

CHAPTER - II

EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM

The Conquest of Junagadh :-

Saurashtra is bounded on the north by the gulf of Cutch and on the south and west by the Arabian Sea. The gulf of Cambay forms the eastern boundary of the Peninsula, and between the gulf of Cutch and Cambay it lies contiguous to Gujarat.

From the earliest times the peninsula of Saurashtra was important and valuable for its commerce. The merchants from Arabia, Turkey, Northern Africa and South-eastern Europe directed their ships and acquired their wealth to be obtained from trade with the Indies.

Politically, Saurashtra had remained independent and many Rajput rulers ruled over its different parts.

Hence the commercial, political and strategical importance of Saurashtra attracted the Muslim rulers and they considered it as a part of Gujarat, without which their territory was incomplete.

Several attempts had been made by the Muslim rulers ^{to} conquer it, since the time of Mahmūd of Ghazna, but they failed to have any lasting effect.

After the beginning of independent Sultanate of

Gujarat, it became even more important to the Sultans. The country was rich and therefore Sikandar describes it as "cream of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat and compendium of all good of the world. " ¹

The Origin of the Ra's of Junagadh :-

The Ra's of Junagadh traced their origin to Krishna and so their 'Kula' is known as "Yadukula". They were better known as the 'Yadu' kings of the Chudasama dynasty. Formerly their capital was at Vamansthali or Vanthali, situated about five miles to the West of Junagadh.

The word "Junagadh" means the "old fort" and the story of how it derived the name is some what strange. It is related that between Glimar hill and Wanthali there was formerly a thick jungle, through which it was not possible to penetrate. A wood cutter one day managed to cut his way through the forest and came to a place where stone walls and a gate existed. The ruling Ra, being informed about this, called the chroniclers and antiquarian to identify this place. On the failure of its identification, the place was known as "Junagadh."

Hemchandracharya, in his Dwayashraya states that Ra Graharipu or Grahario I, the fourth king of Chudasama

1. MS - Trans. (B.) p.180.

dynasty, built a fort at Junagadh now known as the "Upper Kot" ² Ra Grahripa is said to have died in A.D. 982. This fort lies in a commanding position near the town of Junagadh and west of Girnar Hills. From its walls the whole country round it can be seen and in course of time the town of Junagadh came to surround it and in its turn was surrounded by a strongly fortified wall, thus making the citadel doubly secure.

The story narrated by Sikandar does not contain any dates but from the evidence available from the "Dwayashraya", it appears that Ra Grahripa founded the citadel. If this story is true either Grahripa discovered an ancient stronghold or else, after he had built the fort, it was abandoned and afterwards discovered again by a later ruler.

Early life of Ra' Mandalika :-

Ra' Mandalika ³, who was to be the last of the

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2. Indian Antiquary IV. p. 74, Bell Wilberforce
History of Kathiawad pp. 55-57.
 3. Prof. Commissariat believes "Mandalika" as an
official title of the Hindu rulers of Junagadh.
It means a feudatory king. History of Gujarat
Part I pp. 165 n.

Chudasamas to hold sway in S.W. Saurashtra, succeeded his father, Ra' Mahipal IV in 1451. It is believed that Ra' Mahipal IV took much care of his education; and when Ra' Mandalika succeeded to the throne, he was skilled in all sciences. He was specially proficient in the use of arms.

Before the fall of Junagadh, Ra' Mandalika, had a successful military career. Sangam Wadhel the Rajput ruler of Dwarka, who failed to send a present on the occasion of Ra's accession, was attacked and defeated by him.

Shortly after this, the Sultan of Gujarat entrusted him to check Duda, the Gohel chief and his wife's kinsman, who was troubling the borders of Gujarat. As a result of this, Ra Mandalika killed Duda.

The Factors responsible for the invasion of Junagadh :-

POLITICAL :

Since the times of 'Alā-ud-din Khalji different Sultans tried to establish their power over the peninsula. They succeeded only in establishing temporary authority over it. The Rajput princes, after the departure of the victorious Sultan, used to become independent again.

At the rise of independent Sultanate of Gujarat, the important Rajput strongholds remained hostile and unsubdued. Therefore, Ahmad Shah concentrated his efforts

for their reduction both in Saurashtra and Gujarat.

The strongest ruler in Saurashtra was at this time Ra Melag^a of Junagadh. He had succeeded his brother in 1400 and established himself in Vanthali. Zafar Khān defeated Ra Melag but subsequently he regained his capital and expelled the Muslim Thanedar. Besides, in Ahmad Shāh's reign he harboured the fugitive Shah Malik.

Ahmad Shāh proceeded to Junagadh, laying the country waste. At Vanthali Ra Melag opposed him but in vain. Hence Ra Melag sought for peace which was agreed to by the Sultan in October, 1414.

