

CHAPTER II

GUJARAT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Portuguese - Gujarat Relations :

The motives of the Portuguese to discover new sea-routes to India were many. But only some of the reasons channelled and strengthened the cause for venturing into the sea. The sea-faring Chinese had introduced the use of gun powder along with the construction of ocean going vessels. Also their oceanic navigations were made simpler by circulating the Bay of Bengal into India. The Chinese junks were an important and regular phenomena on the coast of Malabar before the arrival of the Portuguese in India.¹ They had established themselves so firmly that they possessed their own factory at Calicut. But the Chinese oceanic expansions came to an abrupt end before the mid-fifteenth century. Their internal politics and the rise of Confucian bureaucracy could have been the immediate cause for the end of their oceanic expansion.²

Apart from geographical advantage the commercial interest which Portugal had was another cause. Trade was conducted between Europe and the Orient through Constantinople. The fall of the Roman Empire along with Constantinople paved the way for the discovery of a new sea-route to India.³ Trade was entirely in the hands of the Arabs till this period. The death of Muhammad made

them extend their sway over European dominions. The subjugation of Persia and Egypt cut off the Greeks completely from Alexandria which was a principal resort for Indian Goods. The Arabs saw the enormous advantages derived from the Eastern commerce and hence entered into mercantile enterprises.

They soon found a place for themselves on the commercial map and controlled both the land and sea routes to the East. Their vast mercantile operations filled the countries of Europe with rich products of the East. The Catholic princes of Aragon and Castile copied the luxurious habits of the Moors of Seville and Granada. But soon hostilities on the part of the Moors led to the stoppage of these luxurious and other items from being imported. As a result the merchants and traders in particular chaffed at the idea of monopolization of Constantinople by the Turks. At this time a new class of adventurers were rising in Europe. Disappointed at the closure of the Constantinople route they had to hunt for other new maritime routes. So they, backed by the Royalty, started finding new ways of reaching the East. Thus the spirit of exploration kindled by Manuel the Fortunate in 1498 led Vasco da Gama to sail to India. He followed the trails of his predecessors and reached Melinde.⁴

The Gujarati merchants, on the other hand even prior to the sixteenth century were industrious and their commercial activities spread over a wide network covering the regions of South-East Asia, West Asia and the African Coast. The South-East

Asian regions comprised Malacca, Kedah, Bruas, Selangor, Mjamjam, Page and Pedir. Both, Gujarati and European goods were exported to Malacca. In exchange Chinese goods were imported from the South-East Asian entrepot (Malacca). Gujarati merchants were found in abundance here. They had a Shahbandar stationed in Malacca. He was the chief of the Gujarati merchants and exercised great influence with the ruler and people of Malacca.⁵ The Gujarati merchant population which was settled in Malacca, during the first half of the sixteenth century amounted to 1,000 and about 4,000 to 5000 merchants were visiting this port every year.⁶

The areas covered by the Gujarat merchants in the West Asia and the East African coast spread very wide. Broadly speaking in the Middle East Shehr, Ormuz, Basra, Jeddah, etc., were the important ports, while in the East African coast Melinde, Soffala, while in the East African coast Melinde, Soffala, Angoche, Mogadischu and Guardifui were the most important ports which had commercial relations with Gujarat.

The merchants from Gujarat, thus had a supremacy over almost the entire sphere of Asia, Africa and the West Asia. Compared to the Venetian merchants, they maintained an important position in the Oceanic trade.⁷ They were said to be constituting the cream of the society. Gujarat was chiefly a transit trade centre and items like pepper and other commodities were brought from Malabar and other regions.⁸ This was further transported to the African coast, Cairo and ultimately to the various parts of the world especially to the European countries by the Venetian merchants.⁹

Cambay, as Gujarat was called by the European writers of that time, was exporting precious stones, cloth both, cotton and silk, spices and indigo. As stated earlier, Gujarati merchants were found on the African coast. In fact it was a Gujarati merchant who steered Vasco da Gama from Melinde to India in 1497.¹⁰

Seeing the prosperity and commercial activities of Gujarat and the Gujaratis the Portuguese wanted to have a foothold in Gujarat. In order to wrest the monopoly of trade from the muslim merchants the Portuguese were prepared to go to any extent. Gujarat being the chief centre was the main hindrance for their plans. Hence they wanted to capture the strategic points in Gujarat.

