



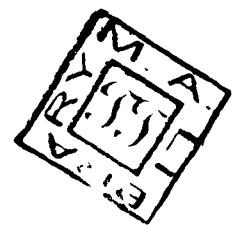
Socio-Political Condition of Gujarat During the Fifteenth Century

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

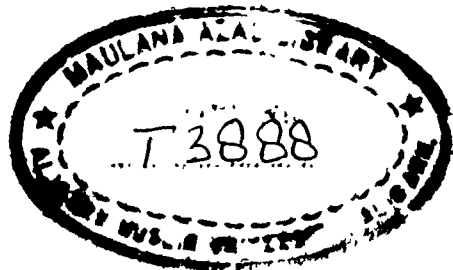
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THESIS SECTION


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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the thesis entitled
'Socio-Political Condition ~~in the Kingdom~~ of Gujarat
during the fifteenth Century' is an original research
work carried out by Aijaz Bano under my Supervision.
I permit its submission for the award of the Degree
of the Doctor of Philosophy.

Iqtidar Alam Khan
(Prof. Iqtidar Alam Khan)
22/5/10

THESIS SECTION

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The abbreviations used in the foot notes are following:-

Āin	<u>Āin-i-Akbarī</u>
AHG	<u>Arabic History of Gujarat</u>
ARIE	<u>Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy</u>
EIAPS	<u>Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement</u>
EIM	<u>Epigraphia Indo Moslemica</u>
FS	<u>Futuh-us-Salātīn</u>
IESHR	<u>The Indian Economy and Social History Review</u>
JRAS	<u>Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>
MA	<u>Mirāt-i-Ahmadi</u>
MS	<u>Mirāt-i-Sikandari</u>
MRG	<u>Merchants and Rulers in Gujarāt</u>
MF	Microfilm
MS	Manuscript
PIHC	<u>Proceeding of Indian History Congress</u>
RMPG	<u>Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat</u>
SMG	<u>Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat</u>
TA	<u>Tabāqat-i-Akbarī</u>
TMS ₁	<u>Tabāqat-i-Mahmūd Shāhī</u>
TMS ₂	<u>Tārīkh -i-Muzaffar Shāhī</u>
TG	<u>Tārīkh-i-Gujārāt</u>
TSG	<u>Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Gujarāt</u>
TS	<u>Tārīkh-i-Sorath</u>
TF	<u>Tārīkh-i-Farishtā</u>
TFS	<u>Tārīkh-i-Fēroz Shāhī</u>

"Socio-Political Condition ~~in the Kingdom~~ of Gujarat During the Fifteenth Century" I wish to express my sincere gratefulness to my Supervisor Prof. Iqtidar Alam Khan for his valuable guidance.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Shireen Moosvi for her help in writing the chapter entitled "The Population of Gujarat During the Sixteenth Century".

My thanks are also due to cartographers Mr. Faiz Habib and Mr. Zahoor A. Khan.

I would also like to thank the library staff of my Department, the Persian teacher Mr. Habibullah as well as the typist Mr. Mohd Riaz Khan.

I am also indebted to the staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for their help at the archives.

I acknowledge with gratitude the patience shown by my parents and tremendous moral support provided by them during the preparation of this thesis.

Financial assistance rendered by UGC and ICHR is also duly acknowledged.


(Ajaz Bano)

This map is aimed at showing the areas and places controlled by the Sultānate of Gujarāt at different points of time during 1407-1572 A.D. 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Vol. I p. 17) gives the list of the 25 sarkārs controlled by the Sultānate at the time of its maximum expansion. In this map these 25 sarkārs are indicated by dot within small circles. The places other than these sarkārs that are mentioned by records as being held by nobles in different capacities are shown in this map with ordinary dots. The alignments of the land routes shown by thick lines that go to suggest the pattern of the Gujarāt's trade links with the other parts of Indian subcontinent are copied from Prof. Irfan Habib's sheet no. 7 A,B in An Atlas of the Mughal Empire.

Introduction

Being located on the western coast of Indian subcontinent, a part of Gujarat is a peninsula washed on two sides by the Arabian sea and on the third by the Gulf of Cambay. A large number of excellent ports found on its coast made Gujarat a commercial emporium.¹ Its natural products, particularly cotton, that was available in abundance and easy access to the sea facilitated the development of the overseas trade. Moreover teak forests in the eastern part of the province provided rich building material for local use as well as for export all over the world.² The people of Gujarat, therefore, were always particularly involved in the occupations identified with handicraft manufacture and trade which contributed to the great wealth of the region.³

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1. Sikandar Lodī, the ruler of Delhi is reported to have remarked that Gujarat Sultan had 84 ports in his control; Sikandar bin Manjhū, Mirāt-i-Sikandari, ed. by S.C.Misra and M.L. Rehman, Baroda, 1961, pp. 309-10. Here after see MS
 2. For the timber forests see English Factories in India 1618-69 ed. W. Foster, Oxford, 1906-27, pp. 65, 79 & John Pinkerton, A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyage and Travels in All Parts of World. London, 1811, p. 326 quoted by Irfan Habib An Atlas of Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982, p. 25, hereafter see Atlas For the export of the timber, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, 'Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World' Islamic Culture, XXXVIII No. 2, 1964 p. 149; For the local use of the teak timber see Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, ed. Saiyid Nawāb 'Alī, Baroda 1927, I p. 16. Here after see MA.
 3. That these factors contributed to the prosperity of Gujarat is emphasised by S.A.I. Tirmizi, Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat, Delhi, 1968, p. 2, here after see SMG.

Since Gujarat was a coastal domain well known for its flourishing trade, the seafaring communities as well as various commercial groups, could be assumed to have comprised a very considerable part of its total population. One may reasonably presume that a major part of Gujarat's seafarers and traders were living in the urban centres. This large urban population was perhaps, further boosted by the existence of considerable artisan pockets.

It is pointed out by Moreland that during the 17th century, Gujarāt was not self-supporting in food grains. This was, possibly, owing to its large urban and seafaring population. According to Moreland "it (Gujarat) imported food grains largely from the North and East, rice from the Deccan, wheat and other grains from Malwa and Rajputana".¹

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Gujarat appears to have witnessed important socio-economic changes which contributed greatly to its distinct regional identity. The features of the economy and demography of the 17th century Gujarāt noticed above were, apparently, some of the characteristics hallmarks of such an identity. In this study

1. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, London, 1920, p. 244.

I hope to probe the question as to how and when the Gujarātī society came to develop these features. In this connection I am proceeding on the premise that the expansion of Gujarat's overseas trade contributing to the emergence of these special features of its economy and demography might be traced back to the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries when it was being ruled by a regional Sultānate. It is sought to be done, on the one hand, by examining the nature and extent of patronage the seafaring in general and trade and commerce in particular received at the hand of Gujarātī Sultāns. On the other hand I have also tried to test the above premise by examining, to the extent it is permitted by the available evidence, the demographic structure of Gujarat during 1407-1572. In my study of the population of Gujarat I have followed Moreland's method based on the assumption that the ratio between the armed personnel and the population came up to 1:30 respectively.¹

One of my major concerns in this thesis would be the study of the state of trade and commerce as well as the

1. The evidence pertains to ^{the} total strength of Gujarātī armed forces in the year 1572 furnished by MA I, p. 16.

related crafts in Gujarat under the regional Sultāns. The II and III chapters of my thesis deal with this problem. In this study, first of all I would be dealing with the evidence suggesting the presence of different merchant communities of local as well as foreign origins in Gujarat. For this purpose, in addition to the references to these communities in the Persian chronicles and surviving traditions, large corpus of epigraphical evidence surviving from 14th, 15th and 16th centuries has also been fully utilized. As a matter of fact, a considerable part of my evidence relating to the merchants of the foreign origin is derived from tomb-stone inscriptions found in and around Cambay, Broach and Pattan. A close examination of this evidence provides insights into the geographical as well as rural/urban distribution of the merchant population. It also goes to vaguely suggest the pattern of Gujarātī trade links with the outside world.

Another aspect of the problem of trader and trading communities deserving particular attention is, of course, the extent of patronage the regional Sultānate extended to the commercial groups. I have tried to discern, in these chapters, the diverse ways in which Gujarātī Sultāns seem to have extended protection to trade and commerce. This is attempted with reference to the specifics of the agricultural and handicraft products of Gujarāt, the pattern of trade routes

and the local demand for the commodities imported from distant lands, that together went to shape the state of Gujarat's trade in general.

The role of zamīndārs in the rise of the regional Sultānate of Gujarat has also been investigated in a separate chapter. The basic question that I propose to answer in this investigation pertains to the degree of support the regional state in Gujarat was able to receive from the zamīndārs during the fifteenth century. Did the zamīndārs who were, perhaps, the most powerful local elements at that time, co-operated with the regional nobility in their endeavours to become independent of Delhi? Or considering them their immediate contenders for political power, the zamīndārs mostly worked to thwart the nobility's moves to organise and consolidate a regional power structure? These are some of the questions I would like to answer at length in this study. This would naturally involve a study of the relations of zamīndārs with the Gujarātī Sultāns. The manner in which the prominent zamīndārīs of Gujarāt were annexed to the Sultānate would form an important aspect of this investigation. As I have tried to show in one of my articles, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the zamīndārs seem to have emerged as the main contenders for power against the Sultāns of Gujarat. This precipitated a prolonged struggle as a result of which the more powerful chiefs like those of

Junagarh and Champaner were totally suppressed and their territories were annexed to the Sultānate.¹ While on the other hand a majority of the smaller zamīndārs seem to have been incorporated into the structure of Gujarātī Sultānate on quite favourable terms. In chapter IV of this thesis, I have re-examined the available data on the role of the zamīndārs in the context of the questions that arise from this interpretation.

Another problem deserving indepth study in this thesis is that of the structure of the Gujarātī nobility. In the context of the structure of the nobility special attention has been paid to discerning its composition in terms of the relative strengths of the various religious, regional and social groups. This is particularly important as one could hope to form a definite view on the cultural complexion of the Sultānate of Gujarāt only in the light of a detailed analysis of the composition of its nobility. It goes without saying that the cultural and other categories of this analysis have been broadly borrowed from Athar Ali's well known study of the nobility under Aurangzeb², along with some additions like the categories; slaves, Gujarātī Muslims, etc. Besides the composition of the nobility, in my chapters dealing with

1. Aijaz Bāno, 'The Zamīndārs of the Sultānate of Gujarat 1407-1572' PIHC 1984, pp. 337-44.

2. M. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, pp. 7-31.

the nobility, I have also tried to highlight the patterns of recruitment, administrative training, promotions, postings, ranks, transfers, as well as modes of disbursement of emoluments and other benefits of the nobility. In this connection I have also tried to go into the details of the evidence on the basis of which S.C. Misra has suggested the existence of a rudimentary form of the mansab system in the pre-Mughal political system of Gujarat.¹

II

After having mentioned the important problems surveyed in this thesis now I propose to dilate briefly on the nature of the source material used for the present study.

As is well known the Persian histories giving detailed accounts of the history of the Sultanate of Gujarat are few. Most of the Persian histories of Gujarat were compiled during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a majority of the cases, these histories are focused on the developments in Gujarat, after its annexation to the Mughal empire in 1572 A.D. But these histories also carry sections on the history of Gujarat prior to its annexation to the Mughal empire.

1. S.C. Misra, 'Some Aspects of the Economy of the Sultanate of Gujarat', PIHC 1982, p. 251.

Zamīmā-i-Masir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī of Shamsuddīn Zīrak, Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt of Sharfuddīn Bukhārī, Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī (by an anonymous author) compiled during the reign of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.), Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt of Mīr Abu Turāb Wālī (The exact date of its compilation is not given. Most probably the work was started after 1586-7 A.D. and was completed before the author's death in 1594 A.D.),¹ Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Gujarāt of Sharfuddīn Muḥammad Bukhārī (It deals with the history of Gujarāt since 1410 to 1554 A.D. It was written in the sixteenth century but the exact date of its compilation is not known) are contemporary or near contemporary Persian chronicles used for the study. Amongst them Zamīmā-i-Māsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī is a very short treatise dealing with the last two decades of the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Begarah. Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt of Sharfuddīn Bukhārī was originally divided into three Tabqās. But the first two Tabqās which are mentioned in the introduction of third tabqa called Tabqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī is available in Maulānā Āzād Library, A.M.U. are missing. This third tabqa of the book commences with the enthronement of Sultān Mahmūd Begarāh in 1459 A.D. and closes with his death in 1511 A.D. The Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī, however, provides quite detailed information. It commences with the foundation of the Sultānate of Gujarāt and comes down to end of the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Begarāh. It is called Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī after

1. Rieu's Catalogue, vol. III pp.967-68; according to 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, the author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Abu Turab Wali died in 1594 A.D.

the name of Maḥmūd Begarāh's successor, during whose reign the book was compiled. Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt of Abu Turāb Walī begins with the notice of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā's arrival in Bahādar Shāh's Court and closes with the account of revolt of Muḥaffar Shāh III against Mughals. It deals mainly with story of the struggle of Sulṭan Bahādur Shah against Humāyun as well as the Portuguese. Abu Turāb Walī's narrative is also very important for the political development during 1526 to 1572 A.D. One might like to point out regarding these contemporary and near contemporary Persian chronicles that besides furnishing limited information these are almost entirely focused on political developments. Very little information on economic history of the Gujarātī Sulṭanate is available in these chronicles. These chronicles are useful for the present study only for the fragmented but authentic information that it is possible to piece together from them on the social institutions like the nobility and the zamīndārs.

The Chronicles compiled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries furnishing information on the history of Gujarat during the 15th and 16th centuries. Tabqāt-i-Akbarī of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad (compiled in 1593-94 A.D.) and Tārīkh-i-Farishtā of Muḥammad Qāsim Farishtā. (Compiled in 1606-7 A.D). Mirāt-i-Sikandarī of Sikandar bin Manjhū (compiled in 1611 A.D.),

Zafrul Walih bi-Muzaffar Walih¹ of Ḥajī-ud-Dabīr (in Arabic) and Mirāt-i-Ahmadi of 'Alī Muhammad Khān (compiled in 1761 A.D.). These chronicles furnish not only detailed dynastic history of Gujarāt but also make available varied evidences on the different aspect of the socio-economic history of Gujarāt during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among these chronicles Zafrul Walih is notablī for its detailed information on the Ḥabashī and Rūmī nobles as well as on the relations between Portuguese and the Sulṭanate of Gujarāt. But the most important and detailed account for the history of the political institution of the pre 1572 period is to be found in Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. Since its author was originally from Gujarāt (born at Muhammadabad in 1554 A.D.) who belonged to a family that were in the service of Gujarātī rulers for a long time, he had easy access to information on the history of the Sulṭanate of Gujarāt. Partly he collected this information from his own father and partly from the other contemporary chronicles like Tārīkh-i-Ahmad Shāhī of Hulwī Shīrazī, Māsir-i-Mahmud Shāhī of 'Abdul Ḥusāin, Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī of Cānī, Tārīkh-i-Bahadar Shāhī of Ḥusum Khān Gujarātī and Tuhfātus Sādāt of Arām Khāshmirī. Most of these chronicles are not available.

1. The author of the book began to write from 1605-6 A.D., but the date of its compilation is not know. I have used its translation by Lokhand Wala.

Out of the above Persian Chronicles Mirāt-i-Ahmadi is a unique source. Although for the history of Gujarat during the 15th and 16th centuries it would be regarded as a very late source, its real significance lies in the unique information pertaining to the administrative institutions of the Gujarati Sultānate that it some time furnishes. The Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, written in the 18th century happens to be very factual for the 16th century as well owing to the availability of the official records to its author, Áli Muḥammad Khān, who was the dīwān of the subā of Gujarat. The information pertaining to the total revenues of the Sultānate of Gujarat, the quantum of tribute paid by the zamīndārs to the Sultāns, names of the important sea ports, nature of custom duties collected there, as well as the names of the administrative sub-divisions of the Sultānate, is fortunately available in Mirāt-i-Ahmadi.

Surviving inscriptions in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit at different places in Gujarat have also proved to be valuable sources of information for my thesis. Bulk of this epigraphical information is available in the form of the tomb-stone epithets or inscriptions ascribing the erection of civil as well as public works to different persons.

The travellers' accounts beginning with that of Chau Ju-Kua (1225 A.D.) and Marcepolo (1298 A.D.) down to those of 17th century European travellers have been used by me extensively for reconstructing the pattern of Gujarātī trade and commerce during 1407-1572 A.D. Among them the accounts of Nikitin, Nicolo Conti, Varthema, Barbosa, Tome Pires have been used with particular care. These travel accounts provide detailed information on the pattern of trade routes, nature of export and import commodities as well as on the composition and economic role of different merchant communities. The account left by some of the 17th and 18th century travellers like Tavernier and Abbe Carre respectively have also been used by me. Information coming from these latter travel accounts some times helps in working back the 17th and 18th centuries features of economy to the earlier periods by juxtaposing it to the evidence furnished by 15th and 16th century sources.

Traditions about the early history of Gujarat reproduced in Tārīkh-i-Sorath and Ras Mālā by R. Amarji and A.K. Forbes respectively are also important sources for my study. But the historical validity of these traditions is accepted only to the extent these are directly or indirectly corroborated by other more reliable evidence.

Lastly, one must also mention that the Portuguese documents preserved in the archives at Goa and Lisbon represent

another vast corpus of source material on the history of the Sultānate of Gujarat which to this date has remained largely unutilised. Owing to my lack of familiarity with the Portuguese language I am not able to use these documents on a considerable scale. But fortunately some of these documents have been utilised by M.N. Pearson in his book, Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat and also in his articles included in the collection entitled Coastal Western India. Similarly K.S. Mathew has also translated many of the Portuguese documents in his book, Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century as well as in his numerous articles of which 'Khwājā Ṣafar, the Merchant Governor of Surat and the India Portuguese Trade in the Early Sixteenth Century',¹ proved to be particularly interesting for me. I have liberally borrowed information based on the Portuguese archives from the writings of M.N. Pearson and K.S. Mathew. Bulk of this information pertains the pattern of Gujarātī overseas trade. I could thus claim that the Portuguese archival sources have also been used, though in a limited way, in the present thesis.

1. PIHC 1982, pp. 332-33.

Chapter -I

The Population of Gujarat During the Sixteenth Century

No contemporary estimate is available of the population of medieval Gujarat. It is thus not possible to be definite about the size of the population of Gujarat during 15th century. For the 17th century only indirect evidence suggesting the populations of two big cities of the region namely, Ahmadabad and Surat, is available. In the letters received by the east India Company from its servant in the east, Ahmadabad is said to be as big as London and its suburb.¹ At the end of the seventeenth century, London is credited with a population exceeding 100,000 but below 200,000.² Accordingly the population of Ahmadabad during the 17th century has been estimated at 100,000 to 200,000.³ Similar evidence suggests Surat's population as 100,000 in 1663⁴ and

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1. Letters Received by East India Company from its Servant in the East, II, p. 28; and Withington in Early Travels in India, ed. Foster p. 206 cited from Irfan Habib Cambridge Economic History of India ed. by Irfan Habib & Tapan Ray Chaudhry, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 171.
 2. New Cambridge Modern History, III, pp. 33-34 cited by Irfan Habib in Cambridge Economic History of India, I, p. 171.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Fr. Manuel Godinho, trans. G.M. Moras JBB (R), AS, New Series, XXVII, ii, pp. 194-5; quoted by Irfan Habib op.cit.

200,000 in 1700 A.D.¹ But regarding the population of the whole of the province we are not in a position to make even a rough estimate.

the

While faced with/problem of lack of data for the Mughal Deccan, Moreland estimated the population on the basis of the size of army. Between the army and the civilian population he has assumed the ratio 1:30 as existing in Germany and France at the time of the first World War.² But this method has been criticised on the ground that the ratio between the army and the civilian population obtaining in a modern situation can not be valid for the medieval period. Moreover, the weakness of this method was perhaps realized by Moreland himself. As pointed out by Shireen Moosvi, he seems to have used the method as a last resort. Since he did not use it for working out the population of the North India for which the size of fighting force could have been worked out rather accurately on the basis of the detailed information furnished in Āin-i-Akbarī about the strength of the retainers of zamīndārs and the figures for the imperial army furnished by Lahori.³

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1. Hemilton, A New Account of the East Indies, ed. W.Foster I, p. 89, cited by Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*
 2. W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, London, 1920, p. 9.
 3. Āin-i-Akbarī, II, ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-77. MSS, p. 306; Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, Badshahnāmā, II, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866, p. 715; cited by S. Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987, p. 379.

However, we have no choice but to depend on this method for hazarding an estimate for population of Gujarat during the 15th century assuming a different army - civilian ratio. The population of Mughal empire around 1600 is estimated by S. Moosvi as 9.83 crores while the army strength is estimated 48.9 lakh (48,90,000).¹ Thus the ratio between the army and the civilian population in the Mughal Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century seems to come to 1:20. Assuming this ratio to be true for the territory of Gujarat during the first half of the 16th century and working out the strength of armed personnels in the Sulṭanate of Gujarat one might hope to arrive at an estimate of the population of the Gujarat during the same period.

The author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi suggests that the total strength of the troops commanded by Gujarātī rulers during 1571-2 A.D. came up to 20,3000.² Moreover according to Āin-i-Akbarī's figures the total number of the retainers of the zamīndārs of Gujarat in 1595 A.D., was 56,0575.³ One may suppose that the total number of the retainers of the zamīndārs of Gujarat in 1571-2 A.D. was roughly the same as estimated

1. S. Moosvi, op.cit.

2. MA I, p. 16.

3. Abul Faḡl, Āin-i-Akbarī, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1881, pp. 115-124. Here after see Āin.

by Abul Faḡl for the year 1594 A.D. As a matter of fact there is no evidence suggesting a drastic change in the zamīndārī structure of Gujarat between 1572 and 1594 A.D., that might tell against the above supposition. Thus on adding this number for the retainers of Gujarātī zamīndārs with the number indicating the strength of the Gujarātī army, one gets the total strength of the military personnel in Gujarat for the year 1571-72 A.D., as 763, 575. Now applying the ratio of 1:20 (between the army and the civilian people) to the number indicating the strength of the military personnel, the population of Gujarat in the year 1571-2 A.D. would come up 1,52,71500.

Dosabhai, the author of the History of Gujarat (on the basis of the census of 1891) has estimated the population of the territory of Gujarāt which was under the control of

the Gujarat Sultanate as amounting to 2,22,99,661.¹ In the light of this estimated population for 1891, one can say that our estimation of the population of Gujarat for 1571-2 A.D. is not far wrong. The almost doubling of population of Gujarāt,

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1. Dosabhai has estimated the population of the territory of Gujarat on the basis of population figures indicated by the census of 1891 for the individual districts. The details of the figures are as follows:
 - A. Ahmedabad district including the subdivisions: Daskrohi, Dholka, Viramgam, Dhandhuka, Sanand, Parantij including Peta Mahal of Modasa, Gocha lately converted into Peta Mahal: 9,21,712.
 - B. Kaira district including Nadiad, Borsad, Anand, Mahmudabad, Metal, Thasra, Kapadvanj: 3,13,417.
 - C. Broach including Ankleshvar including Peta Mahal of Hansot, Jambusar, Waghra, Amode: 3,41,490.
 - D. Surat including Olpad, Chorasi, Bardoli including Peta Mahal of Valvod, Balsar, Chikhli, Mandavi, Pardi: 6,49,989.
 - E. Baroda: 24,15,396.
 - F. Kachh: 5,58,415.
 - G. Cambay: 89,722.
 - H. Kathiawar consisting the states: Junagarh, Movanagar, Bhavanagar, Porbandar, Dhrangadhra, Morvi, Gondal, Vankenar, Palithana, Dhrol, Limbodi, Rajkot, Vadhavan, Jafarabad: 27,52,404.
 - I. Mahikantha: including Idar and 62 minor states: 5,81,662.
 - J. Rewakantha including Rajpipla, Chhota Udaipur, Barya, Lunavada, Balasinor, Sunth and 4 minor states 51 petty Mehwas states: 7,32,831.
 - K. Palanpur and Radhanpur group: Palanpur, Radhanpur, 9 other Talukas: 6,45,526.
 - L. South Gujarat including Dharampur, Vansda and Sachin: 1,83,160.
- EDAJI DOSABHAI, History of Gujarat, Ahmedabad 1894, pp. 327-334.

in the duration of 300 years does not seem improbable. The fact that the extent of cultivation in Gujarat within these 300 years had also become double,¹ tends to support this assumption.

There are suggested two other methods also for estimating the population of a territory by Moreland and A.V. Desai. But these methods cannot be applied in this case due to the paucity of evidence.

It is very difficult to assess the exact distribution of the above estimated population between the rural and urban sectors. The ratio of 15:85 worked out by Irfān Habīb in Cambridge Economic History of India (Vol. I) for urban and rural sectors of the Mughal Empire during the sixteenth century cannot be automatically assumed for the Gujarat of the sixteenth century. As it is well known that Gujarat's flourishing trade and commerce was an important factor in promoting its large urban population. Perhaps the share of the urban population in Gujarat would be much larger than that in other parts of India. At least this is the assumption from which Moreland proceeds in his analysis of the Gujarātī economy at the time of Akbar's death. According to Moreland

1. S. Moosvi, op.cit., p. 57, Table 2.9

"Gujarat was not self supporting, it had a large urban and sea-faring population to provide for, and it imported food grains largely from the north and east, rice from the Deccan, wheat and other grains from Malwa and Rajputana.¹

Irfan Habib has estimated his ratio of 15:85 (between urban and rural) by estimating ratio in which agricultural surplus was shared during the 16th century between the urban and rural sectors. He further corroborates this ratio with reference to census figures available for some of the districts of Eastern India during the period 1813-1872.²

It might be suggested that the ratio (20:1) between the civilian people and the strength of the armed personnel worked out on the basis of the figures, furnished by S.Moosvi for the Mughal Empire as a whole could also be applied for working out urban and rural population of Gujarat separately. One could arrive at the rough estimates of the rural and urban populations of Gujarat at the time of its annexation to the Mughal Empire by multiplying the figures that we have for the total number of retainers of Gujarātī zamīndārs and those of the troops serving under the Sultāns by 20. This would mean that if one multiplies 5,60,575, the total

1. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 244.

2. Irfān Habīb, in Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. I, pp. 169-70.

strength of the retainers of the zamīndārs of Gujarat (given by Abul Fazl for the year 1594 and assumed by me to be applicable to the year 1572 as well), by 20 the resulting figures of 1,12,11,400 would be the rough estimate of the rural population of Gujarat in the year 1571-72 A.D. Similarly, the urban population of Gujarat would roughly be estimated for the same year as 40,60,100. Thus the urban-rural ratio in Gujarat would come to 26:74. Census of 1921, 1931 and 1961 yield the ratio between urban and rural population of Gujarat as 20:80, 23:77 and 25,76.21 respectively.¹ These go to broadly corroborate the above ratio (26:74) worked out for the year 1571-72 A.D.

The fact that the portion of urban population in Gujarat was larger than that of the other parts of India is also borne out by this estimated ratio (26:74). Though this ratio of urban and rural population does not give the exact figure for 1571-2 A.D. however, one may say that in 1571-2 A.D., the urban population was not less than 26% of the total population.

1. In 1921:			
Total Population	Urban	Rural	Ratio between urban and rural population.
27,59,839	5,65,660	21,94,279	20:80
In 1931			
31,50,012	7,35,784	24,14,228	23:77
In 1961			
20,633,350	53,16,624	15,316,726	25.76:74.24

Census of India 1931 VIII, part I Bombay Presidency, Government Central Press, pp. 48,485; Census of India, 1961 pp. 21,70,121.

My estimates would thus tend to show that the ratio of urban population in Gujarat at the time of its annexation to the Mughal Empire was markedly higher (i.e. 26%) than that of the Mughal Empire in general (i.e. 15%). This would mean that by 1572 A.D., Gujarat's demographic structure had already taken a form where the need would have been felt for importing food grains from the neighbouring regions. One might speculate that this was perhaps an outcome of the expansion of Gujarātī trade and commerce during the preceding one hundred years that this territory was being controlled by a regional sultānate.

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Chapter II

Gujarat's External Trade 1407-1572 A.D.

A sixteenth century Portuguese writer is reported to have claimed 'if in any land it can be said, gold and silver flow, it is cambay'.¹ This wealth and prosperity of Gujarāt was a creation of its lavish trade facilitated by the large number of flourishing sea-ports that continuously received foreign trade and also provided outlets for indigenous manufactures. This state of Gujarat economy is also borne out by Sikandar Lodī's often quoted remark that while the kings of Delhi had their income from wheat and barley, the rulers of Gujarāt prospered on coral and pearls imported through eighty four ports controlled by them.²

Tome Pires who visited Gujarat in the early sixteenth century gives the list of the ports which were under the control of the Gujarat Sultāns stretched up to the confines of the state of Ahmadnagar. These were Imdi. Kharepattan,

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1. J. Wicki, ed. 'Duas Relcos Sobre a Situacao da India Portuea nos Anos 1568 e 1569' Studies VIII (1961) p. 177, quoted by M.N. Pearson in his article "Banyas and Brahmin" in Coastal Western India, Delhi, 1981, p. 105.
 2. Sikandar bin Manjhū, Mirāt-i-Sikandarī ed. by S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahmān, Baroda 1961, pp. 309-10. Here after see MS; MA (I pp. 17-24) enumerates 84 ports which constituted many mahals of the kingdom.

pattan, Diu, Manor, Telaja, Gandhar, Broach, Gogha, Cambay, Surat, Rander, Dahanu, Agashi, Bassein and Mahim.¹ One may safely treat these ports as having flourished under the Sultāns of Gujarat. The ports Mangrol and Thana omitted from the Tome Pires' list but mentioned by Barbosa should also be included in this list of sea-ports of the Sultānate of Gujarāt.² A comparison of this list with the list of 17 ports of Gujarat given in Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, which is an eighteenth century description, would show that out of the ports listed by Tome Pires ten, namely Pattan, Cambay, Diu, Telaja, Gandhar, Broach, Gogha, Surat, Rander and Mangrol, survived even after the decline of the Sultānate during sixteenth century. But this comparison also indicates that several ports such as Imdi, Kharepatan, Manor, Dahanu Agashi, Mahim, Bassein and Thana had gone from the control of the Gujarāt ruler during the later period of the Sultānate but some new ports like una, porbandor, Nagsar, Kodinar, Dungen, Mahuwa, Shakhapur and Chikhli were developed after the annexation of Gujarāt to the Mughal Empire.³ This last mentioned

1. Imdi is written for Diul or Dabul. According to A. Cortesao (in Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 38, fn.) since before the port Kharepatan there was no port except Dabul, Imdi, therefore, seems the port of Dabul. Manor - Between Telaja and Gogha Dahanu Lies thirty two miles south-west of Daman; Agashi Twenty eight miles from Dahanu. Barbosa, Durate, The Book of Durate Barbosa, tr. M.L.Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, 1974, I, pp. 38-39. Hereafter see Barbosa.

2. Barbosa I, pp. 148-51.

3. MA I, p. 21.

inference is important as it points to the pattern of Gujarātī trade as well as the organisation of its handicraft manufacture and its undergoing a serious disturbance as a consequence of the conquest.

Gujarātī ports were linked with many places on the African and Arabian coasts as well as with those located in the South-East Asia through an elaborate system of sea routes. These routes for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are identified with the help of contemporary Portuguese and other European travellers' accounts supplemented extensively by the seventeenth century evidence. In the following paragraph these sea routes are described briefly.

In the context of a description of the Chief Gujarātī port Cambay, an early sixteenth Century Portuguese traveller figuratively states that Cambay stretches out two arms, with her right arm she reaches out towards Aden and with the other towards Malacca.¹ According to Barbosa's description Cambay was connected with China and Indonesia via Malacca and Sumatra. Apparently, with Malacca the Gujarātī ports were

1. Tome Pires, I, p. 42.

linked directly but some times these links were through Calicut in Malabar.¹ Other ports in the south-East with which the Gujarātī ports were linked included ports on the coasts of Ceylon, Siam and Burma.² Towards the west Gujarātī ports were linked with Ormuz and Aden and via Aden these were linked with Cairo. Besides Ormuz and Cairo, Gujarat was also linked with a number of ports on the East African coast. Amongst them, during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Sofala and Malindi were more important.³

After Cambay, the other most important Gujarātī port during this period was Diu which was linked with Malabar, Baticala, Goa, Chaul and Dabul and also with Mecca, Aden, Zeila, Barbora, Magadoxo, Malinde, Brava, Bombaca and Ormuz.⁴

In addition to overseas trade passing through sea-ports during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Gujarat also received considerable trade through land routes which linked important trading and manufacturing centres there with outside world. In a discussion of Gujarat's prosperity and flourishing trade it would be of interest to mention these land routes.

1. Barbosa, II, p. 215.

2. Tome Pires, I, p. 42.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43; Barbosa, I, pp. 31, 130-31, 178.

4. Barbosa, I, p. 128.

These land routes, on the one hand, linked with each other the important agricultural and manufacturing centres located in Gujarat such as Surat, Cambay, Broach, Baroda and Ahmadabād. On the other hand, these also connected the Gujarātī centres of production and distribution with the important trading centres in other parts of Indian subcontinent such as Burhanpur, Thatta and Ajmer.

