

HISTORY OF GUJARÁT

(MUSALMAN PERIOD, A.D. 1297-1760.)

COLONEL J. W. WATSON,
POLITICAL AGENT, KÁTHIÁWAR.

Written for the Bombay Gazetteer.

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INTRODUCTION.

MUHAMMADAN rule in Gujarát lasted from their conquest of the vince, shortly before the close of the thirteenth century A.D., their final defeat by the Maráthás and loss of the city of madabad at the close of February 1758.

Musalmán ascend-
ancy in Gujarát,
1297-1760.

This whole term of Musalmán ascendancy, stretching over ghtly more than four and a half centuries, may conveniently be ided into three parts. The first, the rule of the early sovereigns Delhi, lasting throughout almost the whole of the fourteenth tury, or, more strictly from A.D. 1297 to A.D. 1403; the second, rule of the Áhmadabad kings, a term of nearly one century and ee-quarters, from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1573; the third, the rule of Moghal Emperors, when for little less than two hundred years, 1573-1760, Gujarát was administered by viceroys of the court Delhi.

Period how
divided.

In the course of these 450 years, the limits of Gujarát varied atly. In the fourteenth century A.D., the territory nominally ler the control of the Musalmán governors of Pátan (Anhilvada) ended southwards from Jhálór, now in Rájputána, to the ghbourhood of Bombay, and in breadth from the line of the lwa and Khándesh hills, to the western shores of peninsular jarát.¹ The earlier kings of Áhmadabad (A.D. 1403-1450), tent with establishing their power on a firm footing, did not ch extend the limits of their kingdom. Afterwards, during the er part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth turies (A.D. 1450-1530), the dominions of the Áhmadabad kings ame gradually wider, including to the east and north-east large pts of territory formerly in the possession of the rulers of ándesh and Málwa. Again, during the time of misrule, which ed from about A.D. 1530 to A.D. 1573, the western parts of ándesh and the north of the Konkan ceased to form part of the

Limits of Gujarát.

The first notice of the exercise of sovereignty on the part of the Musalmán rulers ujarát in lands further south than the neighbourhood of Surat is in A.D. 1428, a king Ahmad I. (A.D. 1412-1443) contested with the Deccani sovereign the ession of Máhim (north latitude 19° 40' and east longitude 72° 47'). The ruler of im was then a Hindu tributary of Gujarát; and as no record of the conquest of territory by the Musalmáns remains, it seems probable that Bombay and the hern Konkan fell into the possession of the Musalmáns in A.D. 1297 as part of the nised territories of the lords of Anhilpur (Pátan). Rás Málá, I. 350.

Introduction.

kingdom of Gujarát. Finally, under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, more lands were restored to Málwa and Khándesh, and with the exception of Jhálór and Sirohi, Dungarpur and Bánsvádá in the north, and Alirájpur on the east, since handed over to Rájputána and Central India, the limits of Gujarát remain almost as they were then laid down.

Limits of Sorath.

Though, under the Musalmáns, peninsular Gujarát did not bear the name of Káthiáwár, it was then, as at present, considered to form a part of the province of Gujarát. During the early times of Musalmán rule, the peninsula, together with a small portion of the adjoining mainland, was known as Sorath, a shortened form of Sauráshtra, the name originally applied by the Hindus to a long stretch of sea-coast between the banks of the Indus and Daman.¹ Towards the close of the sixteenth century the official use of the word Sorath was confined to a portion, though by much the largest part of the peninsula.² But, at the same time, in common use, this name would seem then, and for long after, to have been applied to the whole peninsula. For the author of the *Mirat-i-A'hmadi*, writing as late as the middle of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1748-1762), speaks of the whole country (Sorath) as then divided into five districts or *zilláhs*,—Hálár, Káthiáwár, Gohilvád, Bábriávád, and Jetwár,—and notices that though Navánagar (Islámnagar) was considered a separate district, its tribute was included in the revenue derived from Sorath.³ In another place, namely, volume III. of the *Mirat-i-A'hmadi*, Sauráshtra is thus defined :

“Sauráshtra Desh comprehends the Sarkár of”
 “Sorath, and the Sarkár of Islámnagar, and the”
 “Sarkár of Kachh; and there are several (other)”
 “*zilláhs* in it. Sauráshtra by the abbreviation”
 “of constant use is known as Sorath.”

Then follows a list of the included *zilláhs*, namely :

“Nayar they call Jitwar.”

This must be either Jetwár or Jatwár, but it is difficult to say which.

“Kachh is Bhujnagar and its dependencies.”
 “Hálár is Navánagar and its vicinity.”
 “Káthiáwár, Gohilvád, Bábriávád, Chorár,”
 “and Panchál are in Sauráshtra. Okhágir”
 “is the neighbourhood of Jagat otherwise”
 “called Dwárka. Prabhás Khetr is Pátan”
 “Somnáth, and its neighbourhood.” Then follow
 “Rákar” which I am unable to identify, the
 “Nalkántha” and “Charotar.”

¹ At one time the whole country from the Indus to Daman was called Sauráshtra and its inhabitants Sauráshtrian (*sed quare*), from which Ptolemy (A.D. 150) has made Syrastrène, now called Sorath and Surat (?). Afterwards, as in the Puráns, the country known as Sauráshtra or Suráshtr, extended only as far as Jambusar, and from thence to the Tápti was Gujarát. Wilford in *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. 336 and IX. 231.

² From the details given of the settlement of the country by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, it would seem that, besides Sorath, Navánagar (Islámnagar) was a recognised division of the peninsula. Sorath, however, included by much the largest part of the peninsula with sixty-three sub-divisions, as compared with seventeen under Navánagar. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (A.D. 1590) Sorath with its nine divisions includes the whole area of the peninsula except Jhálávád in the north, then part of Áhmadabad. Gladwin, II. 64 and 66-71.

³ Bird's *History of Gujarát*, 418.

But during the past hundred years the area of the country known by this name has been greatly narrowed, so that at present Sorath stretches no farther than the limits of the States of Jūnágad, Bántwa, and a few other holdings.

The use of the name Káthiáwár, on the other hand, is of recent origin. It was not until after the establishment of Musalmán power in Gujarát that any portion of the peninsula came to be called after the tribe of Káthis, and, as noticed above, even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the name Káthiáwár was applied only to one of the sub-divisions of the peninsula. In the disorders which prevailed during the latter part of the last century, the Káthis made themselves conspicuous; and as it was from the hardy horsemen of this tribe that the Maráthás met with the greatest resistance in the collection of their tribute, they came to speak of the whole peninsula as the land of the Káthis. This use, adopted in their writings by the early British officers, has since then been continued.

With regard to the form of government under the Áhmadabad kings, Gujarát, as is still the case under British rule, was divided, politically, into two main parts. Of these, one, called the *khálsah* or crown domain, was administered directly by the central authority; and the other, on payment of a certain tribute, in service or in money, was allowed to remain under the control of its former rulers. The amount of tribute paid by the different chiefs depended, not on the value of their territory, but on the terms granted to them when they agreed to become feudatories of the kings of Áhmadabad. This tribute under the Gujarát Sultáns was usually collected by military expeditions headed by the king in person and these were called *mulkgiri* or country-seizing circuits.

As far as the feudatory chiefs were concerned the internal management of their states was unaffected by the fact of their paying tribute. Justice was administered and the revenue collected in the same way as under the Anhilpur kings. The revenue consisted, as before, of a share of the crops received in kind, supplemented by the levy of special cesses, trade, and transit dues. The chief's share of the crops differed according to the locality, but rarely exceeded one-third of the produce, or was less than one-sixth. From some parts of his territory this share was realised directly from the cultivator by agents called *mantris*, while in other parts the collection was made through the medium of landowners of the superior class.¹

The portion of their territory under the direct authority of the Áhmadabad kings was divided into districts or *sarkárs*. These districts were administered in one of two ways: they were either assigned to nobles in support of a certain contingent of troops, or they were set apart as crown domains and managed by paid officers. The officers placed in charge of districts set apart as crown domains were called *naktáa*.² Their chief duties were to preserve the peace

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Limits of Káthiáwár.

Administration of Gujarát under the Gujarát Sultáns, 1403 - 1573.

Feudatory States.

Directly governed districts.

Management of Crown lands.

¹ Rás Málá, I. 241.

² This word and *iktáa*—the term used for the district administered by a *naktáa*—both come from the Arabic root *kataa*, to cut off, in allusion to the public revenue diverted for the pay of those officers and their establishments.

Introduction.**Military
arrangements.**

and to collect the revenue. For the maintenance of order, a body of soldiers from the head-quarters of the army at Áhmadabad was detached for service in each of these divisions, and placed under the command of the district governor. At the same time, in addition to the presence of this detachment of regular troops, there were in every district certain fortified outposts called *thánaks*, varying in number according to the character of the country and the temper of the people. These posts, in charge of officers called *thánahdárs*, subordinate to the district governor, were garrisoned by bodies of local soldiery, for whose maintenance, in addition to money payments, a small assignment of land was set apart in the neighbourhood of the post. Except on the occasion of the tribute-collecting circuit—when the governors of the districts through which it passed were expected to join the main body of the army with their local contingents—the district governors had ordinarily but little control over the feudatory chiefs in the neighbourhood of their charge.

**Fiscal
arrangements.****Management of
Crown lands,
1403-1573.**

For fiscal purposes these districts, or *sarkárs*, were again distributed among a certain number of sub-divisions styled *parganáhs*, each placed under the charge of a paid official styled *ámil* or *tahsildár*. These sub-divisional officers realised the state demand, nominally a one-half share of the produce, by the help of the headmen of the villages under their charge. The village headmen, styled *patels*, or, according to the Musalmán writers, *mukaddams*, in the sharehold and simple villages of Northern Gujarát, and in the simple villages of the south known as *desáís*, arranged for the final distribution of the total payment among the shareholders: joint villages and, in simple villages, from the individual cultivators. A statement of the accounts of the villages in his sub-division was then presented by the sub-divisional officer to the district officer whose record of the revenue of his whole district was in turn forwarded to the head revenue officer at court. As a check on the internal management of his charge, and especially to help him in the work of collecting the revenue, with each district governor was associated an accountant, and that each of these officers might be the greater check on the other, king Áhmad I. (A.D. 1412-1436) made it a rule that when the governor was chosen from among the royal slaves the accountant should be a free man, and similarly that, if the accountant was a slave, the district governor should be chosen from some other class. This practise was maintained till the end of the reign of Muzafar Sháh (A.D. 1511-1526). But at last according to the authority of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*, during the reign of Bahádur Sháh (A.D. 1526-1536) the army became much increased and the ministers, condensing the details of revenue, farmed it on contract, so that many parts formerly yielding one rupee now produced ten, and many others seven, eight, or nine, and in no place was there a less increase than from ten to twenty (per cent.). Many other changes occurred at the same time, and, the overseers of the regulations having been dismissed from his office, mutiny and confusion were spread over Gujarát.²

¹ Some further particulars as to the position of these village headmen will be found below.

² Bird's History of Gujarát, 192.

With regard to the second class of directly governed districts—the lands assigned to nobles for the maintenance of their contingent of troops—it would seem that, as in other parts of India, these assignments were at first for specified sums equal to the pay of the contingent. But when such assignments were of long standing, and were large enough to swallow the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the arrangement by transferring the collection of the revenue and the whole management of the district to the chief of the military body. As long as the central power was strong, precautions were, no doubt, taken to prevent the holder of the grant from unduly rackrenting his district and appropriating to himself more than the pay of the troops, or exercising any powers not vested in the local governors of the districts included within the crown domains. As in other parts of India, those stipulations were probably enforced by the appointment of certain civil officers directly from the government to inspect the whole of the noble's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as in administering his lands.¹ With the decline of the king's power the nobles became freed from all check or control in the management of their lands; and when in A.D. 1536 the practice of farming was introduced in the crown domains, it would seem to have been adopted by the military leaders in their lands, and to have been continued from that time till the annexation of Gujarát by the Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573.

It was not the policy of Akbar to introduce a new form of government, but rather to perfect the existing system. After, as has been noticed above, to some extent contracting the limits of Gujarát, he constituted it a province or *súbah* of the empire, appointing to its government an officer of the highest rank with the title of *súbahdár* or viceroy. As was the case under the Áhmadabad kings, the province was still divided, politically, into territories continued under the management of feudatory chiefs, and districts administered by officers appointed by the court of Delhi, or by the Viceroy. The head-quarters of the army still remained at Áhmadabad, and detachments were told off and placed under the orders of the officers in charge of the directly administered divisions. These district governors, as before, belonged to two classes, paid officers responsible for the management of the crown domains, and military leaders in possession of lands assigned to them in pay of their contingent of troops. The governors of the crown domains, who were now known as *foujdárs* or commanders, had, in addition to the command of the regular troops, the control of the outposts maintained within the limits of their charge, and, like their predecessors, accompanied the Viceroy in his yearly circuit for the collection of tribute.

As a check on the military governors, and to help them in the collection of the revenue, the distinct class of account officers, formerly established by king Áhmad I. (A.D. 1420), was again introduced. The head of this branch of the administration was an officer, second in rank only to the Viceroy, appointed direct from

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Management of
assigned lands,
1403-1573.

Administration
of the Province,
1573-1760.

Management of
Crown lands,
1573-1760.

¹ Elphinstone's History, 76.

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the court of Delhi with the title of *diwán*. Besides acting as collector-general of the revenues of the province, this officer was also the head of its civil administration. His title *diwán* is generally translated by minister; and though this word does not express the functions of the office, which perhaps corresponds most nearly with that of chief secretary to government of the present day, supposing that the chief secretaryship included the control of the revenue management, it represents with sufficient accuracy the relation in which the holder of the office of *diwán* generally stood to the viceroy.

**Revenue officials
in Crown
districts.**

For the revenue administration of the province there were in each district or collection of districts revenue officials called *ámíns* who corresponded very closely to the Revenue Commissioners of modern times. There were also *ámíns* in the customs department separate from those whose function was controlling and administering the land revenue. Beneath the *ámin* came the *ámil*¹ or man who actually carried on the business of collection of the land revenue or customs in each district or *parganáh*, and below him again were the *faís* or *kárkúns*, that is revenue clerks. The *ámil* corresponded to the modern Collector, and the term means, he who carries on the *amal* or revenue management (whence also *mámlatdár*). In important ports the *ámil* of the revenue and customs was called *mutasadi*.

Village Officers.

The *ámil* dealt directly with the village officials, namely, the *mukadam* or *patel*, the *patwári* or he who arranged about the leases of land to the *rayats*, the *kánungo* or *taláti*, and the *haváldár* or officer whose duty it was to guard the village grain-yards, superintend the separation of the government share of the produce, and apportion to the classes, subject to forced labour, their respective tours of duty. The *haváldár* is still to be found in most parts of feudal Gujarát, and another portion of his duty was, and is, a general police superintendence, his subordinates in the police department being called *pasáitás* or *vartaniás*. In ports there was also a general port superintendent called the *sháh-bandar* and in the crown *parganáhs* a very important class of officials called *desáis* who will be mentioned hereafter.

Desáis.

The duty of the *desáis* appears to have at first been the collection of the *salámi* or tribute due by the smaller chiefs, landholders, and *vántádárs* in the crown *parganáhs*. For this, in Akbar's time, they received a remuneration of 2½ per cent on the sum collected. This percentage was reduced during the viceroyalty of Mirza Aziz Kokaltash to one-half of its former amount, and in later times this one-half was again reduced by one-half. Though the Muhammadan historians give no reason for such sweeping reduction, the cause may very probably have been the inability of the *desáis* to collect the tribute without the aid of a military force; and finally they seem merely to have kept the accounts of the tribute due, and records both of the amount which should be levied as tribute and of other customary rights of the

¹ This official was in Márwár and the north and north-east styled *tahsildár* and in the *súbah* of the Deccan *kamávísádr*.

crown; but when in later times they were to a great extent superseded by the *majmudárs*, many of them, especially in the southern parts of Gujarát, seem to have sunk to the position of *patels*.

The land tax, up to the viceroyalty of Mirza Isá Tar Khán, appears to have been levied from the cultivator in a fixed sum, but he was also subject to numerous other vexatious imposts. When grants in *vazifah* were bestowed, they carried with them not only an hereditary title but special exemptions from these miscellaneous levies, though the land was still liable to the land-tax. The levy from the cultivator in kind does not however appear to have survived to the close of the Moghal rule, when the custom appears to have been to assess each village for a fixed sum called *jama* which was collected by district accountants or *majmudárs*, and at the close of the Imperial rule these officials in place of the *desáís* became the persons who kept the records of the *jama* as this collection was then called: the *jama* really meant the lump sum at which the crown villages were assessed and farmed to the chiefs and *patels*. Many villages thus farmed to the chiefs and others were retained by them on the collapse of the empire, and these annexations were usually connived at by the *majmudárs*, *desáís*, and others.

The mode of administering justice appears to have been very complete, *kázis* resided in each *kasbah* or town, endowed with glebe lands in addition to a permanent salary. These adjudicated disputes among Muhammadans according to the laws of Islám, but disputes between Muhammadans and unbelievers, or amongst unbelievers, were decided by the department called the *sadárat*, the local judge being termed a *sadar*. The decisions of the local *kázis* and *sadars* were subject to revision by the *kázi* or *sadar* of the *súbah* who resided at Áhmadabad. Their decisions again were subject to appeal to the *Kázi-ul-Kúzát* and the *Sadar-ús-Súdtúr* at the capital.

The revenue appears to have been classed under four principal heads: 1. The *Khazánah-i-Amirah* or imperial treasury which comprehended the land tax received from the crown *parganáhs*, the tribute, the five per cent customs dues from infidels, the import dues on stuffs, and the *sayer* or land customs consisting chiefly of transit dues, the slave market dues, and all miscellaneous taxes. 2. The treasury of arrears into which were paid government claims in arrear either from the *ámils*, the farmers of land revenue, or *takávi* advances due by the *rayats*; tribute also which was levied by the presence of a military force was paid into this treasury. 3. The treasury of charitable endowments. Into this treasury was paid the 2½ per cent levied as customs dues from Muhammadans.¹ The pay of the religious classes was defrayed from this treasury. 4. The

Introduction.

Land Tax.

Administration of justice.

Fiscal arrangements.

¹ *Zakát* is the name of a tax levied for charitable purposes or religious uses from Muslims, the customs dues from Muslims at 2½ per cent (the technical 1 in 40) as contrasted with the five per cent levied from infidels (the technical 2 in 40) were here allotted for this purpose, and hence here *zakát* corresponds with customs dues, and is divisible into two kinds, *khushki zakát* or land customs and *tari zakát* or sea customs.

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treasury, into which the *jaziah* or capitation tax levied from *zimnis*, or infidels who acknowledge Muhammadan rule, was paid. The proceeds were expended in charity and public works. After the death of the emperor Farrúkhsiyar this source of revenue was abolished.

Management of assigned lands, 1573-1760.

The arrangements introduced by Akbar in the end of the sixteenth century remained in force till the death of Aurangzeb (A.D. 1707). Then trouble and perplexity daily increasing, began to spread, till, in A.D. 1724-25, Hamid Khán usurped the government lands, and, seeking to get rid of the servants and assignments, gradually obtained possession of the volumes of the record of the registry office. The keepers of the records were scattered, and yearly revenue statements ceased to be received from the districts.¹ The system of assigning lands to military leaders in payment of their contingent of troops was also continued by Akbar. Immediately after the annexation in A.D. 1573, according to the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*, the whole country was divided among the great nobles;² and though two years afterwards mention³ is made of the revenues of several districts being set aside for the imperial exchequer, the greater part of the directly governed portions of the province seem to have been in the hands of military leaders, who employed their own agents for the collection of the revenue. During the seventeenth century the submission of the yearly record of the revenues of their districts, and the power of the Viceroy to bring them to account for misgovernment, exercised a check on the management of these officers, and during this time a yearly surplus revenue of £600,000 (Rs. 60,00,000) from the assigned and crown lands was on an average forwarded from Gujarát to Delhi. In the eighteenth century the decay of the Viceroy's authority was accompanied by a gradual increase in the power of the military leaders in possession of assigned districts, till finally, as in the case of the Nawábs of Broach and of Surat, they openly claimed the position of independent rulers.

Minor branches of administration.

Of the other officials who took a part in the general management of the province, those most commonly referred to in the following history are the Musalmán judge, *kázi*; the city police magistrate, *kotwál*; the paymaster, *bakshi*; and the officers in charge of military posts, *thánahdárs*. Nothing, either in the position or in the nature of the duties of these officers in Gujarát, calls for special notice.

Land Tenures.

Besides the class of vernacular terms that belong to the administration of the province, certain technical words connected with the tenure of land are of frequent occurrence in the history of this period. For each of these the English equivalent has, as far as possible, been given in the text; but, in addition to this, some further explanation seems to be necessary. During the period to which this history refers, the superior holders of the land of the

¹ Bird's History of Gujarát, 93. Though under the Moghal viceroys the state demand was at first realised in grain, at the last the custom was to assess each sub-division, and probably each village, at a fixed sum or *jama*. The total amount for the sub-division was collected by an officer called *majmudár*, the village headmen, *patels* or *mukadams*, being responsible each for his own village. W.

² Bird's History of Gujarát, 325.

