



# REIGN OF SULTAN MEHMUD BEGARAH

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BY

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Under the Supervision of

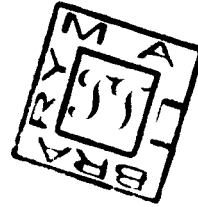
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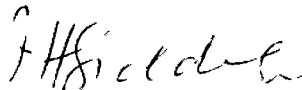


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C E R T I F I C A T E

It is to certify that Miss Aijaz Bano has completed her dissertation for the award of M. Phil. degree. It has been completed on the basis of medieval works under my supervision and may be forwarded to the examiner for evaluation.

  
( IQTIDAR HUSAIN SIDDIQUI )  
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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

My present study is concerned with the history of Gujarat from the beginning of the Muslim rule at the close of the thirteenth century to the end of the reign of Mehmud Begarah in the early sixteenth century. This history of Gujarat passed through three phases. In the initial phase in 1306-7 A.D. Gujarat became a part of Delhi Sultanate. In the second phase in 1407 A.D. Gujarat emerged as an independent Kingdom. The third phase deals with the reign of Mehmud Begarah (1459 to 1511 A.D.) in which period Gujarat was on its climax.

Chapter one of this work deals with the establishment of the Turkish rule in Gujarat. After the conquest of Alauddin Khalji, Gujarat was ruled by a number of Governors on behalf of the Delhi Sultans. It continued to be a part of Delhi Sultanate till the disintegration of Tughlaq dynasty.

The second Chapter discusses the emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat. The weak Tughlaq Sultans lost their control over the outlying provinces and Timur's invasion in

1398 A.D. broke all the link between the centre and province. In 1407 A.D. Zafar Khan, the last Governor of Gujarat, at the suggestion of his nobles assumed the <sup>insignia of</sup> *royalty* and <sup>declared</sup> himself as an independent Sultan under the title of Muzaffar Shah.

The third Chapter begins with the history of the reign of Mehmud Begarah who ruled over Gujarat for more than fifty years from 1459 A.D. to 1511 A.D. As a great warrior, he conquered many countries and expanded the boundary of Gujarat. He was also extolled by the contemporary writers as a most effecient administrator whose interest for the welfare of his subject became legendary. His power was established and maintained by a well organised army. It is said that in the last year of his reign it consisted one lakh soldiers.

The fourth Chapter deals with the socio-religious and economic condition of Gujarat under the reign of Mehmud Begarah such as the languages, customs, religions food habits, dresses and source of entertainment of the people, and trade and commerce of Gujarat.

The last Chapter discusses the progress of learning in the reign of Mehmud Begarah, Though Mehmud Begarah had never received a systemetic education, he had gained considerable knowledge by his constant association with <sup>men of</sup> learning.

He made many madarsas and patronised foreign scholars.

Persian literature flourished and many works were translated into persian from Arabic during this period.

The main sources of evidence that I used in the writing of this dissertation are the major contemporary sources in persian like Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan, Zamima-i-Mather-i-Mehmud Shahi of Shamsuddin and Tarikh-i-Gujarat of Sharfuddin Many contemporary travells of Varthema, Nicolo Conti, Nikitin and Barbosa have been consulted which provided us the clear and vivid information regarding the trade and commerce during the reign of Mehmud Begarah. Some of the contemporary works which were composed little earlier or later than the period under review, have also been utilized in our study.

My work is the result of the assistance and advice of my supervisor Mr. I.H. Siddiqui, to whom I am grateful. I am especially grateful to Dr. Z.A. Desai, Director(epigraphy) Archaeological survey of India, Nagpur, who rendered me one valuable assistance in making available inscriptional evidence, which are not available even in the persian source books.

## CHAPTER - I

### EXPANSION OF MUSLIM RULE IN GUJARAT

Of all the States of Indian subcontinent Gujarat was the richest <sup>during the Middle Ages.</sup> ~~with its beginning.~~ Its prosperity always attracted the Sultans of Delhi. Before the conquest of Alauddin Khalji all the expeditions that were made by the Delhi Sultans to Gujarat were only for plundering not for conquest. In 1178 A.D. Muhammad Ghouri made an expedition against the Rai Bhim of Gujarat and was defeated and forced to retreat by him.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Ghouri as well as his successor Qutubuddin Aibek and Iltutmish never made any serious attempts to actually make a territorial conquest of Gujarat. Perhaps the reason for this lay in the fact that the Delhi Sultans realised that governing that distant province like Gujarat would be too much of a strain both financially and militarily on the central administration in Delhi. Gujarat was however too rich that it could not be ignored. The Delhi Sultans, therefore resorted to the practice of making frequent military incursions into that State for the purposes of plundering its vast wealth.

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1. Minhaj-i-Siraj, Tabqati Nasiri ed. Abdul Hay Habib, Kabul 1963 Vol.I, p.229, Vol.II, p.404.



Qutubuddin invaded Gujarat in January 1197 A.D. and avenged the Sultan's (Muhammad Ghouri) defeat by defeating Bhim Deva and plundering his Capital.<sup>1</sup> Having obtained much booty he returned to his country. After Qutubuddin his successor Iltutmish sent an unsuccessful expedition against the King of Nahrwala.<sup>2</sup> under the command of Malik Tajuddin Sanjar.<sup>3</sup> When Ghiasuddin Balban became the Sultan of Delhi in 1266 A.D., he was advised by his ministers to make an attack against the prosperous province of Gujarat to acquire its treasure. Barni writes that "The intimate friends of the Sultan, such as Adil Khan, Tabar Khan and others of the old Shamsi slaves-----often said to him --- sovereigns like Qutubuddin Aibek and Shamsuddin our former patrons conquered Jhain, Malwa, Ujjain, Gujarat and other distant countries and carried off treasure and valuables and elephants and horses from the Rais and Ranas".<sup>4</sup> At that time however there

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1. Hasan Nizami, Tajul Mathir, Transcribed copy of Ms. p.503, Hasan Nizami writes that Qutubuddin Aibek sent this booty to Ghazna in respect of his master.
  2. Ojha Rajputana ii p.462 Cf. Habibullah, foundation of Muslim Rule in India.
  3. Saiyad Abu Zafar Nadvi, Tarikh-i-Gujarat Delhi 1971 p.11.
  4. Barni, Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi, ed Saiyad Ahmad Khan Asiatic Society of Bengal 1862, p.50.

was some fear of Mangol invasions from the north and this prevented Balban from turning his attention to Gujarat.

The great imperialist Alauddin Khalji also sent a large army under the command of Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to plunder Gujarat in the year 1298 A.D.<sup>1</sup> When the news of the arrival of the Turkish army reached Rai Karan, the King of Gujarat, he consulted his ministers who advised him to leave the Country, and come back after the Turkish army returned to Delhi after plundering Gujarat.<sup>2</sup> The suggestion of Ministers to Rai Karan showed that all the expeditions which had been made by the early Sultans of Delhi were only for the purpose of plunders.

Rai with his daughter Deval Devi fled to Deogiri where he got refuge with Ram Deva.<sup>3</sup> His entire property and Harem was left in his Capital Karan's wife Kamla Devi and many other valuables fell into the hand of Turkish army. From Nahrwala the Turkish army moved into Somnath pattan and demolished the temple of Somnath<sup>4</sup> which had been built a fresh after it had been destroyed by Mehmud of Ghazni. From Somnath pattan the Turkish army reached the rich sea port of Cambay which had a large numbers of rich foreign merchants.

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1. Barni writes that Alauddin Khalji ascended the throne in the year 1296 A.D. and in the third year of his reign he sent this expedition. It means this expedition took the place in 1298 A.D. Op. cit p.251.
  2. Isami, Futuh Salatin, ed. A.S. Usha Madras 1948 p.252.
  3. Isami op. cit p.252.
  4. Barni. op. cit p.251.

From  
 of Cambay they acquired a large quantity of Jewels and precious articles. They also took a slave Hazar Dinari from the merchant who later became the famous Malik Kafur.<sup>1</sup> With a huge booty the Turkish army returned to Delhi.

S.C. Misra writes that after the retreat of the Turkish army no Governor was appointed to govern the conquered area.<sup>2</sup> However we find one inscription which indicates that after this conquest one Governor Shihabuddin Ahmad, son of Muhammad was appointed in Cambay. He was died in Cambay in 1299 A.D.<sup>3</sup> either by natural death or by local people. Farishta's account corroborates this view. He writes that the conquerors appointed a Governor and leaving a part of the army for its defence returned towards Delhi.<sup>4</sup>

Probably after the retreat of the Turkish army, Karan defeated the Governor and killed him and succeeded to establish his rule once again. Due to the problems caused by the Mangol invasion, Alauddin could not take immediate steps to replace the Governor.

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1. Ibid.
  2. S.C. Misra, Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat, Bombay 1963. p. 66.
  3. Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement 1962 p.p. 3-4.
  4. Farishta, Tarikh-i-Farishta, Vol I ed Naval Kishore Lucknow, 1905. P. 184.

Isami writes that when Alauddin became free from the Mangol problem he sent Malik Ahmad Jhitan to conquer Gujarat once more.<sup>1</sup> When Karan heard about the arrival of Ahmad, he fled again. Along with his companions he reached Telingana where he received shelter with Ludder Deo.<sup>2</sup> At this time Malik Ahmad captured Deval Rani, the beautiful daughter of Raja Karan.<sup>3</sup> Malik Ahmad stayed for a month or two in pattan. Alauddin sent him orders to entrust the newly conquered province to one of his lieutenants and return to Delhi immediately along with Deval Devi.<sup>4</sup>

Now Alp Khan was appointed as a Governor of Gujarat.<sup>5</sup> He administered Gujarat carefully for twenty years till he was recalled in 1316 A.D. by Alauddin Khalji at the instigation of Malik Kafur and was unjustly put to death.<sup>6</sup> The

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1. There were many causes behind the Alauddin's eagerness for the conquest of Gujarat. This country was not only fertile, had a great importance for the trade. With the control over the western sea ports, he could accumulate a lot of gold and silver brought by the traders of foreign countries. He could organise his army by the good horses which were imported from Arab, Iraq and Turk.
  2. Isami op. cit p. 287.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid p. 288.
  6. Ibid p.339, Barni Op. cit p. 368.

murder of Alp Khan in Delhi caused wide spread anger among the soldiers posted in Gujarat. They expressed it by rising in arms against the Central authority.<sup>1</sup>

At the death of Alauddin in 1316 A.D. Malik Kafur placed a young boy named Shihabuddin on the throne and himself became the Vice regent.<sup>2</sup> Now Malik Kafur sent a series of expeditions under the officers of Kamaluddin Garg<sup>3</sup> and Ain-ul-Mulk Multani. However the former was murdered and when latter was on his way, Kafur was himself murdered.<sup>4</sup> Having got the news of the new developments in the Capital the general stopped and decided to wait till the situation in Delhi established.

Shortly afterwards Prince Qutubuddin the Son of Alauddin took up the reins of Government and ordered Ain-ul-Mulk to proceed to Gujarat and to bring it back under his control.<sup>5</sup> Malik Ain-ul-Mulk reached Gujarat and established peace. When he completed his work, he was recalled to Delhi and was given the robes of honour.

Now Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah gave his father in law, Malik Dinar, the title of Zafar Khan and sent him to govern Gujarat.<sup>6</sup> Zafar Khan established such an excellent Government

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1. Isami op. cit pp. 340-41.

2. Ibid p. 343.

3. Barni op. cit p.369.

4. Ibid p. 349.

5. Isami op. cit p. 354, Barni op. cit p. 388.

6. Ibid p. 360.

that the people forgot the days of Alp Khan.<sup>1</sup> In spite of his good administration Zafar Khan was recalled from Gujarat within six months.

One Khusru Khan at this time enjoyed the Sultan's confidence and he persuaded the Sultan to execute his father in law. Malik Dinar was executed without any reason.<sup>2</sup> Now Khusru Khan's brother, Hisamuddin was sent as a Governor of Gujarat. He tried to bring about a revolt with the help of parwari community but he was imprisoned by some Amirs and sent to Delhi.<sup>3</sup> Now the Sultan sent Malik Wajihuddin Quraishi as a Governor of Gujarat.<sup>4</sup> During his tenure of office the province enjoyed peace. He was also summoned from Gujarat and rewarded with the title of Sadarul Mulk.<sup>5</sup>

Khusru Khan assassinated Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah<sup>6</sup> and having assumed the title of Nasiruddin became the Sultan of Delhi but he too was murdered by a great noble Ghazi Malik Tughlaq.

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1. Barni op. cit p. 389.
  2. Barni op. cit p. 395.
  3. Barni op cit p. 397, Farishta op. cit Vol.I p. 120.
  4. Farishta op. cit p. 126. Barni op. cit. p.397.
  5. Barni op. cit p. 397.
  6. Isami op. cit pp. 373.

There was no survivor of Alauddin's family, and accordingly the nobles enthroned Ghazi Malik who assumed sovereignty under the title of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah in 1321 A.D. The new Sultan sent Shadi to quell the rebels and bring Gujarat into complete subjection but Shadi too was killed by the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq brought about the revolts of foreign Amirs in Gujarat. Barni writes that the Sultan patronised many foreign Amirs. The foreign Amirs who rebelled in Gujarat were holding the title of Amir-i-Sadah (centurians).<sup>2</sup> This revolt broke out due to the murder of eighty Amirs by Aziz Himmam, the Governor of Malwa. The reason of the murder of these foreign Amirs was that they were considered dangerous subject by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. At the time of his departure for Malwa, Aziz was given special instructions by Muhammad bin Tughlaq about these foreign Amirs. Barni quoted him as saying " If you find at Dhar any of these Amirs, who are disaffected and ready to rebel, you must get rid of them in the best way you can."<sup>3</sup> Aziz acted accordingly and murdered eighty of

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1. Isami op. cit pp. 410-14.

2. Barni op. cit p. 495.

This term literary translated the Amirs of hundreds who were not however purely military officers, but revenue officials responsible for the collection of taxes in groups of about a hundred villages each, who were entitled to a commission of five percent on their collections. Wolseley Haiq, Cambridge History of India Vol.III, Cambridge University Press 1928 p. 166 f.n.