This campaign, by no means, secured the peninsula for Ahmad Shāh. It merely provided a protection against immediate troubles from that side. Therefore, it was more an assertion of strength than an attempt at conquest. The Chudasama ruler, once again regained the control over his land, and his successors enjoyed the same till it was finally subjugated by Sultan Mahmūd Shāh in 1470.

Religious :-

Besides the Political reasons stated above, the Muslim rulers of Gujarat also felt like spreading Islam in Saurashtra and the Rajput rulers were obviously an impediment.

The attack on Junagadh was partly the result of the

influence of Saiyyid Shāh 'Ālam of Batwa on Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I. The Saint Jalāl Bukhārī, the father of Saiyyid Qutb-i-'Ālam, had placed Saiyyid Sikandar to spread Islam in Saurashtra. Mangrol was the seat of his follower. At the time of the conquest of Junagadh Saiyyid Rukn-ud-dīn or Raju was holding the Zat of Saiyyid Sikandar.

The Ra of Junagadh was a hurdle in the spread of Islam and it was reported to the Sultan that the Muslims were harassed by him. Saiyyid Raju of Mangrol wrote to Saiyyid Shāh 'Ālam, at Ahmedabad, urging him to persuade the Sultan to help him in removing this obstacle. Saiyyid Shāh 'Ālam in his reply assured him of his blessings in the cause of the spread of Islam.⁴ Besides its position of strategical importance, it was the complaint of Saiyyid Raju which might have prompted Sultān Mahmūd to conquer Junagadh.

This view is supported by the fact that the Saiyyids of Batwa often played a major role in the political issues of these days.⁵

4. These letters are found out in original by Saiyyid Abqū Zafar Nadvī. Its photographs with translation are published in *Archæologically quarterly* No.3,5. Quoted from Jote R.B. Gujarat no Saṃskritic Itihas Islam period, p.II, (Guj. Text) pp. 491-93.

5. For more details "The relations of Batwa saints with the Sultān" in *Int. J. -* pp. 195-204 237-247.

According to Sikandar, the idea of attacking Junagadh entered the mind of the Sultān as early as 1460, when he was on an hunting expedition. In the vicinity of Kapadwanj he reviewed his army. Then we are informed, the Sultān expressed his desire of founding a new city in the near future.⁶

Therefore possibly the Sultān might have entertained the desire to conquer Junagadh for long. But before taking any action against Junagadh, he dealt with more immediate problems of consolidating his power in the mainland. After this he turned his attention towards Saurashtra.

First Expedition : 1467 :-

In 1467, military preparations for an attack on Junagadh were begun. The *Casusbelli*, according to Sikandar, was that Ra Mandalik was very proud of his safe position and was "so much arrogant that he did not consider himself any way inferior to that potentate (Sultan)"⁷

Advancing from Ahmedabad, the Sultān encamped near the foot of Girnar Hill. Tughluq Khān, the Prince of Sind, marched in ahead towards the Hill fort. With great difficulty, he managed to reach the Karnal passes. Ra Mandalika, removed Rajput women and children to the fort

6. MS - Trans (F) p. 52

7. MS - Trans (F) p. 52 *Ibid*

Mahabalah as Junagadh was threatened. Sultān Mahmūd as he knew of it at once sent a force to hold the pass. The defenders were few so a small force seized a great many of the Rajput families and the provisions.⁸ Seeing this Ra Mandalika made a sally from Uparkot but was driven back. The Sultān's army after this initial success, sacked the city, many temples were destroyed and large amount of plunder was secured.

At this mishap, the Ra, opened negotiations with the Sultān and so peace was agreed upon on the acceptance of the Sultān's overlordship by the Ra and the payment of tribute. The Sultān returned to the capital.

The first expedition thus was not a systematic attempt at the conquest of Junagadh. It was an assertion of strength and a warning of a thing to come.

The Second Expedition : 1468 :-

Next in 1468, the Sultān learnt that when Ra Mandalika went to worship in a temple, a golden umbrella was held over his head and he wore clothes worked with jewels of great value. So the Sultān ordered an army to proceed to Junagadh and secure the golden umbrella and other royal ^{insignia} used by the Ra.

8. MS - Trans (F) p.52.

The Persian chroniclers give different and contradictory explanations for the use of these royal insignias. They all agree that the Ra used to put on royal insignias but they differ about the way in which they were put on by Ra Mandalika.

According to Nizām-ud-dīn, the Ra visited the temple with these signs, "with pride and haughtiness."⁹ Firishtah writes, "The King put on the dress as a kingly routine!"¹⁰ Sikandar says "He (Mandalika) visited his idol temple ... in great state and splendour".¹¹

It seems that the Sultān was seized with kingly jealousy because of the fact of Ra Mandalika, visiting the temple in such state and so thought it sufficient reason for his attack.

On being informed of the arrival of the Sultān's army with this mission, Ra Mandalika, without any delay, handed over these articles, with a large tribute. The army then returned to Ahmedabad, and for another brief period, respite was granted to Junagadh.