Ahmedabad's main agricultural products were wheat, rice and sugarcane. Among the manufactures of Ahmadabad were cloth, inlay work, carving ivory and carnelian and paper. According to the author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadī: as the climate of Ahmadabad was suitable for weaving the cloth therefore it became the main Centre for manufacturing the cloth in Gujarat. In the market of Ahmadabad different varieties of cloths were woven. The cloths which got special mention in Mirāt-i-Ahmadī are Qatnī Mashrū' (half cotton half silk), bāfta, chiken makhmal, silk, brocaded pashmina (woolen stuff).¹ Cambay was famous for its manufactures like indigo, opium, cups, beads, bracelets and handles of daggers by carving the carnelian (aqīq) and ivory and cloths like muslin, patola (in cotton and silk), white cotton fabrics both fine and coarse and

1. MA Supp. p. 7, For the woolen stuffs 'Alī Muhammad Khān writes Agamsha Zarbāfi and for the silk abreshambāfi.

other printed in patterns, coloured velvet of poor quality and velvety satins, taffetas, thick carpets, quilted articles of dress, beautiful quilts and silk camlets.¹ In Broach the chief agricultural products were wheat, rice, bareley and cotton. Its manufactures comprised cloths like, Calico and bāftā.² Baroda was famous for cotton stuff especially broad bāftā.³

These centres were linked with each other by the following routes. My description here largely follows the alignments worked out by Prof. Habib in his Atlas of the Mughal Empire. It, of course, goes without saying that bulk of the information suggesting the routes depicted by Prof. Irfan Habib pertain to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But one may reasonably presume that the similar pattern, with minor modifications, should have existed during the first half of the 16th century or even earlier when Gujarāt was,

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1. Barbosa I, pp. 55-56, 64, 117, 128-30, 141-42; Nicolo Conti in R.H. Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, London, 1974, pp. 20-31; Hereafter see Nicolo Conti; Tavernier, Jean Baptise, Tavernier's Travels in India, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, I, p. 56; hereafter see Tavernier; Camlet, a durable water proof cloth.
 2. Tavernier I, p. 55; II, p. 6.
 3. Thevenot, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. S.N. Sen, New Delhi 1949, p. 44; Mandelso, Travels in Western India, O.U.P., 1931, p. 17 as quoted by Irfan Habib, see Atlas, p. 26.

being ruled by the local Sultāns.¹ These routes were:-

1. Ahmadabad to Thatta via Radhanpur and Nagar Parkar, was a very difficult route. No fresh water was available between Radhanpur and Nagar Parkar except the two wells containing undrinkable saline water.
2. Ahmadabad to Ajmer had two variants, ^{one} via Sirohi and the other via Bargaon. Apparently the route via Sirohi was a more frequented one since there was the facility of the road for the carts on this route. Moreover,, Sirohi was a great manufacturing centre of swords which also attracted the merchants to this route.
3. Ahmadabad to Cambay via Sojitra.
4. Ahmadabad and Broach were linked by two routes, one going via Sojitra and the other via Baroda. Both these routes were important. as these were linked with many important manufacturing centres. For instance Sojitra was linked with Cambay while . Mahmudabad, Nadiad and Baroda were situated on the other route.
5. Broach to Surat.

1. MA I, p. 24 & supp. pp. 176-7, 222; Tavernier I, pp. 48-50, 68, 71-2, 80-4, 142-3; Withington, Early Travels, pp. 205-10; Finch, Early Travels, pp. 133-7; Thevenot, pp. 17, 102-4; Mundy, Peter The Travels of Peter Mundy, ed. R.C. Temple, London, 1914, II, 260-72; quoted by Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire, p. 25, sheet 7B.

6. Surat to Aurangabad, this route led to Burhanpur as well as to Aurangabad. Upto Navapur it served as common route for the carvans going to the above places but from Navapur it got bifurcated into two alignments. The one via Dhaita led to Burhanpur and the other via Khanpur went to Aurangabad. The Burhanpur route was important owing to its passage through various important commercial towns which produced Calico, muslin, swords and armour. The Aurangabad route via Khanpur and Pimpalner was also rich in several commodities like sugarcane, textile and fruits.

Down to middle of the sixteenth century most of the Gujarāt overseas trade used to pass through the port of Cambay. It was ⁱⁿ view of this importance of Cambay as trading centre that it was called Cairo (the busiest port of the world) of India.¹ According to Barbosa a large number of ships used to come from Cambay to Aden loaded with commodities for transport to markets.² Varthema on the other hand observes that three hundred ships of different countries used to come to Cambay every year.³ Besides the port of Cambay the city of

1. Pedro Alveres Cabral, The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, trans. W.B. Greener, London, 1937, pp. 111-112. Hereafter see Cabral.

2. Barbosa I, pp. 5, 7.

3. Varthema, Ludovico di, Itinerary of Ludovico de Varthema, Hkluvt Society, 1944, p. 111. Hereafter see Varthema.

Ahmadabad in its immediate hinterland was also a great trading centre. It was particularly noted for the export and import overseas trade. A German traveller Mandelslo who visited Ahmadabad in 1638 A.D. says that "there is not in a manner any nation, nor any merchandise in all Asia which may not be had at Ahmadabad".¹

The commercial commodities which were exported from Gujarāt comprised cotton and silk stuffs,² indigo, Coarse pottery of different kinds which is compared by Tome Pires with that from Seville,³ sugar,⁴ glass beads,⁵ leather and

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1. Mandelso's Travels in India, p. 37, quoted by M.S. Commissariat, II, A History of Gujarat, Bombay, 1938, p. 299.
 2. Cotton was produced in Gujarāt in abundance. It was of two types as mentioned by Marcopolo: "Cotton produced in large quantities from a tree that is about six yards in height and bears twenty years; but the taken from trees of that age is not adopted for spinning but only for quilting. Such on the contrary as is taken from trees of twelve years old is suitable for muslins or other extraordinary fineness". Marcopolo, Travels of Marcopolo, ed. Manuel Komroff, New York, 1930, p. 306, here after see Marcopolo; Barbosa I, pp. 154-6 mentions cotton muslin and coarse cotton material exported all over the world. Tome Pires I, p. 44, mentions that near about twenty types of cotton materials were exported from Cambay to the other countries. For the silk stuffs see Tome Pires I, p. 44.
 3. Tome Pires I, pp. 43-44; Seville is a port in S.W. Spain.
 4. The best sugar in India was made in Bassein and exported to Persia and Arabia. Abbe Carre, The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East, 1672 to 1674, to Lady Fawcett, ed. Charles Fawcett Hakluyt Society, 1947, pp.178. Hereafter see Abbe Carre; Cabral, p. 69.
 5. Tome Pires I, pp. 15, 16; Barbosa I, p. 55.

dressed hides,¹ horses,² teak wood,³ rice, wheat, barley, great millet,⁴ precious stones such as carnelian, chalcedonies, agate⁵ and many medicines like arrow root,⁶ lac, borax, incense,⁷ gingelly oil, tutenag, turbidi, gallenga,

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1. Marcopolo, p. 308; Tome Pires I, p. 44.
 2. Barbosa mentions that Gujarātī horses were exported to Vijay Nagar in India (Delhi). Barbosa I, p. 211.
 3. Maqbool Ahmad's article op.cit.; The English Factories in India, op.cit., p. 65, quoted by Irfan Habib in Atlas, op.cit., p. 25.
 4. Rice, wheat and great millet were exported to Africa; Barbosa I, p. 23 .
 5. In Gujarāt the rocks of carnelian, agate and chalcedony were found. Nicolo Conti, pp. 5-6; Nikitin, in R.H.Major, p. 21; Varthema, pp. 106-7; Barbosa I, pp. 43-45, 55-56; see Tavernier I, p. 56.
 6. A plant from which a nutritious starch is prepared.
 7. Barbosa I, p. 156, p. 215; Cabral pp. 69, 777; According to Marcopolo incense is produced in abundance in Kanan (Modern Bombay) Marcopolo, p. 307.

spikenard, sapheliea, myrobolans, nutmeg, chacho and Pucho¹ and Opium.²

The commodities which were imported into Gujarat were: Gold, Silver, Coral, Copper, madder, raisins, vermilion, quick silver, tutty (zinc), horses, rose water and opium

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1. These medicines are mentioned by the travellers Varthema and Barbosa. Turbidi is Turbith, the root of spices, a well known drug; Galanga is a kind of arrow root used for medicines; spikenard and sapheliea, are well known Indian drugs. Varthema pp. 106-7 fn; Cacho and Pucho were the names of drugs exported especially to Malacca and China. Tome Pires used the two words Cacho and Pucho but Barbosa used a single word for two drugs cachopucho. Tome Pires I, p. 43; Barbosa I, p. 156.
 2. From Cambay two types of Opium was exported. One was prepared at Cambay the other was that which was imported from Aden and Malwa. As it is indicated by Barbosa: from the port of Diu Opium was exported to Malabar "both that brought from Aden and that which they make in Cambay". Barbosa I, pp.128-9. That part of Opium exported from the Gujarati ports to the out side world came from Malwa is also corroborated by Walter Hamilton (The East India Gazetteer, Walter Hamilton, I, p. 602). While listing Opium as one of the products of Gujarat, he points out that poppy has never been much cultivated in Gujarat where it was supplied from Malwa. For the import of Opium from Aden see Tome Pires I, p. 43; For the other export commodities see Chau Ju Kua, pp. 92, 126; Nikitin, pp. 20, 21, 31; Varthema pp. 44, 45; 106, 107; Barbosa I, pp. 23, 55, 129, 136-37, 145, 156; II, pp. 173, 215; Tome Pires I, pp. 37, 44, 86.

from Aden;¹ Arabian and Persian horses, seed-pearls, sulphur, silk (probably persian silk), tutty, alum, musk, dates and a great deal of dried fruits from Ormuz;² swords from Egypt, Alīmanī,³ Maghribī and Khorasānī and also from Telingana in Deccan,⁴ gold, ivory, amber, wax, and slaves from East Coast of Africa;⁵ areca, cocoanuts and pepper

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1. Tome Pires I, pp. 17, 34, 43; Barbosa II, p. 164; Gold was imported in ingots and coined. Barbosa I, pp. 55-56; Tome Pires mentions that merchants from Cairo brought the merchandise which used to come from Italy and Greece and Damascus to Aden such as gold, silver, quick silver, vermilion, copper, rose water, scarlet in grain, coloured wooden cloth, glass beads, weapons. The merchants of Aden in turn brought these things with addition of madder, raisins, opium, rose water, gold, silver, horses of Zeila and Barbera and the island of Suakin and Arabia to Cambay. Tome Pires I, p. 43.
 2. Tome Pires I, pp. 14, 17, 20, 21, 44-45; Barbosa I, p. 94; Silk was an outstanding commercial product of Iran. The demand for Iranian silk in Gujarat continued till about the middle of the seventeenth century when it was supplanted by Bengal silk. Owen C. Kail, The Dutch in India, Delhi, 1981, p. 61.
 3. MS p. 119; According to Bayley, Alīmanī is meant German and by Maghribī (Western) is probably meant Arabian or possibly spanish. Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Delhi, 1970, p. 184.
 4. In 1464 A.D. Sultan Maḥmūd Begarah procured from Telingana a large quantity of arms made of Kajil iron; MS p. 113.
 5. Barbosa I, pp. 8, 31; Pires, I, pp. 14, 34; Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, IV, pp. 87-88.

from Malabar, ceylon and Pegu;¹ musk from Tartar and Ava;² spices from Malacca and ceylon;³ opium from Malwa and Aden;⁴ procelain from China;⁵ silk from China and Iran;⁶ betelnut⁷ and rice⁸ from Deccan; some textile from Delhi;⁹ silk stuffs from Syria;¹⁰ mace and nutmege from Bandan (island);¹¹ elephants from the island of Ceilam and Malabar.¹²

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1. Pires I, pp. 80-83; Barbosa I, p. 128; Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency IV, pp. 87-88.
 2. Barbosa II, pp. 159-60; Gazetteer, Ibid., p. 88. In 1486-7 A.D. a Carvan of Samarqandi merchants arrived at Gujarat with few maunds of musk of Tartary. quoted by Tirmizi in Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat, p. VIII (Introduction).
 3. Tome Pires II, p. 270.
 4. Ras Mālā, I, London, 1856, p. 165; Barbosa I, p. 34, 128-29, Tome Pires I, p. 43.
 5. Barbosa I, p. 146; MS p. 164.
 6. Barbosa I, pp. 128-9, II, p. 215; Tavernier II, p. 54.
 7. Betelnut called folio Indo was imported from Deccan. Tome Pires I, p. 54.
 8. Āin II, p. 114.
 9. In 1487 A.D., a party of merchants came to Sultān Maḥmūd Segarah complaining that they were bringing four hundred Persian and Turki horses from Irāq and Khorasan and some roles of Hindustani fabrics with the intention to sell them in Gujarat, they were robbed on the way by the men of Raja of Sirohi, MS p. 144.
 10. Haji-ud Dabir, Zafrul Wālih Bi Muzaffar wa Alihī, generally known as Arabic History of Gujarat Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1970, hereafter see AHG p. 166.
 11. This group of very small islands lying to the south of Ceilam attracted the attention of early Portuguese explorers on account of its production of nutmeg and mace.
 12. Barbosa II, p. 118.

Besides the natural resources of Gujarat, its artisans and craftsman who were skilled in various handicrafts also played prominent role to make the region prosperous. As cotton cultivation was wide spread in Gujarat, the textile manufacture was practiced every where in the region for local use. In addition to ordinary cloth, fine varieties were produced for a limited market. Broach was famous for its cotton manufacture. The water of river Narbada at Broach and the large quantities of lemon produced in the vicinity of the same place when mixed together were considered to have formed an effective bleaching medium. The Calicos were brought to Broach for bleaching from different parts of Gujarat.¹ Since ancient times, cloth is mentioned as one of the chief articles of export from Broach.² Owing to the abundance of indigo;³ Ahmadabad tended to become an important centre for dyeing the Calico. Cambay, Ahmadabad, Surat and Pattan were the main manufacturing centres of cotton textile. Besides these, Navanagar, Porbandar, Mahmudabad, Baroda, Baglana,

1. Tavernier I, p. 66; II, p. 6

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, IX, p. 31.

3. Besides indigo, scarlet (a colour used for dye) which was imported from Europe must have been used for dye. For the import of scarlet, see Tome Pires I, p. 43.

Nandarbar, Mangrol and Bulsar were also the centres where cotton stuffs were woven.¹ Among the cotton stuffs produced in Gujarat were included bāftā, Chīnt (Calico) patola as well as cotton muslin which were exported to overseas lands.² These stuffs were of very fine quality. There was a great demand for them abroad. Barbosa who visited Gujarat in 1515 A.D. is said to have remarked:

"To Aden Come ships of Cambay so many and so large and with so much merchandise for transport to Arabian, Abyssinian and Egyptian markets that it was a terrible thing to think of so great an expenditure of cotton stuffs as they bring".³

Though sericulture was not well developed in Gujarat yet Gujarat was famous for its silk weaving industries. Barbosa mentions the silk muslins, coloured velvets, velvety satins, taffetas, thick carpets and common silk camlets made in Cambay.⁴ Excellent quality silk patola was manufactured

1. I. Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire, p. 26.

2. Barbosa I, pp. 141-42, 154; Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes, London, 1625, III, pp. 82-3. MA supp. 244.

3. The kingdom of Gujarat alone, according to Barbosa, sent muslin as well as coarse cloth to Arabia, Persia, northern India, Malacca, Camatra (perhaps Sumatra), Malindi, Magadoxo, Malabar and Vijaynagar, Barbosa I, p. 159.

3. Barbosa I, pp. 56-57.

4. Barbosa I, pp. 141-2.

at Ahmadabad, Embroidered silk, gold and silver brocades, satins and velvets, carpets on the ground of gold or silver yarn were regarded as specialities of Ahmadabad.¹ Besides Cambay and Ahmadabad, Surat and Pattan were also famous for their silk textiles. Barbosa remarked that in Pattan there is much coloured silk cloth, richly embroidered, which is worn throughout India, Malacca and Bengala.² Surat carpets made of silk, gold and silver thread get the special mention by seventeenth century traveller, Tavernier.³ One might assume that the carpet manufactures must have been existing at Surat from a much earlier period. Sources refer to various kinds of stuffs such as talak, Koitā, Patola, Velvet, Sātins, tafetas, Chīntz (Calico) bāfta, Chirāh, Fotāh, Camlet, Jamahwār, Khārā and Chiken.⁴ These cloths were exported to other countries. As it is mentioned by Varthema, every year forty or fifty vassels were laden here (at Cambay) with cotton and silk stuffs and carried to the different parts of the world.⁵

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1. Mandelslo's Travels in India, p. 31; quoted by Commissariat, II, p. 299.
 2. Barbosa I, pp. 126-27.
 3. Tavernier II, p. 3.
 4. Talak a long gown still worn by Tartar of stripped material half cotton and half silk; Kiotā a blanket; Chirāh is a parti-coloured cloth used for turbans; Jamahwār is a kind of flowered woolen stuffs; Khārā and undulated silk cloth; Patola printed cotton and silk; Kimkhāb a flowered silk; Zarbaft a silk brocade with gold and silver thread; Atlas a type of satin; Nikitin, p. 19; Mb, p. 163; MA supp. p. 7. Ain II, p. 115; also translation of Jerrette vol. II, p.247; Barbosa I, pp. 141-2, 154-6; Tome Pires I, p. 44; AHG p.166.
 5. Varthema pp. 106-07.

Gujarat was also famous for its embroidery. Particularly Ahmadābādī work of Kārchobī , Chiken and Zarī was famous all over the world.¹ As early as in the thirteenth century Marcopolo states that Gujarātī embroidery is superior in delicacy than that of any other part of the world. In Gujarat even the coverlets and cushions of leather. were embroidered with gold and silver wires in the form of birds and beasts.² In the fifteenth century cabral remarks that one can get the silk of better quality from China and embroideries from Cambay.³

Tradition says that in Gujarāt there were three communities engaged in handloom textile. The community of cotton threshers was called Mansura Tantgara. The other community settled in Ahmadabad and Baroda was called Panara. In Baroda it was called Rēshamwālās. Its traditional occupation was starching silk and cotton threads and preparing for weaving. The community of textile weavers

1. MA supp. p. 7.

2. Marcopolo p. 307.

3. Carbal p. 194.

called Sheīkh Julāhās who were also called Vankar in Gujarātī.¹
 At Broach Parsees were skilled weavers who are supposed to
 have settled there before eleventh century.²

Indigo was the other important manufacture of Ahmadabād. Tavernier gives the details of the process of manufacture of indigo in that region. He says³ "Indigo is prepared from a plant which is sown every year after the rains; before the preparation it much resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, the first cutting taking place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high; and it is then cut to within 6 inches of the ground. After the plants had been cut, it was thrown into a large tanks made of lime, which becomes so hard as it is of marble. These tanks were generally 80 to 100 paces in circuit; and after they had been half filled with water, the cut plant was thrown in. It was then mixed and stirred up with the water until the leaf had been reduced to slime or greasy earth. The tanks

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1. S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964, pp. 101, 111, 114. Hereafter see MCri
 2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, IX, p. 29.
 3. Tavernier II, pp. 8-9.

were then allowed to rest for some days and when it was seen that all the slime had sunk to the bottom, thus leaving the water above clear, the holes made all round the tank were opened to allow it to escape. The next step after the water had been drawn off to fill up the baskets with slime, and the man incharge of each basket carried it to a plain where steeped in oil, he moulded it into small pieces which were then exposed to the sun to dry. These pieces were shaped of a small cake". Though produced mainly at Sarkhēj near Aḥmadābād, it was also manufactured at Cambay from where idigo was exported to Arabia, Persia, Africa and South East Asia in considerable quantities.¹

Gujarat was the first place in India where the paper was manufactured. This is borne out by the evidence cited by D.C. Sarkar in his Glossary where it is mentioned that the earliest surviving manuscript in India written in Gujarat dates back to 1223-4 A.D.² The Venetian traveller, Nicolo Conti who was in India during 1420 A.D., remarks that the people of Cambay used paper for writting while in the other

1. Nikitin in India in the Fifteenth Century op.cit., p. 19; Barbosa I, p. 154; Pires I, p. 37; Āin, p. 115.

2. D.C. Sarkar, p. 67; quoted by Irfan Habib in CEHI I, p. 82.

parts of India people were still using the leaves to write on.¹ Apparently, in this passage by the expression "other parts" Nicolo Conti means the coastal areas of India which he had visited. In Gujarāt, Cambay, Ahmadabad and Pattan were the main centre for paper manufacture. Paper produced at Pattan was called 'Pattānī'. A manuscript on the history of Bengal preserved in the Junagarh Public Library is written on Pattānī paper.² Paper produced in Ahmadabad was of excellent quality. As it is remarked by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān: the paper of Ahmadabad was famous for its whiteness and superiority over that of Kāshmir and Daulātābād.³ One of the excellent varieties of Ahmadabādī paper was called "Zarafshān". Brown paper for the business community was also produced for account books.⁴ On account of its good quality Ahmadabādī paper was exported to different parts of India, Arabia and Turkey.⁵ A community called Morkāsh were the manufacturers of paper in Gujarat. The communal designation is derived from the term morāh or the pulp which they grinded for manufacturing paper.⁶

1. Nicolo Conti, pp. 13-31; One would not suppose this as one knows on the basis of quite firm evidence already highlighted by Irfan Habīb in his "Presidential Address" in the Proceeding of Indian History Congress, 1969, p. 156, that paper manufacture had come to Delhi Sulṭānate already in the 13th century.

2. S.A.K. Ghorī and M.L. Rehman, "Paper Technology in Medieval India" Indian Journal of History of Science, Vol. I No. 2, 1966, p. 138.

3. MA I, p. 15.

4. S.A.K. Ghorī and M.L. Rehman, op.cit. p. 138.

5. MA I, p. 15.

6. S.C. Misra, MCG, p. 107.

The process of tanning skins and hides and their conversion into the articles of clothing was another manufacture of Gujarat. Large number of skins of goats, wild oxen, rhinoceroses and other beasts were dressed here. Coverlets for beds were made of blue and red leather extremely delicate and soft and stiched with gold and silver thread. Vessels laden with leather were sent to different parts of Arabia and Persia.¹

Salt was also an article of manufacture at Cambay. It was quite white like sugar and was exported to Malwa.²

Carving of ivory was an excellent handicraft of Gujarat. There were many clever craftsmen who carved ivory and turn it into rings, bracelets as well as different types of bedsteads³ which were exported to different parts of the world. The stonework of Gujarat was again as beautiful

1. Marcopolo, p. 306-8.

2. MA I, p. 15.

3. Ralph Fitch who visited Gujarat towards the end of the sixteenth century remarks that the Cambay women wear upon the arms infinite number of rings made of elephant teeth. See Early Travels in India, p. 13.

as its ivory work. Rocks of stones such as carnelian, agate and sardonixes were mined in Gujarat. The Gujarātī craftsmen carved the stones to turn out cups, rings, bracelets, handles for knives and daggers.¹ Cambay and Kapadvanj were the main centres for carving ivory and stones.²

In Gujarat, there also existed considerable handicrafts for making different kinds of weapons. Swords, daggers, bows and arrows were produced in Gujarat on a large scale. Different types of swords and knives were produced there. In this connection Abul Faḥl particularly mentions Jamdhār and Khawāh.³ Ahmadabād, Nandarbar, Bhuj and Una⁴ were important manufacturing centres for swords and daggers.

It may, thus be assumed that the Sulṭānate of Gujarat controlled a territory which was quite rich in manufacture and trade. This is fully testified by the contemporary

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1. Barboṣa I, pp. 8, 55, 141-2, 154-6; Tome Pires I, p. 16; MA p. 15.
 2. MA supp. p. 250; MA I, p. 15; Thevenot p. 18, quoted by Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 26.
 3. Ain, 41, p. 115.
 4. Purchas III, pp. 82-3; MA supp. p. 227; MA I, p. 15; MS p. 119.

travellers¹. Alī Muḥammad Khān writing in the 18th century prefers to call this region as one of the fine provinces of Hindustan.²

The reputation which Gujarat had already acquired for its prosperity and excellence of products during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be ascribed to two main factors. First its prosperity was owing to the fertility of soil which facilitated the production of large number of agricultural commodities including many cash crops that were in demand in the outside world. The secondly main factor which contributed to Gujarāt's prosperity was obviously the admirable situation of the province for the sea trade. This is borne out by numerous contemporary evidences coming from Persian sources as well as travel accounts which have been used extensively in the foregoing pages. This contemporary assessment is aptly summarised in the following remarks of Sikandar Lodī and Humāyun on prosperity of Gujarāt: that "the pivot of the king of Delhi rests on wheat and barley while the foundation of the Sultānate of Gujarāt is on corals and pearls because there are eighty four ports under the

1. Cabral refers to Gujarat as "the most productive and rich in the world", op.cit. p. 69.

2. MA I, p. 16.

Sultān of Gujarat".¹ Similarly, according to Sikandar bin Manjhū, on seeing Bahādur Shāh's tent made of makhmal and zarbaft that was captured at Mandu, Humāyun had remarked "such articles could be obtained by the Gujarātī ruler alone owing to Gujarat's supremacy over the sea".²

It would be appropriate to conclude this chapter with the observation of Sikandar bin Manjhū suggesting that Gujarat during the rule of the regional Sultāns, achieved a level of prosperity which was not attained by it earlier. It is rightly said that most of elegant handicrafts and arts practised in Gujarat were introduced during the same period.³ The Sultāns of Gujarat seem to have encouraged trade and commerce as a matter of policy as this made them strong economically as well as militarily.

1. MS p. 309-10.

2. Ibid., p. 309.

3. Ibid., p. 140.

Chapter -III

The Trading Communities and Their Role in The Sultanate of Gujarat

In this chapter I propose to discuss the evidences suggesting the existence of numerous communities of traders and merchants in Gujarat during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Most of these communities were of course indigenous groups but some of them were those who had come to settle in Gujarat from outside the region.

Being a maritime region, Gujarat was easily accessible to the seafarers and merchants from different lands. An abundance of commercial products¹ and easy access to the sea facilitated the involvement of many communities in trade and crafts. Gujarat, therefore, came to have a sizeable merchant population. Some of these merchants, locals as well as foreigners, were very rich. These merchants

1. Important commercial products of Gujarat were: Cotton, indigo, timber, spikenard, lac, tobacco, opium, myrobolan, sugarcane, wax, incense, honey, aloe-wood, worm wood, arrow root, borax, agate and cornelian. Varthema, pp. 44-45; Barbosa I, pp. 44, 136, 154; Tome Pires I, pp. 43-44; Cabral, pp. 69, 111-112; The above list of natural commercial products of Gujarat, given by the sixteenth century travellers are compared with the lists of the productions given by Abul Fazl in Āin-i-Akbarī, Irfan Habib in An Atlas of Mughal Empire and Pearson in Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat.

contributed considerably to the prosperity of the territory of Gujarat which was looked with envy by the rulers of the other parts of the Indian subcontinent. It is maintained by Sikandar bin Manjhū that Sikandar Lodī, the Afghān ruler of Delhi, used to say that the foundation of the Sultānate of Gujarāt was on corals and pearls while that of the Delhi Sultānate depended only upon wheat and barley.¹ Gujarātī wealth had always tempted the muslim rulers of Delhi as well as those of the other parts of the sub-continent. In 1197 A.D., it was invaded and plundered by Qutubuddīn Aibak.² As is pointed out by Satish Chandra Misra;³ even 'Alauddīn's first invasion of Gujarat in 1298-99 A.D. was in the nature of a plundering raid.⁴ It was on that occasion, that 'Alauddīn's general Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān plundered the rich merchants of Cambay. During the

1. MS pp. 309-10.

2. Muḥammad Qasim Farishta, Tārīkh-i-Farishta, Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1905, I, p. 62. Here after see TF.

3. According to Amīr Khusrau 'Alauddīn ascended the throne in 695 AH/1296 A.D. and Barnī mentions that in the third year of his reign 'Alauddīn Khalji sent an expedition against Gujarat. The third year of 'Alauddīn's would, therefore, commence from AH/698/1298-99 A.D. Hazrat Amīr Khusrau, Khazāinul Futuh, ed. Mohd. Wahid Mirza, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1935, p. 7; Ziāuddin Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Fēroz Shāhī, ed. Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, Bib. Indica, Calcutta 1862, p. 251. Here after see TFS.

4. S.C. Misra, RMPG, pp. 63-64.

same raid, Malik Kāfūr, originally a slave of a merchant of Cambay, was brought from Gujarat to Delhi along with other booty.¹ This process seems to have continued even after the coming into existence of an independent Sulṭānate in Gujarāt. Maḥmūd Khaljī's invasion of 1451 A.D. was again at least partly, aimed at the plunder of the rich merchants of the coastal towns of Gujarat. This is borne out by Mirāt-i-Sikandari's mention of the fact that at Broach, Sulṭān Maḥmūd had directed the Governor of the place to come out of the town and submit to him "along with the renowned merchants (Sauḍāgrān-i-nāmī) of that place".² According to M.N. Pearson, who has studied the Portuguese records of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries extensively, the 16th century Portuguese writers wondered at the wealth of the Banyas of Gujarat some of whom had capital in their possession to the extent of Rs.2,00,000.³ Obviously, an invader could hope to obtain much wealth by plundering these wealthy merchants.

1. TFS p. 251; Isāmī, Futuh-ut-Salātīn, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras, 1948, pp. 252-3. Hereafter see FS. Finally in 1304-5 A.D. Gujarat was annexed to the Delhi Sulṭānate and its entire revenue came under the control of the Delhi FS. pp. 278-79.

2. MS p. 70.

3. Studia, XIII-XIX, p. 86. quoted by M.N. Pearson "Banyas and Brahmins" Coastal Western India, p. 105.

Among the local merchants of Gujarat were included Hindus as well as Muslims. In Gujarāt down to the recent times, the Chief maritime Hindu caste were the Bhandārīs.¹ This group is mentioned in the sources of the Sultānate of Gujarāt, but all these references are to the Bhandārīs who were appointed by the Sultāns as nobles.² From these references it is not clear as to what were the original positions and occupations of these people. It remains a question whether the Bhandārīs were already a maritime community during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or not. But the greater likelihood seems to be that this community had become rich and influential because of their participation in the maritime trade of Gujarat from a very early period. Some of the Bhandārīs who are mentioned as nobles of the Sultāns of Gujarāt are referred to with Muslim names which suggest that perhaps, as a consequence of their mixing with Muslim maritime groups, like the Arabs and others or perhaps as a result of their contacts with the Gujarātī Muslim nobles in the course of serving the Sultāns some of them were converted to Islām during the fifteenth century.

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. III, p. 329.

2. Hisāmūl Mulk Bhandārī, Malik Ahmad Bhandārī, Malik Pyārā Bhandārī and Chand Bhandārī were the renowned nobles of the Sultānate of Gujarat. For more information on these nobles see Appendix No. 1.

Bohrās and Khojāhs formed a distinct group of local muslim merchants.¹ But the trading community known as Kharwāhs consisted both Hindu and Muslim merchants. The traditions that have survived among the Khārwhāhs of Gujarat (described by S.C. Misra as a Community of boatmen settled along the major rivers of Gujarat) tend to suggest that originally they were Arab seafarers who used to import Ḥabashī slaves into Gujarat.² If these traditions have any basis, one might imagine that Kharwāhs were yet another merchant Community of foreign origin that emigrated to Gujarat some time during the medieval period. But there are certain problems about these traditions that need to be kept in mind: (1) At present some of the Kharwāhs are Hindus who identify themselves with the indigenous caste of Kolis and Rajputs.³ Thus the question that remains to be answered is that, if the Kharwāhs, are claimed by the Muslim representatives of the Community, were really the

1. S.C. Misra, MCG, pp. 74, 124; M.N. Pearson MRG p.27; for Bohrās see also Ras Mālā, pp. 264-5; According to H.H. Wilson the word Bohrās originated from Sanskrit word Vyavhari "trader or man of affairs" from which are formed the ordinary Hindi words Byohāra and a form is Bohra, see Hobson Jobson, pp. 105-6.

2. S.C. Misra, MCG, pp. 95-6.

3. Ibid., p. 96

Arab emigrants, how could it happen that some of them later on became Hindus and developed the notion that they had caste affinities with the indigenous groups like the Kolis, and Rajputs? As long as this question is not answered satisfactorily, it would be difficult to agree with S.C.Misra's view that Kharwahs were originally Arab emigrants. But at the same time the existing traditions/^{do} point unmistakably to the fact that at some stage during the medieval period the Khārwhān Community might have been a sea-faring Community who played a part in the import of Ḥabashī slaves into Gujarat. Whether they were originally Arab emigrants or a local Community is however difficult to decide. There are in-any-case, certain element in the Kharwah traditions which distinctly point to the possibility of that community being merchants in the distant past. It is for example, claimed that originally they were nākhudās and one of their ancestors, Ibrāhīm Nākhudā had conducted Ibn Battūṭā from Gujarat to Malabār.¹ One may point out here that the designation "nākhudā" unmistakably suggests a merchant's identity for the group. The fact that the nākhudās were identified as merchants during the medieval period is borne

1. S.C. Misra, op.cit., pp. 95-96.

out by the following examples:

1. The prominent Jewish merchants in Cairo were termed nākhudās in 1200 A.D.¹
2. A bi-lingual inscription in Persian and Sanskrit found at Somnath Pattan mentions a certain Nakhudā Nuruddīn Fēroz who is clearly identified as a merchant of Ormuz.²

Moreover, M.N. Pearson's evidence derived from the Portuguese sources to the effect that most of the "Captains" (Nākhudās) were ship owners and all the shipowners were merchants³ also support my contention on this point.