The Naval Battle Of Chaul In 1508

Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat, in order to defend the commercial interest authorized Malik Ayaz his able governor, to face the Portuguese. Malik Ayaz appealed to the ruler of Egypt, Qanshaw-al-Ghawri for help. The Mamluk Sultan himself had to settle score with the Portuguese. His coffers were running dry because he was being deprived of his chief source of revenue from trade. The effect of the Portuguese policy in the Indian waters were not at all favorable to the Egyptian custom-houses. The constant attack by the Portuguese on the ships carrying spices from India to the Red Sea was one of the reasons for the Mamluk Sultan to send a fleet under Amir Hussain to aid Malik Ayaz.

Apart from this the Zamorin of Calicut also sent troops to help fight the battle. He had his own reasons for fighting the Portuguese. As in the case of the Sultan of Egypt, so also in the case of the Zamorin of Calicut the Portuguese had deprived him of complete control over the commercial activities.¹¹ They had occupied most of the important ports and introduced the system of cartaz,¹² limiting the movement of the ships on the sea.

Thus Malik Ayaz along with the allies met the Portuguese in Chaul, who were under the command of Luorenco d'Almeida, son of the first Viceroy of the Portuguese in India, Fransisco d'Almeida.¹³ Dom Lourenco was killed after a fierce battle and the Portuguese lost. This was the first naval battle fought between the Gujaratis and the Portuguese.¹⁴ This did not dampen the spirits of the Portuguese. In 1509 the Portuguese Vice Roy Fransisco d'Almeida, with a huge army marched to the west coast of Gujarat, to avenge both, the death of his son and the defeat at Chaul. This resulted in another battle in Diu in 1509. Once again the Gujarati contingent along with the Turks and the troop from Calicut, under the command of Malik Ayaz faced the Portuguese. But this time the combined allies were defeated and Malik Ayaz realizing the power and importance of the Portuguese¹⁵ sought their friendship and good relations were established. The Portuguese prisoners from the battle of Chaul were released by Malik Ayaz and the latter promised to be a humble servant of the king of Portugal.¹⁶

Establishment Of Factory At Diu By The Portuguese.

The Portuguese set up a factory in Diu in 1509.¹⁷ This helped develop the trade links between Diu and Portugal. Tristão de Gá was the feitor, or Portuguese factor. He had with him a writer and four subordinates who were appointed to help him. Apart from purchasing textiles and other merchandises, these Portuguese officials had to look after the official trade conducted from here.

Surrender Of Chaul In 1521

Inspite of their repeated attempts to capture Diu, the Portuguese could not succeed. Malik Ayaz, the Governor of Diu had strong fortifications and was aware of the Portuguese plans to conquer Diu. So in 1521 he sent Cidi Ali to the Portuguese governor in Goa. Diogo de Sequeira, the Portuguese Viceroy sent a message through Cidi Ali that he wanted to conclude a peace treaty with Malik Ayaz for setting up a Portuguese factory at Diu.¹⁸ Ayaz very diplomatically warded off the issue and said that he was only a humble servant of the Sultan of Gujarat and that everything depended on the latter. The Portuguese Viceroy aware of Ayaz' determination turned his attention towards Chaul. It was an easy target compared to Diu. The Nizam Shah, under whose domain was Chaul, was the enemy of the Sultan of Gujarat. Hence he readily allowed the Portuguese to build a factory at Chaul. Ayaz on his part sent a fleet of sixty vessels to Chaul to

disrupt the Portuguese activities with regard to building a factory in Chaul. But everything was in vain, since the Portuguese were determined to continue with their project. Thus the Portuguese-Gujarati relation was embittered to some extent.

Surrender Of Bassein In 1534

The clash between Humayun and Sultan Bahadur Shah had taken a very serious turn. At the same time Bahadur Shah was fearing the Portuguese attack on Diu¹⁹. Hence he sent Sheikh Iwas²⁰, as his envoy to negotiate with the Portuguese. The governor Nuno da Cunha was stationed at Bassein with his armada. The Sultan's envoy was well received by Nuno da Cunha and the result of the meeting²¹ was the signing of a treaty on 23rd of December 1534. The said treaty was worded both in Portuguese and Persian and Khoja Porcolim a Parsee helped the Portuguese to draw the treaty.²²

Surrender Of Diu In 1535

As stated earlier Humayun was making great strides to capture Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was debating between the onslaught of the Mughals and the Portuguese. So finally he chose the Portuguese since he was aware that the latter were not keen on completely taking over Gujarat. They were only interested in setting up a factory at Diu for the sake of trade. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor is said to have

threatened the Sultan that he would support the Mughals against the Portuguese if they were not allowed to build a fortress at Diu.²³

In consequence the Portuguese and Sultan Bahadur Shah signed a treaty in 1534.²⁴ According to which the Portuguese would help the Sultan against the Mughals and in return the Sultan would allow the Portuguese to set up a factory in Diu. The Portuguese helped in the battle and Humayun had to withdraw from Gujarat. As a result the Portuguese instead of building a factory started erecting a fortress at Diu and furnished it with guns and muskets and subsequently started residing there.