9. TA - Trans (De) III, pp. 250-51.

10. TF - Text, IV, II, p. 338

11. MS, Trans (F), pp. 54-55.

The Third Expedition : (1469-1470) :-

In 1469-1470, the Sultān again led an army against Ra Mandalika, with a determination of finally annihilating this Rajput State. This time, the Sultān had no obvious pretext to attack the Ra.

The Ra on hearing of this, went to meet the Sultān in his camp. He pointed out that he had been an obedient vassal, and inquired as to why the Sultān was bent ruining a dependent who had committed no fault. The Sultān replied that there could be no greater offence than that of 'infidelity' and that he should choose between 'War' and 'Islam', if he desired to be spared.

^c
The Course of seige :-

The Ra then took refuge to his citadel Uparkot. The fort was well provisioned and had been made ready to withstand a protracted seige. A desperate fight took place outside the Uparkot, resulting in heavy losses on both the sides and the Rajputs, finding it difficult to hold the citadal, retired to the hill fortress on the Girnar. The last phase of the war centred round the seige of Girnar. The Rajputs attacked from all the sides, The royal army was posited in different trenches and placed in

charge of several nobles. 'Alam Khan Faruqi, a noble was killed, when he was attacked by the Rajput soldiers. During the course of the seige, Ra Mandalika attempted to make peace with the Sultan but was rebuffed. The seige ended when the provisions in the fort fell short.

The Popular belief for the fall of Junagadh :-

The surrender of this inaccessible fortress is traditionally associated with an episode of treason. Ra Mandalika is said to have had a minister Vishal or Vithal, whose wife Mohini was very beautiful. It is believed that Ra Mandalika forcibly took her away. The injured husband, unable to take open revenge, planned in secret the downfall of his master.¹² When the provisions fell short Vishal sent a message to the Sultan that now was the favourable opportunity to take the fortress by assault. The Sultan acted on the advice and before long the Ra submitted to him and surrendered the keys of the fortress (December 4, 1470.)¹³

12. Burgess - Tarikh-i-Sorath, p. 117.

13. MS - Trans (B) pp. 184-190. ^{IE} Far (Text) IV, II, p. 389
 Ross, Sir Dennison E. An Arabic History of India
 P- I, pp. 19-21.

This story cannot easily be disbelieved. There is some historical significance in it. Ra Mandalika had a weakness for women as indicated by the descriptions given in Mandalika Nripa Charita. The author states that Ra Mandalika took his wives with himself even in the naval expedition against Sangana Wadhel, the king of Dwarka.¹⁴

A similar story is also told in an old bardic poem, in which also Ra Mandalika is said to have approached a beautiful Charan woman, whose righteous anger at the result brought destruction to him.¹⁵

It seems that the first two expeditions of the Sultān an Junagadh were political motivated. In these expeditions, Ra was humiliated and his power broken by the Sultān. The third expedition to Junagadh was, according to the Persian chronicler,¹⁶ due to the religious bias of the Sultān. Religion was not the only motive which prompted the Sultan to invade Junagadh. Sikandar gives a religious colouring to the campaign, in order to exalt his patrons, the Sayyids of Batwa. The Sultān had no valid reason to attack the Ra for the third time. However,

14. N. Valenkar H.D. Ra Mandalika Nripa Charita
(Bombay Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955)

15. Valenkar, H.D. Op. Cit, p.55

16. MS - Trans (F), p. 54-55.

it is to be noted that when Ra pleaded for his innocence, and faithfulness, the Sultān replied that he was an "infidel". This apparently leads us to believe that religion played a determinant role in this expedition. It is very clear from the conversation between the Sultan and the Ra, that religion was used as a means for the political end.

The conversion of Ra Mandalika :-

The Persian chroniclers give different versions regarding the conversion of Ra Mandalika to Islam. After the fall of Junagadh, the Ra was made a prisoner. His life was spared, but at the sacrifice of that which to a Rajput is dearer than life itself. At the command of the Sultān, Ra Mandalika accepted Islam.

Nizām-ud-dīn writes that Ra Mandalika was sent to Shāh Shams-ud-dīn of Una, and here, he was instructed in the tenets of Islam.¹⁷ Sikandar writes that Ra Mandalika was converted after his arrival at Ahmedabad during a visit to the saintly Shāh 'Ālam. This does not appear plausible and is evidently introduced by the historian to glorify the Bukhārī Saiyyids of Batwa.¹⁸

It seems that the Ra's conversion to Islam was not due to influence of Muslim, saints either of Una or of

17. TA - Trans (DE) III, pp. 254-255.

18. MS - Trans (F), pp. 57-58

Batwa. It was not a voluntary change of faith, ^{because} we are told by Sikandar himself that whenever the Ra thought of Girnar and his past glory, he "sighed and wept."¹⁹

