

CHAPTER - IX

RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

Relations with the Rajput State of Idar :-

The overlordship of the Sultan of Gujarat was challenged by three powerful principalities viz. Junagadh, Champaner and Idar. Since the reign of Ahmad Shāh the Sultan of Gujarat had unsuccessfully attacked them. Sultān Mahmūd's design against Junagadh and Champaner and his other engagements had left him little time to interfere with the affairs of Idar, which demanded notice in the beginning of Sultān Muzaffar's reign.

On the eve of his march to Malwa Sultān Muzaffar had summoned the nobles holding "Thanas" in Gujarat, to assemble at Godhra. Accordingly 'Āin-ul-Mulk Faulādī, the Governor of Patan was on his way to Godhra but in the meanwhile he received news that Rao Bhimasing (1509-1515) son of Bhaṇ, the Raja of Idar, had raided the territory east of Sabarmati.¹ Therefore, he had to return to Patan. In the battle near Modasa, the Gujarat force was defeated by the Rajputs. Adūd-ul-Mulk, a noble was killed with two hundred soldiers. 'Āin-ul-Mulk thus was forced to retire to Patan.

1. TA - Trans (De) III, pp. 295-296.

To avenge the defeat, Muzaffar Shāh marched from Godhra and encamped at Modasa. On hearing this, Rao Bhimsingh, leaving behind a band of Rajput soldiers for the defence of Idar, retired into the hills of Vijaynagar.² Arriving on the outskirts of Idar on the fourth day, the Sultan gave orders for the sack of city, destroying the temples, places and other buildings.³ Rao Bhim Singh being pressed by the Sultān, sought intercession of Malik Gopi,⁴ a Brahmin and one of the principal ministers of the Sultān.

Rao Bhimsingh was pardoned at the intercession of Malik Gopi. It also seems likely that Sultān Muzaffar Shāh preferred peace at this time, because of his pre-occupations in Malwa.

According to the terms agreed upon Rao Bhim Singh had to pay a heavy indemnity with suitable presents to

2. TF (Text) IV, II p. 406 States Vijayanagar (Visal Nagar) TA - Trans (De) III pp. 295-297. States hills of Visalnagar.

3. MS - Trans (F), pp. 95-96 . TA Trans (De) III, pp. 295-297.

4. TF (Text) IV, II p. 406. writes Malik Gopal.

the Sultān.⁵ The Sultan is reported, to have given all the presents and the indemnity to 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Patan, to reorganise his force. After this, the Sultan proceeded to his capital and then marched towards Godhra on his way to Malwa. For the next two years i.e. till the death of Rao Bhim Singh in 1515, the relations of Gujarat with Idar remained quiet.

Muzaffar Shāh intervenes the succession problem of Idar:-

Rao Bhimsingh, who concluded peace with Muzaffar Shah, was not a legitimate ruler of Idar. He had come on the throne after the death of his brother Suryamal, who ruled Idar for eighteen months after the death of his brother Rana Bhan. Suryamal's son Raimal, was in minority at the time of his father's death. Though Raimal was the declared king of Idar, Rao Bhimsingh, his uncle, took the advantage of Raimal's young age and declared himself king by dethroning the young Raja Raimal.

5. Ibid -writes twenty lacs o f tank^{rs}s were to be paid as indemnity to the Sultan p. 407.

6. G.H. Ojha - History of Rajasthan (Hindi Text) III, P-I, p. 75. uses the form Bharmal, which has been used here in preference to Biharimal CHI - III, p. 318.

After Rao Bhimsingh's death Raimal, the claimant on the throne of Idar, appealed Rana Sanga for help in recovering the lost throne. Rana Sanga ^give his daughter to him and assured him of the help.

Rana Sanga's force installed Raimal on the throne of Idar and Bharmal was expelled from Idar. Bharmal then appealed Sultan Muzaffar for help.⁷

Sultān Muẓaffar, resented the interference of Sanga in Idar, since he considered it as dependent state of Gujarat. Therefore he ordered Nizām-ul-Mulk, the deputy at Ahmednagar (Himatnagar), to expel Raimal and restore Bharmal to throne. Thus indirectly, Gujarat and Mewar were drawn into a position which was certain to lead to an open conflict.