First Siege Of Diu In 1536

After Bahadur Shah had got rid of the Mughal scare and regained Gujarat once again, he realized the mistakes of offering Diu to the Portuguese. So he started negotiations with Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Viceroy. The latter feigned illness and instead invited Bahadur Shah to his ship which was anchored off the coast of Gujarat. Not knowing what was in store for him Bahadur Shah went to the ship and accordingly after the formalities, on his return he was treacherously murdered and his body was thrown into the sea. Thus the first siege of Diu ended in a fiasco and the death of Bahadur Shah.²⁵

Second Siege Of Diu In 1548

It is believed that even before Sultan Bahadur Shah had left to meet the Portuguese he had sent messages to the Turks for their help against the Portuguese.²⁶ Thus in 1538, the Turks under Suleiman Pasha sailed to Diu with a fleet consisting of seventy two vessels and 6,500 men. On the side of the Gujaratis Khwaja Safar the brilliant Governor of Surat and Ali Khan, a Gujarati general along with their men totalling to 19,000 joined the Turks.²⁷ The attack was very severe for the Portuguese since they had only 800 men at their disposal. The allies broke down most of the walls surrounding the fort. But due to skirmishes amongst the Gujarati and Turkish army the Portuguese were saved from being defeated. The Turks on their part withdrew and sailed back to their place, while the Gujaratis under Khwaja Safar had to satisfy themselves by setting ablaze parts of Diu and withdrawing from there.²⁸

Surrender Of Daman

Daman was yet another easy prey for the Portuguese conquest. It is situated on the western coast of Gujarat and was for the Portuguese another port from where they could conduct commercial activities. Repeated attempts made by the Portuguese to capture Daman were futile. But in 1550, due to an internal strife between Chengiz Khan and Khudawand Khan, the Portuguese were requested by the former to help him.²⁹ The result of this help was the acquisition of Daman.

Mughal Gujarat And The Portuguese

The latter half of the sixteenth century saw in Gujarat the entry and occupation of the Mughals under Akbar. In 1573 the Mughals made a grand entry into Gujarat and it was not difficult for them to occupy the throne of Gujarat. The reasons were many for this occurrence. After the death of Sultan Bahadur Shah the rulers who followed him were not very strong in their dealings. Thus due to treachery and enmity the last ruler Sultan Muzaffar Shah III was a mere puppet in the hands of nobles. And since there was no unifying factor amongst the nobles they started mistrusting each other and conflicts arose amongst them.

Added to this disorder, some Mirzas from Delhi who were expelled by Akbar arrived in Gujarat. The picture of Gujarat during the arrival of Akbar was one of turmoil and confusion. Moreover Itimad Khan who was the Prime Minister of Muzaffar Shah III invited Akbar to take possession of Gujarat. ³⁰

As a result Muzaffar Shah III was captured and all the nobles had to submit to the suzerainty of Akbar. No doubt, the whole of Gujarat was not under the Mughals. But the most important parts inclusive of Ahmedabad came under their survey. While Ahmedabad was left under the care of Mirzá Aziz Koká, the areas of Baroda, Surat, Champaneer, etc. were left under the wings of the nobles who had helped in the conquest. ³¹

Daman and Surat which were under the Portuguese control did face some trouble from Akbar initially. The clash between the Portuguese and the Mughals in Surat is notable. Accordingly, Muhammed Qulij Khan, a noble of Akbar was determined to send a ship with goods from Surat to the Red Sea without obtaining a cartaz from the Portuguese. For this he armed his ship well with munitions and artillery. Also Qulij Khan requested his brother at Rander to help him. The Portuguese on hearing this plan sent Diogo Lopes Coutinho to stop such an action. But all this was in vain as the Portuguese were defeated and some of their men were held captive.