³ Bird's History of Gujarát, 341.

province belonged to two main classes,—those whose claims dated from a time prior to the Musalmán conquest, and those whose interest in the land was based on some grant in their favour by the Musalmán authorities. By the Musalmán historians, landholders of the first class, who were all Hindus, are called *zamindárs*, while landholders of the second class—Musalmáns as a general rule—are spoken of under the title of *jágirdárs*. Though the term *zamindár* was used to include the whole body of superior Hindu landholders, yet, in practice, a marked difference was always maintained between the almost independent chief, who still enjoyed his Hindu title of *rāja*, *rāval*, *rāv*, or *jām*, and the petty claimants to shares in government villages, who in a Hindu state would have been known as *garásíás*.¹

The larger landholders, who had succeeded in avoiding complete subjection, were, as noticed above, liable only for the payment of a certain fixed sum, the collection of which by the central power in later times usually required the presence of a military force. With regard to the settlement of the claims of the smaller landholders of the superior class, whose estates fell within the limits of the directly administered districts, no steps seem to have been taken till the reign of Áhmad Sháh I. (A.D. 1411-1443). About the year A.D. 1420 the peace of his kingdom was so broken by agrarian disturbances, that Áhmad Sháh agreed, on condition of their paying tribute and performing certain military service, to re-grant, as hereditary possessions for the landholders of the *zamindár* class, a one-fourth share of their former village lands. From this time the portion so set apart was called *vánta* or share, and the remainder, retained as state land, was called *talpat*. This agreement continued to be observed till, in the year A.D. 1545, during the reign of Muhammad Sháh III. (A.D. 1536-1553), an attempt was made to annex these private shares to the crown. This measure, which caused much discontent and disorder, was reversed by the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605), who, as part of the settlement of the province in A.D. 1583, restored the landholders to their one-fourth share, and, except that the Maráthás afterwards levied an additional quit-rent from these lands, the arrangements then introduced have since continued in force.²

Introduction.

Hereditary
Hindu
landholders.

¹ The title *rāja* is applicable to the head of a family only. The payment of tribute to the Moghals or Maráthás does not affect the right to use this title. *Rāna* and *rāv* seem to be of the same dignity as *rāja*. *Rāval* is of lower rank. The sons of *rājás*, *rānds*, *rāvs*, and *rāvāls* are called *kuvar* or prince, and their sons *thākors*. The younger sons of *thākors* became *bhumids*, landowners or *grásia*, owners of *grás*, literally a mouthful. *Jām* is the title of the chiefs of the Jádeja tribe of the head of the elder branch in Cutch as well as of the younger branch in Navánagar, or Little Cutch, in Káthiáwár. *Rás Māla*, II. 277.

² With the introduction of Maráthá rule the title *zamindár* was bestowed on the farmers of the land revenue, and it is to men of the revenue farmer class that this word is, by the early English writers in Gujarát, generally applied. In consequence of this change in the application of the word *zamindár*, small landholders of the superior class, in directly administered districts, came again to be called by their original Hindu name of *grásia*. Mr. Elphinstone (History, 79 and note 13) includes under the term *zamindár*: (1) half-subdued chieftains, (2) independent governors of districts, and (3) farmers of revenue. He also notices that until Aurangzeb's time only such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence were called *zamindárs*. But in Colonel Walker's time, A.D. 1805, at least in Gujarát (Bombay Government Selection, XXXIX. 25) the term *zamindár* included *deshtis*, *majmudárs* (district accountants), *patels*, and *taldtis* (village clerks).

Introduction.

During the decay of Musalmán rule in Gujarát in the first half of the eighteenth century A.D., shareholders of the *grásia* class in government villages, who were always ready to increase their power by force, levied many irregular exactions from their more peaceful neighbours, the cultivators or inferior landholders. These levies, known as *vol*, that is a forced contribution, or *pál*, that is protection, have this peculiar characteristic, that they were paid by the cultivators of crown lands to petty marauders to purchase immunity from their attacks, and in no case partook of the nature of dues imposed by a settled government on its own subjects.

*Vol, Pál, and
Tora Grás.*

Tora grás or more correctly *toda grás* is another right which had its origin in the times under discussion. It was usually a readymoney payment levied from villages which (though at the time crown or *khálsah*) had formerly belonged to the *grásias* exacting the levy. Besides ready money, other contributions in kind were sometimes exacted, but it in this differed from *vol*, that it was levied from villages which had formerly belonged to the *grásias* and of which they had been deprived by the Gujarát Sultáns or the Imperial government.

Holders of
service
lands.

The second class of superior landholders were those whose title was based on a grant by the Musalmán authorities. Such grants were either assignments of large tracts of land to the viceroy, district-governors, and nobles, to support the dignity of their position and maintain a certain contingent of troops, or allotments on a smaller scale as reward for some special service. Land granted with these objects was called *jágir*, and the holder of the land, *jágirdár*. Such possessions, on the death of the original grantee, were, in theory, strictly resumable, but, in practice, they tended to become hereditary. Though no regular payments were required from proprietors of this class, yet under the name of *peshkash* certain contributions were occasionally demanded from them. These contributions consisting generally of presents, such as a horse, an elephant, or some other article of value, had more of the nature of a freewill offering than of an enforced tribute. During the time of Musalmán rule payments of this kind only were exacted from proprietors of the *jágirdár* class. But the Maráthás, in addition to levies of this nature, imposed on members of the *jágirdár* class a regular tribute, similar to that paid by the representatives of the original class of superior Hindu landholders.

Great part of Gujarát, under its Musalmán rulers, was always in the hands of landholders of the *jágirdár* class, and so powerful were they at times allowed to become, that on two occasions under the Áhmadabad kings, in A.D. 1554 and A.D. 1572, the leading nobles distributed among themselves the entire area of the kingdom.¹ Again, during the eighteenth century, when the rule of the Moghal

¹ From details of the year A.D. 1571 given in the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*, the chief nobles, who were bound to furnish cavalry contingents, varying in strength from 25,000 to 4000 horse, held lands estimated to yield yearly revenues of £1,620,000 to £160,000. Bird's Gujarát, 109-127.

emperors was on the decline, landholders of this class by degrees, as has been noticed above, won for themselves positions of almost complete independence.¹

Introduction.

Condition of
Gujarát.

The changes noticed in the extent of territory and in the form of administration throw some light on the character of the government and on the condition of the people during the different periods of Musalmán rule. At the same time, before proceeding to the detailed narrative of the history, it seems advisable shortly to summarise the leading characteristics of each of the main divisions of the four-and-a-half centuries of Musalmán ascendancy.

Under the early
Governors,
1297-1403.

On conquering Gujarát in A.D. 1297, the Musalmáns found the country in a state of disorder. The last kings of Anhilpur (Pátan), suffering, perhaps, under the defects of an incomplete title, held even their crown lands with no firmness of grasp, and allowed the outlying territory to escape almost entirely from their control. Several of the larger and more distant rulers had resumed their independence; the aboriginal tribes—the Bhils and Kolis—were in revolt; and stranger chiefs, driven southwards by the Musalmán conquests in Upper India, had robbed the central power of considerable portions of its territory.² The records of the rule of the early Musalmán governors of the province (A.D. 1297-1391) show suspicion on the side of the Delhi court and disloyalty on the part of more than one of the viceroys, much confusion throughout the province, and but little in the way of government beyond the exercise of military force. At the same time, in spite of wars and rebellions, the country would seem, in parts at least, to have been well cultivated, and trade and manufactures to have been flourishing.³

¹ According to the European travellers in India during the seventeenth century, provincial governors, and probably to some extent all large holders of service lands, employed various methods for adding to the profits which the assigned lands were meant to yield them. The chief of these would seem to have been two—the practice of supporting a body of horse smaller than the number agreed for, and the practice of purveyance or levying their supplies without payment. Sir Thomas Roe, from A.D. 1615 to 1618 English ambassador at the court of the emperor Jahángir, gives in his journal some idea of the extent to which, at that time, these irregular practices were carried: 'The (Pátan) viceroy's government was estimated at 5000 horse, the yearly pay of each trooper being £20 (Rs. 200), of which he kept only 1500 on foot, being allowed the surplus as dead pay. On one occasion this governor wished to present me with 100 loaves of the finest sugar, as white as snow, each loaf weighing fifty pounds; and on my declining, said, 'You refuse these from me, thinking I am poor; but being made in my government it costs me nothing, as it comes to me gratis.' Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr's *Voyages*, IX. 282-284. The same writer, the best qualified of the English travellers of that time to form a correct opinion, thus describes the administration of the Musalmán governors of the seventeenth century: 'They practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions, and are exceedingly averse from any way being opened by which the king may be informed of their infamous proceedings. They grind the people under their government to extract money from them, often hanging men up by the heels to make them confess that they are rich, or to ransom themselves from faults merely imputed with a view to fleece them.' Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr's *Voyages*, IX. 338.

² Of these settlements the principal was that of the Ráthor chief who founded Idar, now one of the states of the Máhi Kántha division. About the same time also, thirteenth century A.D., the Gohils from the north, and the Shoda Parmárs, and the Káthis from Sindh, entered Gujarát. Rás Málá, II. 269.

³ The following is a description of Gujarát about the year A.D. 1300: 'The air of Gujarát is healthy, and the earth picturesque; the vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year, and the strength of the soil is such that the cotton plants spread

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Under the
Ahmadabad
Kings,
1403-1573.

The period of the rule of the Áhmadabad kings (A.D. 1403-1573) contains two subdivisions,—one lasting from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1530, on the whole a time of strong government and growing power and prosperity; the other consisting of forty-three years, from A.D. 1530 to the transfer of the province to the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573, a time of disorder and misrule. When Gujarát separated from Delhi (A.D. 1403) the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the north-west were the independent chiefs of Jhálór and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. On the east the Rájá of Idar, another Rájput prince, was in possession of the nearer part of the hills and forests, and the rest of that tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kolis. On the west the peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes, probably tributary, but by no means obedient.¹ In the midst of so unsettled and warlike a population, all the efforts of Muzafar, the founder of the dynasty, were spent in establishing his power. It was not until the reign of his successor Áhmad I. (A.D. 1412-1443) that steps were taken to settle the different classes of the people in conditions of permanent order. About the year A.D. 1420 two important measures were introduced,—one assigning lands for the support of the troops, the other recognising the rights of the superior class of Hindu landholders to a portion of the village lands they had formerly held. The effect of these changes was to establish order throughout the districts directly under the authority of the crown. And though, in the territories subject to feudatory chiefs, the presence of an armed force was still required to give effect to the king's claims of tribute, his increasing power and wealth made efforts at independence more hopeless, and gradually ended in the subjection of the greater number of his vassals. During the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century the power of the Áhmadabad kings was at its height. At that time their dominions included twenty-five divisions or *sarkárs*. There were, besides, the nine districts—Pátan, Áhmadabad, Godhra, Chámpáner, Baroda, Broach, Nádod (Rájpipla), Sínth, and Surat—among which the central plain of Gujarát was distributed; in the north four divisions—Jodhpur, Jhálór, Nágór, and Sirohi, now in Rájputána; in the north-east two—Dûngarpur and Bânsvâda, now in Rájputána; in the east and south-east three—Nandurbár, now in Khândesh, Mulher (Báglán), now in Násik, and Rám Nagar (Dharampur), now in Surat; in the south four—Dandá-Rájápur (Jinjira), Bombay, Bassein, and Daman, now in the Konkan; in the west two—Sorath and Navánagar, now in Káthiáwár; and Cutch in

their branches like willow and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively; and besides Cambay, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth, there are 70,000 towns and villages, all populous, and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries.' Elliot's History of India, III. 31, 32, and 43. Marco Polo, about A.D. 1292, says: 'In Gujarát there grows much pepper and ginger and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of twenty years.' Yule's Edition, II. 328. (The cotton referred to was probably the variety known as *devkapda* *Gossypium religiosum* or *peruvianum*, which grows from ten to fifteen feet high, and bears for several years. Royle, 149-150).

¹ Elphinstone's History, 762.

the north-west. Besides the revenues of these districts, there was a tribute from the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijápur, Berár, Golkonda, and Burhánpur, and custom-dues from twenty-five ports on the western coast of India, and twenty-six foreign marts, some of them in India and others in the Persian Gulf and along the Arabian coast.¹ The total revenue realised from these three sources of income is said, in prosperous times, to have amounted to a yearly sum of £11,460,000 (Rs. 11,46,00,000). Of this total sum the territorial revenue from the twenty-five districts yielded £5,840,000 (Rs. 5,84,00,000), or slightly more than one-half of the whole amount. Of the remaining £5,620,000 (Rs. 5,62,00,000) about one-fifth part was derived from the Deccan tribute, and the rest from custom-dues.²

The buildings at Ahmadabad, and the ruins of Chámpáner and Mahmudabad,³ prove how much wealth was at the command of the sovereign, while the accounts of the travellers who visited Gujarát at this time seem to show that the expenditure of the court was not greater than the kingdom was well able to bear. The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was in Gujarát between A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1514, gives a detailed account of the province: 'Inland' he found 'the capital Chámpáner, a great city, a very fertile country of abundant provisions, and many cows, sheep, goats, and plenty of fruit, so that it was full of all things'; and Ahmadabad 'still larger, very rich and well supplied, embellished with good streets and squares, with houses of stone and cement.'

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¹ Bird's History of Gujarát, 110, 129, and 130.

² The passage from the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Bird 109, is: 'A sum of 25 *lákhs* of *huns* and one *kror* of *ibrahims*, that were two parts greater, being altogether nearly equal to 5 *krors* and 62 *lákhs* of rupees, was collected from the Deccan tribute and the customs of the European and Arab ports.' The word *hun*, from an old Karnátak word for gold, is the Musalmán name for the coin known among Hindus as *varáha* or the wild-boar coin, and among the Portuguese as the *pagoda* or temple coin. Prinsep Ind. Ant., Thomas' Ed. II., U.T. 18. The old specimens of this coin weigh either 60 grains the *máda* or half *pagoda*, or 120 grains the *hun* or full *pagoda*. Thomas, Chron. Pat. Ks. II. 224, note. The star *pagoda*, in which English accounts at Madras were formerly kept, weighs 52.56 grains, and was commonly valued at 8s. or Rs. 4 (Prinsep as above). At this rate in the present sum the 25 *lákhs* of *huns* would equal one *kror* (100 *lákhs*) of rupees. The *ibrahim*, 'two parts greater than the *hun*,' would seem to be a gold coin, perhaps a variety of the Persian *ashrafi* (worth about 9s. English. Marsden N. O., 455). Taking the two parts of a *hun* as *fdams* or sixteenths, this would give the *ibrahim* a value of Rs. 4½, and make a total custom revenue of 450 *lákhs* of rupees. This statement of the revenues of the kingdom is, according to the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, taken from such times as the power of the Gujarát kings continued to increase. The total revenue of the twenty-five districts (£5,840,000) is the amount recovered in the year A.D. 1571. But the receipts under the head of Tribute must have been compiled from accounts of earlier years. For, as will be seen lower down, the neighbouring kings ceased to pay tribute after the end of the reign of Bahádúr (A.D. 1536), while the custom revenues entered as received from Daman and other places must have been taken from the accounts of some years previous to A.D. 1560.

³ The remains at Chámpáner in the British district of the Panch Maháls are well known. Of Mahmudabad, the town of that name in the district of Káira, eighteen miles from Ahmadabad, a few ruins only are now left. But in A.D. 1590 this city is said to have contained many 'grand edifices surrounded with a wall eleven miles (7 *kos*) square, and at every ½ mile (¼ *kos*) of which is erected a pleasure house, with an enclosure in which are deer and other game.' (Ain Akbari: Gladwin, II. 64). With regard to the share of the total revenue of the province received by the sovereign nothing is specially mentioned in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. But the greater part of the £5,620,000 derived from tribute and customs would probably go to the king, besides the lands specially set apart as crown domains, which in A.D. 1571 were returned as yielding a yearly revenue of £900,000 (900,000,000 *tankás*). This would bring the total income of the crown to a little more than 6½ millions sterling.

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It was not, however, from the interior districts of the province that the Áhmadabad kings derived the chief part of their wealth, but from those lying along the coast, enriched by manufactures and sea-trade.¹ So it was that along the shores of the gulf of Cambay, and southward as far as Bombay, the limit of the Gujarát kingdom, besides many small sea-ports, Barbosa chooses out for special mention twelve 'towns of commerce, very rich and of great trade.' Among these was Diu, off the south coast of Káthiáwár, yielding so large a revenue to the king as to be 'a marvel and amazement;' and chief of all Cambay, in a goodly, fertile, and pretty country full of abundant provisions; with rich merchants and men of great prosperity; with craftsmen and mechanics of subtle workmanship in cotton, silk, ivory, silver, and precious stones; the people well dressed, leading luxurious lives, much given to pleasure and amusement.² From the defeat of king Bahádúr (A.D. 1526-1536) by the emperor Hûmáyun in A.D. 1535 to the annexation of Gujarát by Akbar in A.D. 1573 was a time of confusion and misgovernment. During those years, abroad, the superiority of Gujarát over the neighbouring powers was lost, and the limits of the kingdom were curtailed, while at home, after the attempted confiscation (A.D. 1545) of the shares in village lands held by superior landowners, disaffection became general, and the court, beyond the narrow limits of the crown domains, ceased to exercise any substantial control, either of its chief nobles or of the more turbulent classes of the population. Still, in spite of these forty years of disorder, the province retained so much of its former prosperity, that the boast of the local historians that Gujarát was still (A.D. 1783) in every respect allowed to be the finest country

¹ So Sikandar bin Bahlul, emperor of Delhi, A.D. 1488-1577, is reported to have said: 'The magnificence of the kings of Delhi consists of wheat and barley, whilst that of the king of Gujarát, who has eighty-four ports under him, has its foundation on coral and pearls.' Bird, 132.

² The twelve Gujarát ports mentioned by Barbosa, are: On the south coast of the peninsula, two—Patenixi (Pátan-Somnáth, now Verával), very rich and of great trade; Surati-Mangalor, a town of commerce, and Diu. On the shores of the gulf of Cambay four—Gogári (Gogha), a large town; Barbesy (Broach); Guandari or Gandar (Gandhár), a very good town; and Cambay. On the western coast five—Ravel (Ránder), a rich place; Surat, a city of very great trade; Denvy (Gandevi), a place of great trade; Baxay (Balsár), a good seaport in which much goods are exchanged; and Tanamayambu (Thána-Máhim), a town of great Moorish mosques, but of little trade. (Stanley's Barbosa, 59-68). The only one of these ports whose identification seems doubtful is Ravel, described by Barbosa (p. 67) as a pretty town of the Moors on a good river, twenty leagues south of Gandhár. This agrees with the position of Ránder on the Tápti, nearly opposite Surat, mentioned under the name Ránir, both in the Áin Akbari (A.D. 1590) and in the Mirat-i-Áhmadi for the year A.D. 1571, as a place of trade, 'in ancient times a great city.' In his description of the wealth of Cambay, Barbosa is supported by the other European travellers of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries. According to Nicolo de Conti (A.D. 1420-1444), the town, including its suburbs, was twelve miles in circuit, abounding in spikenard, lac, indigo, myrabolans, and silk. Athanasius Nikotin (A.D. 1468-1474) found it a manufacturing place for every sort of goods—as long gowns, damasks, and blankets; and Varthema (A.D. 1503-1508) says of it, 'abounding in grain and very good fruits, supplying Africa, Arabia, and India with silk and cotton stuffs, it is impossible to describe its excellence.' Barbosa's account of Áhmadabad is also borne out by the statement of the author of the Mirat-i-Áhmadi, that it once contained 380 quarters (*purdas*), each quarter of considerable size, containing good buildings and markets filled with everything valuable and rare, so that each is almost a city. Bird, 311. (In the Áin Akbari, Gladwin II. 63, the whole number of the quarters of the city is given at 360).

in Hindustán—is to some extent supported by the details shortly afterwards (A.D. 1590) given by the author of the *Áin-i-Akbari*. This writer describes the high road from Pátan (Anhilpur) to Baroda as being throughout all its length of 150 miles (100 *kos*) lined on both sides with mango trees; the fields bounded with hedges; and so great an abundance of mango and other fruit trees that the whole country seemed a garden. The people, too, were well housed in dwellings with walls of brick and mortar and with tiled roofs; many of them rode in carriages drawn by oxen; and the province was famous for its painters, carvers, in-layers, and other craftsmen.¹

The period of Moghal rule, like the period of the rule of the Áhmadabad kings, contains two divisions—a term on the whole of good government, lasting from A.D. 1573 to A.D. 1700, and a time of disorder, from A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1760. Under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, the area of the province was considerably reduced. Of its twenty-five districts nine were restored to the States from which they had been conquered, by the vigour of the Áhmadabad kings. Of these two—Jodhpur and Jálór—were transferred to Rájputána; one—Nágór—to Ajmir; two—Mulher and Nandurbár—to Khándesh; three—Bombay, Bassein, and Daman—were allowed to remain under the Portuguese; and one—Danda-Rájapur (Jinjira)—was made over to the Nizámsháhi (A.D. 1490-1595) rulers of Ahmadnagar in the Deccan. Of the remaining sixteen, six—Dungarpur and Bānsváda, now in Rájputána; Sirovi, now in Rájputána; Cutch; Sunth in Revá Kántha, and Rámnagar (Dharampur) in Surat—were, on the payment of tribute, allowed to continue in the hands of their Hindu rulers. The ten remaining districts were administered directly by Imperial officers. But as the revenues of the district of Surat had been separately assigned to its manager (*mútasaddi*, literally revenue clerk), only nine districts with 184 sub-divisions or *parganáhs* were entered in the collections from the viceroy of Gujarát. These nine districts were in continental Gujarát—Pátan with 17 sub-divisions; Áhmadabad with 33; Godhra with 11; Chámpáner with 13; Baroda with 4; Broach with 14; and Rájpipla (Nádod) with 12. In the peninsula were Sorath with 62 and Navánagar with 17 sub-divisions. This lessening of the size of the province would seem to have been accompanied by even more than a corresponding reduction in the amount of the State demand. Instead of £5,840,050 (Rs. 5,84,00,500) the revenue recovered in A.D. 1571, two years before the province was annexed, under the arrangement introduced by the emperor Akbar, the total amount, including the receipts from Surat and the tribute of the six feudatory districts, is returned at £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) or but little more than one-third part of what was formerly collected.

