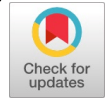


Harem Politics and the Succession Dispute in Malwa: The Case of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji

Syed Bashir Hasan



Abstract: *The independent Muslim kingdom of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in the last decade of the fourteenth century. From 1401-02 to 1531, Malwa was under the rule of two dynasties, the Ghuris and the Khaljis. With the exception of the accession of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji (1469-1501) after the death of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I, there was a succession dispute at the death of every Sultan of Malwa. The succession dispute in the case of two sons of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji is significant because of active involvement of the harem of the Sultan.*

Keywords: *Malwa Kingdom, Harem Politics, Khalji's of Malwa, Succession Dispute, Provincial Administration.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The independent Muslim Kingdom of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghuri who was assigned Malwa as its governor by Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah in 1390-91 [1]. He assumed independence and ascended the throne with the title of Amid [2] Shah Daud in 1401-02 [3]. From 1401-02 to 1531, Malwa was under the rule of two dynasties - the Ghuris and the Khaljis. After the death of Sultan Hoshang Shah Ghuri, son of Dilawar Khan Ghuri, the throne was occupied by Mahmud Khan, taking advantage of the succession struggle among his sons, who ascended the throne as Sultan Mahmud Khalji I and thus laid the foundation of the Khalji dynasty in Malwa. With the exception of the accession of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji (1469-1501), son of Sultan Mahmud Khalji, there was succession dispute at the death of every Sultan of Malwa since the death of Sultan Hoshang Shah Ghuri (d.1435).

In this paper, an attempt is made to examine the administrative structure of Malwa under Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, the practice of deciding or nominating heir-apparent, the political rivalry between the twin [4] sons of the Sultan, the role of the Harem in politics and dispute with regard to succession and that too during the life time of the reigning king and the role of the nobles in the succession struggle under the influence and active involvement of Rani Khurshid, [5] the chief queen of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, who was the real mother of the warring princes, Abdul Qadir and Shujaat Khan.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji had been constantly engaged in military expeditions and suppressing revolts with his father, Sultan Mahmud Khalji I. Since he himself says that he remained engaged for 34 years in the rigours of military expeditions with Sultan Mahmud Khalji [6] (d. 1469), it may be reasonably concluded that he ascended the throne at the quite ripe age. Such a long military career developed lassitude in prince Ghiyas Shah and he tended more towards enjoying pleasures of the Harem. Sultan Mahmud Khalji I died on 31 May, 1469 [7].

II. ASSIGNMENT OF WIZARAT TO PRINCE NASIRUDDIN

After the death of Sultan Mahmud Khalji, his eldest son, prince Ghiyas Shah ascended on the throne of Malwa as Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji on 3 June, 1469 [8]. Immediately after his accession, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji appointed his elder son, prince Abdul Qadir as his Wazir and awarded him the title of Nasir Shah [9] and made him territorial assignment for the maintenance of twelve thousand horsemen [10]. After the end of festivities of his accession, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji called his nobles and expressed his desire of living in peace enjoying the pleasures of life in his harem [11]. Prince Nasiruddin took the administration of Malwa in his hands and appointed his own officers throughout the kingdom [12]. Both Nizamuddin and Firishta are silent as to what territorial and administrative assignments were given to Shujaat Khan entitled Sultan Alauddin, [13]. the younger prince, by the Sultan. It seems that the relations between the two princes were not cordial. The assignment of wizarat and high rank and the responsibility of almost entire administration of the kingdom to prince Nasiruddin was not acceptable to the younger prince.

III. BEGINNING OF SUCCESSION DISPUTE

In fact, both the princes had set their eyes on the throne and their rivalry became visible towards the close of the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji [14]. The latent tussle between them seems to have been continuing since the accession of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji and assignment of wizarat to prince Nasiruddin. In his efforts to degrade prince Nasiruddin in the eyes of the Sultan, and get him removed from his position, prince Shujaat Khan got a chance in privacy to misrepresent prince Nasiruddin. In order to generate seeds to doubts in the mind of the Sultan about the intentions of his brother, the Wazir and heir-apparent, prince Shujaat Khan told the Sultan that "A number of audacious low men have collected in the service of Sultan Nasiruddin, and are inciting him to seize the kingdom.

