed the boy's title to the throne, under the name of Sooltan Hooshung II. Finding, however, on his arrival in Malwa, that Sooltan Mahmood was firmly seated on the throne, after showing some trifling opposition, the Prince and his minister threw themselves on the King's mercy. Shortly afterwards Medny Ray*, who had gained an undue influence in the King's councils, persuaded him that both Yekbal and Mukhsoos Khan were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the King of the Deccan. Sooltan Mahmood, too easily giving credence to these insinuations, ordered Yekbal Khan to be killed the next day as he came to the durbar, a sentence which was carried into execution before all the by-standers. Sooltan Mahmood, at the instigation of Medny Ray, sent for Bohjut Khan, governor of Chundery, and some other chiefs, to the capital; but they were so much alarmed, both at the influence of Medny Ray and at the sudden execution which had just taken place, that Bohjut Khan, in particular, pleaded

* We must receive with great caution the accusations made by the Mahomedan historian of Malwa against Medny Ray. It appears that he first joined the King when the Mahomedan nobles deserted him; that his followers gained the battle of Mando against the Prince Sahib Khan; and it is natural to suppose that the King, whose partiality to Hindoos in the early part of his reign has been recorded, should now give his confidence to one possessed of such power and influence among his relations and cast, and who had evinced an early devotion to the King's cause and to his person.



the near approach of the rainy season as an excuse for non-attendance at court. The King took no measures against Bohjut Khan, but deputed Munsoor Khan, a nobleman of rank, to reduce Sikundur Khan of Bhilsa, and bring him to court. On hearing of this, Sikundur Khan abandoned Bhilsa, and proceeding to the south, occupied the country lying between Kuhndwa and Shahabad *, where the rays of Gondwana had brought a large force to assist him. Under these circumstances, Munsoor Khan wrote to court that the troops with him were insufficient to oppose the united arms of the rays of Gondwana and Sikundur Khan. Medny Ray, wishing to see the whole of the old officers disgraced, in order to secure to himself all the court influence, answered the letter in the King's name, telling Munsoor Khan that the appearance of the royal troops alone would be sufficient to deter the enemy from attack, and that his application for a reinforcement was merely a subterfuge to avoid fighting. Munsoor Khan, astonished at the tenour and style of this letter, marched instantly with Bukhtiar Khan, and joined Bohjut Khan at Chundery. The King, hearing of the assemblage of troops at that place, took the field in person, and proceeded to D'har, having previously sent Medny Ray with his own adherents and one hundred and fifty elephants against Sikundur Khan. Medny Ray soon induced the forces of Sikundur Khan to disperse ; and having made terms

* Probably Shahpoor.



with the latter chief, both returned with Medny Ray to Bhilsa, which was again restored to Sikundur Khan. The influence of Medny Ray after this event increased daily. On his return to camp, he heard that a faction at Mando had created one of their party king, and had placed on his head the white canopy, from off the tomb of Sooltan Gheias-ood-Déen; but the kotwal of the city having behaved with much presence of mind and resolution, had put a stop to the commotion, and restored order. Bohjut Khan of Chundery and his party, perceiving the inordinate and increasing power and influence of Medny Ray, were more than ever alarmed; and they accordingly deputed persons to Gavul, inviting the Prince Sahib Khan to return, and to assume the reins of government*; writing, at the same time, a petition to Sikundur Lody of Dehly, stating that the infidel Rajpoots had gained an alarming ascendancy over the Mahomedans in Malwa; and that one Medny Ray, a chief of that tribe, had virtually become

* The Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh states, that Sahib Khan reached Chundery, and was met by Bohjut Khan and Munsoor Khan, who proclaimed him King. After a long negotiation, the Prince was induced to forego his title to the whole kingdom, on condition of receiving the fort of Raiseen, the town of Bhilsa, and the district of Dhamony. For his immediate expenses the King sent eleven lacks of tunkas, and presented him with twelve elephants. Bohjut Khan, under the title of Sahib Khan's minister, embezzled the money, and usurped the districts, so that the Prince Sahib Khan was at open war with him. Bohjut Khan, in consequence, fled to the Mogul court.



master of the country and its resources, having persuaded the King to destroy many of the old and confidential officers of the state, while those who were left had taken the alarm, and fled to different parts of the kingdom. The petition proceeded to state, that although Sooltan Mahmood now regretted having exalted Medny Ray, and having placed all his reliance on the Rajpoots, yet he had so given himself up into that chief's hands, that he not only refused to listen to his Mahomedan officers and subjects, but seemed willing, in concert with his Hindoo minister, to cut off the few who remained. That as for the laws of the prophet, and the true worship, they had been wholly abandoned every where, and that the mosques had been converted into receptacles for infidels. It was indeed expected that Ray Rayan, the son of Medny Ray, would in a short time openly declare his accession to the throne. "If, then," says the petition, "your Majesty will condescend to send a force, around which the faithful may rally, Sahib Khan, the brother of the present king, will enter the country, and public prayers may be read in his name as King of Malwa in Chundery and in the surrounding districts." Mahafiz Khan, the partisan of Sahib Khan, who defended the fort of Mando, and had fled to Guzerat with that prince, was now at Dehly; and a force consisting of twelve thousand cavalry, under the command of Imad-ool-Moolk Lody and Syeed Khan, accompanied by Mahafiz Khan, marched to raise Sahib Khan to the throne of Malwa, with the title of Sooltan Mahomed.



At this period, also, Moozuffur Shah, King of Guzerat, with a large army arrived at D'har, and Sikundur Khan having again raised the standard of revolt, plundered the country. Medny Ray, aware that every thing depended upon his exertions, directed Mullik Lado, the governor of Kuhndwa, to oppose Sikundur Khan, while he himself marched, accompanied by the King, against the forces of Guzerat, which had now arrived within a short distance of Mando; but being attacked and defeated, Moozuffur Shah retreated to Ahmudabad. Mullik Lado defeated Sikundur Khan; but one of his dependents, who had suffered from Mullik Lado, attacked him unawares, and stabbed him to the heart. Sikundur Khan, in consequence, rallying his troops, attacked and defeated the King's forces, who were now without a leader, and having taken six elephants, together with other booty, he returned to Seevas.

Sooltan Mahmood, deferring the punishment of Sikundur Khan for the present, marched against the forces under Bohjut Khan at Chundery. On the road to which place he heard that Sahib Khan had, at the instigation of the Chundery confederates, arrived near his army, and had assumed the title of king, supported by a force from Dehly under Imad-ool-Moolk Lody, and accompanied by Mahafiz Khan. This intelligence occasioned the utmost distress to Sooltan Mahmood; added to which, two parties of cavalry, the one under Sud-dur Khan, and the other under the Prince Mukhsoos Khan, deserting the royalists, joined the enemy. Sahib Khan now detached a force under one