Presence of a large ^{number} of Muslim merchants in Gujarat during the fifteenth century is also borne out by epigraphical and literary information suggesting Gujarātī Muslim identity of individuals who were known to be traders. The epigraphical

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1. S.D. Goiten, Mediterinean trade in the eleventh century: Some facts and Problems, Studies in the Economic History of Middle East ed. M.A. Cook cited by I.A. Khan, Trade Relations Between India and the Arab World, the tenth to the eighteenth century, Dissertation submitted in 1984, AMU Aligarh, p. 26.
 2. Bhaunagar Inscriptions, p. 226; EIAPS 1961, p. 16.
 3. For example Pearson quotes a Portuguese authority: Barros mentions the capture of two Gujarātī ships whose "captains" were also the owner of great part of the goods on board - Jao de Barros, Asia, 4 Vol. 1945-6 cited by M.N. Pearson, Coastal Western India, p. 118. Professor Arsatratnam also says that by the seventeenth century, most trade was done by nākhudās on behalf of their shore based principalities. S. Arsatratnam, "Indian Commercial Groups and European Traders 1600-1800" cited by M.N. Pearson, op.cit.

but merchants is supported by the evidence drawn from Rehlā of Ibn Battūṭā which indicates that in medieval Gujarat merchants held suffixes based on the commodity in which they traded. In Rehlā one person Sharfuddīn - Kulāndo is clearly mentioned by Ibn Battūṭā as a merchant.¹ Though literally the term kulāndo would mean one who makes Kulāhs (turbans/headgears). While agreeing with this proposition that persons holding the suffix based on commodities belonged to the merchant class, S.C. Misra points out that even now in many cases the merchant families derive their surnames from the commodities in which they trade.²

Another important trading community of Gujarāt were the Khattris. There does not exist any direct evidence on their origin. S.C. Misra, however, assumes that they had some kinship with Hindu Khattris of South Punjab, who were a notable trading community in the north.³

Gujarātī Banyas were by far the most prominent trading community of Gujarat. A statement in Āin-i-Akbarī quoted

1. Ibn Battūṭā, Rehlā, Arabic Text, Bairut, 1964, p. 550.

2. S.C. Misra, MCG, p. 6.

3. Ibid

We have a number of references to fifteenth century Gujarātī nobles whose names carry the suffix "Khattrī". These nobles are Malik Badra Khattrī, Payagdās Khattrī, Jiwand Khattrī, Alp Khān Khattrī. For details see Appendix no. 1.

by Irfan Habib, mentions the Banyas as "one caste of the Bais (Vaishyas) which is designated Banik, is called Banya in ordinary usage and Baqqal in Arabic".¹ Banik or Vanik is a Sanskrit word meant merchant and the name Banya is obviously derived from this word. Baqqal is a ^hArabic word denoting a grain merchant.² According to Dabistān-i-Mazāhib quoted by Irfān Ḥabīb, most of the Banyas used to sell grain.³ Apparently because of this they were called Baqqals.

In the Sanskrit inscriptions of 13th to 16th centuries in which merchants are termed Sreshthin.⁴ We find references to a number of Banya followers of both, Hindu and Jain religions.⁵ Most of these inscriptional evidences are from the 13th century. But two of them only date back to fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This evidence taken together would suggest the presence of Jaini Banyas in Gujarat throughout

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1. Āin, ed. H. Blochmann, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-77, II, p.57, quoted by Irfān Ḥabīb "Merchant Communities in Pre-Colonial India" Paper presented in the Conference in the University of Minnesota, USA Oct. 9-11, 1987, p. 13.
 2. Platt, Hindustani-Dictionary, quoted by Irfān Ḥabīb, op.cit.,
 3. Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, (of anonymous) (Bombay ed. AH 1292, p.166) quoted by Irfān Ḥabīb, op.cit., p. 14.
 4. Sreshthin - a banker or a merchant, Cf. Indian Epigraphic Glossary, of D.C. Sarkar who cited it from Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV, p. 276.
 5. Dabistān-i-Mazāhib op.cit. pp. 137-9; quoted by Irfan Ḥabīb op.cit., MA supp. pp. 138-9.

fifteenth century. The list of Jaini Banyas mentioned in the inscriptions is as follows:-

1. Vastupala - a minister of Waghela ruler (1242-1298 A.D.) a Jain, Banya.¹
2. Tejpala - Younger brother of Vastupala, minister of Waghela ruler (1242-1298 A.D.), a Jain, Banya.²
3. Jagadu - a minister of Waghela ruler (1242-1298 A.D.), a Jain Banya.³
4. Jayta Simha - Son of Vastupala, a Jain Banya (Undated) (Vastupala was the minister of Waghela ruler 1242-1298 A.D.)⁴
5. Kumar Bhadra - a Jain (1238 A.D.).⁵
6. Samra Sah - a counsellor of the Governor of Gujarat, Alp Khān (1306-1315 A.D.); a Jain Banya.⁶

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1. J. Burgess, List of Antiquarian Remains In Bombay Presidency, pp. 287, 312, Inscriptions found in the Jain temple of Vastupala and Tejpala on the mount of Girnar in Kathiawar.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Jagadu is mentioned by S.A.I. Tirmizi as a Jain merchant Prince alongwith Vastupala and Tejpala, see SMG, p. 5.
 4. EIAPS, Vol. 19-23, p. 110; Bhaunagar Inscriptions, p; 164.
 5. Ep. Ind. Vol. II, 1894, p. 25, Inscription found at Bhilri on the base of an image in the Jain Temple.
 6. Samra Sah mentioned in traditions: Samra-Rasu published in Prachin Gujarāt Kavya Sangrah, I, ed. by C.D. Dalal, Baroda, Central Library, 1920, pp. 27-38, cited by S.C. Misra, RMPG, p. 68.

7. Haripala - a Jain (1276 A.D.).¹
8. Khalla - Modha, a Jain Banyā (1296 A.D.)²
9. Samyaka - a Jain of Pragvata gotra (1301 A.D.)³
10. Mokala Modha, a Banya (1444 A.D.)⁴
11. Karma Raja - a Jain Banya of Oswal sect (1531-2 A.D.)⁵

Tome Pires uses the term Gujarati for a Hindu merchant and says that these Gujaratis were divided into many groups such as Banyas, Brahmins and Pattars.⁶ According to him these groups dominated the trade. One well known person belonging to this category was Malik Gopī, Brahmin merchant, who is mentioned to have employed many agents belonging to the groups like Banyas and Chatis.⁷ However among the so

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1. J. Burgess, Lists of Antiquarian Remains In Bombay Presidency, p. 308 Inscription found at Naminath temple at Girnar.
 2. Bhaunagar Inscriptions, p. 27, Inscriptions found in the Jain temple of Chintamani Parsvanath at Cambay.
 3. Ep. Ind. Vol. II, 1894, p. 25. Inscription found at Bhilri on the base of an image in the Jain temple.
 4. Ep. Ind. Vol. 19-23, p. 110; Bhaunagar Inscriptions, p. 164.
 5. Bhaunagar Inscriptions, pp. 23, 134, Inscription found in the Jain Temple of Satrunjay hill at Girnar.
 6. Tome Pires, Vol. I, pp. 41-2, Pattars: the Brahmins of Super Class. Tome Pires, p. 42 fn.
 7. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India Pelos Portugueses, p. 326, quoted by K.S. Mathew, "Indo Portuguese Trade In The Sixteenth Century and the Nobility of the Gujarat Sultanate". PIHC, 1984, p. 358. Chatis were men with a genius for merchandise and were acute in every mode of trade. see Hobson Jabson.

called Gujaratis the Banyas were the most important group who dominated most of the Gujarātī trade. This perhaps had some thing to do with their cultural ethos. They were reported to have a natural instinct for business. Their expertise in accountancy was proverbial. As Tome Pires states the Muslim merchants did not compare with Hindus (Banya) "especially in knowledge".¹ The fact is also confirmed by the words^{of}/Linschoten (1583-1589 A.D.) in the following:-

"They (Banyas) are most subtile and expert in casting of accounts and writing, so that they do not only surpass and go beyond all other Indians and other nations thereabouts, but also the Portingales (Portuguese) and, in this respect, they have much advantage, for that they are very redie to deceive men".²

But it is also noteworthy that predominance of the Banyas was confined to internal trade and to ownership of capital and ships.³ The overseas trade was mostly deominated

1. Tome Pires, I, p. 42.

2. The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies, from the old English translation of 1598, ed. E.C. Burnall, London, 1885 I, pp. 252-3 I, quoted by Irfan Habib "Merchants Communities in Pre-Colonial India", op.cit., p. 19.

3. M.N. Pearson "Indian seafarers in the Sixteenth Century" Coastal Western India, p. 121.

by Muslims who mostly resided in Rander and Diu.¹ One possible reason for the comparatively smaller participation of the Hindu Banyas in the overseas trade, could be the Brahmanical rule that a Hindu would lose his caste status by crossing the sea.² We know that Malik Gopī a famous Brahmin merchant never travelled on sea and always used Muslim seamen for his ships.³ That in the beginning of the sixteenth century the overseas trade was dominated by the Muslims is suggested by the accounts of Varthema and Tome Pires. Varthema states: "It must be known that the Pagans do not navigate much, but it is, moors who carry the merchandise."⁴ Tome Pires mentions that "all the merchants in Malabar who trade on the sea are Moors and they have the whole of the trade".⁵

Besides the Hindu and Muslim merchants, the Parsees who settled in Gujarat in 11th century were also a notable merchant group of the Gujarāt during 15th and 16th centuries.

1. Ibid.

2. C.G.F. Simkin, p. 84, quoted by M.N. Pearson, op.cit. p. 133.

3. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Lisbon, 1884-1965, I, p. 307, quoted by M.N. Pearson, op.cit., p. 121.

4. Varthema, p. 151.

5. Tome Pires I, p. 82.

Their first settlement in India, according to the Parsi traditions was established at Broach from where they spread to the other places. They are believed to be ship builders and lived in modern Bombay.¹ According to the Portuguese early writers the Parsees in the Kingdom of Gujarat were herb-sellers.²

A large number of foreign merchant used to visit Gujarat for the purpose of trade during the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century traveller Santo Stefano mentions certain merchants hailing from Alexandria and Damascus who were settled in Gujarat. Among them was a merchant, Sharif, who took Santo Stefano in his service for one month.³ We also know about several European merchants, who visited Gujarat during the same period, through their travel accounts. These were Nicolo Conti, A Venetian merchant, who came in 1420 A.D., Nikitin a Russian merchant came to India in 1470 A.D. Santo Stefano a Genoes merchant, came in 1496 A.D.⁴

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1. The East India Gazetteer, Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 609; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IX, p. 29; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIII, part II, p. 431.
 2. Garcia de Orta, p. 213, quoted by Yule in his glossary Hobson Jobson, p. 681.
 3. Santo Stefano in India. In The Fifteenth Century, op.cit., p. 9.
 4. Ibid., Introduction, IX, IXXIV, IXXX, Regarding Nicolo Conti and Santo Stefano, it is clearly mentioned that they were merchants. Nikitin, the Russian Traveller, says in his account that he had brought with him a few horses to Gujarat which might indicate that possibly, he was also a merchant.

Some of the surviving inscriptions prove the presence of European merchants in Gujarat during the 14th century. One inscription refers to Sirājuddīn Umar son of Sādāt Tiflīsī who died at Cambay in 1330 A.D., Z.A. Desai correctly infers that the deceased originally belonged to modern Tiflīsī, the Capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. Seemingly he was a merchant who came to live at Cambay.¹

The merchant of Arabia, Iran and Iraq were visiting Gujarat since the ancient times and this process continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The earliest Arab merchant traveller about whom one knows from authentic Arabic records was Sulaimān. He had come to Gujarat in 851 A.D.² It is apparent from the surviving epigraphs of thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that persons hailing from Arabia, Iran and Iraq were visiting Gujarat continuously. Some of these persons died during their visits and their graves carry epigraphs which form our basic

1. EIAPS, 1971, p . 27.

2. Maulana Sulaimān Nadwi, Arab-o-Hind Ke Talukāt (Urdu) Hindustān Academy, Allahabad, 1930, p. 277.

evidence on this score. A number of such epigraphs have survived at Cambay. In these inscriptions the deceased are referred to as al-Gharīb (stranger). Z.A. Desai is quite right in suggesting that these persons were mostly merchants who carried on trade in Gujarat.¹ This possibility is also strongly suggested by sixteenth century evidence on the existence of settlements of foreign merchants in different parts of Gujarat.²

I am enumerating below these epigraphs which should prove beyond any doubt that the settlements of the foreign merchants in Gujarat discernible from the sixteenth century evidence were actually continuing from the thirteenth century.

(1) Fakhruddīn Ibrāhīm son of 'Abdul Malik Siddīq al-Tajjār merchant of Shahrzur died at Pattan in 1282 A.D.³

(2) Sharfuddīn Murtaẓā son of Muḥammad son of Ḥusainī al-Mausvī al-Astarābadī who died at Cambay in 1284 A.D.⁴

1. EIAPS, 1971, pp. 5-32.

2. Tome Pires, an early sixteenth century traveller mention the Muslim merchants from Aden, Cairo, Khorasan, Quilon, Ormuz and Persia who were settled at Cambay. Tome Pires I, pp. 41, 47; Besides Cambay, Diu was also a major centre of foreign merchants. According to Varthema (1506A.D.) near about 400 Turkish merchants resided there constantly. Varthema, p. 91.

3. EIAPS, 1961, p. 16, Shahrzur near Babylon in modern Irāq. See Yāqūt, Majmul Buldān (Cairo 1906), Vol. V, under Shahrzur.

4. Ibid., p. 17, Astarabad in Persia.

- (3) King of merchants, prince of ship masters, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin Irbīlī commonly known as Fātoliā, died at Cambay in 890 AH/1291 A.D.¹
- (4) Kamāluddīn Sulāimān son of Aḥmad son of Ḥusāin son of Abu Sharf al-Bammī died at Cambay in 1300 A.D.² He is mentioned as al-Gharīb and his nisbā al-Bammī shows that he was originally from Bamm, a fortress town between Kirmān and Zaḥidān in the Kirman province.³
- (5) Zainuddīn ʿAlī son of Muẓaffar al-Maladhārī had a slave who died in Cambay in 1309 A.D. The freed slave (ʿatīq) is mentioned in his epitaph as al-Gharīb (stranger). As it is assumed by Z.A. Desai, the one time master was either a merchant or a shipowner and his nisbā (family name) indicates that he was an immigrant.⁴
- (6) Kamāluddīn Kamāl son of Ḥusain al-Basrī (Basra is a famous port town at Iraq) died at Cambay in 1335 A.D. It is possible that the deceased was a merchant who had come from the famous port town of Iraq to Cambay then an important

1. Ibid., pp. 23-24. Irbil a town near Mosul in modern Iraq.

2. EIAPS, 1971, pp. 5-6.

3. For the identification of Bamm, see Yaqut, op.cit. Vol. II, under Bamm, Hamdullah Mustaufi, Tarīkh-i-Guzīdā, ed. E.G. Brown (Leiden 1910), p. 633.

4. EIAPS, 1971, pp. 11-12.

commercial centre for the purpose of the trade.¹

(7) Khwājā Asīl son of Umar son of Sā'du-Dīn died at Cambay in 1395 A.D. He is mentioned in the epigraph as "the chief of merchants".² His native place cannot be identified as the nisbā is not mentioned but it may be assumed that the deceased like the other merchants had come from West Asia.

(8) Hājī Abu Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abu Bakr al Irbīlī died at Cambay in 710 AH/1310 A.D.³

(9) Shamsuddīn Fātoliā son of Abu Bakr son of 'Alī Irbīlī died at Cambay in 735 AH/1336 A.D.⁴

(10) Sharfuddīn Mahdī al-Ḥamādānī is clearly mentioned at al-tajjār (merchant). He is mentioned in the epitaph on the grave of his slave, Amīnuddīn Kāfur, who died at Cambay in 1413 A.D.

1. EIAPS 1971, p. 45.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. *Ibid.*

On the strength of these thirteenth, fourteenth and one early fifteenth century inscriptions, suggesting the presence of Irani and Iraḡī merchants and shipowners at Cambay, we infer that these groups, at least to some extent continued to be present in Gujarāt during the whole of the fifteenth century as well.¹

The trade and commerce being the backbone of the Gujarāt economy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is understandable that the rulers of Gujarat should have given special protection to the merchants. Even before coming into existence of a regional Sulṭanate in Gujarat the merchants in that place were well treated by the local Governors. This is for example, illustrated by what we know about the policy of 'Alāuddīn's first governor of Gujarat, Alp Khān (1306-1315 A.D.). It is reported that when a Jain merchant, Samra Sah, sought the permission from the authorities for the reconstruction of a Jain temple at Satrunjay hill, Alp Khān not only issued a farmān but he also gave financial

1. EIAPS 1971, pp. 15-16. Hamādān is a famous city in western Irān; For the comparatively small number of epigraphs of this nature surviving from the 15th and 16th century one may refer to the reasons suggested by Z.A. Desai. According to him one reason could be the fact that politically the whole of Gujarat and specially Cambay during 15th century was not as peaceful as it was earlier and secondly Cambay had lost its previous status because of the concentration of political power in the northern part of the region, especially at Pattan. see EIAPS 1971, p. 4.

assistance for the building of the temple.¹ There exist ample evidences showing that, after the foundation of the Sulṭānate of Gujarat, the rulers were generally very protective in their attitude towards the traders. For example Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarah is mentioned in one of the Persian inscriptions as hāmi-al-tajjār² (protector of the merchants). He is also reported to have undertaken an expedition in 1472 A.D. against the pirates of Dwarka of Kathiawar who had plundered a merchant Maḥmūd Samarqandī.³ In 1487 A.D., Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarah compensated some Irāqī and Khurasānī merchants who were plundered by the Raja of Sirohi, while they were coming to Gujarat via Mount Abu with four hundred Irāqī and Khurāsānī horses and textiles of Delhi. On that occasion, the Sulṭān is said to have sent a warning to the Raja directing him to return the plundered goods. Thus warning forced the Raja of Sirohi

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1. Jain Literary works of anonymous poet: Prachin Gujarāt Kavya Sangrah, I, ed. by C.D. Dalal, Baroda, Central Library, 1920, pp. 27-38; Jain Aitihāsik Gujarā Kavya Sangrah, ed. by Sriman Jinavijayaji, Bhaunagar, Sri Jai Atmananda Sabha, 1982, pp. 238-53, quoted by S.C.Misra, RMPG, p. 68.
 2. Bhaunagar Inscriptions, p. 29.
 3. MS pp. 127-8.

to send to the Sultān not only all the horses and textiles but some additional presents also.¹ In 1490 A.D., the same Sultān sent an expedition against Bahādur Gilānī, a rebellious noble of the Deccan, who had engaged in piracy along the coast of Deccan and also of the ports of Gujarat capturing frequently the vessels of Gujarātī merchants.² This protective attitude of Maḥmūd Begarāh should explain Sikandar bin Manjhū's remarks that during his reign traders were contented as the traffic on the roads was perfectly safe and secure and there were no incidents of theft or robbery at all. He is also credited with establishing many sarāis for the use of the merchants.³

The merchants of Gujarat always maintained close links with the rulers of Gujarat. They often used their wealth to get admission into the ranks of high nobles. Again this role of merchants was continuing from before the establishment of an independent Sultānate in the region. Alp Khān, the first governor of Gujarat, for example, is believed to have relied greatly on the counsels of a rich Jain merchant.⁴

1. MS p. 144.

2. MS pp. 145-6; TF, p. 200; see also Khwaja Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, ed. B.Dey and M.H.Husain, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1935, pp. 163-4, hereafter see TA.

3. MS p. 101.

4. Jain Literary Works, op.cit., quoted by S.C.Misra, RMPG, p. 68.

Sultān Muḥammad bin Tuḡhlaq assigned the iqṭā' of Cambay to Maliku't-Tujjar al-Kazārūnī, a great Irānī merchant who was killed at Cambay at the instigation of the Wazīr Khwāja Jahān in 1333 A.D. because of the jealousy stemming from the Sultān's alleged promise to appoint Maliku't-Tujjār as his wazīr.¹ Another inscription of 1398 A.D., located at Mangrol, goes to indicate that a certain Thamīm Malik Yāqub, son of Rai Multānī, a pearl merchant was acting as the local administrator² which is yet another instance showing the participation of the merchants in the administration during the time Gujarāt was still being ruled from Delhi. As already stated this trend became more pronounced after the emergence of an independent Sultānate in Gujarāt. This is borne out by the following cases: The traditions incorporated in Ras Mālā refer to two Banya officers, Mānik Chand and Mōtī Chand³, who were serving under Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I. In 1451 A.D., Sultān Quṭubuddīn Aḥmad Shāh is said to have a counsellor who is identified as a bagḡal (grain merchant).⁴ In the same year (1451 A.D.) there is reference to Hindu accountants till then in the service of the Gujarat state who are reported

1. Ibn Battuta op.cit., pp. 402-403. An Inscription found on the grave of Maliku't-Tujjār informs that he died on 22 Oct. 1333 A.D., EIAPS, 1971, pp. 41-42.

2. M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat, I, p. 75.

3. Ras Mālā, p.256.

4. TA III, pp. 127-8.

to have gone over to Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa when invaded Gujarat.¹ Most probably, these Hindu accountants were of Banya caste who were considered well versed in accountancy. A portuguese text quoted by M.N. Pearson mentions two merchant brothers of Rander and Surat who helped Bahādur Shah by financing an army for him during the war of succession (1526 A.D.); In return they were given high administrative positions.² Muhāfiẓ Khān Baqqalzādah is mentioned by Sikandar bin Manjhū as a great noble of the reign of Sulṭān Bahādar Shāh.³ A Sanskrit inscription dated 1531-32 A.D. mentions a mantri (minister) Rava Narsimhaka, of Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh who obtained his permission for the repair of Jain Temple at Satrunjya hills.⁴ One may guess that Rava Narsimhaka himself belonged to the Jain trading community. This is clearly suggested by his interest in repair of a Jain temple. So far as well-known personages like Malik Ayāz; Malik Gopī, Amīr Gopī and Khwāja Ṣafar Salmānī were concerned it goes without saying that they were renowned

1. MS p. 81.

2. Jao de Barros, Vol. V (Lisbon 1945-6), V, 5, quoted by M.N. Pearson, MRG, p. 129.

3. MS p. 260.

4. Epigraphia Indica, II, 1894, p. 35.

merchant nobles of the sultānate of Gujarat who have been mentioned frequently in the Persian chronicles.

The above merchant nobles appear to have wielded considerable influence over the Sultān on account of the enormous wealth that they possessed. The statement of Barbosa, "Malik Ayāz the hākim of the port of Diu had the might of the king",¹ indicates the great authority wielded by him. Another Portuguese text goes to suggest that Malik Ayāz was not following the practice of paying homage to the Sultāns at the time of their accessions, which was considered obligatory for all the nobles. According to this evidence² on Bahādur Shāh's ascending the throne, Malik Ishāq, son of Malik Ayāz, who was then hākim of Diu, did not come to pay homage to the new Sultān. He remained recalcitrant even after all the other nobles had submitted to Bahādur Shah. In adopting the defiant attitude towards the Sultān, he was apparently following of his father, Malik Ayāz. When Bahādur Shah summoned Malik Ishāq he avoided

1. Barbosa I, pp. 130-33.

2. Barros, op.cit. IV, 6, quoted by Pearson MRG p. 74.

going to the Sultān on one or the other excuses. The Sultān finally sent an army against him forcing Malik Ishāq to flee from Gujarat. This defiant attitude of Malik Ayāz and, latter on, of his son Malik Ishāq, was possibly an indirection of their vast financial resources, enabling them to maintain a large contingent. Malik Ayāz is also reported to have given costly present to the Sultān for winning the latter's favour. For instance, in 1512 A.D., the Portuguese had sought permission to establish a fort at Diu and for this purpose they started pressuring the Sultān by creating hinderances in the trading activities of Gujarātī merchants. On that occasion most of the nobles and Sultān were inclined towards permitting the Portuguese to establish a fort at Diu so that the Gujarātī ships could move on high seas unmolested. But the Sultān could not do so on account of Malik Ayāz's opposition. The other nobles had resented the Sultān's acquiescing to Malik Ayāz view. According to the Portuguese texts quoted by Pearson, at that time Malik Ayāz gave to the Sultān and other nobles costly presents to pacify their ruffled feelings.¹

1. Barros, op.cit., II, X, 1; Correa, II, pp. 372-73; Commentaries of Affonso Albuquerque, II, pp. 210-17, 245; II, 17, 245; IV, 59-61, 94-103; quoted by M.N.Pearson, MRG p. 73.

Malik Gopī, a contemporary of Malik Ayāz, was another merchant noble holding a high position¹ in the Sulṭānate of Gujarat. According to Sikandar, he was known to have disobeyed the Sulṭān on several occasion. He was apparently in such a strong position that the Sulṭān could not take any punitive measures against him.²

Malik Ayāz despite being a slave and Malik Gopī despite being a Hindu, enjoyed distinguished positions in the Sulṭānate of Gujarat. Ostensibly, the main source of their power was the vast wealth which they had acquired through trade and commerce.

Besides Malik Ayāz and Malik Gopī, another example of an influential merchant noble was that of Khwāja Ṣafar. In 1533 A.D., when Bahādur Shāh went out to hold talks with the Portuguese Governor at Diu he was accompanied by Khwāja Ṣafar Salmānī.³ As K.S. Mathew suggests, this

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1. The high position held by Malik Gopi in the nobility had misled the Portuguese writers into regarding him a Muslim. Joaquim verissimo Serrao Commentarios de Affonso de Albuquerque Tomo, II, IV, p. 68, quoted by K.S.Mathew "Indo Portuguese Trade And the Gujarat Nobility In The Sixteenth Century: A Case Study of Malik Gopi", PIHC, 1984, p. 358.
 2. MS p. 224.
 3. Barros, op.cit. IV-1, p. 510, quoted by K.S.Mathew, in his article 'Khwaja Safar, the Merchant Governor of Surat and the Portuguese Trade in the Early Sixteenth Century' PIHC, 1982, p. 234.

shows the influence that Khwāja Şafar wielded at Sultān Bahādur Shāh's court.¹ Again in 1535 A.D., Bahādur Shāh handed over the port of Diu to the Portuguese at the suggestion of Khwāja Şafar. In 1537 A.D., he decided to visit the Portuguese Governor at Diu along with Khwāja Şafar against the advice of his other counsellors. As is well know, Bahādur Shāh was murdered by the Portuguese on that occasion² while Khwāja Şafar escaped.³

When Maḥmūd Shāh III ascended the throne he formally assigned Diu to Khwājā Şafar.⁴ This assignment was apparently, in pursuance of the policy of the Gujarātī Sultāns to assign an area which they found difficult to control to a powerful noble for pacification. One might imagine that at this time Khwājā Şafar must have been regarded a very powerful noble who could hope to recover and pacify Diu then governed by the Portuguese. According to K.S. Mathew "quite a free hand was given to Khwājā Şafar to organise the offensive against

1. Ibid.

2. AHG , p. 222.

3. According to the Portuguese sources, Khwājā Şafar joined the service of the Portuguese and was able to win their confidence. He was given the charge of the port of Diu. After some time he left Diu and came to the Sultān of Gujarat; Diogo de Cuto, Decada V-1, p. 202 quoted by K.S.Mathew, op.cit., p. 234.

4. AHG, pp; 231-2.

the Portuguese.¹ It is however a different story that owing to the collapse of Sultāns authority and general disorganisation of the Sultānate that followed, Portuguese could not be dislodged from Diu.

Thus by way of conclusion it can be said that Gujarat being a maritime province had a thriving population of traders and merchants both of indigenous as well as of foreign origin. Our evidences also suggests that these traders and merchants in most cases were urban based communities.² Since they were an important source of revenue for the state, the Sultāns always tried to protect them. A few persons belonging to indigenous trading communities such as Bhandārīs, Khatrīs and Banyas (both Jains and Hindus) were even allowed to enter the Gujarātī nobility right from the beginning of the Sultānate. A few merchants of foreign origin, like Khwājā Šafar, were also recruited into the nobility. These merchant nobles on account of their great wealth exercised considerable influence over the persons of the Sultāns as well as the policies.

1. K.S. Mathew, PIHC, 1982, p. 238.

2. All the inscriptions regarding the merchants are found in the urban areas: Cambay, Pattan and Broach. Moreover, traditions incorporated by S.C. Misra in MCG also suggest that the merchant communities were mostly living in the urban centres.

Chapter -IV

The Zamīndārs in the Sultanate of Gujarāt: 1407-1572

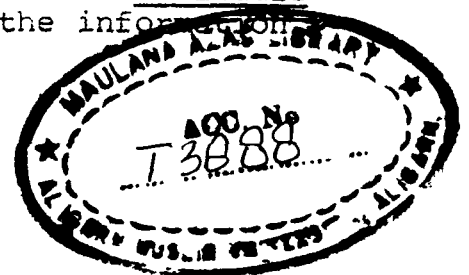
Finding an answer to the question as to what extent the power structure represented by the local chiefs of Gujarat during the fifteenth century contributed to the consolidation of a regional Sultanate is vital for a proper understanding of the factors giving rise to and eventual dismemberment of the Sultanate of Gujarāt. As a first step in this direction an attempt is being made here to identify the more important zamīndārīs that existed in Gujarat during the fifteenth century and first half of the sixteenth century. There are also offered tentative comments on the pattern of relationships that seem to have existed between the Sultanate of Gujarat and different segments of the zamīndārs, particularly during the fifteenth century when they were seemingly, in the process of consolidating their positions in the region. In this context, I have tried to re-examine the evidence used by Ahsan Razā Khān¹ and Faiza Simin,² in their studies of the same problem. In the course of doing

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1. Ahsan Raza Khān, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire, Delhi 1977.
 2. Faiza Simin, "Role of Zamīndārs in Malwa-Gujarāt relations" Papers on Medieval Indian History, Indian History Congress 43rd Session, Kurukshetra, 1982.

so, I have tried to highlight the information furnished by traditions reproduced in works like Ras Mālā¹ and Tārīkh-i-Sorath². The date from the latter two sources has been further compared with that obtained from the Āin-i-Akbarī.

In 1407 A.D. when Z̄afar Kh̄ān declared his independence from Delhi and assumed the sovereign title of Muẓaffar Shāh,³ he came up against stiff resistance from the powerful Hindu zamīndārs. These zamīndārs belonged to different clans, distributed over the whole of Gujarat. They were located on the periphery as well as in the heart land of the region. Most of them were, apparently, not reconciled to the establishment of a regional Sultānate. They - particularly those located on the periphery - appeared to be so determined to dismantle the emerging structure of a regional Sultānate that, at times, they were not averse to even seeking assistance from the rulers of the neighbouring regions of Malwa and Khānadesh.⁴

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1. A.K. Forbes, Ras Mālā, ed. by J. Watson, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, 1973.
 2. R. Amerjī Tārīkh-i-Sorath, translated by J. Burgess, Bombay, 1982, Here after see TS.
 3. MS p. 25; TF II, p. 182.
 4. These assumptions regarding the spread of the zamīndārs clans and their behaviour are based on the information discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.



In the western part of the Sultānate of Gujarat, the vast peninsula of Sorath contained a number of zamīndārīs of different clans during the fifteenth century. The most powerful of them, the chief of Junagarh, was reported to have controlled two thousand and one hundred villages.¹ The Āin-i-Akbarī indentifies the chief zamīndārs of Junagarh (which was a Parganā of Sorath under Akbar) as Gehlots.² We may assume that the Chief of Junagarh mentioned in Tabqāt-i-Mehmūd Shāhī for the fifteenth century belonged to the same clan. Besides these leading chief's belonging to Gehlot clan, there were also present in the region a large number of petty zamīndārs belonging to numerous Rajput as well non-Rajput clans, like, Ahīrs, Kolīs, Kathīs, Khānts, Pārmārs, Chaudāsāmās Waghelās, Wājās, Girnārās, Sāraswatī and also Sorath Brahmans. This information is gathered from a reference to the existence of petty zamīndārs in this region during the 19th century in Tarīkh-i-Sorath where it is claimed that they were holding small zamīndārīs around Junagarh for centuries.³ On the strength of this tradition one may assume that many of them must have

1. Sharfuddīn Bukhārī, Tabqāt-i-Mehmūd Shāhī, MS No. 126, Maulānā Azād Library, Aligarh, p. 7-a. Here after see TMS₁

2. Ain op.cit. II, pp. 118, 181.

3. TS op.cit. pp. 27, 107.

been there during the fifteenth century as well but obviously in a subordinate position to the Gehlot chiefs who are mentioned as the most powerful zamīndārs of the region in the 15th century.

Again from Tārīkh-i-Sorath, one come to know that in other parts of Sorath peninsula also, besides, Gehlots, there existed zamīndārīs of a number of other petty clans. This impresion is reinforced by the Āin-i-Akbarī's testimony which mentions Gehlots of Perim and Mongrol, Baghelas of Gondal, Wājīs of Janjhmer and Wālās of Mahwah and Telaja.¹ One can thus be fairly certain about the presence of these zamīndārīs in Sorath before the Mughal conquest. But in the Tārīkh-i-Sorath, there occurs a general reference to a number of zamīndārs clans of Sorath as a whole. Some of these clans are neither noticed in any one of Chronicles nor in the Āin-i-Akbarī. The names of these other clans and the regions where their zamīndārīs were located are as follows: Jathwa Rajputs of Forbandar, Waghelas of Mongrol, Parmars of Pattan Diu, Kathīs of Rajkot, Hathīs of Malia, Lathiās and Sarvayās of Kesod, Wāghelās of the island of Diu, Kolīs

1. Āin II, pp. 117, 118, 119.

and Kathis of Bhavnagar and Kathis of Gondal.¹ It is difficult to say whether these clans were there in Sorath during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or not. It may however, be imagined that some of these were existing as the zamīndārs in Sorath in the fifteenth century and, like other minor zamīndārs clans, were also, to begin with, in a subordinate position to the Gehlot chiefs of Junagarh mentioned in Tabqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī. That Sankodhar and Jagat located on the north-western coast of Sorath,² represented the zamīndārī's of the Badhel clan is born out by the Ain-i-Akbarī description.

In the northern part of the Sultanate of Gujarat was located the zamīndārī of the Girasia³ Rajputs of Idar. The traditions contained in Ras Mālā mention the Jetwata, the Koompawuts, the Chohans as the Chiefs of the Idar Sarkār.⁴ These traditions also refer to a number of other minor zamīndār clans like Desai zamīndārs, Waghela Thākurs, and Rahwur Thākurs.⁵ Two other zamīndārīs namely those of Solankee

1. TS op.cit. pp. 83, 53, 62, 63, 79, 96.

2. Ain p. 119.

3. Ibid., p. 120.

4. Ras Mālā p. 223.

5. Ibid., p. 340.

and Sonugerra Chauhans¹ in Wagar (located between Idar and frontier of Mewar Kingdom) are also mentioned in Ras Mālā where these are described as the dependencies of Idar.