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It is better to remedy an event before it actually occurs” [15]. This was so skillfully narrated to the Sultan, that Shujaat Khan became sure of prince Nasiruddin’s capture and imprisonment. Since Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji had appointed him his heir-apparent and began to visualize sovereignty in him, his fatherly love overcame his anger. Contrary to the intentions of the conspiracy of prince Shujaat Khan, the Sultan directed the pay-master of his kingdom to communicate his order to the nobles and commanders of the contingents of troops to attend prince Nasiruddin every morning and accompany him to the royal palace [16]. Thus, the first conspiracy of prince Shujaat Khan in the succession dispute against his brother, prince Nasiruddin, failed. It seems that by this time he had not secured the support of Rani Khurshid, the most influential lady of the harem and also the real mother of the rival princes.

IV. INVOLVEMENT OF THE HAREM IN THE SUCCESSION STRUGGLE

Towards the close of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji’s reign, perhaps after the failure of first unsuccessful attempt of prince Shujaat Khan to shatter the position of prince Nasiruddin, the latter strengthened his hold over the administration by appointing his own men at all important points [17], obviously as a precautionary measure. He assigned the Khalisa territories to two eunuchs namely Shaikh Habib and Khwaja Suhail replacing the old officials Yakan Khan, Amman and Munja Baqqal. These officials complained to Rani Khurshid [18], who not only had full authority in the harem affairs but also had great influence over the officials of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji [19]. Nizamuddin’s description suggests that by that time Rani Khurshid had inclined towards Shujaat Khan [20]. She seems to have developed ill-will towards the Wazir and heir-apparent, prince Nasiruddin, because of his growing authority in the administrative affairs of the kingdom. The complaint of Yakan Khan, Amman and Munja Baqqal provided her an opportunity to malign the image of prince Nasiruddin in order to clear Shujaat Khan’s way to the throne. She executed her conspiracy against prince Nasiruddin through Shujaat Khan. He fabricated the facts and told Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji that Malik Mahmud Kotwal and Sev Das Baqqal, the leaders of the rebels have developed special relationship with prince Nasiruddin. This time the Sultan could not understand the conspiracy of the rivals of prince Nasiruddin. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji became furious and summoned both of the associates of prince Nasiruddin and killed them. Their family members were also executed in their houses [21].

The succession struggle between the two princes was becoming severe. Shujaat Khan and his partisan Rani Khurshid were successful in arousing anger of the Sultan against prince Nasiruddin’s supporters. The unthoughtful action of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji annoyed prince Nasiruddin who stopped looking after the administration of the state. Moreover, he avoided to meet the Sultan for some days. Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid became active once again. They made use of Yakan Khan and Munja Baqqal who had been replaced by prince Nasiruddin from their assignment of Khalisa territories in attracting the attention of the Sultan towards the absence of prince Nasiruddin and his disinterest in discharging the responsibility of wizarat.

Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid got possession of the treasury and took up the reins of the government into their hands [22]. Nizamuddin’s statement makes us understand that the Sultan reluctantly agreed to this change in the administration of state affairs [23]. Despite all this, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji remained indecisive towards prince Nasiruddin’s conduct as projected by the partisans of Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid. Some officials who were not interested in the party politics of Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid informed the Sultan of the ulterior motives of the rivals of prince Nasiruddin that both of them targeted to destroy him by false accusations. The Sultan, therefore, decided to observe the activities of the rival princes and their partisans [24]. The rivalry took an ugly turn when Shaikh Habibullah and Khwaja Suhail, the partisans of prince Nasiruddin, considering Munja Baqqal as the main culprit of the conspiracy against the heir-apparent prince, killed him [25]. After committing the murder of Munja Baqqal, the former officer of the Khalisa territories, Shaikh Habibullah and Khwaja Suhail fled to the house of prince Nasiruddin for shelter. This was definitely a setback to prince Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid. The Rani reported the incident to the Sultan in a manner which greatly enraged the Sultan. He sent Yakan Khan with a number of men to capture and bring the culprits from the house of prince Nasiruddin. While these people were being dispatched, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji reminded them of the stature of the Wazir and heir-apparent prince, and gave instructions to follow the obligations of respect and honour towards him [26]. It seems that Shaikh Habibullah and Khwaja Suhail got the news of the dispatch of Yakan Khan and other officials for their capture before their arrival. They moved out of prince Nasiruddin’s house to avoid their arrest. When Yakan Khan reached the house of prince Nasiruddin, they were told by the prince that Shaikh Habibullah and Khwaja Suhail were not there. Despite the instructions of the Sultan to be respectful towards the prince, Yakan Khan kept a watch over the house of prince Nasiruddin for three days. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji came to know that the culprits of murder had fled from the house of the prince, he thought that it would not be proper to cause further inconvenience to his son and asked him to come to the court [27]. He also sent Mushir-ul Mulk and Manhi Khan, [28] two of his nobles to soften the prince. This shows the Sultan’s strong favour and inclination towards prince Nasiruddin.

Honouring his father’s gesture of love, prince Nasiruddin visited the court and received the Sultan’s blessings. He became more active in the management of state affairs. Since he has regained the favours of the Sultan, he thought of building a palace at the location close to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji’s palace [29]. Nizamuddin’s statement is not clear whether the construction of this palace began with the permission of the Sultan or not. But Rani Khurshid, the chief partisan of prince Shujaat Khan availed this opportunity to ignite the mind of the Sultan against prince Nasiruddin. She tried to impress in the mind of the Sultan that prince Nasiruddin was constructing this palace with the object of treachery.

Under the influence of Rani Khurshid, the Sultan ordered Ghalib Khan, the Kotwal, for its complete destruction [30]. Prince Nasiruddin was so embittered by the unthoughtful order of the Sultan that he, along with his supporters, left the capital and proceeded towards Dhar on the night of 6 April, 1500 [31].

The succession struggle had now entered into its last phase. While the Sultan was strongly inclined towards prince Nasiruddin, the opponents of the heir-apparent prince, Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid, were trying their best to turn the Sultan against him and utilizing the state machinery to suppress prince Nasiruddin. During his march towards Dhar, prince Nasiruddin was joined by his close adherents Shaikh Habibullah and Khwaja Suhail [32]. Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan immediately dispatched an army against the prince after his departure from the capital, keeping the Sultan unaware of their step [33]. On the other hand, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji sent Tatar Khan post-haste, to pacify prince Nasiruddin and bring him back to the capital. Tatar Khan proceeded towards Dhar with Malik Fazlullah, the Mir Shikar, to meet the prince. He left his troops at Bakan Kalu, and himself, along with Malik Fazlullah, went to meet the prince. Both of them conveyed the message of the Sultan to prince Nasiruddin. The prince handed over a petition to Tatar Khan and asked him to submit it to his father [34]. In the meanwhile, before prince Nasiruddin's petition could reach the Sultan, Rani Khurshid, who exercised much influence over the Sultan and the officials, directed the pay master of the kingdom to send Tatar Khan to suppress prince Nasiruddin [35]. In this situation of political uncertainty and severe succession struggle, instead of marching against the prince, Tatar Khan moved towards Barah [36].

The royal army which was staying at Bakan Kalu remained indecisive. These people were fearful of prince Nasiruddin in the case of his becoming the Sultan after his success in the succession struggle. They were also afraid of punishment by Rani Khurshid if returned to the capital without fighting. The army remained in this state of indecisiveness for some time [37]. On the other hand, Malik Mahta and Malik Haibat, two important nobles of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, joined prince Nasiruddin. Maulana Imaduddin Afzal Khan and a number of zamindars of Rajwiyah also came to support him [38]. The royal army sent by Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan was defeated by Malik Mallu, a noble of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, who had joined prince Nasiruddin [39]. After its defeat, the royal army returned back to the capital.