Mahmood Khan to occupy Sarungpoor; but that officer, alarmed at the approach of the King's army, fled disgracefully. Affairs were in this state when Imad-ool-Moolk and Syeed Khan, at the secret instigation of Medny Ray, recommended Bohjut Khan to read public prayers, and to coin money, in the name of their own master, Sikundur Lody of Dehly; a measure calculated, of all others, to separate the interests of the Dehly and Chundery chieftains. The proposal being made to Bohjut Khan, he spurned the idea of deserting the cause of Sahib Khan, which opened to him no advantage whatsoever, and he accordingly made an excuse to separate himself from the Dehly forces, the object of all others which Medny Ray desired. Meanwhile an order arrived for the recall of the Dehly troops. It is stated that public prayers were actually read, and coin struck, in the name of Sikundur Lody; but on hearing that Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, with a large army, was on his march to oppose his small detachment, and being unable to spare more troops at the time, Sikundur ordered his army to fall back on Dehly. At all events, Sooltan Mahmood, on the retreat of the Dehly troops, considering it a mark of the intervention of Divine favour, offered up prayers on the occasion, while, in the mean time, Mahafiz Khan and Khwaja Jehan, taking a circuitous route, marched by order of Sahib Khan to invest Mando. The King, obtaining intelligence of this movement, detached Hubeeb Khan with a large force of Rajpoots to oppose the Prince; and in the neighbourhood of Nalcha an



action took place, in which Mahafiz Khan was killed, and his force dispersed. The Prince Sahib Khan and Bohjut Khan, deprived of all hopes of assistance, now thought it advisable to make overtures for peace; and one Sheikh Owlia was deputed as envoy to the King for that purpose. Sooltan Mahmood, who prayed for nothing more, gladly ceded the forts of Raiseen, Bhilsa, and Dhamony, to Sahib Khan for his support; at the same time presenting him with ten lacks of copper tunkas and twelve elephants; after which conciliatory letters were written to the different officers who had espoused the cause of Sahib Khan. On the King's return to his capital he was guided entirely by the advice of Medny Ray, who was daily employed in the destruction of one or other of the Mahomedan chiefs. They were frequently put to death without cause, their houses plundered, and their estates confiscated. At last the King evinced his dislike for all the nobles, and for Mahomedans in general, so that most of the officers who held situations under the late Nasir-ood-Deen and Gheias-ood-Deen were put to death, and their offices filled by Rajpoots. The very Mahomedan females who had been educated in the seraglio of Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen now became the mistresses of Medny Ray and the rest of the Rajpoot officers. The guards at the gates were composed entirely of Hindoos, and the old system of government was completely subverted. Ghalib Khan, the late governor of Mando, became so offended at the ascendancy obtained by the Hindoos, that when the King was out on a hunting



party with his infidel Rajpoots he shut the gates of the garrison, and refused them admittance. Sooltan Mahmood immediately proceeded to invest the fort. Ghalib Khan, unable to hold out against the royalists, escaped; but the King sent a party of Rajpoots to seize him, by which he was overtaken in a few days and brought into Mando, where he was executed. After this, Medny Ray removed the few remaining Mahomedans from their public situations, so that excepting the personal servants of the King, amounting to about two hundred, the whole of the offices of government were filled with Rajpoots. Affairs had now assumed a very alarming appearance in the mind of the King, who, for the first time, began to reflect seriously on the situation to which he was reduced, and resolved to dismiss all the Rajpoots. It is customary in India, when a servant is discharged, for his master to give him a leaf of pân, as a token that he has received his formal dismissal, and that he bears him no malice; so Sooltan Mahmood having ordered forty thousand packets of pân to be brought him, he sent them in a basket by the hands of Araish Khan to Medny Ray, stating that it was his Majesty's pleasure to discharge the whole of the Rajpoot army, consisting of so many persons; and he directed Medny Ray to distribute the pân amongst them, and to disband them accordingly. The Rajpoots declared to a man that they were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the King; that they had always defended his person and kingdom with bravery, and were not aware of what they had been guilty, to be thus dis-



charged at a moment's warning. But they went to Medny Ray, and proposed to remove Sooltan Mahmood and place Ray Rayan, the son of Medny Ray, on the throne. The wily statesman replied, "As to the government of Malwa, it has long been in my hands; but if I were to usurp the crown, the kings of Guzerat, of Kandeish, and of the Deccan uniting, would very soon reduce Malwa to their subjection, in spite of every effort on our part: the best thing that can now be done, is to go and beg the King to forego his intention of discharging you." Medny Ray succeeded in his wish, which was granted, on condition that the personal offices of the state should be filled by Mahomedans; that the old officers still alive should be replaced in their former situations; that all Mahomedan women should be released from the seraglios of the Rajpoots; and that no Hindoo should hold any civil office at court. These terms being acceded to by Medny Ray, he was more than ever assiduous in gaining the King's good will. But Salb'han*, a Rajpoot officer of rank, provoked him by repeated insults, till at last Sooltan Mahmood, who had only two hundred personal attendants, ordered them to waylay both Salb'han and Medny Ray, and to murder them. They were accordingly attacked: the former was killed, but the latter made his escape to his house, though covered with wounds. The Rajpoots who were devoted to both these officers, on hearing of the death of Salb'han, and the attack made on

* Salivahan.



Medny Ray, proceeded to assault the palace. Sooltan Mahmood, who though a fool in the cabinet, had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger, girt on his sword, and sallying forth with sixteen horsemen and a few infantry attacked the Rajpoots with desperate resolution, many of whom he slew with his own hands, and absolutely beat them back from the palace. After being checked, they collected at Medny Ray's house, and called on him to head them. He replied, that although the King his master had sought his life, he had no right to take up arms against him: he said, moreover, that he was ready, even now, to submit to any punishment which the King chose to inflict, rather than head an army against him. Medny Ray concluded this address by ordering the troops instantly to retire to their quarters; and sent word to the King, informing him that he was out of danger from the wounds which he had received from the King's servants, who had waylaid him for the purpose of putting him to death; that he was ready, for the good of the state, to lay down his life; and that if his Majesty was of opinion that his death was necessary for the promotion of that object, he was prepared to submit himself to execution. Sooltan Mahmood, convinced of Medny Ray's fidelity, again received him into favour; but the latter being ever after suspicious of the King's intentions, went in future to the palace attended by an escort of five hundred men. This measure so greatly disturbed the King's mind, that one night leaving the fort of Mando with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did



not draw rein till he arrived on the confines of Guzerat.* The officers on the frontier, after hearing his story, received him with the utmost respect, and wrote to Moozuffur Shah, who immediately despatched Keisur Khan and Taj Khan to put themselves under his orders for the present; and after his army was collected, the King of Guzerat marched thither himself, and placing Sooltan Mahmood on his right hand on his own throne, treated him in every respect as an equal.

In the year 923, the two kings proceeded at the head of the Guzerat army towards Malwa.

A. H. 923.
A. D. 1517.

Medny Ray having left his son Bhew Ray† in the fort of Mando, collected twelve thousand cavalry and a large force of infantry, and marched to occupy D'har, and to repair its fortifications. On the near approach of the two kings, he reconnoitred their forces, and conceiving he could not oppose them with success in the field, sent five or six thousand cavalry, and about ten thousand infantry, consisting of bowmen, musketeers, and artillery-men, to reinforce the garrison of Mando, and quitting D'har left Malwa, and went to Chittoor, in order to obtain assistance from Rana Sanka. The Guzerat army having arrived before D'har, it instantly opened its gates, after which the two kings marched to Mando, and laid siege to that fortress, which had hitherto proved impregnable. At the same time

* He was accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse. — *Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh*.