3. Barni op. cit pp. 504-5.

the foreign Amirs. The rebels got enraged, and looted the royal treasure from the naib Wazir Muqbil who was proceeding towards Delhi<sup>1</sup> and murdered Aziz Himmam.<sup>2</sup>

The Sultan could not tolerate this defiance of his authority. He appointed a new Governor Muisuddin<sup>3</sup> and himself marched for Gujarat at the head of an army to crush the rebels. Having arrived in Gujarat he defeated the rebels completely and reorganized the administration. He stayed for some time at Broach and engaged himself in collecting the tribute which had long been in arrears. Barni writes that the Sultan appointed harsh collectors as an instrument of punitive action.<sup>4</sup> He punished those who could be suspected of helping the rebels.

After establishing peace in Gujarat, he started to suppress an uprising in Daulatabad. In Daultabad the Sultan heard that one rebellion had broke out in Gujarat under the command of Taghi<sup>5</sup> who was followed by the foreign Amirs and the Muqaddims of Gujarat. Leaving the affairs of Daultabad in the charge of his lieutenant, the Sultan arrived in Gujarat. He defeated Taghi at Kadi nearly twenty five miles north-west of Aswal.<sup>6</sup> Taghi fled to Kant Barahi and from

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1. Ibid p. 507.
  2. Ibid p. 508.
  3. Barni op. cit. p. 508.
  4. Ibid p. 513.
  5. Ibid p. 515.
  6. ~~Barni~~ p. 523.



there he wrote to Rai of Junagarh requesting shelter. When the Rai saw the strength of the Royal army, he decided to make Taghi prisoner and deliver him up to the Sultan. Having realized the intention of the Rai, Taghi fled to Thatta where he got refuge with Jam.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the establishment of Bahmani rule in Daultabad the Sultan gave up the decision of going to Daultabad and decided to restore his authority in Gujarat. His first attack was upon the Mokharji Gohil of Piram whom he defeated and destroyed the fortress of Piram.<sup>2</sup> Seeing the power and the rage of the Sultan, the Mukaddams, the Ranas and the Mahants of Gujarat paid their homage to the Sultan and received robes and rewards. Rana of Mandal slaughtered the followers of Taghi and sent their heads to the Sultan.<sup>3</sup> Now the Sultan decided to recover his loss of Daulatabad by conquering the fort of Junagarh. He attacked Junagarh and captured the fort and a Governor was appointed to govern it. The Rai was made prisoner. With the conquest of Junagarh he brought the whole of the coastal region of Sorath under his sway.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid p. 519.

2. Rasmala I, p. 305-9 Cf. S.C. Misra op. cit p. 118.

3. Barni op. cit p. 520.

4. Ibid p. 523.

After consolidating his power in the mainland and the peninsula of Sorath, the Sultan started for Thatta in pursuit of Taghi. When he was on the way of Thatta, fallen <sup>ill</sup> ~~it~~ and soon died in 1350 A.D. on the banks of Indus.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq when Feroz Shah arrived in Gujarat he appointed Zafar Khan I as a Governor of Gujarat by removing Nizamul Mulk.<sup>2</sup> Zafar Khan died in Gujarat and his eldest son took his place and title.<sup>3</sup> His deputy was Shamsuddin Anwar Khan. About 1376 A.D. the revenue received from Gujarat had declined considerably and one noble Shamsuddin Damaghani petitioned the Sultan that he was ready to pay the forty lakh of tankas over and above the total revenue of Gujarat along with one hundred elephants two hundred slaves annually. Sultan Feroz Shah appointed him as a deputy because Anwar. would not ready to pay the same amount and Zafar Khan remained as a Governor of Gujarat.<sup>4</sup> Wolseley Haig writes that Shamsuddin Anwar Khan was dismissed along his Governor Zafar Khan<sup>5</sup> which does not seem to be correct because before the appointment of Sikandar Khan no body was appointed as a

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1. Ibid p.525.

2. Yahya, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1931. p. 131.

3. Ibid

4. Ibid, p. 132.

5. Wolseley Haig op. cit p.182.

Governor of Gujarat. Because Damaghani could not discharge his duty, he, therefore, rebelled. The Sultan sent an army against him and he was killed. After the death of Damaghani Malik Mufarraah became the deputy to the Governor Zafar Khan. Commissariat writes that Malik Mufarraah was appointed as a Governor of Gujarat.<sup>1</sup> However there is an evidence<sup>2</sup> to controvert this view that Malik Mufarraah was the deputy Muqti of the Iqta of Cambay at this time and not the Governor of Gujarat.

At the time when Muhammad Shah son of Feroz Shah was enjoying equal authority with his father, he received complaints against the tyranny of Malik Mufarraah. He appointed Malik Yaqub Khan, entitled Sikandar Khan<sup>3</sup> as a Governor of Gujarat. Sikandar Khan was murdered by Malik Mufarraah and the iqta of Gujarat was granted to Zafar Khan who became the Governor of Gujarat after defeating Malik Mufarraah.

#### Westward Expansion:

On the west some portions of the Coastal region in the peninsula of Sorath had been subjugated at the time of Alauddin's conquest which remained in the hands of the

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1. M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat Vol.I Bombay 1938, p.46.
  2. E.I.A.P.S., 1961 p.13.
  3. Parishta op. cit p. 266; Haji-ad-Dabir, Zafrul-Walih-bi-Muzaffar Walih Vol.II tr. M.F. Lokhand Wala Baroda 1974, p.898.

Gujarat Governor till the emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat.

When Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq arrived in Gujarat, he conquered the whole of the coastal region in the peninsula of Sorath including the fort of Junagarh.<sup>1</sup> With the death of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, the Rai of Junagarh regained his authority and captured the fort. He also established his control over the coastline.<sup>2</sup> In the reign of Feroz Tughlaq about 1375 A.D. one expedition was sent against the local Chiefs of Mangrol and brought it under his control.<sup>3</sup> Mangrol became the head quarter to administer the coastal region of the penunsula of Sorath.<sup>4</sup>

The local Hindu Chiefs would frequently recover their authority in the coastal areas. Somnath pattan was still under the control of Hindu Chiefs. Zafar Khan the last Governor of Gujarat attacked Somnath pattan and ravaged the temple and established a thana there.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Barni op. cit p.523.
  2. S.C. Misra op. cit p. 122.
  3. Commissariat Vol. I, op. cit pp. 71-72.
  4. Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian supplement 1962, p. 34.
  5. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqati Akbari ed. B. De and Maulvi Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica 1935 Vol.III p.87; Parishta, Vol.II op. cit. p.180.

After the death of Zafar Khan, his grandson, Ahmad Shah initiated the work of expansion. Commissariat writes that Ahmad Shah levied the tribute from Gohels and by this time the power of the Gujarat Sultan started to extend to the Central plain of Kathiawar.<sup>1</sup> The complete subjugation of the peninsula of Sorath was completed in the reign of the great Sultan Sultan Mehmud Begarah. He conquered the fort of Junagarh and the port of Jagat and expanded the boundary on the west till the Arabian sea.

#### Southwards Expansion:

With the conquest of Gujarat by Alauddin Khalji, the Hindu Chiefs in the South from Navasari to Bombay became tributaries to the Governor of Gujarat. In the reign of Mubarak Khilji (1317-21 A.D.) Mahaim was conquered and a thana was established there.<sup>2</sup> One inscription found in Konkan shows that it was governed by the Governor of Gujarat in the late Tughlaq period. Even the grave of the son of Malik Mufarraah is found in Konkan.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of the independent sultanat of Gujarat added much strength to the position of the Gujarat Sultan in the Konkan. In 1429 A.D. Ahmad Shah established a garrison under the captain of Kutb Khan at Mahaim near Bombay and another garrison was established at thana.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Commissariat Vol. I op. cit p.81.
  2. Guzetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol.XIII part II Bombay 1882, p. 438.
  3. E.I.A.P.S. 1966, pp.9-10; 1974 pp. 3-4.
  4. Nizamuddin Ahmad, op. cit, pp.117-19.

When Mehmud Begarah ascended the throne he strengthened his hold on the Konkan and about 1495 A.D. he divided Gujarat into separate divisions and appointed Governors for each. In the South he made thana the headquarter and Farhat-i-Mulk was appointed to administer the division.<sup>1</sup>

#### Eastwards Expansion:

On the east Mehmud Begarah conquered the fort of Champaner and founded the city of Muhammadabad. Now the boundary of Gujarat on the east bordered the State of Malwa.

#### Northwards Expansion:

In the north Jalor was a feudatory State under the Gujarat Sultan. Probably in the reign of the Sultan Mehmud Begarah the ruler of Jalor had become turbulent. Therefore, Mehmud Begarah conquered it and assimilated it in his Kingdom and the Shiq of Jalor was given to Malik Budhan to be administered.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the conquest of Mehmud Begarah there were a large number of States around the Gujarat who were the vassals of Gujarat Sultan and expanded the boundary of the Gujarat Kingdom. The details of its boundary are given in the book of Arabic History of Gujarat — " From Muhammadabad to Mandu and from Junagarh to Sindh; from Jalor and Nogar

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1. Sharfuddin, Tarikh-i-Gujarat Ms. No.162, Maulana Azad Library Aligarh p. 126; Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit p.153.  
2. E.I.A.P.S. 1974 p. 37.

to Sewalik mountains; from Baglana to Nasik Trimbek; from Burhanpur to Karkun as far as river Narbada; from Idar to Chitor and Kumbhalmer; from the West Coast of Hindustan to Chewal".<sup>1</sup> Its political map did not change till the eve of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. However in 1580 A.D. Akbar devided his empire in twelve Subas<sup>2</sup> and Gujarat was dismembered. Its boundaries now returned to what were at the beginning of the Sultanat period. On the north it was bounded by the frontier Sarkar of Jalor, on the est by Malwa, on the South by Maharashtra, while the Arabian sea constituted its Western boundary.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Haji-ad-Dabir Vol. I, op. cit p. 29.

2. Abul Fazl, Akbar Namah, Vol.III, Pt. I, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1886, p. 282.

3. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari Vol.II, Naval Kishore, 1881, p.144.

## CHAPTER - II

### EMERGENCE OF THE SULTANATE OF GUJARAT

The emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat was the result of the disintegration of Delhi Sultanate. The process of the disintegration was started during the closing years of the reign of Muhammad -bin-Tughlaq, due to the disaffection and rebellion brokeup in Delhi, the Capital. In the words of Barni — " The rules for enforcing the royal schemes became daily more oppressive to the people. More and more people became disaffected----- . The illfeelings of the people gave rise to outbreaks and revolts. Due to the revolts Sultan lost his hold upon the territories he possessed. Gujarat and Deogiri were the (distant) possession that remained." <sup>1</sup>

The death of Sultan Feroz Shah in Oct. 23, 1388 A.D.<sup>2</sup> was followed by a civil war causing anarchy. At this time, prince Muhammad succeeded in capturing the capital city of Delhi and ascended the throne by taking the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah.<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards he decided

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1. Barni, op. cit p.471.
  2. Farishta, Vol.I, op. cit p.150.
  3. Yahya op. cit p. 137.



to replace the royal Governors in the provinces. The Wali of Gujarat against whom he had received complaints, was replaced by Zafar Khan in 1391 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

A firman was issued to Zafar Khan, conferring the Governorship of Gujarat<sup>2</sup> on him with the high sounding title of Azam-i-Humayun.<sup>3</sup> He was also honoured with a red canopy and was presented a robe of honour on his departure in Feb 8, 1391 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that Zafar Khan was conferred a royal umbrella and a red pavilion, which was specially reserved for the King.<sup>5</sup>

With the appointment of Zafar Khan his son Tatar Khan was kept at the court by the Sultan as his vazir as a pledge for his father's loyalty.<sup>6</sup>

Zafar Khan defeated and killed Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan at Kambhoi on Jan 4, 1392 A.D.<sup>7</sup> With this success Zafar Khan started Muzaffar Shahi rule because he did not rule as a Governor. He began the process of consolidation which

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1. Bihamad Khani, Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, MS. No. 65, fol.427a
  2. Sikandar op. cit p. 14.
  3. Farishta op. cit p. 179.
  4. Sikandar op. cit p.14.
  5. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit p. 83.
  6. Farishta, op. cit. p. 179.
  7. Sikandar op. cit p. 15.

was appeared in the form of the independent Kingdom of Gujarat.

After defeating Rasti Khan, Zafar Khan started to crush the power of those Rajput rulers who were the danger for him. He made three military expeditions against the powerful Rajput principalify of Idar, situated on the north-east of Gujarat. The ruler of Idar was Rao Rannal who brought the whole of Bagad, the mountainous area on the frontier of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa under his rule.<sup>1</sup>

His first attack was led in 1393 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Nizamuddin Ahmad gives the cause for this first attack in the above mentioned year that Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah died and the affairs of the Delhi came into confusion and most of the Zamindars had become insurgent and the Raja of Idar also withdrawn his head from the yoke of dependence.<sup>3</sup> Zafar Khan defeated Raja of Idar in several severe battles. Therefore, Raja was compelled to shut himself up in the fort. In a very short time there was such scarcity and famine in the fort that the house hold animals had to be used for food. Ultimately Raja sent his eldest son to Zafar Khan to sue for quarter.<sup>4</sup> Zafar Khan took such tributes from him as he wanted and raised the siege.

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1. Rasmala I p. 310 Cf. S.C. Misra, op. cit p. 145.

2. Sikandar op. cit p. 16.

3. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit p. 85.

4. Farishta op. cit p. 179.

His second expedition was led in 1398 A.D. in which he was accompanied with his son Tatar Khan.<sup>1</sup> At this time Zafar Khan completely subdued Idar but due to the arrival of Amir Timur in the north India, Zafar Khan did not consider it expedient to remain far from his Capital. Thus at this time too he took tribute from Rao Ranmal and returned to pattan.<sup>2</sup> He led his final invasion against Idar in 1400-1 A.D. and conquered it. There he established a thana and divided this country among his nobles and returned to his capital Pattan.<sup>3</sup>

In 1397 A.D. Zafar Khan attacked the infidels of Mandalgarh, a dependency of Mewar. According to Farishta, during the Government of Farhau-ul-Mulk, the Rajputs of Mandalgarh acquired such strength as to expel the Muhammadans from their territories, refusing also to pay the usual tribute.<sup>4</sup> When Zafar Khan brought his military near the fortress of Mandal, Raja shut himself up in it. Sikandar writes that Zafar Khan beseiged fortress till one year and some months.<sup>5</sup> In the end Raja begged for mercy. Zafar Khan raised the seige on the condition of payment on a large sum in gold and Jewels.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 20.