Award of titles and Jagirs to the Chudasama Ruler and his family :-

Ra Mandalika, after his conversion to Islam,, received the title of Khañ Jahan, Ra Mandalika's family received the title of Rai Zada and his son Bhupatsingh was given jagir of Bagasara - Chovisi near Mangrol.²⁰

Junagadh renamed Mustafabad and its importance henceforth:

After the conquest of Junagadh, the Sultan beautified it and renamed it Mustafabad. His religious zeal led him to make it a new capital from which to propagate the tenets of Islam in the whole peninsula. He, therefore, invited Saiyyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith from the mainland and settled them in Mustafabad.²¹

19. MS - Trans (F) pp.57-59 and Trans (B), pp.189, 190, 193 and n.

20. According to the author of Tarikh-i-Sorath (Burgess) the dynasty of the Ra was allowed to continue for another century as tributary jagirdars at Junagadh, under the control of the governor or Thanedars of Sorath appointed by the Gujarat Sultans. p.131.

21. MS - Trans (F) pp.58-59 also ~~(B) pp.191-192.~~ *As (A & B)*

During his reign Mustafābād became a mint town and coins struck here bear the name, "Mustafābād".

It was henceforth the headquarter of the deputy for Sorath both for Khalsah lands and for receiving tributes from subsidiary chiefs of the peninsula.

The conquest of Junagadh was one of the most important events of this reign.

First, the fortifications on Girnar hill were very strong and almost impregnable. Various attempts had been made by the Rajput and Muslim rulers of Gujarat to conquer these lands but without success. Therefore, it is not small credit to conquer such a well protected fort at a time when the weapons of the war were limited. It was also a notable feat to reduce such a powerful Rajput family.

Besides, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh selected this place as his second capital. For the administrative efficiency of the peninsula, this was a proper choice of the Sultān.

A deputy was appointed to remain at this headquarter.

SACK OF KUVA :-

After the conquest of Junagadh, Khalil Khan (later Muzaffar Shah II) was placed as the deputy in Sorath and during his rule he had an occasion to march against Kuva, in the north-east of the peninsula, when its Jhala ruler Vaghoji rebelled against the newly founded authority. The two armies met near Saidpur, six miles north of Dhrangadra and a serious engagement took place, in which the royal forces were defeated. Khalil Khan then asked for help from his father, who advancing with a large force besieged Kuva.

Vaghoji resisted Valiantly but his provisions were exhausted, which made him lead a desperate last attack from the fort. In this Vaghoji was killed. Kuva was sacked and seized from that date it ceased to be the Jhala Capital. ²² The Sultan established a military "Thana" at this place.

Its fate created a great impression among the Jhalas so much so that not only was that place abandoned as a capital, but an impression "Kuva-no-Kher" (i.e. the catastrophe of Kuva) became proverbial among them for any great misfortune. This expression still continues.

22. The Jhalas were first settled at Patali in the N.E. of the peninsula, but their capital changed successively to Mandal, Kuva and Halvad until in 1730 Dhrangadra was built.

It is believed that Vaghoji died with his seven sons in this catastrophe and the eighth son Rajodharji founded Halayad in 1488, which became the capital of the Jhalas.²³

CUTCH AND SIND (1472-1473)

The Revolt of Sumara and Sodhas of Cutch :-

From the confused and meagre account available, it appears that in 1472, the two tribes Sodha and Sumara of Cutch, caused troubles on the borders of Gujarat. Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, who was in Mustafābād at this time was informed about these disturbance and hence he marched against them. The Sodhas and Sumaras were expert archers and were numbering more than the Sultān's army.

Mahmūd easily defeated them inspite of their superior numbers and as the tribesmen followed Islam without any proper knowledge of their faith so at Sultān's orders, the leading men of each tribe were sent to Junagadh, to be there instructed in the doctrines of their faith.

Relieves the Jam Nizām-ud-din from trouble :-

From Cutch, the Sultān crossing the Runn marched against the Baluchi and Jat tribes of Sind. These Baluchis were in revolt against Jam Nizām-ud-din, the ruler of Sind and the grand father of Sultān Mahmūd from his mother's

23. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, pp.422-23.

side. They were 40,000 in number but fled at the Sultān's approach and their camp was given up to plunder. Before he retired from Sind, Mahmūd received gifts and a letter of thanks from the Jām. He then returned to Mustafābād.

The account given by the Persian Chroniclers is very meagre and confused one and therefore it is difficult to evaluate. Judging from its narration by the Persian authors, it is likely that this event had practically no political importance in the history of this time. ²⁴

The Conquest of Dwarka and Sankhodhar :-

Dwarka is situated in the N.W. corner of Saurashtra. It is a place of pilgrimage and its history goes as far back as the Mahabharat. It is dedicated to Lord Krishna. Shankhodhar formed a part of the territory of Raja Bhim at that time. There is a temple here dedicated to Sankh-narayan, a form of Lord Vishnu, the Hindu deity and here too the Hindus go for pilgrimage.