† The title of this young man was Ray Rayan, or the Prince of Princes.



the King of Guzerat detached Adil Khan, ruler of Aseer, at the head of his own troops and a detachment of Guzerat cavalry, to watch the movements of Medny Ray. After a close siege for some months, in the year 924, the fort of Mando was taken by assault, and nineteen thousand Rajpoots were slain, including those who were destroyed in the performance of the Jowhur, a ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. Sooltan Mahmood, who entered in rear of the storming party, after the capture of the fort went up to Moozuffur Shah, and having congratulated him on his victory, asked what was to become of him. He answered in the most noble manner, "I congratulate you on the acquisition of your kingdom, which I have now restored to you," and immediately quitting the fort, the King of Guzerat returned to his own camp. On the following day he communicated to the King of Malwa, that as the latter might require some time to arrange his affairs in the fort, he would march on to Oojein, and reduce the Rajpoots in that quarter. Moozuffur Shah proceeded, however, in the first place, to D'har, where he received information that Adil Khan's detachment was still at Depalpoor; for the Rajpoots, having heard of the fall of Mando, had dispersed. Moozuffur Shah now halted for some time at D'har, till joined by Sooltan Mahmood, who requested him to return and spend a few days with him at his capital, to which he assented. On his arrival, a magnificent festival



was prepared, upon which occasion the King of Malwa brought in a tray, and waited on the King of Guzerat. After which, having accompanied him as far as the borders, and having received from that monarch an auxiliary force of three thousand cavalry, under Asuf Khan Guzeratty, to be stationed at Mando, Sooltan Mahmood returned to his capital. The forts of Chundery and Gagrone being in possession of Medny Ray's soldiers, and those of Bhilsa, Raiseen, and Sarungpoor in that of Silhuddy Poorby, it was resolved to wrest them out of their hands; for which purpose the King marched to Gagrone against Medny Ray, who being joined by Rana Sanka now returned with an immense army. The Malwa force had marched several miles, and had but just arrived at its ground, when the King was surprised to hear that he was close to the enemy; on which he immediately ordered the line under arms, and insisted on bringing on an action, a measure to which Asuf Khan, the Guzerat general, objected, representing that both horse and foot * were fatigued, and had been long without food, so that it would be better to delay the action till they were refreshed. The King, whose

* Those persons whose experience has not led them to observe the difference in the conduct of the same troops being brought into action at one time hungry and jaded, and at another time when in full strength, can hardly understand the importance of studying this object; nor is the effect of physical capacity on animal spirits at all times sufficiently considered. One of the most valuable lessons which a general can learn is to know precisely to what his soldiers are equal, and by neglecting this knowledge the best troops may be defeated even when opposed to inferior numbers.



temper was impatient and sanguine, and himself as brave as a lion, insisted on engaging the enemy, which remained steady and ready to receive him, while the forces of Malwa were neither properly drawn up nor in a condition to attack. The Guzerat cavalry, headed by the King in person, commenced the attack by charging the Rajpoot horse, estimated at nearly fifty thousand men. On this occasion Asuf Khan's son and almost the whole of the Guzeratties were killed, after behaving in the most gallant manner.* The King's life was saved only by the strength of the armour he wore, and he was left on the field with only ten horsemen. With these few men, whom he addressed and exhorted to die as martyrs against the infidels, he again charged and fell into the hands of the enemy covered with wounds, the whole of his small party being killed. The astonished Rajpoots, surrounding him as they perceived him weltering in his blood, looked on him as more than mortal. His enemy, Rana Sanka of Chittoor, caused him to be brought into his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended him in person, and showed him every mark of attention; and after his recovery, he furnished him with an escort of one thousand Rajpoot horse, and sent him to Mandu, where he re-assumed the reins of government.† During the commotion which of late had

* Thirty officers of rank in the Malwa army lost their lives.

† Sooltan Mahmood was conveyed, in the first instance, to Chittoor, where the place of his confinement is still shown; but he was released on recovering from his wounds. It is impossible not to contrast the chivalrous conduct of the Hindoo



shaken the very foundation of the Malwa monarchy, many of the districts had been occupied and retained by the different chiefs, who appropriated the revenues to their own use. Of these especially were the following : — Sikundur Khan of Seevas; Medny Ray, who held possession of Gagrone, Chundery, and other places; Silhuddy, who occupied Bhilsa, Raiseen, and Sarungpoor, besides many others holding small jageers; so that by this means the finances of the state were reduced to a low ebb.

Sooltan Mahmood, contrary to the practice of the other kings of glorious memory, without exercising his reason or judgment, conceived kingdoms were to be ruled by the edge of the sword *; and in the year 926, he marched against Silhuddy of Sarungpoor, but miscalculating his strength, he was attacked by the Rajpoots, by whom he was completely defeated. In this situation, rallying a few troops, while the enemy were engaged in plunder, he again charged and dispersed them, and pursued the fugitives so

A. H. 926.

A. D. 1519.

princes, in their behaviour to Mahomedans in general, with the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter towards Hindoos. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels.

* Ferishta alludes here to the impolicy of relying on force only to reconcile factions, and of the King's treating all his nobles as enemies, without securing friends, or permitting any one to remain neutral and inactive.



closely into the fort of Sarungpoor, that he obtained possession of it as also of twenty-four elephants. Silhuddy made his escape; and without attempting to regain Sarungpoor was content to occupy Bhilsa and Raiseen. The King now returned to Mando.

In the year 932, the government of
A. H. 932.
A. D. 1525.

Guzerat, on the death of Moozuffur Shah, devolved on his son, Bahadur Shah, whose younger brother, Chand Khan, fled, and sought protection with Sooltan Mahmood at Mando; who, on account of the personal obligations he owed to his father, received him with kindness, and paid him the utmost attention. At the same time, also, Ruzy-ool-Moolk, one of the Guzerat nobles, having gone to Dehly to induce Babur Padshah to dethrone Bahadur Shah, and to place Chand Khan on the throne, now arrived at Mando; and being permitted to have a private and secret conference with that prince, returned to the Mogul court at Agra. Bahadur Shah, hearing of these circumstances, wrote to Sooltan Mahmood, reproaching him for giving countenance to the intrigues carrying on by Ruzy-ool-Moolk; who subsequently arriving a second time at Mando, and communicating with the Prince Chand Khan, after the remonstrances of Bahadur Shah, again returned to Agra. Bahadur Shah, though he took no immediate steps, resolved to be revenged on the King of Malwa for supporting these treasonable proceedings against him. The fall of the house of Khiljy appearing now to be inevitable, Sooltan Mahmood did not adopt measures to prevent its occurrence, or even



to ward off the impending destruction which seemed to threaten him. Rana Sanka of Chittoor dying about this period was succeeded by his son, Rana Ruttun See *; and Sooltan Mahmood, without any provocation, deputed Shirza Khan with a force from Mando to attack that prince; for which purpose the Malwa troops marched and laid waste some of the Chittoor districts. Ruttun See, fully aware of the dissensions which existed between the Malwa and Guzerat sovereigns, proceeded towards the former kingdom; and Sooltan Mahmood made a movement, by the route of Oojein and Sarungpoor, to oppose him. On reaching the latter place, the King summoned Silhuddy of Bhilsa and Moyin Khan, the adopted son of the late Sikundur Khan of Seevas, to join his army, to oppose the Chittoor forces under Ruttun See. On their arrival, he conferred the title of Musnud Ally on Moyin Khan, and presented him with the scarlet pavilion, only used by kings. Moyin Khan was the son of a butter-man, but adopted by Sikundur Khan. The King also conciliated Silhuddy, by giving over to him in perpetuity some villages contiguous to Raiseen and Bhilsa. These honours, so unexpectedly bestowed upon two persons who so little deserved them at Sooltan Mahmood's hands, were followed by circumstances which roused their suspicions; and they concluding the gifts were only intended to lull them into security, deserted the King's camp, and joined the forces of

* In the Guzerat history he is simply styled Ruttun.