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A treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Akbar in 1573, in order to avoid any discrepancies. This peace treaty was embodied in a farman and the clauses were as follows. :-

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- (a) Daman and other parts which were under the Portuguese would not be attacked,
- (b) The Portuguese would be given importance in the ports of Gujarat, while the pirates from Malabar would not be entertained or favoured and,
- (c) A free cartaz would be given to Akbar's ship every year, which sailed from Gujarat coast and no duties were to be paid by this ship.

This farman was an important instrument which helped to maintain cordial relations between the Portuguese and the Mughals. For example, the third clause was detrimental to the Portuguese, because the Surat merchants loaded their goods onto Akbar's ship at Red sea ports. As these ships did not have to pay

custom duties at Surat, the merchants found this to be very advantageous.

Inspite of the farman. in 1585 an attempt was made, once again, by Muhammad Qulij to send a ship to the Red Sea without obtaining a cartaz. The ship on its return collected merchandise, and armed with soldiers set sail to Surat. Due to a storm the ship had run aground near Cambay. Qulij Khan immediately sent help for defending the ship, and he himself personally arrived with his cavalry. But the Portuguese were determined and continued their attack on this ship. When yet another storm broke out the ship of Qulij Khan shattered completely. As a result he lost his ship and his determination to oppose the Portuguese. ³⁴ Though this incident was reported to Akbar and his court they feigned ignorance and did not give much importance to it. This itself shows that Akbar personally wanted to maintain a cordial relationship with the Portuguese and the latter on their part were aware of the power of Mughal Emperor.

Gujarat Relations With The Neighboring Chiefs

Gujarat-Malwa Relations : As a part of the expansionist activities Gujarat subjugated their enemies belonging to the Rajput states. When Sultan Muzaffar Shah II ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1511 he wanted to maintain a cordial relationship with the Rajput and other neighboring Hindu chiefs. But the Sultan of Gujarat intervened in the affairs of Malwa which was in the midst of a civil war.

The ruler of Malwa Nazir Shah died in 1510 leaving behind his three sons who claimed the throne.³⁵ Muhammad Khalji, the youngest of the three ascended the throne. But this was not for long, since Muhammad Shah or Sahib Khan the second son with the help of Khwajah Jahan Taw'shi, a noble and minister of the late king, became the ruler. In the meantime Muhammad Khalji, sought the help of Medini Rai, his minister and a powerful Rajput from Chanderi. Medini Rai attacked Mandu and declared Muhammad Khalji as the ruler of Malwa. So Muhammad Shah fled to Gujarat and sought the help of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. The Sultan was only too glad to help the former as he himself wanted to reduce the Hindu influence in Malwa in general, and that of Medini Rai in particular.³⁶ Hence a campaign was launched by him where Quaisar Khan a noble was sent to Dohad to prepare for the combat. But due to the sudden flight of Muhammad Shah, the campaign was abandoned.³⁷

Muhammad Shah meanwhile was invited back by some amirs in Malwa and so he left Muzaffar Shah without informing him. After the enthronement of Muhammad Shah as the Sultan of Malwa, Medini Rai gradually concentrated power in his hands. He took full charge of the government of Malwa while Muhammad Shah was a mere puppet who only enjoyed the superficial duties of a king and was virtually a prisoner of the Rajput.

Medini Rai soon became very powerful and planned once again to establish Hindu rule in Malwa.³⁸ He could not depose the

muslim ruler of Malwa since he was aware of the muslim powers of the neighboring kingdoms of Gujarat, Khandesh and Decan. So out of despair and wanting revenge Muhammad Shah the ruler of Malwa ordered some of his men to attack Medini Rai. As a result the latter was wounded and fled from Malwa. Muhammad Shah was afraid of the retaliation of the Hindu minister and hence once again sought the help of the Sultan of Gujarat.

Muzaffar Shah II armed with his two sons Bahadur Khan and Latif Khan and the deposed Sultan of Mandu marched towards Dhar. Medini Rai, in the meantime, had left his son Rai Pithora in-charge of the fort of Dhar along with other generals like Udai Karan, Sadi Khan, Bahadur Khan, Dungar Khan and Bikram Singh. He went to seek the help of Rana Sanga of Chitor. So when Muzaffar Shah reached the fort, the Rajputs pleaded for a month's time to evacuate from the fort and were granted the same.³⁹ This ploy was used because Rai Pithora came to know that his father would take a month to gather troops of Rana Sanga and return to defend the fort.