Causes of invasion :-

It is said that one Maulana Muhammad Samagāndi, in

24. TF - Text, IV, IV, p. 391, MS - Tr.(F) pp. 59-60.

TA Tr. III pp. 257-259, Ross An Arabic History of Gujarat - I, p.22.

the service of Bahmani Sultān of Deccan, was after his retirement, was on his way to Samarqand. His ship was wrecked due to bad weather near the coast of Dwarka. The pirates of Dwarka robbed Maulana Muḥammad of his property and women. So he came to the Court of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I in a destitute condition and urged him to move for the recover of his loss. The Sultān assured him of justice and decided to invade the territory of Bhim. ²⁵

Most of the Persian historians accept this incident as the only cause of Sultān Mahmūd's invasion on Dwarka and Sankhodhar. They do not take into consideration some of the other factors viz. religious, geographical and commercial, which also led to this invasion.

In the first place these two places were important pilgrimage centres visited by Hindus from all over the country. This religious importance might have tempted the religious minded Sultān to establish his control over this land.

Besides, it also seems that the ruler of this land sheltered the pirates and probably shared in their gains. This would have affected the commerce and sea-borne trade

25. TF - Text IV, II pp. 392-393.
 MS - Trans, (B), pp. 195-197.
 TA - Trans (DE) III pp. 260-262

of Gujarat. Thus when the Sultan received this complaint, he decided to make an end of this trouble.²⁶

The course of the War :-

With these considerations in mind, the Sultan marched towards Dwarka, from Mustāfabād - Junagadh. On hearing of the Sultan's arrival, Raja Bhim fled to Shankhodhar, which was better protected. The Sultan's army sacked the city of Dwarka and demolished the holy temples. With the spoils of the principal temples a mosque was erected. It is believed that the Sultan's army collected a large booty during their sack of the city.

The Sultan then followed with his army towards Shankhodhar, where the Rajputs had taken shelter. It was difficult for the royal army to cross the sea and hence they had to encamp near the Sea-coast till the boats were prepared. The place, where the army encamped, was known as Aramrah, opposite to Shankhodhar. Here the soldiers were

26. It is interesting to note here that the piratical activities on this port continued till the first half of the 19th Century. Col. Walker the political agent in Okhamandal between 1815 - 1830, to improve the condition of the people of this area employed these pirates in Military service. The pirates were mainly Waghers and it was their traditional calling.

much troubled by snakes, and it is said that within the royal enclosure itself number of them were killed in one night. ²⁷

The Sultān collected the ships in the neighbouring port and attacked the fort of Shankhodhar. The Rajput soldiers fought bravely till their provision in the fort lasted. They had then to surrender to the Sultan. Raja Bhim escaped from the fort but according to chroniclers he was captured by the ^{ya}royal army.

Maulāna Muhammad's family and property was restored to him. Dwarka and Shankhodhar were subjugated completely and Farhat-ul-Mulk Malik Tughān was appointed its Governor. The Sultān came back to Junagadh in October, 1473.

The Fate of Raja Bhim :-

The Rajput King was taken as captive to Mustāfabād-Junagadh, and then sent to Muhafiz Khān, the Governor of Ahmedabad. The Governor insulted and humiliated the Rajput chief by dragging him in collar and chains, round the city and he was executed. The limbs of his body were exhibited on the main gates of the city. ²⁸

27. TF - Text. IV, II, p.393, TA - Trans (De) III, pp.260-261 MS - Trans - (F) pp.61-62. All these writers give fantastical figure of the snakes which were killed in the one night by the soldiers.

28. TF - Text, IV, II p.394, MS - Trans (F) pp.62-63
TA - Trans pp.261-262.

The treatment meted out to Raja Bhim by Sultān Mahmūd Shāh was not in any way new in the mediaeval history. Most of the rulers used these practices towards their prominent who fell in their hands. Besides, it was necessary for Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, to make the important route of commerce for Persian gulf free from the pirates. Hence keeping this view in mind, the Sultān was justified in conquering Dwarka, but his behaviour towards Bhim was harsh and cruel. Political necessity in any way does not justify needless cruelty.

It seems that after the conquest of Dwarka, the piratical activities ceased on this coast because we do not come across any such serious act of piracy.

The Conquest of Champaner :-

After ten years of peace, Sultān Mahmūd attacked Champaner, the last of the important Rajput strongholds in Gujarat. Mahmūd Shāh at this time followed his predecessor's policy of subjugating Rajput states gradually. The earlier plan of subjugating the three powerful Rajput States viz. Idar, Champaner and Junagadh made by Ahmad Shāh was not successful till Mahmūd Shāh I. Ahmad Shāh had established his control over these states but he did not destroy them. The task of annexing Junagadh and Champaner was performed by Mahmūd Shāh after his grandfather, though he could not invade Champaner till 1482.