Ruttun See; after which Silhuddy, with his son Bhowput, Moyin Khan, and Ruttun See, all went and paid their respects to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, then encamped on the banks of the river Gurchy.* Sooltan Mahmood, hearing of the circumstance, deputed Duria Khan Lody to wait on the King of Guzerat; acquainting him, that owing to the obligations conferred on him by the late Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, he wished to show the respect he owed to his family, by going to pay his personal respects to his son, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne. Bahadur Shah received the messenger with great coolness, but said that he should be glad to see the King of Malwa. Rana Ruttun See returned to Chittoor; but Silhuddy continued in the Guzerat camp till the meeting between the two kings should take place. Sooltan Mahmood, however, ashamed to visit Bahadur Shah after his conduct in giving countenance to the intrigues carried on between Ruzy-ool-Moolk and the Prince Chand Khan against the King of Guzerat, evaded the meeting, under the plea of the necessity of his proceeding against Seevas. Having marched thither, and being out on a hunting party, his horse fell, and he broke his right arm†; on which he sent an excuse to the King of Guzerat

* This is certainly a mistake in the original.

† It has been already seen, in the Guzerat history, vol. iv. p. 114., that his arm was not broken; and that the accident, of whatever nature it was in reality, need not have prevented his visit to Bahadur Shah.



for his non-attendance, and returned to Mando, where he employed himself in repairing the fortifications. Bahadur Shah now plainly perceiving it was the intention of Sooltan Mahmood to avoid a meeting, marched towards the capital. On his entering Malwa, he was daily joined by deserters from Sooltan Mahmood's army, and among those of note was Shirza Khan, governor of D'har. Bahadur Shah having reached Mando surrounded it; and making his observations, marked out the ground for the mines and batteries. Sooltan Mahmood with three thousand men defended the place; but they were much harassed by the attempts made night after night by the besiegers to carry the fort by escalade; and though invariably repulsed, the garrison was worn out by incessant watching, till on the 9th of Shaban, in the year A. H. 932. 932, the banners of Guzerat appeared May 20. at daylight waving on the battlements. A. D. 1526. The Prince Chand Khan, the brother of Bahadur Shah, fled to the Deccan, and Sooltan Mahmood retired to his palace, which he resolved to defend till the last, but was at length induced to surrender. Bahadur Shah was disposed to treat him kindly, and even to restore to him his government; but the irritability of Sooltan Mahmood's temper and his pride combined hurried him away so far, that he abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face. He was in consequence ordered into confinement with his seven sons, and sent to the fort of Champanere under Asuf Khan*, who attended them with an

* This was the same officer who commanded the Guzerat auxiliaries in the battle of Gagrone.



Shaban 14. escort. Five days afterwards, viz. on the
A. H. 932. 14th of the same month, the detachment
May 25. was attacked by two thousand Bheels
A. D. 1526. and Kolies in camp at Dohud; and Asuf
Khan, supposing this formidable assault was made
for the purpose of effecting the release of the
Malwa royal family, ordered the King and his sons
to be put to death *; so that (excepting Sahib Khan,
who had been formerly created Sooltan Mahomed,
and was then in attendance on Babur Padshah,) not
a single male of the house of Khiljy remained; and
the kingdom of Malwa, in the year 941,
A. H. 941. became incorporated with that of Gu-
A. D. 1534. zerat, until it was eventually conquered
in the year 978, by Akbur Padshah, Emperor of
Dehly. †

* During the confusion that occurred in the night-attack, Sooltan Mahmood disengaged the chains from his feet, and the sentries, fearing he might effect his escape, put him to death without orders. He was buried in the vicinity of the tank at Dohud; and his children, with the remainder of his family, were conveyed to Champanere. — *Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh.*

† Here the Malwa historian ceases: the remaining part of the narrative Ferishta collects from the histories of Guzerat and Dehly.



CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF MALWA.

Bahadur Shah of Guzerat distributes Malwa among several chiefs. — Malwa subdued by Hoomayoon. — Hoomayoon is expelled from India, and Kadur Khan, an officer of the Khiljy government, occupies the country. — He provokes an attack from Sheer Shah Soor, who places his minister and relative, Shooja Khan, in charge of the government. — Shooja Khan dies, leaving three sons, Dowlut, Moostufa, and Bayezzed. — The two former are murdered by the latter, who assumes the title of Baz Bahadur. — Akbur, Emperor of Dehly, attacks him. — Baz Bahadur defeated, and the government of Malwa is given to Peer Mahomed Khan. — Baz Bahadur attacks Peer Mahomed Khan, who is slain, and the former recovers his country. — Malwa reconquered by Akbur, and Baz Bahadur expelled. — He eventually enters the service of Akbur, as an officer of two thousand horse.

ON the death of Sooltan Mahmood, and the subsequent occupation of Malwa by Bahadur Shah, that monarch gave over to Silhuddy Poorby, who had been the first person to join his standard, the districts of Oojein, Sarungpoor, and Raiseen; but we find in the Guzerat history, that some time afterwards he gave offence to Bahadur Shah, and being attacked in the field, he fled to Raiseen, where he put himself to death, and his son Bhowput made his escape from Malwa. Bahadur Shah then appointed Alum Khan of Kalpy governor of Raiseen. Budr Khan of Malwa was created governor of Oojein, and Yekhtiar Khan



governor of Mando; after which the King returned to Champanere. At a subsequent period, when Hoomayoon Padshah of Dehly seized Guzerat, he previously occupied Mando, and ordered public prayers to be read in his name, leaving his own officers in the government of Malwa; but shortly after his return to Agra, Mulloo Khan, one of the officers of the late Khiljy government, retook all the country lying between the Nurbudda and the town of Bhilsa after a struggle of twelve months against the Dehly officers; whom having eventually subdued, he caused himself to be crowned in Mando, under the title of Kadur Shah of Malwa. At this period, also, Bhowput and Poorunmul, sons of the late Silhuddy, marching from Chittoor, obtained possession of the fort of Raiseen, but acknowledged allegiance to Kadur Shah, and paid him tribute. Shortly after his accession, Kadur Shah received a firman *, with a seal on the face of it, from Sheer Shah Poorby Afghan, King of Bengal, stating that Hoomayoon Padshah was on the march to attack him, and that he desired the King of Malwa would make a movement towards Agra, which would distract the operations of the King of Dehly, and give the former an opportunity of acting with effect on that monarch's territory. On the receipt of this firman or order, Kadur Shah was so incensed that he insisted on his secretary writing a firman in return with the seal upon the

* Communications between equals are sealed on the back; of inferiors, at the foot of the writing; and of superiors and masters, on the top, and on the face of the letter, where, in Europe, we frequently affix the date.