2. Ibid

3. Farishta op. cit p. 181. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit p.89.

4. Farishta op. cit p. 180.

5. Sikandar op. cit p.18.

6. Farishta op. cit p. 180.

With the death of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah the control of the Delhi Sultanate over out lying provinces ceased. In the capital the rival princess began to fight for the throne while the Governors became independent. If our inscriptional sources are to be believed, then it is cleared that during this period of political anarchy, not only the Governors were rebelling against the central authority (i.e. Sultanate ruler) but petty officials were also asserting their independence vis-a-vis their own provincial Governors as for example in the case of Sorath. The shiq of Sorath under the Governorship<sup>of</sup> Malik Yaqub had become independent in 1395 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Malik Badra was the Governor of the shiq of Sorath in 1400-1 A.D. Malik Badra was succeeded in the Governorship of Sorath by his son Malik Shah who took the title of Malik-ul-Umra Muin-ud-Daulat Wad-ud-Din Malik Malik Shah.<sup>2</sup>

The peninsula of Sorath became independent in 1395 A.D.<sup>3</sup> and Zafar Khan brought it back under his control in 1401-02 A.D., during his military expedition against Somnath pattan. At this time, Zafar Khan appointed a military post at Somnath pattan.<sup>4</sup>

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1. E.I.A.P.S. 1962 pp.37-38.

2. Ibid 1968, p.23. The peninsula of Sorath became independent in 1395 A.D. because one inscription indicates us that in 1394 A.D. Sorath was under the control of Gujarat Governor. E.I.A.P.S. 1953-4, p.52.

3. After 1394 A.D. Zafar Khan had no link with the shiq of Sorath because of the general disintegration. When Zafar Khan completely crushed the power of the Raja of Idar and became free from its danger, he brought the penunsula of Sorath under his control.

4. Farishta Vol.II op. cit. p. 180.

As there was no competent ruler<sup>1</sup> after the fall of the Tughlaq dynasty to consolidate the Delhi Sultanate, Zafar Khan on the request of his nobles, sat on the throne in 1407 A.D. and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah<sup>1</sup> and khutba was recited in his name and the coins were also started to be struck. He designated his grand son as his heir apparent.<sup>2</sup>

Now the question arises that why Zafar Khan assumed Kingship at this time while he became independent for all the practical purposes in 1393-94 A.D. at the time of the death of Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. Sikandar gives the main economic factor for this work. He says, when the striking of coins and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the house of Delhi, the nobles and officers represented to Zafar Khan, at an auspicious time favourable moment, that the Government of the country could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself; he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Mohammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 25. This means Zafar Khan by vote and consensus of his nobles became the independent ruler of Gujarat. He did not usurp the kingship by violence or other illegal measures.

2. Farishta op. cit p. 182.

that beautiful display.<sup>1</sup> We find the same observation of S.C. Misra. According to him, "The Tughlaqs had ceased to issue coins even essential for the economic life of the country. It was widely felt that the new unit needed a formal Sultan in order to be formed into an independent."<sup>2</sup>

Before 1407 A.D. Zafar acted as a Governor of Gujarat which is testified through the inscription dated 1404 A.D. at Mangrol which mentioned Zafar Khan as a Governor of Gujarat.<sup>3</sup> Zafar Khan, for the first time, was mentioned as a Sultan of Gujarat through the inscription dated 1409-10 A.D. at veraval.<sup>4</sup> Earlier we find all the inscriptions referring to Zafar Khan as a Governor of Gujarat.

At the end of the month of Safar A.H. 813/1410 A.D. Ahmad Shah caused his grand father to be poisoned. The cause was that Ahmad Shah discussed with some ulamas that "if one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the merdered man to exact to retal ation? Every one answered "yes" and they gave their formal opinion. Ahmad Khan took the paper and kept it by him. Next day he went

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 25.
  2. Misra S.C. op. cit p. 155.
  3. EIAPS, 1962 p. 38.
  4. Ibid, 1953-54 pp. 50-51, 1963 p. 11.

to the city, made the Sultan prisoner and poisoned him."<sup>1</sup>

We find Zafar Khan first as an independent Governor and later as a Sultan of Gujarat. Because Zafar Khan came in Gujarat at the time when most of the chiefs of Gujarat became insurgent and Farhat-ul-Mulk, the rebel Governor encouraged them. Thus most of the time of Zafar Khan's life went in consolidating his power by crushing the power of local chiefs. Due to this he could not introduce any administrative measure during his life time.

With the death of Zafar Khan and till the accession of Mehmud Begarah there were four Sultans namely Ahmad Shah, Muhammad Shah, Qutubuddin Shah and Daud Shah.

The independent Rajput States as Junagarh, Champaner, Jhalawar, Idar and Nandot, which were around the Kingdom of Gujarat, always tried to over throw the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty. These States became the centre to refuge the rebels against the Sultans of Gujarat. To over throw this dynasty (Muzaffar Shahi) they rebelled several times and invited the neighbouring Sultan of Malwa to attack Gujarat occasionally.

In 1400-1 A.D. though Muzaffar Shah conquered the fort of Idar. However, we find that later Rao Ranmal regained

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1. Sikandar op. cit p.27. Farishta and Nizamuddin Ahmad write that Sultan Muzaffar became ill dangerously and seeing his own end he nominated his grandson Ahmad Shah and shortly afterwards died. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit pp. 94-95, Farishta op. cit p.182.

his power and gave the shelter to rebels against Ahmad Shah. In 840 A.H./1436 A.D. Ahmad Shah marched against him. Raja of Idar fled in the hills of Idar. After sometime he returned and wished to redress and remedy what had happened and behaved treacherously towards rebels and having seized their treasures and elephants sent them for the service of Sultan Ahmad. He also sent the tribute.<sup>1</sup> But in 821 A.H./1418 A.D. Raja of Idar again entered into the conspiracy led by Rajas of Champaner, Mandal and Nandot against Ahmad Shah to invite Hushang Shah of Malwa for conquering Gujarat. But the conspiracy was opened by the ruler of Nagor.<sup>2</sup> In 829 A.H./1425 A.D. Sultan Ahmad taking the excuse of tribute marched to punish the Raja of Idar and founded a city of Ahmad Nagar on the banks of Hatmati and built a fort there to check the movement of Raja of Idar. At this time Raja of Idar was defeated and killed by Ahmad Shah. Now Ahmad Shah entrusted the fort to Rao punja's son, Rao Ranmal on the condition of paying a heavy tribute.<sup>3</sup> Thus we find that in the reign of Ahmad Shah the power of the Raja of Idar was completely crushed and since this time Idar's ruler never tried to raise their head against the Sultans of Gujarat.

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1. Sikandar op. cit pp. 38-39.

2. Ibid pp. 46-47.

3. Ibid p. 57.



In the reign of Qutubuddin Ahmad Shah Idar was attacked once more but at this time the weak Raja of Idar to be strengthened himself made the matrimonial relations with the Sultan of Gujarat by giving his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Shah and in return got the fort of Idar back.<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Ahmad Shah, the Raja of Junagarh became in surgent and gave the shelter to the rebel chief of Jhalawar. In 1414 A.D. Ahmad Shah marched against him and compelled to pay the tribute. Many Zamindars of the peninsula of Sorath also submitted him. Sultan Ahmad left his two deputy Said Abul Khan and Said Qasim to collect the tribute from Zamindars.<sup>2</sup> At this time Sultan realised that to bring the penunsula of Sorath under his control, it is necessary to conquer the country of Jhalawar which was on the border of mainland and Sorath. Thus he conquered Jhalawar.<sup>3</sup>

The powerful chief of Champaner was also a great danger to the Sultans of Gujarat. It was situated on the border of Malwa and Gujarat. Ahmad Shah made repeated attacks on Champaner and collected tribute from Raja but he never fully conquered it nor could he included it in his Kingdom. When Muhammad Shah ascended the throne he decided to conquer Champaner. When he attacked Champaner, Rawal Patai its

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 63.

2. Ibid, p. 44.

3. EIAPS, 1973 p. 24.

ruler retreated into the upper citadel of Pawagarh and appealed to his ally,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of Malwa, for help. M Mehmud Khalji marched as far as the border of Gujarat and compelled Muhammad Shah to be retreated. He also failed to collect the tribute from the Raja of Champaner.<sup>2</sup>

In the reign of Sultan Qutubuddin, the successor of Muhammad Shah, we find that Raja of Champaner joined Mehmud Khalji, the Malwa Ruler in 1451, who attacked Gujarat. Sultan Qutubuddin defeated both invaders and forced them to be retreated.<sup>3</sup>

Both independent States of Champaner and Junagarh were reserved to be conquered by Mehmud Begarah. Many other small States that were semi-independent as Sirahi, Nandot and Idar too lost their independence under the sovereignty of Mehmud Begarah.

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1. Raja of Champaner had made an alliance with Malwa ruler and other Chiefs of independent Rajput States against the ruler of Gujarat.
  2. Sikandar op. cit pp. 64-65.
  3. Ibid, pp. 77-81

### CHAPTER - III

#### CONQUESTS OF SULTAN MEHMUD BEGARAH AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

On 11 June 1459 A.D. Qutubuddin Shah died and his uncle Daud Shah ascended the throne. He was however, dethroned by his amirs soon later, for he was not considered fit for the throne. Imadul Mulk, the Wazir, in consultation with other amirs, brought Fatch Khan, brother of Sultan Qutubuddin and placed him on the throne on the first day of Shaban in 863AH June 18, 1459 A.D. The new Sultan assumed the title of Mehmud Shah.<sup>1</sup> At this time Mehmud Shah was only 14 years old. At the time of his coronation, Mehmud Shah distributed many Iraqi and Turki horses valuable robes, swords and daggars, one crore of Tankas among his nobles.<sup>2</sup>

He was called Mehmud Begarah<sup>3</sup>. There were two views among the people of Gujarat about the word Begarah. Firstly moustaches of the Sultan were so big and twisted like two horns of the Ox. In Gujarat such an Ox is called Begarah. Secondly in the language of Gujarat 'be' means two and 'garh' means fort. As the Sultan had conquered the forts of Junagarh and Champaner he was called Begarah.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sharfuddin, op. cit., p.2a. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 93. Nizamuddin Ahmad Vol.III, op. cit., p. 173. Farishta, Vol.II op. cit., p.

2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 2b. Nizamuddin op. cit., p. 135.

3. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 2a. Sikandar op. cit., p. 95.

4. Ibid.

The military annals of the reign of Mehmud Begarah constitute a record of uninterrupted success extending over a period of half a century. Before him, three foremost hindu principalities in Gujarat Junagarh, Champaner and Idar had managed to survive the invasions of their territories by the Sultans and retained their semi-independent status as feudatory states.

Mehmud Begarah chalked out a well-conceived plan for the expansion of his Kingdom which his predecessors had failed to do. He made successful efforts to conquer and annex all the Rajput principalities one by one.

#### Conquest of Bawar:

Mehmud Begarah led his first military expedition against the fort of Bawar and the port of Dun situated between Gujarat and Konkan which were still in the hands

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There is a controversy about his nickname Begarah. Farishta writes that due to his conquests of two forts of Junagarh and Champaner he was called Begarah. Nizamuddin Ahmad accepted the other view and writes that Begarah means a cow whose horns turn upwards and then curl round. His moustaches of this shape and on this account he has been named Begarah.

of Hindu Zamindars.<sup>1</sup> The Rai of the fort of Bawar had one thousand villages under his control. Many of these Hindu Zamindars had been causing damage to the ships that visited the Gujarat ports. In 1465 A.D. the Sultan attacked the fort to punish the rebellio<sup>U</sup>s Chiefs and defeated them. The Rai was forced to surrender. The Sultan captured Rai and took himself to Ahmadabad but after some days he sent him (Rai) back with robes and honours to administer the country after fixing the amount of annual tribute to be paid.<sup>2</sup>

#### Conquest of Junagarh:

The prosperous peninsula of Sorath had been the object of the Muslim rulers envy ever since the annexation of Gujarat to the Sultanate of Delhi during the reign of Alauddin Khalji. Though the capital of the Rai of Junagarh was often occupied by the muslim rulers yet the power of the Rai's was never completely broken and they reasserted their indpendence in this peninsula.

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 56. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 141. Farihta Vol.II, op. cit., p. 196. Sikandar called it the fort of Barud, p. 113. Haj-ad-Dabir also called it the fort of Barud, p.17. Commissariat writes the two forts of Bharot and Parnera and seaport of Daman, p. 181. Sir Wolseley Haig writes the hindu chiefs of Pardi near Daman, p. 305.
  2. Sharuddin op. cit. p. 6a, Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit. p.142.

The attempts to conquer the fort of Junagarh which was continued by Sultan Ahmad Shah was completed in the reign of his grandson Sultan Mehmud Begarah.

The conquest of Junagarh was not so easy because Junagarh was protected and fortified by nature. It was situated in the centre of a range of granite hills which guarded its approaches and it was protected by a belt of deep forests which surrounded it.<sup>1</sup> The capture of Junagarh fort was a dream that Mehmud cherished even while he was yet a prince. During the reign of his grand father he led an expedition against Junagarh in 1441 A.D.<sup>2</sup> When he became Sultan he determined to conquer Junagarh. There were three reasons behind this conquest of Junagarh. The first cause was economic. He was eager to annex this prosperous penunsula of Sorath.<sup>3</sup> There were many seaports that contributed to its importance and prosperity. From the commercial point of view it was the link between

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 118.

2. Z.A. Desai, " Persian and Arabic Epigraphy of Gujarat Historical significance" , op. cit., p. 56.

3. Sikandar gives some details about the penunsula of Sorath. He writes, " And what a country is Sorath. As if the hand of heaven had selected the cream an essence of Malwa, Khanadesh and Gujarat and had made compendium of all the good people of the world, and had picked out the noblest and vigorous of men from three countries named and collected them together into one standard, as a touchstone of the countries of the World", p.115.

Gujarat and foreign countries. Mehmud was also eager to put a stop to the piracy practised along the coastal ports,<sup>1</sup> as it drained away a considerable amount of wealth which could have gone into the state's coffer.

From the political point of view it was equally necessary to conquer the Junagarh fort. The Rai and the Zamindars of Junagarh had always tried to overthrow the Muzaffar Shah rule in Gujarat. Therefore Mehmud Begarah realized that for the defence of his Empire it was necessary to conquer this fort.