According to the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* this revenue of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) continued to be realised as late as the reign of Muhammad Sháh (A.D. 1719-1748). But before the time in which he was writing (A.D. 1748-1762) the whole revenue had fallen to £1,235,000 (Rs. 1,23,50,000). Of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130),

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¹ Gladwin's *Áin-i-Akbari*, II. 62-63.

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the total amount levied by Akbar on the annexation of the province, £520,501 (Rs. 52,05,010), or a little more than a quarter, were set apart for the Imperial use and royal expenses; £55,000 (Rs. 5,50,000) were assigned for the support of the viceroy and the personal estates of the nobles; and the remainder was settled for the pay of other officers of rank and court officials. Nearly £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000) were given away as rewards and pensions to religious orders and establishments.¹

Besides lightening the pressure of the State demand, three measures were introduced by the emperor Akbar to improve the condition of the province. These were: (1) the survey of the land; (2) the payment of the chief men or *mukadams* of government villages; and (3) the restoration to the small landholders of the superior class of the share they formerly enjoyed in the lands of government villages. The survey which was entrusted to Rájá Todar Mal, the revenue minister of the empire, was completed in A.D. 1575. The operations were, however, confined to a small portion of the whole area of the province. Besides the six tributary districts which were unaffected by the measure, Godhra in the east, the western peninsula, and a large portion of the central strip of directly governed lands were excluded, so that of the 184 subdivisions only 64 were surveyed. Of 7,261,849 acres (12,360,594 *bighás*), the whole area measured, 4,920,818 acres (8,374,498 *bighás*), or about two-thirds, were in A.D. 1575 found to be fit for cultivation, and the remainder was waste. In those parts of the directly governed districts where the land was not measured, the old method of determining the government share of the produce by selecting a portion of the field while the crop was still standing, or dividing the grain heap at harvest time, was continued. In surveyed districts the amount paid was determined by the area and

¹ Bird's History of Gujarát. Another detailed statement of the revenue of Gujarát given in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, apparently for the time when the author wrote (A.D. 1760) gives: Revenue from crown lands £2,107,518; tribute-paying divisions or *sarkárs* £12,700; Mahi Kántha tribute £178,741; Wátrak Kántha tribute £159,768; and Sámbar Kántha tribute £121,151; in all £2,579,878: adding to this £20,000 for Cutch, £40,000 for Dungarpur, and £5000 for Sirohi, or a total of £65,000, gives a grand total of £2,644,878. According to a statement given by Bird in a note at page 108 of his History, the revenue of Gujarát under Jahángir (A.D. 1605-1627) averaged £1,250,000; under Aurangzeb (A.D. 1658-1707) £1,519,622; and under Muhammad Sháh (A.D. 1719-1748) £1,218,360. In this passage the revenue under the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) is given at £66,845, but this total is taken from Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari; and at vol. II. p. 73 of that work there would seem to be some miscalculation; for while the total number of *dams* ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee) is 43,68,02,301, the conversion into rupees is Rs. 10,96,123 instead of Rs. 1,09,20,057 $\frac{1}{4}$. The corresponding returns given by Mr. Thomas (Rev. of the Mog. Emp. p. 52) are under Akbar, A.D. 1594, £1,092,412; under Sháh Jahán, A.D. 1648, £1,325,000; and under Aurangzeb, A.D. 1658 £2,173,220, A.D. 1663-1666 £1,339,500, A.D. 1697 £2,330,500, and A.D. 1707 £1,519,623. The varieties in the currency employed in different parts of the accounts cause some confusion in calculating the Gujarát revenue. Under the Ahmadabad kings the accounts were kept in *tankhás* or $\frac{1}{100}$ of rupees, while under the Moghals *dams* or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a rupee took the place of *tankhás*. The revenues from Surat, Baroda, Broach and other districts south of Máhi, were returned in *changizis*, a coin varying in value from something over $\frac{3}{4}$ ds of a rupee to slightly less than $\frac{1}{2}$; the revenues from Rádhanpur and Morvi were entered in *mahmudis*, a coin nearly identical in value with the *changizi*, while, as noticed above, the tribute and custom dues are returned in a gold currency, the tribute in *huns* of about 8s. (Rs. 4) and the customs in *ibráhims* of 9s. (Rs. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$).

character of the land under cultivation. Payment was made either in grain or in money, according to the instructions issued to the revenue-collectors, 'that when it would not prove oppressive the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price.'¹ But the chief change in the revenue management was that, instead of each year calculating the government share from the character of the crop, a uniform demand was fixed to run for a term of ten years.

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Another important effect of this survey was to extend to cultivators in simple villages the proprietary interests in the soil formerly enjoyed only by the shareholders of joint villages. By this change the power of the military nobles to make undue exactions from the cultivators in their assigned lands was to some extent checked. It was, perhaps, also an indirect effect of this more definite settlement of the State demand that the revenue agents of government and of the holders of assigned lands, finding that the revenues could be realised without their help, refused to allow to the heads of villages certain revenue dues which, in return for their services, they had hitherto enjoyed. Accordingly, in A.D. 1589-1590, these heads of villages appealed to government and Akbar decided that from the collections of government lands—in assigned districts as well as in the crown domains—two-and-a-half per cent should be set apart as a perquisite for men of this class.²

When the heads of villages laid their own private grievance

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), I. 305. Four ways of calculating the amount of the state share in an unsurveyed field are given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: (1) to measure the land with the crops standing and make an estimate; (2) to reap the crops, collect the grain in barns, and divide it according to agreement; (3) to divide the field as soon as the seed is sown; and (4) to gather the grain into heaps on the field and divide it there.

² The men to whom this 2½ per cent was granted are referred to in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* as *desdis*. Whatever doubt there may be as to the precise meaning of this term, this much seems clear, that it was as headmen of the villages that they petitioned for and received this grant. These were the heads of the villages with whom, as noticed above, the government agent for collecting the revenue dealt, and who, agreeing for the whole amount that was to be recovered from the village, themselves carried out the actual details of collection from the individual cultivators. In the sharehold villages north of the Narbada, the headman, who would be entitled to this 2½ per cent, would be the representative of the body of village shareholders. South of the Narbada, in the villages 'originally colonised by officers of the state, who, placed in charge of a district or part of a district, collected cultivators, assigned them sites, gave them advances of food, money, and materials, and thus founded villages of which they had the entire management' (see *Indian Economist* for 1869, p. 83)—it would be by the representatives of these officers that the 2½ per cent grant would be enjoyed. Persons holding the position of heads of villages in Southern Gujarāt were called *desdis*, and acted as district hereditary revenue officers; but it was not as district hereditary revenue officers, but as heads of villages, that they received from Akbar this 2½ per cent assignment. In Northern Gujarāt there were *desdis* who were only district revenue officers. These men would seem to have received no part of Akbar's grant in 1589-90, for as late as A.D. 1706 the emperor Aurangzeb, having occasion to make inquiries into the position of *desdis*, found that hitherto they had been supported by cesses and illegal exactions, and ordered that a stop should be put to all such exactions, and a fixed assignment of 2½ per cent on the revenues of the villages under their charge be allowed to them. It does not appear whether the Surat *desdis* succeeded in obtaining this grant of 2½ per cent as district revenue officers in addition to the Akbar (A.D. 1589) assignment of 2½ per cent as heads of villages.

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Viceroy,
1573-1760.

before government, they also brought to its notice that the Koli and Rájput landowners, whose shares in government villages had been resumed by the crown in A.D. 1545, had since that time continued in a state of discontent and revolt 'and were then causing the ruin of the subjects and a deficiency of the government collections.' An inquiry was instituted, and, to satisfy the claims of landowners of this class, it was agreed that, on furnishing good security for their conduct and receiving the government mark on their contingent of cavalry, they should again be put in possession of a one-fourth share in the land of government villages. While the province was managed agreeably to these regulations, says the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*, it continued to increase in prosperity.¹

Still, though these measures did much to put a stop to internal disorder, Gujarát, for several years after it came under Imperial control, continued to be much disturbed by insurrections among the nobles, and so imperfectly protected was it from the attacks of foreign enemies that between the years A.D. 1573 and 1609 each of its three richest cities—Áhmadabad, Cambay, and Surat—was in succession taken and plundered.² During the rest of the seventeenth century, though the country was from time to time disturbed by Koli and Rájput risings, and towards the end of the century suffered much from the attacks of the Maráthás, the Viceroy was, on the whole, able to maintain their authority, repressing the outbreaks of the disorderly classes, and enforcing the Imperial claims for tribute on the more independent feudatory chiefs. Throughout the greater part of the century the general state of the province seems to have been prosperous. Its cities were the wonder of European travellers. Surat, which only since the transfer of Gujarát to the Moghal empire had risen to hold a place among its chief centres of trade, was, in A.D. 1664, when taken by Shiváji, rich enough to supply him with plunder, in treasure, and precious stones worth a million sterling;³ and at that time Cambay is said to

¹ Bird, 409.

² Áhmadabad (A.D. 1583) by Muzafar Sháh, the former king of Gujarát; Cambay (A.D. 1573) by Muhammad Husain Mirza; and Surat (A.D. 1609) by Malik Amber the famous general of the king of Áhmadnagar. As regards the general order maintained in the country, it seems that in the beginning of the 17th century native merchants trading between Áhmadabad and Cambay travelled in large weekly caravans resting at nights in a space barricaded by a circle of carts. (Kerr, IX. 127 and 201). The English merchants, on their way from one factory to another, were accompanied by an escort, and, in spite of their guard, were on more than one occasion attacked by large bands of Rájputs. (Kerr, IX. 187, 203). As regards the state of the different parts of the province, Nicholas Ufflet, who went from Agra to Surat about 1610, describes the north, from Jhálor to Áhmadabad, as throughout the whole way a sandy and woody country, full of thievish beastly men, and savage beasts such as lions and tigers; from Áhmadabad to Cambay the road was through sands and woods much infested by thieves; from Cambay to Broach it was a woody and dangerous journey; but from Broach to Surat the country was goodly, fertile, and full of villages, abounding in wild date trees. (Kerr, VIII. 303). Passing through from the mouth of the Tápti to Surat Mr. Copland (24th December 1613) was quite delighted to see at the same time the goodliest spring and harvest combined he had ever seen anywhere. 'Often of two adjoining fields, one was as green as a fine meadow, and the other waving yellow like gold and ready to be cut down, and all along the roads were many goodly villages.' (Kerr, IX. 119).

³ Orme's Historical Fragments, 12.

have been beyond comparison greater than Surat, and Áhmadabad much richer and more populous than either.¹

From the beginning of the eighteenth century disorders increased in Gujarát. Unable to rely for support on the Imperial court, the Viceroy failed to maintain order among the leading nobles, or to enforce their tribute from the more powerful of the feudatory chiefs. And while the small Koli Rájput landholders, freed from the control of a strong central power, were destroying the military posts, taking possession of the state share of the village lands, and levying dues from their more peaceful neighbours, the tribute claims of the Maráthás were from year to year becoming a heavier burden on the province. During the last ten years of Musalmán rule so entirely did the Viceroy's authority forsake him, that, according to the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*, when the great landholders refused to pay their tribute, what power had the Viceroy to enforce it? And so faithless had they become that he could not pass the city gate without an escort from them.²

It is necessary before concluding this preface to give one glance at the three different classes of tributaries: (1) The *zamindárs* of the tributary *sarkárs*; (2) The greater *zamindárs* of the crown districts; and (3) The lesser *zamindárs* coming under the denomination of *grásíás* and *vántáddárs* and from whom a fixed *salámi* was levied.

The principle followed was that where there was military service there was no tribute, and though the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* says that finally the *zamindárs* of the tributary *sarkárs* ceased to do service, yet it seems probable that some of them served almost until the final collapse of the empire, and that but rarely was tribute levied from them by an armed force. Thus in the mention of the office of *súbahdár* or *názim súbah* in the third volume of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* the following passage occurs: 'And the *názims* used to take with their armies when occasion arose the contingents of the Ránás of Udyapur, Dungarpur, and Bánsvádá, which were always permanently posted outside their official residences' (in Áhmadabad), thus showing that these great *zamindárs* had official residences at the capital, and probably kept *vakíls* there, and there also their contingents were posted. It seems probable therefore that their tribute too would be paid through their representatives at the capital and that a military force was very seldom sent against them, and accordingly we rarely read of military expeditions in the tributary *sarkárs* though they were of constant occurrence in the crown districts.

The *zamindárs* in the *khálsah* or crown districts were very differently situated, and their relations to the central power were most instructive. They had been deprived of the greater portion of

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Viceroys,
1573-1760.

General sketch of
the three classes
of tributaries.

Zamindárs of
the tributary
Sarkárs.

Zamindárs of the
Crown districts.

¹ The following are some of the notices of Áhmadabad and Cambay by the European travellers of the eighteenth century: Cambay, 1598, trade so great that if he had not seen it he would not have believed it possible (Cæsar Fredrick); 1638, beyond comparison larger than Surat (Mandelslo, 101-108); 1663-1671, twice as big as Surat (Baldæus in Churchill, III. 506). Áhmadabad, 1598, a very great city and populous (Cæsar Fredrick); 1638, great manufactures, satin and velvet, silk and cotton (Mandelslo, 80); 1695, the greatest city in India, nothing inferior to Venice for rich silks and gold stuffs. (Gemelli Careri in Churchill, IV. 188). ² Bird, 441.

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Zemindárs of
the Crown
districts.

their ancestral estates which were administered direct by the viceregal revenue establishment, and in some instances their capitals had been also annexed, and in almost all cases were the seat of a *foujdár* who wielded all the authority and encroached daily on the rights and privileges of the chieftains. The principal chiefs so situated were Rájpipla and Idar in Gujarát and the Jám of Navánagar in Káthiáwár, but there were innumerable smaller chieftains in both the provinces mentioned, who, at the collapse of the empire, by absorbing crown villages and even *parganáhs* acquired considerable holdings. The Muhammadan chieftains of the present day were usually *foujdárs*, who also in that time of anarchy contrived to render themselves independent of the central power. Of the three chieftains mentioned above Rájpipla had been deprived of his capital Nándod and all the fertile districts, and was reduced to a barren sovereignty over rocks and hills and Bhils at Rájpipla. Idar had suffered nearly similar treatment and the capital was the seat of a Muhammadan *foujdár*. Navánagar formerly was a tributary *sarkár* but was made a crown district during the reign of Aurangzeb, but after the death of this emperor the Jám returned to his capital and again resumed his tributary relations.

Smaller
Zamindárs,
Grásiás,
and others.

The lesser holders including *grásiás*, *vántúdárs*, and others had suffered similar deprivation of lands and were subject to much encroachment from the government officials. Much discontent prevailed throughout the empire among subordinate holders of this description as well as among all the *zamindárs* of the crown districts, and consequently the successes of Shiváji in the Deccan were ardently sympathised with even in Gujarát. When too the *zamindárs* saw that this Hindu rebel was strong enough to pillage the wealthy emporium of Surat they began to hope that the day of their deliverance was approaching. The death of Aurangzeb was the signal for all these restless spirits to bestir themselves, and when later on the Maráthás commenced regular inroads into the province, they were everywhere hailed as deliverers from the yoke of the Moghal. The Rájpipla chief afforded them shelter and a passage through his country in which they erected fortified posts, and the aid of the chiefs—the encouragement to anarchy given by some of the Rájput viceroys who were anxious not only to secure for themselves portions of Imperial territory adjoining their own possessions but to emancipate themselves entirely from the central control—enabled many chieftains, *grásiás*, and others to absorb large portions of the crown domains, and even recover their ancient capitals. Added to these causes was the disaffection of the Muhammadan *foujdárs* who also resolved to build up hereditary estates out of the possessions of the crown, and who succeeded in doing so. But when the Imperial power had entirely vanished and had been usurped by the Maráthá leaders, the chiefs who had just shaken off a more onerous yoke were by no means tamely disposed to submit to Maráthá domination. Momin Khán actually reconquered Áhmádabad, while each and every chief resisted the levy of tribute. The Maráthás laboured under the disadvantage of internal dissensions between the Peshwa and Gaikwár and of being unaware of the actual extent either of the old Imperial

The Chiefs are
unwilling to
pay the
Maráthá tribute.

domain or of the amount of tribute formerly levied, and they found that the *foujdárs* who in return for their aid in enabling them to absorb the crown *parganáhs* had agreed to tribute now joined the *zamindárs* in resisting their demands, while the *desáis* and *majmudárs* with but few exceptions either openly allied themselves with the *zamindárs* or were by force or fraud deprived of their records. The Maráthás consequently found the greatest difficulty in collecting the tribute, and had it not been for the British alliance in A.D. 1802, there seems little doubt but that the Gáikwár would have been unable to enforce his tribute demands on his more distant possessions. But the British alliance checked the further disintegration of the Gáikwár power, and the permanent settlement of the tribute early in this century enabled that chief to collect a large revenue at a comparatively trifling cost. Not only were rebels like Malhárráo and Kánoji suppressed, but powerful servants like Vithalráv Deváji, who without doubt would have asserted their independence, were confirmed in their allegiance; while the rich possessions they had acquired became part of the Gáikwár dominions.

It must not be supposed that while the larger chiefs were busy absorbing whole *parganáhs* that the lesser chiefs were more backward. They too annexed villages and even Imperial *thánahs*, while *vántádárs* absorbed the *talpat*, and daring spirits imposed under the name of *tora grás*¹ certain rights over crown villages once their ancient possessions, or, under the name of *pál* or *vol*, enforced payments for immunity from pillage from neighbouring villages. Thus of even the thirteen *thánahs* of the Baroda *sarkár* itself, but ten now belong to the Gáikwár, two having been conquered by *grásíds* and one having fallen under Broach. Not a single Imperial *thánah* in Sauráshttra except Ránpur and Gogha and those situated in the Amreli district, are in the possession of either the British Government or the Gáikwár, and a reference to the Imperial *thánahs* in other parts of Gujarát will show that there also the same state of things prevailed. In brief it may be said that each successive government in Gujarát under the Muhammadans has been subverted by the ambition of the nobles and the disaffection of the chiefs. It was thus that the Gujarát Sultáns rendered themselves independent of Delhi. It was thus that their territories became divided amongst the nobles and eventually their dissensions rendered the intervention of Akbar necessary and reduced the province to his authority. It was thus that the chiefs and local governors, conniving at the Marátha inroads, subverted the Imperial rule; and it was thus that the Gáikwár until the British alliance, was gradually losing his hold over the turbulent chieftains who had in the first instance invited his aid.

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Difficulty experienced by the Maráthás in collecting the tribute.

Advantages of the British alliance.

Causes of the subversion of previous Governments.

¹ *Tora grás*. The origin of this word is usually supposed to be the projected ends of the transoms on the jamb posts of the doors of the villagers (*toda*) showing that the levy was exacted from all the inhabitants of a village. It seems, however, more probable that it is derived from the word *toda*, signifying a heap or a bag of money, thus showing it to have been a readymoney levy. It differed from *vol* in this, that it was exacted from the lands originally belonging to the ancestors of him who levied the tax; whence the suffix *grás*, which strictly applies only to land granted in appanage.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY MUSALMÁN GOVERNORS, A.D. 1297-1403.

Alá-ud-din
Khilji,
Emperor,
1295-1315.

Musalmán
conquest of
Gujarát,
1297.

ALAGH KHÁN,
Governor,
1297-1317.

Early Musalmán Governors.

AIN-UL-MULK,
Governor,
1318.

Order established,
1318.

WITH the exception of the great expedition of Muhammad Ghaznavi against Somnāth,¹ A.D. 1024-1026; the defeat of Muhammad Ghori by Bhim Dev II. of Anhilvāda² about A.D. 1178; and the subsequent sack of Anhilvāda and defeat of Bhim by Kutb-ud-din Eibak, A.D. 1194, Gujarát was, until the reign of Alá-ud-din Khilji, A.D. 1295-1315, free from all interference from the Muhammadans.³ But in A.D. 1297, Alagh Khán, general of Alá-ud-din, was, together with Nasrat Khán Vazir, sent against Anhilvāda, which they conquered, expelling Karan Wághela, usually called Ghelo or 'The Mad,' who took refuge at Devgarh⁴ with Rámdeva, the sovereign of that principality. They then conquered Khambhát (the modern Cambay), and, appointing a local governor, returned to Delhi. From this time Gujarát fell under the Muhammadan power, and Alagh Khán, a man of great energy, by repeated expeditions, consolidated the conquest and established the Muhammadan rule. The Kánaddeva Rása says that he plundered Somnāth, and there is no doubt but that he conquered Jhálór⁵ (the ancient Jhálindar) from the Songarha Choháns. Alagh Khán held the government of Gujarát for about twenty years, when, at the instigation of Malik Káfur, he was recalled and put to death by the emperor Alá-ud-din.