Besides these zamīndārs located on the periphery of the Sultanate there also existed Hindu zamīndārīs in its heart land represented by the sarkārs of Ahmadabad, Baroda and Broach etc. Jhalawar situated in the north west on the confines of Sorath was controlled by the Girasiā Rajputs.² To the north of Jhalawar was the zamīndārī of Mandal which was controlled by a non-Rajput group of Kolis. Other important zamīndārīs in the same tract were Gohils of Ranpur,³ Gohils⁴ of Nadot and Girasiā⁵ of Dandwana. The Mirāt-i-Ahmadi also mentions Girasiā Rajputs, Kolis, Kāthis, Jats, Kahārs, Rathors, Jadjjās, Rasrans and Makwanāhs continuing for generations as zamīndārs of Rajpipla, Mohan, Lunawarah, Nawanagar, Baryah, Bahrai, Jhapah and Jharmandavi respectively.⁶

1. Ras Mālā, p. 250.

2. MS op.cit., p. 41.

3. Ras Mālā, p. 279.

4. Āin op.cit., p. 254.

5. MS p. 254.

6. MA supp. p. 225.

These zamīndārs played a very important role in the political and economic history of the Sultānate of Gujarat. Muẓaffar Shāh I, the founder of the Sultānate, spent most of his time in consolidating his power by crushing the power of these zamīndārs. They appeared to be always engaged in attempts to overthrow the Muẓaffar Shāhī dynasty. Their regions also became the centres of refuge for the recalcitrant elements among the nobles of the Sultāns.

In 1411 A.D., Fāroz Khān, son of Muẓaffar Shāh revolted for the first time and his supporters Bayāgdās and Jīvand were sent to contact leading zamīndārs of Gujarat urging them to join the revolt collectively.¹ In the same year, when Fāroz Khān renewed his revolt after a brief interruption he was supported by a large number of the chiefs, most conspicuous amongst whom was Rai Ranmal of Idar. On that occasion after their defeat Fāroz Khān and Rai Ranmal fled and took shelter in the hills of Idar. However, some time later this alliance between the rebellious elements led by Fāroz Khān and Raja Idar seems to have terminated. Due to the fear of the Sultān's revenge, the Raja withdrew his support from Fāroz Khān and behaved treacherously towards the fugitive noble. While Fāroz Khān escaped, his treasures and elephants were seized by the Raja and sent to the Sultān as a token of his

1. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. III, ed. by B.Dey and Maulvi Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica 1935, p. 96, Here after see TA; TF p. 182.

submission.¹

In 1413 A.D., Ahmad Sarkhējī, Shāh Malik, Shār Malik, Sulaimān Afghān and a few other nobles revolted and they were supported by zamīndārs including Katha Satrasal Girasiā of Jhalawar. After the rebellious nobles and their zamīndār supporters were defeated by the Sultān, they were given refuge by Rai of Junagarh who thus also incurred the hostility of the Sultān.² As a punitive measure, the Sultān led an expedition against Rai of Junagarh. Girnar was besieged and the chief was compelled to pay the tribute. On this occasion, other zamīndārs of Sorath also accepted tributary status. According to Sikandar, this was the first occasion that zamīndārs of Sorath including the chief of Junagarh agreed to pay the tribute to the Sultān of Gujarat.³

The most serious attempt made by the zamīndārs of Gujarat to overthrow the newly formed Sultānate came in 1416 A.D., when they rebelled enmasse and even invited the Sultān of Malwa to attack Gujarat. The chiefs who took a leading part in this rebellion were Raja of Champaner, Satrasal Girasiā of Jhalawar and Teri Raja of Nadaut. It

1. MS, p. 39; TA III, p. 100.

2. MS, pp. 40-41; TA III, pp. 100-1.

3. MS, p. 46.

was on behalf of these chiefs that Sultān Hushang of Malwa was invited to attack Gujarat with the promise of their full support to the Malwa ruler. When the Sultān of Malwa did invade Gujarat, the zamīndārs of Sorath who had become tributaries in 1413 A.D. turned refractory and refused to give tribute.¹ But it seems that the wide spread militancy of zamīndārs on this occasion was prompted mainly by a general feeling among them to the effect that they could easily dismantle the Sultānate of Gujarat. As soon as the Gujarātī ruler succeeded in repelling Sultān Hushang's advance into Gujarat, the zamīndārs of Idar, Champaner and Nadaut promptly made peace with their Sultān once again agreeing to pay tribute.

In view of the persistent hostility of the zamīndārs from the very beginning, the Sultāns of Gujarat took special steps to curb them. Sultān Aḥmad Shāh had commissioned one of his leading officers Malik Toḥfā (entitled Tajul Mulk) to put down the turbulent zamīndārs and to realize the taxes from them with a strong hand. Farishta says that this officer performed his duty with such diligence that the terms māwās and girās (used for the regions controlled by

1. MS, p. 47; TA III, p. 104.

the different zamīndārs) fell in disuse in Gujarat.¹

It seems that after the initial rebellions were put down with a heavy hand, the zamīndārs were gradually reconciled to the regional Sultānate. Subsequently, many of them participated in the expeditions undertaken by the Gujarātī Sultāns in different directions. In 1421-22 A.D., when Sultān Aḥmad Shāh invaded Malwa, the Raja of Dandwana who accompanied him on his expedition was killed with his five hundred Rajput retainers.² Similarly in 1482 A.D., Raja of Idar³ collaborated with Maḥmūd Begarāh in his expedition, against Champaner which resulted in the annexation of this strategically placed territory of the Sultānate of Gujarat.

1. TF II, p. 184; Girās: The term girās has been used in Gujarat from time immemorial to indicate the lands and villages to Junior members of the Rajput ruling families that came and settled down in the land and these Cadets came to be called Girāsīās. In course of time girās came to mean an hereditary landed patrimony. In the latter period of the Sultānate it is known as an exaction taken by the turbulent zamīndārs from the raiyatī villages; Ras Mālā p. 568; TA pp. 173-4; Mawas: The territories of the rebellious zamīndārs which were claimed by the Sultāns only on the paper but refused to pay the tribute. Irfan Ḥabīb, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 331.

2. MS p. 54; TA p. 110.

3. Ras Mala p. 284.

On the other hand from the very beginning the attitude of the rulers of Gujarat towards the zamīndārs had two well defined facts. They were extremely suspicious and basically hostile towards the powerful chieftainships located mainly on the periphery of the kingdom. Thus the big zamīndārs of Junagarh, Jagat and Champaner were tolerated for some time only because these were too powerful to be so easily eliminated. But their existence was always considered a threat to the security of the Sultānate of Gujarat. Each one of them was pounced at and destroyed by the Sultāns of Gujarat at the first opportunity that offered itself to them. But on the other hand, the Sultāns were extremely accomodating towards the lesser chiefs and intermediary zamīndārs in general. All those chiefs of this category like those of Sirohi, Idar, Wagar, Nadaut, Rajpipla, Jhalawar, Bhuj and Jam of Sorath were left unmolested and some time were given positions in the state. According to the author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, the big zamīndārs who held many parganās, their tālluqā settled upon them on the conditions of their joining service and maintaining troops in the same way as by a "jaqīrdār" i.e. every one was to be present with his troops, horse as well as foot, according to his resources and strength. In lieu of this they were exempted

from paying tribute.¹ S.C. Misra seems correct while writing about these zamīndārs that no tribute could be realized from them but technically they were designated as tributaries.²

The zamīndār elements in the heartland of the Sultānate were completely subjugated. They were re-granted $\frac{1}{4}$ share of their total land called banth on the condition of performing some military duties and also paying salāmī to the assignments holders. They performed pahrā and chaukī in their respective native places. The $\frac{3}{4}$ share of their land, called talpad was taken by the state.³ It is reported by Sikandar bin Manjhū that the banth land was also brought under the direct control of the government by Sultān Maḥmūd Shah III in 1545 A.D. According to him, when the orders were issued for the resumption of banth land, the Girāssiāh Chiefs of Idur, Sirohi, Dungerpur, Banswārah, Lonawarah, Rajpipla, and other located in the vally of the river Mahindri, Halod as well as those of other strongholds on the frontier began to raise disturbances. But the Sultān strengthened his military posts. He established the thānā at Sirohi and Idar

1. MA I, p. 22, 173-74; Para Translated by Irfān Ḥabīb in Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 142.

2. S.C. Misra, "Some Aspects of the Economy of the Sultanate of Gujarat", PIHC, 1982, p. 245.

3. MA supp. p. 229, & I, pp. 22, 173-74.

and ordered his soldiers stationed at these thānas to extirpate the very name of Rajput and Koli from there. In consequence of such orders, "the Muhammadan faith obtained such superiority in those parts", according to Sikandar Manjhū, "that no Hindu was allowed to rise on horse back or to wear clothing unless distinguished by a patch of red cloth on the shoulder". Every man of them was branded on the arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand he was put to death. They were, moreover prevented from exhibiting any public festivities such as diwālī and holī and the open practice of idol worship.¹ This is however, nothing but an exaggerated description of the suppression of two particular Hindu zamīndār by the state.

In spite of the Sikandar bin Manjhū's assertions to that effect, it seems doubtful that all the banth land was really resumed by the state. In this regard A.K. Forbes' impression seems to be more correct. He states that the orders of resumption could not be implemented owing to the persistent insurrections of the zamīndārs. In support of his statement Forbes writes, "the fact remains beyond dispute

1. MS pp. 363-4.

that their (i.e. zamīndār's) descendants, inspite of many subsequent danger, still possess the soil of which it was sought to deprive them".¹ Moreover, statement in Mirāt-i-Ahmadi that in the latter period, owing to the weak administration, the zamīndārs not only seized the talpad but also levied exactions called qirās from the raiyaṭī villages, corroborates the fact that the zamīndārs were not deprived of their zamīndārī (banath).²

Some of the lesser zamīndārs of the mauzās of Mandawah, Ghorasur, Antar Samah having embraced Islam entered into separate agreements with the Sultāns which endorsed their title and possession of their lands and the Sultāns were committed to protect them. But also they had to pay annual pēshkash.³ There are several other instances of a similar nature. For example, Haluji Parmar, a nephew of the Ranji Gohil of Ranpur and his younger brother, got converted to Islām at the time of their reconciliation. Apparently, encouraging zamīndārs to be converted was the policy of a number of the Sultāns. This was particularly the

1. Ras Mālā, p. 298.

2. MA I, pp. 173-4.

3. MA supp., p. 190.

attitude of Maḥmud Begarāh. According to the author of Tārīkh-i-Sorath, Maḥmud Begarāh had offered to confer on Haluji several parqanās as a reward for his conversion. When he asked for the town of Ranpur which belonged to his uncle his request was promptly granted. Similarly, a younger brother of Haluji also became a Muslim. As a reward he received the grant of twenty four villages of Botad, which his discendants held for several generations.¹ According to the author of Tārīkh-i-Sorath, they assumed the position of Muslim zamīndārs. Rai of Junagarh also became Muslim and was entitled Khan-i-Jahān and was also given a "Jāgīr". The territory of Junagarh was allowed to be held by his off-springs who came to be called Raizādāhs. Arrangement seems to have been that while the Raizādās were the assignment holders, the thānādārs were also appointed to levy the salāmī (land-tax) on behalf of the Sultān.² There were also on record a few cases of zamīndārs being compelled to accept Islām by the Sultāns.³ Thus, it would appear that the conversion of zamīndārs to Islām was perceived by the Sultāns as an effective means for securing their submission.

1. Ras Mālā, p. 565.

2. TS, p. 125.

3. Ras Mālā, p. 254.

From this study it may be concluded that in the Sultānate of Gujarat the bigger chiefs, like those of Gehlots of Junagarh, Badhels of Sankodhar and Jagat, Girasias of Idar and Rawals of Champaner were most of the time hostile towards the Sultāns and endeavoured to over-throw them, some time even with the help of the neighbouring ruler. On the other hand, the intermediary and primary zamīndārs and even some of the bigger ones located in the heartland of the Sultānate tended to form an important segment of its power base. It also appears that in most of the areas including those dominated by the bigger chiefs, in addition to the dominant zamīndār clans there also existed minor clans possessing subordinate zamīndārī right, and perquisites. The smaller or minor clans representing the vast majority of the intermediary and primary zamīndārs in the long run, seem to have switched their allegiance to the Sultāns, thus substantially weakening the struggle of the bigger chiefs to thwart the consolidation of the Sultānate of Gujarat.

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Chapter-VComposition of the Nobility Under the Sultans of Gujarat

This chapter is intended to work out the composition of the nobility of the Sultānate of Gujarat (1407-1572 A.D.) in the light of the evidences drawn from Persian chronicles as well as inscriptions and traditions. For the purpose of this study, the nobles, being the officers of the king who rendered military service and received payments in return for that service, are treated as a category distinct from that of the minor court functionaries.

It is a well known fact that in most of the medieval Indian states, a major part of the financial resources of the states were shared by the nobles who also exercised influence on the state in different fields. It may thus be assumed that the basic cultural ethos of the Sultānate of Gujarāt was influenced, to a considerable extent, by the strength in which the persons of diverse cultural backgrounds and affiliations were represented in its nobility. The present study, therefore, could be described as aiming at discerning the total cultural ethos of the Sultānate of Gujarāt by identifying the ethnical and other components of its nobility.

Regarding the identification of the nobles as a social group I would agree with M.N. Pearson's statement that the minor court functionaries and the tribute paying zamīndārs should not be included in the category of the nobility. But in this connection the question that remains to be answered is as to who are the people that would meet the description of minor court functionaries. One very simple description that can be given would be that those personnel in the service of the king who did not perform any military duty and therefore did not receive any payment for military services in the form of assignments or cash salaries would come under the category of the petty functionaries. In other words the description of a noble would apply only to a person who undertook to maintain a contingent and serve in the administration in different capacities for which he would receive payment from the king. The functionaries of the state like clerks, accountants, revenue collectors, dāroqhās of kārkhānājāt, muhtāsibs, gāziz and muftis who neither performed that kind of duties nor received high payments reserved for military service, would thus be excluded from the category of the nobles. The points of distinction between them and the nobles were very clear. While both were in the service of the king and both received payments from the king for the jobs they performed, the nature of work done

by minor functionaries was not connected with the maintenance of troops and military campaigns that would often be in progress in one or the other part of the kingdom.

While preparing a list of the nobles of the kingdom of Gujarat for the purpose of this study I have taken care to ignore all those persons about whom the sources give an impression that they were not connected with military services. This kind of identification is based on the scrutiny of the titles, designations or the nature of the jobs or duties of a noble mentioned in a source. I have accepted all those persons as "nobles" who are referred to in the chronicles and inscriptions with the different designations like wazīr, sardār, muqtā', hākīm, khān, malik, sipahsālār, mīr-i-lashkar, shiqdār, wajihdār, hājib, kotwāl, jāgīrdār and mantri. It is assumed that a person referred to with any one of these designations was enjoying the position of an amīr or noble of high or low status. Similarly, any person mentioned as enjoying a title conferred on him by the king is also accepted as a noble, or the status of individuals as nobles is also inferred on the strength of the lists, that are sometimes given by chroniclers, of the persons sent on expeditions or killed or wounded in action, or defying the Sultān's authority. In making such inference I have been guided by the assumption

that in most cases the Chroniclers would include in their lists of campaigns only those military personnel who had the status of the military officers of the king. Among them of course a distinction is always made between the zamīndārs and the nobles. If in any such list a person is clearly identified as a zamīndār who had not at any time formally enrolled as an amīr of the Sultān, his name is not included ⁱⁿ the list of the Gujarātī/nobles.¹

In order to study the composition of the Gujarātī nobility, I have tried to prepare a complete list of the nobles who served the Sultāns of Gujarat at any point of time, with the help of Persian Chronicles partly supplemented by epigraphical records, travellers' accounts as well as the traditions. The nobles included in this list are further identified in terms of their cultural and social backgrounds and then grouped together into the following important categories:-

1. This list is given in appendix entitled "Short Biographies of the Nobles of the Sultānate of Gujarāt".

(a) Local Muslims; (b) Local Hindu and Rajput zamīndārs;
(c) Outside elements including Indian Muslims, Rajputs and other Hindus from outside Gujarat as well as elements coming from the regions outside India.

In the ensuing paragraph I am first going to state the criterion that I have used for identifying individual nobles belonging to these different categories.

The task of making this kind of identification becomes very difficult owing to the fact that in the case of a large number of nobles whose names one comes across in the chronicles, it is not easy always to determine as to what was their cultural and ethnical background. These names do not tell any thing more than their identification as Hindus or Muslims or as belonging to different castes and tribes of Local and foreign origin.

As far as the category of the local Muslims is concerned, for the sake of easier identification I have used a rather arbitrary criterion. All those about whom it is known that they were already holding administrative and other positions in Gujarāt, before the establishment of the Kingdom of Gujarat as an independent state as well as their descendants are counted among the local muslims. Among these

nobles are included those belonging to groups like Tanks, Khatrīs,¹ Bhandārīs,² Bahlims,³ Bambānī,⁴ Afghāns,⁵ Bukhārī Saiyids⁶ as well as/certain converted Rajput zamīndārs

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1. Khatrīs are a trading community in the South Punjab and in the North India. Tanks were the subcast of the Khatrīs to which Gujarat ruling dynasty belonged. S.C.Misra, MCG p. 81.
 2. Bhandārīs were a Rajput tribe of North India. Some of the Bhandārīs were established at Mahim (Modern Bombay) before the Conquest of the Gujarat by Delhi Sultān. R.E. Enthoven, The Tribes and Caste of Bombay, Delhi, 1975, Vol. I, p. 97.
 3. Bahlims were converted Hindu Rajputs, S.C. Misra, MCG, p. 81.
 4. In the context of Fayz Allah Bambānī, noble of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Bīgarah (1459-1511 A.D.) Mr. B.M. Tirmizi writes that since generations the members of the Bambānī family were in the service of the Gujarat Sultāns; See "Are Tabqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī, Māthir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī and Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jāhān Identical", PIHC, 1947, p. 327.
 5. Afghāns were nobles in Gujarat even before the establishment of the Sultānate of Gujarat. Baranī gives the details of the rebellions of Afghān nobles during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, TFS, pp. 507-523.
 6. Bukhārī Saiyids were in the service of the Gujarat Sultāns with the foundation of the Gujarātī Sultānate. Bayley "History of Gujarat, p. 60.

who continued to call themselves Rais, Rawats or Raja.

Identification of the Hindu nobles is quite easy because of their names which are so different from the names of the Muslim nobles. In the case of Hindu names, sometimes surnames would also indicate the caste or professional status of the group to which the noble belonged. Sometimes in the cases of the Chiefs, their territories are also mentioned with their names making it possible to demarcate them from ordinary Hindus. Some of the Hindus whose names have caste and other suffixes are as follows: Manik Chandā and Motīchandā - Vaniā, Malik Gopīzunnārdār (Brahmin), Sadhu Tank, Jiwan Dās Khatri, Bahar Jiv, Raja of Baglana, Nar Singh Deva nephew of the Raja of Gwalior. These names are obviously helpful not only in identifying a noble belonging to the broad Hindu category but also indicate whether the noble concerned was a zamīndār or belonged to some other social or professional category.

From the very beginning slaves were recruited in the Gujarat nobility. In the chronicles the nobles who were slaves are identified by the terms - Ghulām,¹ Bandāh,²

1. MS pp. 41, 168, 162, 345; TF pp. 188, 202.

2. MS p. 58; TA, p. 138.

‘Abīd,¹ and Diram kharīdāh.² In certain cases these slave origins are inferred from the titles Knāsakhīls³ and ‘Imādul Mulk.⁴ The word Khāsakhīl is translated by S.C. Misra and M.L. Raḥmān as slave noble. Regarding the title of ‘Imādul Mulk, Ḥājji-ud-Dabīr clearly states that it was reserved for the slave nobles of the Sultāns. Besides this I also agree with the view of M.S. Commissariat⁵ that all the Ḥabashī nobles were slaves, as these Ḥubashīs were the prisoners or the descendants of the prisoners who were brought to Gujarat for the first time by Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī in 1531 A.D.⁶ Lastly, I am also inclined to count all those nobles whose names carry suffix "Sultānī" among the slaves. This might be justified with reference to an established practice in the Delhi Sultānate to refer to the slave nobles as Turkān-i-Sultānī or just Sultānī which appears to have survived down to the sixteenth century. The earliest reference suggesting such a practice in perhaps Minhāj-~~US-~~

1. ‘Abīd and Diram kharīdāh are translated by Z.A. Desai as a slave. EIAPS 1962.

2. Ibid.

3. MS, Introduction, p. 115.

4. AHG, p. 246.

5. Commissariat, Vol. I, pp. 338, 469.

6. AHG, p. 188.

Sirāj's description of slaves who revolted against Ma'izuddin Bahram in 1242 A.D., as Turkân-i-Sultānī¹.

The continuation of this practice down to the middle of sixteenth century is suggested by the use of suffix Sultānī with the name of Shērshāh's famous noble Hājī Khān Sultānī.²

Nobles who had migrated either from the regions, outside India or from the other parts of the world, are kept in the category of the outside elements. Surnames referring to territories or places that are sometimes used with the proper names have been important indicators of the origins of many nobles. In many cases, a noble was placed in the category of the outside elements if his surname suggested that he hailed from a place outside Gujarat and at the same time it is also known that he entered the service for the first time or that he was not a son of a person who was already in the service of the

1. Minhāj-Sirāj, ^{US-}Tubqāt-i-Nāsiri ed. Abdul Hay Habib, Kābul, 1963, I, p. 469, II, pp. 27, 42.

2. Mushtāqī, Raziqullāh Waq'āt-i-Mushtāqī, Rotagraph of the MS, B.M. Add. 11,633 ff. 73a-b & Abbās Khān Sarwānī Tārīkh-i-Shērshāhī, Habib Ganj Collection, MS, MA Library, A.M.U., Aligarh f. 99a. quoted by I.H. Siddiqi, Some Aspects of Afghan Dispotism in India, Aligarh, 1969, p. 115. According to I.H. Siddiqi, the term Sultānī was used for the slaves during the pre-Mughal and the Mughal period. op.cit. fn.

Sultān. But sometimes, the title like Firangī Khān or Rūmī-Khān are also suggestive of the fact, that the persons on whom these were conferred were of Portuguese or Ottoman origins respectively. This criterion has also been used by me for identifying the outside elements among the Gujarātī nobles.

In the category of the Khānazāds, we have included only those nobles, irrespective of the fact whether they were Gujarātī or outsiders, slaves or non slaves, who were at least second generation nobles in the service of the Sultāns of Gujarat. It is possible to place a noble in a particular category on the strength of even a slight suggestion in the sources to the effect that he was holding a title or assignment previously held by his father or some other family members.

On analysing the list of the total number of nobles who had served under the Sultāns of Gujarāt during 1407-1572 A.D., we are able to discern certain features of the Gujarātī nobility for which we have no direct qualitative information in the sources.

A break-up of this list clearly indicates that the Gujarātī nobility throughout the period of our study, was

a heterogenous body of men. Within its ranks were nobles coming from regions outside Gujarat, as well as Gujarātī Muslims and non Muslims including Hindu zamīndārs. Persons hailing from Irān, Turān, Ottoman Empire, Europe and certain parts of Africa (Euthopia) were also present among the outside elements. This heterogenous character of the Gujarātī nobility would become evident from the following table:

However, inspite of the heterogenous character of the Gujarātī nobility it is also evident from the above break-up that the local Muslims were its single biggest component. If one keeps in mind the fact that the number of outsiders in this nobility had got augmented mainly after the incorporation of a large number of Ḥabashīs, Rūmīs in the first quarter of the 16th century, then it becomes evident that at the time of the establishment of the Sulṭānate of Gujarat in 1407 A.D., the preponderance of the local elements in the nobility would have been still greater. If the small number of the local chiefs is also added to this, the strength of the local elements would be about 73% of the total strength of the nobility as indicated by the table. It would in turn tend to give an impression that the Gujarātī state during 1407-1572 A.D., was basically a regional power, drawing its support from the local power structures, particularly those involving the Muslim ruling groups which had been living in Gujarat since a fairly long time.

Another important feature of the Gujarātī nobility was the presence within its fold of a sizeable number of slaves and second generation nobles whom we prefer to call

khānazāds. This feature can be discerned from the following break up of the total list.

Table No. 2

<u>Khānazāds</u>	Rest	Total
44 (17%)	236 (83%)	280

Table No. 3

Slaves	Rest	Total
62 (22%)	218 (78%)	280

As is evident from the above break up the slaves constituted 22% of the total strength of the nobility. Obviously in the state of Gujarāt, the slave nobles were an important element that would often be used by the Sultāns for curbing the power and privileges of the free born nobles who, apparently, were more firmly rooted in the regional power structures. It is significant that the strength of the slaves in the nobility increased remarkably during the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1526-1537 A.D.) who is known for his desire to strengthen centralization within the Sultānate and also for a policy of territorial expansion. Most of the ḥabashī slaves who were so powerful in Gujarāt at the time of its conquest by Akbar, were recruited in the Gujarat nobility by Bahādur Shāh.

The fact that 17% of the total number of Gujarātī nobility were Khānazāds i.e. second generation nobles would go to show that inspite of the anxiety of the Sultān to promote centralization, the element of the continuity of the privileges and authority within certain families of the nobles was quite strong. There is ample evidence on record suggesting that the nobles of this category were often encouraged to defy the authority of the Sultān. This is for example, suggested by the case of an Afghān noble, who revolted during the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I. This Afghān noble, Bektars entitled 'Azam (son of Adam Afghān son of Sulaimān Afghān) after succeeding to his father's iqṭā' of Baroda, is reported to have revolted twice first in 1411 A.D., and again in 1413 A.D. Finally he was obliged to flee from Gujarāt.¹ Similarly, all the nobles who rebelled in 1411 A.D., along with Bektars were Khānāzāds. The main cause of this rebellion was apparently, the attempt of the Central authority to re-distribute the assignments. This strongly suggested by Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's statement that the nobles surrendered before the Sultān on the condition that they would be given back their old iqṭā'.² In accordance with this condition, Feroz Khān the uncle of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh I, was given the iqṭā' of

1. EIAPS 1968, pp. 18-19; MS pp. 30, 40; TA III, pp. 96-97.

2. TA III p. 96.

Navsari in place of Baroda while the latter place was restored to Bektars.¹

It would appear that throughout the 15th century there was continuous pressure from the nobles on the Sultān, ^{that} he should accept their permanent or even hereditary claims over the territories held by them as their assignments. This is for example, borne out by the case of 'Alāul Mulk Ulugh Khān's son. 'Alāul Mulk Ulugh Khān was the governor of Sultānpur during the reign of Sultān Qutubuddīn Ahmad Shah and for some time in the beginning of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh as well. When, he died, his son, Alaf Khān was given Modasa as an assignment. But he was not satisfied with this arrangement and claimed Sultanpur. He finally turned a rebel. In 1494-5 A.D., he started to territorizing the people and also fought with the governor of Sultānpur. Malik 'Azīzul Mulk Shaikhān, apparently with an aim to occupy that place by force. Eventually, failing to achieve much success, he asked the

1. Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī (of anonymous) India Office Library, MS no. 3842. Department of History in A.M.U., Aligarh has its MF No. 428 p. 34. Here after see TMS₂

Sultān for a pardon.¹ According to Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, since he was a Khānāzād, the Sultān was persuaded to excuse him.² The aspirations of the nobility for hereditary claims over the territories of assignment were partly met by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh's order to the effect that the territories held by the nobles would be transferred, as a rule, to their sons after their deaths.³ This naturally would have not only increased the privileges of the nobility in general, but would also have paved the way for a sharp rise in the number of second generation nobles, thus strengthening the element of continuity in the nobility.

But the Khānāzād nobles subsequently proved to be very recalcitrant. There were repeated rebellions by this section of the nobility. After Maḥmūd Begarāh, eventually the Gujarātī Sultāns started preferring new elements in the nobility because it was hoped that newly recruited first generation nobles would be much more dependent on the Sultān than other nobles and thus, it would be easier to control them. This policy was adopted by Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II and

1. MS pp. 113, 146; TF p. 196, AHG p. 31.

2. TA III p. 164.

3. MS p. 100.

Sultan Bahādur Shāh. Muẓaffar Shāh II gave the charge of Idar to Malik Ḥusain Bahmanī entitled, Nizāmūl Mulk after dismissing from there Nusratul Mulk who belonged to an old family of the Gujarātī nobility.¹ According to Sikandar, all the nobles belonging to this category were displeased over this appointment as Nizāmūl Mulk was a foreigner. They set themselves to watch for an opportunity of ruining Nizāmūl Mulk.² Despite this adverse reaction of the old nobles this policy continued to grow. The accession of Bahādur Shāh in fact brought about a radical change in the composition of the nobility. The author of Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Gujarāt writes that Bahādur Shah disbanded the entire lot of the Gujarātī officers and appointed foreigners³ to high administrative posts. Just after his accession, he executed all those leading nobles who had opposed his accession,⁴ and could prove dangerous in carrying out the administration. As a skillful Sultān, Bahādur Shāh balanced one faction against another. In

1. MS p. 193; TA III, pp. 184, 198.

2. MS p. 193.

3. TSG p. 30; The term for the foreigner is used Gharībān.

4. Imādul Mulk, Saifuddin, Qaisar Khān and Ulugh Khān were put to death at that time while others like Azdul Mulk and Muhāfiẓ Khan saved their lives by fleeing from Gujarāt. All these nobles were the murderers of Sultān Sikandar. MS pp. 262-5; TA III, pp. 204-5.

other words, he increased his control over the old nobility and encouraged the new nobility which largely consisted of foreigners. After a mass massacre of the old nobility he pruned on the sons of a great noble, Malik Ayāz, named Malik Ishāq and Malik Tughān. Malik Ishāq succeeded his father in 1582 A.D., as the muqtā' of Sorath as well as the hakim of Diu.¹ When Bahadur Shāh ascended the throne he did not come to pay homage even after being called by the Sultan and sent a word that he had to remain in Diu in order to defend it from the Portuguese. Bahādur Shāh considered it a challenge to his authority and started against this noble who was also reported to have had negotiated with the Portuguese. Finally, he was compelled to flee from Gujarat.² In accordance with the existing rule, his territory was transferred to his younger brother Malik Tughān.³

1. Mansab of Malik Ayāz was conferred upon Malik-Ishāq; see MS p. 203.

2. Jao de Barros, Asia (Lisloon 1945-46) IV, V, 6; F-de Andrade, Chronica do muyto alto e muyto Poderoso Rey destes Renos de Portugal Dom Jao O III deste Nome (Coimbra, 1796) II 193-4; Diogdas Couto, Da Asia (Lisbon 1778-88) IV, i, 7-8; IV, vii, 2; IV, vii, 4; viii, 3; IV, IX, 1; quoted by M.N. Pearson in MRG p. 74; MS pp. 265-66, 274, 280. After the removal of Malik Tughān in 1526 A.D. Diu was given to Qiwāmūl Mulk and Sorath to Mujāhid Khān Bahlim. This evidence indicates that the Soratha which was resumed from Malik Ayāz in 1520 A.D. was re-allotted to him after some times. In 1531 A.D. only Diu was allotted to Malik Ishāq the younger brother of Malik Tughān. MS p. 266.

3. MS p. 274; Only Diu was given to Malik Tughān.

But within a few days Malik Tughān was also deprived of this territory which was subsequently assigned to a foreigner Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī.¹ These steps of Bahādur Shāh clearly indicated that he wanted to weaken Malik Ayāz's family which had become too powerful as a consequence their controlling the lucrative territories Sorath and Diu. This transfer was executed without any valid reason being given for it. Some time, after his removal from Diu, Malik Tughān was executed at the order of the Sultān.

1. AHG p. 189.

Chapter -VIInstitutional Features of the Gujarati Nobility

In this chapter an attempt is made to analyse the evidence having bearing on the institutional features of the nobility of the kingdom of Gujarat which is treated as an essential and predominant component of the ruling class. Despite paucity of the direct evidence presenting a difficult problem, an attempt is made here to probe the different aspects of the position of the nobility, ranging from its role in the economy and administration to such detailed matters as the titles held by them, posts allowed to them or procedures followed in the transfers and dismissals of the nobles.

There does not, however, exist any document or passage in a chronicle having bearing on the institutional aspect of the relationship between the Gujarātī Sultāns and their nobles. It is nowhere recorded in detail as to what was the nature of the assignment system through which political authority as well as financial resources were distributed among the nobles. As a matter of fact, this problem has not yet been examined carefully by the modern historians. S.C. Misra does make a very general remark in the passing about the nature of the assignments that were made by the Sultāns to the nobles of Gujarat but it obviously suffers from a number of conceptual

problems as well as from the infirmity of the supporting evidence. According to him "The nobles held large tracts of land on payment of 'quit-rent' very akin to the tribute paid by the Rajput rulers to the Sultāns".¹ This generalization of S.C. Misra would be acceptable to the extent, it is attested by the prevalence of an assignment system in the kingdom of Gujarāt which, apparently, had the same features as the iqṭā'⁴ system of the Delhi Sultānate in which muqṭā'⁴ collected the land revenue due to the Sultān during the latter's pleasure and appropriated a portion of the collection for maintaining troops which he was called upon to send at the direction of the Sultān.² The muqṭā'⁴ was thus a revenue collector as well as an army paymaster.³ This is of course also borne by the

1. S.C. Misra, RMPG p. 209.

2. The nature of the assignment in Gujarat is highlighted by a piece of evidence cited by Pearson from a Portuguese source: Malik Ayāz (the hākīm of the port of Diu) in letter addressed to a Portuguese governor who visited Diu, apologised for his deficient hospitality, explaining that "he was nothing more than a Custom Collector for the king of Cambay" Castanheda, Historia do descobrimento e Conquista da India Pelos Portugueses III, CXIV quoted by M.N. Pearson in MRG p. 71.

3. Irfan Habib in, CEHI I p. 68; It may be pointed out that most of the modern scholars like Irfān ḥabīb, I.H. Quraishī (The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, Delhi 1971, pp. 107, 201, 202) I.H. Siddiquī (The Composition of the Nobility Under the Lodī Sultāns, Medieval Indian Miscellany Vol. IV, pp. 10-66) and Z.A. Desai (EIAPS 1963 p. 34) have wrongly used the term muqṭā' for the iqṭā'⁴ holder which has been clearly objected by Moreland who remarks that the term muqṭā' is a doubtful expression first used by Blockmann (Āin, I, p. 296)

terms that are used for assignments in the Chronicles as well as inscriptions which are often the same as those used in the Delhi Sultānate during the 14th century. These terms are khittā, iqṭā', shiq, qaṣba, pargana, wilāyat and jāgīr. The terms used for the holder of the assignments are muqṭā', hākīm, shiqdār, wajihdār and jaqīrdār.¹

It is not to be found in the dictionaries nor in the literature. See The Agrarian System of Muslim India, Delhi 1968, pp. 74. 275. That the term muqṭā' is the correct reading is corroborated by several inscriptions. See EIAPS 1963, pp. 33-34; 1968, p. 22; 1974, pp. 35-37; EIM, 1939, pp. 2-3.