The third cause was the religious one. Sultan Mehmud inherited not only the military genius but also the fierce religious bigotry of his grandfather Ahmad Shah. He conquered Junagarh because he wanted to spread Islam in Sorath. He was more interested in converting the Rai than in getting the throne. He promised Rai to give back his dominion with some more districts but only after the latter accepted Islam.<sup>2</sup> During his final expedition, Rai Mandalik of Junagarh petitioned that he was prepared to pay any tribute which the Sultan might order. The Sultan is said to have replied " All my energies are at present directed to raise the standard of Islam in this country, after bringing it into my possession, so that the institutions

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p.116.

2. Sikandar op. cit. p. 121.

of Islam might be established here. I have no other object in view, except the introduction of Islam and the capture of the fort.<sup>1</sup>

One inscription dated 1470 A.D. at Junagarh shows that Mehmud Begarah was ordered to conquer the fort of Junagarh by Saint Sheikh Kamal in a dream.<sup>2</sup> It is also stated that once Sultan dreamed that the holy prophet presented him a magnificent banquet of the most delicate viands. This dream was interpreted by the wise men as a sign that he would soon accomplish a conquest by which he would obtain great treasures.<sup>3</sup> Which was proved by the capture of Junagarh.

Sultan Mehmud made three military expeditions against the Rai of Junagarh and in his final expedition he emerged successful. The Rai of Junagarh and his ancestors had ruled the country for many generations. He was a powerful ruler. Two thousand and two hundred villages were under his rule<sup>4</sup> and he had a large army of thirty six thousand soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit. p. 146.

2. E.I.A.P.S. 1953, p. 62.

3. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 6b.

4. Ibid p. 7a.

5. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 18.



In 871 A.H./1467 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Mehmud Begarah made his first attempt to capture Junagarh. At this time he prepared his army well. He ordered the treasurer to take gold coins worth five crores with him. He gave an order to arsenal that he should take with him one thousand and seven hundred swords of Egypt, Yemen, Africa and Khurasan. He instructed the master of horses that he should keep ready one thousand Arabi and Turkish horses.<sup>2</sup> In this expedition Sultan defeated the Rai and compelled him to pay the tribute.<sup>3</sup> His second expedition was sent in 872 A.H./1468 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The ostensible cause of this expedition was that Sultan Mehmud was informed that Rao Mandalik still enjoying royal authority and continued to cover his head by a canopy and placed valuable ornaments on his arms and neck publicly. Actually Sultan was simply waiting for a pretext, and this report enabled him to undertake another expedition. He sent the army to Junagarh and ordered that if Mandalik came forward with submission, they should not interfere in any with his country otherwise his country would be plundered. When Rai Mandalik heard about the arrival of Sultan's army, he

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1. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 143. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 18.
  2. Sikandar op. cit. p. 119.
  3. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 144.
  4. Ibid.

immediately submitted and sent the canopy and other golden ornaments with the fixed amount of tribute. The army returned and the Sultan distributed these ornaments among his court dancers and singers.<sup>1</sup>

Sultan Mehmud reduced the power of the Rai of Junagarh. by making repeated attacks against him. In 1469 A.D. he sent one more expedition to ravage the country of Sorath.<sup>2</sup> Now Sultan Mehmud was completely prepared to conquer Junagarh and was waiting for an opportunity to attack. This opportunity came to him when Rai Mandalik kidnaped Manmohini the beautiful wife of Vishal (Wazir of Rai). The ravangeful wazir advised his master to replace the old provision with fresh stock. While this operation was underway the wazir informed Sultan Mehmud about the empty store and invited him to attack Junagarh.<sup>3</sup> At the end of 1469 A.D. Sultan attacked Junagarh.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 120; Farishta op. cit., p. 197. According to Haji-ad-Dabir Mehmud Shah wrote a letter to Rao Mandalik forbidding him to use insignia of royalty and the Rao accepted it, p. 19.
  2. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p.145. Sikandar op. cit., p.p. 120-21.
  3. Sikandar op. cit., pp. 122-23.
  4. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 86; Nizamuddin op. cit., p. 146 Sikandar, p. 120-21.

Before this final invasion Sultan distributed five crores Tankas of gold and silver among his soldiers including two thousand and five hundred Turki, Iraqi and Arab horses, five thousand Jeweled swords and two thousand daggers and seven hundred Jeweled belts.<sup>1</sup> When Sultan reached Sorath, Rai met him personally and stated that he had remitted the tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal of the Sultan. He also agreed to pay whatever amount of tribute if the Sultan would withdraw his army.<sup>2</sup> But the Sultan did not agree and expressed his objective of introducing Islam in the country Sorath and offered the Rai the choice between the sword and Islam.<sup>3</sup> The Rai found himself in a dilemma and remained silent. Haji-ad-Dabir writes that Sultan said the Rai " you are now in my protection. You need not feel any fear or damage; go back to your fort and think twice as to which is a better course for you." <sup>4</sup> The Rai returned the fort of Junagarh. Next day the Sultan moved forward and encamped close to the citadel of Junagarh and besieged it.

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 9a, Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 146.
  2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 9a, Sikandar op. cit., p. 146, Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 146.
  3. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 19, Commissariat Vol. I op. cit., p. 167.
  4. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 19.

After a hard fighting, Rai Mandalik prayed for mercy. He surrendered the fort of Junagarh and himself took shelter in the fort of Girnar.<sup>1</sup> After some days when Rai found no alternative came down and handed up the keys of the fortress to the Sultan.

The conquest of Junagarh was celebrated for many days by beating the drums.<sup>2</sup> Rai Mandalik embraced Islam and was given the title of Khan-i-Jahan.<sup>3</sup>

In order to secure and consolidate his conquest Mehmud Begarah remained for a considerable time at Junagarh and devoted his time to improving its beauty. He gave it the name of Mustafabad. To propagate the tenets of Islam,

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 122; Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 9b; Parishta op. cit., p. 198; Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 147.
  2. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 20.
  3. Sharfuddin writes that Rai embraced Islam due to the effect of the Sultan's pleasant manners and praise-worthy morals.

With the above mentioned reason Sikandar gives another version of the story of conversion. One day Rai went to Rasulabad where his holiness Shah Alam lived. He was many horses and elephants and men assembled there and inquired what amir lived there. He was that his holiness Shah Alam resided there. He was converted by him, op. cit., p. 123.

Sultan Mehmud invited holy Saiyads and men of learned in doctrins of the faith from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence in Sorath.<sup>1</sup>

By founding Mustafabad Sultan Mehmud fulfilled his two objects. First he neutralized the strength of the Rajputs who were very powerful there and second he made a centre for the propagation of Islam throughout the peninsula.

#### Kutch Expedition:

In 1471 A.D. Sultan Mehmud led a successful expedition against the country of Kutch. He defeated its ruler and established peace on the condition of the payment of heavy tribute.<sup>2</sup> There was no economic cause behind this expedition because the soil of this country was not fertile. Its water was salty, therefore the land was not capable of cultivation. This invasion was motivated only by the religious zeal because the Sultan was interested to introduce Islam in this country. To spread the Islam, he took some of their chiefs with him to Mustafabad to teach the tenets of Islam.<sup>3</sup>

The Sultan did not annex this country and left it as a tributary state because it was too far to be administered. He considred it a foolishness to keep a strong army in that country which produced nothing.

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 25.

2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 106. Farishta op. cit. p.199.

3. Ibid.

Conquest of the part of Jagat:

In May 1473 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Mehmud Begarah led an expedition against the port of Jagat<sup>2</sup> and the Island of Beyt Shankodhar<sup>3</sup> which was still now under the possession of Hindu Rajput rulers. There were three causes behind the expedition of the port of Jagat. Firstly he wanted to expand his dominion. His plan to bring the whole of the peninsula of Sorath under his control could not be completed without the annexation of the port of Jagat. It was situated on the boundary of Sorath. Therefore it could impose a danger for the Sultan's new conquest of Junagarh and could be a centre for the rebellious activities against the Sultan of Gujarat.

Secondly Gujarat's trade which was the backbone of its economy was in danger because of the robbery and piracy.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Nizamuddin Ahmed op. cit., p. 150; Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 23.
  2. In Tarikh-i-Gujarat, Mirat-i-Sikandari and Tabqati Akbari this port is written Jagat and in Arabic History of Gujarat it is written as Dwarka which was the centre of worship of lord Krishna and used by the hindu of all over India, p. 23.
  3. In Farikh-i-Gujarat this Island is mentioned as Beyt, p. 11b. In Mirat-i-Sikandari it is mentioned Shankodhar p. 129.
  4. Sikandar op. cit., p. 129.

This Island had salty water therefore the agricultural production was not possible and therefore the main source of the livelihood of its inhabitants became robbery. To protect its seatrade from this, it was necessary to conquer the port of Jagat.

The immediate cause for the Sultan's march against the port of Jagat was a complaint by Mulla Mehmaud Samarqandi who was plundered and his women was kept by the pirates. Mulla returned with his two sons and approached the Sultan who promised to help him.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the above mentioned reasons Sultan attacked the port of Jagat. The infidels fled from Jagat and reached to Island of Beyt Shankodhar. Sultan with his army reached the Island and attacked the fort of Beyt Shankodhar. Raja Bhim fled from the fort of Beyt Shankodhar but he was captured by the Sultan's army.<sup>2</sup> Having arrived in Mustafabad, Sultan called Maulana and delivered him his wife. He entrusted Raja Bhim to Maulana and asked him to punish Raja in whatever manner he wanted. Shrfuddin writes that at the order of Maulana Raja Bhim was dragged to Ahmadabad near Muhafiz Khan where he was slaughtered.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 11b. Sikandar op. cit., pp.128-29. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p.150
  2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 12a. Sikandar op. cit., p. 130. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit. p. 152.
  3. Sharfuddin op. cit. p. 12a. Sikandar writes that Raja was dragged around the city of Ahmadabad and then his body was cut into pieces at the instance of Maulana pp. 130-31.

With the conquest of Jagat the boundary of the Gujarat Kingdom touched the shores of the Arabian sea on the West.

#### Conquest of Champaner:

After the subjugation of the whole peninsula Sultan Mehmud diverted his attention towards the other side. Now he wished to conquer Champaner which was on the boundary of Gujarat and Malwa. During the reign of Mehmud Begarah Champaner was held by the strong and powerful Rajput ruler Rai Sanahi. The strength of his army was sixty thousand<sup>1</sup>. He had made an alliance with the ruler of Malwa against the ruler of Gujarat. This proved a great danger for Mehmud Begarah and he realized that the conquest of Champaner was absolutely necessary. During the time when Mehmud Begarah was settling Junagarh affairs, the Rai of Champaner tried to organise a revolt in Baroda and Dabhoi which proved unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup>

Before conquering Champaner, Mehmud Begarah carried out his tried practice of ravaging the country in order to reduce the power of the ruler of Champaner. In the year 1482 A.D. in consequence of an unusually severe drought that prevailed in Gujarat, thousands perished owing to the scarcity of grain. The Sultan's officer Malik Sudha in

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1. Farishta op. cit., p. 201.

2. Sikandar op. cit. p. 125, Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 20.



the Bagulabad territory carried out a plundering raid in Champaner country in search of supplies. When he came near the fort, the Rai of Champaner came out and attacked him. The Malik was defeated and many of his men were killed and two elephants and some horses belonging to the Sultan were seized by the Rai.<sup>1</sup> This incident became a pretext for Sultan Mehmud to invade the Champaner. The Sultan considered that the time was favourable for the conquest of Champaner. His armies were also eager to invade Champaner as it meant an escape from a region of famine to one in which food and other provisions were more easily available.

The Sultan set out on the march towards Champaner and when arrived at the town of Baroda, he was met by several envoys from the Raja of Champaner who offered peace terms and submitted that both the elephants which had been wounded, had become disabled; but he was willing to send two other elephants loaded with gold. The Sultan did not accept the terms and declared that negotiation could take place only by the swords and daggers.<sup>2</sup> Now Sultan advanced towards the fort of Champaner and besieged it. The helpless ruler of Champaner sent his minister Sur to Sultan Ghiasuddin Khalji of Malwa and asked for help promising to pay one lakh

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 135. Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 158; Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 26.
  2. Sikandar op. cit. p. 135; Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., pp. 158-9.

of Tankas for every stage in the march of his army.<sup>1</sup> The ruler of Malwa agreed immediately to the offer and marched to the help the Champaner forces and encamped in the town of Malchah. When this news reached the Sultan Mehmud, he left a portion of his army to continue the seige, and himself marched with a large army and encamped at Dohad which was on the frontier between Gujarat and Malwa. Mehmud Khalji considered it unwise to face such a powerful ruler. He therefore used the excuse of having to consult the Ulamas about his assistance to the Rai of Champaner against a muslim ruler. The Ulamas prohibited him for doing so and Mehmud Khalji immediately went back to Mandu.<sup>2</sup>

The retreat of the ruler of Malwa confirmed the victory of Mehmud Begarah. When he returned from Dohad, he constructed a Jama Mosque<sup>3</sup> at Champaner which was the symbol of his firm determination to conquer the fort of Champaner.

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 15a.  
Sikandar op. cit., p. 136.  
Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit. p. 160.
  2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 15a.  
Sikandar op. cit., p. 136.  
Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 160.  
Farishta op. cit., p. 202.  
Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 26.
  3. Ibid.

After hard fighting of long duration on Nov. 21, 1484 Mehmud Shah achieved victory and his army entered the fort.<sup>1</sup> The army slaughtered many hindus. Rai Banahi and his brother Dungarsi were wounded seriously and became prisoners of the Sultan. Both wounded prisoners were brought to Sultan. The Sultan asked the Raja as to why he continued to fight for so long. The Raja replied boldly that his family had been in the possession of this territory for very long, and that by losing it he would bring disgrace to his family.<sup>2</sup> Sultan entrusted the Raja of Champaner and his brother Dungarsi to Muhafiz Khan for healing their wounds. After some time when Muhafiz Khan informed Sultan that their wounds had healed, the Sultan ordered to brought them before him. He asked them to accept Islam but they refused. In consultation with the Ulama in 890 A.H./1485 A.D. Sultan gave the order for their execution and thus closed the chapter of the Champaner dynasty.

After the conquest of Champaner Sultan Mehmud founded a new city there and gave it the name of Muhammadabad. The foundation of Muhammadabad protected the Kingdom of Gujarat from the danger of aggressive attacks of the Malwa rulers.

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit. p. 15b., Sikandar op. cit., p. 136.  
Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 161.  
Farishta op. cit., p. 202.
  2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 15b.