After his departure Muhammadan power in Gujarát was much shaken, and Malik Kámil-ud-din, sent by Mubáarak Khilji to quell the disturbances, was slain in battle, and the sedition spread. It was now that Ain-ul-Mulk Multáni arrived with a powerful army, and through his exertions the rebels were beaten and order re-established. He was succeeded by Zufar Khán, who completed the subjection of the country. But this able governor was also recalled, and his place supplied by Hisám-ud-din Parmár. This officer, showing treasonable intentions, was imprisoned and succeeded by Malik Waji-ud-din Kuraishi, who was afterwards ennobled by the title of Táj-ul-Mulk. Khusrav Khán Parmár was then appointed governor, but it is not clear whether he ever joined his appointment; and the next governor of whom we have any account was

¹ Somnāth (north latitude 20° 55' and east longitude 70° 23'), the temple of Mahádev, 'Lord of the Moon,' near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Káthiáwár.

² Anhilvāda (north latitude 23° 48' and east longitude 72° 2'), Nehrwala, or Pátan, on the south bank of the Saraswati river, sixty-five miles north-east of Ahmadabad, from A.D. 746 to A.D. 1298 the capital of the Rájput dynasties of Gujarát.

³ There is an account in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi of an expedition by one Alifkhán, a noble of Sultán Sanjar's against Anhilvāda in A.D. 1257. He is said to have built the large stone mosque without the city. Alifkhán returned unsuccessful but not without levying tribute.

⁴ Deogarh. This is supposed to have been Daulatabad in the Deccan, situated about ten miles north-west of Aurangabad (north latitude 19° 57' and east longitude 75° 18'). *N.B.*—The Mirat-i-Ahmadi says distinctly Devgad Chaudah, which is in the Central Provinces.

⁵ Jhálór (north latitude 25° 23' and east longitude 72° 40'), in the Rájput State of Jodhpur, seventy-one miles south-west by south from the town of that name.

Táj-ul-Mulk, who about A.D. 1320 was, for the second time, chosen as governor by Sultán Gheías-ud-din Toghlak. He was succeeded by Malik Mukbil, who held the titles of Khán Jahán and Náib-i-Mukhtár, and who was appointed by Sultán Muhammad Toghlak, A.D. 1325-1351. Subsequently the same emperor granted the government of Gujarát to Ahmad Eíáz, Malik Mukbil continuing to act as his deputy. Afterwards when Ahmad Eíáz, who received the title of Khwája Jahán, proceeded as governor to Gujarát, Malik Mukbil acted as his minister. And about A.D. 1338, when Khwája Jahán was sent against the emperor's nephew Kurshásp, and the Rája of Kampila¹ who had sheltered him, Malik Mukbil succeeded to the post of governor. Finally, Malik Mukbil was, about A.D. 1347, sent to Daulatabad, and his place supplied by Moiz-ud-din.

About A.D. 1346 certain Muhammadan nobles of Gujarát leaguering with the Hindu chieftains, rebelled and defeated one Aziz, who was appointed by the emperor to march against them. On this occasion Muhammad Toghlak, in the year A.D. 1347, advancing in person against the rebels, totally defeated them, and, at the same time, sacked the towns of Cambay and Surat. It was also during this campaign that he drove the Gohil chief Mokheráji out of his stronghold at Piram Island, near Gogha, on the Gulf of Cambay, and then, landing his forces, after a stubborn conflict, defeated the Gohils, killing Mokheráji and capturing Gogha. Muhammad Toghlak then departed for Daulatabad in the Deccan, and in his absence the chiefs and nobles under one Malik Toghán again rebelled, and, obtaining possession of Pátan, imprisoned Moiz-ud-din the viceroy. The insurgents then plundered Cambay, and afterwards laid siege to Broach. Muhammad Toghlak at once marched for Gujarát and relieved Broach, Malik Toghán retreating to Cambay, whither he was followed by Malik Yusuf, whom the emperor sent in pursuit of him. In the battle that ensued near Cambay, Malik Yusuf was defeated and slain, and all the prisoners, both of this engagement and those who had been previously captured, were put to death by Malik Toghán. Among the prisoners was Moiz-ud-din, the governor of Gujarát. Muhammad Toghlak now marched to Cambay in person, whence Malik Toghán retreated to Pátan, pursued by the emperor, who was forced by stress of weather to halt at Asáwal.² Eventually the emperor came up with Malik Toghán near Kadi and gained a complete victory, Malik Toghán fleeing to Tatta in Sindh. Muhammad Toghlak now turned his attention to the establishment of good order in Gujarát, and marched against the hill fortress of Gírnár,³ from the chief of which he extorted tribute after he had reduced the fortress.⁴ He then

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Early Musalmán
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Muhammad
Toghlak,
Emperor,
1325-1351.
TÁJ-UL-MULK,
Governor,
1320.

The Emperor
quells an
insurrection,
1347.

Subdues the
Chiefs of Gírnár
and Cutch,
1350.

¹ In the Karnatak, probably on the Tungabhadra river near Vijayanagar. Briggs' Muhammadan Power in India, 418 and 428.

² Asáwal (north latitude 23° 0' and east longitude 72° 36'), a town of some size, afterwards, A.D. 1413, made the capital of the Musalmán kings of Gujarát and called Ahmadabad.

³ Gírnár (north latitude 21° 30' and east longitude 70° 42'), in the Sorath sub-division of the peninsula of Káthiáwár.

⁴ Both the Mirat-i-Ahmadi and the Tárikh Firoz Sháhi say that the fortress was taken, but in all probability the lower fortress of Júnágad is alluded to. It is styled Uparkot, and lies at the foot of mount Gírnár.

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Governors.

FIROZ TOGHLAK,
Emperor,
1351-1368.

ZUFAR KHÁN,
Governor,
1371.

FARHAT-UL-MULK,
Governor,
1376-1391.

Rebels and is
succeeded by

ZUFAR KHÁN,
Governor,
1391-1403.

Zufar Khán
a converted
Rájput.

went to Cutch, and after subduing that country returned to Sorath. Here, at Gondal, he contracted a fever, and before he was entirely recovered, he advanced through Cutch into Sindh with the view of subduing the Sumra chief of Tatta, who had sheltered Malik Toghán. Ere reaching Tatta, however, he succumbed to the fever, and died in the spring of the year A.D. 1351. Shortly before his death he appointed Nizám-ul-Mulk to the government of Gujarát.

Muhammad Toghlak was, in A.D. 1351, succeeded on the throne of Delhi by Firoz Toghlak. Shortly after his accession the emperor marched to Sindh and sent a force against Malik Toghán. Some years later, about A.D. 1360, he again advanced to Sindh against Jám Bárunia. From Sindh he proceeded to Gujarát, where he stayed during some months. In the following year, on leaving for Sindh for the third time, he bestowed the government of Gujarát on Zufar Khán in place of Nizám-ul-Mulk. Zufar Khán dying in about A.D. 1373 according to Ferishta, and A.D. 1371 according to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, was succeeded by his son Darya Khán as viceroy. Darya Khán, however appears to have governed by a deputy named Shams-ud-din Anwar Khán. In A.D. 1376 the revenue from Gujarát being less than in former years, one Shams-ud-din Damgháni offered a considerable advance on the usual collections. As Darya Khán would not agree to pay this sum he was displaced and Shams-ud-din Damgháni was appointed governor. Finding himself unable to pay the stipulated amount this officer rebelled and withheld the revenue entirely. Firoz Toghlak sent an army against him, and by the aid of the chieftains and people, whom he had greatly oppressed, Shams-ud-din was slain. The government of the province was then entrusted to Farhat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán. In about A.D. 1388, a noble, named Sikandar Khán, was sent to supersede Farhat-ul-Mulk, but was defeated and slain by him. No notice was, however, taken of this conduct by the Imperial government, and in the same year Firoz Toghlak died and was succeeded by Gheías-ud-din Toghlak, in whose short reign no change was made in the government of Gujarát. During the brief rule of Abu Bakar, Farhat-ul-Mulk continued undisturbed. But about A.D. 1390, on the accession of Násir-ud-din Muhammad Toghlak II., Farhat-ul-Mulk again rebelled and endeavoured to become independent.

In A.D. 1391, a noble of the name of Zufar Khán was, accordingly, appointed governor of Gujarát, and despatched with an army to recall and, if necessary, expel Farhat-ul-Mulk.

This Zufar Khán was the son of Waji-ul-Mulk, who belonged by birth to the Tánk tribe, a class of Rájputs claiming to be of the Suryavansi race, who together with the Gujars appear from very early times to have inhabited the plains of the Panjáb. Driven from the Panjáb by the pressure of the Muhammadan conquests in Northern India, these tribes, especially the Gujars, would seem, about the end of the 13th century A.D., to have been found by the Musalmán conquerors in considerable numbers near Mount Abu and in the neighbourhood of Pátan. As this city was made the seat of Musalmán government, the name of the chief inhabitants of the neighbouring country would seem to have been applied by the

Musalmáns to the whole province of which Pátan became the capital.¹ The following story is told of Waji-ul-Mulk's rise to power at the Delhi court.² Before he sat on the throne of Delhi, Firoz Toghlak, when hunting in Gujarát, is said, one day, to have lost his way, and to have come to the village of Thásra,³ then held by chieftains of the Tánk tribe. Here he was hospitably entertained by two brothers of the chief's family, named Saháran and Sádhu, and became enamoured of their beautiful sister. When his hosts learned who the stranger was, they gave him their sister in marriage and followed his fortunes. Afterwards, Firoz Toghlak, persuading them to embrace Islám, conferred on Saháran the title of Waji-ul-Mulk, and on Sádhu the title of Shamsheer Khán. Finally, in A.D. 1351, when Firoz Toghlak ascended the throne, he made Shamsheer Khán and Zufar Khán, the son of Waji-ul-Mulk, his cup-bearers, and raised them to the rank of nobles.

In A.D. 1391, on being appointed viceroy, Zufar Khán marched without delay for Gujarát. In passing Nágor⁴ he was met by a deputation of the inhabitants of Cambay, complaining of the tyranny of Rásti Khán. Consoling them, he proceeded to Pátan, the seat of government, and thence marched against Rásti Khán. The armies met near the village of Kambhu,⁵ a dependency of Pátan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán was slain and his army defeated. Zufar Khán, to commemorate the victory, founded a village on the battle-field, which he named Jitpur (the city of victory), and then, starting for Cambay, redressed the grievances of the people.

Zufar Khán's first warlike expedition was against the Ráv of Idar,⁶ who, in A.D. 1393, had refused to pay the customary tribute, and this chief he humbled. From the contemporary histories, it would seem that the previous governors had established tribute on all or most of the chiefs of Gujarát except the Ráv of Júnágad⁷ and the Rája of Rájpipla,⁸ who hitherto had retained their independence. Zufar Khán now planned an expedition against the celebrated Hindu shrine of Somnáth, but, hearing that Ádil Khán of Asir Burhánpur had invaded Sultánpur and Nandurbár,⁹ he moved his troops in that direction, and Ádil Khán retired to Asir.¹⁰ In A.D. 1394, he marched against the Ráv of Júnágad and exacted tribute. Afterwards, proceeding to Somnáth, he destroyed the temple and introduced Islám into the city of Pátan Somnáth

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ZUFAR KHÁN,
Governor,
1391-1403.

Battle of Jitpur ;
Farhat-ul-Mulk
slain,
1391.

Zufar Khán
attacks the
Chief of Idar,
1393.

Exacts tribute
from Júnágad,
1394.

¹ See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, I. 322.

² *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

³ Thásra, the head-quarters of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira.

⁴ Nágor (north latitude 27° 10' and east longitude 73° 50'), in the Rájput State of Jodhpur, eighty-four miles north-west of Nasirabad.

⁵ The Tabakát Akbari has Khánpur or Kánpur.

⁶ Idar, the principal Rájput State of the Mahi Kántha. The chief town, north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 73° 3'.

⁷ Júnágad in the Sorath sub-division of the Káthiáwár peninsula. This is Briggs' Rai of Jehrend. Júnágad was formerly called Jirangad, both names meaning ancient fortress.

⁸ Rájpipla in the Rewa Kántha division of Gujarát.

⁹ Sultánpur and Nandurbár now form part of the British district of Khándesh.

¹⁰ Asir, now Asirgad (north latitude 21° 26' and east longitude 76° 26'), beyond the north-eastern frontier of Khándesh.

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ZUFAR KHÁN,
 Governor,
 1391-1403.

Lays siege to
 Idar fort,
 1397.

Establishes Islám
 at Somnáth,
 1398.

or Deva Pátan. He now heard that the Hindus of Mándu¹ were oppressing the Maslms, and, accordingly, marching thither, he beleaguered that fortress for a year, but failing to take it contented himself with accepting the excuses of the Rája. From Mándu he performed a pilgrimage to Ajmir.² Here he proceeded against the chiefs of Sámbar and Dandwána, and then attacking the Rájputs of Delvada and Jhálávád,³ he defeated them, and returned to Pátan in A.D. 1396. About this time his son Tátár Khán, leaving his baggage in the fort of Pánipat,⁴ made an attempt against Delhi. But Ikbál Khán took the fort of Pánipat, captured Tátár Khán's baggage, and forced him to withdraw to Gujarát. In A.D. 1397, Zufar Khán determined to reduce Idar, and, accordingly, besieged the fort, laying waste the neighbouring country. But before he had taken the fort news arrived of Timur's conquests, and concluding a peace with the Idar rája, Zufar Khán returned to Pátan. In A.D. 1398, hearing that the Somnáth chief effected independence, Zufar Khán led an army against him, and subduing him established Islám on a firm footing.

¹ Mándu (north latitude 22° 20' and east longitude 75° 27'), the capital of the Pathán dynasty of Málwa, A.D. 1404-1561, has long been in ruins.

² Ajmir (north latitude 26° 29' and east longitude 74° 43'), the chief town of the district of the same name to which Sámbar and Dandwána also belong.

³ Delvada is probably Abu and Jhálávár, the modern Jhálávád in Gujarát, which in those days included Mándal, Viramgám, and part of the Chunwál.

⁴ Pánipat (north latitude 29° 23' and east longitude 77° 2'), seventy-eight miles north of Delhi.

CHAPTER II.

THE AHMADABAD KINGS, A.D. 1403-1573.

THOUGH Zufar Khán had, from the time of his first appointment as governor of Gujarát, A.D. 1391, acted as an independent ruler, he did not till A.D. 1403 openly throw off all forms of allegiance to the emperor of Delhi. In that year he formally invested his son Tátár Khán with the sovereignty of Gujarát, under the title of Násir-ud-din Muhammad Sháh.

Chapter II.
Ahmadabad
Kings.

The period of the rule of the dynasty thus established in Gujarát, extending over 170 years and including the names of fifteen sovereigns, may conveniently be divided into two parts. The first, lasting for a little more than a century and a quarter, when Gujarát, under strong rulers, rose to a position of consequence among the kingdoms of Western India; the second, from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1573, a time of confusion, during almost the whole of which the nominal sovereigns were minors, and the wealth and supremacy of Gujarát were sacrificed to the struggles for power among the chief nobles.

On ascending the throne in A.D. 1403, Muhammad Sháh made Asáwal his capital, and, after humbling the chief of Nándod,¹ marched against Delhi by way of Pátan. On hearing of his intentions, Ikbál Khán, who at this time was master of Delhi, was greatly alarmed. The Gujarát king was, however, taken ill at Pátan and died there, and was there buried, and the expedition, in consequence, came to nothing.²

Muhammad I.,
1403-1404.

After the death of Muhammad Sháh, Zufar Khán asked his own younger brother Shams Khán to carry on the government, but he refused, and Zufar Khán, accordingly, sent him to Nágor in place of Jalál Khán Ghoghar, and in A.D. 1407-8, at the request of the nobles and chief men of the country, himself formally mounted the throne and assumed the title of Muzafar Sháh. At this time Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán of Málwa, was rumoured to have poisoned his father and ascended the throne with the title of Sultán Hushang Ghorí. On hearing this, Muzafar Sháh marched against him and besieged him in Dhár.³ This town he finally reduced, handing over Alp Khán to the charge of his brother Shams Khán,

Zufar Khán
reigns as
Muzafar,
1407-1410.

¹ One of the capitals of the State of Rájpipla, then independent. The word is always written Nádót by Muhammadan historians.

² Another account, perhaps more probable, is that Tátár Khán deposed and imprisoned his father and himself ascended the throne, and that when he reached Pátan on this expedition persons friendly to his father poisoned him. After his death this sovereign was known as Khuddáigan Sháhí, according to the custom of the Sultáns of Delhi, all of whom had three names, (1) their family name, (2) their throne title, (3) their title after death. The letters of this last title contain the date of the decease of the monarch. Thus the emperor Akbar's title after death is Arsh Áshíáni, the emperor Jahángir's is Jinnat Makáni, the emperor Sháh Jahán's is Firdaus Makáni, the emperor Aurangzeb's is Khuld Makáni, &c.

³ Dhár (north latitude 22° 35' and east longitude 75° 20'), the chief place of a small sate of the same name in Málwa.

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Kings.**

Zufar Khán
reigns as
Muzafar,
1407-1410.

Dies,
1410.

Ahmad I.
1411-1441.

Ahmad I. builds
Ahmadabad,
1413.

Defeats the
Idar Chief,
1414.

Suppresses a
revolt,
1414.

on whom had been conferred the title of Nusrat Khán. Alp Khán remained a year in confinement, and Musa Khán usurped his authority. On hearing this, Alp Khán begged to be released, and Muzafar Sháh not only agreed to his prayer, but sent his grandson, Ahmad Khán, with an army to reinstate him. This expedition was successful; the town of Mándu was taken and the usurper Musa Khán put to flight. Ahmad Khán then returned to Gujarát in A.D. 1409-10. In this year the king marched against the chief of Kanbah Kot,¹ and in A.D. 1410-11 died,² poisoned, as is generally believed, by his grandson Ahmad Khán, who now succeeded him with the title of Násir-ud-dunya Wa-ud-din Abul fateh Ahmad Sháh.

Shortly after Ahmad Sháh's accession, his cousin Moid-ud-din Firoz Khán, governor of Baroda, allying himself with Nizám-ul-Mulk Bhandári and certain other of the nobles, collected an army at Nadiád in Kaira, and, laying claim to the crown, defeated the king's followers. Jivandás, one of the insurgents, then proposed to march upon Pátan, but the others refused; and a dispute arose in which Jivandás was slain, and the rest sought and obtained Ahmad Sháh's forgiveness. Moid-ud-din Firoz Khán, however, went to Cambay, and was there joined by Masti Khán, son of Muzafar Sháh, who was governor of Surat: on the king's advance they fled from Cambay to Broach, to which fort Ahmad Sháh laid siege. As soon as the king arrived Moid-ud-din's army went over to his side, and Masti Khán also submitted. After a few days Ahmad Sháh sent for and forgave Moid-ud-din, and returned to Asáwal victorious and triumphant.

Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1413-14, Ahmad Sháh attacked and defeated Asa Bhil, chief of Asáwal, and, finding the site of that town suitable for his capital, he changed its name to Ahmadabad, and busied himself in enlarging and fortifying the city. During this year Moid-ud-din Firoz Khán and Masti Khán again revolted, and, joining the Idar Rája, took shelter in that fortress. A force under Fateh Khán was despatched against the rebels, and finally Firoz Khán and the Idar Rája were forced to flee. The Rája at length, seeing that all hope of success was gone, made his peace with the king by surrendering to him the elephants, horses, and other baggage of Moid-ud-din Firoz Khan and Masti Khan, who now fled to Nágor,³ where they were sheltered by Shams Khán Dandáni. Ahmad Sháh after levying the stipulated tribute departed. Moid-ud-din Firoz Khán was afterwards slain in the war between Shams Khán and Rána Mokal of Chitor. In A.D. 1414-15 Othmán Ahmad and Shekh Malik, son of Sher Malik and Sulimán Afghán called Azam Khán, and Isa Sálár rebelled, and wrote secretly to Sultán Hushang of Málwa, inviting him to invade Gujarát, and promising to seat him on the throne and expel Ahmad Sháh. They were joined in their rebellion by Jhála Satarsálji⁴ of

¹ Kanbah Kot. The Tabakát Akbari has Kanthkot, a dependency of Cutch, which is probably correct.

² Sultán Muzafar was known, after death, by the title of Khudáigán Kabir. Tabakát Akbari.

³ Nágor in the Rájput State of Jodhpur (see above page 25).

⁴ Called in the Tabakát Akbari the Rája of Mándal.

Pátdi and other chiefs of Gujarát. Ahmad Sháh despatched Latif Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk against Shekh Malik and his associates, while he sent Imád-ul-Mulk against Sultán Hushang, who retired, and Imád-ul-Mulk, after plundering Málwa, returned to Gujarát. Latif Khán was equally successful, and the king returned with joyful heart to Ahmadabad.