Muzaffar Shah II who had conceded to the request of the Rajputs became aware of the cunning tactics. So he sent Adil Khan III to Khandesh, who had joined the Gujarat Sultan, and Kiwan-ulmulk to prevent the advance of the Rana and Medini Rai. Imad-ulmulk who was in command of the Gujarati garrison entered the fort and attacked the Rajputs. A fierce battle ensued and Rai Pithora was killed. About 19,000 Rajputs including women and children were killed.⁴⁰

When Rana Sanga and Medini Rai came to know of the misfortune that had befallen their men, they did not make any attempt to advance to Dhar. The former along with Medini Rai retreated to Chitor and bestowed Chanderi and Gargaun on Medini Rai.
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Thus Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat placed Muhammad Khalji on the throne of Malwa and returned to Gujarat. Even though a lot of Gujarati soldiers had lost their life in the battle, still the Sultan of Gujarat was satisfied that he had helped a fellow muslim and by this he made Malwa a buffer state between Gujarat and the developing Rajput states.
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Affairs At Idar

When Raja Bhim Singh of Idar died in 1515 the throne was claimed by Bharmal, the son of the deceased ruler and Raimal his nephew. As Raimal was the son-in-law of Rana Sanga, with the latter's help he claimed the throne of Idar. When Muzaffar Shah II heard of this he at once gave orders to the jagirdar of Ahmednagar to fight Rana Sanga. The result was that in 1517 a fierce battle was fought and Muzaffar Shah II came out victorious and placed Bharmal on the throne of Idar.
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In 1519 another battle ensued between Rana Sanga and Muhammad Khalji wherein the latter was wounded. As a result of this Muzaffar Shah II sent an army to occupy Mandu in favour of Muhammad Khalji. The Sultan himself stayed at Idar. Due to an

incident caused by a barot (bard) Nizam-ul-mulk had to declare war with the Rana of Chitor.⁴⁴ Nizam-ul-mulk at once sent for help from the Sultan of Gujarat. Thus Malik Ayaz, the Governor of Surat and Diu arrived to invade Chitor in 1521. After ravaging the districts of Wagar and Dungapur Malik Ayaz finally arrived at Mandisor which was in the possession of the Rana. The Rana agreed to sign a peace treaty which Malik Ayaz accepted without the Sultan's consent.⁴⁵

The treaty stated that the Rana would return all the areas he had captured in the former invasion and that he would pay an increased tribute.⁴⁶ Apart from this he wrote an agreement which stated that he would submit and obey the Sultan in future.⁴⁷ He also set free the son of the Sultan of Malwa, whom he had imprisoned since 1519. So Malik Ayaz returned to Gujarat and the Sultan of Malwa went back to his kingdom. However, the Sultan of Gujarat displeased with Malik Ayaz did not honour him when he appeared in the court. It seems that the outcome of the battle fought between Malik Ayaz and the Rana Sanga was not appreciated by Muzaffar Shah II and therefore Malik Ayaz was termed as a coward.⁴⁸

Gujarat-Khandesh Relations

Khandesh located to the south-east of Gujarat was yet another province which had a cordial relationship with the latter during the sixteenth century. This friendship was cemented when

Sultan Mahmud Begada supported the placement of Adil Khan III on the throne of Khandesh. The bond grew even closer when the ruler of Khandesh married the daughter of Prince Khalil Khan, son of Mahmud Begada. This cordiality continued upto the time of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. During the time of Sultan Bahadur Shah in Gujarat Adil Khan Faruqi III's son Miran Muhamad Khan Faruqi was the ruler of Khandesh.

Their relationship was so close that Sultan Bahadur Shah nominated Miran Muhammad Khan as his successor to the throne of Gujarat. But this was not put into effect because after the death of Sultan Bahadur Shah when Miran Muhamad Khan was on his way to claim the throne of Ahmedabad, he too died. Hence, there was a sudden void in both the kingdoms of Gujarat and Khandesh. So the descendent to the throne of Khandesh was making great plans to bring both Gujarat and Khandesh under his rule. But his nobles in Gujarat wanted the release of Prince Mahamud Khan who was under the custody of the Khandesh ruler in Burhanpur. Once the nobles came to know of the devious plans of Miran Mubarak Shah Faruqi, they sent Muqbil Khan a Gujarati noble, to compel the release of their prince. It was only during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah III of Gujarat and Miran Mubarak Shah Faruqi of Khandesh that the relationships were strained.