1. For the list of assignments and assignment-holders see appendix no. 2 entitled "List of Reference of Assignment in the Sultānate of Gujarāt 1407-1572"; For explaining the assignment system of the Sultānate of Gujarāt I have prepared a list of 86 references to the cases of nobles holding assignments. This list is arranged in a chronological order and with each reference the Chronicle from which it is taken is also cited. This list would highlight the nature of the assignment system of Gujarāt Sultānate in a number of ways. Firstly, it indicates the terms used for assignments and assignment holders in Gujarāt Sultānate at different points of times. This in turn enables one to discern the direction of the changes that were gradually taking place in the assignment system of Gujarāt Sultānate. Secondly, the list brings out the extent to which the element of continuity obtained in the system. It could be gauged from a number of cases which go to suggest that after the death of an assignee his assignment would be taken over by one of his sons or some other close relation of the deceased. But at this point, I must, however, admit a serious limitation of my list. I have not included in this list references where the name of the assigned territory is not given by the chronicles. This would mean that many of the indirect references have been excluded from this list. Despite this limitation the list should, however, be considered useful for the perception of some of the important features of the assignment system of Gujarāt Sultānate.

But the use of the term "quit rent" for payment made by the assignment-holders to the central treasury and also its comparison with the tribute paid by the chiefs to the king is not an accurate description of the institutional arrangement that seem to have existed in the assignment system of the Gujarāt Sultānate. The payments made by the the assignees to the central treasury were apparently in the nature of the transmission of fawāzil i.e. the revenue in the excess of the amount the nobles were authorised to use for their personal maintenance and for the maintenance of their contingents. A similar arrangement, existed in the Delhi Sultānate as well.¹ This payment would compare more accurately with the khalsā income of the Sultāns rather than with the tribute paid by the chiefs. Unlike the chiefs, the assignees did not have any hereditary rights over the land under their control. And in the assigned territories, as is suggested by Watson, the revenue collection was regulated by the procedure and the rules laid by the central authority and enforced by the officials of the department of the diwānī who were independent of the

1. I. Habīb, CEHI I, op.cit. p. 68.

control of assignee.¹ The limitations of the noble's rights over the territory assigned to him is fully supported by the sources. From a passage in Mirāt-i-Sikandari one gathers that as was the case during the 17th century all over the subcontinent,² the peasants in the Gujarat Sultānate also had the general tendency to migrate from the lands assigned to nobles to the areas where the conditions were less disagreeable for them.³ But at the same time the Gujarat Sultānate always tended to prevent the noble from "tyranising" the peasant. But in this case tyranny had a definite connotation. It perhaps only meant excessive use of force and imposition of collections upon the peasants that were not permitted by the State. From a statement of Sikandar bin Manjhū one gets the impression that even after Maḥmūd Begarah had made the assignments permanent, the assignee's "tyrannising" the

1. J.W. Watson, History of the Sultanate of Gujarat, Government Central Press, Bombay 1886, pp. 4-5.

2. According to Bernier, A seventeenth century traveller "a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from the want of labourers" many of whom "perish in consequence of the bad treatment they receive from the Governors", or are left no choice but to "abandon the country". Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire 1556-68, tr. by V.A. Smith, London, 1916, pp. 205, 226-27. quoted by Irfān Habib in Agrarian System of Mughal India, op.cit. p. 325.

3. MS p. 100.

peasant could be removed from their iqtaṣ.¹

S.C. Misra also mentions the existence of a sort of ratio between the yield of assigned land and the strength of the troops maintained by the assignee. According to him, this indicated the existence of a rudimentary form of mansab organization in the pre-Mughal political system.² A closer examination of the available evidence, however, does not fully support this suggestion of S.C. Misra. It is possible to cite cases in which the ratio between the yield of the assignments and the strength of the troops varied vastly. This is borne out by the following table which is based on the information obtained from Mirāt-i-Ahmadi.³

1. MS p. 158.

2. S.C. Misra, 'Some Aspects of the Economy of the Sultanate of Gujarat'. PIHC 1982 pp. 246-, 251.

3. MA I, pp. 16-23.

No.	Nobles	Horses	Income in tankās	Ratio
1.	Ulugh Khān	4,000	15,00,00,000	1:37500
2.	Jhujhar Khān	2,500	6,00,00,000	1:2400
3.	Malik-us Sharq	1,500	4,00,00,000	1:2667
4.	Wajihul Mulk and Mumtāzul Mulk	2,000	6,00,00,000	1:30000
5.	Ikhtiyārul Mulk	10,000	60,00,00,000	1:60000
6.	Saiyid Mirān	40,000	16,00,00,000	1:4000
7.	Rustam Khān and Chingiz Khān	25,000	1,62,00,000	1:648
8.	Nasirul Mulk	12,000	25,00,00,000	1:20833
9.	Ghaznavi Khān	7,000	10,00,00,000	1:14285
10.	Fateh Khān Rustam Khān and other Bāluchīs	14,000	3,00,00,000	1:21428

The available evidence tends to suggest that the iqṭās of the Sulṭānate of Gujarāt were territorial as well as revenue assignments. As mentioned by Sharufddīn, Farīshṭa and Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, the assignment system in Gujarāt was given the form by Maḥmud in 1473 A.D. Under this arrangement the entire territory controlled by the Sulṭān (mumālik-i-mahrusa) was divided into four parts and each

one of them was placed under a high noble.¹ These four nobles were entitled to collect revenue in their respective lands and were also entrusted with the administration of the areas. This suggests that at the level of highest four nobles of the Sultānate the iqṭās were territorial-cum-revenue assignments. Some times these assignees would be exercising authority within their territories which would be quite extraordinary but generally these powers would result special arrangements where the Sultān would entrust, as assignments, to the nobles the territories not yet fully pacified. In such cases, the task of pacification of the territories concerned would be left to the assignees. One may cite several such examples from the reigns of Sultān Aḥmad Shah I and Sultān Maḥmud Begarah.

Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I is reported to have subjugated ten villages in Kathiawar till then known centres of robbers and other recalcitrant elements by assigning them to a

1. In this arrangement Bahāuddīn 'Imādul Mulk was made hākīm of Songir, Farhatul Mulk hākīm of Beyt and Jagat, Nizamul Mulk hākīm of Manir and Khudāwandā Khān, wazīr was ordered to stay with. Shahzada Muḥaffar at Ahmadabad and Sultān himself live at Mustafabad, the Capital. TMS₁ p. 12-b; TF II p. 200; TA III p. 153.

noble as his iqtā'.¹ Similarly, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarāh had assigned the territory of Ambran situated on the periphery of Sorath, described by Sikandar as a "Centre of infidelity and rebels" to Dawārul Mulk who is credited with bringing it under his firm control.² It may, thus, be gauged that the nobles who were exercising very great authority over the territories of their iqtā's were those who had pacified their territories on their own without any help from the Sulṭān. In this kind of situations, the nobles, concerned would also have unrestricted authority over their contingents recruited locally and paid from the revenues of the pacified territory.

Owing to the independence and unlimited authority that some of the nobles enjoyed in their iqtā's, they were often able to play the role of the kingmakers. It was so specially when the persons aspiring for the throne happened to be not very competent individuals. There are many such cases that can be cited. In 1458 A.D., the nobles had

1. Selection From the Records of Bombay Government, n.s. no. XXXIX, Bombay, re-print of 1984, p. 29, quoted by M.N. Pearson MRG p. 64.

2. MS p. 160.

acted jointly in deposing Sultān Dāūd Shāh.¹ After the death of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II, the nobles belonging to the different factions disagreed over the question as to who would prove to be the most suitable Sultān from their point of view. This disagreement led to the assassination of Sultān Sikandar in 1526 A.D.² Sultān Maḥmud Shah III and Sultān Aḥmad Shāh III met the similar fates in 1553 and 1561 A.D., respectively. In the kingdom of Gujarat, the Sultāns became puppets in the hands of the nobles after Bahādur Shāh. It was in this situation that the Sultānate started disintegrating. Its territory came to be divided among the nobles. They became practically the independent rulers in their respective territories.³ By the time of Akbar's invasion (1572 A.D.), this situation had reached a point where no central figure was available in Gujarat under whose banner all the nobles could come together for opposing the invading Mughal forces.

Regarding the various terms used for the assignments it appears that the terms iqṭā' and shiq were interchangeable.

1. MS pp. 92-93.

2. MS pp. 241-42; TF II p. 213.

3. MS p. 407; TA III p. 245.

Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī, for instance refers to Kavsari, which was held by Feroz Khān in 1410-11 A.D., as iqṭā' at one place and as shiq at another.¹ Similarly, Jalor is found to have been mentioned in 1506 A.D. as shiq but its holder Malik Sālār Afghān, entitled Ḥabībūl Mulḳ, is referred to as muqṭā'. In 1523 A.D., the same assignment is mentioned as iqṭā' and it was being held again by Malik Budhan, entitled Ḥabībūl Mulḳ.²

As has been stated earlier several terms were used for the holder of assignments but muqṭā' and ḥākīm appear to have been the most commonly used terms. It may also be inferred from the list of assignments prepared by me that during the first few years of the establishment of Gujarātī Sulṭānate the terms iqṭā' and muqṭā' were in more frequent use but in the first half of the sixteenth century these terms occur rarely while the terms sarkār, parganā, wilāyat and jaḡīr for the assignments and the terms ḥākīm and jaḡīrdār for the assignees tended to become more common. From 1561-2 A.D. when the territory of Gujarat came to be divided among the leading nobles, their assignments are found to have been exclusively termed as jaḡīrs,

1. TMS₂ 31-b, 36-a.

2. EIAPS 1974, pp. 35-42.

sarkārs, wilāyats and parḡanās. This would suggest that in the beginning the assignment system of the Sulṭānate of Gujarat was very similar to that of the Delhi Sulṭānate. With the passage of time important changes seems to have taken place in this system. The terms iqṭā' and shiq borrowed from the Delhi Sulṭānate, which were frequently found up till the reign of Aḡmad Shah I (1410-1442 A.D.) gradually disappeared and the new terms parḡana, sarkār, wilāyat and jāqīr were adopted. Similarly, the term muqṭā' was replaced by the term hākīm for the assignee. But the use of the term jāqīr (obviously borrowed from the Mughals) should lead one to imagine that in the latter decades of its existence the Gujarāt Sulṭānate had adopted the Mughal assignment system. This is borne out by the situation of the Sulṭānate as it obtained just before 1571-2 A.D.

By the time Akbar conquered Gujarat in 1571-2 A.D., the entire territory of the Sulṭānate of Gujarat had been divided among the nobles as their jāqīrs. The holders of these jāqīrs were not simply hākīm (a governor) of their respective territories but enjoyed unlimited authority in their territories. They had virtually become independent of the Sulṭān's control. As pointed out by Nizāmuḡdīn Aḡmad the "great amīrs having acquired independence in

their jāgīrs did not allow any one to interfere with them".¹
 The list reveals that during this time the term hākīm disappeared almost totally and the term jāgīrdār came to be applied to the holders of these assignments. Here one can see the use of a common nomenclature notwithstanding.

These assignments of Gujarat Sultānate were hereditary in nature ever since the time of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah (1459-1511 A.D.). A deceased noble was succeeded by his son or a close relative in his post, title and assignment. Several examples of this nature can be cited from the list of assignments given under appendix -II. In the earlier decades of the existence of the Gujarāt Sultānate the iqṭā' were often transferable and could be resumed or re-allotted by the Sultān. Generally, transfer was ordered only when the Sultān would come to loose confidence in a noble. For example in 1473 A.D., Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah ordered the transfer of the iqṭā's of some of his leading nobles only after they were suspected of rebellious designs.² Similarly, in 1520 A.D., the iqṭā' of Sorath

1. TA III, p. 245.

2. According to Farishta the amīrs were tired of the continuous expeditions of Sultān and with the order of the change of their residences from Aḥmadabād to Muṣṭafabād; were in a mood of rebel. TF .II, p. 200.

was resumed from Malik Ayāz as a punishment for his misconduct. After some time it was re-allotted to him.¹ Another example of this nature was the resumption (in 1526 A.D.) of Sorath and Diu from Malik Ishāq (son of Malik Ayāz) since he had rebelled against the Sultān.²

However, the frequent changes made at Diu in the second quarter of the sixteenth century do go to suggest that in exceptional cases transfers and resumption of assignments were resorted to for administrative and military considerations as well. These changes were as follows: In 1526 A.D., Diu was assigned to Qiwāmūl Mulk³ and in 1531 A.D., Diu was assigned to its hereditary claimant, Malik Tuḡhān, the younger son of Malik Ayāz.⁴ But in the same year Diu was resumed again and was given to Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī a noble of foreign origin who had recently arrived in Gujarat.⁵

1. MS p. 163.

2. Ibid., pp. 203, 265-66.

3. Ibid., pp. 266.

4. Ibid., p. 274.

5. AHG p. 189.

The position with regard to recruitments, promotions, dismissals and other matters concerning the nobility is also to be considered. One important criterion for the recruitment of the nobles was family background. Usually the male off-springs of persons already in Sultān's service were preferred for recruitment as nobles. But they were always recruited as mercenaries in their individual capacities. They were not allowed to inherit the posts and offices held by their forefathers. The posts or assignments were not hereditary. Competence was the other important criterion for the recruitment of the nobles. This may be gauged from a number of cases that I proceed to cite here. In 1507 A.D., Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah offered to Amīr Ḥusain-al-Miṣrī (who had come in command of the Egyptian fleet to help the Sultān against the Portuguese) the Governorship of Mahim to induce him to join his service. But the latter excused himself from this offer and returned to his own country.¹ This may be cited as a case where the possible recruitment was to be made for the competence and high standing of the person concerned. Similarly in 1520 A.D., Sultān Muzaḥfar Shāh II recruited Malik Ḥusain Bahmanī into his nobility

1. AHG I, pp. 34-5.

for his experience in statecraft. He justified this step by telling the other nobles who were critical of the move that ⁱⁿ Malik Husain he had found a man who could teach them all the art of Government.¹ Again Bahādur Shāh had also welcomed in his service a large number of foreigners possessing experience of warfare in Europe and Africa.² It was also perhaps for the Sultān's and noble's personal servants and slaves, who possessed administrative training and were considered trust worthy, were also generally preferred for recruitment into the nobility. In 1459 A.D., for instance Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah raised fifty two of his personal slaves (bandgān-i-qadīm) to the positions of the nobles.³ In several cases even persons of menial origin were also recruited into the nobility for their competence and their personal qualities displayed while attending upon the Sultān. For instance, a Chirimār (bird Catcher) named Chir Jiv was taken in the royal service by Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III. He was entitled Muḥāfiẓ Khān.⁴

1. MS p. 193.

2. Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī, a Turkish admiral, had come to Gujarat and brought along with him all the valiant warriors who fought in Africa on behalf of the Ottoman Sultān. They all were recruited into his nobility by Bahādur Shāh. AHG I p. 188.

3. TA III p. 138.

4. MS pp. 340, 345-7; AHG I, pp. 226-7.

The nobles of Gujarat were all the time divided into factions that were pitted against each other. For example nobles of local origin always had the tendency of opposing the foreigners. For example, in 1520 A.D., all the Gujarātī nobles objected the appointment of Malik Husain Bahmanī to a high position in the state.¹ Again Sultān Bahādur Shah could not appoint Rūmī Khān as the hākīm of Chittor on account of the opposition of Gujarātī nobles.² On the other hand, there existed an intense dislike for the nobles of menial origin among those having claims of nobles descent notwithstanding their mutual ethnical or religious differences. An interesting illustration of this situation was the case of Chir Jīv entitled Muhāfiz Khān. From the humble position of a bird catcher he had risen to that of a counsellor of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III. His rise is reported to have provoked intense opposition of the high born nobility. This widespread hostility eventually resulted in Muhāfiz Khān's assassination at the hand of the other nobles.³

1. MS p. 193.

2. Ibid., pp. 305-7.

3. Ibid., pp. 340, 345-7; AHG pp. 226-7.

Promotions were generally given to the nobles on special occasions like the accession of a new Sultan or any other auspicious occasion. The Sultāns used to give high posts mainly to their own kith and kin and to those nobles who had helped them in coming to the throne. Commendable performance in a military expedition by a noble was another important criterion for promotion.¹ Besides this experience and the length of service was also a factor regulating promotions. For instance, Malik Jamāluddīn Quraishī, a distinguished noble of the reign of Sultān Māhmud Begarah was appointed in the beginning as an aslāhdār. In 1470 A.D., he was given the title Muḥāfiẓ Khān and promoted to the position of the Kotwāl of Ahmadabad. Later, on account of his good services he was given the charge of the entire city of Ahmadabad as well as its dependencies, and also became mustaufī-mamālik. At last in 1480-81 A.D., he was promoted to the highest office in the administration,

1. In 1431-32 A.D., Malik Sādāt Sultānī, the hākim of the fort of Tambol (TA III p. 103, 120-121; TF p. 198), between 1459-1481 A.D., Malik Isān Sultānī the hākim of the fort of Bhamer, (EIAPS 1972 pp. 28-9; MS p. 147), in 1533 A.D. Shamshērul Mulk, the hākim of the fort of Ajmer (MS pp. 293, 318) first conquered these respective forts and thensame forts were assigned to them as their charges.

namely that of wazīr.¹ As it is borne out by Muḥāfiẓ Khan's case usually at the time of promotions that nobles were given new titles suiting their elevated positions. But on the other hand a title without augmentation in assignment was always considered a disgrace. This is illustrated by a development dating back to 1526 A.D.. In that year when the nobles were given the titles without a corresponding augmentation of assignments, there was widespread resentment among them.²

Dismissal was a measure of punishment for the nobles. Many such cases may be cited. For example, the failure of

1. TMS pp. 10-a, 12-a; MS pp. 125-126, 144; TA III p. 148; TF p. 198; AHG pp. 20-27.

2. In 1526 A.D., Maḥmūd Shāh II ascended the throne and the real power of the government went into the hands of Imādul Mulk, the wazīr. Imadul Mulk conferred new titles on 180 nobles but did not augment their "jāgirs". At this behaviour of Imādul Mulk, the amirs were deeply offended. They consequently switched their support to Bahādur Khān, a rival candidate, for the throne. MS pp. 250, 256.

expedition against the Rana of Chittor and the conclusion of a peace with him without informing the Sultān became the cause of the removal of the great noble, Malik Ayāz, from Sorath.¹ Similarly in 1557 A.D., Saiyid 'Alī Baranhar, the hākim of Broach, was dismissed from his position as the Portuguese had entered the fort of Broach owing to his carelessness.²

The nature of punishments inflicted on the nobles for their misconduct depended on the Sultān's discretion. Executions of nobles for their misconducts were common occurrences in the Sultānate of Gujarāt. One might note that in this respect the Gujarātī Sultānate's cultural ethos was very similar to that of the Delhi Sultānate but qualitatively different from that of the Mughal Empire.³ Numerous cases could be cited from the history of the Gujarāt of our period which go to support my point. A few

1. MS p. 202.

2. AHG p. 240.

3. Dr. Athar Ali in his book Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb op.cit p. 50, mentions the lenient attitude of Aurangzeb in dealing with the nobles. According to him "even for enormous crimes nobles escaped with a mere reduction in rank".

more cases of this nature were as follows: Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I executed his son-in-law on the charge of a murder.¹ Similarly, Maḥmūd Begarah administered poison to his son on account of latter's misconduct.² Maḥmūd Begarah was also responsible for executing two of his favourite nobles, Malik Hājī and Malik Kālū. their assignments were resumed to the khalīṣā.³ In the reign of Muḥaffar Shāh II, Malik Gopi an influential noble was executed for his misconduct. Sultān Bahādur Shāh was responsible for putting to death with great torture all those nobles who were implicated in the murder of Sultān Sikandar (Apr. 1526 to May 1526 A.D.). According to Niḥāmuddīn Aḥmad, three of them were blown up by tying them to the mouth of canons.⁴

Concluding the above arrangements one may state that in the Sultānate of Gujarāt a noble holding a territory as assignment was given both the administrative as well as

1. MS p. 61.

2. Ibid., p. 169.

3. Ibid., p. 114; TA III p. 143.

4. TA III pp. 204-5.

fiscal rights over it and in return for this favour he fulfilled the obligation of serving the Sultān with a contingent. This assignment system proved very useful in the territorial expansion of the Sultanate as the Sultān generally had the policy of inducing the nobles to conquer important tracts by assigning them ^{to} the individual noble even before these tracts were not fully pacified. According to rule, promulgated by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah (1459-1511 A.D.) the iqtās tended to become largely hereditary assignments but at the same time the case of transfers or resumptions of iqtās by the Sultān were not altogether lacking in the reign of the same Sultān. Generally the Sultāns always had the authority to transfer a noble from one assignment to other or replace him by another person. But the Sultan resorted to such drastic measures only for pressing political reasons as was, for example, the case of Rūmī Khān in 1531 A.D.¹ Assignees were given the right only on the

1. Amīr Muṣṭafā Rumi was a turkish admiral and the commander of the artillery having arrived in Gujarāt. Sultān Bahādur Shāh felt that the co-operation of Amīr Muṣṭafā Rumi was necessary to conquer the formidable forts of Raisin and Chittor. Bahādur Shāh, therefore tried to please Amīr Muṣṭafā Rumi by giving Diu, the assignment of an established noble family. In 1531 Diu was taken from Malik Tughān and was assign to Amīr Muṣṭafā.

revenues of the assigned territories and were also entrusted with the authority to administer them. The peasants were independent of their control. They could migrate to the areas where the conditions were less disagreeable for them. Moreover the assignees "tyrannising" the peasant could be removed from their ic⁴tās.

...

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters we have tried to form an idea of the nature of the Gujarat Sultānate in terms of the various facets of the social base that sustained it for more than one and a half centuries. It has been worked out that towards the end of the period that Gujarāt was ruled by a regional Sultānate (i.e. around 1571-72 A.D.), its population roughly came up to fifteen millions of which 26% was concentrated in the urban centres. The percentage of urban population in Gujarāt Sultānate was apparently higher than what it was later on in the whole of the Mughal Empire. This was perhaps an indication as well as outcome of the expansion of Gujarātī trade and commerce during the hundred and fifty years that this territory was being controlled by the regional Sultānate.

During the rule of the local Sultāns, Gujarat seems to have achieved a level of prosperity which was not attained by it earlier. Most of the elegant handicrafts and arts that, as indicated by the European travellers accounts and other records, were being practised in Gujarāt in the 17th century, possibly came to be introduced there during this period. The Sultāns of Gujarāt appear to have encouraged trade and commerce as a matter of policy. This was vital to make them

strong both economically as well as militarily.

Gujarat being a maritime province had a thriving population of traders and merchants both indigenous as well as of foreign origin. Since they were considered an important source of revenue for the state, the Sultāns always tried to protect them. A few persons belonging to indigenous trading communities such as Bhandārīs, Khatrīs and Banyās were even allowed to enter into the nobility right from the beginning of the Sultānate. There are also on record several instances of merchants of foreign origin (persons like Khwāja Şafar) being recruited into the nobility. These merchant nobles despite their small number, at times, exercised considerable influence over the Sultāns as well as the state policies. It was their possession of vast wealth and their capacity to use it for manipulating the situations that tended to increase their clout at the court.

The zamīndārs of Gujarat were a powerful group forming an important facet of the social base of the political authority in the region. After the disintegration of the Tughlaq empire, when the nobles of the Delhi Sultānate stationed in Gujarat tried to organise themselves into a regional Sultānate headed by a new dynasty, they appear to have come up against the

stiff opposition of the powerful zamīndārs of the region. From the very beginning, the zamīndārs of Gujarat, particularly, important chieftains among them, were struggling to overthrow this new state. At time, they even tried to achieve this with the help of the neighbouring rulers. In course of time, the powerful chiefs mainly located on the periphery, were completely subjugated while the intermediary and primary zamīndārs and even some of the bigger chiefs located in the heartland¹ of the Sultānate tended to form an important segment of its power base and seem to have maintained their allegiance to the Sultāns. This development contributed substantially to weakening of the bigger chiefs' struggle aimed at thwarting the consolidation of the Gujarāt Sultānate.

The composite nobility of the Gujarat Sultānate consisted of both indigenous as well as foreign elements. But essentially it was a regional power structure drawing sustenance and support mainly from the local authorities particularly those involving the indigenous Muslim ruling groups. Another important feature of the Gujarātī nobility

1. Heartland means central and North Gujarat. S.C. Misra, RMPG p.205.

was the presence, within its fold, of a sizeable number of slaves (22%) and second generation nobles - the khānazāds (17%). The percentage of slaves in the nobility had increased markedly during the last few decades of the existence of the Sultānate. This development was seemingly facilitated by a tendency on the part of the successive Sultāns after Maḥmūd Begarāh to recruit Ḥabashī slaves in the nobility. The induction of slaves and the policy of giving them bold promotions appear to have generated tensions within the nobility as a result of which the khānazāds and other entrenched sections of the nobility were pitted against them. These inner strains of the Gujarātī nobility were, apparently, partly responsible for the failure of the Gujarātī nobles to resist the Mughal invasion in 1572 A.D.

The nobles, as members of the most powerful ruling group were assigned iqṭā's where they were entitled to collect land revenue as well as to run the administration. The most *important* obligation of an iqṭā'-holder was military services. He was expected to maintain a contingent for the service of the Sultān. These assignments, to begin with, were non-hereditary. The Sultān could always transfer or resume an iqṭā'. It was rarely allowed to be transferred from father to son according to hereditary principle. But Maḥmūd Begarāh, through an order tried to assure the nobles that they would be allowed to

control their iqṭāṣ almost on a hereditary basis. This, however, did not mean that the assignees were made the proprietors land falling within their iqṭāṣ or were given proprietary rights on the revenues of that land. Even after the promulgation of this order, the Sultan continued to occasionally order the transfers and resumptions of iqṭāṣ which go to clearly show that, after all said and done, a noble was allowed to hold any territory as his iqṭāṣ only in the pleasure of Sultān.

It would thus appear that the ultimate controller of the produce of land in the Gujarat Sultānate was the Sultān. The assignee was just an agent of the Sultān. The peasants in the assigned land were always sought to be protected by the Sultān from the possible tyranny of the assignees. In other words, the nobles were not allowed to collect ^{any} thing from the peasants - not permitted by the Sultān. An attitude, on the part of an assignee, to collect revenue in excess of the prescribed rates or to demand payments on different pretexts would generally be condemned as tyranny. The assignees "tyrannising" the peasants would some times be removed from their iqṭāṣ for the same charge. Apparently, the general disapproval of assignee's oppressing attitude

towards the peasants was so wide spread in the Gujarat Sultanate that one finds a Persian Chronicle reporting, without any hint of regret, the migration of the peasants to the areas where the conditions were less disagreeable for them.

...

Appendix No. 1Short Biographies of the Nobles of the
Sultanate of Gujarat

In this appendix the available biographical information on the nobles of the Sultanate of Gujarat is presented in a condensed form. The notes on the individual nobles given here are mainly focused on the group identities used for tabular presentation in Chapter VI. The biographical notes are arranged in the alphabetical order.

1. Abu Jiv Gujarati: Gujarati Muslim.

In 1545 A.D., he was counted among the great amirs of Gujarat. He was holding the title Malik-us-Sharq Malik Nasirul Mulk. He was killed by Imadul Mulk in the course of strife among the Gujarati nobles in 1555 A.D.¹

2. Abu bin Azhdar Khan: Gujarati Muslim, Khanazad.

He was the son of Azhdar Khan. In 1526 A.D. on the accession of Sultan Bahadur Shah he was given his father's

1. EIAPS 1974 p. 50; MS p. 362; AHG p. 387; The suffix Gujarati indicates that he was a domecile of Gujarat.

title, Azhdar Khān.¹

3. Abu Jiv Tank: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1537 A.D., he was assigned the gasbā Jambu in the parganā Jhalawar. During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh II (1553-1561 A.D.) he became wazīr with the title Wajīhul Mulk.²

4. Abu Khair, Saiyid: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

He was the son of the great amīr Saiyid Ālam. In 1414 A.D., he was appointed along with Saiyid Abul Qāsim to collect the salāmi from the zamīndārs of Sorath.³

5. Abul Qāsim, Saiyid: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was the son of the great amīr Saiyid Ālam. In 1414-15 A.D., he and his brother Abul Khair were appointed to collect the salāmi from the zamīndārs of Sorath. In 1473 to

1. MS p. 260; TA III p. 158; Abu was the son of Azhdar Khān, son of Alaf Khān son of 'Alauddīn Sohrāb Sultāni, a Gujarātī slave.

2. MS pp. 335, 340; AHG p. 196; With the foundation of the Sultānate of Gujarāt Tank nobles are found in the service of the Gujarat Sultāns.

3. MS p. 44; TA III p. 101; TF II p. 184; 188; Bayley, p. 115.

1476 A.D., he had been the governor of the territory of Junagarh.¹

6. Abu Khān Ḥabashī: Ḥabashī Slave.

In 1561 A.D., Baroda was assigned to him.²

7. ʿAbdullāh-us-Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

During 1418-19 A.D., he was the kotwāl of the city of Nahrwalah Pattan. There he laid the foundation of a well in the same year.³

1. MS p. 44; TA III p: 101; TF II p. 184; TS p. 132; These nobles are categorized as Gujarātī Muslim since there is no indication of their being from any region of India outside Gujarat or for that matter suggesting their inditity to any one of the non-Indian groups. This is obviously not a very sound basis of categorization but in the given situation of insufficient evidence it is not possible to adopt a better criterion. The same criterion would be used for categorization of similar cases.

2. MS p. 408; AHGp. 212.

3. EIAPS 1963, p. 15; In inscription he is mentioned as a slave.

8. ʿAbdul Latīf: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

His title was Dwārul Mulk. He was the son of Malik Muḥammad Buraishī. In the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh (1459-1511A.D) he was deputed to the thāna of the cashā of Ambran.¹

9. ʿAbdus Samād Afzal Khān Bambānī: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was the brother of Burhānūl Mulk Bambānī, the wazīr of Sultān Bahādār Shāh (1526-36 A.D).

In 1537 A.D. after the death of Bahādūr Shāh he became wakīl of Sultān Maḥmūd III (1537-1553 A.D). In 1540 A.D. his brother Burhānūl Mulk resigned from wazārat due to the old age and Afzal Khān succeeded him in that position. In 1547 A.D. he was dismissed from the wazārat due to his mismanagement of campaign against the Portuguese holding Diu. In 1553 A.D., he was killed by Burhān for refusing to co-operate with him after the murder of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III.²

1. MS pp. 157-61; Ambran in Kathiawar now in the Navangar State. Commissariat, I p. 218.

2. MS pp. 223-25; 361, 383; TA II p. 240; AHG pp. 201, 224, 225, 230, 240; since generations the members of the Bambānī family were in the service of the Gujarat Sultāns. B.M. Firmidhi, "Are Tabqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī, Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī and the Tārīkh-i-Sadr-i-Jahān Identical?" PIHC 1947, p. 327.

10. ʿAbdul Muḥk Faulādī: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was the brother of ʿAinul Muḥk Faulādī and was slain in 1512 A.D. in the war against Chief of Idar.¹

11. ʿAbdul Halīm Hamīdu Muḥk; Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1547 A.D. Afzal Khān was removed from wazārat and ʿAbdul Halīm Hamīdul Muḥk became the wazīr in his place. At the same occasion he was also entitled Majlisul-ʿAlī Khudāwandā Khān.²

12. ʿAbdullāh Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was the governor of Junagarh in 1480-1 A.D.³

13. ʿAbdul ʿAzīz Asaf Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was born at champampaner in 1494 A.D., and was recruited into the nobility in the reign of Bahādar Shāh. He was entitled Habībul Muḥk. In 1530-31 A.D. he was put incharge of Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī after the latter was captured at Mandū. In 1536 A.D., he along with some other nobles was sent to Mecca by Sultān Bahādar Shāh with his family and treasure. In 1547 A.D.

1. MS pp. 173; 138; TA III p. 175; AHG p. 91-92; Afghāns were a group of nobility in Gujarāt even before the establishment of its Sultānate. Ziauddin Baranī, the author of Tārīkh-i-Fēroz Shāhī (pp. 507-523) gives the details of the rebellions of Afghān nobles in Gujarāt during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tuḡlaq. The author of Tabqāt-i-Akbarī (III p. 246) clearly mentions that fauldis were Afghāns. These Afghan nobles holding the cognomen Faulādī are first time appeared in the reign of Muḥaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.). Apparently the Faulādī Afghāns were recruited into the nobility by Sultān Muḥaffar Shāh II. Commissariat (I p. 493) does not seem correct that Faulādī Afghāns had come in Gujarāt during the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1526-1536 A.D.) since ʿAbdul Muḥk Faulādī and ʿAinul Muḥk Faulādī were in the service of Sultān Muḥaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.).

2. AHG p. 240.

3. TS p. 132.

he was re-called by Maḥmūd Shāh III (1537-1553 A.D) and was made wazīr and also entitled Masnadul 'Alī 'Abdul 'Azīz Asaf Khān. In 1553 A.D, he was killed by Burhān the assassin of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh III.¹

14. Abu Mahaldār Khān: Hābashī slave.

He was an army Commander in the service of Ulugh Khān, the head of the Hābashī slaves in 1540 A.D.²

15. 'Abdullāh, Malik: Ghor.