Champaner, was ruled by Rajputs, with their seat in the impregnable hill fortress of Pavagadh. ²⁹ Ahmad Shah attempted to reduce it, but he failed to do so.

Besides being a Rajput stronghold, Champaner was also strategically important for the Sultans of Gujarat. It is situated on the north-east border of Gujarat and since the relations of the Sultans of Gujarat and the Sultans of Malwa were strained, it was important for them to secure Champaner against Malwa.

Famine in Gujarat : 1482 :

Mahmūd Shah aware of the political and strategical importance of Champaner, wanted a cause to invade it and this he got in 1482.

From the available accounts we find that the Sultan invaded Champaner at the time of famine that occurred in Gujarat in 1482. It caused severe loss of life in Gujarat

29. Different explanations are given for the derivation of the name of Pavagadh. In the old inscriptions it is mentioned as "Pavak-gadh" or the fire hill. The variant form "Pavagadh" or the castle of winds used by Mr. A.K. Forbes is not accepted by the Scholars.

and greater part of its territory was affected. ³⁰ Sikan-
dar states, "There was no rain in whole of Gujarat except
in the territory of Champaner."³¹ Basing his account on
this reference the author in the Bombay Gazetteer writes,
"There was partial famine in Gujarat but Champaner had no
scarcity of food." ³² Therefore Champaner was the place,
which attracted raids in search of food. Malik Asad, the
Governor of the Sultan at Moramli or Rasulabad, ³³ raided
the villages of Champaner for supplies. Raval Jaysingh
or Patai Raval the Rajput ruler of Champaner drove him
out and captured some of the royal horses and elephants.

This was the pretext, the Sultan needed and he arrived at Baroda with his army. Raval Jaysingh on hearing this, sent an envoy for the peaceful settlement of the dispute. The Sultan's only reply to the envoy was, "Except the Sword and dagger, no other message, shall pass between you and me." ³⁴

Raval Jaysingh, thereupon, took refuge to his moun-

30. TF - Text - IV, II p. 396.

31. MS - TF ⁹⁻⁴⁻⁵⁵ pp. 65-66

32. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, P. I, pp.246-247

33. Rasulabad is near Baroda.

34. TF - Text, IV, II p. 396. MS - Trans (F) pp.65-66

TA - Trans (DE) III, pp. 271-273.

tain fortress to defend it to the last. According to Firishtah, Raval Jaysingh had a pitched battle with the army of Sultān under Malik Asad and in that fight Raval Jaysingh was defeated and driven into the fortress.³⁵

The War :-

The royal army encamped near Karkaria, at a little distance from Halol, towards Baroda. Saiyyid Badia Alangor, was appointed as the guard of the road and was ordered to bring in the provisions. One day the Rajput soldiers slew a body of the royal troops and seized the provisions from the Saiyyid.³⁶ This was the only success gained by the Rajputs, during the course of the War. After this incident, the Sultān ordered the elaborate trenches or "covered ways" to be extended from his camp to the base of fortress. This investment, with many vicissitudes, lasted for over twenty months. During this siege the Sultān continued to plunder the country of Raval, "so that there remain no town, no village, no house of which the money was not taken into the royal treasury the clothes and stuffs into the royal storehouses, the beasts into the royal stables, and the corn into the royal granneries and Kitchen." ³⁷

35. TF - Text, IV, pp. 397. CHI - Vol. III, pp. 309-311

36. TA - Trans, (De) III, pp. 271, 273.

37. CHI - III p. 310.

Raval Jaysingh seeks the help of the Sultan of Malwa :-

Raval Jaysingh found it difficult to resist the powerful army of the Sultan. So he sent his minister Dungsingh Suri to Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din of Malwa for the military assistance. The minister on reaching Mandu, offered one lakh of silver tankas for every day's march that the Malwa ruler would make from Mandu to Champaner.³⁸ Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din accepted the terms but on reaching Nalcha, a town, a few miles from Mandu, decided to cancel the expedition and returned to his capital.

The historians, viz. Sikandar, Nizam-ud-din and Firishtah, state that at Nalcha Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din was reproached for his decision of helping an infidel against a Muslim, by learned men and nobles and therefore he decided to go back to his capital rather than to march any further.³⁹ This is only partially true for these writers have ignored certain other important factors leading to the return.