The only instance of indifference between the two kingdoms was in 1540. Due to a conflict Imad-ul-mulk was defeated by Darya Khan and was forced to take refuge with the ruler of

Khandesh. So Darya Khan manoeuvred and moved Sultan Muhammad Shah III of Gujarat to attack the ruler of Khandesh-Mirán Mubarak Shah Faruqi, for giving refuge to one of their enemies. So Sultan Muhammad Shah III marched with an army and compelled the ruler of Khandesh for a defeat and ravaged the whole of Khandesh. Satisfied with this campaign he soon returned to his capital.

But after his death due to party politics there was a lot of confusion. So Mirán Mubarak Shah Faruqi took this opportunity and in 1556 led a campaign along with Tulaf Khan the governor of Berar.⁵² He captured the district of Nandurbar. Confident of this victory he once again led another expedition into the centre of Gujarat, but opposition on the part of Chengez Khan arose. The latter defeated the ruler of Khandesh and compelled him to retreat. Thus the oncoming of the Mughals averted the ruler of Khandesh from any further attacks.

On the whole, except for a brief period, the relations between Gujarat and Khandesh remained peaceful and friendly. The Sultans of Gujarat literally protected the kingdom of Khandesh on the one hand, while on the other they did not hesitate to attack the very kingdom if there were any rebellions.

From the above study one may conclude that the Sultans of Gujarat did not have any need for territorial expansion. For example, in the case of Malwa they did not capture it but extended their help even for the internal politics of the Malwa kingdom, only due to the fact that they held Malwa as a buffer

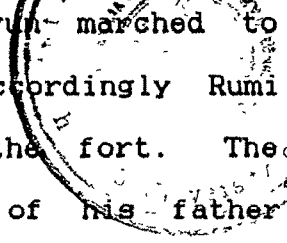
state and created an ally against the Rajputana states. In the case of Khandesh too, it was due to pure friendship and amity that the rulers of Gujarat constantly protected it and interfered in the internal affairs.

Gujarati-Mughal Relations

The first contact between Gujarat and the Mughals was in 1535 when Humayun marched into Gujarat.⁵³ Sultan Bahadur Shah gave refuge to two exiles from Humayun's kingdom. They were Ibrahim Lodi the opponent of Humayun and Muhamad Jumal Mirza a political refugee from Delhi and husband of Humayun's sister. In spite of several letters and appeals from Humayun, Bahadur Shah refused to release the above two refugees. Due to the manipulation of a Munshi employed by him, Bahadur's letter to Humayun seemed to be very rude and discourteous.

Humayun, enraged at Bahadur Shah's audacity marched with a large army to attack Bahadur Shah. The latter also unperturbed moved forward and was dependent completely on his Turkish general Rumi Khan who had fared well in the recent siege over Chitor.⁵⁴ But Rumi Khan was upset that the Sultan did not keep his promise by handing over the command of Chitor to him and instead acted as a catalyst in the defeat of the Gujarat Sultan. It is stated that he leaked to the Delhi Emperor the strategy used by the Gujarat Sultan. Thus after a fierce battle which ensued, the Sultan of Gujarat fled to Mandu at night.

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Rumi Khan continued his mischief when Humayun marched to Mandsur following the trail of Bahadur Shah. Accordingly Rumi Khan persuaded Bhupat Rai to open the gates of the fort. The latter thinking that he was avenging the death of his father Silhadi, blindly followed the instructions of Rumi Khan. Sultan Bahadur on hearing this fled from another gate to Gujarat. The kingdom of Mandu was razed and there was general massacre under the orders of Humayun.

Sultan Bahadur was followed by the Mughal Emperor to Champaneer which was destroyed by the latter and then to Cambay which was also pillaged by the Mughals. Only after reaching Diu did they rest. Sultan Bahadur sent off his family to Mecca and even he is said to have despatched messages to ruler of Constantinople. The feud did not continue further, fortunately for the Gujarat Sultan. Because during the same time Sher Shah the Governor of Bengal was revolting, hence Humayun was forced to abandon his Gujarat campaign. He left his brother Mirza Askari in-charge of the situations in Gujarat.

Meanwhile Sultan Bahadur who was lying low in the fort of Diu gathered a huge army consisting of Malek Amin Darwish of Ranathambore, Malek Burhan-ul-mulk of Chitor and Shamsheer-ul-mulk, of Ajmer who were all his nobles and marched to the city of Patan where Humayun had placed Yadgar Nasir Mirza in-charge. The latter when he saw the huge ally fled to Ahmedabad where he was pursued by his enemies. A fierce battle ensued at Kenj a village

near Muhammadabad. The result was that the Mughals could not face the fire of artillery and musketry which were aimed at them, hence they fled and were chased upto Champaneer by the Sultan who then allowed his nephew Muhammad Shah Asiri to continue the chase. Thus after a period of nine months the Mughals had to retreat and Gujarat and the areas of Malwa were once again regained by Sultan Bahadur Shah in 1536.