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face of it. When Sheer Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal, and putting it on the point of his sword said, "If it please God that I should
"ever meet with Kadur Shah, I will then put him
"in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on
"the face of a letter to my address;" and in consequence, when that monarch ascended the throne of Dehly, he marched in the year 849

A. H. 849.

A. D. 1445.

to conquer the kingdom of Malwa. On his arrival near Sarungpoor, Kadur Shah, whose military resources were incapable of resisting those of Sheer Shah, determined to throw himself on his mercy. Accordingly, without the knowledge of any of Sheer Shah's officers, he suddenly made his appearance in durbar; and after having a secret conference with that monarch, received from him the greatest honours, was allowed to sleep in his private tent, and was presented with the dress which Sheer Shah wore at their meeting. On the next day Sheer Shah marched to Oojein, where he required his minister and relative, Shooja Khan, to pay obedience to Kadur Shah as King of Malwa. But this kindness was not to last: for on the following day he told Kadur Shah that he conferred on him the district of Luknow as a residence, of which he made him governor, and said that he expected him to remove with his family in a few days. Kadur Shah, astonished at this resolution, which he considered equivalent to perpetual banishment, fled with his family to Guzerat. Sheer Shah then made over the country around Oojein and Sarungpoor to Shooja Khan, and created him governor of Malwa, himself marching to Runtunbhore. Kadur Shah



having made his escape, it became politic to secure the persons of the other Malwa nobles, to prevent their forming a junction with him at some future period. Shooja Khan first seized the person of Moyin Khan of Seevas, who was at that time in camp. This measure induced his son Nuseer Khan to revenge his father's cause; but Shooja Khan being joined by the Raja of Gualiar defeated Nuseer Khan in an action near Sarungpoor, whence he fled into the Gondwana hills. Subsequently to this event, information was received from Hajy Khan, the governor of D'har, that Kadur Shah, with a large force, had arrived in his vicinity from Banswala, and that he expected an action to take place in a day or two. Shooja Khan no sooner heard the news than instantly proceeding in his palanquin to D'har, he arrived there in the evening, in time to make dispositions for a night-attack on Kadur Shah, which completely succeeded. Shooja Khan's activity enabled him in a few months to possess himself of the whole of Malwa without fighting another action. Having ruled Malwa for many years, an Afghan named Oothman Khan came one day into the Deevankhana, or Hall of Audience, of Shooja Khan, in a state of intoxication, and began to spit about on the carpets. The servants rebuffed, and said they would be spoiled, but he took no notice, till at last they desired him to go out; on which he was so imprudent as to strike one of them in the face, and beat him severely. Shooja Khan, hearing of this circumstance, ordered Oothman Khan's hands to be cut off. Oothman survived the oper-



ation, and carried his complaint to Sulim Shah* of Dehly at Gualiar, who told him that he might, if he chose, take revenge on Shooja Khan, who would soon be at that city. When Shooja Khan heard this, he merely observed "Sulim Shah is a fool for his pains." Some days after, when going to the durbar, he saw Oothman Khan sitting in the corner of a shop wrapt up in an old mantle. Shooja Khan ordered his palanquin to stop, and was going to ask if he wanted any thing, and intended to relieve his distress; but Oothman Khan, who only waited such an opportunity, jumped up, and with the blade of a sword, which was fastened round his arm, made a blow at Shooja Khan, whose servants immediately attacked the ruffian, and put him to death. Sulim Shah was much vexed to hear that this affray had ended in the death of Oothman; not only because he had sanctioned the attack on his part, but his indignation had been roused against Shooja Khan for having called him a fool. Sulim Shah drew upon him the curses of the whole of Shooja Khan's family and servants, when they learned that their master had received a dangerous wound in the side from the hand of the ruffian Oothman Khan, who had been instigated to the act by the King himself. The irritation produced on account of this affair induced Shooja Khan to quit Gualiar without taking leave, and to march towards Sarungpoor; on which Sulim Shah ordered a detachment in pursuit; and in a few days after he marched himself to seize Shooja

* It is to be recollected that Sulim Padshah was himself of the tribe of Afghan.



Khan's person and family, although that nobleman was one of thirty-six persons who were personally engaged in placing his father, Sheer Shah, on the throne. On the arrival of Sulim Shah near Sarungpoor, Shooja Khan declared that he never would suffer any one over whom he had power to draw his sword against the son of his old master, and he therefore fled to Banswara, leaving Sulim Shah at liberty to place Eesy Khan in the government of Malwa; after which he returned to Gualiar. But some time after, when Sulim marched towards Lahore *, he reinstated Shooja Khan in the government of Malwa. On this occasion the latter divided the country into the following districts: Oojein and its dependencies were placed in charge of his son, Dowlut Khan. Raiseen and Bhilsa were made over to Moostufa Khan, his youngest son. Hundia, Seevas, and its dependencies, to Mullik Bayezeed, his elder son, himself retaining the government of Sarungpoor. Some time elapsed before the government of Dehly was completely subjected by Hoomayoon Padshah, on his return from Persia; and during that period Shooja Khan, as well as the other chiefs of the empire, were on the point of declaring themselves independent, and of coining money, when cruel fate snatched the cup of prosperity from his lips, and death presented him with the potion of mortality. He died in the

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1554.

year 962; and his eldest son, assuming the title of Baz Bahadur, took the reins of government into his hands.

* Vide vol. ii. p. 141. Sulim died in 1547, and Hoomayoon regained the empire of Dehly in 1555. Vide vol. ii. p. 176.



The administration of Shooja Khan in Malwa, from first to last, was twelve years. Among the public works which do credit to his memory is the town of Shoojalpoor, near the city of Oojein, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of the kingdom of Malwa.

After the death of Shooja Khan, his eldest son, Mullik Bayezeed, marched from Hundia to Sarungpoor, and assumed charge of the government, taking possession of all his father's effects. His brother, Dowlut Khan, who had been a great favourite of Sulim Shah, and had the Sarungpoor division of troops to support him, asserted his claim to a partition of the kingdom; and after some negotiation, the districts contiguous to Oojein and Mando, together with some villages, were ceded to him. The districts of Sarungpoor, Seevas, Bheelwara, and the private estates of Shooja Khan, were considered as belonging to Bayezeed, and the districts of Raiseen and Bhilsa, with their dependencies, were left in the hands of Moostufa Khan. After this arrangement, Bayezeed marched to Oojein, on pretence of paying a visit of condolence to Dowlut Khan, on the occasion of their father's death. The latter, unsuspecting of any other motive, was put to death by his elder brother. The head of Dowlut Khan was sent to Sarungpoor, and hung up on one of the gates of that town; after which, having taken possession of many towns in Malwa which were previously almost independent, in the year
A. H. 963. 963 Bayezeed was crowned, under the
A. D. 1555. title of Sooltan Baz Bahadur. After



this event he marched to Raiseen to expel his remaining brother, Moostufa Khan, who, after sustaining several actions, was eventually completely defeated, and his army dispersed. Moostufa Khan fled from Malwa, leaving Baz Bahadur to take possession of the forts of Raiseen and Bhilsa.

About this period, having met with opposition from some of his officers, Baz Bahadur caused them to be seized and thrown into deep wells alive, where they were either drowned or starved to death. Some time after this he marched to invade Gondwara, in which campaign his uncle, Futteh Khan, was killed; after which he returned to Sarungpoor, and made preparations to reduce the fortress of Gurra. On his arrival in that vicinity, he was opposed by the troops of the Rany Doorgawutty, the widow of the late Ray Krishn Sing, who governed the country. Baz Bahadur was opposed by the Gonds, on the summit of a pass where their infantry were strongly posted, and having been drawn into an ambuscade, his troops were so completely routed that he was compelled to make his escape singly to Sarungpoor; but his army was completely surrounded and made prisoners, most of whom were put to death. Baz Bahadur was so much affected with this disgraceful termination of the war, in which his army had been destroyed, without being able to make resistance, that in order to drive away care he abandoned himself to sensual pleasures. At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and Baz Bahadur devoted himself entirely to its cul-



tivation and encouragement; and his attachment to Roop Muny, a celebrated courtesan of that age, became so notorious, that the loves of Baz Bahadur and Roop Muny have been handed down to posterity in song. Akbur Padshah of Dehly, taking advantage of the state of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, ordered an army commanded by Adhum

Khan, in the latter end of the year
A. H. 968. 968, to march and occupy that country.
A. D. 1560.

Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement of this force until it arrived within a short distance of his capital, when he collected his troops around Sarungpoor, but they had hardly time to join, before the Moguls were within two miles of the place. His eyes were now opened to his situation; and entering on the field of action with as little concern as if going into the company of females, he advanced impetuously, though without order, into the battle. He personally behaved with great gallantry; but his troops deserting him, he was obliged to fly, leaving Adhum Khan to occupy Sarungpoor. After some time, Adhum Khan being recalled, Peer Mahomed Khan Sheerwany was sent in his stead to the government of

Malwa. In the year 969, Peer Ma-
A. H. 969. homed Khan marched to oppose Baz
A. D. 1571.

Bahadur on the frontier, who had collected a force in conjunction with Toofal Khan, regent of Berar, and Meeran Moobarik Khan of Aseer. Peer Mahomed Khan advanced, in order to lay waste the country of Boorhanpoor; but the confederates so distressed him, that he was obliged to retreat to Malwa, whither they pursued him,



and driving the Mogul troops out of Malwa, replaced Baz Bahadur on the throne. He had scarcely time to draw breath, when in the year 970 Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, another of the officers of Akbur Padshah, occupied Malwa. Baz Bahadur fled to the hills of Gondwara, from whence he made occasional sallies, and for a time took and retained possession of some small districts; but what he gained by force of arms he very soon lost again, owing to the indolent habits in which he indulged: at length he thought it best to deliver himself up to Akbur Padshah. In consequence he left his retreat in the year 978, after a reign of seven-
A. H. 978.
A. D. 1570. teen years. He sometimes lived in the luxuries of a court, and at others submitted to the privations of a camp; and frequently wandered and begged assistance from one state to another, abiding in the woods and hills for whole months together, from an apprehension of being seized. In this year, having joined Akbur Padshah at Dehly, Baz Bahadur received a commission as an officer of two thousand cavalry. From that period till the present year, being
A. H. 1018.
A. D. 1609. 1018, the kingdom of Malwa has been included among the provinces of the empire of Dehly.



CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF KANDEISH.

MULLIK RAJA FAROOKY.

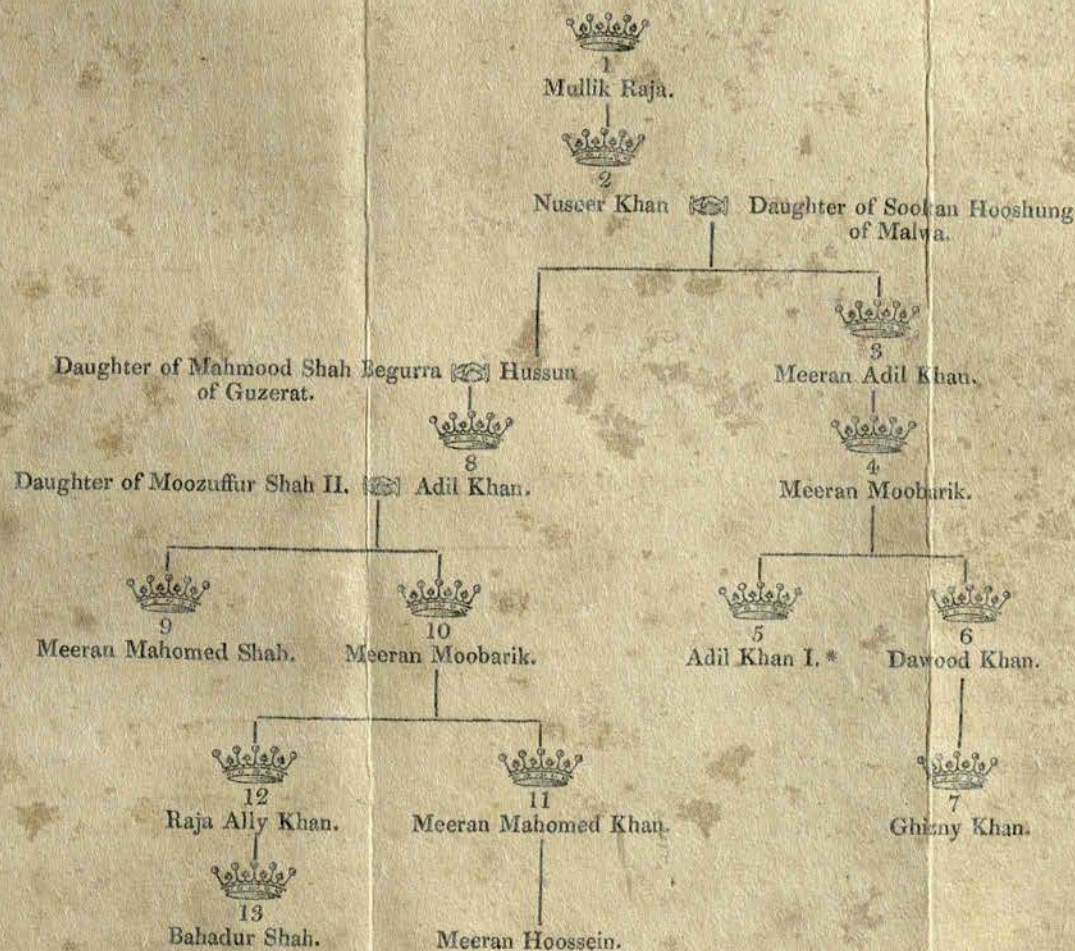
Origin of this chief. — Accidental circumstance of his being first brought to the King's notice — is raised to the rank of a noble of two thousand horse, and receives the districts of Talnere and Kuronde in jageer — compels the Raja of Buglana to pay tribute — invades the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, belonging to the King of Guzerat, but is obliged to retire to Talnere — concludes peace with the King of Guzerat — assigns Talnere to his youngest son, and leaves the rest of his territory to his eldest son, Nuseer Khan Farooky. — Death of Mullik Raja — his pedigree derivable from Oomr Farook.

THE first person who assumed independence in the province of Kandeish was Mullik Raja, the son of Khan Jehan Farooky, whose ancestors were among the most respectable nobles at the Dehly court, in the reigns of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy and Mahomed Toghluk.

On the death of Khwaja Jehan, his son Mullik Raja was very young, and inherited only a small patrimony. He was diffident in his disposition, and, at the same time, too proud to thrust himself



GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF KANDEISH,
ENTITLED FAROOKY.



* Adil Khan is supposed to have had a son called Azeez, from whom Shah Shums-ood-Deen Farooky of Boorhanpoor claims descent. Vide note, vol. iv. p. 299.



into notice through the throng of abject courtiers who usually attend on monarchs. When he arrived at a certain age, he found he had expended the little property which he inherited, and he therefore entered the King's army as a private horseman. He was excessively addicted to the chase; and one day having attracted the notice of some of the courtiers on a hunting party, while he attended the King, he was admitted into the *gholam khas*, or the life-guard of Feroze Toghluk. Some time after this, it happened when the King was on a sporting excursion in Guzerat that his Majesty followed an antelope thirteen or fourteen coss (from twenty-six to twenty-eight miles), and his attendants, excepting one or two, were all left behind. The King and his steed were completely exhausted. Far removed from the camp, and with his horse jaded, it appeared improbable that he could reach it for many hours. At this moment a horseman was descried at a distance, leading a brace of greyhounds, whom the King's party beckoned towards them. Upon his arrival he was asked if any thing could be procured to eat. He replied, pointing to his steed, which carried some game, that he had some venison, and if his Majesty pleased he would instantly strike a light and dress it. The King, upon learning that his host was Mullik Raja, the son of the late Khan Jehan, an officer of respectability, resolved to promote him; and at the very first durbar raised him to the rank of an officer of two thousand horse, and shortly afterwards conferred on him the districts of Talnere and Kuronde, situated on the borders of the Deccan.