Nizām-ul-Mulk, the son of the last Raval of Champaner, having been brought up by as a Muslim in the court of Mahmūd Begada, was a notable general, with a high reputation for bravery. Muẓaffar Shāh, also arrived in Idar from Ahmedabad and ordered Nizam-ul-mulk to march against Raimal.

Immediately after the arrival of the Sultān, Raimal was expelled from Idar and forced to take refuge in the

7. TF - (T) IV, II, p. 407.

hills of Bijanagur, from where he continued to attack royal army. Bharmal at this time was restored to the throne of Idar. The Rajputs attacked Nizām-ul-Mulk and in the fight between the two, the Sultan's army was defeated with the great loss.⁸

After installing Bharmal on the throne, Muzaffar Shah had left Idar for Ahmedabad and now he recalled Nizām-ul-Mulk at Ahmedabad and rebuked him for violating his instructions.⁹ Raimal, after this success, continued his raids in the territory of Idar making the area unsettled. To check this Zahir-ul-Mulk was ordered to march against the Rajputs, but he was killed with some of his soldiers. Nizām-ul-Mulk was ill at this time. On being informed of these reverses, the Sultan sent Nusarat-ul-Mulk, with instructions to attack and devastate the territory, which he described as "the receptacle of renegadoes" and "the asylum of rebels."¹⁰ Raimal, by this time had increased

8. TF (Text) IV, II, p. 408 TA (Trans. (DE) III pp. 300-301, writes both the parties lost heavily in this fight.

9. TA - Trans (De) III, pp. 300-301 TFS (Text) IV, II, p. 408.

10. TA - Trans (De) III, pp. 300-301, TFS - Trans (B) IV, pp. 82-83.

his area of operation as far as Patan. On hearing of the march of Nuṣarat-¹ul-Mulk, he retired into the hills.

Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk and the invasion of Rana Sanga :-

After his success in Malwa, Sultān Muḥaffar directed his energies towards Idar. In 1520, he set out for Idar and appointed Nizām-¹ul-Mulk with the title of Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk,¹¹ in place of Nuṣarat-¹ul-Mulk, as head of the Guj-arat force.

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11. There is a confusion about this name in Persian chroniclers, TA → Trans (De) III, writes Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk, pp.307 MS - Trans (F), says that Nizām-¹ul-mulk was conferred the title of Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk, pp. 108-109. The author of Arabic history of Gūjarat, has considered Mubāri²-¹ul-Mulk as the son of Nizām-¹ul-Mulk. This cannot be believed because there is not enough difference in the time between the death of Raval Jaysingh (Patai) and the Ahmadnagar wars, to allow his grand son to become a general. Moreover Mahmud Beḡaḡa brought him up from the infancy and afterwards, he was entitled Nizām-¹ul-Mulk. Hence it is clear that Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk was not the son of Nizām-¹ul-Mulk but he wasentitled as such.

The Sultān at the same time was dealing with the Kolis, always a troublesome element for the Sultāns. They were usually loyal or professed loyalty to Rana Sanga. So Malik Sārang was appointed deputy of Ahmedabad, to check their activities in the vicinity of that town and allowing the Sultan to concentrate on Idar.

Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, ruled Idar with difficulty. According to the Rajput tradition a wandering minstrel came to his court and extolled the generosity and martial prowess of Rana Sanga. Incensed at the remarks, Mubāriz-ul-Mulk spoke disparagingly of the Rana. Besides, to show his contempt, he ordered a mongrel dog to be named "Rana Sanga" and kept it chained at the gates of Idar city.¹² Flushed with his success in Malwa Rana Sanga was ready to avenge this insult,¹³ and informed of it he immediately

12. Ojha G.H. History of Udaipur State (Hindi Text)
p. 349.

13. At this time Rana Sanga was at the zenith of his power for he secured supremacy over the princes of Marwar and Amber and Rao's of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisin, Kalpi, Chanderi, Bundi, Gangraom, Rampura and Abu were his feudatories, Tod says that eighty thousand horses, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the title of Rawal and Rawat with five hundred

attacked Idar and ravaged the country. He, then withdraw into Mewar to prepare for a large scale expedition. Soon after, he advanced against Gujarat at the head of the army of 40,000 Rajputs. The Rajas of Banswara and Dungarpur also joined him in this expedition.