First, the historians have failed to appreciate the importance of an incident which took place simultaneously

38. MS - Trans (F) pp. 66-67.

39. MS - Trans (F) pp. 66-67

TF - Text IV, II p. 397.

with the Malwa Sultan's acceptance of the offer of the Raja of Champaner, Mahmūd Shāh advanced towards Dohad, leaving the seige of Champaner - Pavagadh in charge of his nobles, to check Sultān Ghiyāth-ūd-dīn. This might have caused Sultān Ghiyāth-ūd-dīn, to retreat because by this time Sultān Mahmūd Shāh had won a high reputation in the field.⁴⁰

Secondly, if we trace the relation of Gujarat with Malwa we find that religious considerations were relatively of less importance in their dealings with the Rajput kings. The Rajput rulers of Idar, Champaner, Jalawar and Naded had earlier sought the help of Hoshang Shāh Ghori of Malwa against Ahmād Shāh of Gujarat on that occasion the Malwa ruler had come as far as Modasa but on the arrival of Sultān Ahmād Shāh, he had retired to his capital.⁴¹

Again when Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had marched against Gangadas, the Raja of Champaner in 1449, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Malwa came to the help of the ruler of Champaner and because of this help, the Sultān of Gujarat had to retreat.⁴²

40. Earlier the author has referred the intervention of Sultan Mahmud Shah in Deccan, when Mahmud Khalji the ruler of Malwa invaded it. The late Sultan Mahmud Khalji had to retreat because he could not resist the powerful army of Gujarat.

41. TF - Trans - IV pp. 32-33

42. Ibid, pp. 35-36.

These incidents indicate that the relations of Malwa with Gujarat in their mutual dealings with the Rajput rulers were based more on political considerations than on religious. Therefore it can be doubted if it was only on the decree of the Ulama that made the Sultan of Malwa retreat.

Then, why did the Malwa Sultan call on the religious people and nobles at Nalcha to make a representation to himself on a step that he had already taken to help the Raja of Champaner ? It appears that Ghiyath-ud-din was not too keen to engage his more powerful neighbour in a war and therefore he seized this pretext to evade a task he had rather too hastily incurred. We have to bear in mind that Sultan Mahmud march to the border of Gujarat, might have forced him to revise his earlier decision to come to the help of the Raja of Champaner.

Storming of the Fort :-

After great difficulties, the trenches or "covered ways" were completed. Unsuccessful attempts were made by the royal army to conquer the fort in the absence of the Sultan. Mahmud Shah on hearing the retreat of the Malwa ruler, returned from Dohad and caused a mosque to be built in his camp as a token of his firm resolve not to desist from the seige until he had taken the fortress.

Then Sultān, however met with little success. About this time, he was informed that a body of the Rajput soldiers used to leave the fort secretly every morning to perform their ablutions. On Nov. 21, 1484, the Sultān ordered Qiwām-ūl-Mulk Malik Sarang, to be ready with the army at day break for the attack on the fort. As usual the Rajput soldiers left the fort. Immediately the soldiers of the Sultān overpowered the guards and rushed in. By this time, Malik Ayāz Sultānī, also entered the fort through western wall where a breach had been effected by a gun, and secured the main gate. A grim fight took place between the Rajputs and soldiers of Malik Ayāz. The Rajputs sustained a great loss in this battle.

The performance of Jauhar :-

The Rajputs had to retire to the palace enclosure and there they prepared for the awful rites of the Jouhar. After this fearful ceremony they opened the main gates of the palace, and seven hundred Rajput soldiers fell upon the royal army. The royal army suffered a heavy loss in the last fight. The war against Champaner has lasted for a year and nine month before the fort fell.

Raval Jaysingh and his family their treatment at the hands of the Sultān :-

Raval Jaysingh and his minister Dungersingh were seriously wounded during the fight, but were captured alive

and were placed in the charge of Muhafiz Khān for treatment. Their wounds took five months to heal. On their recovering, they were brought before the Sultān. The Sultān asked them to choose between Islam and death. They refused to accept Islam. The Sultān summoned the Ulāma; and asked them to give their opinion for the "punishment" of these "infidels". They passed a judgment for their execution. Patai Raval's head was truck off and exposed on the gibbet as was the custom then. Dungersingh, at the time of his execution, snatched a sword from the soldier and killed one of the Sultan's relatives Shaykhān-bin-Kabir, but was himself killed. This took place in 1485.

The two daughters of Raval Jaysingh were admitted to the Sultān's harem, and his young son was handed over to a noble Saif-ul-Mulk to be converted and educated in the Muslim faith. This prince played an important part during the reign of Muzaffar Shāh II, under the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk and became the Amir of Idar.⁴³

The Popular beliefs regarding the fall of Champaner :-

Forbes's Rasmala, supplies us with interesting information regarding the fall of Champaner - Pavagadh.

43. TA - Trans (De) III, pp.273-276. MS - Trans (F) pp. 67-68, Ross E. An Arabic History of Gujarat-I pp.27-32.

This account also gives us the correct date of the fall of Pavagadh. The date given in the bardic account is "the third day of Pausa in the Samvat year 1541" and this agrees very nearly with the final storming of the hill fortress, as given by the *Firishtah*, December 21, 1484. ⁴⁴

It is popularly believed that goddess Kali once joined in Navratra Garba dance in Pavagadh. At this time Raja Patai Raval not knowing her divine character cast lascivious glances at the Goddess and asked her to marry him. On this, the angry Goddess cursed the Raja and this led to his downfall. It is further said that the six important and brave Rajput Rajas lost their lives in defending the fortress. ⁴⁵

According to the bardic information, Raisingh, the eldest of the three sons of the Raval Jaysingh ~~g~~ had died in his father's life time. His elder son Prithviraj escaped from Champaner and settled at Hamp, a small village on the banks of Narmada and founded the state of Chhota udaipur, while Dungarji, the younger son of Raisingh, was the founder of the State of Devagadh Baria.