He was the brother of Tātār Khān Ghorī. In 1536 A.D., he defeated Humāyun's noble, Qāsim Ḥuṣain Khān and expelled him from Navsari. In 1538 A.D. in the tussle between 'Imādul Mulk and Daryā Khān, he fought on the side of Daryā Khān.³

16. Ādam: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1405-6AD he is referred to the muqtā' of Baroda, entitled Malik-us-Sharq Āzam Malik Ādam.⁴

17. Ālam, Saiyid: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1428-9AD he was sent along with some other nobles to invade the Bahmanī Kingdom.⁵

1. MS pp. 193, 273, 363; TA II p. 230; TSG p. 32; AHG p. 169, 185, 207, 218, 243, 244.

2. TA III p. 230; AHG p. 230.

3. TG p. 29; AHG p. 228.

4. EIM 1939-40 pp. 2-3.

5. TF p. 188.

18. ‘Alāuddīn Sohṛāb Sultānī: Gujarātī Muslim Slave.

In 1428-9 A.D he held the title of Ikhtiyārul Mulk. In 1451-52 A.D he was the hākīm of Sultānpur. In 1451 A.D on account of his valour and faithfulness he was given the seven different khilats along with the title ‘Alāul Mulk Ulugh Khān.¹

19. Alaf Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

He was the son of ‘Alaul Mulk Ulugh-Khān Sohṛāb Sultānī. In 1491-2 A.D he was the muqtā of Modasa. At that time he was entitled Amīr-i-Kabīr Bahāuddīn Ulugh Khān. In the same year he rebelled against the Sultān, the hākīm of Sultānpur, Malik ‘Azizul Mulk Shaikhān came to suppress him. He was defeated by the Sultān's army and asked for a pardon. After being reinstated in the Sultān's service he killed a pēshkār and was imprisoned for this crime. He died in 1496 A.D, while still in prison.²

20. Ālaf Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was a friend of Sultān, Maḥmud Begarāh during the latter's princehood. In 1459 A.D at the time of his accession, the Sultān gave him the title of Khān along with Daulat of Panj hazārī.³

1. TMS p. 71-a; MS 69-70, 77; TF pp. 188-191; AHG pp. 5-9.

2. MS pp. 113, 146; TA III p. 164; TF p. 196; AHG p. 31; Modasa: Fifty two miles north-east of Amadabād. Commissariat I, p. 79.

3. MS p. 51.

21. Ālam Khān Lodī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

He was a relative of Sultān Sikandar Lodī. In 1532-33 A.D., he was recruited into the nobility by Sultān Bahādur Shah and was assigned the Jāgīr of Bhilsa and Chanderi. In the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh II (1537-1553 A.D.) he was assigned the territories of Dholka and Dandhuka. He fought along with the Sultān against Daryā Khān who had usurped all the power of the King. Daryā Khān was defeated and fled from Gujarāt. After Daryā Khān's ouster, Ālam Khān was given the post of Wazārat along with the title of Amirul Umarā and Sipahsālār in 1538 A.D. But like Daryā Khān, Ālam Khān also wanted to be independent of the Sultān's control. He conspired to murder Chir Jīv (a low born companion of the Sultan). In retaliation, Sultān ordered his house to be plundered. He was also driven out from Gujarat. He came back to Gujarat in the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh III (1553-1561 A.D.) and got Baroda and Champaner as assignment. After sometime he conspired against Saiyid Mubārak and died fighting in strife that ensued.¹

22. Alp Khān Khatri: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1544 A.D., he conspired with wajihul Mulk and Ālam Khān Lodī to murder Chirjīv (a close friend of Sultan Mahmud Shah III). In the reign of Aḥmad Shāh III (1553-1561 A.D.) he was assigned Godhrā by Saiyid, Mubārak, a leading noble of the period.²

1. MS pp. 339, 409-11; 414, +15; AHG pp. 213, 218, 228, 232, 265, 268, 270, 330, 345.

2. MS pp. 288-89, 335, 341, 347, 354, 355, 409; AHG pp. 265, 268, 271, 354. Godhra: On the east of Gujarat see Irfan Habib an Atlas of Mughal Empire, sheet 7A, 22+, 73+.

23. ‘Alī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D., he took part in the assassination of Sultān Sikandar Shāh. When Sultān Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, in the same year he executed ‘Alī as well as ‘Imādul Mulk.¹

24. ‘Alam Khān Faruqī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1469-70 A.D., he was killed during the seige of the fort of Junagarh. He is also reported to have built a sarāi at Ahmedabād.²

25. ‘Alam Khān Manduwī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

He was a noble of the Malwa ruler. In 1530 A.D. he fled from Malwa and joined the services of Bahadar Shāh. In 1531 A.D. he died and his assignments were transferred to his son Saḡdar Khān.³

26. Ahmad Bhandārī, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

He was the son of Hisāmul Mulk Bhandārī who supported his father's rebellion against the Sultān in 1410 A.D.⁴

27. Ahmad Shēr, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1413 A.D., he along with other nobles rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D).⁵

1. MS. p. 262.

2. MS. p. 121; AHG p. 191.

3. MS. p. 275; AHG p. 167.

4. MS. p. 30.

5. MS. p. 40.

28. Ahmad Sārkhējī, kalik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1413 A.D., he rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.).¹

29. Ahmad, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim, khānāzad.

He was the son of Hīsāmul Mulk. In 1410 A.D., he joined Fēroz Khān's rebellion against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.).²

30. 'Ainul Mulk Faulādī: Gujarātī Muslim.

'Ainul Mulk Faulādī was an Afghān. During the reign of Muzaāfar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.) he was the muqtā' of Nahrwala Pattan. In 1512 A.D., he was sent against Rana Bhīm of Idar.³

31. 'Ainul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sultān Mahmud Begarah (1459-1511 A.D.) met Sheikh Sirājuddīn through 'Ainul Mulk an amīr and friend of the Sultān.⁴

32. Amān, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1478 A.D., he was the muqtā' of Cambay.⁵

33. Amīn Khan Ghori: Ghori.

Amīn Khān Ghori succeeded his father Tātār Khān Ghori in 1524 A.D., and became thānadār of Junagarh. In 1571-2 A.D. he held the jāgīr of the tāluqā of Junagarh.⁶

1. TA III p. 100; Sarkhej a village near Aswal. Commissariat I, p. 613.

2. MS p. 30.

3. MS p. 187; TA III p.175; AHG p. 92.

4. MS p. 106.

5. EIAPS 1963, p. 34.

6. TS p. 125; IIA I, p. 23.

34. Amir Haji Sheikh Haji: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1437 A.D., Amir Haji was posted at Khakhrachi in Sorath where he built a Jami Masjid in the same year. According to Z.A. Desai Haji Sheikh Haji appears to be a noble of high rank who was posted in this area.¹

35. Amir Mahmud Bargi: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1410-11 A.D., he was the hākim of Cambay. In 1416 A.D., he was sent against Malik Nasir, the ruler of Asir. In 1419 A.D., he acted as the nāib of Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.).²

36. Amir Gopi: Hindu, Khānāzād.

He was the son of a great noble Malik Gopi. Around 1533 A.D., he is referred to as one of the richest merchants of Gujarāt. He wielded great influence at the court of Bahādur Shāh and acted as an intermediary between Bahādur Shāh and the Portuguese a role played by his father as well. He succeeded his father around 1533 A.D. in the Governorship of Surat.³

37. Amir Mustafā Rūmi: Ottoman Turk.

He was an Ottoman Turk who came to Gujarāt in 1531 A.D., to help Bahādur Shāh against the Portuguese. Bahādur Shāh recruited

1. EIAPS 1974, pp. 13-15; Khakhrachi: situated about 16 kilometers east of Malia and 30 kilometers north-east of Morvi or Morbi, is a place of some antiquity and was a flourishing town in earlier days, Bombay Gazetteer Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay 1884)p. 508, quoted by Z.A. Desai, op.cit. p. 12.

2. MS pp. 48, 51, 52; TA III pp. 95, 107.

3. Gasper Correa, Lendas de India, Tomo III, Coimbra, 1922 pp.543-44 cf. K.S.Mathew, "Indo Portuguese Trade in the Sixteenth Century the Nobility of the Gujarat Sultanate". PIHC 1984, pp. 363-4.

him in his nobility and gave him the title, Rūmīkhān. The Sultān also assigned him Rander and Surat. After some time Diu was also added to his assignments. It was given to him after removing Malik Tughān there. In 1534 A.D., the Sultān executed Malik Tughān at the instigation of Rūmī Khān. He was the Commander of the artillery during Bahādur Shāh's attacks on the forts of Raisin in 1532 A.D. and Chittor 1533 A.D. The Sultān had promised to make him hākīm of the fort of Chittor. But after its conquest he did not fulfil that promise as all the Gujarātī nobles objected to Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī being given such an important position. Rūmī Khān was deeply offended. He joined Humāyun/ ^{at} Mandusur (1535 A.D.).¹

38. Ankas Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1410 A.D., he rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh (1410-1441 A.D) along with Fēroz Khān an uncle of the Sultān.²

39. Ankas Khān Habashī: Habashī, Slave.

He was in the service of 'Imādul Mulk Habashī and was killed at Surat in 1561 A.D., during a skirmish with the forces of the nobles who were opposing his master.³

1. MS. pp. 274, 283, 290, 293, 305, 307; TA III p. 221; TSG pp. 30-31; AHG p. 198, Rūmīs were European Turks (Ottoman Turks) Bayley, History of Gujarāt, pp. 347, 350.

2. TF p. 183.

3. MS pp. 413-14; AHG pp. 333, 354-55.

40. Āqā Rēhān: Ḥabashī-Slave.

He was an officer in the service of 'Imādul Mulk. Āqā Rēhān was entitled Bijlī Khān Ḥabshī. In 1571 A.D., he was murdered by Muḥammad Ḥusain and Ibrāhīm Mirzā in the strife among the nobles.¹

41. Āqā Farhā Shād Rūmī: Ottoman Turk.

In 1538 A.D., he had come to Gujarāt with Salmār Pāshā and was recruited into the nobility. He was honoured by the title Fateḥ Jang Khān as a reward for his capturing the fort of Idar.²

42. Ashraf Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was an amir holding the title of 'Azīzul Mulk. In 1410 A.D., he rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.) along with some other nobles.³

43. Arsalān Turk Sultānī: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

He was a slave purchased by Āsaf Khān in Lecca and sent to Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III (1537-1553 A.D.) as a present. The Sultān recruited him into the nobility by giving him the title, 'I-ādul Mulk, ^{Rūmī} in 1549-5 A.D. He played an important role in

1. AHG pp. 331-5, 353, 365, 436-37.

2. AHG p. 227.

3. TF p. 184.

the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh III (1553-1561 A.D.) in the civil strife and killed Saiyid Mubārak, a great amīr of that period. In 1561-2 A.D., when the country of Gujarāt was divided among the nobles he found the jāgīr of Champaner, Broach, Baroda and the port of Surat.¹

44. Asad Khān Ismāīl Salmānī: Ottoman Turk.

Probably he was the son of Rajab Salmānī who succeeded his father's assignment of Surat. He was an amīr in the service of Chingīz Khān. In 1559-60 A.D., he was holding the charge of Surat.²

45. Ātāullah, Saiyid: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1451-2 A.D., he was given the title of Qiwāmul Mulk. In 1453-4 A.D., he is reported enjoying the title Sharful Mulk. He was largely instrumental in enthroning Sultān Qutubuddīn Aḥmad Shāh in 1451-2 A.D. In 1451-2 A.D., when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa attacked Nagor, Sultān Qutubuddīn sent Qiwāmul Mulk for re-inforcing the ruler of Nagor.³

46. Ayāz, Malik: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

He was recruited into the nobility by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah (1459-1511 A.D.) who made him hākīm of the port of Diu. He was also entitled Amīr-ul Umarā Malik Ayāz Khās-i-Sultānī. In 1506-7 A.D., he is mentioned as a sipahsālār of re-inforcement

1. MS p. 362, 408; TA III p. 243; TF p. 228; AHG p. 245; MA I, p.22.

2. AHG pp. 382-400; Ḥajī-ud-Dabīr, the author of Zafrul-Walīh used the term Salmān Turks in place of Ottoman Turks and mentions that Salmān was after the name of Sulaimān, the Sultān of Turkey. AHG pp. 189, 234.

3. EIAPS 1974, p. 18; MS pp. 67-8, 97; TA III p. 137; AHG p. 10.

sent to help the Turkish admiral against Portuguese. In 1513 A.D., he became the muq̄tā' of Sorath as well as hākīm of Diu. In 1513 A.D., when Fires visited Gujarāt, Gogha and Mahim were also ⁱⁿ Malik Ayāz's control. He was a great merchant noble. According to the Portuguese sources, in 1509 A.D., he was able to raise about Rs. 50,000 in a few days from his own resources. Portuguese estimated his total income from land revenue, custom duties and other taxes roughly at Rs. 3,20,000 per year. Half of this income come only from Diu. On account of his immense wealth he came to be considered second only to the Sultān. According to Barbosa he was powerful like a king. He used his money to fortify the port of Diu and maintained his influence at the Sultān's Court by giving heavy bribes and presents to the courtiers.

In 1530 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against Rana of Chittor. In the same year he was dismissed from Sorath for concluding a peace with Rana without informing the Sultān. In 1522 A.D., he died. After his death, his mansab was conferred on his eldest son Malik Ishāq.¹

47. ʿAzīzul Mulk Shaikhān Sultānī: Gujarātī Muslim, Slave.

His nick name was Khushāmad. In 1499 A.D., during the

1. ZMS pp. 93-98; TMS. I, pp. 15-a, 18-a; MS. pp. 147, 162-63, 199-200, 203; TF pp. 202, 204; AHG p. 34; TS p. 125; Pires I, pp. 34-35; Barbosa I, pp. 130-33; Jao de Barros, Asia, II, ii (Lisbon 1945-46) p. 9 Cf. M.N. Pearson, KRG p. 68; R.J. de Lima Felner, ed. Subsídio Para a história Índia Portuguesa (Lisbon 1858) pp. 34-36, Cf. Pearson Ibid. Malik Ayāz was an Ottoman Turk is clearly mentioned by Barbosa. Barbosa I, pp. 130-32.

reign of Sultān Mahmūd Begarāh (1459-1511 A.D) he was the hākim of Sultānpur.¹

48. ʿAzādul Mulk Abrās: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was a great amir during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.). In 1526 A.D. he took the side of Laṭīf Khān against Bahādur Shāh. When Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne ʿAzādul Mulk took fled from Gujarāt along with Luḥafiz Khān.²

49. Azhdar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

He was the son of Alaf Khān entitled Ulugh Khān. After his death in 1526 A.D., the title Azhdar Khān was transferred by Sultān Bahādur Shāh to his son Abu.³

50. Bahāul Mulk Malik Tughān: Ottoman Turk, Khānāzād.

He was the younger son of Malik Ayāz and was given the charge of the fort of Diu in 1531 A.D., some time later, Diu was taken away from him and was added to Rūmī Khān's assignment. In 1535 A.D., as it is mentioned by Sikandar, Malik Tughān was executed by Sultān at the instigation of Rūmī Khān.⁴

1. TA III p.164; AHG pp. 31, 52; The title Sultānī indicates that its holder was a slave. All the nobles who are clearly mentioned as a slave were holding the title Sultānī. For instance nobles no. 7, 18, 43, 46, 47, 67, 75, 76, 77, 79, 95, 102, 137, 141, 143, 144, 157, 193, 242,

2. MS. pp. 256, 263-4; TA III p. 204.

3. MS. pp. 260; TA III p. 158; AHG p. 25.

4. MS. pp. 164, 266, 276; AHG pp. 188-9.

51. Badra Khatrī, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1401-2 A.D., he was the muqtā' of the shiq of Sorath. In 1410 A.D., he rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.) with some other nobles.

52. Bahāuddīn, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1459 A.D. he was given the title Ikhtiyārul Mulk. In 1465-66 A.D., he became wazīr and received the title 'Imādul Mulk. In 1473 A.D., he was assigned Songir. In 1481-2 A.D., he died and his son succeeded him with the title Ikhtiyarul Mulk.¹

53. Bachu, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1482-3 A.D., he accompanied Sultān Mahmud Begarāh as an army commander in Champaner expedition.²

54. Badha, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1472 A.D. he was an aslāhdār in the reign of Sultān Mahmud Begarāh.³

1. TMS, pp. 3-b, 12-a, 13-b; MS pp. 99, 114, 126; TA II p. 138, 143; TF pp. 200-1; AHG pp. 200-1.

2. AHG p. 28.

3. EIAPS 1963, p. 31.

55. Bahrām Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was holding the title Azō-ul-Mulk. In 1476-7 A.D. he was sent on an expedition against champānēr.¹

56. Bahār Jiv: Gujarātī Hindu.

He was the Raja of Baglana. In 1529-30 A.D., he was recruited into the nobility by giving the title Bahār Khān and was sent in command of a large army against the country of Deccan.²

57. Bahrun: Non Gujarātī Hindu.

He was the son of Prithvi Rāj and nephew of Rānā Sāngā (of Chittor). In 1529 A.D., he joined the service of Sultān Bahādur Shāh along with some other Rajputs.³

58. Bahār Khān Yāqut Salmānī: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

In 1546 A.D., he was the wakīl of khwājā Ṣafar Salmānī at Surat and accompanied him as an army commander in the campaign of Diu against Portuguese. After the death of Khwājā Ṣafar Salmānī, he remained wakīl to Rajab Salmānī.⁴

59. Bahāul Mulk Ulugh Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D. in the war of succession he took the side of Latīf Khān against Bahādar Shāh. When Bahādar Shāh ascended the throne he put Bahāul Mulk to death.⁵

1. TA III p. 159; AHG p. 26.

2. MS pp. 271-2; Baglana: a principality in the south-east of Gujarat. See Irfan Habib An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet 7A.

3. MS p. 271; TA III p. 212.

4. AHG pp. 232, 238, 225-6.

5. MS n. 264.

60. Bhava Manḍar: Gujarātī Hindu.

He was incharge of Junagarh during 1474-5 to 1477-78 A.D.¹

61. Bilāl Khairāt Khān: Habashī Slave.

He was the wazīr of Ulugh Khān. In 1555 A.D. in the civil strife between Itmād Khān and Chingīz Khān he took the side of chingīz Khān. In 1558 A.D., he was killed by Khudāwanda Khān.²

62. Bilāl Khairāt Khān: Habashī Slave.

In 1540 A.D. Bilal was with Sulṭān against Alām Khān. After the fall of Alām Khān the ranks of the nobles were raised. At this time. Bilāl was given the title Juhar Khān. In 1546 A.D., he accompanied Khwājā Ṣafar Salmānī in the campaign of Diu against Portuguese and was killed.³

63. Bektars: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād

He was the son of Ādam and succeeded his father as a muqṭā⁶ of Baroda in 1411-12 A.D. He rebelled against Sulṭān two times in 1410 A.D., and 1413 A.D. At last he was compelled to flee from Gujarāt.⁴

1. TS pp. 131-132.

2. AHG pp. 334, 335, 350, 352.

3. Ibid. pp. 230, 233.

4. EIAPS 1968 pp. 18-19; MS pp. 30, 40; TA III p. 98.

64. Burnānūl Mulk Bāmbānī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1534 A.D., he was the hākīm of the fort of Chittor. In 1540 A.D., he was appointed wazīr by Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III. In the same year he resigned from wazārat and was succeeded by his brother Afzal Khān.¹

65. Burhanul Mulk Abbāsi: Non Gujarātī, West Asian.

He is mentioned as an amir of the reign of Sultān Bahādur Shāh in 1534-5 A.D.²

66. Chānd Bhandārī: Gujarātī Muslim.

At the time of his accession in 1626 A.D., Sultān Bahādur Shāh conferrēd upon Chānd Bhandārī the title Hazbar Khān.³

67. Chingīz Khān: Ottoman Turk, Slave, Khānāzad.

Chingīz Khān was the son of Malik Arslān Turk Sultānī, entitled 'Imādul Mulk Rūmī. In 1571-2 A.D., he held his father's jaḡīr of the sarkārs of Broach, Baroda, Champaner and Surat shared by his brother Rustam Khān.⁴

1. TG p. 12; MS p. 248, 318; TA III p. 227; AHG pp. 194, 201, 237, 270.

2. AHG pp. 218, 233; Steingass in his dictionary mentions that Abbāsīs belonged to the house of Abbās (ancestor of Abbāsīde Caliphs) who reigned from 749 A.D. till the extinction of the Caliphate in 1528 A.D. Steingass Persian English Dictionary p. 833.

3. MS p. 260.

4. MS pp. 414, 15, 425, 427, 433-35; AHG pp. 316, 320, 328, 331, 335, 341, 357, 381, 382, 385, 393, 411-14. MA I pp. 19-20.

68. Chimman, Malik: Gujarāṭī Muslim.

Chimman enjoyed the title of Muḥafizul Mulk. In 1513 A.D., he accompanied Sulṭān Muḥaffar Shāh II in an expedition to Malwa.¹

69. Chir Jiv: Gujarāṭī Hindu..

Originally he was a Chirīmār (a bird catcher). In 1543 A.D., he received the title of Muḥāfiz Khān. He exercised influence over Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shah (1546-1554 A.D.) for which reason nobles like 'Alam Khān Wajihul Mulk and Alp Khān Khatri were jealous of him. They conspired against him. In, 1549 A.D., he was killed by them.²

70. Daryā Khan: Non Gujarāṭī Indian Muslim.

The name of Daryā Khān was Manjiv. He was the son of Daryā Khān Husain Manduwī. After Daryā Khān Husain's death in 1533 A.D., he succeeded to his father's position in the nobility. In 1538 A.D., he was elected to the position of the wazir by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh III (1546-1554 A.D.). On that occasion he was entitled Majlis-i-Girāmī. But in the same year he was forced to flee from Gujarat on account his falling out with other nobles.³

1. MS p. 180.

2. MS pp. 340, 345-7.

3. TA III pp. 236-38; AHG pp. 218, 220, 226, 231, 264; MS pp. 275, 282, 294, 329, 330.

71. Daryā Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Daryā Khān was a friend of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah during his princehood days. At the time of his accession in 1459 A.D. Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh gave him the title of Khān along with daulat of panj hazāri. He built Gumbad-i-Kalan at Aḥmedābād and founded gasba Daryapur in the vicinity of Aḥmedābād. ¹

72. Daryā Khān Manduwī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

His original name was Ḥusain. In 1532 A.D., he was assigned Ujjain by Bahādar Shāh. He died in 1533 A.D. After his death title and assignment held by him were conferred on his son Mān Jīv. ²

73. Dastur Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

At the time of Tome Pires visit to Gujarāt in 1509 A.D., Surat and Rander were in the charge of Dastūr Khān. ³

74. Daulat Khān Dakkānī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

In 1546 A.D., Daulat Khān accompanied Khawāja Ṣafar Salmānī on an expedition against the Portuguese then entrenched at Diu. On that occasion he along with Khawājā Ṣafar were killed by the Portuguese. ⁴

1. MS pp. 151, 166.

2. MS pp. 282, 294.

3. Tome Pires, I p. 34.

4. AHG pp. 232, 237.

75. Dilāwar Khān Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1452 A.D., Dilāwar Khān accompanied Sultān Lutubuddīn on an expedition against the Malwa ruler.¹

76. Fard Khān Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1549 A.D., Fard Khān was the hākīm of Champener. He commanded 12000 horses and his authority also extended over Mandu and Chittor.²

77. Farhān Lurak Sultānī: Hubshī, Slave.

In the civil strife during 1555 A.D., Farhān sided with Chingiz Khān against 'Itmād Khān.³

78. Farīd Samarqandī: Gujarātī Slave, Khanazād.

Farīd was the son of 'Imādul Mulk. In 1416 A.D., he succeeded to his father in the title as well as the post.⁴

79. Fateh Khan Hasan Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

For some time Fateh Khān was the hākīm of mauza Kheralu under Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.). He is mentioned as one of the rebels who rose against Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I in 1419 A.D.⁵

1. AHG p. 9.

2. op.cit. p. 248.

3. op.cit. p. 328, 334-5.

4. TF p. 185; MS p. 49; Farīd Samarqandī is categorised as Gujarātī Muslim since his father 'Imādul Mulk was in the Service of the Gujarāt Sultān with the foundation of the Sultānate of Gujarāt.

5. TMS₂ p. 35-a.

80. Fateh Khān Bāluch: Bāluchī.

In 1545 A.D., in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh III, he was made an army commander of a contingent of all the Baluchis. He held the jāgīr of the parganās Radhanpur, Sami, Manjpur, Kakrej Santhālpur, Tahrad, Morbi, Terwara, and Morwara shared with other Bāluchīs.¹

81. Fateh-ul-Mūlk: Gujarātī Slave, Khānāzād.

Fateh-ul Mulk was the son of Malik Tawakkul. In 1526 A.D. Bahādur Shāh gave him the title 'Imādul Mulk. In 1532 A.D., he conquered the fort of Mandusur and probably was assigned the same fort. In 1537 A.D., he was made wazīr by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II (1546-1554 A.D.). Around the same time he was forced to flee from Gujarāt by Daryā Khān. In 1538 A.D. after the fall of Daryā Khān, he was called back by Maḥmūd Shāh and assigned Broach as well as the fort of Surat. He was killed by Khudāwandā Khān at Surat in 1545 A.D.²

1. TA III p. 245; TF p. 229; AHG pp. 247, 248, 313, 318, 399, 448; MS pp. 407, 425-26; MA I, p. 22; Bāluchīs are in the list of Foreigners or non Indian Muslims since before Fateh Khān Bāluch no evidence regarding the Bāluchī noble is found in any Chronicle.

2. TG pp. 20, 40, 48; TA III p. 204; TF pp. 25, 224; AHG pp. 225, 236; MS pp. 262, 290, 329-32, 345, 360.

82. Fattu Jiv: Gujarāṭī Muslim.

He held the title Muḥāfiẓ Khān. In a civil war during 1543 A.D., he sided with Daryā Khān against 'Ālam Khān. In this conflict Daryā Khān was defeated and fled from Gujarāt. Subsequently Fattū Jiv was confined in the fort of Surat.¹

83. Fēroz Khān: Gujarāṭī Muslim.

Fēroz Khān was the uncle of Sulṭān Aḥmad I (1410-41 A.D.) and held Baroda as his iqṭā'. He was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I in 1410 A.D. Eventually he had to surrender along with other nobles on the condition that the shiq of Navsāri which was his previous assignment be given to him in lieu of Baroda. Accordingly after

1. TG p. 42; TF p. 226; AHG pp. 218, 220, 225, 228, 264, 268; MS pp. 340-44.

his submission he got the shiq of Navsari.

In 1411 A.D., Fēroz Khān rebelled again and was forced to flee from Gujarāt to Naçaur. In Naçaur he joined Shams Khān Dandānī. He was subsequently killed in a skirmish between Shams Khān and the Rānā of Chittor.¹

84. Ganesh Rao: Gujarātī Hindu.

In 1536 A.D. Ganesh Rao accompanied Bahādar Shāh when the latter went to Diu to meet the Portuguese.²

85. Ghalib Khān Rūmī: Ottoman Turk.

In 1568-9 A.D., Ghalib Khan was the hākim of Ahmedābād.³

86. Ghāzī Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He had the title Shujaul Mulk. In 1510 A.D., he was killed while fighting against the Rānā of Chittor.⁴

87. Ghazī Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D., Ghāzī Khān was sent by Bahādar Shāh against the rebellious nobles Muhāfiz Khān and Azdul Mulk.⁵

1. TMS p. 34-a; MS pp. 30-40.

2. MS p. 321.

3. AHG p. 411.

4. AHG pp. 101-2; MS p. 196.

5. MS p. 263.

88. Ghaznavī Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1571-2 A.D., he commanded 7000 sawārs and his income is estimated as revenues worth 10,00,000 tankās per year.¹

89. Hājī Khān: Gujarātī Slave.

Hājī Khān was the slave of Salīm Khān the son of Sher Khān Faulādi. He was in the service of 'Itmād Khān and was assigned half of the pargana of Kari in 1566 A.D.²

90. Hājī Bahauddīn: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was a noble of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah who also had a reputation as a poet. He founded Hajipur and built a mosque there.³

91. Hamīd-ul-Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1511 A.D., Hamīd-ul-Mulk was sent by Muẓaffar Shāh II to receive the envoy of Shāh Ismā'īl of Irān. He was killed while fighting against Rānā of Chittor in 1519 A.D.⁴

92. Hamīd-ul-Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānazād.

He was the son of Hamīdul Mulk senior. After the death of his father in 1519 A.D., he succeeded to his position. In

1. MA I p. 22.

2. TA III p. 247.

3. MS p. 166.

4. AHG p. 101; MS p. 174.

1536 A.D., he was sent to Mecca along with Āsaf Khān who was carrying Bahādar Shāh's treasure there.¹

93. Hussām Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānezād.

Hussām Khān was the son of the renowned noble Jamāluddīn Quraishī. In 1513-14 A.D., he accompanied Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II on his expedition to Malwa. In 1529 A.D., he was dāroghā of the port of Cambay. In 1531 A.D., he accompanied Sultān Bahadar Shāh on an expedition to Malwa. In 1533 A.D., he along with Tātār Khān went against the Rānā of Chittor. The history of Bahādar Shāh's reign Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī mentioned in Mirāt-i-Sikandari was compiled by Hussām Khān.²

94. Hasan Khān: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

In 1546 A.D. Hasan Khān accompanied Khwāja Safar on an expedition against the Portuguese and was killed in action.³

95. Hoshiyarul Mulk Sultānī: Habashī Slave.

In 1572 A.D., he was in the service of Ulugh Khān as a military officer.⁴

1. AHG p. 307.

2. AHG pp. 100, 112, 141, 228; MS pp. 125-6, 180, 199, 259, 269-70, 291; Bayley, History of Gujarāt, p. 386.

3. AHG pp. 232, 287, 317-18, 321.

4. op. cit. pp. 328-39, 452.

96. Ibn-i-Jiv Ibn-i-Khilāl: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānēzād.

Ibn-i-Jiv, the son of a noble titled 'Alam Khān was in the service of 'Itmād Khān. In 1554 A.D., he held Modasa as an assignment along with the title of Tughlaq Khān. In the same year he was killed in an skirmish with the Ḥabashī nobles. His son Nahir-ul Ḥilm was awarded his post as well as his title.¹

97. Ikhtiyārul Mulk Sultāni: Gujarātī Slave.

In the early part of his life Ikhtiyār Khān held the post of davat-i-yār (pen holder). In 1545 A.D., he was promoted to the rank of an amīr and entitled Ikhtiyārul Mulk and got Nahrwala Pattan as his assignment. In 1571-2 A.D., he held the jagīr of Aḥmadnagar, Parantej, Jhalawar, Harsol, Modasa, Meghrejī, Kathnal and Momurabad, Birpur and Bhil. His total annual income was Rs. 60,000000. In the same year he was executed on Akbar's order.²

98. Ikhtiyārul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1531 A.D., Ikhtiyārul Mulk was sent on an expedition against the Bahmanī ruler.³

99. Ikhtiyār Khān Siddīqī: Gujarātī Muslim.

The original name of Ikhtiyār Khān was Khānjiv. He was the son of Dāwood Siddīqī. He belonged to a family of Nadiad in Gujarāt. In 1532 A.D., he was the wazīr of Sultān Bahādur

1. MS p. 412; AHG pp. 323-325.

2. TA III pp. 251, 254, 257, 259; AHG pp. 247, 312, 313, 317, 318, 320, 337, 495; MS pp. 363, 327, 405-6, 415; MA I, p. 19.

3. TA III p. 118; TF pp. 188-9.

Shāh. In the same year, he was first made incharge of the seige of Raisin and second time was deputed to capture Mandsoore. In 1535 A.D., he was given the charge of Champaner. He was killed by 'Imādul Mulk and Daryā Khān in 1539 A.D.¹

100 . 'Imādul Mulk Khāsākhīl: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1413 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against the ruler of Malwa.²

101 . Ishāq, Malik: Ottoman Turk, Khānāzād.

Ishāq was the eldest son of Malik Ayāz. In 1522 A.D., he succeeded his father and became the hākim of the port of Diu. He was also entitled Chingīz Khān. According to Sikandar bin Manjhu, in 1527 A.D., Malik Ishāq was put to death by Bahādar Shāh on the charge of rebellion. A Portuguese text cited by Pearson gives a more detailed account of this episode which is as follows. On one occasion Bahādur Shāh summoned Malik Ishāq to his presence but the former failed to comply with the Sultān's direction. When Bahādur Shāh insisted on his attendance he opened negotiations with the Portuguese to seek their help. In return for the Portuguese assistance to him he offered to handover Diu to them. Eventually on the Sultān's sending an army against him Malik Ishāq fled from Gujarātī²

1. TF pp. 183-4; MS pp.440-41.

2. Joaode Barros, Asia, IV, V, 6 (Lisbon, 1945-6) cited by Pearson in IRG p. 74; MS pp. 164, 265, 266; AHG p; 126.

102. ʿIsā Sultānī, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1459 A.D., ʿIsā Sultānī received the title Nizāmūl Mulk. Later on conquered the fort of Bhamer and was entitled ʿImādūl Mulk. The town of Isānpur located between Rasulabād and Batwah was founded by him.¹

103. ʿIsā Sālār: Gujarātī Muslim.

ʿIsa Sālār was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sultān Ahmad Shāh I in 1413 A.D.²

104. ʿItmād Khān: Gujarātī Slave.

According to Farishta ʿItmād Khān was converted Muslim. Originally he was a slave. His name was ʿAbdul Karīm Sultānī. In 1545 A.D., Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh conferred upon him the title ʿItmād Khān. In 1560 A.D., he became the wazīr and received the title, Masnad-i-ʿAlī. When the territory of Gujarāt was divided among the nobles in 1562 A.D., the tract lying between Sabarmati and Mahindri came into the possession of ʿItmād Khān. It was to his quarrel with other leading nobles of Gujarāt that ʿItmād Khān was persuaded to invite Akbar to conquer Gujarāt in 1572 A.D. When Gujarāt was conquered, ʿItmād Khān was recruited into the Delhi nobility.³

1. EIAPS 1974, p. 29; TMS, p. 3-b; TA III p. 138; AHG p. 32; MS pp. 99, 147, 167; Bhamer: in the south-east of Gujarat, see Irfān Habib An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet 7A, 21+, 74+.