The version given in the "Jodhpur Khayat", ¹⁴ that Rana Sanga asked for the help from Rao Ganga, appears unreliable for neither did the Rana asks any help from Rao Ganga nor did the Rao join the Rana's expedition. The author states that in the battle of Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar), the Sultān was defeated and the Rana was victori^{ou}es. Sultān Muzaffar according to the information was not personally involved in the war, which was fought with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk.

The joint Rajput army of Mewar and Baswara came as far as Sirchi, Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, appealed to the Sultān

13. (Contd.) war elephants followed him to the field of Khanwah Cf. ²Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan - ed Crooke, I. pp. 348-349.

14. The "Jodhpur Khayat" states that Rao Ganga, also joined Rana Sanga in this expedition. It is stated that Sanga sent the Raja of Banswara to Rao Ganga for securing his alliance against the Sultan of Gujarat. After six months Rao Ganga joined the

for reinforcements to meet the Rajput invaders. It is reported that this message sent to the Sultān was not delivered to him in time by his nobles, because a section of the nobles at the Gujarat court were jealous of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, who had become an important noble. ¹⁵

Mubāriz-ul-Mulk once again despatched the same requested to the Sultān at Champaner. Here too, the nobles, when they were consulted by the Sultān on sending the reinforcement, told the Sultan that the Rajputs were no match to the army of Gujarat. ¹⁶

14. (Contd.) Rana Cf. Ojha G.H. History of Jodhpur State, Vol. I (Hindi) pp. 272-273.

15. The Persian chroniclers speak of the jealousy of Muslim nobles towards Mubāriz-ul-Mulk. The reason for their envy was his rise and partially his Rajput origin. Bayley, Gujarat, p. 266.

TA - Trans (De) III, when Mubāriz requested the Sultān for help, the nobles convinced the Sultan that Mubāriz should have not used the word dog for the Rana, otherwise he should not be afraid of the Rana (pp.308) Shri Ojha accepts the views of the Mirat. Here the Persian chroniclers agree with the jealous attitude of the nobles with Mubāriz. The above cited incident and that followed clearly

Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk, thinking it futile to wait for the help from the Sultān, decided to move to the fort of Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar) on the Hathmati river, leaving behind a few soldiers to protect Idar.

The Rana arrived in Idar and here some of the gar-
 asias, joined with him. Rana Sanga, then attacked the
 entrenched Gujarat noble at Ahmadnagar. In the battle
 that followed near the walls of Ahmadnagar, many Gujarat
 soldiers ²and some of the nobles lost their lives. ¹⁷
 Mubāriz-³ul-Mulk received injuries but he managed to escape
 by the back door. Here, the same wandering minstrel

15. (Contd.) indicate the rivalry of the nobles of different origin. Hence besides the other things the jealousy of nobles was an important factor in this event.

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16. MS - Trans (F). The nobles suppressed this request purposely and misguided the Sultan for all the time. pp.108-109. Bayley writes that the nobles said the Sultan that Mubāriz-²ul-Mulk was in the habit of sending such information, Gujarat, pp. 266-267.

17. MS , Trans (F) pp.108-109 TF. Trans (Briggs) VI, pp.88-89 - TA - Trans (De) III, 308-309.

is said to have come and abused Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk, for cowardness.

Malik Sārang, the deputy of Ahmedabad, sent a detachment for the help of Mubāriz-²ul-Mulk. The army reached as far as Modasa and here it received the news of the defeat of Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk. Hence, it went towards Rupal near Kadi, to bring back Mubāriz-¹ul-Mulk and others who had taken refuge there after their defeat.

The Rajputs after their victory in Ahmednagar (Himmatnagar) sacked the city and carried away a number of its inhabitants as prisoners. The Rana, then proceeded further and captured Vadnagar, but the inhabitants being mostly Brahmins, that town was spared. From here the Rajputs advanced towards Visnagar and defeated the "Thanedar" Malik Hātim. In this fight Malik Hātim was killed and Rajputs plundered the town.