Though the Muhammadans had, with their first possession of the country, A.D. 1297-1318, introduced their faith throughout the length and breadth of Gujarát, from Pátan to Broach, the rest of the province for long remained unconverted. But by degrees, through the efforts of the Ahmadabad kings, the power of their rule became more directly felt in all parts of the province. Many districts, till then all but independent, accepted the Musalmán faith at the hands of Ahmad Sháh, and agreed to the payment of a regular tribute. In A.D. 1414 he sent an army against the Rája of Gírnár and defeated him in the field, on which the Rája retired to the fortress of Gírnár. Ahmad Sháh, though unable to capture the citadel, gained the lower fort of Júnágad. Finding further resistance vain, the chief offered his submission, and Júnágad was admitted among the tributary states. This example was followed by the greater number of the Sorath chiefs, who, for the time, resigned their independence. Leaving Syad Abdúl Khair and Syad Kásim to collect the tribute, Ahmad Sháh returned to Ahmadabad. Next year he marched against Sidhpur,¹ and from that on the Dhár in Málwa. At this time the more powerful feudatories of the kingdom were the Ráv of Júnágad, the Rával of Chámpáner,² the Rája of Nándod, the Ráv of Idar, the Rája of Jhálávád, and others. The chiefs of Chámpáner, Idar, Nándod, and Jhálávád, alarmed at the activity of Ahmad Sháh and his zeal for Islám, instigated Sultán Hushang of Málwa to invade Gujarát; but Ahmad Sháh, by promptly marching to Modása,³ forced Sultán Hushang of Málwa to retire, and aftwards he broke up the conspiracy, reproving but pardoning the chiefs concerned. The Sorath chiefs, too, about this time, withheld their tribute, but the patience and unwearied activity of the king overcame all opposition, and none of these risings became formidable.

After quelling these rebellions Ahmad Sháh marched to Málwa against Sultán Hushang, whom he defeated, and, after capturing the treasure and elephants of the Málwa prince, returned to his own dominions. It was always Ahmad Sháh's policy to separately engage his enemies, and thus endeavour to destroy them in detail. In accordance with these tactics, he, in A.D. 1418, marched to chastise Tribhovandás of Chámpáner, and though unable to take that fortress he laid waste the surrounding country. In A.D. 1419 he ravaged the lands round Sankheda⁴ and built a

Chapter II.
Ahmadabad
Kings.
Ahmad I.,
1411-1441.

Spread of Islám
in Káthiáwár,
1414.

Ahmad I.
quells a second
revolt,
1416.

Expedition against
Málwa,
1417.

Attacks
Chámpáner,
1418.

¹ Sidhpur (north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 72° 20'), on the Sarasvati, fifty-eight miles north of Ahmadabad.

² Chámpáner (north latitude 22° 30' and east longitude 73° 30'), in the British district of the Panch Maháls, from A.D. 1483 to A.D. 1560 the chief city of Gujarát, now in ruins.

³ Modása, north latitude 23° 27' and east longitude 73° 21'), forty miles north-east of the town of Kaira.

⁴ Sankheda is a town on the northern bank of the Or river in the dominions of His Highness the Gaikwár.

Chapter II.

Ahmadabad
Kings.Ahmad I,
1411-1441.War with Málwa,
1422.Defeats the Idar
Chief,
1425.

fort there and a mosque within the fort; he also built a wall round the town of Mangni,¹ and then marched upon Mándu. Sultán Hushang, however, sending ambassadors, made peace, on which Ahmad Sháh, returning towards Chámpáner, again laid waste the surrounding country. During the following year he remained in Ahmadabad, devoting his time to bringing his own dominions into thorough subjection by establishing fortified posts in different places, and by humbling the chiefs and destroying their strongholds. Amongst other works he built at this time the fort of Dohad² on the Málwa frontier. He next attacked Málwa and took the fort of Mesar, and after a short siege of Mándu, in which he was unsuccessful, he went to Ujain,³ and thence again besieged Mándu; but unable to capture this fortress, he marched to Sárangpur and besieged that town. Sultán Hushang now, sending ambassadors, concluded a peace; but while Ahmad Sháh was returning to Gujarát, Sultán Hushang made a night attack on his army and committed much havoc. Ahmad Sháh, however, collecting what men he could, waited till dawn and then fell on and defeated the Málwa troops, who were busy plundering. After this Sultán Hushang took shelter in the fort of Sárangpur to which Ahmad Sháh laid siege; but after a time relinquishing the siege he retreated towards Gujarát, and was closely followed by Sultán Hushang, who was eager to wipe out his former defeat. On his approach Ahmad Sháh, halting his troops, joined battle and repulsed Sultán Hushang. He then returned to Ahmadabad in A.D. 1422.

In A.D. 1425 he led an army against Idar, defeating the force brought to meet him and driving their leader to the hills. Idar was always a troublesome neighbour to the Ahmadabad kings and one difficult to subdue, for when his country was threatened, the chief could retire to his hills, where he could not easily be followed. As a permanent check on his movements, Ahmad Sháh, in A.D. 1427, built the fort of Ahmadnagar,⁴ on the banks of the Háthmati, and in the following year the Idar chieftain, Ráv Punja, was killed during a foray on the frontier.

For the next two years Ahmad Sháh abstained from foreign conquests, devoting himself to the improvement of his dominions and to the working out of a system of paying his troops. The method he finally adopted was half-payment in money and half by grant of land, so as to attach the men to the country, and, while keeping them dependent on the state, free them from debt; he arranged also that the treasurer should be one of the king's slaves, while the actual paymaster was a native of the particular locality, in order that each might check the other; he also appointed *ámils* or revenue collectors to each *parganah*. After Ráv Punja's death Ahmad Sháh

¹ Mangni. The Tabakát Akbari has Mánki. Its position has not been determined.

² Dohad (north latitude 22° 50' and east longitude 74° 15'), seventy-seven miles north-east of Baroda, now the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of the Panch Máhals.

³ Ujain (north latitude 23° 10' and east longitude 75° 47'), at different times the capital of Málwa.

⁴ Ahmadnagar (north latitude 23° 34' and east longitude 73° 1') in the Native State of Idar.

marched upon Idar, and only returned on Ráv Punja's son agreeing to pay an annual tribute of £300 (Rs. 3000).

In A.D. 1429, on the death of Kutb Khán, governor of Máhim in the North Konkan,¹ Sultán Ahmad Báhmání (A.D. 1422-1435) seized the fort. On hearing this, Ahmad Sháh sent his youngest son Zufar Khán, with an army under Malik Iftikhár Khán, to retake it. Ships were collected from Diu, Gogha, and Cambay, and proceeding to Thána,² attacked that city by sea and land, captured it, and regained possession of Máhim. In A.D. 1431 Ahmad Sháh advanced upon Chámpáner, and Ahmad Sháh Báhmání, anxious to retrieve his defeat at Máhim, marched an army into the Báglán³ district and laid it waste. Hearing this, Ahmad Sháh returned to Nandurbár, destroying Nándod as he passed. Ahmad Sháh Báhmání was now occupied in the siege of Tambol, a fort in Báglán. But the Gujarát king, marching for Tambol with all speed, defeated the besiegers and relieved the fort. Afterwards he went to Thána, and repaired the fort; and then returned to Gujarát by way of Sultánpur and Nandurbár. In A.D. 1432, after contracting his son Fateh Khán in marriage with the daughter of the Rái of Máhim, Ahmad Sháh marched towards Nágor, and exacted tribute and presents from the Rávál of Dungarpur.⁴ From Nágor he went on to Mewár, enforcing his claims on Bundi and Kota, two Hára Rájput states in Central India. He then entered the Delvada country, levelling temples and especially the palace of Rána Mokalsingh. Thence he invaded the country of the Ráthods, but those chieftains submitted to him. After this he returned to Gujarát, and during the next few years was warring principally in Málwa. He died in A.D. 1441 and after death was known by the title of Khádaigán Maghfúr.

Ahmad Sháh was succeeded by his son Muhammad Sháh, Gheías-ud-dunya Wa-ud-din, also styled Zerbaksh or 'Gold Bestower.' In A.D. 1445 Muhammad marched against Bir Rái of Idar, but on that chief agreeing to give him his daughter in marriage, he confirmed him in the possession of his state. His next expedition was against Dungarpur, and Kanha Rai the rája of that place, took refuge in the hills, but afterwards returned, and paying tribute, took charge of his country. This Sultán married Bibi Moghlái, daughter of Jám Juna, the ruler of Tatta in Sindh. She bore a son, Fateh

Chapter II.

Ahmadabad Kings.

Ahmad I.,
1411-1441.

Defeats the King
of the Deccan at
Máhim,
1429,

and in Báglán,
1431.

Muhammad II.,
King,
1441-1451.

¹ Máhim. There are two towns of this name on the coast of the Northern Konkan, one about twenty-two miles north of Bassein (north latitude 19° 40' and east longitude 72° 47'), and the other in the northern extremity of the island of Bombay (north latitude 19° 2' and east longitude 72° 54'). The latter, Máhim, would seem to be the town referred to in the text. This part of the Konkan coast remained under the Ahmadabad kings till A.D. 1529-30, when it was conquered by the Portuguese.

² Thána (north latitude 19° 11' and east longitude 73° 6'), the head-quarters of the British district of that name, about twenty-four miles north-by-east of Bombay, was from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D. the chief city in Northern Konkan.

³ Báglán, now called Satána, the northern sub-division of the British district of Násik. The chief, a Ráthod, was converted to Islám by Aurangzeb (A.D. 1656-1707). In A.D. 1590 the chief commanded 8000 cavalry and 5000 infantry. The country was famous for fruit. *Ain Akbari* (Gladwin), II. 73.

⁴ Dungarpur, north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 73° 50', in Rájputána, 150 miles north-west of Mhow.

Chapter II.
Áhmadabad
Kings.
Muhammad II,
King,
1441-1451.

Is poisoned,
1451.

Kutb-ud-din,
1451-1459.

War with Málwa,
1451.

Battle of
Kapadvanj,
1454.

War with Nágor,
1454-1459.

Khán, who was afterwards Sultán Muhammad Begara. After Sultán Muhammad's death Bibi Moghlái married Sháh Álam, whose tomb is situated at Rasulabad near Áhmadabad. He afterwards, in A.D. 1450, marched upon Chámpáner and took the lower fortress. The Chámpáner chief had, however, a strong ally in Sultán Mahmud Khilji, the ruler of Málwa, and on his approach Muhammad Sháh retired to Godhra,¹ and Mahmud Khilji continued his march upon Gujarát at the head of 80,000 horse. Muhammad Sháh was preparing to fly to Din, when the nobles, who were disgusted at his cowardice, caused him to be poisoned, and in A.D. 1451 placed his son Jalál Khán on the throne with the title of Kutb-ud-din Sháh. After his death Muhammad Sháh is known by the title of Khúdáigán Karim. The full name of Sultán Kutb-ud-din was Kutb-ud-din Ahmad Sháh.

Sultán Mahmud of Málwa in the meantime advancing laid siege to Sultánpur,² a city defended on the part of Kutb-ud-din Sháh by Málík Alá-ud-din bin Sohráb. This commander was, however, prevailed on to surrender the fort, and was sent with much honour to Málwa and appointed governor of Mándu. Sultán Mahmud, now marching to Sársá-Pátri, summoned Broach, then commanded by Sidi Marján on behalf of Gujarát. The Sidi refused, and fearing to be delayed too long by Broach, the Málwa Sultán proceeded by Nadiád to Baroda, which city he plundered. Kutb-ud-din Sháh now advancing met Sultán Mahmud at Kapadvanj,³ where, after a doubtful fight of some hours, he defeated Sultán Mahmud, though that prince was during the battle able to penetrate to Kutb-ud-din's camp and carry off his crown and jewelled girdle. This victory is ascribed by the Mirat-i-Sikandri in a great measure to the gallantry of certain inhabitants of Dholka⁴ called Darwáziyehs. Muzafar Khán, who it is said incited the Málwa Sultán to invade Gujarát, was captured and beheaded, and his head was affixed to the gate of Kapadvanj.

In the same year Sultán Mahmud Khilji attempted to conquer Nágor. This city was then held by a certain Firoz Khán, to whose assistance Kutb-ud-din Sháh despatched an army under the command of Syad Atá-ullah. When the Gujarát force had nearly reached Sámbar,⁵ the Málwa Sultán retired, and shortly after this Firoz Khán died. The Rána of Chitor⁶ now began interfering in the Nágor succession on behalf of Shams Khán, who had been dispossessed by his brother Mujáhid Khán, and expelled the latter;

¹ Godhra (north latitude 22° 45' and east longitude 73° 36'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of the Panch Maháls.

² Sultánpur (north latitude 21° 43' and east longitude 74° 40'), in the north of the Sháháda sub-division of the British district of Khándesh, till A.D. 1804 a place of consequence and the head-quarters of a large district.

³ Kapadvanj (north latitude 23° 2' and east longitude 73° 9'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira.

⁴ Dholka (north latitude 22° 42' and east longitude 72° 25'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Áhmadabad.

⁵ Sámbar (north latitude 26° 53' and east longitude 75° 13'), a town in the province of Ajmir, about fifty-one miles north-north-east from the city of Ajmir.

⁶ Chitor (north latitude 24° 52' and east longitude 74° 4'), for several centuries before A.D. 1567 the capital of the principality of Udepur.

as, however, Shams Khán refused to dismantle the fortifications of Nágor, the Chitor chief collected an army to capture Nágor, while Shams Khán repaired to Kutb-ud-din Sháh for aid and gave that sovereign his daughter in marriage. Kutb-ud-din upon this sent some of his nobles with an army to Nágor to repulse the Rána of Chitor. But in a battle near Nágor the Gujarát troops were defeated, and the Rána laying waste the neighbourhood of that city, returned to Chitor. To revenge this raid, Kutb-ud-din Sháh, in A.D. 1455-56, marched against Chitor. On his way the Devra Rája of Sirohi¹ attended Kutb-ud-din Sháh's camp, praying him to restore the fortress of Ábu,² part of the ancestral domain of Sirohi which had been wrested from his house by the Rána of Chitor. Agreeing to help him, the king ordered one of his generals, Malik Shábán, to take possession of this fortress and restore it to the Devra chieftain, while he himself continued to advance against Kumbhámer. Malik Shábán was, however, entangled in the defiles near Ábu, and defeated with great slaughter, and shortly after Kutb-ud-din Sháh, making a truce with Chitor, retired to his own country. On his return the Málwa sovereign proposed that they should unite against Chitor, conquer the Rána's territories, and divide them equally between them. Kutb-ud-din agreed and in A.D. 1456-57 marched against the Rána by way of Ábu, which fortress he captured and handed over to the Devra rája.³ Next, advancing upon Kumbhámer, he plundered the country round, and then turned towards Chitor. On his way to Chitor, he was met by the Rána, and a battle was fought, after which, though neither side had gained any marked advantage, the Rána fell back on his capital, and was there besieged by the Gujarát army. The siege was not, however, pressed, for, on the Rána agreeing to pay tribute and not to harass Nágor, Kutb-ud-din withdrew to Gujarát. The Rána in the meantime, by the cession of Mandisor⁴ to Málwa, came to terms with the Khilji Sultán of Mándu. No sooner had Kutb-ud-din returned than he gave himself up to licentious excess, and Rána Kumbha again attacked Nágor. Kutb-ud-din Sháh was with difficulty induced to muster his troops and sound a march. As soon as the Rána heard that the Gujarát army was actually in motion he retired, and the king returned to Áhmadabad. In A.D. 1458 he again led an army by way of Sirohi and Kumbhámer against Chitor, and laid waste the country, but soon after his return died in the month of May A.D. 1459. After his death Sultán Kutb-ud-din is known by the title of Sultán Gházi.

On the death of Kutb-ud-din Sháh, the nobles raised to the throne his uncle Dáud, son of Áhmad Sháh; but on his appointing low-born men to high offices and committing other foolish acts, he was deposed, and his half-brother, Fateh Khán, the son of Muhammad Sháh, son of Áhmad Sháh by Bibi Moghlái, a daughter of one of

Chapter II.

Áhmadabad Kings.

Kutb-ud-din,
1451-1459.

At war with
Chitor,
1455-1459.

Dies,
1459.

Mahmud I.
(Begada),
1459-1513.

¹ Sirohi (north latitude 24° 59' and east longitude 72° 56'), the capital of the principality of the same name in the province of Ajmir.

² Ábu (north latitude 24° 45' and east longitude 72° 49'), in the province of Sirohi.

³ The Rája is called Kishan or Krishna Devra. Ábu is still held by the Devrás.

⁴ Mandisor (north latitude 24° 4' and east longitude 75° 9'), the chief town of a large district of the same name in the province of Málwa.

Chapter II.**Ahmadabad
Kings.****Mahmud I.
(Begada),
1459-1513.**Defeats a
conspiracy of
the nobles,
1559.Mahmud improves
the state of the
soldiery,
1459-1461.Helps the King
of the Deccan,
1461.

the Jáms of Sindh, was, in A.D. 1459, at the age of only fourteen years, seated on the throne. Fateh Khán, who assumed the title of Mahmud Sháh, was by the death of his uncle, the late Sultán Dáud who had become a religious beggar, relieved of one source of danger. But not long after some of the nobles conspired against the minister Imád-ul-Mulk, and on their plot being discovered, marched against the palace. By the intrepidity of the young king, their designs were, however, entirely defeated. From his religious ardour, his love of justice, his bravery and his wise measures, Mahmud is, by the local historians, considered the best of the Gujarát kings. Amongst the measures which the Mirat-i-Sikandri specially notices is his sanction to grants of land being continued to the son of the holder, and in cases where there was no male issue to half the grant being continued to the daughter. His rule, too, about soldiers being forbidden to borrow money at interest is favourably noticed. He would seem to have appointed a special officer to make advances to such soldiers as could prove that they were really in need, the advances being recovered from their pay in such instalments as might be agreed upon.¹ He also devoted much attention to the culture of fruit trees.² In A.D. 1461, or A.D. 1462, according to Ferishta, Nizám Sháh Bahmani, A.D. 1461-1463, king of the Deccan, whose country had been invaded by Sultán Mahmud Khilji of Málwa, applied for help to the Gujarát king. Mahmud Sháh at once started to his aid, and on his way receiving another equally pressing letter from the Deccan sovereign, he pushed on with all speed by way of Burhánpur.³ When Sultán Mahmud Khilji heard of his approach, he retired to his own country by way of Gondwána,⁴ on which occasion, from thirst and from the treacherous attacks of the Gonds, he is said to have lost from 5000 to 6000 men. The king of Gujarát, after receiving the thanks of the Deccan sovereign,

¹ The Gujarát cavalry of this time are thus described by the Portuguese traveller Barbosa (A.D. 1511-1514): The Moors and Gentiles of this kingdom are bold riders, mounted on horses bred in the country, for it has a wonderful quantity. They ride on small saddles and use whips. Their arms are very thick round shields, edged with silk; each man has two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. (Gujarát canes made famous arrows. Bird, 104). Some of them carry maces, and many of them coats-of-mail, and others tunics quilted with cotton. The horses have housings and steel headpieces, and so they fight very well and are light in their movements. The Moorish horsemen are white and of many countries, Turks and Mamelukes ('renegade Christians,' military slaves imported from Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. Badger's Varthema, 13), Arabs, Persians, Khorasanais, Turkomans, and from the great kingdom of Delhi, and others born in the country itself. Their pay is good, and they receive it regularly. They are well dressed with very rich stuffs of gold, silk, cotton, and goat's wool, and all wear caps on their heads and their clothes long, such as morisco shirts and drawers, and leggings to the knee of good thick leather, worked with gold knots and embroidery, and their swords, richly ornamented with gold and silver, are borne in their girdles or in the hands of their pages. Their women are very white and pretty; also very richly decked out. They live well and spend much money. (Stanley's Barbosa, 55-56).

² The chief varieties of trees which Mahmud is said to have planted are the mango *Ambo Mangifera indica*, the *raen* *Mimusops hexandra*, the *jámbo* *Eugenia jambolana*, the *gular* *Ficus glomerata*, the tamarind *amli* *Tamarindus indica*, and the shrubby *Phyllanthus aonla* *Emblica officinalis*.

³ Burhánpur (north latitude 21° 18' and east longitude 76° 20'), under the Mussalmáns the capital of Khándesh, now within the limits of the Berárs.

⁴ Gondwána, a large hilly tract lying between north latitude 19° 50' and 24° 30' and east longitude 77° 38' and 87° 20'.

returned to his own dominions. Afterwards, in A.D. 1462, Sultán Mahmud Khilji made another incursion into the Deccan, with the view of plundering Daulatabad. But again the Deccan sovereign applied for help to Mahmud Sháh, and on hearing of his advance the Málwa Sultán a second time retired to his own dominions. Mahmud Sháh now wrote to the Málwa Sultán to desist from harassing the Deccan, threatening, in case of refusal, to march at once upon Mándu. His next expedition was against the Zamindárs of Barúr and the bandar of Dún who had been committing piracies. After some difficulty he conquered the fort and imposed an annual tribute on the chief of that country.