2. MS p. 40.

3. TA III p. 242-260; TF pp. 228, 231; AHG pp. 230-248; MS pp. 387-458.

105. Jahāngīr Khān Qarā Hasan: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

Qarā Hassan came to Gujarat in 1531 A.D. along with Amīr Mustafā Rūmī. In 1546 A.D., he accompanied Khudāwandā Khān Rūmī on an expedition against the Portuguese controlling Diu. Subsequent to expedition he was given the title Jahāngīr Khān al-Majlis-al Mansur. In 1560 A.D., he was appointed to wazārat by Chingīz Khān and was assigned Broach.¹

106. Jamāluddīn Bihamad: Gujarātī slave.

In 1417 A.D., Jamāluddīn built a mosque at Pattan. In 1423 A.D., he is mentioned in an inscription as a nāib (deputy) of the Sultān at Kapadwanj. He was entitled Malik-us Sharq.²

107. Jamāluddīn Quraishī: Gujarātī Slave.

In the beginning of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh Jamāluddīn held the post of wazārat. In 1470 A.D., he was made kotwāl of Ahmedabad and entitled Muhāfiz Khān. Shortly latter he was entrusted with the government of the city as well dependencies in his capacity as a mustaufī mamālik. He rose to the position of a wazīr in 1480 A.D. After the conquest of Champaner in 1486 A.D., its charge was given to Muhāfiz Khān.³

1. AHG pp. 186, 229, 232, 233, 235, 237, 238, 256, 316, 317, 388.

2. EIAPS 1963, pp. 13-14.

3. ARIE 1967-8, p. 74; TMS, pp. 10-a, 12-a; TA III p. 148, 158, 162; TF p. 198; AHG pp. 20, 21, 27; MS pp. 125, 126; 3 MA I, p. 25.

108. Jhujhar Khān Mārīan Rūmī Khān: Ottoman Turk.

Jhujhar Khān was in the service of Yāqut Ulugh Khān. In 1571 A.D., he killed Chingīz Khān, son of 'Imādul Mulk. He was put to death by Akbar at Broach in 1573 A.D.¹

109. Jiwand Khatri: Gujarātī Hindu.

He was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sultān Aḥmād Shāh I in 1410 A.D. In the same year he was killed by some other nobles.²

110. Kabīruddīn: Gujarātī Muslim.

Kabīruddīn was entitled Aẓdul Mulk. In 1459 A.D., he was accused of conspiring against 'Imādul Mulk, the wazīr. Fearing punishment he fled from his post. While on his way he was murdered by the Rajput Chiefs.³

111. Kamāl Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

He was an admiral in the service of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah. In 1419 A.D., he enjoyed the title Ṣafdarul Mulk. He was sent with naval force against Bahādar Gīlānī of Deccan in the same year.⁴

1. TA III pp. 243, 253-60; AHG pp- 328, 334-50; MS pp. 247, 430, 440, 443-45.

2. MS p. 30.

3. TMS₁ p. 4-a; TMS₂ pp. 99-a; TA II p. 136; TF p. 195; MS pp. 96-99.

4. ZMMS pp. 19-21; TMS p. 16-b; TF p. 203.

112. Kamāl Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Kamāl Khān is mentioned in an epigraph on the grave of his servant Nakḥudā Yahyā who built a mosque at cambay in 1478 A.D. From this epigraph it seems that he was entitled Khān-i-Azam Khāqān-i-Muazzam, which goes to indicate that he was a noble of high standing.¹

113. Kanhir Rai: Non Gujarātī Hindu.

Kanhir Rai was a Deccani Amīr. In 1528 A.D., he entered into the service of Bahādar Shāh and was assigned territory suiting his status.²

114. Khairāt Khān: Ḥabashī Slave.

His original name was yaqut Sulṭānī-al-Ḥabashī. In 1549 A.D., he accompanied Imādul Mulk on an expedition against Idar.³

115. Khairāt Khān: Ḥabashī Slave.

His original name was Bilal Fateḥ Khānī. He acted as the wazīr of Ulugh Khān for some time. In 1557 A.D., Ulugh Khān conferred on him the title Khairāt Khān. In 970 AH/ 1562-63 A.D., he died a natural death.⁴

1. EIAPS 1963 pp. 23-4.

2. AHG p. 137.

3. Ibid. p. 247.

4. Ibid. pp. 324-28, 350, 377, 389, 369.

116. Khalīl Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Khalīl Khān was the son of Maḥmūd Begarāh. In 1484-5 A.D., he was appointed Governor of Dhandhuka.¹

117. Khān-i-Jahān Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

He was a great noble of the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I (1410-41 A.D.). In 831 AH/ 1427-28 A.D., he exacted the tribute from Rajā Idar, Har Ray.²

118. Khān-i-Jahān Shirāzī: Irānī.

He was in the service of Bahādur Shāh. In 1535 A.D., Khān-i-Jahān defeated Humāyun's noble Qāsim Husain Shaibānī and took Navsari from him.³

119. Khān-i-Āzam Asad Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

The title Khān-i-Āzam indicates that its holder was a noble of high rank. In 1409-10 A.D., he is reported to have built a mosque at Pattan. It suggests that Asad Khān was posted at Pattan for some time before 1409 A.D.⁴

1. AHG p. 30. For the place Dhandhuka see Irfan Habib An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet 7A, 22+, 71+.

2. TA III p. 115.

3. TG p. 29; TSG p. 37; TA III p. 232; AHG pp. 118, 211, 214, 220; Shiraz is in the south east of Iran, Philips International Atlas p. 46.

4. EIAPS 1963, p. 12.

120. Khān-i-Āzam Maḥmūd Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1416 A.D., Maḥmūd Khān was sent by Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I (1410-41 A.D.) against the zamīndār of Sorath to collect the salāmi.¹

121. Khizra Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Khizra Khān was the son of Muḥāfiẓ Khān, a noble of Maḥmūd Begarāh. In 1519 A.D., he enjoyed the title Asadul Mulk. During the same year he commanded against the Rana of Chittor.²

122. Khudāwandā Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Khudāwandā Khān was the brother in law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarāh. In 1480-81 A.D., he was made wazīr. For his wide learning, Khudāwandā Khān was famous as Malik-i-Īlm. He revolted several times but Sultan Mahmūd Begarah every time pardoned him. The Sulṭān used to say if he were to put Malik-i-Īlm to death, he would never be able to get another noble like him. He founded Ilampurā south of Ahmedābad and built a large mosque.³

123. Khudawandā Khān Majd-ud-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ijī: Non Indian Muslim.

The author of Zafrul Walīh writes that Majd-ud-Dīn came to Gujarat during ^{the reign} of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh I (1459-1511 A.D.)

1. MS p. 48.

2. TA III pp. 148, 186; MS pp. 196-97.

3. TMS₁ pp. 12-b, 13-b; TA III p. 153; AHG p. 25; TF pp. 200-1; MS pp. 133-34.

but he did not mention his original place. The Sulṭān bestowed on him the title Rashīdul Mulk. Later on Muẓaffar II (1511-26 A.D.) conferred on him the title Khudāwanda Khān and appointed as his wazīr. He held this post for fourteen years. During the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1526-1536) he rose to the position of Wakīl-i-Mumālīk. He held this position for fifteen years. He accompanied Bahādur Shāh during his campaigns against the rulers of Mandu and Chittor. He died during the reign of Maḥmūd Shah III.¹

124. Khurram Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

During the war of succession of 1525 A.D. Khurram Khān sided with Bahādur Shāh against Latīf Khān. At the time of his accession, Bahādur Shāh conferred on Khurram Khān the title Khān-i-Jahān.²

125. Khusbāsh, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

Malik Khusbāsh is mentioned in an inscription as a slave of late Fēroz Tuḡlaq and the Kotwāl of the whole of the province of Gujarāt in 1405 A.D., while he held an important post in Gujarat in 1405 A.D., apparently he must have been holding some post in Gujarāt at the time of its independence.³

1. AHG pp. 213, 218, 229; MS pp. 268-270.

2. MS p. 259.

3. EIAPS 1963, p. 10.

126. Khushqadam: Habashī, Slave.

In 1511 A.D., Khushqadam enjoyed the title Muhtās Khān. He accompanied Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.) on an expedition against Mandu in 1517 A.D. He became the wazīr of Sultān Sikandar (Apr. 1526-May 1526 A.D.) and was entitled 'Imādul Mulk in 1526 A.D. In the same year he killed the Sultān Sikandar. Shortly later, Bahādur Shāh on ascending the throne had 'Imādul Mulk executed.¹

127. Khwāja Muḥammad: Gujarātī Muslim.

Khwāja Muḥammad was entitled Hiṣāmul Mulk. In 1459 A.D., he conspired against 'Imādul Mulk Shābān. When the conspiracy was discovered, he first fled to his brother Ruknuddīn, the kotwāl of Pattan, from where both fled to Malwa.²

128. Khwāja Sarā: Gujarātī Muslim.

In the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.) Khwāja Sarā was the kotwāl of Ahmedabad. He was entitled Mohībul Mulk by Sikandar Shah (1526 A.D.). Bahadur Shah gave him the title Khān-i-Jahān.³

129. Khwāja Saḡar Salmānī: Ottoman Turk, . . .

In 1507 A.D., Khwāja Saḡar was sent to Gujarat by the Turkish Sultān as a commander of a naval force. He was

1. TA III pp. 195-198; TF pp. 212-13; AHG pp. 125-27; MS pp. 173, 239-62.

2. TMS₁ pp. 4-a, 4-b; TMS₂ pp. 99-a, 108b; TF p. 195; MS pp. 96, 98.

3. TF p. 215; MS pp. 216-217.

accompanied by Mīr Ḥusain. This force was directed against the Portuguese. In 1531 A.D., he came again with Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī and joined the service of Sultān Bahādur Shāh. In 1540 A.D., he was assigned Diu and was ordered to lead an expedition against the Portuguese. In fighting that ensued, he was killed by the Portuguese. After his death his son Rajab Salmānī succeeded him in his assignments Diu in Surat.¹

130. Khawāja Khassā: Gujarātī Muslim.

Khawāja Khassā was the son of Wajih. In 1410 A.D., he was a hājib and was counted among the important nobles. In the same year he built a mosque at Pattan.²

131. Kombhā Gohil: Gujarātī Hindu.

On the occasion of his accession in 1526 A.D. Sultān Bahādar Shāh conferred upon Kombha, Gohil the title Rāi Rāyan.³

132. Lad Khān: Gujarati Muslim, Khānāzād.

Lad Khān was the son of Muqbal Khān. In 1536 A.D., he occupied Baroda by defeating a Muqhal noble. He was accused of conspiring to kill ‘Imādul Mulk and Daryā Khān and was executed by ‘Imādul Mulk in 1537 A.D.⁴

1. TSG p. 30; AHG pp. 187, 207, 229, 230-33, 469; MS p. 360.

2. EIAPS 1963, pp. 12-13.

3. MS p. 260.

4. TG p. 29; MS pp. 329-30.

133. Latīf Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Latīf Khān was the brother of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.). In 1413 A.D., he was sent against the rebels Shāh Malik and Sheikh Malik and Rai of Junagarh.¹

134. Malik Shāh: Gujarātī Muslim.

On the occasion of his accession in 1511 A.D. Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II conferred on Malik Shāh the title Ruknūl Mulk.²

135. Malik Sheikh Tamīm: Gujarati Muslim.

On the occasion of his accession in 1511 A.D. Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II conferred on Malik ~~Sheikh~~ the title, Tāidul Mulk.³

136. Malik Gopī Zunnārdār: Gujarātī Hindu.

Malik Gopī was a merchant noble. The use of designation zunnārdār with his name might suggest that he probably belonged to the Brahmin Caste. He was recruited into the nobility in the reign of Maḥmūd Begarah and was the hākīm of Surat for some time. After the death of Maḥmūd Begarah Malik Gopī and Qiwāmūl Mulk Sārang helped Khalīl Khān (Muẓaffar Shāh II) in the war of succession. He was executed at the

1. TA III p. 10; TF p. 184; MS p. 41.

2. MS p. 173.

3. MS p. 173.

orders of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II some time later on account of the demand of the other nobles who were jealous to his increasing power.¹

137. Malik Sirāj Sultānī: Gujarati Slave.

In 1490 A.D., Malik Sirāj was the kotwāl of Nahrwalah Pattan where he built a mosque.²

138. Malik-us-Sharq Jamāluddīn Bihāmad: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1423 A.D., he was Sultān Aḥmad Shah's nāib at Kapadwanj.³

139. Malik-us-Sharq: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 961 A.H./1553-54 A.D., he was assigned Nadiad by Itmād Khān. In 1571 A.D. during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II he commanded 1500 sawārs and had an income worth 4,00,00,000 tankas revenue.⁴

140. Malik Madan: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Malik Madan was the son of Malik Bahāuddīn (entitled Imādul Mulk). In 1481-2 A.D., at the death of his father he succeeded to his position and received the title Ikhtiyārul Mulk.⁵

1. Barbosa I p. 149; TA III p. 176; MS pp. 178-79; 226-27.

2. EIAPS 1963, pp. 34-5.

3. op.cit. p. 17.

4. MS p. 307; MA I p. 18; Nadiad: In the central part of Gujarat see Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet, 7 A, 22+, 72+.

4. TMS₁ p. 136; TA III p. 158.

141. Malik Sādāt Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1431-2 A.D., Malik Sādāt was the hākim of the fort of Tambol.¹

142. Malik Farīd Bāriwāl: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D., Sultān Sikandar Shāh gave Malik Farīd the title Sharzā. Khān. During the same year he was sent by the Sultān against Latīf Khān (Sultān's brother) who was trying to oust him. On that occasion Farīd was killed by Rajput retainers of prince Latīf Khān.²

143. Malik Kālū Ghulām Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1459 A.D., Malik Kālū received the title Azdūl Mulk. He was executed in 1465 A.D., by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh on the charge of being involved in a conspiracy.³

144. Malik Hājī Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1459 A.D., Malik Hājī received the title 'Imādul Mulk. In 1465 A.D., he was found involved in a conspiracy and was executed by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh for this crime.⁴

1. TA III p. 120; TF p. 189; Tambol: According to Col. Briggs (Vol. IV p. 19) "Tambol a small hill fort in the district of Baglana. The district from its local position naturally belongs to Khanadesh; but it had, from a very early period, rajas independent of that province".

2. TA III p. 196; MS p. 240.

3. TMS₁, pp. 3-6, 6-a,b; TF p. 196; AHG p. 16; MS pp. 97, 113.

4. Ibid.

145. Malik Gaḍāī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1455-56 A.D., he was sent by Sultān Qutubuddīn to help the ruler of Nagor.¹

146. Malik Maḥmūd: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1431 A.D., Malik Maḥmūd was the kotwāl of Diu and was also entitled Mukhlisul Mulk.²

147. Malik Musā: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Malik Musā was the son of Malik-us-Sharq-Malik (Imādul Mulk who had conquered the fort of Bhamer for the ruler of Gujarāt. In 1481-82 A.D., he had the charge of the fort of Bhamer and was entitled Malik-us-Sharq. In the same year he built a mosque at Bhamer.³

148. Malik Burhān: Gujarātī Muslim.

At the time of his accession in 1511 A.D., Sultan Muḥaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.) conferred upon Malik Burhān the title Mansūr Khān.⁴

149. Malik Qutub: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1511 A.D., on the occasion of his accession Sultan Muḥaffar Shāh II conferred upon Malik Qutub the title Aḥdul Mulk.⁵

1. TF p. 192; MS p. 73.

2. TA III pp. 117, 118; TF p. 188.

3. EIAPS 1974, pp. 28-29; Bhamer: about 5 kilometers to the south of Nizampur in the Sakri Taluga of Dhaulia District of Maharashtra. op. cit. p. 28; For Bhamer see also Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet 7 A, 21+, 74+.

4. MS p. 173.

5. op. cit.

150. Malik Mubāarak Maīn: Gujarātī Muslim.

Malik Mubāarak was the son of Malik 'Imādul Mulk. In 1511 A.D., he was entitled Ikhtiyārul Mulk. He accompanied the Sultān in 1513 A.D., on an expedition to Malwa.¹

151. Malik Pyārā Bhandāri: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1482-3 A.D., Malik Pyārā Bhandāri accompanied the Sultān on an expedition against champaner.²

152. Malik Shābān: Gujarātī Slave, Khānāzād.

Malik Shābān was the son of Tājul Mulk. In the reign of Quṭubuddīn Ahmad Shāh, he held the title Malik-us-Sharq and Malik 'Imādul Mulk. He also held the office of wazārat around the same time he is reported simultaneously holding the posts of a hākīm, a maqtā', the pēshwā and the wazīr. He is credited with laying out a garden at Ahmedābād which came to be known as Bagh-i-Shābān.³

153. Malik Sāhib: Gujarātī Muslim, Khanazad.

Malik Sāhib was the son of Mujāhidul Mulk. At the time of his accession Sultān Bahādur Shah in 1526 A.D., he was entitled Ḥabīb Khān.⁴

1. TA III p. 177; MS p. 173.

2. AHG p. 28.

3. TMS₁, pp. 2a, b, 3b; TMS₂, p. 100a, b, 102a, b, TF pp. 192-4; MS pp. 53, 73, 92, 134, 165.

4. MS p. 254, 259.

154. Malik Husain Bahmanī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Husain was a noble of Bahmanī kingdom. In 1519 A.D., he was given the charge Idar. He was entitled Nizāmul Mulk in 1520 A.D.¹

155. Malik Sharq: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1511 A.D., Malik Sharq is mentioned as being sent to receive the envoy of the Safvid ruler Shāh Ismāīl.²

156. Malik Miran Khusrū: Gujarātī Muslim.

Malik Miran was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I in 1410 A.D.³

157. Malik Mārjān Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1427-28 A.D. Malik Mārjān held the charge of Cambay and was also entitled Malik-ul-Umarā Mārjān Sultānī. In the same year he made there a mosque. In 1432 A.D., he was appointed to collect the salāmī from the zamindār, Rana Mukul, Raja of Dilwara. In 1451 A.D., he was the hawaldār of Broach where he also built a mosque.⁴

1. TA III p. 184; MS p. 193.

2. MS p. 174.

3. MS p. 30.

4. EIAPS 1953-4, p. 66; EIAPS 1963, p. 21; AHG p. 4; MS p. 70; TA III p. 123.

158. Malik-al-Hudayā: Gujarātī Muslim.

Malik-al-Hudayā was one of the great amirs of the reign of Sultān Muẓaffer Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.) and was entitled Hizabrul Mulk.¹

159. Malik Shāh: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Malik Shāh was the son of Malik Badra Khatri. In 1403-4 A.D., he was the muqtā' of the shiq of Sorath and was also entitled Malik-ul-Umarā Muin-ud-Daulat Wād-Dīn Malik, Malik Shāh.²

160. Malik Muqarrab Ahmad Ayāz: Gujarātī Muslim.

Malik Muqarrab was the kotwāl of Ahmadabad. In 1429-30 A.D., he was sent against the ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom.³

161. Manik Chanda: Gujarātī Hindu.

Manik Chanda was a Hindu Banyā. As an army officer he served in the reign of Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.).⁴

1. MS p. 210.

2. EIAPS 1968, pp. 21-22; In 1403-4 A.D. Malik Shāh held such an important post muqtā' of the shiq of Sorath indicates that at the time of the foundation of the Sultanate he must have been holding some post in Gujarat.

3. TA III p. 116; TF pp. 186, 188.

4. Ras Mala p. 256.

162. Malik Muhammad Ikhtiyār Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Malik Muḥammad was the friend of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarāh who conferred upon him the title Khān along with ḍaulat of panjhazārī.¹

163. Malik 'Alī Shēr: Gujarātī Muslim, Khañazād.

Malik 'Alī Shēr was the son of Qiwāmul Mulk. In 1532 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against the fort of Raisin.²

164. Malik Qiwāmul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1571-2 A.D. Qiwāmul Mulk held the jāgīr of Godhra.³

165. Mandal Dilāwar Khān: Habashī Slave.

In 1555 A.D., Mandal was in the service of Ulugh Khān (a leading noble).⁴

166. Mallu Khān Mānduwī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

His name was Langar Khān. Langar Khān was the son of Mallū Khān who had come to Gujarāt from Malwa in the reign of

1. MS p. 151.

2. TA III, p. 225; MS p. 286; Raisin: residence of Silhadi Purbia in Malwa. For Raisin see Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire, sheet 9 A, 23+, 77+.

3. MA I, p. 21.

4. AHG pp. 334-5.

Muzaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.). In 1532 A.D. Bahādur Shāh assigned him Sārangpur and also gave him the title Mallū Khān.¹

167. Maulāna Khizra: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1459 A.D., Maulānā Khizra held the title of Ṣaiful Mulk. He was involved in a conspiracy but was pardoned as he was an old friend of 'Imādul Mulk. On that occasion he was relieved from services and a pension was settled upon him.²

168. Mirzā Muqīm: Turānī.

Mirzā Muqīm held the title Khurāsān Khan. In 1535 A.D.,³ he fled from the army of Bahādur Shāh and joined Humāyun.

169. Mirjān Ahmad Lar-al-Habashī: Habashī Slave.

Mirjān held the title Dilēr Khān. In 1551 A.D. there was a great disturbances raised by the Rajputs in the region between Ahmedābād and Pattan. The Sultān ordered for their expulsion from the kingdom. They were to be killed where ever found. The job was entrusted to Diler Khān and Āqā Bardī Turkī entitled Turk Khān.⁴

1. TA III p. 219; AHG p. 206; MS p. 212, 233; Sarangpur in Malwa ~~see~~ Irfan, Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire, sheet 9 A, 22+, 78+.

2. TMS₁, pp. 4-a, b; TMS₂, pp. 99-a, b; MS pp. 96, 99.

3. TA III p. 229; AHG p. 205.

4. AHG p. 248.

170. Mirjān Jhujhar Khān: Ḥabashī Slave.

Mirjan was in the service of Ulugh Khān (a leading noble). In 1553 A.D., he killed Saiyid Mubārak. During the same year he was assigned Bhiwal. In 1568-69 A.D., Jhujhar killed Chingiz Khān. He was recruited into his service by Emperor Akbar in 1572 A.D.¹

171. Mir Abu Turāb Wālī: Irānī.

Abu Turāb Wālī belonged the Saiyid family of Shiraz which had settled down in Gujarāt during the reign of Maḥmūd Begarāh. Abu Turāb was in the service of the powerful Gujarātī noble Itmād Khān when Akbar invaded Gujarāt in 1571-2 A.D. He was recruited into the nobility by Emperor Akbar along with some other nobles. He died in 1595 A.D., and buried at Aswal.²

172. Mirān, Saiyid: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Mirān was the son of Saiyid Mubārak Bukhārī, a powerful noble belonged to the reign of Maḥmūd Shah II (1546-1554 A.D.). In 1562 A.D., he got Dholka and Dhandhuka as his share in the distribution of the country of Gujarat among the nobles. He commanded 40,000 sawārs and controlled revenues amounting to 16,00,00,000 tankas per year. In 1573 A.D., he died.³

1. TA III, pp. 243, 251, 253; AHG pp. 328, 334, 335, 350; MS pp. 427, 430, 443, 445.

2. Shahnawāz Khān, Maasirul Umarā, II Calcutta 1838, pp. 280-85; TA III p.260; MA supp. p. 64.

3. TA III p. 245; MS pp. 406-445; Bukhārī Saiyids are kept in the category of Gujarātī Muslims as it is reported by E.C. Bayley that Bukhārī Saiyids were in the service of the Gujarat Sultāns with the foundation of the Gujarat Sultānate. E.C. Bayley, History of Gujarat, p. 60; MA p. 19.

173. Mīrjān Sherwān Khān Habashī: Ḥabashī Slave.

In 1555 A.D., he was in the service of Ulugh Khān.¹

174. Mīrjān Muhāfiz Khan Habashī: Ḥabashī Slave.

In 1555 A.D., he was in the service of the Ulugh Khān.²

175. Miftah Saiful Mulk: Ḥabashī Slave.

In 1555 A.D., he was the hākim of Daman.³

176. Motī Chanda: Gujarātī Hindu.

Moti Chanda was a Hindu Banya. During the reign of Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1410-41 A.D.) he was an army officer.⁴

177. Mukhlisul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1530-31 A.D., Mukhlisul Mulk was the kotwāl of Diu. In the same year he was sent against Bahmani ruler.⁵

178. Mujahid Khan Bahlim: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1524 A.D., Mujāhid Khān held the charge of Junagarh as a thānadār. In 1526 A.D., his two sons succeeded him and received the titles Mujāhid Khān and Mujāhidul Mulk by Sultān Bahādar Shāh.⁶

1. AHG pp. 334-335.

2. **Ibid.**

3. TA III p. 251, 253-4; AHG pp. 334, 335, 350.

4. Ras Mala p. 256.

5. TA III, p. 118.

6. MS p. 259; TS p. 125.

179. Mujāhidul Mulk Bahlim: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Mujāhidul Mulk was the son of Mujāhid Khān I and the brother of Mujāhid Khān II. Each one of the brothers had an army of ten or twelve thousand horsemen and controlled revenues of one thousand villages in Sorath during the reign of Maḥmūd Shah II (1546-1554 A.D.).¹

180. Mujāhid Khān Bahlim: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Mujāhid Khān was the son of Mujāhid Khān I. He succeeded his father in 1526 A.D. He became the Governor of Sorath and entitled Mujāhid Khān. In 1533 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against Ranthambor. In 1538 A.D., he was the thānādar of Pali Thana. Subsequently in 1540 A.D., he became the nāib (deputy) of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II (1546-1554 A.D.). He was the brother of Mujāhidul Mulk and commanded to twelve thousand horsemen as well as controlled the revenues of one thousand villages in Sorath.²

181. Muqbal Khān Siddīqī: Gujarātī Muslim.

Muqbal Khān belonged to a Kadi family of Nadiad. In 1531 A.D., he accompanied Bahādar Shah on an expedition to Malwa. He was killed by 'Imādul Mulk in 1537 A.D.³

1. MS pp. 348-50, 259.

2. Epigraphia Indica vol. II 1894, pp. 34-35; AHG pp. 213, 218, 230, 243-44; MS pp. 266, 272, 341, 348-50.

3. TG p. 40; TF p. 225; MS p. 281, 327, 329-30; Nadiad: in the heart land of Gujarat, see I. Habib's An Atlas of Mughal Empire, sheet 7 A, 72+, 22+.

182. Muhammad Zamān Mirzā: Turānī.

In 1533 A.D., Muhammad Zamān Mirzā arrived in Gujarat and was recruited into his nobility by Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh. He tried to ascend the throne in 1537 A.D., but was defeated by 'Imādul Mulk forcing to leave Gujarāt.¹

183. Muharram bin Rūmī Khān: Ottoman Turk, Khānazād.

Muharram was the son of Khwājā Ṣafar Salmānī. In 1546 A.D., at the death of father he succeeded him. In the same year he was killed at Diu by the Portuguese and was succeeded by his brother Rajab Salmānī.²

184. Munīr Sulṭānī: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1422 A.D., Munīr Sulṭānī accompanied Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I (1410-1441 A.D.) on an expedition against Malwa. In 1433 A.D., he was sent to collect the salāmi from the zamīndārs of Dilwara. In 1451 A.D., he accompanied Sulṭān Quṭubuddīn on an expedition against Malwa.³

185. Musā Khān Faulādī: Gujarātī Muslim.

Musā Khān was the son of 'Ainul Mulk Faulādī and the brother of Shēr Khān Faulādī. In the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh III 1554-1561 A.D., he was assigned Pattan. In 1562 A.D.,

1. TG pp. 1-12; MS pp. 295, 324; AHG pp. 196-7, 223.

2. AHG pp. 237-38.

3. EIAPS 1973, pp. 22-23; TF III pp. 123, 126; AHG pp. 2, 10; MS pp. 54, 78.

when the territory of Gujarat was distributed among the nobles, Shēr Khān and Musā Khān got in addition to Pattan the pargana of Kari also.¹

186. Muhāfiz Khān Bagalzāda: Gujarātī Hindu.

In 1511 A.D. Muhāfiz Khān was dāroghā of Mahmudabad. During the war of succession in 1526 A.D., he sided with Latīt Khān. On Bahādar Shāh's ascending the throne, Muhāfiz Khān was forced to flee from Gujarat.²

187. Naḥir-ul-Hilm: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Naḥir-ul-Hilm was the son of Ibn-i-Jīv. In 1554 A.D., at the death of his father he succeeded him in the post as well as the title.³

188. Nasīr Saif: Gujarātī Muslim.

In the reign of Sultān ^{Aḥmad Shāh I} (1410-1441 A.D.) he held the title Khān-i-Āzam Azhdar Khān. When a large number of nobles rebelled against Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I in 1411 A.D., he helped the Sultān against the rebels.⁴

1. TA III pp. 242, 245; AHG pp. 214, 285, 294, 396-7, 418; MS pp. 386, 410, 415, 436.

2. TA III p. 204; AHG pp. 214-15; MS pp. 174, 260, 263, 274; Mahmudābād: in the east of Gujarāt; see Irfān Ḥabīb's An Atlas of Mughal Empire sheet 7 A, 22+, 72+.

3. AHG pp. 323-325.

4. TF p. 184; MS pp. 39-40.

189. Nasīrul Mulk Bambānī: Gujarati Muslim.

The name of Nasīrul Mulk was Nemat bin Chālak Sulṭān-al-Hindī. In 1549 A.D., he was entitled Nasīrul Mulk. He had 12000 horses under his command in 1571-2 A.D. His jāgīr comprised parganas: Naḍarbar, Sultanpur and Hisabjamara yielded 25,00,00,000 tankās as revenues.¹

190. Nasīr Ḥabsh Khān: Ḥabashī Slave.

Nasīr Ḥabsh had come to Gujarāt in 1538 A.D., with Sulaimān Pāshā. In 1547 A.D., he was appointed hākīm of Diu. He had cavalry of 4000.²

191. Nasīr Shādī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1511 A.D., on the occasion of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh's occasion Nasīr Shādī was entitled Mubārizul Mulk.³

192. Naurang Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Naurang Khān had been the governor of Junagarh since 1472-1473 A.D.⁴

1. AHG pp. 274, 314; MA I p. 21.

2. AHG pp. 227, 241, 313.

3. MS p. 173.

4. TS p. 132.

193. Nizāmul Mulk Sultānī: Gujarātī Slave.

Nizāmul Mulk was the son of Rawal Patai of Champaner. He was perhaps enslaved and converted to Islām after being taken prisoner. In 1514 A.D., he was the hākim of Ahmednagar. In the same year he was sent against Raimal Raja of Idar. After the capture of Idar he remained in charge of the same fort for some time. He was called back from Idar in 1515 A.D.¹

194. Nizamuddīn, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

He held the title Mukhtāsu'l-ul-Mulk. In 1452 A.D., he accompanied Sultān Qutubuddīn on an expedition against the ruler of Malwa.²

195. Nusratul Mulk Bahlim: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1519 A.D., Nusratul Mulk held the charge of the fort of Idar. In 1526 A.D., he was killed in a war among the nobles.³

196. Pāras Rām: Gujarati Hindu.

Pāras Rām was the zamīndār of Bagar. In 1531 A.D., he joined the service of the Sultān Bahādar Shāh and received half of the Bagar in assignment and half of the territory of Bagar was given to his brother Jaga.⁴

1. TA III pp. 177-79; MS p. 118.

2. AHG p. 9; MS p. 72.

3. TA III p. 198; AHG p. 93; MS p. 193.

4. TA III pp. 213-14.

197. Pātā: Gujarātī Hindu.

Pātā was a Hindu Kayastha. In 1526 A.D., he was the Givernor of Sorath.¹

198. Payāg Dās Khatri: Gujarātī Hindu.

Payag Das was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sultān Ahmed Shah I in 1410 A.D.²

199. Qadar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1475-6 A.D., Qadar Khān was sent against Raja of Champaner.³

200. Qaisar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1480 A.D., Qaisar Khān was sent on an expedition along with Imādul Mulk to conquer Jalor and Sachor. On the way he was killed by Mujāhid Khān.⁴

1. One inscription quoted in Bomaby Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, p. 668.

2. MS p. 30.

3. AHG p. 26.

4. TMS₁ pp. 13-b; TA III p. 476; TF p. 201; AHG pp. 24, 25;

201. Qaisar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1517 A.D., Qaisar Khān was the muctā Dahod. In 1520 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against Rānā Sāngā. In 1526 A.D., he was sent against prince Latif Khan by Sultān Sikandar. During the same year he was executed by Sultān Bahādar Shah.¹

202. Qanib-al-Khamāravi: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

Qanib-al-Khamāravi was a purchased slave of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh III. In 1539 A.D., he was entitled 'Imādul Mulk Arsalān Rūmī. He conquered the fort of Idar during the same year. In 1555-56 A.D., he became wazīr of Sultān Aḥmad Shah III. He was killed by Rajab Salmānī in 1558-59 A.D.²

203. Qaisar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1536 A.D., Qaisar Khān was sent with Aṣif Khān to escort the treasure and harem of Sultān Bahādar Shāh to Mecca.³

204. Qāzī Pīr Ishāq: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Qāzī Pīr Ishāq was a Bahmani noble who joined the service of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarāh. In 1493-4 A.D., he was sent to help the hākīm of Sultānpur against Alp Khān, a rebel noble.⁴

1. TA III pp. 174, 187, 197, 205-8; TF pp. 212; AHG p. 102; MS pp. 175, 183, 199, 241, 262, 265.

2. AHG pp. 245, 246, 316, 332; MS p. 363.

3. AHG p. 307.

4. TA III p. 164; TF p. 203.

205. Qutbul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

Qutbul Mulk was an amīr of Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh II. In 1511 A.D., he was sent to receive the envoy of Shāh Ismāīl.¹

206. Rai Āzam Khān-i-Muazzam Sikandar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Rai Āzam was the son of Rai Ghias. In 1480 A.D., he was killed at thāna of Sembhar. His title indicates that his family were originally a Hindu Chief. Probably Rai Āzam Khān-i-Muazzam was posted at thāna of Sembhar in 1480 A.D., where he was killed.²

207. Raihān Badruddīn Jahāngīr Khānī: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

His name was Abul Khair Raihān Badruddīn. He was the slave of Jahāngīr Khān. This is indicated by Suffix Jahāngīr Khānī used with his name, probably he had come to Gujarat in 1531 A.D., in the retinue of Jahāngīr Khān who had accompanied Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī. He was the wazīr of Khudāwandā Khān. Later, he became the wazīr of Ulugh Khān.³

1. MS p. 174.

2. EIAPS 1974 pp. 26-27; Sembhar: a village/Kilometers to the east of the tālucā headquarters Vadgam and 25 kilometers south-east of the District headquarter Palanpur. It is now known in official record as Sherpura (Sembhar). Territorial Changes in the Gujarat State, Ahmedabad 1969, No. 99 quoted by Z.A. Desai in EIAPS 1974, p. 28.