He also constructed the unique citadel of Jahanpanah and laid out beautiful gardens. The charge of the city of Muhammadabad was entrusted to Muhafiz Khan.<sup>1</sup>

#### Conquest of the fort of Bhamer:

Bhamer had a strategic position on the regular route from Gujarat to Deccan during the Sultanate period.

The fort was conquered by Imadul Mulk Isan Sultani, but the date of its conquest is not given in any Persian source book. Our inscriptional sources inform us that the fort of Bhamer was conquered in 1481-2 A.D. by Imadul Mulk.<sup>2</sup>

#### Conquest of Jalor:

Our contemporary Persian sources do not inform us about the conquest of Jalor by Mehmud Begarah excepting the following anecdote. Before the conquest of Champaner Mehmud Begarah despatched Imadul Mulk to Jalor and Sanchor to conquer it. Kasim Khan was sent with him. At the end of the first day's march they made their stay near the shrine of Sheikh Haji Zakariya. Here Mujahid Khan son of Khudwanda Khan, with his cousin Sahib Khan entered the

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 15b, Sikandar op. cit., p. 137, Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 162.

2. E.I.A.P.S. 1972, p. 28.

Kaisar Khan's tent and murdered him.<sup>1</sup> But by this story we do not find any information whether Mehmud Shah conquered Jalor or not.

Some inscriptions confirm<sup>m</sup> the conquest of Jalor and Sanchor by Mehmud Begarah. It is clear by the inscriptions that Jalor was not conquered at the time of above mentioned expedition. It was conquered after the conquest of Champaner in another expedition. The charge of the shiq of Jalor was given to Malik Buddhan son of Salar entitled Hablul Mulk in 1506 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

#### Administration:

The civil administration of Mehmud Begarah was very good. He constructed many sarais and inns for the comfort of travellers. He also constructed many mosques and colleges for the public utility.<sup>3</sup> He chalked out a plan of planting the trees on the road side for the comfort of travellers

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 13b, Mizamuddin Ahmad op. cit. p. 157, Farishta op. cit., p. 201, Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 25.
  2. E.I.A.P.S. 1974 p. 35, After the conquest of the port of Jagat, Mehmud Shah divided his country into separate divisions as Sonkhir, Kodhra, Beyat and Jagat, Kiz(Mais), Ahmadabad and Mustafabad. At this time we do not find any division of Jalor.
  3. Sikandar op. cit., p. 101.

and encouraged the people for this work by giving the awards. Sikandar writes that if in any town or village he saw an empty shop or a house in ruins, he would ask the owner the reason, and if necessary, would provide what amount was needed for its restoration.<sup>1</sup>

Mohmud Begarah was a great politician. He followed the practice of frequently transferring his amirs, so that there was no time for them to organise any kind of rebellion against him.<sup>2</sup>

In his judicial administration he was an absolute monarch and could tolerate no opposition. In one case we find that he punished his favourite nobles Malik Haji and Kalu and their property was included as part of Khalsa land<sup>3</sup>

He became a powerful Sultan due to his well organised army. He made a four years plan to expand his army. By this plan he assigned the whole revenues of Gujarat for the upkeep

1. Ibid., p. 105.

2. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 12, Farishta op. cit., p. 200 Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., p. 153, After the conquest of Jagat when Sultan Mehmud found that the Amirs were tired of the continual expeditions, and due to change their residence from Ahmadabad to Mustafabad and were in a mood to rebel. He therefore made some appointment of the Amirs to divert their attention so that they have no leisure to organize to rebel.

3. Sikandar op. cit., p. 114, He is said to have administered poison to his own son for the lack of morality. Sikandar op. cit., p. 169.

of his army and gave up his own crown villages for four years as a contribution towards the enlarged expenses of the army, defraying his personal expenses from the treasure left by the former Sultans. He spent two third of all the treasure on rewards and food supplies for the army during these four years.<sup>1</sup> He ordered that none of his soldiers should borrow money at the interest. He appointed a separate treasurer who was responsible to give advances to the needy soldier and recover them according to arrangement. He used to say " If the Muslamans borrow money at interest how shall they be able to fight." <sup>2</sup> He made order that the land of every amir or soldier who died remain under the control of his son, in the case of those having no male issue; half of their land would go to their daughters and if he had no daughter a certain allowance would be given to the dependants of the deceased.<sup>3</sup> His army had increased so much that in the last year of his reign it consisted one lakh soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 112-113.

2. Sikandar op. cit., p. 104.

3. Ibid.

4. Zafrul Walih bi Muzaffar Walih Vol.I op. cit., p. XXXIII. Introduction.

Sultan Mehmud had also a strong naval force. He always kept battleships in readiness at different ports of strategic importance. By this naval force Mehmud Begarah conquered the port of Jagat and defeated Malabari pirates.<sup>1</sup> The naval force of Gujarat during this time was its greatest strength. This is testified by the fact that even the portuguese could not face this force and were defeated in 1507 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

On account of the above mentioned conquests and administration of Mehmud Begarah we reach the conclusion that this Sultan was the best of the Gujarat Sultans as a ruler as a warrior and dispenser of justice. It was the reign of Mehmud Begarah when the Sultanate of Gujarat was acknowledged as an independent Kingdom by the Sultan of Delhi. The Delhi Sultan sent the Sultan of Gujarat some presents as a token of friendship which testified the independent status of the ruler of Gujarat.<sup>3</sup>

The another of Tarikh-i-Gujarat compares his sovereign Mehmud Begarah with his name sake Mehmud of Ghazne. He writes that Sultan Mehmud also had a slave know as

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1. Sikandar op. cit., p. 131.
  2. Ibid., p. 148, Sharfuddin op. cit., p.19b  
Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit., p. 34.  
Shamsuddin op. cit., pp. 97-98.
  3. Shamsuddin op. cit., pp. 102-3, Sharfuddin op. cit.,  
p.196, Nizamuddin Ahmad op. cit., pp. 171-2.



Ayaz-i-Sultani but he had no Firdousi who could write the Sultan-namah in imitation of Shahnamah,<sup>1</sup> Sikandar writes that like Changez Khan, he was never defeated.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary persian sources tended to neglect his weaknesses and defeats and glorified his success. For example we find no mention on of his defeat at the hands of the portuguese in 1509, which has been documented only by European sources.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sharfuddin op. cit., p. 20a.

2. Sikandar op. cit., p. 104.

3. F.C. Danvers, "The Portuguese in India" London 1894 pp. 199-200.  
R.S. Whiteway, The rise of Portuguese Power in India London 1916, p. 124.

## CHAPTER - IV

### LIFE AND CONDITIONS IN THE REIGN OF SULTAN MEHMUD BEGARAH

Since the early times Gujarat being a coastal State had enjoyed the privilege of being visited by foreign travellers, merchants and scholars. Therefore, it had contact with men of different languages. During the medieval period in Gujarat, Arabic, Turkish, Gujarati,<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit<sup>2</sup> and Persian<sup>3</sup> languages were spoken by the Gujaratis.

The dress of the Gujaratis men consisted of a long shirt, jacket, turban and trousers,<sup>4</sup> while the dress of women included a shirt, trousers and scarf.<sup>5</sup> In public places the Muslim

1. Durate Barbosa, The Book of Durate Barbosa Vol.I tr. Mansel Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, London 1918 p. 121.
2. We find some inscriptions of the 14th and 15th century in which either Sanskrit or old Gujarati was employed along with Persian which were used to convey the public royal orders or instructions and often occurred in works of public utility.  
Z.A. Desai, " Persian and Arabic Epigraphy of Gujarat and their Historical Significance" Lecture Delivered in the History Department of M.S. University, Baroda 1980 p.75, unpublished.
3. With the establishment of the Turkish rule in Gujarat Persian came into existence. In the inscriptions of 14th Century we find Persian along with the Arabic language, but this is sporadic. With the emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat Persian reached its prime position.
4. S.A. Nadvi, Gujarat ki Tamuddani Tarikh, Azam Garh, 1962 p.184. Sultan used to wear a special turban which consisted of a diamond in the centre. Nadvi op. cit, p.185.
5. Ibid.

women used burqa and the Hindus wrapped themselves up in long garments (Chadar) covering their heads.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa gives the description of the dresses of the Hindu merchants of Chawal saying that some wore a shirt and went naked with a cloth round their middle, and nothing on their feet or head.<sup>2</sup> Some Hindus of Cambay used to grow very long hair like women, twist it up on the head into knots and wear turbans over it. They were fond of wearing ornaments.<sup>3</sup> Both Hindus and Muslims used to wear flowers in their hair.<sup>4</sup> The nobles or the people of high families were fond of wearing precious garments. Even the servants of nobles used to wear expensive cloths like Zarbagf and Makhmal. Sikandar writes that the sweeper of Malik Ayaz (noble) used to wear good quality clothes named Chiken and Sagarlat.<sup>5</sup>

The Gujarat Muslims used to eat the meat of all kinds except those forbidden by Islam. Besides meat they used to eat bread, rice, vegetables and fruits.<sup>6</sup> The Hindus did not eat the meat of any animal. They prepared their dishes with vegetables and fruits.<sup>7</sup> Khichri (a mixture of rice and pulse)

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1. Barbosa, op. cit, p. 114.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.113

4. Ibid, p. 141.

5. Sikandar op. cit, p.143.

6. Barbosa op. cit, p. 121.

7. Ibid, pp. 111-112.

was the favourite dish of the Gujaratis, both Hindu and Muslims. Shakrana (a mixture of rice, sugar and ghee) was the other favourite dish of the people of Gujarat.<sup>1</sup> The nobles and the people of high families got their meals prepared in Turkish and Persian fashion.<sup>2</sup> Dinner was followed by pan and applying of scents.<sup>3</sup> The Gujaratis were extremely fond of chewing the pan. This is testified by the fact that during the reign of Mehmud Begarah, Bahadar Gilani of the Deccan blocked the trade route of Cambay and betelnuts could not be imported from the other countries, the Gujaratis started to use the seeds of date instead of betelnuts.<sup>4</sup> Sultan Mehmud was also fond of chewing the pan.<sup>5</sup> Wine drinking was common among the elite.<sup>6</sup> Mehmud Begarah used to take the poison for intoxication.<sup>7</sup> Sikandar gives some interesting details about the meals of

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1. Nadvi op. cit p., 182.

2. Sikandar op. cit p. 143.

3. Ibid. Sikandar writes that Malik Ayaz (the noble) used to order his servants to blow a trumpet which was the signal for everybody who was hungry to present himself at the table cloth. From the head to the foot the table was served in a impartially equal style. PP. 142-143.

4. Sikandar op. cit p. 145.

5. Varthema, Itinerary of Varthema, London 1928, p.108.

6. Sikandar op. cit pp. 209-210.

7. Varthema op. cit p. 108<sup>110</sup>, According to a Barbosa, Mehmud, from his childhood, had nourished on some poison so that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately lay dead. Barbosa op. cit p. 122.

Sultan Mehmud. He writes that " The quantity of food he used to eat was one Gujarati maund, the seer of which consisted of fiteen Behlulis. After taking his regular meal, he used to take five seers of parched rice as dessert and at the time of retiring to rest he used to order two plates of samosas to be placed on each sides of his bed, of which he used to sup whenever he used to get up from his sleeping during the night. Immediately on getting up and saying his prayers, he used to breakfast of Mecca honey, a cup of ghee and one hundred and fifty golden plantains.<sup>1</sup>

The houses of people depended on their social and economic class. The poor people could afford their houses only with tiles but rich people could build with brick, lime and other precious things.<sup>2</sup> Some people used to prepare the foundations of stone, and of considerable breadth, while the walls had hollow spaces between.<sup>3</sup> Teak wood was specially used for the roof of the houses.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 96.

2. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari Vol.II, Naval Kishore Lucknow 1881, p. 114.

3. Ibid

4. Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol.I, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1927, p.18.

The religious rites of the Hindus included the worship of idols, phenomena of nature and coins.<sup>1</sup> The customs of Sati<sup>2</sup> and Jauhar<sup>3</sup> were prevalent among the Hindus. The Muslims had the tradition that when a child was born, the azan was recited into his ears. At the time of the death grains and cash were distributed as a token of respect to the memory of deceased person.<sup>4</sup> One inscription dated 1389 A.D. at Mangrol indicates that the practice of the recitation of the Quran for the salvation of the deceased person which was called Khatma-i-Quran was in popular practice during this period.<sup>5</sup> People used to visit the shrines of saints to receive their blessings. There they

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1. L. Sternbach, "Gujarat as known to medieval Europe", Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1944, p. 294.
  2. Nicolo Conti, India in the fifteenth Century ed. R.H. Major, London 1974, p.6.
  3. Haji-ad-Dabir op. cit p. 27, Nizamuddin Ahmad, op. cit p. 161.
  4. Z.A. Desai, "Mirat-i-Sikandari as a source for the study of Cultural and Social Conditions of Gujarat under Sultanate," Journal of the oriental institute Vol.10, No.3. M.S. university Baroda 1961, p. 265.
  5. Z.A. Desai, "Persian and Arabic Epigraphy of Gujarat and the Historical Significance," op. cit p. 75.

prepared food and offered at the shrines.<sup>1</sup>

During the medieval period teachers used to impart the education in Madarsas. Besides the institutions some teachers used to teach the children on the road side under the shadow of trees.<sup>2</sup> Probably these children had poor parents who could not admit their children in the Madarsas. During this period mostly Islamic education was given to the children Hafiza-i-Quran was popular among the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

The Muslims were allowed to marry as many wives as they could maintain. Husbands could divorce their wives by paying a certain amount which was fixed at the time of marriage called 'Mahar'.<sup>4</sup> Among the Hindus the men and women used to marry at very young age. According to their social customs Brahmins and Banias could have only one wife but Rajputs were allowed more than one.<sup>5</sup>

The people were fond of playing, singing and dancing. Polo and chess were the popular games during 15th century. Even the nobles and Sultan used to play these games. In the reign of Mehmud Begarah Khudwand Khan Alim had no equal

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1. Z.A. Desai, Journal of the oriental institute op. cit p. 263.