In the year 772, Mullik Raja marched
A.H. 772. with a force to his frontier, and not
A.D. 1370. only took peaceable possession of his
own small district, but reduced Bharjy, Raja of
Buglana, to consent to the payment of an annual
tribute to the King of Dehly. In this first ex-
pedition he received a tribute of five large ele-
phants and ten small, besides a quantity of pearls
and jewels as well as specie. On his return, he
caused the elephants to be covered with velvet
housings, embroidered with gold; and having laden
several camels with muslins, and other manufac-
tures of Kandeish, and also some pearls, he sent
them as an offering to the King. Feroze Toghluk
observed, that the very duty which the governor
of Guzerat ought to have performed long ago
had been fulfilled by Mullik Raja. He was, in
consequence, honoured with the title of *Sipah
Salar** of Kandeish, and raised to the rank of a
commander of three thousand horse. In the
course of a few years he could muster twelve
thousand horse, and levied contributions from
the rays of Gondwana as far as Gurra Mundla; and
such was his fame, that the Ray of Jajnuggur,
notwithstanding the distance, established a friendly
intercourse with him.

After the death of Feroze, when Dilawur Khan
Ghoory assumed independence in Malwa, an in-
timate connection took place between the latter
and Mullik Raja, so much so, that Dilawur Khan
gave his daughter in marriage to Mullik Nuseer,
the son of the governor of Kandeish. At this

* *Sipah Salar*, Commander-in-chief.



period, Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat declared himself independent; and some internal commotions subsequently arising, Mullik Raja, relying on the support of Dilawur Khan, invaded the Guzerat provinces, and laid waste the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar. Moozuffur Shah, though engaged in reducing the infidel Hindoos in his kingdom, on hearing of this inroad, made rapid marches to Sooltanpoor, from whence Mullik Raja was glad to retreat, and to seek protection in the fort of Talnere, wherein he was closely invested by the King of Guzerat. On this occasion Mullik Raja employed the most accomplished and learned men about him to negotiate a peace; and as Moozuffur Shah hoped to obtain assistance from the governors of Kandeish and Malwa, in reducing the infidels, he consented to terms. After which period, Mullik Raja confined his military operations entirely to his own country, and was indefatigable in promoting the arts of civilisation and of agriculture during the rest of his life. Before his death, he sent for his two sons, Mullik Nuseer and Mullik Iftikhar. To the former he gave the "garb of desire and assent," which he received from his preceptor and tutelary saint, Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen of Dowlutabad, and nominated him his successor. On his younger son, Mullik Iftikhar, he bestowed the fort and district of Talnere; and on the 22d of Shaban 22. the month of Shaban, A. H. 801, Mullik A. H. 801. Raja died, and was buried at the town April 28. of Talnere, after a reign of twenty-nine A. D. 1399. years.*

* Several of the tombs of the early Farooky kings, con-



In the year 1013, (A.D. 1604,) when the author attended the palanquin of the daughter of Ibrahim Adil Shah from Beejapoor to Boorhanpoor, he asked Mirza Ally Isfahany, after the capture of Aseer, if any history existed of the Farooky family. The Mirza replied, he knew of none; but said that he once saw a genealogy of the family down to Mullik Raja, which he copied and had by him, which contains the descent of the Farooky family. It is as follows:—

Mullik Raja, the first Mahomedan ruler of Kandeish, is descended from the Caliph Oomr Farook, and traces his pedigree thus: Mullik Raja, the son of Khan Jehan, the son of Ally Khan, the son of Oothman Khan, the son of Simeon Shah*, the son of Ashab Shah, the son of Armian Shah, the son of Ibrahim Shah of Bulkh, the son of Adhum Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah, the son of Mahmood Shah, the son of Mahomed Shah, the son of Azim Shah, the son of Asghur, the son of Mahomed Ahmud, the son of the Imam Nasir Abdoolla, the son of Oomr-ool-Farook, entitled Khuleefa, or representative of the last of the prophets.

Mullik Raja became the disciple of the holy

structed in a peculiar style of architecture, are still in tolerable repair at Talnere, but there are few, if any, inscriptions legible on them.

* The word Shah, in its original signification, means Saint, and was first adopted by the Sofy kings of Persia, who engrafted the sacred title on that of royalty when they ascended the throne; and the kings of India subsequently assumed the title, without reference to its sanctified origin.



saint Zein-ood-Deen of Dowlutabad, and from him received the "garb of desire and assent," which he delivered to his son Nuseer, who in like manner transmitted it to his son, and in this way it was handed down from father to son for nearly two hundred years; and Bahadur, the son of Raja Ally Khan, the last of the independent rulers of Kandeish, possessed this precious relic when he lost his kingdom.



MULLIK NUSEER,

ENTITLED

NUSEER KHAN FAROOKY,

Treacherously obtains possession of Aseer — deprives his brother of the fort of Talnere, and attacks the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, belonging to Guzerat — is compelled to sue for terms — builds the city of Boorhanpoor, and fortifies Aseer — gives his daughter in marriage to the heir-apparent of the Bahmuny kingdom — supports the fugitive Raja of Julwara against the King of Guzerat, and induces the King of the Deccan to do so likewise. — The Guzerat King proves victorious. — Nuseer Khan supports some rebellious chiefs of the Deccan in Berar against their King — he is compelled to fly from Boorhanpoor. — The battle of Lulling, in which he is defeated. — His death.

IN the reign of Mullik Nuseer this family greatly extended its power. Mullik Nuseer Khan also assumed the ensigns of royalty. Learned men were invited from all parts, and literature was much promoted. He received from the King of Guzerat the title of Khan, and caused the public prayers to be read in his name, realising the wish that his father carried with him to the grave, namely, that of assuming the royal pavilion and canopy. He also seized the fort of Aseer from Asa Aheer.*

* The word Aheer signifies cow-herd. It is worthy of note that many of the most ancient hill-forts in India have reference to the pastoral lives of their possessors; and when the Indians are at a loss to fix an era for any ancient



As the story relative to the family of the original possessor of Aseer is interesting, I shall give it at full length. On the summit of a high hill in Kandeish lived a herdsman who possessed much agricultural wealth. He was, in reality, one of the principal landholders in that country. His ancestors had for nearly seven hundred years retained the estates, and at an early period built a wall round the hill of Aseer, in order to protect their numerous herds of cattle from the bands of robbers which infested the mountains. Asa succeeded to his father's property: being a thrifty person, his herds increased to the number of five thousand buffaloes, five thousand cows, twenty thousand sheep, and one thousand brood mares, independently of which he had two thousand retainers, who were employed in all purposes of husbandry, as well as for his protection. The farmers, both of Gondwana and Kandeish, whenever they were in distress, always found relief by applying to Asa Aheer, or the herdsman, for so he continued to be called, in spite of his wealth and power. It happened that a short time before the arrival of Mullik Raja at Talnere famine raged in Kandeish and in Gondwana, and not more than two or three thousand individuals of the Koly or Bheel tribes

structure or sculpture they invariably refer it to the period of the shepherd kings. Among the most remarkable instances of hill-forts which occur to me at present are the following: Aseer, the cow-herd; Asa's dwelling; Gavulgur, the cow-herd's fort; Golla-conda (Golconda), the shepherd's hill; Yenna-conda (Inaconda), butter hill; and Gualiar, which has probably reference to the same origin.