The next contact between the Sultan of Gujarat and Delhi occurred during the arrival of Akbar in Gujarat in 1573. After the death of Bahadur Shah the rulers who came to the throne of Gujarat did not fare too well. The nobles during the reign of Muzaffar Shah III (1561) were powerful. The king was a mere puppet in their hands and the kingdom of Gujarat had been divided and partitioned amongst the nobles in the following manner—the sarkars of Patan were given to Musa Khan and Sher Khan Faoladi, the districts of Surat, Broach, Champaneer and Baroda were given to Changez Khan, Dhandukha and Dholka to Sayyid Hamid (grandson of Sayyid Mubarak) and Junagadh along with Surat was given to Amir Khan Ghorī.⁵⁷ Due to the various factions there was general distress. Also due to hostilities, the nobles were constantly disputing with one another. It was at this juncture that the Mirzas arrived from Delhi.

They were expelled by Akbar from Delhi. On seeing the situation in Gujarat they took sides with the contending nobles and increased the prevailing disorder and confusion. Sultan

Muzaffar Shah III by now left the throne of Gujarat and fled for protection. It was at this time that Itimad Khan invited Akbar over to Gujarat, who was then camping in Patan after the siege of Chitor.⁵⁹ The Emperor along with his army marched towards Gujarat and seized Sultan Muzaffar Shah III who was hiding in a grain field near Surat.

After conquering the various parts in Gujarat some vagabonds announced that Akbar had declared that plunder and looting could be carried out. So, many houses were destroyed. When the Emperor became aware of it he immediately ordered that the vagabonds be captured. Once these people were caught orders were given that they should be trampled under the feet of an elephant and that all the stolen goods should be returned to the lawful owners. This instilled a lot of confidence among the people of Gujarat and they accepted and respected the suzerainty of the Mughals. Even without a battle the capital of Gujarat was handed⁶⁰ over to Akbar in 1573.

Mughal Administration In Gujarat

Akbar on his return to Delhi, appointed Mirza Aziz Koka in-charge of Ahmedabad which was the capital of Gujarat. The various areas in Gujarat were divided among the nobles. For example,⁶¹ apart from Ahmedabad Mirza Koka received the pargana of Haveli and Petlad along with several parganas which were granted to him as jagirs. Nawrang Khan received the sarkar of Broach and the

neighboring regions to Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan and Dholka and Dhanduka to Syed Muhammad Bukhari and finally all the remaining mahals of Gujarat were distributed as jagirs to amirs. Husain⁶² Khan was placed incharge of the fort of Cambay.

The campaign to Surat was also an easy one for the Mughals. Not getting any help from the Portuguese the Gujarat Sultanate surrendered to the Mughals and Kalij Khan was entrusted with the fort of Surat. Thus after conquering the territory of Gujarat, Akbar left his foster brother Khan-i-A'zam Mirzá Aziz Kokáltásh⁶³ as the subedar of Gujarat and Wajih ul-mulk Gujarati as Diwan.

The first problem which Mirza Koka had to attend to was the rise of Sher Khan Falaodi, Rav Narayan of Idar and the refractory Mirzas. While Aziz Mirzá Koká remained on the defensive he sent for Akbar who at once quelled the disturbances and once for all established the Mughal suzerainty by issuing a proclamation. In 1573 due to differences between Akbar and Mirzá Koká, the latter redesigned from the post of subedar and returned to the Mughal capital.

Mirzá Khan the son of Bairam Khan was named the new subedar of Gujarat. As he was young, an additional wazirkhan as deputy⁶⁴ and Pragdas as Diwan were appointed. During his reign the only note-worthy event was the skirmish with the Raja of Idar. The Raja yielded to defeat but was pardoned by Akbar and made commander of Idar with an infantry of 2,000 and cavalry of 500 men.

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Another major disturbance was in the form of Muzaffar Hussain Mirza and his mother Gurlukh Begum who had fled to the Decan in 1573.⁶⁵ At the instigation of Mihe Ali Kulabi he gathered a group of insurgents and rebels and captured Baroda. Khambhat was also plundered and looted. But with the contingent under Todar Mal the rebels were defeated and Mihr Ali was killed, and Mirza was imprisoned and taken to Delhi under the charge of Todar Mal's son Sidhgari.