2. Sikandar op. cit p. 152.

3. Sikandar, op. cit p.p. 208-209.

4. Barbosa op. cit, pp. 120-121.

5. Nicolo Conti op. cit. p. 20.

in polo.<sup>1</sup> Sultan Mehmud was fond of singing and dancing. In his reign musicians and dancers were given financial assistance by the State. When Mehmud Begarah acquired precious ornaments from the Rai of Junagarh, he distributed these among the court dancers and singers.<sup>2</sup> Mehmud Begarah's interest in music is testified by the fact that a violen was made specially for him.<sup>3</sup> In the Hindu families guests were entertained by singing and dancing at the time of marriages.<sup>4</sup>

Hunting was another favourite pastime of the people of this period. They used to hunt tigers, elephants and catch fishes. Sultans were also fond of hunting. They established a separate department of hunting. The officer of this department was called Amir-i-Shikari.<sup>5</sup> In the reign of Mehmud Begarah Moramli, Rajpipla and Sorath were the main hunting places.<sup>6</sup>

Gujarat emerged as one of the richest Kingdom in Hindustan during fifteenth century. Several factors helped its rise. Being a penunsula it had developed a chain of excellent ports along with the coast<sup>7</sup> and became a centre of

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1. Sikandar op. cit p. 165.
  2. Sikandar op. cit p. 120, Farishta Vol.II, op. cit p.197.
  3. Sikandar op. cit p. 141.
  4. Barbosa op. cit p. 117.
  5. Nadvi op. cit p. 42.
  6. Ibid.
  7. The coastal line was from Somnath Pattan (the northern parts of Kathiawar) up to Konkan (South of to-day's Bombay).



oversea trade. Secondly to a large extent Gujarat's socio economic growth was shaped by its natural resources.

#### Agricultural and Non Agricultural Production:

Abul Fazl writes that in Gujarat only Jowar and Bajra were produced and wheat, rice with many other food grains were imported from neighboring regions.<sup>1</sup> However, we have the statement of the European Traveller Barbosa who visited Gujarat in 1513 A.D.<sup>2</sup>, attested to the cultivation along the coastal region of wheat barley, millet, rice, vegetables and many other fruits which were produced to feed its large population and to be exported. This suggests that cultivation was confined mostly to the fertile coastal belt.

Gujarat's cash crops included cotton, indigo and opium. Its other export commodities were spikenard, myroblans, lac, insence, tutenag, borax, carnelian and timber.<sup>3</sup>

Although Gujarat was a prosperous State even prior to the 15th century, the Sultans of Gujarat made successful efforts to develop the economy and resources of the Kingdom and it become a power to contend with the subcontinent. In the words of Denison Ross " The Sultans of Gujarat were autocrats but they ruled their Kingdom with benevolence. They strove hard for progress and advancement of the Kingdom. Gujarat was the most prosperous Kingdom in India under the beginning rule (Sultanate). They founded cities, constructed

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1. Abul Fazl op. cit, p. 114.

2. Barbosa, op. cit, pp.154-55.

3. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat Delhi 1968, p.2.

buildings, rare architectural beauty, encouraged agriculture and gardening by importing flower and fruit bearing plants, promoted commerce and industry, increased international trade, maintained diplomatic relations with foreign countries, built boats and ships, expanded territory, administered the Kingdom with justice and equity and raised the states of Gujarat".<sup>1</sup>

In particular the reign of Mehmud Begarah<sup>saw</sup> the expansion and many sided developments of Gujarat, which was in no small measure due to the personal initiative of the Sultan himself.

In order to make the study of the socio-economic condition of Gujarat during the reign of Mehmud Begarah we shall have to take into consideration all the factors that were responsible for its development. This includes the development in agricultural production, urbanization, Industrialization and expansion of trade and commerce.

#### Agriculture and Horticulture:

Mehmud Begarah brought a revolution in the field of agriculture which solved his all economic problems. He devoted considerable attention to agricultural development. In his reign it has been observed that <sup>nearly</sup> all the land was brought under cultivation. We find the result of this

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1. Hajji-ad-Dabir, Zafarul Walih-bi-Muzaffar Wa Alih Vol.I tr. M.F. Lokhand Walah Baroda 1974 p.XXXII (intr.)

enlarged cultivation in the reign of Muzaffar Shah II, the son of Mehmud Begarah. Ali Muhammad the author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi writes that agriculture was encouraged to such an extent that once the inhabitants of a place complained to Muzaffar Shah II that there was no place left untilled for their cattle to graze.<sup>1</sup> Even the soldiers were paid half their salary in the form of a plot of land.<sup>2</sup> In his reign cultivators enjoyed very good position. It is said that corn was never so cheap in Gujarat as it was during the reign of Mehmud Begarah.<sup>3</sup>

Horticulture was a favourite hobby of Mehmud Begarah. He launched an ambitious scheme of laying out gardens, which led to a general improvement in the quality of most of the fruits and flowers. It is said that in his reign many seeds and saplings were imported from various countries.<sup>4</sup> The famous garden of Firdous which was ten miles in length and two miles in breadth and the garden of Shaban were laid out by Mehmud Bagarah.<sup>5</sup>

Horticulture was a pastime of the rich and during this period nobles also took interest in it. Imadul Mulk Asas planted a garden around Asaspur.<sup>6</sup> Sultan Mehmud encouraged

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1. Ali Muhammad Khan, op. cit., p. 72.
  2. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 58.
  3. Ibid, p.104.
  4. Sikandar, op. cit., p.165, During this period seeds of melon and saplings of the fig and of the solid bamboo was imported from Deccan and Bijanagar.
  5. Ibid,,p.105.
  6. Ibid., p. 167.

the culture of fruit trees by giving rewards and therefore the common people also took interest in planting fruit trees. Fruit trees such as pomegranats, Khirins, Jambus, Gulars, Cocoanuts, Bels and Mohwas were grown in Gujarat owing to the interest taken by Sultan Mehmud Begarah in Horticulture.<sup>1</sup>

The laying out of gardens as our evidence suggests, required high technical and artistic skill. A person of Khurasan laidout a special garden for Mehmud Begarah. After this a Gujarati carpenter named Halu laidout an equally beautiful garden apposite the Khurasani garden. Sultan rewarded both men amply for their skill.<sup>2</sup>

#### New Cities:

Mehmud Shah founded many new cities. Mehmudabad<sup>3</sup> near Ahmadabad was founded by him. After the conquest of Junagarh he laid the foundation of a new city and named it Mustafabad.<sup>4</sup> There he constructed many lofty buildings. When he conquered Champaner he laid the foundation of new city Muhammadabad and fortified it.<sup>5</sup> We find the evidence from inscription on the founding of one more city, Mehmud Nagar<sup>6</sup> by Sultan Mehmud

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1. Ibid., p. 105.

2. Ibid., p. 139-40.

3. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 133.

4. Ibid., p. 125.

5. Ibid., p. 137.

6. Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy 1968-69, p.98. It was founded in 1487-88 in the neighbourhood of Dohad.

which however is not mentioned in the Persian source books.

Besides Sultan many nobles also took interest in the foundation of towns and gasbas. The town of Rasulabad was founded in 1507 near Rajkot district by one noble Nizam son of Tamachi Jam.<sup>1</sup> Khudwand Khan Alim founded a new town Alimpur to the south of the city of Ahmadabad.<sup>2</sup> There are many other towns as Daryapur<sup>3</sup> founded by Darya Khan in the north of Ahmadabad, Kalupur founded by Haji Kalu<sup>4</sup>, Asaspur founded by Imadul Mulk Asas<sup>5</sup>, Tajpur founded by Taj Khan<sup>6</sup>, Sarangpur founded by Imadul Mulk Sarang.<sup>7</sup>

#### Industries:

Medieval Gujarat was highly developed in the field of industries. The township of Usmanpur in the vicinity of Ahmadabad contained more than 10,000 of workers employed in various industries.<sup>8</sup> The important industries were of Textiles, Indigo, paper, leather works, stone works and metal works.

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1. Ibid., p. 99.
  2. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 165.
  3. Ibid., p. 166.
  4. Ibid., p. 168.
  5. Ibid., p. 167.
  6. Ibid.,
  7. Ibid., p. 168.
  8. Nadvi, op. cit., p. 196.

### Textiles:

As cotton was the staple crop of Gujarat, the textile industries flourished and cotton cloth was manufactured in great quantity. White Cotton fabrics which were manufactured in Gujarat were of very high quality.<sup>1</sup> Fabrics of mixed cotton and silk was also manufactured here.

Cambay was the centre for the manufacture of both cotton and silk stuffs. We have Varthema's evidence which link Cambay's prosperity with its cotton and silk manufacture. He says that from Cambay every year forty or fifty vessels were loaded with silk and cotton stuffs for foreign countries.<sup>2</sup> Silk stuffs such as coloured velvets, satin and taffeties were manufactured here and exported to other countries.<sup>3</sup> A good quality of cotton muslin was woven in Cambay. In Cambay different types of clothes such as Talach (long gown half cotton and half silk), kiota (blanket) Khan (a sort of satin) were also manufactured here.<sup>4</sup> Silk camlets of good quality and carpets of great thickness were also manufactured in Cambay.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Marcopolo " The Trevels of Marcopolo" New York, 1930 pp. 306-7, Marcopolo writes that in Gujarat the cotton plants were of two varieties. The first type of cotton was of a coarse quality and it could not be spun, it was only for quilting. The second type of cotton was suitable for muslins and other manufactures of extraordinary fineness, Barbosa, op. cit., p. 141.
  2. Varthema, op. cit., p. 110.
  3. Barbosa, op. cit., 141.
  4. Nikitin, India in the fifteenth century, op. cit., p.19.
  5. Barbosa, op. cit., pp. 129-141.

Coloured cotton or calicos manufactured at Cambay was of extraordinary fineness. Due to its proximity to the areas where indigo of high quality was produced, the cloths from various parts of India were brought for dying in blue and black colours.<sup>1</sup> Calicos of good quality was also manufactured at Broach which is testified with the statement of Tavernier that River Narbada at Broach was widely renowned for centuries as possessing a peculiar property for bleaching Calicos.<sup>2</sup>

#### Indigo Industries:

Sarkhej near Cambay was the great centre for indigo production; <sup>it</sup> was manufactured in the form of blue stone colour at Cambay.<sup>3</sup> This refined indigo was exported to the foreign countries.<sup>4</sup>

#### Leather Works:

In Gujarat wild cattles were found in great abundance, thus the production of leather and dressing of skins became an important occupation of Gujaratis. Skins of animals were dressed here and vessels were loaded with them which were sent to different Arab countries.<sup>5</sup> Extremely delicate and

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1. Tavernier, "Travels in India" Vol. I, tr. V. Ball London 1889, p.66.
  2. Ibid., also see Vol. II p. 6.
  3. Nikitin, op. cit., p. 19, Marco polo op. cit., p. 308.
  4. Barbosa op. cit., pp. 154-55.
  5. Marco Polo, op. cit., p.306.

soft coverlets for beds were made of red and blue leather which were stiched with gold and silver threads.<sup>1</sup> They (Gujaratis) were expert in making beautiful red and blue leather exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts.<sup>2</sup>

#### Metal Works:

Gujaratis were expert in metal work. Copper, quick silver, vermellion, lead alum, madder, gold and silver were imported from Mecca, Aden and other parts of Arab countries.<sup>3</sup> Gujaratis artisans used this metal in manufacturing ornaments, embroidered and damascand work. The gold and silver thread embroidery of Gujarat was considered of the finest in India.<sup>4</sup> Leather articles were also stiched with gold and silver thread.<sup>5</sup> Cushions were ornamented here with gold and silver thread.<sup>6</sup>

#### Stone Works:

Precious stones like carnelians, calcedony and sardonixes were found in Gujarat. From these stones ornaments were made of diverse fashions. Hilts of short swords and daggars were also made from these precious stones.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Ibid., p. 307.

2. George M. Moraes, "Marco Polo and his contribution to the knowledge of India", Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1944, p. 293.

3. Barbosa, op. cit., p. 130.

4. Marco Polo, op. cit., p. 306.

5. Ibid., p. 307.

6. Ibid.

7. Barbosa op. cit., p. 144.



### Paper Industry:

During fifteenth century Gujarat manufactured good quality paper. Nicolo Conti mentions that when he visited India in 15th century, palm leaves were used for writing in other parts of India while the inhabitants of Cambay used paper.<sup>1</sup> This means that in the fifteenth century paper industries were established in Gujarat. The various manuscripts of the medieval period confirm the establishment of the paper industries in Gujarat.

Ahmadabad was the centre for paper manufacture.<sup>2</sup> Besides Ahmadabad, Cambay and Pattan also produced good quality paper. Paper made at Pattan was known as Patani paper. Brown paper was manufactured for the business community.<sup>3</sup>

Gujarat artisans were also expert in many other works. The horn of rhinoceros was a precious commodity which was used for the manufacturing of necklaces and ornaments. These horns were also used for making barrels, carrying water on journey.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Nicolo Conti, op. cit., p. 13.

2. S.A.K. Ghauri and Rehman, "Paper Technology in medieval India" Indian Journal of History Science, 1966 p. 138.

3. Ibid.

4. Nikitin, op. cit., p. 20.

### Trade and Commerce:

Trade and commerce was the backbone of the prosperity of medieval Gujarat. Especially in the reign of Mehmud Begarah the trade was flourished very much. In his reign there were eighty four ports in Gujarat. This fact was recognized even by the powerful Sultan of Delhi, Sikandar Lodi who used to say that while the power of the King of Delhi rested on wheat and Jawar, the foundation of the Kingdom of Gujarat rested on corals, pearls as there were eighty four ports under the Sultan of Gujarat.<sup>1</sup>

The trade and shipping in Gujarat was mainly in the hands of foreign merchants Chiefly Arabs. Besides Arabs there were other Muslim merchants of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Alexandria, Damascus and many parts of the north India.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the arrival of Varthema in 1507 A.D. four hundred Turkish merchants were residing in the great port of Div.<sup>3</sup> There were also many local merchants, both Hindu and Muslims. Barbosa mentioned that in the port of Rander there

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1. Ali Muhammad, op. cit., p. 27.

2. Barbosa op. cit., p. 120. Some inscriptions inform us that in the 14th century there were Irani merchants of different nisbas as Al-Sammi, Al-Qazwini, Al-Irbili, Al-Hamadani and Al-Kazruni. One nisba of Iraq, Al-Basri was also settled in Gujarat. ESI.A.P.S. 1971, pp. 5, 7, 13, 15, 40, 45.

3. Varthema, op. cit., p. 92.

were all the local Muslim merchants.<sup>1</sup> In Rander there was one community of Muslim merchants called Lakariya<sup>2</sup> who was engaged in the trade<sup>of</sup> timber. The local Hindu merchants were called Banias.<sup>3</sup>

In 1507 A.D. Varthema observed that three hundred ships of different countries would reach the port of Cambay every year.<sup>4</sup> Thus it can be said that in the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century Gujarat was the major centre of active commercial activity.