3. AHG p. 499.

208. Rāi Qutub: Gujarātī Muslim.

Rai Qutub as is suggested by the title Rai used with his name belonged to a family Rajput Chiefs. He was the hākim of Mahim during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh I. Rai Qutub died in 1431 A.D.¹

209. Rai Rāyan: Gujarātī Hindu.

In 1480 A.D., he was found involved in a conspiracy against Sultān Maḥmud Begarah.²

210. Raja Muḥammad Husain: Gujarātī Muslim.

Raja Muḥammad Husain held the title Ashjāul Mulk. In 1532 A.D., he was given the charge of Dasur. Dasur was in the possession of Gangu Purbiyā who administered on behalf of the ruler of Chittor. Dasur was annexed to Gujarāt in 1532 A.D.³

211. Raja Nar Singh Deo: Non Gujarātī Hindu.

Raja Nar Singh Deo was the nephew of the Raja of Gwalior. In 1535 A.D., he was given the charge of the fort of Champaner and was entitled Khān-i-Jahān. In the same year he was killed in one of the encounters with invading army of the Mughal emperor Humāyun.⁴

1. TF pp. 188-9.

2. TA III p. 474; TF p. 200; AHG pp. 23-24.

3. AHG pp. 103, 116-18, 194; MS p. 200.

4. TA III p. 212; AHG pp. 200-1; MS pp. 271, 313.

212. Rājā Rai Singh: Gujarātī Hindu.

Raja Rai Singh was the Governor of Junagarh in 1579-80 A.D.¹

213. Rām Chandr : Gujarātī Hindu.

In 1455-6 A.D. Rām Chandr was sent along with Malik Gadai to help the ruler of Nagor against the Rana of Chittor.²

214. Rāo Mandālik: Gujarātī Muslim.

Rāo Mandālik was originally a Hindu. He was the ruler of Junagarh. In 1471-2 A.D. after the annexation of Junagarh to the Sultānate of Gujarāt he became Musalmān and was recruited into the nobility. Rāo Mandālik was entitled Khān-i-Jahān.³

215. Raziul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1513 A.D., Raziul Mulk accompanied Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II on an expedition against the rules of Malwa. In the war of succession of 1526 A.D., Raziul Mulk sided with Bahādur Shāh.⁴

1. TS p. 132.

2. TF p. 192; MS p. 83.

3. MS p. 126.

4. op.cit. pp. 180, 256.

216. Ruknuddīn: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1459 A.D., he was the kotwāl of Pattan. In the same year his brother Hiṣāmūl Mulk was accused of conspiracy against the Sultān. He and his brother on that occasion fled from Gujarāt to Malwa.¹

217. Rashīdul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1511 A.D., Rashīdul Mulk was entitled Khudāwandā Khān. He was also given the office of wazārat.²

218. Rāvā Nersimhakā: Gujarātī Hindu.

In an inscription Rāvā Narsimhakā is mentioned as mantri in the service of Mujāhid Khān, the Governor of Sorath in 1531-32 A.D.³

219. Ravi Rai: Gujarātī Hindu.

In 1553 A.D., during the conflict between Itmād Khan and Saiyid Mubārak, Ravi Rai sided with 'Itmād Khān.⁴

220. Rāwat Pīr: Gujarātī Muslim.

The title "Rāwat" indicates that he belonged to a family who were originally Hindu hereditary Chiefs. He was killed during the military operation against Rana of Chittor in 1519 A.D.⁵

1. TA III p. 138; TF p. 196.

2. MS p.173.

3. Epigraphia Indica vol. II 1894, pp. 34-35.

4. AHG p. 362.

5. AHG p. 101; MS p. 197.

221. Rāwat Husain: Gujarātī Muslim.

The title Rāwat indicates that Rāwat Husain belonged to a family, originally a Hindu Rajputs Chiefs. In 1519 A.D., he was killed while fighting against Rana of Chittor.²

222. Rustam Khān Bāluchī: Bāluchī.

In 1571-2 A.D. Rustam Khān with some other Baluchīs had the jāgīr of the pargana; Radhanpur, Sami, Munjpur, Kakrej, Santhalpur, Tahrad, Morbi, Terwara and Morwara. Their total annual income was Rs. 30,00,0000;²

223. Sādā Khasākhīl, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1482-3 A.D., he held the charge of thāna of Rasulabād (between Gujarat and Champaner). He was killed by the ruler of Champaner in the same year.³

1. ANG p. 101; MS p. 197; MA I, p. 21.

2. MA I, p. 22.

3. TA III p. 158; MS p. 134.

224. Sā'adāt Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sā'adāt khān was the uncle of Sultān Ahmad Shāh. In 1410 A.D., he along with some other nobles rebelled against the Sultān.¹

225. Sā'ad-ul-Mulk: Non Gujarātī Muslim.

On the occasion of his accession in 1526 A.D. Sultān Bahādūr Shāh conferred upon Sā'ad-ul Mulk, the title Shams Khān.²

226. Şafdar Khān Sultānī, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

Şafdar Khān was an admiral in the service of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah. In 1419 A.D. he was sent against Bahādūr

1. TMS₂

2. MS p. 259.

Gilānī. In 1519 A.D. Şafdar Khān was wounded while fighting against the Rānā of Chittor.¹

227. Saktā: Portugues:

Saktā was a Portuguese deserter converted Muslim. In the reign of Bahādar Shāh, he was recruited into the nobility with title Firangī Khān.²

228. Sadra Khān Husain 'Abdul Latif: Lon Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Sadra Khān was the son of Malik Rājī of Mandu. He was killed in Humāyun's attack of Mandu in 1535 A.D.³

229. Şafdar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Şafdar Khān was the son of Ālam Khan. After the death of Ālam Khān in 1531 A.D., the later's assignment was transferred to his son Şafdar Khān.⁴

230. Sadr-i-Jāhān Fayz Allāh Bambānī: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

In 1496 A.D. Fayz Allāh held the post of Sadr-i-Jahān in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I. He belonged to a very distinguished family whose members continued to hold for generation the responsible posts of ministers and Chief judges,

1. ZMS pp. 19-21; TMS₁ p. 166; TF p. 203.

2. AHG p. 200; MS p. 214.

3. TG p. 13; AHG pp. 204, 205, 218; MS p. 31.

4. MS p. 275.

In 1501 A.D., he was sent by Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh to Muḥammadabad (Bidar) as an ambassador. He wrote universal History of Islām named Tarīkh-i-Sadr-i-Jahān.¹

231. Safdar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D., Safdar Khān received his father's title Khān Khānan. In 1527 A.D., he was sent against the rebel Malik Ishāq son of Malik Ayāz.²

232. Salāh-ud-Dīn: Non Gujarātī Hindu Rajput.

Salāh-ud-Dīn was originally a Hindu Rajput named Silhadī. In 1532 A.D., after the conquest of Raisin by Bahādar Shāh, Silhadī was converted to Islām. On that occasion he was recruited into the nobility and was given the title Salāh-ud-Dīn.³

233. Sandal Ghālib Khān Jahāngīr Khānī: Ottoman Turk, Slave.

Originally, Sandal Ghālib was a slave of the Ottoman Governor of Yeman, Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī. He came to Gujarat, possibly in 1531 A.D. with Amīr Muṣṭafā Rūmī. He enjoyed the position of an amīr under Ulugh Khān. In 974 A.H/ 1566-67 A.D., he was the hākīm of Ahmedabad.⁴

1. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat, p. 20; B.M. Tirmizi, "Are Tarīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī, Mathir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī and Tarīkh-i-Sadra-i-Jahān Identical?" PIHC pp. 327-8.

2. MS pp. 259, 265.

3. MS p. 287.

4. AHG pp. 334, 342, 411, 497-8.

234. Sārang, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sārang was originally a Hindu Rajput. He was converted to Islām by Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah. Malik Sārang was included into the nobility and entitled Mukhlīsul Mulk. In 1470-1 A.D., he was entitled Qiwāmul Mulk and the charge of the thāna of Godhra was entrusted to him. In 1528 A.D., under Bahādur Shāh he held the charge of the port of Diu.¹

235. Shāh Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

Shah Malik was one of the nobles who rebelled against Sultān Aḥmad Shāh in 1410 A.D., He was executed by the Sultān in the same year.²

236. Shams Khān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Shams Khān was the son of Nizāmul Mulk son of Rāwal Patāi of Champaner. In 1526 A.D., on the occasion of his accession Sultān Bahādar Shāh conferred upon Shams Khān the title Mubārizul Mulk.³

237. Shams; Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Shams was the son of Kutlugh Khān. In 1526 A.D., Sultān Bahādar Shāh conferred upon him the title Ḥusain Khān.⁴

1. ELAPS 1963, p. 38; AHG pp. 17, 22, 25, 33, 100, 104-115; MS pp. 106, 108, 126, 145-46, 179, 187-99, 201, 224-25, 265-68.

2. TSG p. 16; MS p. 34.

3. AHG p. 333; MS p. 259.

4. MS p. 259.

238. Shams Khan Dandānī: Gujarātī Muslim.

Shams Khān Dandānī was the brother of Sultān Muẓaffar Shah I. In 1404-5 A.D., he was made the muqtā' of Lagor.¹

239. Shamshērul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1533 A.D., Shamshērul Mulk was sent to conquer the fort of Ajmer. After the conquest of **Ajmer** he was appointed the hākim of the same fort.²

240. Sheikh, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sheikh Malik held the title Ḥaibat Khān. He was the uncle of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I and rebelled against him in 1410 A.D. In the same year he was executed by the Sultān.³

241. Sheikh Jiv Tamīm: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sheikh Jiv Tamīm held the title Asadul Mulk. In 1520 A.D., he was killed while fighting against Rana Sanga.⁴

1. MS p. 24.

2. MS pp. 293, 318.

3. TMS₁, p. 34-a; TSG p. 16; MS p. 34.

4. TA p. 186; MS pp. 197, 213.

241. Sheikh Sa'eed Habashi, alias Sultani: Habashi Slave.

After the death of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh III he was in the service of Amīr Jhujhar Khān. He was with the same amir when the later fought against Ulugh Khān in 1571-2 A.D.¹

242. Sheikh Yusuf Habashi: Habashi Slave.

Sheikh Yusuf Habashi was an amir of the reign of Sultān Ahmad Shāh III (1561 A.D.) and was entitled Azam Humayun.²

243. Shēr Khān: Gujarati Muslim, Khānazād.

Shēr Khān was the son of 'Itmād Khān. He held the title Wajihul Mulk. In 1553 A.D., he was the wazir of Sultān Ahmad Shah III.³

244. Sher Khān Faulādi: Gujarati Muslim, Khānazād.

Shēr Khān was the son of 'Ainul Mulk Faulādi and the brother of Musā Khān Faulādi. Shēr Khān and Musā Khān were in the service of Saiyid Mubārak. Pattan was assigned to them. In the reign of Muza'ffar Shāh III when the territory of Gujarat was divided among the nobles Shēr Khān and Musā Khān got pargana of Kari in addition to Pattan as their share.⁴

1. AHG II pp. 925-26.

2. TA III p. 243; MS p. 415.

3. AHG p. 312; MS p. 459.

4. TA III p. 242, 245; AHG pp. 214, 385, 394, 396, 407, 418, 454; MS pp- 386, 410, 415, 436.

246. Shēr Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Shēr Khān was the uncle of Sulṭān Maḥmad Shāh I. In 1410 A.D., he rebelled along with his brothers against Sulṭān.¹

247. Shērwān Khān: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Shērwān Khān was originally a noble of Malwa. In 1530 A.D., he fled from Malwa and joined Sulṭān Bahādur Shah's service.²

248. Shērwān Khān Bhattī: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād

Shērwān Khān was the adopted son of Afzal Khān. In 1553 A.D., he killed Burhān, the murderer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh III.³

249. Shujāul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

Shujāul Mulk was the brother of Ālam Khān Fāruqī and held the position of sipah sālār during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh III (1537-1553 A.D.).⁴

250. Sikandar Khān Satwāī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Sikandar Khān Satwāī was a fugitive from the court of Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa who joined service under Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh in 1530 A.D. In 1533 A.D., he accompanied Sulṭān Bahādur

1. TMS₂, p. 34-a.

2. AHG p. 167.

3. TA III, p. 240; AHG p. 257; MS pp. 379-8.

4. AHG p. 271; MS pp. 350-1.

Shāh on his expedition against Chittor. In 1535 A.D., when Bahādur Shāh went to meet the Portuguese Captain at Diu Sikandar Khān accompanied him. He died at the hands of Portuguese with Bahādur Shāh.¹

251. Sikandar Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Sikandar Khān was the brother-in-law of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shah I (1410-1441 A.D.). In 1452 A.D., he accompanied Sulṭān Luṭubuddīn Aḥmad Shāh on an expedition against the ruler of Malwa.²

252. Saiyid Fidak: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Saiyid Fidak was the nephew of Saiyid Mubarak in 1533 A.D., he was killed in a war among the nobles.³

253. Saiyid 'Alī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1535 A.D., when Humāyun invaded Gujarat Saiyid 'Alī and Khurāsān Khān who were then important officers of Sulṭān

1. TA III, p. 215; AHG pp. 166, 215; MS pp. 275-76, 292, 321, 323.

2. AHG p. 9.

3. AHG p. 337.

Bahādar Shāh fleeing from Gujarat army joined Humāyun.¹

254. Saiyid Sharīf Gīlanī: Irānī.

In 1535 A.D., Saiyid Sharīf Gīlanī was the muqtā' of Cambay. In the same year he had submitted to Humāyun giving him Arab horses as presents.²

255. Saiyid Mubāarak Bukhārī: Gujarātī Muslims.

The fore father of Saiyid Mubāarak Bukhārī was one of five hundred Bukhārī Saiyids who had migrated from Bukhara to Gujarat at the time of Timur's invasion (1398-99 A.D.). He was entitled Majlish-ul-Ashraf. In 1549 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against Idar. He was killed by a slave of Itmād Khān in 1557 A.D.³

256. Saiyid Mīrān: Gujarātī Muslim, Khānāzād.

Saiyid Mīrān was the son of Saiyid Mubāarak Bukhārī. In 1559-60 A.D. in the reign of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh II when the territory of Gujarat was divided among the leading nobles, Saiyid Mīrān got Dholka and Dhandhuka as his share.⁴

257. Saiyid Baranhar Mānduwī : Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

In 1499 A.D., Saiyid Baranhar had come to Gujarat from Malwa and joined the service of Sulṭān Maḥmud Begarāh. He got

1. TA III p. 229.

2. EG p. 20; TSG p. 35.

3. TA III pp. 242-3; AHG pp. 201, 220, 246, 257, 312, 321, 330, 332.; MS pp. 319, 361, 386-87, 405, 408, 419-20.

4. TA III p. 245; MS pp. 406, 420, 430.

Broach as assignment and was also entitled 'Alī Khān. In 1547 A.D., he was dismissed from his post as the Portuguese had entered the fort of Broach due to his carelessness.¹

258. Saiyid Ibrāhīm: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1410 A.D., Saiyid Ibrāhīm was the mug̃tā of Modasa and was entitled Rukn Khān. He was one of the noble who rebelled against Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I in 1410 A.D.²

259. Tāj Khān bin Sālār: Gujarati Muslim, Khānāzād.

Tāj Khān was the son of 'Isā Sālār. In 1471-2 A.D., he was given the charge of thānā Sorkha in suba of Baroda. He was sent on an expedition against Champaner in 1482-3 A.D.³

260. Tāj Khān Narpālī: Gujarātī Muslim.

Tāj Khān Narpālī was a wazīr of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II (1511-1526 A.D.). In 1526 A.D., he helped Bahādur Shāh to capture the throne. Soon after the enthronement of Bahādur Shāh, Tāj Khān resigned his post as wazīr and request the Sultān to grant him a village for his subsitance. Sultān Bahādur Shāh accepted his request. He is credited with founding the township of Tajpur and also building the tomb of Shāh Ālam.⁴

1. AHG pp. 240, 333.

2. TA III p. 98; TF pp. 183-4; MS p. 38.

3. TA III p. 159; AHG p. 26; MS pp. 126, 167.

4. AHG pp. 109, 118, 125-2, 204, 218, MS pp. 165, 244, 251, 255-66.

261. Tatār Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Tātār Khān was an adopted son of Sultān Muḥammad. In 1471 A.D., he was made the thānādār of Junagarh and was empowered to levy ^{the} salāmī from the zamīndārs of Sorath. He continued in that position till 1513 A.D.¹

262. Tātār Khān Ghorī: Ghor.

In 1513 A.D. Tātār Khān Ghorī as well as Malik Ayāz were appointed as thānādārs of Junagarh to collect the salāmī from the zamīndārs. He was succeeded in that position by his son Amin Khān Ghorī in 1524 A.D.²

263. Tājuddīn Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1431-2 A.D., he received the title of Ma'inul Mulk and became the hākīm of Thalner.³

264. Tātār Khān Lodī: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

Tātār Khān was the son of 'Alauddīn and grandson of Bahlol Lodī. In 1533 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against Chittor.⁴

265. Tātārul Mulk Ghorī: Ghor.

Tātārul Mulk was the wazīr of Mujāhid Khān Bahlim. In 1545 A.D., he helped Sultān Maḥmud Shāh III in escaping from

1. TS p. 125.

2. MS p. 457-8; TS p. 125; Commissariat I p. 170.

3. TA III p. 122.

4. TG pp. 5, 12; TA III pp. 227-29; AHG p. 218; MS p. 291.

the hands of Ālam Khān who had made the Sultān, his puppet.¹

266. Tātār Khān Ghorī: Ghor, Khānāzād.

Tātār Khān was the brother of Tātārul Mulk Ghorī. In 1553 A.D., he received Junagarh in assignment. Probably he was the son of Tātār Khān Ghorī and succeeded him in his title as well as assignment. In 1571-2 A.D. Tātār Khān Ghorī along with his brothers Amin Khān Ghorī and Fateḥ Khān Ghorī held the jāgīr of the taluqā of Junagarh.²

267. Teqhumān Khān: Non Gujarātī Indian Muslim.

He was the son of Saiyid Baranhar who migrated to Gujarat from Malwa. He succeeded his father in his title Ālī Khān in 1554 A.D.³

268. Tughlaq Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1526 A.D., Tughlaq Khān received the title Modūd-ul-Mulk. In 1527 A.D., he held the charge of the wilāyat of Morbi. In the same year he was defeated by Ishāq son of Malik Āyāz after the later rebelled against the Sultān.⁴

269. Tughlaq Shāh Faulādī: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1520 A.D. Tughlaq Shāh Faulādī was sent on an expedition against the Rana of Chittor.⁵

1. AHG pp. 227, 243, 244; MS pp. 349, 350-1.

2. TA III, p. 243; TF p. 228; MS pp. 403, 407, 425; MA I, p. 23.

3. AHG pp. 259, 266.

4. MS pp. 259, 266.

5. TA III p. 189.

270. Tuhfā Sultānī, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

In the beginning of the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I, Malik Tuhfā was the muqtā' of Bhankar. In 1415 A.D., he received the title Tājul Mulk.¹

271. Tughān Turk Sultānī, Malik: Gujarātī Slave.

In 1452 A.D. Tughān held the title, Ikhtiyārul Mulk. In 1459 A.D., he received the title Farḥatul Mulk. He became the thānadār of Ḥagat in 1472 A.D.²

272. Tughlaq Khān: Gujarātī Muslim.

Tughlaq Khān was an uncle of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarah. In 1467-8 A.D., he was sent on an expedition against the fort of Girnar.³

273. Ulugh Khān: Ḥābashī, Slave.

The original name of Ulugh Khān was Mandal Ḥābashī. In 1548 A.D., he was recruited into the nobility and given the title Ulugh Khān. He was killed in a battle in 1553 A.D.⁴

1. TF p. 184; Ras Mala p. 254.

2. TMS₁, pp. 12-a,b; TA III pp. 138, 151, 152; AHG p. 9,16,23,27; MS pp. 99, 130; TF p. 200.

3. TMS₂, pp. 67-b; TA III p. 143; TF p. 197.

4. AHG pp. 243, 337.

274. Ulugh Khān: Ḥabashī, Slave.

The original name of Ulugh Khān was Yāqūt. In 1553 A.D., after the death of Ulugh Khān MandalḤabashī, Yāqūt succeeded him in that title. In 1557 A.D., he died at Baroda.¹

275. Ulugh Khān: Ḥabashī Slave, Khānāzād.

The original name of Ulugh Khān was Khairāt Khān. He was the son of Yāqūt Ulugh Khan and succeeded his father in 1557-8 A.D. In 1558-9 A.D., he was made sipahsalār and got Baroda and Champaner as assignment. He commanded 40,000 sawārs and controlled revenues amounting to 15,00,00,000 tankas per year.²

276. Usmān Aḥmad Sārkheji: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1413 A.D., Usmān Aḥmad had rebelled along with some other nobles against Sultān Aḥmad Shah I.³

277. Wali-us-Shurtā: Ḥabashī Slave.

He had come to Gujarāt in 1538 A.D., with Sulaimān Pāshā. He held the title Ḥabsh Khān.⁴

278. Zaheerul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

His name was Shēr Khān. In 1517 A.D., he was the incharge of Idar. In the same year he was killed while fighting against Rāi Bhīm of Idar.⁵

1. AHG pp. 313-316, 321-26, 337.

2. AHG pp. 256, 345, 346, 350-7, 374; LS pp. 427, 433, 440-48, 452; MA I p. 17.

3. MS p. 40.

4. AHG p. 227.

5. TA III p. 179; Ras Mala, p. 295.

279. Ziāuddīn, Malik: Gujarātī Muslim.

Ziāuddīn held the title Nizāmūl Mulk. He occupied the post of wazīr under Sultān Aḥmad Shah I (1410-1441 A.D.). In 1413 A.D., he was sent along with Shahzādāh Laṭīf Khān against the rebels.¹

280. Ziāul Mulk: Gujarātī Muslim.

In 1451 A.D. Ziāul Mulk accompanied Sultān Quṭubuddīn Aḥmad Shah on an expedition against the ruler of Malwa.²

1. TA III p. 101, 105; MS pp. 41, 48.

2. MS p. 78.

List of Reference of Assignments in the Sultanate of
Gujarat 1407-1572

Date	Plate	Term used for the assignment	Term used for the assignment holders	Name of the Nobles	Sources
1. 1401-2	Sorath	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Malik Badra	<u>EIAPS</u> 1962 pp.37-38.
2. 1403-4	Sorath	<u>Shiq</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Malik Shāh	<u>EIAPS</u> 1968 p. 22.
3. 1403-4	Aswal				<u>EIAPS</u> 1936 pp. 7-8.
4. 1404-5	Nagor	<u>Khittā</u>		Shams Khān Dandānī	<u>TA</u> III p. 92
5. 1404-5	Aswal	<u>Shiq</u>			<u>EIAPS</u> 1963 pp. 7-8.
6. 1405-6	Baroda	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Malik-us-Sharq	<u>EIM</u> 1939 pp. 2-3; <u>TA</u> III p. 97.
7. 1405-6	Baroda	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Malik Adam	<u>EIM</u> 1939-40, pp.2-3.
8. 1410-11	Baroda	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Saiyid Ibrāhīm	<u>TA</u> III p. 98.
9. 1410-11	Baroda	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Feroz Khān	<u>TMS</u> ₂ pp. 33-b, 44-a, <u>MS</u>
10. 1410-11	Surat & Raner	<u>Khittā</u>	<u>Hākīm</u>	Mithā Khān	<u>MS</u> p. 31.
11. 1410-11	Navsari	<u>Iqtā'</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Feroz Khān	<u>TMS</u> ₂ p. 31-a.
12. 1410-11	Navsari	<u>Shiq</u>	<u>Muqtā'</u>	Feroz Khān	<u>TMS</u> ₂ 36-a.

13. 1410-11 Baroda Iqtā' Muqtā' Bektars
TA III p. 97; EIAFS 1968, pp. 18-19.
TMS₁ 35-a; MS p. 30.
14. 1410-11 Kheralu Hākīm Fateh Khān
TMS₁ p. 95.
15. 1410-11 Cambay Hākīm Amīr Mahmud Barqī
TA III p. 95.
16. 1411-12 Baroda Iqtā' Muqtā' Bektars son of Ādam
EIAFS 1968 pp. 18-19;
MS p. 30, 40; TA III p. 98.
17. 1413-14 Bhankar Iqtā' Muqtā' Malik Tuhfā
TF p. 184.
18. 1419-20 Sultanpur Hākīm Azīzul Mulik Shaikhān
TMS₂ p. 71-a.
19. 1427-28 Cambay Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī
EIAP 1953-4, p. 66;
EIAFS 1963 p. 21;
TA III p. 123.
20. 1431-32 Thalner Hākīm Malik Tajuddīn
TA III p. 122.
21. 1431-32 Mahlm Khittā Hākīm Rai Quṭub
TF pp. 188-9; MS p. 447.
22. 1431-32 Tambol Hākīm Malik Sadat Sulṭānī
TA III p. 103, 120-2;
TF p. 198.
23. 1451-52 Sultanpur Hākīm 'Alāuddīn Sohrāb Sulṭānī
MS p. 69; TA III p. 188.
24. Between 1459-81 Bhamer Hākīm Isā Sulṭānī
EIAFS 1974, pp. 28-29;
MS p. 174.
25. Between 1459-1511 Ambran qasbā' 'Abdul Latīf
MS pp. 157-61.
26. 1471-72 Junagarah Hākīm (Governor) Naurang Khān
EIAFS 1974, pp. 22-23.
27. 1471-72 Muhammadābad Wajhādār Mubārak Shērānī
EIAFS 1974, pp. 22-23.
- 28.

28. 1471-2 Songdr Thānā Hākīm Malik Bahāuddīn
TWS₁ pp. 3-b, 12-a, 13-b.,
MS pp. 99, 114, 126; TF I I
 p. 200.
29. 1471-2 Manir Thānā Hākīm Nizāmūl Muḷk
TWS₁ p. 12-b, TF I I p. 200.
30. 1471-2 Godhra Thānā Mallk Sārang
AHG pp. 17, 100-115;
MS pp. 126, 167.
31. 1471-2 Sorikha Thānā Tāj Khān
TA III p. 159; AHG p. 26;
MS pp. 126, 167.
32. 1473 Jagat & Thānā Hākīm Tuḡhān Turk Sulṭānī
 Beyt
TWS₁ p. 12-b; TF p. 200.
33. 1476-77 Junagarh Hākīm Bhāyā Mandāl
 (Governor)
TS p. 132.
34. 1478-79 Cambay Iqtā' Muqtā' Mallk Amān
 (Governor)
EIAFS 1963, p. 34.
35. 1479-80 Junagarh Hākīm Raja Rai Singh
 (Governor)
TS p. 132.
36. 1481-2 Bhamer Mallk Musā
EIAFS 1974, pp. 28-29.
37. 1484-5 Dhandhuka Hākīm Khālīl Khān
AHG p. 30.
38. 1486 Champaner Muḥāfiḡ Khān
TF p. 198; AHG p. 27;
IS p. 25-26; TWS₁ 12-a;
TA III pp. 148-62.
39. 1491-92 Sultanpur Hākīm 'Azīzul Muḷk Shaikhān
MS p. 142; TA III p. 164;
TF p. 196; AHG p. 31.
40. 1491-2 Modasa Muqtā' Aḷaf Khān Maulāzādah
MS pp. 113, 146; TF p. 196;
AH p. 31.

41. 1499 Broach Hākīm Saiyid Baranhar AHG pp. 240, 333.
42. 1506-7 Diu Khittā Hākīm Malik Ayāz MS p. 147.
43. 1506-7 Jalor Shiq Malik Sālār EIAPS 1974, pp. 35-37.
44. 1511-12 Nahar Walāh Sarkār Muqtā' Malik Ainul Mulik MS p. 178; TA III p. 175.
45. 1520-21 Sorath Iqtā' Muqtā' Malik Ayāz MS pp. 199-200.
46. 1520-21 Ahmadabad Hākīm Qiwāmūl Mulik MS p. 198.
47. 1522 Sorath Malik Ishāq MS p. 203.
48. 1522 Diu Malik Ishāq MS p. 203.
49. 1526-27 Diu Qiwāmūl Mulik MS p. 266.
50. 1526-27 Sorath Mujāhid Khān MS p. 266.
51. 1527 Morbi Wilāyat Tughlaq Khān MS p. 259, 266.
52. 1531-32 Diu Khittā Malik Tughān MS p. 274.
53. 1531-32 Rander & Surat Hākīm Amīr Muṣṭafā Rumī MS pp. 290-307; TA III p. 22; AHG p. 198; TSG pp. 30-31.
54. 1532 Ujjain Daryā Khān Manduwī MS 282, 294.
55. 1532-3 Bhilisa & Chanderi Jāgīr Ālam Khān Lodi MS pp. 288-89.
56. Between 1511 to 33 Surat Hākīm Malik Gopī Barbosa I p. 149; Gasper Correa, Lendas da Índia, III (Lisbon 1858-64) p. 543, quoted by A.N. Pearson in MRG p. 129.

57. 1533 Surat Hākīm Amīr Gopī
Gasper Correa, Lendas da Índia, Tomo, II, Livro, I, Coimbra 1922, quoted by K.S.Mathew in his article "Indo Portuguese Trade in the Sixteenth Century and the Nobility of Gujarat Sultanate - a case study of Malik Gopī" PIHC 1984, pp. 30-34.
58. 1533 Surat Hākīm Amīr Gopī
59. 1533-34 Ajmer Hākīm Shamsheerul Mulk
TG p. 12.
60. 1534-36 Chittor Hākīm Burhānūl Mulk Bamboānī
MS p. 318; TA III p. 227.
61. 1534-36 Ranthabhor Hākīm Malik Amīn Nāsan
MS p. 318.
62. 1535-36 Cambay Muqtā' Salyāḍ Sharīf Gīlānī
TG p. 20.
63. 1537-38 Satwanas Hākīm Sīkandar Khān
MS p. 321.
64. 1537-38 Jambu qasba' Wajīhul Mulk
(in pargana of Thalawar)
MS pp. 335, 340.
65. 1538 Broach Sarkār Fateh-ul-Mulk
MS p. 345.
66. 1538-39 Surat ṣubā' Khwāja ṣafar Salmānī
MS p. 360; AHG p. 230.
67. 1545-6 Nahrwala Muqtā' Ikhṭiyārul Mulk
TA III pp. 251-9; AHG pp. 247-337; MS pp. 363-87.
68. 1546-7 Surat Hākīm Rajab Salmānī
MS p. 408; AHG pp. 233-38, 318-19.

69. 1549-50 Champaner Hākīm Fard Kuān Sulṭānī AHG p. 248.
70. 1553-4 Baroda & Champaner 'Alam Khān Lodi MS pp. 409-11, 414-15; AHG p. 265, 270, 330-35.
71. 1554 Modasa Ibn-i-Jiv Khalīfī MS p. 412; AHG pp. 323-25.
72. 1554 Modasa Nahīr-ul-Hīlm AHG p. 325; MS p. 412.
73. 1555 Damam Khittā Miftāh ṣaifūl Mulk TA III pp. 251-4; AHG 335-50.
74. 1559-6 Surat Hākīm Asad Khān Salmānī AHG pp. 334-50.
75. 1561-2 Godhra Jāgīr Alp Khān Khatrī MS p. 409.
76. 1561-2 Broach, Surat, Jāgīr 'Imādul Mulk Rūmī MS p. 407-9.
77. 1561-2 Dholka & Dhondhuka Parganā Saiyid Mīrān TA III p. 245; MS 406-445; MA I, p. 19.
78. 1561-2 Naddad Parganā Malik-us-Sharq MS p. 407.
79. 1561-2 Pattan Sarkār Shēr Khān and Musa Khān MS p. 407.
80. 1561-2 Radhanpur Parganā Fateh Khān Bāluch MS p. 407.
81. 1566-67 Ahmadabad Hākīm Sandal Ghālib Khān AHG pp. 334, 342, 411.

82. 1571-2 Radhanpur, Jāgīr
Mandavi,
Sami Nunjpur,
Kakriji,
Santnalpur,
Morbi, Terwara
Morwara
Fateḥ Khān,
Rustam Khān and
other Baluchis
MA I, p. 22.
83. 1571-2 Godhra, Sahra, Jāgīr
Malrai, Samdah or
Nasirabad, Dura,
Ibnabad, Jhalod,
Mordah, Lohanah,
Hamod
Qiwāmūl Mulk
MA I, p. 21.
84. 1571-2 Nandarbar, Jāgīr
Sultapura,
Hisabjamara
Nasīrūl Mulk
MA I, p. 21.
85. 1571-2 Junagarn Jāgīr
Amīn Khān Ghori,
Tātar Khān Ghori
and Fateḥ Khān Ghori
MA I, p. 23.
86. 1571-2 Ahmadnagar, Jāgīr
Paranti,
Jhalawar,
Harsol,
Modasa
Meghraj
Kathnai and
Mamurabad,
Birpur, Bhil
Ikhtiyārūl Mulk
MA I, p. 19.

87. 1571-72

Sarkārs of Broach
 Broḍa, Surat and
 Champaner.
 Consisting parganas:
 Dhaboi, Sinor,
 Bahadarpur, Sonkherah,
 Hansot, Dhej Barah,
 Orpar, Char, Mandavi
 Jambusar, Oklesar,
 Atlesar, Tarkesar,
 Amod, Maqbulabad,
 Sanvalli, Halol,
 Ralod, Jhalod,
 Dohad.

Jāgīr

Jāgīr of Rustom Khān
 and Chingīz Khān sons
 of Imādu'l Muḥ Rumi

MA I, pp. 19-20.

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