The End of the War :-

Since the beginning of the independent Sultanate

44. Forbes K. Rasmala (Oxford) I, pp. 356-358.

45. Ibid.

Gujarat was constantly, threatened by the possibility of invasion by the Sultāns of Malwa. This conquest secured the eastern frontier against these attacks from Malwa, because Champaner held a key position between Gujarat and Malwa.

Sultān Mahmūd selected this town for the capital of Gujarat and renamed it Muhammādbād. The Sultān beautified it with gardens, fruit trees, and Sandal wood trees. It is said that the Sandal wood trees were found in such abundance that their timber was used to build the houses.⁴⁶

The Conquest of Rannur :-

The Persian Chroniclers are silent about Sultān Mahmūd's conquest of Rannur, a Rajput principality, near Dhandhuka. Only the Rasmala account based mainly on bardic information, refers to this campaign against Rajput king of Rannur.

It is said that Rannji the Gohel Chief of Rannur and the Sultān had married the daughters of the king of Marwar. One day both the sisters came together in their father's house. The Sultān's wife pressed her sister Gohel's wife, to dine with her, which she declined saying that she was unworthy of doing so, for her elder sister was the wife of the Sultān of Gujarat, whereas

46. MS - Trans (F) pp. 68-69.

she was only the wife of a petty landlord. When pressed, the younger sister disclosed the true reason, namely that she would be defiled by eating with the queen, who was married to a Muslim. ⁴⁷

At this reply of "Thakorani", the Sultan's wife felt insulted and determined to avenge it by having her sister brought to the court and to make her dine in her company.

The Sultan's wife persuaded her husband to call Ranji and his wife at Ahmedabad. At the Sultan's request Ranji and his wife came to Ahmedabad but Ranji had learnt of the real intentions, of the Sultan for this invitation from his wife. So he came alone to visit the Sultan at his palace. The Sultan once again reminded the Gohel chief to bring his wife to the palace. The Gohel chief refused to do so and immediately returned with his wife to Ranpur.

Another reason given in the Rasmala for the fall of Ranpur is as under which is probably the immediate cause for the attack. It is said that an old Mohammedan woman with her son, halted at Ranpur, while on her way to Mecca. Early next morning the boy called the "adhan" or summons to prayers. The Brahmins at this prophesised the fall of

47. Forbes K. Op. Cit. I pp. 344-347.

Ranpur at the hand of "Malechha". Ranji put the boy to death, paying no attention to his mother's protest. The Sultān was appealed to for justice by the old woman.⁴⁸

The Attack :-

Sultan Mahmud ordered his nephew Bhandari Khan to march against Ranji. Ranji, on hearing the march of the royal army, took his position near Dhandhuka. After a sharp battle, the Rajput army retreated to the gates of Ranpur and Ranji, the Rajput, ordered that if royal banner was seen going down, then it should be taken as a signal to perform "Jauhar". It is said that the Rajput Flag bearer set it down to drink water and on this the "Jauhar" was performed. The Gohel chief Ranji also fell in the battle and the Rajput fort was taken by the Sultān.

The Ranpur principality was given to Parmar Haluji, the nephew of Gohel and chief of Mali, as a prize for his conversion to Islam.⁴⁹

For this event we have to rely solely on the information supplied by Forbes in the Rasmala. The description itself is incomplete and therefore, raises doubts.

First, Persian chroniclers do not mention this event,

48. Forbes K. Op. Cit, pp. 344-347

49. Bom. Gaz. IV, p. 352.

^A of contemporary source like MA 'ATHIR-I-MAHMUD SHAHI also has not mentioned this. The Persian historians liked to record such success, but are silent regarding this event. This can be explained on the following grounds :

It is clearly mentioned that the Sultan ordered his nephew Bhandari Khan to march against the Rajput chief of Ranpur, therefore it is likely that the Persian historians might not have treated it as an important event.

Secondly, it is very difficult to fix a date for this campaign. It is possible to place this event between Sultan Mahmud's conquest of Champaner and Bahadur Gilani's revolt on the sea-coast of Gujarat, i.e. between 1482 to 1492, because it is believed that Halaji Parmar, the Mali chief came on the throne of Ranpur at this time.⁵⁰

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50. Forbes K. Opp. Cit. I, pp. 344-347 Bom. Gaz. IV, pp. 352-353.