Among the food crops wheat was imported from Malwa and Ajmer and rice from Deccan.<sup>5</sup> Among the commercial commodities some spices as cardamom, pepper, cinamon mace, nutmegs and cloves and other things as wax, sugar (Jagra) cocoanuts were imported from Malabar.<sup>6</sup> A large quantity of cinamon was also imported from Colombo.<sup>7</sup> Sugar called Jagra (palm sugar) and cocoanuts were also imported from North India.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Barbosa op. cit., p. 146.
  2. E.I.A.P.S., 1971, p. 24.
  3. Barbosa, op. cit., p. 115.
  4. Varthema, op. cit., p. 111.
  5. Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 114.
  6. Barbosa, op. cit., pp. 128-29, 137.
  7. Danvers, F.C. Portuguese in India Vol.I London 1894, p. 124.
  8. Barbosa, op. cit., p. 127. Though in North India cocconut was not produced in abundance but Barbosa's evidence testified that North Indian merchants brought cocoanuts in Gujarat and took in return cotton, horses and many other things.

*Metals*

Mehtab such as copper, quick silver, vermillion, lead, alum, madder, gold and silver were imported from Mecca and Aden.<sup>1</sup>

The major import among cash crops was raw silk. Sericulture was not practiced in Gujarat because neither land nor the climate was favourable for its production. From the earliest time Gujarat was dependent on Chinese material of raw silk.<sup>2</sup> Chinese procelain also formed a luxury item of import in Gujarat during this period.<sup>3</sup>

The principal exports of Gujarat were raw cotton and textiles. The other major exports were precious stones, indigo and hides.<sup>4</sup> Ornaments of diverse fashion made from precious stones were in great demand in Arabia, Persia, Portugal and in north India.<sup>5</sup> Minor exports consisted of gingelly oil, worm-wood, incense, opium and certain other drugs and medicinal products unknown to Europeans but which were greatly esteemed by the people of Malacca and China.<sup>6</sup>

The province of Gujarat possessed thick forests rich in many varieties of wood. Thus the timber became an important commodity of export from Gujarat which was used

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1. Barbosa op. cit., p. 130. See also Marco Polo pp.307-8.

2. Barbosa, op. cit., p. 128.

3. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 164.

4. Marco Polo, op. cit., pp. 306--308.

5. Barbosa, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

6. Ibid., p. 154.

especially for house building and ship building. Teak wood was especially exported for the purpose of ship building.<sup>1</sup>

There were also exports and imports of exotic animals and birds in Gujarat. In Gujarat there were so many horses that Barbosa called it the Kingdom of horses.<sup>2</sup> These horses were exported to other regions such as Malabar and North India in large scale.<sup>3</sup> These horses were not of good breed thus better horses were imported from Arab countries, Iraq, and Turkey.<sup>4</sup> These horses were re-exported to other Indian Kingdoms. Elephants were imported from Malabar. Rhinoceros was wide spread in North India and was exported to Gujarat.<sup>5</sup> Among the birds the common parrot and herons were exported to North India.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Tirmizi, op. cit., p. 2. The ship builders of Arabia carried timber from Gujarat for the purposes of ship building. S. Maqbul Ahmad " Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World. Islamic culture Vol. XXXVIII, No.2, 1964, p. 149.
  2. Barbosa op. cit., p. 119.
  3. Ibid., pp. 127, 137.
  4. Sikandar, op. cit, p. 144.
  5. Shamsuddin, Zamima-i-Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi, transcribed copy of the Ms. Madina Munawara Book No.121, p. 102.
  6. Shamsuddin writes that Sultan Sikandar Lodi (the Sultan of Delhi) sent as a matter of special friendship, one pair of rhinoceros to Sultan Mehmud Begarah and in return he sent some parrots, Arabian horses and herons to Sikandar Lodi, p. 102.

With the above description we can say that during the reign of Mehmud Begarah the prosperity of the country seems to have reached its culminating point. It is said that most of the elegant handicrafts and arts practised in Ahmadabad were introduced under this monarch's protection.<sup>1</sup> It would be fetting to conclude with the observation of Sikandar who compared Gujarat to a perfect man<sup>2</sup> under the reign of Mehmud Begarah. Although this statement is doubtless an exaggerated one, we can nevertheless say that Gujarat under Mehmud Begarah did achieve a level of prosperity which was not attained earlier.

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1. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 140.

2. Ibid.

CHAPTER - V

PROGRESS OF LEARNING AND THE GROWTH OF PERSIAN LITERATURE  
IN THE REIGN OF SULTAN MEHMUD BEGARAH

The establishment of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat gave a great impetus to the progress of learning and literature. The Sultans of Gujarat not only encouraged trade and commerce but patronised equally men of letters and the arts. The last independent Governor of Gujarat, Zafar Khan welcomed those who fled from Delhi during the invasion of Amir Timur in 1398 A.D. to seek the shelter in Gujarat. Gujarat became a heaven for savants and scholars who had fled from Delhi and found much encouragement for the further development of their scholarship.<sup>1</sup> Among these emigrants Shaikh Ahmad Khattu and Qutb-i-Alam deserve special mention.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that this influx must have introduced a new element into the society of Gujarat.

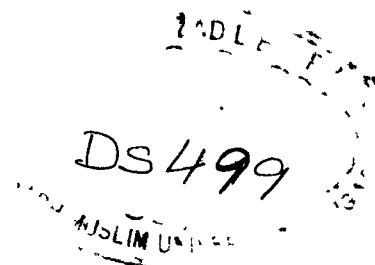
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1. Nizamuddin Ahmad Vol.III, op. cit., p.89.

2. Al-Badauni, Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh Vol.I, Calcutta 1868 p. 270. Our inscriptional sources inform us that before the establishment of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat, many savants of foreign countries visited Gujarat. One Emigrant Shamsuddin Muhammad who died in Cambay on 16th Oct. 1307 A.D. is described on his grave-  
" The savant well-versed in the subtleties of knowledge, the leading teacher and pursuer of truth and the Mufti of the sections and groups." EIAPS 1971, p.9.

The keen interest of the Sultans of Gujarat in the promotion of learning testified through the fact of the establishment of the many madarsas in their reigns. We find that during the reign of Mehmud Begarah many madarsas were running to impart education to the children of the common folk. These madarsas were - madarsa of Sarkhej; Madarsa of Khan Sarwar; Madarsa of Shama Burhani; Madarsa of Mazar of Sheikh Hisamuddin; Madarsa of Qazi Sahib; Madarsa of Sheikh Matta; Madarsa of Shah Alam and Madarsa of Muhammad-bin-Tahir. The above mentioned madarsas were founded by the predecessors of Mehmud Begarah.<sup>1</sup> Sultan Mehmud Begarah also founded many madarsas. Though we do not find any information about any particular madarsa founded by him, his keen interest in the construction of madarsas is testified by the fact that he constructed a madarsa-cum-guest house near Madina gate of Mecca and called it Al-Kambayatiyya after the name of the famous commercial city and port Kambayat (Cambay).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Saiyad Abu Zafar Nadvi, Gujarat-ki-Tamuddani Tarikh Azamgarh 1962, pp. 195-9.
  2. Z.A. Desai, 'India and the near East 13th and 15th centuries' Malik Ram Felicitation Volume Delhi 1972. p. 218. Ibn Fahd, one foreign scholar who enjoyed the patronage of Mehmud Begarah intimates us about this madarsa-cum-guest house.





The Sultans of Gujarat also established many Qutub Khanahs for the progress of learning. Sultan Ahmad Shah established one Shahi Qutub Khanah. In 1451 A.D. Sultan Muhammad Shah distributed the books of this Shahi Qutub-Khanah to the students of the madarsa of Shama Burhani. Madarsa of Shama Burhani also consisted a famous library which had some books of the Shahi Qutub Khanah. Sheikh Ahmad Khattu and Hazrat Shah Alam had their own libraries, consisted many books, which were not available any where else.<sup>1</sup>

The Sultans of Gujarat especially encouraged Islamic education. They invited traditionists from foreign countries. Many great traditionists came to Gujarat from Mecca to teach the Hadith. Sir Demison Ross, writes that Gujarat was the first place in India where the Hadith literature was taught.<sup>2</sup> Many madarsas were founded especially for the purpose of teaching Hadith literature. Maulana Nuruddin Ahmad Shirazi; Jamaluddin Muhammad-bin-Umar-al-Habashi; Jamaluddin Muhammad bin Abdur-Rahim; Jamaluddin Muhammad-bin<sup>n</sup>-Ali and Majid-ud-Din came and settled in Gujarat. Shaikh-al-Muttaki, Shaikh Tayyib Sindhi, Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh Rahmad-ul-lah were the other traditionists who visited Gujarat to teach Hadith

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1. Nadvi op. cit., pp. 218-20.

2. Hafzul-Walih bi Musaffar Walih op. cit., p.KXXII.  
(Introduction)

literature with a view to propagating it.<sup>1</sup> Besides Islamic education there were also other subjects, including Astrology, History and Sciences.<sup>2</sup> There were also many madarsas for the technical education. From these madarsas even the illiterate children could get education. Especially the labourer's children used to get education from these institutions. Consequently they worked in any technical field which they got hold of.<sup>3</sup>

Though Mehmud Begarah was illiterate yet he patronised men of learning. During his reign a foreign scholar Muhammad al-Misri, generally known as Ibn Suwaid had profound knowledge of religious lore. He received the title of Malik-ul-Muhaddithin or Prince among the Traditionists by Sultan

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1. Ibid.
  2. Sir Denison Ross writes that during 14th to 16th centuries Sultans of Gujarat patronised arts and sciences to such an extent that it is difficult to find its parallel in that period. - op. cit., p. XXXII (Introduction). Astrology and Astronomy were patronised by the state. No step was taken without choosing an auspicious time for it. In the reign of Mehmud Begarah a noble, Khudwand Khan acquired fame as a great Astrologer - Sikandar op. cit., p. 124: in fact that Astrology was so important as a branch of knowledge as to even influence division of state, would indicate that it must have been a subject of study in madarsas of the time.
  3. Nadvi op. cit., pp. 216-17.

Mehmud Begarah. Probably due to his deep religious knowledge he was given the Jizya Department to be administered.<sup>1</sup> Abdul Qasim-bin-Ahmad, also called Ibn Fahd was another scholar who enjoyed the patronage of Mehmud Begarah. He studied at Mecca, Cairo and Damascus. At the time of his arrival he brought with him the copy of Fathul-Bari transcribed by his father and presented it to Sultan.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the above scholars many others arrived in Gujarat and became court chroniclers. They wrote the achievements of their sovereign in the form of the history. These historians were Abdul Husain of Tun, Abdul Karim Nimidih, Fayd Allah Bimbani, Shamsuddin Zirak of Shiraz and Sharfuddin Muhammad Bukhari. Besides the Muslim Scholars Mehmud Begarah also patronised Hindu scholar. Uday Raja, the great Sanskrit Poet got patronage of Mehmud and composed his work Mahamudasuratranacharita in praise of his sovereign.<sup>3</sup>

#### Growth of Persian Literature:

Prior to the establishment of the independent Sultnate of Gujarat, we do not find any work compiled in persian.

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1. Dar M.I., " Cultural and Literary activities of the Sultans of Gujarat" Reprinted from Journal of the Gujarat Research Society 1948, p. 11.
  2. Z.A. Desai, " India and the near east during 13th and 15th century" op. cit., p. 221.
  3. Tirmizi, Some aspects of medieval Gujarat Delhi 1968, p.47.

However extant inscriptions give us an idea of persian writing and literature in the early stage of its development. Previous to persian, Arabic as a language was popular among the Muslims in Gujarat. We find all the inscriptions before fourteenth century in Arabic. One inscription dated 1312 AD is the earliest record in which persian is used as a medium but sporadically along with Arabic.<sup>1</sup> This indicates that it was only after the conquest of Alauddin Khalji, that persian came into popular usage in Gujarat. All the early inscriptions show that Persian, in its grammar and literary usage was still crude and undeveloped. The sentences are incomplete and grammatically incorrect and do not convey any clear expression.<sup>2</sup> Some inscriptions of the period of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq did show some improvement. When we come to the inscriptions dated 1331 A.D., we find that persian use is of very high standard. Dr. Desai surmised that this text could have been composed only by one who was well versed in persian, in all probability an Iranian emigrant.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the 15th century the number of scholars who wrote in persian increased considerably. Their style and the content of their work reflect the erudition.

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1. Z.A. Desai " Persian language in the pre- Sultmate inscriptions of Gujarat", Indo Iranica Vol.XX, Calcutta 1967 p. 21.
  2. Ibid pp. 21-22.
  3. Ibid., p. 23.

The inscriptions dated 1403, 1404 and 1405 are without any mistakes or inappropriateness of expression which show the further progress in persian language of this period.<sup>1</sup>

The language of the prose sections of the above inscriptions are not of the literary quality.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions give details on the particular building under construction, the name of the builder, the date of the construction and in some cases the name of the ruling monarch as well. Our evidence suggests that whereas poetry had reached a certain level of development, the development of prose lagged behind. The metrical inscriptions give some idea of the quality of the literary out put of the early medieval period. As compared with prose the persian of the verses is of a high standard. They do not suffer from the same clumsiness of expression as many of the prose inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> One inscription dated 1287 A.D. informs us about a literary man of high merit. He is Zainu'd Din Ali-bin-Salar whose pen name was Salari.<sup>4</sup> The Persian ghazal and Rubais on his marble epitaph shows his literary talent.<sup>5</sup> After this we find

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1. Ibid., 25.

2. Ibid., 20.

3. Ibid., 25.

4. E.I.A.P.S. 1961 pp. 19-21.

5. Indo Iranica op. cit., p. 22.

inscriptions containing persian verses in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq and Feroz Tughlaq. The text of these verses is of a high order.<sup>1</sup>

From the analysis of the above inscriptions containing the verses we can say that during Khalji and Tughlaq period and even before it there were many learned men of persian literature. It is surprising however that they did not compose texts on the many monuments of the time.