escaped its effects. Asa had at this time many store-houses, both in Gondwana and Kandeish, which his agents opened in order to sell the corn; but his wife, who was of a charitable disposition, prayed her husband to allow the grain to be served out to the poor without payment, and by that means secure to himself a good name in this world, and eternity in the next. It was to assist them, also, that he was induced to have the old walls of the town of Aseer levelled, and to cause a fort to be built of masonry, by which means he employed many labourers. He also distributed food to the aged and decrepid, who were unable to perform manual labour. This work went by the name of the fort of Asa Aheer, and was afterwards called Aseer.*

Upon the assumption of the authority of all Kandeish by Mullik Raja, Asa, being a peaceable and unambitious man, was the first of all the landholders to acknowledge fealty to him; and, moreover, presented him with many things which he required on the establishment of his family. Mullik Raja very soon saw that a fortification like that of Aseer, in the hands of an ambitious chief, in the centre of his province, would enable such a person to shake the very foundation of his government; but he felt himself under too many obligations

* The temple of Aseer is mentioned as the residence of Aswathama many centuries before this period. Whatever might have been its condition under the Hindoos, the mosque and battlements made to receive cannon, with other modern improvements, attest that it owes much of its present efficiency to the Mahomedans.



to Asa to wrest it by force out of his hands.* Mullik Nuseer, also, when he succeeded to the government, received many personal favours from Asa, and knew from his peaceable disposition that he never would give him a plea to attack him. He, however, resolved to seize Aseer, and to make it his capital, and adopted the following plan to carry his scheme into effect:— He sent a letter to Asa, saying, that the Rajas of Buglana and Antoor had collected large forces, and that they did not conduct themselves to him in the manner they had done to his father, the late Mullik Raja. The Raja of Kehrla also threatened him. The fort of Talnere, he said, agreeably to his father's will, was in the possession of his brother, Mullik If-tikhar, and that of Lulling was situated too near his enemies to offer him a safe retreat; he begged, therefore, that his family might be received into Aseer. Asa willingly consented; and ordering suitable apartments to be fitted up for the reception of Mullik Nuseer's ladies, directed that every attention should be paid to them. On the first day several dolies† with women came into the

* Asa was, probably, one of the hereditary provincial governors of the court of Dewgur (Dowlutabad) before the conquest of the Deccan by the Mahomedans. On the extinction of the royal race at Dewgur the dependent chiefs became emancipated from all allegiance, and resisted the arms of the invaders as long as they could. Many of the provincial chiefs, in that case, would naturally become independent; but we have no certain accounts of the fate of those of the Deccan, and, therefore, much must be left to surmise.

† Covered litters, like palanquins, for the conveyance of females and sick persons. Vide vol. ii. p. 115.



place, and were visited by Asa's wife and daughters. On the second day a report arrived that two hundred dolies, filled with the wife, mother, and the rest of Mullik Nuseer's family, were coming. Asa accordingly ordered the gates to be thrown open to receive them, and went with all his sons a considerable way from the female apartments to meet them; but what was his astonishment, when, instead of women, he found the dolies filled with armed soldiers, who leapt out and murdered him with the whole of his family, not leaving a male child of his race. The inhabitants of the fort were so dismayed that they fled with their families from a scene of such horror. Mullik Nuseer, who was at this time in the fort of Lulling, on hearing of the success of his plan, repaired to Aseer, and employed himself in strengthening the fortifications. It is, however, a well authenticated fact, that the property of Asa was never appropriated by any of the Farooky dynasty to their own use; and all the money and jewels taken on this occasion fell into the hands of Akbur Padshah, when he marched to the southward, and took the fortress of Aseer, two centuries afterwards.*

The moment that this news reached Sheikh Zeinood-Deen of Dowlutabad, the tutelary saint of the family, he proceeded towards Kandeish to congratulate Mullik Nuseer on his success against

* Ferishta's Mahomedan feeling is quite absorbed in his indignation towards Nuseer Khan and his race. The observation regarding the property of Asa is meant to imply that Providence prevented Nuseer Khan's family from enjoying the benefit of its possession.



the infidels; and the latter, with all his family, marched to meet the holy personage, and encamped on the western bank of the river Tapti. Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen arrived with a number of his disciples, and they pitched their tents on the eastern bank. Mullik Nuseer went over the river, and endeavoured to persuade the Sheikh to return with him to Aseer; but he declined doing so, as he said he had not permission to cross the Tapti. After remaining some time in their respective encampments on the western and eastern banks, the Sheikh desired to take his leave; but Mullik Nuseer begged that he would condescend to accept of an estate in Kandeish. The Sheikh answered, that dervishes had no occasion for estates; but begged of Mullik Nuseer to build a town on the eastern bank of the river, and call it after himself, Zeinabad*, and a city on the western, where he was himself encamped, to be called Boorhanpoor, in honour of the famous Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen† of Dowlutabad; and he recommended, also, that he should make the latter his capital: both of which towns were accordingly built; and Boorhanpoor afterwards became the capital of the Farooky dynasty.

There is an old but a very true saying, that “a rug will contain ten dervishes, but a kingdom is too small for two rulers.” So was it with that of Kandeish; for as soon as Mullik Nuseer

* Jehanabad of the maps.

† These two holy personages are buried at the town of Roza, near Dowlutabad, and their names are still held in great veneration in the Deccan.



obtained possession of Aseer he cast a jealous eye upon his brother's estate of Talnere; and in order to secure it he induced the King of Malwa to assist him. To this end, Mullik Nu-

A. H. 820.

A. D. 1417.

seer marched, in the year 820, towards Talnere with a force, and procured the aid of his brother-in-law, Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa. Mullik Iftikhar, astonished at the approach of his brother's army, remonstrated with him, and wrote, but in vain, to Ahmud Shah of Guzerat for assistance. Ghizny Khan, the son of Sooltan Hooshung, and nephew to Mullik Nuseer, arrived with a force of five thousand horse from Malwa, to support Mullik Nuseer; and by their united efforts, in a short time the fort of Talnere fell, and Mullik Iftikhar was taken prisoner, and sent to the fort of Aseer. After the capture of Talnere, it was agreed that the allied forces of Kandeish and Malwa should march and occupy Sooltanpoor in the name of the King of Malwa; for which purpose they absolutely moved and invested the fort of Sooltanpoor. On this, Ahmud Shah of Guzerat marched the whole of his army to the south, and sent a very considerable detachment under Mullik Mahmood Toork in advance. On hearing this, Ghizny Khan of Malwa fled to Mando, and Mullik Nuseer retreated to Talnere, wherein he was closely besieged by Mullik Mahmood Toork. Meanwhile, Ahmud Shah arrived at Sooltanpoor. Mullik Nuseer, thus deserted by the Prince of Malwa, was reduced to the extreme of distress in Talnere; and made overtures to some of Ahmud