Prince Nasiruddin's position became strong after the defeat of the royal army. His position became more strong by the joining of two important officers namely, Himmat Khan and Mubarak Khan on 15 May, 1500 at Ajud. On the way to Ujjain, Rustam Khan, the governor of Sarangpur also came to his side. His military strength continued to swell and when he reached Ujjain, many of the nobles, faujdars and thanadars extended their support to him [40].

The increasing strength of prince Nasiruddin by the joining of nobles, important officers and zamindars, and the news of his arrival at Ujjain created fear in minds of Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid. They apprised the Sultan of the political development and expressed their apprehension of the siege of the fort of Mandu by prince Nasiruddin [41]. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji again tried to pacify his heir-apparent

son. This time he sent Shaikh Auliya and Shaikh Burhanuddin for negotiation with prince Nasiruddin. The Sultan advised the prince, through these divines, to disassociate with the people who have rallied around him. If the prince followed the advice, he would be reinstated to the wizarat of the kingdom and that he could then assign the territory of Ranthambhor to Shujaat Khan who was like his son [42]. This was, in fact, a prudent intervention of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, in his old age, to avert direct clash between the two princes for removing one of them for power and throne. The efforts of the Sultan and his ambassadors of peace failed. Instead of giving any reply to the Sultan's advice, Prince Nasiruddin marched from Ujjain and encamped at Dhar [43].

Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan had been keeping close watch on the movements of prince Nasiruddin. As directed by them, Yakan Khan made two attempts to drive away prince Nasiruddin but he was badly failed. In his second attempt, he became so scared seeing the forces of the prince under the command of Khwaja Suhail, Malik Mahta, Malik Haibat and Miyan Jiw, that he rapidly returned to the fort of Mandu without fighting [44].

On 19 July, 1500 prince Nasiruddin occupied Nalcha and stayed in the royal palace there [45]. In order to win over the nobles who had joined prince Nasiruddin and dissuade them from supporting him, Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan sent Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji to Nalcha. The senile mind of the aged Sultan could not judge the intention of Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan and returned back to the capital from the way. Rani Khurshid thought Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji's return to be a play of prince Nasiruddin's supporters. She became much infuriated and reprimanded the officials who accompanied the Sultan. Rani Khurshid was so scared of prince Nasiruddin's attack on the fort of Mandu that she asked Shujaat Khan for the preparations of its defence [46].

Prince Nasiruddin moved forward and laid siege of the fort. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji was still hopeful to settle the succession dispute between his sons. At the commencement of the siege, he sent Mushirul Mulk, the chief Qazi, for a peaceful solution of the conflict. But finding prince Nasiruddin indifferent to this exercise, and being fearful of Rani Khurshid's wrath, Mushirul Mulk stayed away from the fort [47]. The prolonged siege resulted in the desertions of nobles and officers from the fort. Malik Fazlullah, the Mir Shikar and Muwafiq Khan joined the camp of prince Nasiruddin. Such a development upset Rani Khurshid and Shujaat Khan. They started replacing officers from strategic points of defence. They executed Muhafiz Khan and Surajmal, who were senior nobles. The old nobles, seeing undue harshness of them, began secret negotiations with prince Nasiruddin [48]. On 13 September, 1500, prince Nasiruddin came closer to the fort [49].

Accompanied by Dilawar Khan Jungju, prince Nasiruddin stormed the fort and succeeded in entering into the fort. He had to return back before the resistance of Shujaat Khan [50]. After some time, two sons of Sher Khan of Chanderi came to support him with a force of one thousand horsemen and eleven elephants.

Harem Politics and the Succession Dispute in Malwa: The Case of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji

Prince Nasiruddin adorned the sons of Sher Khan with the titles of Muzaffar Khan and As'ad Khan. The time Sher Khan's sons joined prince Nasiruddin, a communication came from the garrison of the Malpur gate, asking the prince to enter from this side into the fort. Zabardast Khan, the keeper of the armoury of the fort, killed the keeper of the Malpur gate and opened it. On the night of 17 November, 1500, Mubarak Khan, Shaikh Habibullah, Muwafiq Khan and Khwaja Suhail with their troops entered the fort from this gate [51]. On receiving signal from his officers, prince Nasiruddin also entered into the fort. Shujaat Khan with his family took shelter into the harem of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji. The nobles who were inside the fort welcomed prince Nasiruddin and offered their congratulations. Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid were captured and put into prison. Sultan Ghiyasuddin understood the situation and shifted himself to palace of Sarsati [52]. Prince Nasiruddin ascended the throne on 20 November, 1500 [53]. A few days after his accession, Shujaat Khan and his sons were killed [54]. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji died on 29 March, 1501 [55]. After the death of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji sent a message to Rani Khurshid directing her to surrender all the treasures of the deceased Sultan to the state treasurer. Being fearful of harsh punishment, Rani Khurshid handed over all the treasures to the officials of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji [56]. Both Nizamuddin and Firishta are silent about Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji's treatment to Rani Khurshid, the most influential lady of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji's harem, who actively participated in the succession struggle and vigorously supported the rival of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji.

V. CONCLUSION

Thus, the succession dispute between prince Nasiruddin and prince Shujaat Khan which had started through conspiracies from 1497 [57], took a serious turn in the year 1500 when direct conflict started between them and came to an end towards the close of that year. The succession dispute between the two sons of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji is significant because for the first time there was a great involvement of the harem of the Sultan in the struggle. Earlier, there was a succession dispute between prince Usman and prince Ghazni Khan, sons of Sultan Hoshang Shah, born of two different wives of the Sultan. While Hoshang Shah was returning from his expedition to Kalpi, there occurred a quarrel between the wives of these princes [58]. This was the only case of the involvement of the ladies of the harem in the succession dispute which remained confined to a single incident of quarrel. The succession dispute between prince Nasiruddin and prince Shujaat Khan, sons of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji is very significant because both of them were the sons of the same mother and this lady Rani Khurshid enjoyed a very high status in the harem of the Sultan. Her inclination towards Shujaat Khan to such an extent that she endeavoured total destruction of prince Nasiruddin speaks of the greatest degree of bitterness of a mother towards her son. Moreover, it also reveals her lust for involvement in the political and administrative affairs of the kingdom, which, in fact, worsened the succession rivalry. Her ascendancy not only annoyed the nobles and officers who deserted the royal camp but also frustrated all efforts of the Sultan to pacify

prince Nasiruddin and settle the dispute. Her unrestrained involvement in the succession struggle and administrative affairs caused her own destruction as well as of prince Shujaat Khan.

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Authors Contributions	I am only the sole author in this article.

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1. There is utter confusion with regard to the date of assignment of governorship of Malwa to Dilawar Khan. Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that Dilawar Khan came to Malwa in 809 AH which is, in fact, the date of his death. See Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De and M. Hidayat Hosain, Vol.III, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1941, p.289; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, tr. John Briggs, in 4 Vols., See Vol.IV, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, reprint 1981, p.101, confirms the appointment of Dilawar Khan as governor of Malwa during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah. In his study of the coinage of the Sultans of Malwa, H.N. Wright has tried to remove the confusion with regard to the date of Dilawar Khan's appointment as governor of Malwa. He writes, "In 804AH/1401, Dilawar Khan Ghorī, who had been appointed governor of Malwa by Muhammad IV of Delhi some ten years previously, assumed royal state", H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol.II, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907, p.241.
2. 'Amin Shah' seems to be the correct title, Shaikh Rizquallah Mushtaqui, *Waqiat-e-Mushtaqui*, tr. and ed. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, ICHR and Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1993, p.232.
3. Firishta, Vol. IV, pp.102-03; H. Nelson Wright, op.cit., p.241.
4. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.357; Muhammad Hadi, *Haft Gulshan*, MS Bankipur, Patna, fol. 129a. Firishta does not refer to them as twin brothers. He mentions Shujaat Khan as the youngest son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji. See Firishta, IV, p.144.
5. Nizamuddin Ahmad has given details of the status of Rani Khurshid and her constant involvement in the succession struggle between the two princes whereas Firishta has completely overlooked the description of Rai Khurshid and her role in the struggle.
6. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.544.
7. Both Nizamuddin and Firishta give the date of Sultan Mahmud Khalji's death as 19 Ziqad 873 A.H. but the author of *Zafar-ul Walih* has recorded 21 Ziqad 873 A.H. which comes out as 31 May 1469 and 2 June 1469 respectively, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.542; Firishta, IV, p.141; *Zafar-ul Walih*, p.208.
8. Both Nizamuddin and Firishta have omitted the date of accession of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji but the author of *Zafar-ul Walih* records the date as 22 Ziqad, 873/3 June 1469.
9. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.544; Firishta says that the title of 'Sultan Nasiruddin' was conferred on his elder son Abdul Qadir by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khaji, Firishta, IV, p.142; Nizamuddin also refers to him as 'Sultan Nasiruddin' while mentioning the commencement of succession dispute between him and his brother Shujaat Khan entitled 'Sultan Alauddin', *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.552.
10. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.544; Firishta, IV, p.142.
11. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.544; Firishta, IV, p.142-3.
12. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.554.
13. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.552; Firishta, IV, p.144.
14. Ibid.
15. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.554.
16. Ibid.; Firishta has omitted this conspiracy and its details.
17. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 554, Nizamuddin says that (Sultan Nasiruddin) appointed his own gumashtas (agents) everywhere.
18. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 554.
19. Ibid., p.545.



20. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 554.
21. *Ibid.*, pp.554-55.
22. *Ibid.*, p.555.
23. Nizamuddin writes that "Owing to his great age, Sultan Ghiyasuddin agreed to their (Shujaat Khan and Rani Khurshid) doing so". See *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.555.
24. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.555.
25. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.555. The author of the *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi* clearly says that prince Nasiruddin ordered for the killing of Munja Baqqal, *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, MS British Museum, No. OR 1803 fol.9a as cited by U.N. Dey, *Medieval Malwa*, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, p. 237, fn.2; Nizamuddin is silent on this issue.
26. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp.555-56.
27. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.556.
28. *Ibid.*, p.556. *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, op.cit., fol.10b, as cited by U.N. Dey, op.cit., p.238, fn.2, does not refer to the name of Manhi Khan.
29. *Ibid.*, p.556. Nizauddin gives the name of the palace of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji as Jahan-numa.
30. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp.556-57.
31. *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, op.cit., fols. 11b-12a as cited by U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., pp.238-39, fn.5; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.557; Firishta, IV, p.142 gives the date 1499.
32. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.557; *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, op.cit., fol.14a, as cited by U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., p.239, fn.1, does not record the names of these persons.
33. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.557.
34. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.557; *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi* supplies the description of the message of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and the response of Nasir Shah sent through Tatar Khan.
35. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.557
36. There are many villages in Malwa by this name. It is difficult to ascertain as to which place exactly Nizamuddin refers to.
37. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp.557-58.
38. *Ibid.*, p.558.
39. *Ibid.*, pp.558-59; *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, op.cit., fol 15b, as cited by U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., p.240, fn.4.
40. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p.559; *Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi*, op.cit., fol 18b as cited by U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., p.240, fn.5.
41. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.559.
42. Nizamuddin supplies the detail of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji's message communicated to prince Nasiruddin through Shaikh Auliya and Shaikh Burhanuddin, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.559.
43. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.559.
44. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.560.
45. *Ibid.*, pp.560-61.
46. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.561.
47. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.561.
48. *Ibid.*, pp.561-62.
49. *Ibid.*, p.562.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp.562-63; Firishta IV, p.144, says that prince Nasiruddin entered into the fort through Tarapur gate on 22 October, 1500.
52. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.563.
53. *Ibid.*, p.564.
54. *Ibid.*, p.553.
55. *Ibid.*; Firishta, IV p.144, without mentioning the date of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji's death, says that after a few days of prince Nasirudin Khalji's accession, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji was found dead in his harem.
56. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.553; U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., has omitted this.
57. Firishta IV, p.144 gives the specific year when rivalry for the throne commenced between the two sons of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji who had reached to an advanced age.
58. U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, op.cit., pp.68-69.

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