With the establishment of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat many savants and learned men were attracted to the Kingdom of Gujarat due to the liberal generosity of the Sultans. These learned men of Islamic countries were well-versed in persian language and were given every possible encouragement by the Sultans. Therefore, the persian literature made special progress under the patronage of the Sultans of Gujarat. Specially in the reign of Mehmud Begarah there was so much influx of persian historians, who adorned the court of Mehmud Begarah. In his reign persian historians were mostly court chroniclers and recorded the achievements of their sovereign in persian. In the reign of Mehmud Begarah we find following historical works in persian which were designated by the authors after the name of their sovereign.

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1. Indo Iranica op. cit., p. 27.

Tarikh-i-Mehmud Shahi of Fayd Allah Bimbani<sup>1</sup>:

Fayd Allah Bimbani, was one of the great scholars of the reign of Mehmud Begarah. He was the court chronicler and held the post of Sadr-i-Jahan. He wrote one book Tarikh-i-Mehmud Shahi which is also called Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan at the instance of Mehmud Begarah and dedicated it to him. It is a universal history of Islam from earliest time to 907 AH/1501 A.D. Besides Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan he wrote many other books as Majma-an-Nawadir, Khulsat al-Hikayat and Dasturul Huffaz (a commentary of the Quran).<sup>2</sup>

Tabqati Mehmud Shahi of Abdul Karim Nimidih<sup>3</sup>:

Abdul Karim Nimidih was the first writer who wrote the universal history of Islam in his book Tabqati Mehmud Shahi. It included the history from the very dawn of creation to 905/1499-1500 A.D.

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1. Fayd Allah Bimbani, Tarikh-i-Mehmud Shahi, Transcribed copy of manuscript No. 157.
  2. Tirmizi, M.B., "Are Tabqati Mehmud Shahi, Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi and Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan identical?" Proceeding of Indian History Congress Allahabad 1947 p. 327.
  3. Abdul Karim, Tabqati Mehmud Shahi, MSS. in the Library of Eton College, No. 160; Academy of Sciences of Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, Tashkent, MS.No. 38. cf. Tirmizi, Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat op. cit., p. 19.

The author was born in 1439-40 A.D. in Hurmuz. In 1458-1511 he was sent on a mission to the court of Sultan Mehmud Begarah of Gujarat and there he compiled his book *Tabqati Mehmud Shahi*.

Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi of Abdul Husain of Tun<sup>1</sup>:

*Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi* is the dynastic history of the Sultans of Gujarat. Abdul Husain, the author enjoyed the patronage of Bahmani Minister Khwaja Mehmud Gawan.<sup>2</sup> After his patron's death he came to the court of Mehmud Begarah of Gujarat. At the instance of Mehmud Begarah he compiled his book and entitled it as *Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi* after the name of his sovereign.<sup>3</sup>

Zamima-i-Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi of Shamsuddin Muhammad Zirak:<sup>4</sup>

It is to be regret that we find this work without any identification of its author beyond the fact that this author enjoyed the patronage of Mehmud Begarah and wrote his book,

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1. Abdul Husain, Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi, MS. in the Commonwealth Relations Office, No. 3842, cf. Tirmizi, *Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat*, op. cit., p.24.
  2. Abdul Husain op. cit., f., 116b cf. Tirmizi op. cit., p.24.
  3. Tirmizi op. cit., p. 24.
  4. Shamsuddin Zirak, Zamima-i-Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi transcribed copy of the MS. Kutub Khanah, Arif Hikmat Madina Munawarah Book No. 121.



Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi at the instance of his sovereign. According to Muhammad Ghausi that this work is composed by Shamsuddin Muhammad Zirak, who came from Shiraz during the reign of Mehmud Begarah. He<sup>1</sup> gave the argument that with the literary point of view this work is of standard. The author seems to be a master of similies, illustrations, allegory and metaphors like Shamsuddin. This book contains the history of the last two decades of the reign of Mehmud Begarah. This is the supplement to the Mathir-i-Mehmud Shahi of Abdul Husain of Tun. Abdul Husain ends his book with the year 1486 A.D. and Shamsuddin begins his book with the despatch of an army against Bahadar Gilani in 1490 A.D. In this supplement we find the history of the foreign relations of Gujarat with Deccan, Delhi, Egypt, Persia and also with the Portuguese.

Tarikh-i-Gujarat of Sharfuddin Bukhari<sup>2</sup>:

Though this work is compiled in the reign of Musaffar Shah II<sup>3</sup> yet it contains the history with the birth of Zafar Khan to the death of Mehmud Begarah. The author in most of the cases, was an eye witness of the events he describes. Therefore we can say that the author also enjoyed the

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1. Muhammad Ghausi, Gulzar-i-Abrar urdu tr. Ujjain 1326 AD p.224, cf. Tirmizi op. cit., p. 37.
  2. Sharfuddin Bukhari, Tarikh91-Gujarat, Maulana Azad Library Aligarh MS. No.162.
  3. Ibid., p. 20b.

patronage of Sultan Mehmud Begarah but he compiled his book<sup>1</sup> after the death of his sovereign under the patronage of his successor Musaffar Shah II.

Besides above writers we find the informations about other writers and poets of the period of Mehmud Begarah by the diary of saint Hazrat Shah Alam dated 1475 AD. only one out of the total 7 volumes of the Jumat-i-Shahiyya, a diary of the weekly public audience which the saint Hazrat Shah Alam used to give on fridays, mentions about the writers and poets in persian - only those who had personally their respects to the saint or were his contemporaries; also these inform about literary activities in the period of Mehmud Begarah.<sup>2</sup> By this diary we find that Saiyyad Uthman was a prominent writer who wrote Madariju'l Ma'arif. Next we find Maulana Sheikh Abdul Latif son of Jamaluddin of Nahrwala. He wrote Zadu'l-Ashqin-fi-Sabili's Sadiqin.<sup>3</sup> Another contemporary writer of the saint, Mir Saiyyid Kamal Qazwini of Broach is reported to have written a commentary on the Asmau'l Asrar of his spiritual guide, the celebrated Deccan saint Hazrat Saiyyad Muhammad Gisu Daraz of Gulbarga.<sup>4</sup>

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1. In the preface author described about the three Tabqas. In which first Tabqa contains the history of Zafar, the second Tabqa contain the history with the accession of Ahmad Shah, the third Tabqa begins with the deposition of Daud Shah and enthronement of Mehmud Begarah. Of all these three Tabqas we find only last Tabqa.
  2. Z.A. Desai, "Ganj-i-Ma'ani of Muti'i" Iran Society, 12 Calcutta 1970, p. 62.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid., p. 63.

The other writers, mentioned in diary were Maulana Sa'du'd-Din who wrote a commentary on the Maqasid, Maulana Fazlu'llah son of Ziya Abbasi, a scion of the reputed Bimbani family of Gujarat wrote the Jawahir-i-Jalali, and Sheikh Faridu'd-Din Muhammad son of Daulat Shah wrote the Kunuz-i-Muhammadi, a collection of malfuzat.<sup>1</sup>

Persian poetry also enjoyed a good position in the reign of Mehmud Begarah, Ahmad Shah is said to have been endowed with poetic genius.<sup>2</sup> The royal chronicler of Ahmad Shah, Hulwi of Shiraz was also a great poet and wrote the achievements of their master in verses.<sup>3</sup> His work Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, in the form of mathnawi is quoted by the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari. In the reign of Mehmud Begarah Fayd Allah Bimbani, the court chronicler was a great poet of the time. A large number of persian poets of this period is mentioned in one volume of the Jumat-i-Shahiyya, a diary of the Gujarat saint Hazrat Shah Alam. Malik Mehmud Pyara, Maulana Khwaja of Nahrwala, Husaini, Maulana Sadru'd Din Husain and Allah Diya Sarf-i-Jahan are mentioned

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1. Ibid., 63.

2. Sikandar op. cit., p.62.

3. Ibid., p. 31.

in the diary of Hazrat Shah-i-Alam.<sup>1</sup> Khudwand Khan known as Malik Ilm (the learned Malik) was the father in law of Sultan Muhammad, had a great knowledge of persian poetry.<sup>2</sup> Saiyyad Alif Khan was also a great poet of the reign of Mahmud Begarah.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of such a diverse literary activities, the reign of Mahmud Begarah failed to produce a poet of note in tradition of Amir Khusraw, the best poet of medieval period.

Mahmud Begarah had keen interest in the persian translation of Arabic work. In his period the famous Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khalikan was translated into persian by Yusuf Ibn Ahmad under the title of Manzar at Insan and dedicated it to Mahmud Begarah in the year 1484-5 A.D.<sup>4</sup> During the period Ibn Iyad's Kitab Ash-shifa was rendered into persian by Ibn Afrash.<sup>5</sup> The work Al-Hisnal-Hasin of

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1. Z.A. Desai, "Ganj-i-Ma'ani of Muti'i" op. cit., p. 63.
  2. Sikandar op. cit., p. 102.
  3. Dar M.I. op. cit., p. 16.
  4. Dar M.I. op. cit., 110.
  5. Sikandar op. cit., p. 110.

Ibn Jazari of the period of Ahmad Shah was also transcribed into persian by Abu Bakra of Broach in the period of Mehmud Begarah<sup>1</sup>. A persian translation of Mira'atu'l-Jinan of Yafi-i was made under the order of Sultan Mehmud by Abdul Hay of Tun.<sup>2</sup> A commentary on the holy Quran entitled Dastural-Huffaz was written by Fayd Allah Bimbani and was dedicated to Sultan Mehmud Begarah.<sup>3</sup>

The various scholarly works on theology, astronomy, history and poetry testify to the notable promotion of learning and literature in the reign of Mehmud Begarah.

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1. Z.A. Desai, "Ganj-i-Ma'ani of Muti'i" op. cit., p.64.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.

## C O N C L U S I O N

Although the focus of our study is the reign of Mehmud of Begarah (1559 - 1611 A.D.), it was necessary to deal in some detail with Gujarat in the days of Delhi Sultanate and to examine the historical circumstances in which Gujarat emerged as an independent regional Kingdom. The latter period represents a qualitatively distinct phase in Gujarat's history; its high point was reached during the reign of Mehmud Begarah. While this was, no doubt, mainly the result of a combination of historical factors, both political and Economic, the exceptional personal contribution of Mehmud Begarah also played an important role.

Gujarat must have been one of the most prosperous provinces under Delhi Sultanate. Delhi Sultans used to receive heavy amount as a revenue from Gujarat. Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us that in the reign of Feroz Tughlaq revenue received from the iqta of Gujarat amounted to two crores.<sup>1</sup> With the decline of Delhi Sultanate following

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1. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi, ed. Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1891 p. 271

the death of Feroz Shah Tughlaq, and the invasion of Timur, a general process unfolded wherein the out lying territories broke away from the central authority and their Governors assumed independence. The origins of Gujarat as an independent state lay in similar circumstances.

The new Sultans of Gujarat embarked upon a policy of expanding their territories, the process reaching its climax under Mehmud Begarah's reign. In his reign, on the east Gujarat's boundary expanded embracing Champaren<sup>mer</sup> and reached upto the boundary of Malwa; on the south it stretched up to Mahim or the present day Bombay; on the west extended to the Arabian Sea with conquest of the whole of the peninsula of Sorath including the port of Jagat; on the north Jalor fell within its boundaries.

Reforms of radically new type were introduced in Army Organisation by Ahmad Shah which remained in force in the reign of his grandson, Mehmud Begarah. Each soldier was given a plot of land as incentive to remain in the army and fight when called upon. Two more important measures that introduced by Sultan Mehmud. First the land of every Amir and Soldier who died was inherited by his son; in the case of those having no male issue, half of their land would go to their daughters and if they had no daughter, then certain allowance would be given to the dependents of the

deceased. Secondly he ordered that none of his soldiers should borrow money at the interest. He appointed a separate treasurer to give advance to the needy soldier and to recover loans. He chalked out a four years plan to expand his army. In this scheme the entire revenues of Gujarat were assigned for the upkeep of his army. Sultan Mehmud gave the crown lands (Khalsa) for four years as a contribution towards the enlarged expanses of the army, defraying his personal expenses from the treasure left by the former Sultans. During these four years two third of all the treasure were spent on rewards and food supplies for the army. It is said that in the last year of his reign the army consisted one lakh soldiers. While in the beginning it consisted only seventy thousands soldiers.

According to the author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi, the total revenues received during the reign of Muzaffar Shah III, the last Sultan of Gujarat was Rs. 5 crores 62 Lakhs. We can assume that the revenues must have been greater than this during the reign of Mehmud Begarah, as the Gujarat Sultanate had reached its maximum territorial extent at that time and received tribute from a number of conquered territories. By now (with the reign of Muzaffar Shah III) the territorial extant of Gujarat had shrunk considerably.



It is said that corn was never so cheap in Gujarat as was during the reign of Mehmud Begarah because he paid a considerable attention towards agriculture. He launched an ambitious scheme to encourage horticulture. Different kinds of plants of fruit trees were imported from various countries and people, who used to plant the trees were rewarded. He founded many cities as Muhammadabad at Champaner, Mustafabad at Junagarh, Muhammadabad near Ahmadabad and Mehmud Nagar near Dohad and adorned these with lofty buildings and beautiful gardens.

In the reign of Sultan Mehmud trade was flourished very much due to the large number of excellent ports. This fact was also accepted even by the Sultan of Delhi, Sikandar Lodi who used to say that the pivot of the King of Delhi rests on wheat and Jawar while the foundation of the King of Gujarat is on corals and pearls because there are eighty four ports under the King of Gujarat. The highly developed textile craft of Gujarat can be traced to this period. White cotton fabrics both fine and coarse and others printed in pattern were woven. Silk stuffs such as coloured velvets satin and taffeties were manufactured here and exported to other countries. Calicos prepared in Gujarat were of extraordinary fineness. The Gujaratis were also expert in crafts such as, Metal working, Stone cutting and Leather goods manufacture. paper technology was also developed in

Gujarat during 15th century. Gujarati paper was made by advanced methods. It was exceedingly white and glossy. Many different varieties were manufactured and exported to different countries.

Though Sultan Mehmud was illiterate yet like Akbar he patronised men of letters. His fame as a generous patron of learning reached all the Muslim lands and consequently attracted a large number of savants and scholars of different countries from the Islamic world. Learned men from Yemen, Hijaz, Egypt and Persia adorned his court and eulogise the achievements of their sovereign in the form of the History. He constructed many madarasas for the progress of learning.

Sultan Mehmud had ushered a reign of prosperity, happiness and all round development. The people of Gujarat developed an elegant culture in the reign of this glorious Sultan. Due to the marvellous progress during the reign of this Sultan, Sikandar compares Gujarat in respect of perfection to a perfect man.

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