The Rana was now within the sixty miles of Ahmedabad. Some of the followers advised Rana Sanga to march on the capital. He did not agree with them and decided to return to Mewar.

This was Rana Sanga's short but most successful expedition to Gujarat. It marks an important landmark in the history of Muslim Gujarat in this period. It challenged the Sultan in his own land. It is also significant that

after Mahmūd Begada, the Rajput not only found it possible to make this attempt but were successful to a remarkable extent.

According to the Persian chroniclers, the defeat of Mubārīz-ūl-Mulk was due to the mutual jealousies among the Gujarat nobles. Here, they fail to notice that the Rana by this time was supreme in Rajasthan and had an idea of reviving former Rajput glories by conquering Delhi. With this object in mind, he gradually broke the power of powerful rivals who could come in his way. Gujarat being one of them, had to bear the brunt of his attack.

It has also to be noted that the character and quality of nobles during the reign of Muzaffar Shāh was not the same as in the former reign. Muzaffar Shāh, though endowed with personal abilities, had failed to control dissensions among his nobles, even when the prestige of the Sultanate was at stake. Thus, the incident clearly indicates that the Sultān was guided by the advice of his nobles and everwidening rift among the nobles ultimately affected the military foundation of the Sultanate.

War with Rajputs - Second Phase :-

To avenge this defeat and to regain his prestige, Sultān Muzaffar, the following year collected a large

army and encamped at Ahmedabad. Malik Ayāz, the deputy in charge of Div, was ordered to come here with his force. It seems that the Sultan had not yet taken any decision about entrusting the charge of the army and when Malik Ayāz assured him of humbling the pride of Rana, the Sultan appointed him as the head of the army.¹⁸ The other nobles viz. Tājkhān, Nizām-ūl-Mulk and Malik Sārang also joined the proposed expedition.¹⁹ The Sultan on this occasion allowed one year pay to be paid to the soldiers in advance from the royal treasury.²⁰

In Muhrram, 927/December, 1520, the royal army reached the area known as Waged by way of Modasa and Samalaji. Dungarpur, the capital of Vagad was sacked by Malik Ayāz, because its ruler had helped Rana Sanga in the expedition to Gujarat.²¹ The army then marched towards Banswara. Here they had to fight with a band of Rajput soldiers and they advanced towards Mandsoor.²² The fort of Mandsoor was

18. TA - Trans (De) III, p. 312 MS - Trans (F) pp.110-111

19. Sikandar States that Malik Ayāz had the army of 1,00,000 cavalry and 100 war elephants. Malik Sarang had the army of 20,000 cavalry and 20 War elephants
Cf - MS - Trans (F) pp. 110-111.

20. Ibid

21. Ibid TA - Trans (De) III p. 313

22. MS - Trans (F) pp.110-111. The author has exaggerated

built by Sultān Hoshang Shāh Ghori but at this time it was in the possession of Rana Sanga and Ashokmal, a Rajput was in charge of it.²³

Malik Ayāz laid seige to Mandsore while Rana Sanga also moved in the same direction, and encamped near ^NMadisi, ten miles away from the invested place. At this time Mahmūd Khaljī the Sultān of Malwa, also joined the Gujarat army.²⁴ In a few days Malik Sārang completed the trenches right up to the walls of the fort. But at this time, as the Persian chroniclers inform us, the dissensions and lack of co-operation between Malik Ayāz and his lieutenants came to a head, Malik Ayāz feared that Malik Sārang might gain the credit for victory and so he ordered Malik Sārang back to the camp. This caused general dissatisfaction in the army with the result that some of the nobles disobeyed the orders of Malik Ayaz.²⁵

While the campaign was in progress, the Rajputs repaired the breach and consequently the attack failed. Rana

22. (Contd.) the account of this march and differs with Nizam-ud-din. TA - Trans (De) III p.313.

23. Ojha G.H. History of Udaipur State (Hindi Text) p.356.

24. TA - Trans (De) p. 315.

25. TF - Trans (Briggs) IV. p. 93 - MS - Trans (F)

pp. 110-111, Ross : Arabic history of Gujarat I,

pp. 107, 113-115.