The next Viceroy who was appointed was Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan in 1577.⁶⁶ Itimad Khan the regent of Muzaffar Shah III was appointed as Viceroy in 1583. Apart from being the jagirdar of Patan district he was also appointed as the administrator of crown lands. Mir Abu Turab another regent of the Gujarat Sultan was named as amin of the province.⁶⁷ It was during this time that Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarat decided to rebel.

Muzaffar Shah III who was a state prisoner was granted a jagir by Akbar, but he soon flew to Gujarat from the above situation. On reaching Rajpippla he gathered about seven hundred discontented Mughal soldiers, who were mercilessly dismissed by Itimad Khan as they were suspected for disloyalty. Thus strengthened with a battalion of 3000 horses and men he first laid siege on Ahmedabad.⁶⁸ In spite of the joint efforts of both the Viceroys, i.e., Itimad Khan and Shihab-ud-din Sultan Muzaffar III took possession of Baroda and Broach. When news reached Delhi Mirza Khan was once again appointed as the Viceroy of Gujarat.⁶⁹

The Gujarat Sultan lost hope when his troops were defeated by Mirza Khan in 1584. Apart from the army of Mirza Khan, help also arrived at Baroda from Malwa. Meanwhile at Cambay, Muzaffar Shah III gathered the sympathy and money contribution from the inhabitants but all this was of no avail. Mirza Khan pursued him to Baroda and he was defeated and many of his men were killed at Nandod. On hearing of the victory Akbar bestowed on Mirza Khan the rank of Khan Khanan (chief noble). Muzaffar Shah III sought⁷⁰ refuge in Navanagar where the Jam (chieftain) gave him shelter.

In 1588-89 once again Muzaffar Shah III rose from his hiding and was aided by the Jam of Nawanagar and other chiefs. Mirza Aziz Koka was once again the Viceroy of Gujarat. When the battle took place between the two groups the Gujarat Sultan was defeated very badly and he fled to Junagadh. So in 1592 Mirza Aziz Koka went on a rampage along with a fresh troop. During this campaign many seaports like Goga, Mangrol and Somnath were captured by the Mughals and news was received that Muzaffar Shah III was⁷¹ concealed in the neighborhood of Okhla. Immediately Mirza's son was despatched to capture the Sultan of Gujarat and the latter⁷² was taken as prisoner. On the way to the Viceroy's camp the Gujarat Sultan took his life by cutting his throat with a knife in 1592. Thus ended the life and dynasty of the Gujarat Sultans after a period of nearly two centuries.

Conclusion

Gujarat which had developed into an important province under Muhammad Begada at the beginning of the sixteenth century saw a change during the later years. By way of expansion and maintaining relations it had contacts with the neighboring chiefs, the Portuguese and finally the Mughals. What resulted out of these contacts was something very important.

Having strategic pockets, which were both commercial and productive centres, it had to protect it from any intrusion. In order to sustain such a vast system it maintained some sort of balance with its neighboring kingdoms. If not for the sake of expansion, atleast for the sake of having cordial relations the Gujarati Sultans interfered in the local problems of the neighboring states. As a result these kingdoms acted as buffer which protected Gujarat from outside interference.

With regard to the Portuguese an equilibrium was maintained, but, not for long. The Portuguese due to their power and naval superiority slowly began to capture some of the important marts in Gujarat. In spite of the business prowess of the Gujarati merchants the Portuguese turned out to be successful. Even amongst the local people they managed to influence the life styles, ideas and methods.

The arrival of the Mughals completely upset the political history of Gujarat. Even the few regions which were under their control were taken away by the Mughals. In 1573 Akbar wiped out

the Sultanate rule and the death of Sultan Muzaffar Shah III in 1592 sealed this further. Whereas the Portuguese only wanted some important ports, the Mughals conquered the whole of Gujarat. But the relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese remained cordial. The Portuguese on their part were aware of the power of the Mughals, while the latter accepted the cartaz system of the Portuguese. Since both sides wanted peace they agreed on mutual grounds. As long as Akbar did not interfere in the Portuguese activities, the latter were satisfied with the entry of the Mughals in Gujarat. To them and their commercial activities it did not matter if Gujarat was under the Sultanate or Mughal banner. Moreover by 1573 they had established themselves firmly in Gujarat.

Thus, the beginning of the sixteenth century in Gujarat did not visualize a change of course in its political vista. In totality the whole of the sixteenth century was constantly witnessing various alterations which suited certain people and did not serve the purpose of certain other people.

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