Mahmud Sháh next turned his thoughts to the conquest of the celebrated citadel of Girnár,¹ and in A.D. 1467 made an attack on the fort of Jûnágad, and receiving the submission of Ráv Mandlik, the ruler of that district, returned to his capital. In the following year, it appeared that the Jûnágad chief continued to visit his idol temple in state with a golden umbrella and other ensigns of royalty. Upon this an army was despatched to Jûnágad, and the chief sent the obnoxious umbrella to the king, accompanied by fitting presents. Afterwards, in A.D. 1469, Mahmud again sent an army to ravage Sorath, and at length determined to attack and finally conquer both Jûnágad and Girnár. While on his march, the Ráv Mandlik suddenly joined him, and asking why he was so bent on his destruction when he had committed no fault, agreed to do whatsoever Mahmud might command. The king replied that there was no fault like infidelity, and ordered the Ráv to embrace Islám. The chief, now thoroughly alarmed, fled by night and entered his fortress; but after a long siege he, in A.D. 1472-73, quitted the fort and handed over the keys to the king, repeating after him the Muhammadan profession of faith, on which condition his life was spared. From this date Sorath became a crown possession, and was governed by officers appointed by the kings and stationed at Jûnágad. At the close of the war Mahmud Sháh, charmed with the beauty of the place, sent for syads and learned men, and caused them to settle at Jûnágad and other towns in Sorath. He induced the nobles also to build houses there, and himself raised a palace and made the new city his capital under the name of Mustafabad. He also repaired the fort Jahánpanah, and enforced his claim as suzerain upon all the neighbouring chiefs. These chieftains, including even the Jûnágad Ráv himself, had, it is true, paid tribute in the time of Ahmad Sháh, but on this occasion the rule of the Ahmadabad king was more firmly established, and the duty of collecting the tribute entrusted to an officer permanently settled in the country. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* specially dilates on the dense wood round Jûnágad, in which were to be found mango, *ráen*, *jámbu*, *gular*, *ámli*, and *aonla*² trees, and says that this forest tract was inhabited by a wild race of men called Khánts.³

Chapter II.

Ahmadabad Kings.

Mahmud I.
(Begada),
1459-1518.

Expedition
against
Jûnágad,
1467.

Capture of the
fortress,
1472.

¹ Girnár, a well known mountain in Káthiáwár (see above p. 23).

² *Mangifera indica*, *Mimusops hexandra*, *Eugenia jambolana*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Tamarindus indica*, and *Embllica officinalis*.

³ This tribe is still to be found in the province of Káthiáwár.

Chapter II.**Áhmadabad Kings.****Mahmud (Begada), 1459-1513.****Disturbances in Chámpáner, 1472.****Conquest of Cutch.****The pirate Chief of Jagat defeated.****Expedition against Malabár pirates.****Unsuccessful conspiracy against the King, 1480.**

During Mahmud Sháh's prolonged absence from his capital, Malik Jamál-ud-din was appointed governor of Áhmadabad, with the title of Muháfiz Khán. At this time Jesingh, son of Gangádás the chief of Chámpáner, appears to have meditated rebellion and to have been harassing the adjacent country. The king, therefore, appointed Bháo-ul-Mulk, who had the title of Imád-ul-Mulk, to the command of Sankheda; Malik Sárang Kiwám-ul-Mulk to the command of Godhra; and Táj Khán bin Sálár to the command of Norkha and Dakhna; and in consequence of these precautions, Jesingh abstained from rebellion. At this time the Ráv Mandlik received the title of Khán Jahán, and lands were bestowed on him, while the golden idols which had been taken from the Jûnágad temples were broken up and distributed among the soldiers.

The next of Mahmud Sháh's expeditions was against the rulers of Cutch, who are said to have been Rájputs of the Sumra and Sodha tribes.¹ The Sumrás and Sodhás appear to have readily submitted to the king, and to have voluntarily sent men of their tribe to Jûnágad to be instructed in the faith of Islám. Shortly afterwards, however, they again became troublesome, and the king advancing into Cutch completely defeated them. About this time a religious man, Mulla Mahmud Samarkandi, complained to the king that he had been robbed by the pirates of Jagat (Dwárka).² On hearing of this outrage Mahmud Sháh marched to Jagat, took the fort and destroyed the idol temples. The pirates, in the first instance, retired to the island of Shankhodára (Bet), but from this, too, they were driven with great slaughter. The king, after building a mosque at Jagat, entrusted the government of the place to Farhat-ul-Mulk, and himself returned to Jûnágad. This was the first time that Dwárka had ever been conquered. The Rája of Dwárka, by name Bhim, was sent to Muháfiz Khán, the governor of Áhmadabad, with orders that he was to be hewn in pieces and a piece affixed to every gate of the city. After settling the affairs of Sorath, the king turned his face towards Áhmadabad, but on the way hearing that the people of the Malabár coast were, with a number of ships, annoying the vessels which visited the Gujarát ports, he marched to Gogha, and there equipped a fleet to oppose the pirates. This done he went to Cambay, and from there returned to Áhmadabad.

Afterwards, in A.D. 1480, when Mahmud Sháh was at Jûnágad, his eldest son Ahmad was, by Khudáwand Khán and some of the soldiers, who were discontented with the king's habit of constant warfare, incited to assume the royal power. But Imád-ul-Mulk, by refusing to join, upset their plans, and on the king's return the conspiracy was stamped out. In the previous year (A.D. 1479) Mahmud Sháh sent an army to ravage the Chámpáner country, which he was now desirous of conquering; and about this time he founded the city of Mehmadabad on the banks of the Vátrak, about eighteen miles from Áhmadabad. In A.D. 1482 there was a

¹ The Tabakát Akbari says they were Jats.

² Dwárka (north latitude 22° 15' and east longitude 69°), on the north-western shore of Káthiáwár, famous for its temple of Krishna.

partial famine in Gujarát, and the Chámpáner country being exempt from scarcity the commandant of Morámli or Rasulabad, a post on the Chámpáner frontier, made several forays into the dominions of that chief. He in return attacked the commandant and defeated him, killing most of his men and capturing two elephants and several horses. On hearing this, Mahmud Sháh determined to finally conquer the Chámpáner country, and accordingly set out for Baroda with a powerful army. On reaching Baroda the Rával of Chámpáner, becoming alarmed, sent ambassadors and sued for forgiveness; but the king rejected his overtures, saying¹ 'Except the sword and the dagger no other message shall pass between me and you.' The Rával then made preparations for a determined resistance, and sent messengers to summon Gheías-ud-din Khilji of Málwa to his aid. Mahmud Sháh hearing of this, entrusted the conduct of the siege to his nobles and marched to Dohad, on which Sultán Gheías-ud-din returned to Mándu. The Rával, after a prolonged defence, burnt the women and all articles of value in the fort on a large pile, and rushing forth at the head of his troops made a fierce but unavailing charge. The garrison were put to the sword and Chámpáner taken, but the Rával and his minister Dungarshi fell wounded into the conqueror's hands, and, on refusing to embrace Islám, were by him put to death. The Rával's son, who was entrusted to Saif-ul-Mulk and instructed by him in the Muhammadan religion, afterwards in the reign of Muzafar Sháh (A.D. 1513-1526) was ennobled by the title of Nizám-ul-Mulk. On the capture of this fortress in A.D. 1484, Mahmud Sháh built a wall round the town of Chámpáner and made it his capital under the name of Muhammadabad. In this reign an instance is mentioned of the form of the compensation for robbery known as *valtar*. The case was one of some merchants bringing horses and other goods for sale from Irák and Khurásán, who were plundered in Sirohi limits. The king caused them to give in writing the price of their horses and stuffs, and paying them from his own treasury recovered the amount from the Rája of Sirohi. Shortly after this Mahmud went against Bahádúr Khán Giláni, a vassal of the Bahmani king of the Deccan, who from Dábhól² had been harassing the Gujarát harbours. The Báhmání Sultán, fearing the consequences to himself, marched against Bahádúr Khán, and, capturing him alive, struck off his head and sent it to the Gujarát monarch, who returned to his own country. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1508, Mahmud interfered in the Khándesh succession, and succeeded in placing his nephew, Mirán Muhammad Adil Khán Fárúkhi, on the throne of Ásir-Burhánpur. In A.D. 1506, when marching to Bassein to settle disturbances raised by the Portuguese, at that time

Chapter II.**Ahmadabad Kings.**

Mahmud
(Begada),
1459-1513.
War against
Chámpáner,
1482-1484.

Capture of
Chámpáner,
1484.

Case of compen-
sation,
1484.

Mahmud determines
the Khándesh
succession,
1508.

¹The Tabakát Akbari has 'The sword of adamant shall answer your message to-morrow.'

²Dábhól (north latitude 17° 34' and east longitude 73° 16'), on the north bank of the river Váshishti (called Halewacko and Kalewacko by the early navigators) in the British district of Ratnágiri. About this time, according to Athanasius Nikitin (A.D. 1468-1474), Dábhól was the great meeting place for all nations living along the coast of India and Ethiopia. In A.D. 1501 it was taken by the Portuguese. Between A.D. 1626-1630 an English factory was established here, but by the end of the century trade had left Dábhól and has never again returned.

Chapter II.
Ahmadabad
Kings.

Muzafar II.
1513-1526.

Expedition
against Idar,
1514.

becoming powerful along the western coast of India, he heard of the victory of Cheul¹ gained over the Portuguese by the Gujarati squadron under Malik Eiáz (Sultáni) in concert with the Turkish fleet. After rewarding Malik Eiáz he returned to his capital. His last regal progress was to Pátan in A.D. 1504, and in A.D. 1513 he died and was succeeded by his son Khalil Khán, whom he had appointed his heir.² After his death Mahmud Begada is known by the title of Khúdáigán Halim.

Khalil Khán was the son of Ráni Hirábái, the daughter of a Rájput chieftain named Rána Nákah, who resided on the bank of the Mahi. On ascending the throne, this prince adopted the title of Muzafar Sháh. Previous to his father's death Prince Khalil Khán had been residing for some time at Baroda and shortly after his accession he visited that place and named it Daulatabad. In A.D. 1514 Ráv Bhim, the son of Ráv Bhán of Idar, defeated Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Pátan, who was coming to Ahmadabad to pay his respects to the king. This officer had turned aside to punish the Ráv for some disturbance he had created, but failing in his purpose, was himself defeated. On the approach of Muzafar Sháh, Idar was abandoned by the Ráv, and he only made his peace with difficulty and by agreeing to pay a heavy tribute. The king in the meantime marched to Godhra, and so on to Málwa by way of Dohad, which fort he caused to be repaired, and soon after went on to Dhár. After a short stay in Málwa, Muzafar returned to Muhammadabad (Chámpáner). At this time Ráimal, nephew of Ráv Bhim

¹ Cheul, now Revdanda (north latitude 18° 33' and east longitude 72° 59'), from about A.D. 1500 to 1650, first under the Ahmadnagar dynasty, and then under the Portuguese, a place of much trade.

² Mahmud Begada seems greatly to have impressed travellers who visited Gujarat during his reign, and from the strangeness of the tales told of him this king became well known in Europe. Varthema (1503-1508) thus describes his manner of living: 'The king has constantly 20,000 horsemen. In the morning when he rises there come to his palace 50 elephants, on each of which a man sits astride, and the said elephants do reverence to the king, and, except this, they have nothing else to do. When the king eats, fifty or sixty kinds of instruments, drums, trumpets, flageolets, and fifes play, and the elephants again do him reverence. As for the king himself, his mustachios under his nose are so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard that reaches to his girdle. As to his food, every day he eats poison (Hudibras' Prince whose 'daily food was asp and basilisk and toad'), not that he fills his stomach with it, but he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to destroy any great person he makes him come before him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits which are called *chafale* (*jdíphal*, nutmeg), like a muscatel nut. He also eats certain leaves called *tamboli* (*pán* or betel leaf) like the leaves of a sour orange, and with these he eats lime of oyster shells. When he has chewed this well he spurts it out on the person he wishes to kill, and so in the space of half an hour he falls to the ground dead. The sultan has also three or four thousand women, and every night that he sleeps with one she is found dead in the morning.' Barbosa goes further than this (Stanley's Trans. 57), saying that so soaked was the king with poison, that if a fly settled on his hand it swelled and immediately fell dead. This was the result of his early training. For, on Varthema's companion asking how it was that the king could eat poison in this manner, certain merchants, who were older than the sultan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison from his childhood. (Badger's Varthema, 110). Of the origin of Mahmud's surname of Begada two explanations are given: (1) 'from his mustachios being large and twisted like a cow's horn, and such a cow being called Bigarra; (2) that the word comes from the Gujarati *be*, two, and *gad*, a fort, the people giving him this title in honour of the capture of Jánágad (A.D. 1472) and Chámpáner (A.D. 1484).' (Bird's History of Gujarat, 202).

of Idar (deceased), expelling the Rāv's son Bhārmal by the aid of Rāna Sanga of Chitor, succeeded to the chieftainship of Idar. The king was displeased at the interference of the Rāna, and directed the governor of Ahmadnagar to expel Rāimal and reinstate Bhārmal. In A.D. 1517, the nobles of Mālwa besought Muzafar's interference, alleging that the Hindu minister, Medani Rāi, was very oppressive, and that he would probably depose the Mālwa Sultān, Mahmud Khilji, and usurp the throne. Muzafar Shāh promised to come to their help, and shortly after Sultān Mahmud Khilji, escaping from the surveillance of Medani Rāi to Gujarāt, himself sought the aid of the Gujarāt monarch. Muzafar Shāh then marched by Godhra into Mālwa, and on his arrival at Dhār, that town was evacuated by Medani Rāi. The Gujarāt king next besieged Māndu. The garrison summoned the Chitor Rāna to their aid, and he marched as far as Sārangpur. Muzafar Shāh, however, detaching a force against the Rāna, caused him to retire while his soldiers exerted themselves so strenuously that they captured Māndu. This was in A.D. 1518. After this conquest Mālwa was virtually in Muzafar's power, but he honourably restored the kingdom to Sultān Mahmud Khilji, and, withdrawing to Gujarāt, proceeded to Muhammadabad. In A.D. 1519 news was received of the defeat and capture of Sultān Mahmud Khilji by the Rāna of Chitor. Muzafar Shāh sent a force to protect Māndu. But the Rāna, who distinguished himself by the honourable treatment of his prisoner the Sultān of Mālwa, had a continued run of good fortune. He caused the Muhammadans to evacuate Idar and attacked and plundered Ahmadnagar, defeating the Gujarāt forces, and then marched on Vadnagar which he spared, but he plundered Visalnagar, and then returned to Chitor. Malik Eīāz Sultāni, the governor of Sorath, was in A.D. 1521 sent with a large force to revenge this inroad. But owing to dissensions between Malik Eīāz and the Gujarāt nobles, this expedition did not effect much though they burned and despoiled both Dungarpur and Bānsvāda, and Muzafar Shāh, greatly displeased with the result, determined himself to march against Chitor. He was, however, dissuaded by a submissive embassy from that chief, who sent his son to Ahmadabad with valuable presents for the king. Muzafar Shāh shortly afterwards, on the death of Malik Eīāz, confirmed his elder son Malik Ishāk in his father's rank and possessions, and he now remained in his own territory strengthening his frontier posts, especially the fort of Modāsa which he rebuilt. In about A.D. 1524 prince Bāhādur Khān dissatisfied with the smallness of his estates, left Gujarāt and withdrew to Hindustān. King Muzafar, after formally appointing his son Sikandar Khān his heir, died at Ahmadabad in A.D. 1526. During this reign cultivation increased so much in Jhālāvād that it became necessary to forcibly keep certain pieces of land waste for pasturing cattle. Gujarāt was visited by a severe famine at this time, but it appears to have been but of short duration.

Sikandar Shāh reigned but a few months when he was murdered by Imād-ul-Mulk Khush Kadam, who seated a younger brother of Sikandar's, named Nāsir Khān, on the throne with the title of Mahmud II. and governed on his behalf. The nobles, however,

Chapter II. Ahmadabad Kings.

Muzafar II.
1513-1526.
Disturbances
in Mālwa,
1517.

They march against
the rebels, and
capture of Māndu,
1518.

War with the
Rāna of Chitor,
1519.

The Rāna of
Chitor submits,
1521.

Dies,
1526.

Sikandar,
King.
1526.

Mahmud II.,
1526.

Chapter II.**Áhmadabad
Kings.****Bahá'dur,
1526-1536.**Portuguese
intrigues,
1526.Khándesh affairs,
1528.Settlement of
Turks at Diu,
1526-1530.War with Málwa;
capture of Mándu,
1530.

deserted his cause, and prince Bahádur Khán, returning to Gujarát from Hindustán, was joined by a large following, prominent among whom was Táj Khán, proprietor of Dhandhuka; and marching at once on Chámpáner, he captured and executed Imád-ul-Mulk, and poisoning Násir Khán, ascended the throne in A.D. 1526 by the title of Bahádur Sháh. His brother Latif Khán, aided by Rája Bhim of Pál,¹ now asserted his claim to the throne. He was, however, defeated, and fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarát army and died of his wounds and was buried at Hálol. Rája Bhim was slain. Ráisingh, who succeeded Bhim, plundered Dohad; a large force was therefore sent against him, commanded by Táj Khán, who laid waste Ráisingh's country and dismantled his forts. In the end of A.D. 1526, Bahádur Sháh visited Cambay, and ascertained that Malik Ishák, the son of Malik Eíáz, had been intriguing with the Portuguese to surrender Diu. Expelling him, he entrusted Diu to Kiwám-ul-Mulk, and Jûnágad to Mujáhid Khán Bhikam, and returned to Áhmadabad. In 1527 he subdued Idar and the neighbouring country. During one of his numerous expeditions he went to Nándod for hunting and received the homage of the Rája. As the Portuguese were endeavouring to establish themselves on the coast of Sorath, and, if possible, to obtain Diu, the king was constantly at Cambay, Diu, and Gogha to frustrate their attempts, and he now directed the construction of the fortress of Broach. At this time Muhammad Khán bin Ádil Khán, ruler of Ásir and Burhánpur, requested his aid on behalf of Imád-ul-Mulk, ruler of Berár. Bahádur Sháh marched at once to their aid, and was joined at the Narbada river by Muhammad Khán Ásiri, and thence proceeded to Burhánpur, where Imád Sháh joined him from Gávalgad. After some success he made peace between Burhán Nizám Sháh and Imád Sháh Gávali, and returned to Gujarát. Jám Firoz the ruler of Tatta in Sind now sought refuge with Bahádur Sháh from the oppression of the Ghoris, and was hospitably received. In A.D. 1529, however, at the request of Jáfar Khán, son of Imád Sháh Gávali, he again marched to the Deccan and occupied Ahmadnagar. A battle was subsequently fought near Burhánpur, in which it seems probable that Bahádur Sháh was worsted, though the Gujarát historian says that 'the scales of battle were equal.' Anyhow Bahádur Sháh withdrew to Gujarát and did not for some time interfere in the affairs of the Deccan.

About this time (A.D. 1526-1530) some Turks under one Mustafa came to Gujarát, part of a Turkish fleet expected to act against the Portuguese. They were assigned Diu as a place of residence, and the command of the island was granted to Malik Toghán, son of Malik Eíáz, the former governor. In this year the king marched to Vágar, and Prathiráj, Rája of Dungarpur, obtained an audience as did the ambassadors of Rána Ratansi of Chitor. Misunderstandings here arising between him and the Sultán of Málwa, Bahádur Sháh marched upon Mándu, and taking the fortress captured Sultán Mahmud Khilji and his seven sons. In this year, hearing that

¹ Pál is probably Rájpipla.

Mánsingji, Rája of Halvad,¹ had killed the commandant of Dasáda, Bahádur despatched Khán Khánán against him. On this occasion the districts of Viramgám and Mándal were reft from the Jhála chieftains, and ever after formed a part of the crown dominions. The king spent the rainy season at Mándu, and in A.D. 1531 again marched to the Deccan. When Sultán Mahmud Khilji and his sons were being conveyed to the fortress of Chámpáner for confinement there, Ráisingh, Rája of Pál, endeavoured to rescue them on the way. But failing in his attempt, the prisoners were put to death by their guards. Bahádur Sháh now proceeded to Asir-Burhánpur, and bestowed on Nizám-ul-Mulk the title of Sháh, and invested him with the regal umbrella: and from this date the occupants of the Ahmadnagar (Deccan) throne were called Nizám Sháhi. At this time he also bestowed on Muhammad Khán Asiri the title of Muhammad Sháh. In A.D. 1531, hearing that the Rájput chief of Ráisin in Málwa kept Muhammadan women, he marched against him and forced him to surrender and embrace Islám. The chief, however, having secretly sent to the Rána of Chitor for aid, delayed handing over the fort. On hearing of this, the king despatched a force to keep the Rána in check and pressed the siege. The Rájput chief was then sent, at his own request, to endeavour to persuade the garrison to surrender, but their reproaches so much affected him, that, joining with them, and after burning their females, he and they sallied sword in hand and were all slain. Ráisin then fell into Bahádur's hands, and this district together with those of Bhilsa and Chanderi were entrusted to the government of Sultán Alam Lodhi. The king now went to Gondwána to hunt elephants, and, after capturing many, employed his army in reducing several minor fortresses, such as Gágrawn and others. He next, in A.D. 1532, advanced against Chitor and devoted his attention to the capture of that fort. Subsequently, however, on the receipt of an enormous ransom, the siege was raised. His troops shortly afterwards took the strong fortress of Ranthambar. About this time news arrived at Chámpáner, that the Portuguese were usurping authority at Diu and the Sultán repaired thither. But ere he arrived there the Portuguese took to flight leaving behind them an enormous cannon. This fell into the hands of the Sultán who carried it off to Chámpáner.

Chapter II.
Ahmadabad
Kings.
Bahá'dur,
1526-1536.