Sanga at this sent envoys to Malik Ayāz for peace. Malik Ayāz, seeing that he could not gain the co-operation of the officers, seized this opportunity. Malik Sārang strongly opposed this termination of the campaign, and persuaded Mahmūd II of Malwa and the other nobles in the camp to join him in an attack on the fort. Malik Ayāz on being informed of this design, let the Malwa Sultān understand that the supreme command had been entrusted to him by the Sultān and he alone was responsible for conducting the campaign and ordered the retreat. On return to the Capital, Sultān Muẓaffar, received Malik Ayāz coldly, dismissed him to Sorath and expressed his intention of marching in person against Rana Sanga. ²⁶

The description of the above event, given by the Persian chroniclers, is incomplete and confusing, because the authors have failed to explain the attitudes of Rana Sanga and Malik Ayāz, during the siege of Mandsoor.

Reasons for Rana Sanga's attitude :-

From the Persian accounts of the Rana's activities,

26. TF - Trans (B) IV, pp.93-95. Ross - An Arabic history of Gujarat pp. 113-115. MS - Trans (F) pp. 110-112.

it appears that the Rana had three objects in view, viz. to strengthen himself by collecting reinforcements, to win over as many enemies as possible, and to take full advantage of the illfeeling that prevailed among the Gujarat nobles. Here time was an essential factor for gaining of these objects.

The real motive of Rana Sanga for opening negotiations with Malik Ayāz may be gathered from the remarks made by Firishta namely that "connected with the overtures there were certain conditions which were extravagant".²⁷

The Persian historian further informs us that the Rana sent agents to Malik Ayāz offering to pay tributes to Muzaffar Shāh, if he would raise the ~~siege~~ ^{sidge} and promised that he would not advance within twenty miles of Muslim camps, but his "prayers were unheeded". Ultimately, owing to the fear on the part of Malik Ayāz "lest of his lieutenants should gain the credit for victory, he made peace with the Rana, on his (the Rana's) promising to pay tribute, to place a son at Muzaffar's court as a hostage, to wait in person on the Sultān, and to be obedient to his orders."

27. TF - Trans (B) IV p. 91-93 - TF - Text IV, II.

Pt. Ojha does not believe in the Persian histories. He does not think that Rana Sanga concluded peace with Malik Ayāz or sent his son as hostage in the court of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh, but is of the opinion that the joint army of Gujarat retreated owing to its fear of Rana Sanga. He charges the Persian authorities as exaggerating the story of dissensions among the Gujarat nobles to hide the weakness of Gujarat army.²⁸

It is difficult to agree fully with Pt. Ojha because his conclusion itself is based on the Persian sources. Not a single Rajput source has been quoted by him in support of his conclusion. That, there is some truth in Persian accounts is thus implicit in his own conclusions.

It seems that Rana Sanga wanted an understanding with Gujarat, for about this time the political situation of Delhi, developing in a way more suited for the fulfillment of his ambition in that direction. Ibrāhīm Lodī, who succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1517, faced a rebellion led by his younger brother with the help of the number of noblemen in the kingdom. Secondly the Sultānate of Delhi was threatened by the foreign invasion from the North West frontier. Hence to concentrate his

28. Ojha G.H. History of Udaipur State (Hindi) p.358.

energies towards Delhi, he might have preferred peace than continuing war with Malik Ayāz. This was, of course, not an advisable bargain. It was merely the result of short sighted statemanship.

Attitude of Malik Ayāz :-

The attitude of Malik Ayāz is explained by the Persian chroniclers as due to a lack of co-operation among his lieutenants. They further inform us that the appointment of Malik Ayāz as the head of the army, was considered by the nobles as an act of superseding their just claims. Nizām-ud-din writes that Malik Ayāz send a message to Sultān Mahmūd of the following purpose "The nobles of Gujarat want to continue the war, but it is not possible to do so because he has no hopes of achieving the favourable results when enmity prevail in them."²⁹ Hence the internal quarrels in Malik Ayāz's camp appears to have been led him towards patching up this understanding against the wishes of his generals.

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29. TA - Trans (De) III, p. 317.