Ahmadnagar
affairs,
1531.

Siege of Chitor,
1532.

Disagreement
with the Emperor
of Delhi;
1532.

Fall of Chitor,
1535.

Afterwards disagreement sprang between Bahádur Sháh and Húmáyun, emperor of Delhi. The original ground of quarrel was the shelter afforded by Bahádur Sháh to Sultán Muhammad Zamán Mirza, and Húmáyun's anger was further increased by an insolent answer received from the Gujarát king. Bahádur Sháh, however, without considering that he had provoked a powerful enemy, again laid siege to Chitor; and though he heard that Húmáyun had arrived at Gwálíor, would not desist from the siege. In March 1535 Chitor fell into the hands of the Gujarát king but his army was shortly afterwards routed by that of Húmáyun. The Gujarát historians endeavour to throw the blame of Bahádur Sháh's defeat on Rumi Khán, a foreigner, and a Turk, who was the head of the

¹ Halvad is a former capital of the chief of Dhrángadhra in Káthiáwár.

Chapter II.**Ahmadabad
Kings.****Bahá'dur,
1526-1536.**First conquest of
Gujarát by the
Moghals,
1535.Recovers,
Gujarát,
1536.Difficulties with
the Portuguese
at Diu,
1536.Died,
1536.**Muhammad II.
(ÁSIRI),
1536.****Muhammad III.,
1536-1554.**

artillery, and who, they say, was a traitor; but there seems every reason to consider this an excuse, and that the Gujarát army was in both valour, discipline, and tactics inferior to the Moghals who defeated them. Bahá'dur Sháh, unaccustomed to defeat, lost heart and fled to Mándu, which fortress was speedily taken by Hámáyun. From this the king fled to Chámpáner, and finally took refuge in Diu. Chámpáner fell shortly to Hámáyun's efforts, and the whole of Gujarát, except Sorath, came under his rule. At this time Sher Sháh Sur revolted in Bihár and Junpur, and Hámáyun accordingly returned to Ágra to oppose him, leaving his brother Hindal Mirza in Ahmadabad, Kásam Beg in Broach, and Yádgár Násir Mirza in Pátan. As soon, however, as Hámáyun had departed, the country rose against the Moghals, and his old nobles requested the king to join them; he did so, and, defeating the Moghals near Mahmudabad, expelled them from Gujarát. During his residence at Diu, Bahá'dur Sháh had been compelled to court the Portuguese, who were masters of the seas, and had conceded them permission to erect a factory there, which they converted into a fort. Bahá'dur, now that he had recovered his kingdom, repented of what he had done, and went to Jûnágad and Sorath with the intention of persuading the Portuguese, who he was daily expecting would arrive to aid him agreeably to his invitation, to return to their country. In fact five or six thousand Portuguese soon arrived at Diu. The Sultán resolved to expel them by stratagem, repaired to Diu and endeavoured to get the Viceroy into his power. That officer, however, excused himself, but in return invited the king to visit his ship. Bahá'dur agreed, and returning in a barge was attacked and slain. The author of the *Mirat-i-Shikandri* states that the reason of Bahá'dur's assassination was that a paper from him to the kings of the Deccan, inviting them to join him in an alliance against the Portuguese, had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese viceroy.¹ During the thirty-seven years from the death of king Bahá'dur to the second and final conquest of Gujarát by the Moghals, the representatives of the Ahmadabad dynasty, being for the most part minors, were rulers only in name. This period is throughout a struggle for power among the chief nobles, during which Gujarát not only lost its position of supremacy among the neighbouring kingdoms, but at home was a scene of general discontent and disorder.

On the death of king Bahá'dur in A.D. 1536, the nobles of Gujarát invited his nephew Muhammad Sháh Ásiri to succeed him. Muhammad Sháh died shortly after his accession, and the nobles then conferred the crown on Muhammad Khán, son of Latif Khán, brother of Bahá'dur Sháh, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1536, when only eleven years of age. The government of the country was now carried on by Darya Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk, and the king was kept by them under a strict surveillance. Darya Khán

¹ The Musalmán and Portuguese accounts of the death of king Bahá'dur differ in some particulars. But the result would seem to show that while both sides had treacherous designs, neither party was able to carry out his original plan, and the end was unpremeditated, hurried on by mutual suspicions. See Elphinstone's *History of India*, 767.

now resolved to overthrow Imád-ul-Mulk and acquire supreme power. He accordingly obtained an order from the king (whom on the pretence of hunting he withdrew from Áhmadahad) directing Imád-ul-Mulk to retire to his estates, and shortly after he expelled him from Gujarát. Darya Khán now became absorbed in pleasure and luxury, and resigned the actual management of the kingdom to Álam Khán Lodhi. The king, dissembling his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated, pretended to take no interest in affairs of state. Álam Khán Lodhi, seeing the carelessness of Darya Khán, began to entertain ambitious designs, and retired to his estate of Dhandhuka, whence he requested the king to join him. Muhammad Sháh, believing him to be in earnest, contrived to escape from surveillance and joined Álam Khán. Darya Khán, on discovering the king's flight, elevated to the throne a descendant of Áhmad Sháh by the title of Muzafar Sháh, and striking coin in his name set out with an army towards Dhandhuka. Álam Khán and the king met him in the district of Dholka, and a battle was fought in which Muhammad Sháh and Álam Khán were defeated. The king fled to Ránpur, and thence to Páliád, while Álam Khán fled to Sádra. Darya Khán in the meantime occupied Dhandhuka; his men however, dissatisfied at being placed in opposition to the king, rapidly deserted, some joining Álam Khán and some Muhammad Sháh. Soon after the king joined Álam Khán and marched on Áhmadahad, whither Darya Khán had preceded them. The citizens closed the gates against Darya Khán, and he only effected his entrance with difficulty, and, hearing of the king's approach, fled to Mubárah Sháh at Burhánpur, leaving his family and treasure in the fortress of Chámpáner.

The king entered Áhmadahad, and soon after captured Chámpáner. Álam Khán now obtained the recall of Imád-ul-Mulk, who received a grant of Broach and the port of Surat. Shortly afterwards Muhammad Sháh began to show great favour to men of low degree, especially to one Charji, a birdcatcher, whom he ennobled by the title of Muháfiz Khán. This man counselled him to put to death Sultán Ala-ud-din Lodhi and Shujáat Khán, two of the principal nobles; and the king, without consulting his ministers, caused these men to be executed. The nobles now joining together besieged Muhammad Sháh in his palace, and demanded that Muháfiz Khán should be surrendered to them, but the king refused to give him up. Next the nobles demanded an audience, and this the king granted, Muháfiz Khán, though warned of his danger, being foolishly present. On entering the royal presence Álam Khán signalled to his followers to slay Muháfiz, and he was killed in spite of the king's remonstrances. Muhammad Sháh then attempted to kill himself, but was prevented and placed under guard, and the chief nobles took it in turn to watch him; but after a little time strife arose between Álam Khán and Mujáhid Khán and his brother, and the two latter nobles contrived the king's escape and sacked the houses of Álam Khán and his followers. Álam Khán himself escaped with difficulty. He then joined Darya Khán, but after some fighting they were driven from Gujarát and forced to take shelter with the sovereign of Delhi. The king now appointed Afzal Khán, the minister of the late Bahádur Sháh, as his own minister, and

Chapter II
Áhmadahad
Kings.
Muhammad III.,
1536-1554.

Escapes from
control and
defeats Darya
Khán.

Quarrels among
the nobles.

Chapter II.
Ahmadabad
Kings.
Muhammad III.,
1536-1554.

Disturbances
 among the
 Rájput Chiefs,
 1545.

Died,
 1554.

Ahmad II.
King,
1554-1561.

Itimád Khán
 Regent.

though Afzal Khán lived in retirement, his counsel was taken on measures of importance. Other great nobles were Syad Mubárak, Fateh Khán Baloch, and Abdul Karim Khán, who received the title of Itimád Khán, and who enjoyed the king's entire confidence, so much so that he was admitted to the harem. The king now consulted Asif Khán as to the propriety of conquering Málwa. Asif Khán, however, advised him rather to resume the lands granted to the Rájput chiefs and proprietors. Muhammad Sháh followed this advice, and consequently the chief men of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Bānsváda, Lunaváda, Rájpipla, Dohad, and the banks of the Mahi, while defending their own possessions, commenced to disturb the country. The king, therefore, strengthened his line of outposts, establishing one at Sirohi, another at Idar, besides fresh posts in other places, and at the same time commenced persecuting the Hindus. In this reign the fort of Surat was built by Khudáwand Khán, in spite of the intrigues and opposition of the Portuguese. In A.D. 1554 one Burhán, a servant of the king's, conceived the idea of killing him and reigning in his stead. He accordingly gave his master an intoxicating drug, and then while sleeping stabbed him to the heart, and in the king's name, summoning the principal nobles, put them also to death, and endeavoured himself to mount the throne. But no one joined him, and even his accomplices deserted him. He was attacked by Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi,¹ Alagh Khán, and others, and when marching against them was cut down by Shirwán Khán. This sovereign founded Mahmudabad, about twelve *kos* south of Ahmadabad and built a palace and enclosed a deer park there. As immorality had sprung up from the custom of Muhammadan women visiting saints' tombs and shrines, he forbade them doing so; and is said to have been very strict in preserving the public morals.

After the death of Burhán, the nobles took counsel together and elected as sovereign a descendant of the stock of Ahmad Sháh of the name of Ahmad Khán, and proclaimed him king by the title of Ahmad Sháh II. At the same time they agreed that, as the king was young, Itimád Khán should carry on the government, and they further divided the country among themselves, each one agreeing to protect the frontiers and preserve the public peace. Mubárak Sháh of Khándesh, considering this a good opportunity, preferred a claim to the crown and marched to the frontier. An army was sent against him, and by negotiation Mubárak Sháh was induced to withdraw his claim. Násir-ul-Mulk now aspired to supreme power and gaining over several nobles to his side attacked the forces of Itimád Khán and Syad Mubárak, who suffered a defeat, after which the Syad withdrew to his estate of Kapadvanj. Here he was joined by Itimád Khán, while Násir-ul-Mulk, taking Sultán Ahmad with

¹ This Imád-ul-Mulk is a different man from the Imád-ul-Mulk mentioned above (p. 43) as receiving a grant of Broach and Surat. The latter had before this retired to Surat, and was killed there in A.D. 1545. (Bird, 266). Imád-ul-Mulk II., who attacked Burhán, was originally called Malik Arslán (Bird, 272). He is also called the leader of the Turks, and Rumi. This Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi, who was the father of Changez Khán, was ultimately killed in A.D. 1560 at Surat by his own son-in-law Khudáwand or Ikhtiyár Khán.

him to Áhmadabad, assumed the entire government of the country. After a short time he assembled an army and marched against Syad Mubárah and Itimád Khán, with a view to expelling them from Gujarát. But Alagh Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk, disgusted with the assumption of Násir-ul-Mulk, deserted him and joined Syad Mubárah and Itimád Khán. Násir-ul-Mulk was forced to fly, and after a short time died in the mountains of Pál.¹ Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk, Fateh Khán Baloch, and Hasan Khán Dakhani now set up another king named Sháhu, and a battle was fought in which Sháhu and his supporters were defeated and Hasan Khán Dakhani slain. Previous to the battle Fateh Khán Baloch had been induced to forsake Sháhu, and Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk, taking Sháhu with him, fled. The nobles now divided Gujarát between them as follows :

For Áhmad Sháh's private expenses.	{	Áhmadabad and the Daskroi sub-division.
Itimád Khán and his party...	{	Kadi, Jhálávád, Pitlád, Nadiád, Bhil, Rádhanpur, Sami, Munjpur, and Godhra, and the country of Sorath.
Syad Mubárah and his party.	{	Pátan and Cambay, with Chorási, Dholka, Gogha, and Dhandhuka.
Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi and his party.	{	Chámpáner, Sarnál, Bálásinor, and Kapadvanj.
Gujarát nobles under Itimád Khán.	{	Broach, Baroda, and Surat as far as the Sultánpur-Nandurbár frontier.
	{	Modása and similar districts.

Of these shares Itimád Khán bestowed the country of Sorath on Tatár Khán Ghori ; the districts of Rádhanpur, Sami, and Munjpur on Fateh Khán Baloch ; Nadiád on Malik-as-Shark, and some of the dependencies of Jhálávád on Alaf Khán Habshi. Syad Mubárah conferred the territory of Pátan on Musa Khán and Sher Khán Foládi. Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi bestowed the district of Baroda on Alaf Khán Habshi and the port of Surat on his own son-in-law Khudáwánd Khán Rumi.

About this time Álam Khán returned, and, through the influence of Syad Mubárah, was allowed to remain, and the Syad gave to him and Ázam Húmayún, Chámpáner, and Itimád Khán gave Godhra to Álp Khán Khatri, a follower of Álam Khán. Álam Khán and Itimád Khán shortly after expelled Alaf Khán Habshi from Jhálávád, and he fled to Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi at Broach, and at his intercession Álaf Khán received the Bhil district. Álam Khán began now to entertain ambitious designs, and desired to get rid of Itimád Khán and govern in his stead. Itimád Khán dis-

Chapter II.

Ahmadabad Kings.

Áhmad II.
1554-1561.

Partition of the Province.

Dissensions among the nobles.

¹ The mountains of Pál and the Rája of Pál, so frequently alluded to in this sketch, are probably the hills of Rájpipla and the Khándesh frontier, and the Rája was probably the Rája of Rájpipla. The writer says this, because in the account of the different territorial divisions of the country in the Mirat-i-Áhmadi, Pálvárah is mentioned as comprising Rájpipla, Áli Mohan, and Godhra and their neighbourhood, and as Rájpipla was the only one of these districts with any chief of importance, he is probably the Rája of Pál so frequently mentioned. See also the Tabakát Akbari, reign of Sultán Áhmad II. This history, speaking of Itimád Khán's flight, says that he fled and 'went to Pál, which is in the Chámpáner territory.'

Chapter II.
Áhmadabad
Kings.

Áhmad II.,
1554-1561.

Sultánpur and
Nandurbár
handed over to
Khándesh,
1560.

Defeat and death
of Syad Mubarak.

Death of Imád-ul-
Mulk Rumi.

Daman district
ceded to the
Portuguese,
1560.

covering this, made him leave the city and live in his own house in the Asáwal suburb. Álam Khán now made overtures to Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi and became very friendly with him. One day Álam Khán proposed to get rid of Itimád Khán; but seeing that Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi did not take to his proposal, he next endeavoured to ruin Syad Mubarak. The Syad, however, when the Gujarát army marched against him, made peace, and Álam Khán's intrigues being apparent, he was attacked and compelled to fly. He now went to Berár and besought aid of Mubarak Sháh, who marched an army towards the Gujarát frontier. The Gujarát nobles, taking Áhmad Sháh with them, advanced to oppose him, and he retired. Álam Khán now repaired to the Fóládis at Pátan. Sher Khán uniting with him seized on Itimád Khán's district of Kadi. Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi and Itimád Khán now carried on the government, but dissension springing up between them, Itimád Khán fled to Mubarak Sháh in Khándesh, and induced him to lead an army against Gujarát. The nobles, fearing this combination, made peaceful overtures and it was eventually settled that the lands of Sultánpur and Nandurbár should be given to Mubarak Sháh, and that Itimád Khán should be restored to his former position. Since this date the districts of Sultánpur and Nandurbár have been permanently severed from Gujarát and have formed a part of Khándesh, to which province they now belong. Áhmad Sháh, finding himself more strictly guarded than ever, contrived, one day, to flee to Syad Mubarak at Syadpur, who, though vexed at his coming, would not refuse him shelter. At this time, Háji Khán, a noble of Delhi, came to Gujarát with a well equipped force and arrived at Pátan. The Gujarát nobles, especially Itimád Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi, conceiving that he came at the Syad's invitation, and that the flight of the king was part of the plot, determined to crush the Syad ere Háji Khán should join him, and marching to Syadpur defeated Syad Mubarak, who fell on the field of battle and was there buried. His estates also were resumed, though eventually Dholka was restored to his son Syad Mirán.

The army and the two protectors returned to Áhmadabad, where dissensions again sprang up between them, and Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi summoned to his aid his son Changez Khán from Broach, while Itimád Khán sent for Tatár Khán Ghorí from Sorath. Tatár Khán arrived first and Itimád Khán ordered Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi to return to his estate; and he, seeing it would be useless for him to contend against so overwhelming a force, retired to his possessions at Broach. Shortly afterwards, having marched against Surat at the request of the inhabitants, who were wearied of the tyranny of Khudáwand Khán, he was decoyed by that chief to an entertainment and was there assassinated. His son Changez Khán marched against Surat to take revenge for his father's death and finding the fortress too strong for him, summoned to his aid the Portuguese, to whom, as the price of their assistance, he surrendered the districts of Daman and Saján.¹ The Portuguese, bringing a strong fleet up

¹ The fort of Daman was taken by the Portuguese in A.D. 1530, and, according to Portuguese accounts (Faria y Sousa in Kerr's *Voyages*, VI, 413) the country round

the Tápti, cut off the supplies, and Khudáwand Khán was forced to surrender, and was slain by Changez Khán in revenge for his father's death. Changez Khán shortly afterwards quarrelled with the Habshis, who fought with him, but being defeated fled to Itimád Khán, who allotted them a grant of land. At this time Fateh Khán Baloch, the proprietor of Rádhanpur and Sami, was Itimád Khán's chief supporter, and with his assistance Itimád Khán marched to besiege Changez Khán in Broach. Tatár Khán Ghori and other nobles, fearing lest Itimád Khán should become too powerful, endeavoured to make peace; and failing Tatár Khán wrote to the Foládis to attack Fateh Khán Baloch, when Itimád Khán would be forced to retire. They did so, and Fateh Khán, after being defeated near Rádhanpur, took refuge in the fort of Dhulkot, which is close to the town. Itimád Khán, on hearing this raised the siege of Broach and came to Áhmadabad, where he busied himself in checking the intrigues of king Áhmad, who was doing all in his power to become independent. Finally, at the instigation of Waji-ul-Mulk and Razi-ul-Mulk in A.D. 1560-61, Itimád Khán caused Áhmad II. to be assassinated.

After this Itimád Khán raised to the throne a youth, whom he styled Muzafar Sháh III., and who, he asserted, was a posthumous son of Mahmud Sháh, and then marched towards Pátan to take his revenge on the Foládis for their attack on Fateh Khán Baloch. The nobles, however, were unwilling to crush the Foládis, fearing lest their turn might come next and the Foládis entered into secret correspondence with them, and when battle was joined induced them to withdraw. The nobles now were each entirely independent in their respective *jágers*, and as the Tabakát Akbari specially mentions, 'allowed no interference therein,' though still owing nominal allegiance to the throne. In consequence of this, Itimád Khán was forced to retire and return unsuccessful to Áhmadabad, whither, with a view of again attacking the Foládis, he summoned Tatár Khán Ghori from Júnágad. The nobles, however, remained aloof, and even Tatár Khán Ghori made excuses, which so exasperated Itimád Khán that he sought to slay him. Tatár Khán, however, managed to escape to Sorath, and then openly sided with the Foládis. Syad Mirán also left Áhmadabad for his estate at Dholka, and entered into correspondence with the Foládis. Meanwhile Itimád Khán, again collecting an army, marched once more towards Pátan, but was met by the Foládis near the village of Jhotáná, about thirty miles from that town. Itimád Khán was defeated and compelled to return to Áhmadabad, while the Foládis encamped at Jhotána. Syad Mirán now intervened and made peace.

Chapter II.

Áhmadabad
Kings.Áhmad II.,
1554-1561.Assassinated,
1560.Muzafar III.,
King,
1561-1572.The new Sovereign
a minor.Disputes between
Itimád Khán and
the Foládis of
Pátan.

was annexed by them in 1558. The districts surrendered by Changez Khán would seem, according to a statement given in Bird's History, 128, to have contained 700 towns (villages) yielding a yearly revenue of £430,000 (Rs. 43,00,000). Sáján, since known as St. John's Head (north latitude 20°13' and east longitude 72°47'), between Daman and Bassein, is generally supposed to be the Sindan of the Arab geographers. In A.D. 842 Sindan, then a city of some size, is mentioned by Belador (Reinaud's Fragments, 216-217) as having been taken by a Musalmán slave of the name of Mansour. In the twelfth century the town was great with a large import and export trade, well peopled, its inhabitants rich, warlike, and industrious. (Jaubert's Edrisi, 172, A.D. 1153).

Chapter II.**Áhmadabad
Kings.****Muzafar III.,
1561-1572.****Arrival of the
Mirzás in
Gujarát,
1571.****They defeat
Itimád Khán.**

Itimád Khán, however, still thirsted for revenge on the Foládis, and for this purpose he invited Changez Khán, son of Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi, to the capital, and by much courteous treatment induced him to join him in another expedition against the Foládis. Changez Khán, however, like the other nobles, became lukewarm; and as Musa Khán Foládi died while Itimád Khán was marching on Pátan, Changez Khán assigned this as a reason for not proceeding further, averring that it was not fit to war with people in misfortune. Itimád Khán perforce returned to Áhmadabad.

Now Itimád Khán had disgusted all the nobles, both by his causing the assassination of Áhmad Sháh and by his enmity with the Foládis, which the nobles suspected was merely the commencement of a general resumption of private estates. Nevertheless as he had charge of Muzafar Sháh and possession of the capital, the government of the country was in his hands. At this time the Mirzás,¹ who were the sons of Sultán Husáin of Khurásán quarrelling with Jalál-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, entered Gujarát, as also did Mirza Ashraf-ud-din, and they all joined Changez Khán. Changez Khán now proposed to Sher Khán Foládi that they should expel Itimád Khán and divide Gujarát between them, the capital and the country south of the Sábarmati falling to the share of Changez Khán, and that to the north to Sher Khán Foládi. Sher Khán agreed, and Changez Khán joining him they marched on Áhmadabad. Syad Mirán, however, induced Sher Khán to stay in Kadi. Changez Khán, on the other hand, refused to listen to him, and a battle was fought between him, Itimád Khán and the Syad about eight miles from Áhmadabad. Itimád Khán was defeated, and fled with the king to Modása, while Changez Khán took possession of the capital. Sher Khán Foládi now advanced to the Sábarmati, and, after dividing the province as had been agreed, Sher Khán retired to Kadi. Itimád Khán entreated Mirán Muhammad Sháh, king of Khándesh, to march against Gujarát to his aid, and he did so. Changez Khán now invited Itimád Khán to return. He came accordingly to Mamudabad, where he heard that Muhammad Sháh had sustained a defeat and retired to his own country; he therefore, taking Muzafar Sháh with him, returned to Modása, and thence went to Dungarpur. Changez Khán now remained in Áhmadabad, while Sher Khán withdrew to Kadi. After this success all the chief nobles of Gujarát, including the Habshis, joined Changez Khán, who was now at the zenith of his power, and began to think of subduing Sher Khán Foládi, who on his part was anxious and fearful. At this time a Habshi, named Bijli Khán, was offended with Changez Khán, because though he had once made him a grant of Cambay, he afterwards resumed it and bestowed it on his own mother. This man persuaded Álaf Khán and Jhujhár

¹ These Mirzás were the great grandsons of a Muhammad Sultán Mirza, the ruler of Khurásán, who, driven out of his dominions, sought refuge in India. This prince and his descendants were, on the ground of their common descent from Taimur, entertained first by Bábar (A.D. 1526-1531), and afterwards by Húmayún (A.D. 1531-1556). Before this quarrel Akbar had treated the Mirzás with great honour. Elliot's History, VI. 122.

Khán Habshi that Changez Khán had determined on killing them. The Habshi Kháns, resolving to be beforehand with him, invited Changez Khán, with whom they were very intimate, to play a game of *chaugán*.¹ He went with them, when Álaf Khán, after making Jhujhár Khán a signal, attracted Changez Khán's notice to the horse on which he was riding. Jhujhár Khán, as Changez Khán turned to look at the horse, cut him down. The Habshis now plundered Changez Khán's house, while the Mirzás, mounting, went south and took possession of Broach, Baroda, and Chámpáner, Sher Khán now advanced from Kadi, and demanded that the Habshis should hand over Áhmadabad to him. The Habshis treated with him, but secretly summoned Itimád Khán, who, returning with Muzafar Sháh, entered the city. It was now arranged that Itimád Khán should take the place of Changez Khán, and the old division of Gujarát between Changez Khán and Sher Khán should be maintained. Itimád Khán, however, found the Habshis so domineering that he withdrew from public affairs. Afterwards Álaf Khán and Jhujhár Khán, quarrelling over the division of Changez Khán's property, Álaf Khán left Áhmadabad and joined Sher Khán, who, advancing from Kadi, laid siege to Áhmadabad. Itimád Khán now besought aid from the Mirzás, and Mirza Ibráhim Hussain marched from Broach to help him and harassed Sher Khán's army with his Moghal archers.

At the same time Itimád Khán turned for help to the emperor Akbar, who, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzás from their place of refuge in Gujarát, was not slow in availing himself of Itimád Khán's proposal. He marched at once for Áhmadabad, and with his arrival in the province, the history of Gujarát as a separate kingdom comes to an end.

Chapter II.

Áhmadabad Kings.

Muzafar III.,
1561-1572.

Death of Changez
Khán.

Itimád Khán
enters into
terms with the
Emperor Akbar.

¹ A game resembling polo.

CHAPTER III.

THE MOGHAL VICEROYS.

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

Akbar,
Emperor,
1573-1605.

Akbar advances
to Áhmadabad,
1573.

Captures Broach
and Surat,
1573.

WHILE the nobles were thus fighting among themselves news reached them that Akbar had advanced to Deesa. Upon this Ibráhim Hussain Mirza returned to Broach, and the army of the Foládis dispersed. Shortly after the Imperial troops advanced to Pátan and thence to Jhotána, Sultán Muzafar, who had separated from the Foládis, now fell into the hands of the emperor, who granted him his life but placed him under charge of one of his nobles named Karam Ali. When the Imperial army reached Kadi, Itimád Khán, Ikhtiyár Khán, Álaf Khán, and Jhujhár Khán met Akbar there, and Syad Hámid also was honoured with an audience at Hájipur. The emperor imprisoned Álaf Khán and Jhujhár Khán Habshi, while he encouraged the other Gujarát nobles. The emperor now advanced to Áhmadabad, where the mother of Changez Khán came and demanded justice on Jhujhár Khán for having wantonly slain her son. As her complaint was just, the emperor ordered Jhujhár Khán to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk now fled to Lunáváda, and the emperor, fearing that other of the Gujarát nobles might follow his example, placed Itimád Khán under surveillance. Akbar then visited Cambay. Mirza Ibráhim Husain, now evacuating Broach, fled to Hindustán, and both Broach and Surat fell into the hands of the emperor. Of these Surat held out for some time, but finally surrendered. After the capture of Surat, the emperor ordered the great Sulimáni cannon which had been brought by the Turks with the view of conquering the Portuguese possessions and left by them in the fort of Surat, to be taken to Ágra. Surat was placed by the emperor in the charge of Katij Khán. Muhammad Khán, son of Sher Khán Foládi, who had fled to the mountains of Idar, now returned and took the city of Pátan, besieging the Imperial governor, Syad Áhmad Khán Bárya, in the citadel. At this time Mirza Muhammad Husain was at Ránpur near Dhandhuka. When Sher Khán Foládi, who had taken refuge in Sorath, heard of Muhammad Khán's return to Pátan, he met Mirza Muhammad Husain, and they both uniting their forces joined Muhammad Khán at Pátan. Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh with other nobles marched against them, and after a hard fought battle, in which several of the Imperial nobles were slain, the Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh was victorious. Sher Khán again took refuge in Sorath, and his son fled for safety to the Idar hills, while the Mirza withdrew to the Khándesh frontier.

The conquest of Gujarát completed, Akbar returned to Ágra. From A.D. 1573, the date of its annexation as a province of the empire, to A.D. 1758, the year of the final capture of Áhmadabad by the Maráthás, Gujarát remained under the government of officers appointed by the court of Delhi. As was the case with the rule of

the Ahmadabad kings, this whole term of 184 years may conveniently be divided into two periods: the first, lasting from A.D. 1573 to the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707, or altogether about 134 years, a time on the whole of public order and strong government; and the second, lasting for fifty-one years from A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1758, the history of the decline of the Viceroy's power and the spread of disorder throughout the province.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1573-1707.

Before leaving Gujarát Akbar placed the charge of the province in the hands of Mirza Áziz Kokaltash. At the same time the emperor rewarded his supporters by grants of land, assigning Ahmadabad and several other districts to the viceroy Mirza Áziz, and the territory of Pátan to the Khán Kilán Mir Muhammad Khán. Broach was given to Kutb-ud-din Muhammad, and Dholka, Khánpur, and Sami were confirmed to Syad Hámid and Syad Mahmud Bukhári. As soon as the departure of the emperor was known, Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khán, son of Sher Khán, who had taken shelter in the Idar hills, issued forth, and the Viceroy marched to Ahmadnagar to hold them in check. Mirza Muhammad Husain, now advancing quickly from the Nandurbár frontier, took the fort of Broach, and went thence to Cambay. The Viceroy on this ordered Syad Hámid Bukhári, Nawáb Naurang Khán, and others to join Kutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán, and they went and laid siege to Cambay, but the Mirza managed to evacuate the town and join Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khán. When the Mirza joined these men the Viceroy retired to Ahmadabad, and the rebels laid siege to the city. Kutb-ud-din Khán, Syad Mirán, and others of the Imperial party succeeded, however, in entering the city and joining the garrison. The siege had lasted two months when Akbar, making forced marches, arrived before Ahmadabad and at once engaging the enemy, totally defeated them. In this battle both Mirza Muhammad Husain and Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk were slain. Akbar, after but eleven days' stay, entrusted the government of Gujarát again to Mirza Áziz Koka, and returned to Ágra. Mirza Áziz Koka did not, however, long continue to act as viceroy, for in A.D. 1575, in consequence of some dispute with the emperor, he retired into private life. On his resignation Akbar conferred the post of viceroy on Mirza Khán, son of Behráh Khán, who afterwards rose to the high rank of Khán Khán or chief of the nobles. As this was Mirza Khán's first service, and as he was still a youth, he was ordered to follow the advice of the deputy viceroy, Wazir Khán, in whose hands the administration of the province during the two following years remained. Wazir Khán's government was not, however, successful. And the emperor, hearing that the country was not prosperous, sent Rája Todar Mal to make the revenue settlement of the province, which he did in a most efficient and able manner. After this had been done, Wajih-ul-Mulk Gujaráti was, in A.D. 1575, appointed the first minister¹ of the province. Some historians say that Wazir Khán relieved Mirza Áziz Koka

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroys.

MIRZA ÁZIZ,
First Viceroy,
1573-1575.

Insurrection in
Gujarát,
1573.

Quelled by Akbar,
1573.

MIRZA KHÁN,
Second Viceroy,
1575-1577.

Survey of the
province by Rája
Todar Mal.

¹ The word used is *diwán*. This officer administered civil justice, subordinate to the viceroy. See Introduction.

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Moghal Viceroy.

as viceroy, A.D. 1576, but the author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi*,—and this is perhaps the more reliable account,—asserts that Mirza Khán held office with Wazir Khán as his deputy. One Prágdás, a Hindu, now succeeded Wajih-ul-Mulk as *diván*. Troops were sent to reduce the Nándod and Idar districts to submission and the fort of Sirohi was captured by Tarsu Khán, the military governor (*foujdár*) of Pátan. The Sirohi Rája afterwards had an interview with Rája Todar Mal, through the intervention of Pahár Khán Jálori, and presented £6000 (Rs. 12,000) and other articles as *peshkash*. It was arranged that he should serve the provincial governor of Gujarát with 1500 horse.

SHÁHÁB-UD-DIN,
Third Viceroy,
1577-1583.

Sends a force
against Júnágad.

Mirza Khán is
defeated.

Return of Muzafar
Sháh,
1583.

As Wazir Khán's management was not successful, the post of viceroy was, in the end of the year A.D. 1577, conferred upon Sháháb-ud-din Áhmad Khán, the governor of Málwa. Sháháb-ud-din's first step was to create new military posts and strengthen the old ones. At this time Fateh Khán Shirwáni, the commander of Ámin Khán Ghorí's army, quarrelled with his chief, and, coming to Sháháb-ud-din, offered to capture the fort of Júnágad. Sháháb-ud-din entertained his proposal, and sent his nephew Mirza Khán and 4000 horse with him. When the troops crossed the Sorath frontier, they were met by envoys from Ámin Khán, agreeing, in his name, to pay tribute and surrender the country, provided he were permitted to retain the fortress of Júnágad and were allotted a sufficient grant of land. Mirza Khán, however, rejected these proposals, and continued his march against Júnágad. Ámin Khán made a vigorous resistance, and applied for aid to the Jám of Navá-nagar. At this juncture Fateh Khán died, and Mirza Khán went to Mángrol and besieged that town. The Jám's minister now joined Ámin Khán with 4000 horse, and he, quitting Júnágad, marched to Mángrol.¹ On their approach Mirza Khán retired to the town of Kodinár² followed by Ámin Khán. Here a pitched battle was fought, and Mirza Khán defeated with the loss of all his baggage. Many of his men were slain, and he himself, being wounded, escaped with difficulty to Áhmadabad. Sháháb-ud-din, who had meanwhile been giving his attention to revenue matters, and to the more correct measurement of the lands of the province, was rudely recalled from these peaceful occupations by his nephew's defeat. At the same time, news was brought of the escape of the former king, Muzafar Sháh, who, eluding the vigilance of the Imperial servants, appeared in Gujarát in A.D. 1583. Muzafar remained for some time in the Rájpípla country, and thence came to Luna Káthi, at the village of Khiri, in the district of Sardhár in Sorath.

¹ Mángrol (north latitude 21° 8' and east longitude 70° 10'), a seaport on the south coast of Káthiáwár, about twenty miles west of Somnáth. This town, supposed to be the Monoglossium Emporium of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) (see Bird, 115) is spelt Manglur by the Muhammadan historians. Barbosa (A.D. 1511-1514) under the name of Suratimangaler, calls it a 'very good port where many ships from Malabár touch for horses, wheat, rice, cotton goods, and vegetables.' In A.D. 1531 the city was taken by the Portuguese general Sylveria with a vast booty and a great number of prisoners (Churchill's Travels, III. 529). It is only incidentally mentioned in the *Áin-i-Akbari* (A.D. 1590); but in A.D. 1638 is again said, by Mandelalo, to be famous for its linen cloth, and in A.D. 1700 is mentioned by Hamilton (New Account, I. 136) as a place of some trade.

² This has been rendered by Bird, 353, 'the mountain of Dinár' quasi Koh Dinár.

Before, however, he could march against Muzafar, Sháháb-ud-din was recalled, and in A.D. 1583 Itimád Khán Gujaráti was appointed viceroy. At this time a party of about 700 or 800 Moghals, called Wazir Khánis, separating from Sháháb-ud-din, remained behind in hope of being entertained by the new viceroy. As, however, Itimád Khán declared that he was unable to take them into his service, they went off in a body and joined Muzafar at Khiri, and he with them and three or four thousand Káthi horse marched at once on Áhmadabad. On hearing this Itimád Khán, leaving his son Sher Khán in Áhmadabad, followed Sháháb-ud-din to Kadi, and entreated him to return. Meanwhile Muzafar Sháh reached Áhmadabad, which was but weakly defended, and in A.D. 1583, after a brief struggle, took possession of the city. While the siege of Áhmadabad was going on, Sháháb-ud-din and Itimád Khán were returning, and were actually within a few miles of the city, when the intelligence of its capture reached them. They still continued their advance, but had barely arrived at Áhmadabad when they were attacked by Muzafar Sháh, and were totally defeated, losing all their baggage. Seeing the issue of the fight, most of their army went over to Muzafar Sháh, and the Viceroy with but a few men fled to Pátan. Kutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán, one of the Imperial commanders who was on the Khándesh frontier, now advanced by forced marches to Baroda. Against him Muzafar marched with a large army. Kutb-ud-din, however, threw himself into Baroda, and, in spite of the treachery of his troops, defended the city for some time. At last, on an assurance, on the part of Muzáfár, that his life should be spared, Kutb-ud-din repaired to the enemies' camp to treat for peace. On his arrival he was imprisoned, and next day was treacherously put to death. The fort of Broach was also at this time traitorously surrendered to Muzafar by the garrison.

On receiving the news of the insurrection in Gujarát the emperor, at the close of the year A.D. 1583, conferred the government of the province on Mirza Khán, son of Behráh Khán, who had formerly (A.D. 1575) acted as viceroy. Muzafar, who was still at Broach, hearing of the advance of the new viceroy with a large army, returned rapidly to Áhmadabad, and in A.D. 1584 a pitched battle was fought between him and Mirza Khán before the city. In this engagement Muzafar was entirely defeated, and fled to Cambay pursued by Mirza Khán. Muzafar now hearing that Mirza Khán had been joined by Naurang Khán and other nobles with the Imperial army from Málwa, quitting Cambay, fled to his old place of shelter in Rájpipla, and being pursued there, after fighting and losing another battle in the Rájpipla hills, fled first to Pátan and then to Idar, and afterwards again repaired to Luna Káthi in Khiri. As a reward for these two victories, the emperor bestowed on Mirza Khán the title of Khán Khánán. Broach now submitted, and Muzafar sought shelter with Ámin Khán Ghorí at Júnágad, by whom he was allotted the waste town of Gondal as a residence. Muzafar now made one more attempt at resistance. He advanced to Mórvi and thence made a raid on Rádhanpur and plundered that town, but was soon compelled to return to Káthiáwár and seek safety in flight. Ámin Khán, however, seeing that his cause was hopeless, on pretence of aiding him, induc-

Chapter III.**Moghal Vicereys.**

ITIMÁD KHÁN
GUJARÁTI,
Fourth Viceroy,
1583.

Muzafar captures
Áhmadabad,
1583.

MIRZA KHÁN
(KHÁN KHÁNÁN),
Fifth Viceroy,
1583-1587.

Defeat of Muzafar,
1584.

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Moghal Viceroy.

MIRZA KHÂN
(KHÂN KHÂNÂN),
Fifth Viceroy,
1583 - 1587.

ed Muzafar to give him a sum of about £10,000¹; but when he had obtained the money, on one pretext or another he withheld the promised aid. The Khân Khânân now marched an army into Sorath against Muzafar. The Jám of Navánagar and Amin Khân sent their envoys to meet the Viceroy, declaring that they had not sheltered Muzafar, and that he was wandering about leading an outlaw's life, entirely unaided by them. The Viceroy agreed not to molest them, on condition of their withholding all aid and shelter from Muzafar, and himself marched against him. When he reached Upleta, about fifteen miles from the fortress of Jûnágad, the Viceroy heard that Muzafar had sought shelter in the Barda² mountains. Repairing to Barda, he halted his main force outside of the rough country, sending in skirmishing parties to examine the hills. Ere this, however, Muzafar, leaving the hills, had passed through the Jám's country and again entered Gujarát. Here he was once more defeated, and a third time took refuge in the Rájpipla country. The Viceroy now marched on Navánagar to punish the Jám. The Jám, however, sent in his submission, and the Viceroy taking from him, by way of fine, an elephant and some valuable horses, returned to Áhmadabad.

ISMÁIL KULI KHÂN,
Sixth Viceroy,
1587.

MIRZA ÁZIZ
KOKALTÁSH,
Seventh Viceroy,
1588 - 1592.

Muzafar seeks
refuge in
Káthiáwár.

Is attacked by
the Imperial
army.

In A.D. 1587 the Khân Khânân was recalled and his place supplied by Ismáil Kuli Khân. Ismáil's government, however, lasted only for a few months, when he was superseded by Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh, who was a second time appointed viceroy. In A.D. 1591, Muzafar again returned to Sorath. The Viceroy, hearing that he had been joined by the Jám, the Cutch chief, and Daulat Khân Ghorí, the son of Amin Khân, marched with a large army towards Sorath, and, halting at Viramgám, sent forward a detachment under Naurang Khân, Syad Kásim, and other officers. Advancing as far as Morvi,³ Naurang Khân entered into negotiations with the Jám, who, however, refused to accede to the demands of the Imperial commander. On this the Viceroy joined Naurang Khân with the bulk of his army, and after a short delay marched on Navánagar. On his way thither Muzafar and the Jám opposed him, and an obstinate battle was fought in which Muzafar was entirely defeated. The son and minister of the Jám were slain, and Muzafar, the Jám, and Daulat Khân, who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Jûnágad. The Viceroy now advanced and plundered Navánagar, and remaining there himself sent Naurang Khân, Syad Kásim, and Gujar Khân against Jûnágad. The day the army arrived before the fortress Daulat Khân died of his wounds; nevertheless the nobles above mentioned were unable to take the fortress, and though the Viceroy joined them they were still unsuccessful, and were in great straits from want of grain. The Viceroy, therefore, returned to Áhmadabad, but after seven or eight months again marched against the Jûnágad fortress. The

¹ Two *lákhs* of *mahmudís*. The *mahmudi* varied in value from about one-third to one-half of a rupee. See Introduction.

² The Barda hills are in the division of the province of Káthiáwár called Barda, which includes the principality of Porbandar.

³ Morvi (north latitude 29° 48' and east longitude 70° 50'), a town in Káthiáwár, about twenty-one miles south of Cutch.

Jám, who was still a fugitive, now sent envoys and promised to aid the Viceroy if his country were restored to him. The Viceroy assented on condition that, during the operations against Jânágad, the Jám should furnish his army with supplies of grain. The Jám accordingly agreed to provide grain, and after a siege of three months the garrison surrendered the fortress. During this viceroyalty it was decreed by an Imperial *furmán* that the state share of the produce should be half and the other half should be left to the *rayat*, and that five per cent should be deducted as *makadams*' &c. dues alike from the government and *rayat*'s share, and that no other taxes of any kind were to be levied, and that when land or houses were sold, half the government demand was to be realized from the seller and half from the purchaser.

News was next received that Muzafar had taken refuge at Jagat.¹ The Viceroy at once sent Naurang Khán and others with an army in pursuit. But on reaching Jagat, it was found that Muzafar had already left that place for the village of Sewa Wádhel. Without halting Naurang Khán at once started in pursuit, nearly surprising Muzafar, who, however, escaping on horseback with a few followers, crossed over to Cutch. Sewa Wádhel covered his retreat, fighting gallantly with the Imperial forces till he was slain. Naurang Khán then came to Aráunra, a village belonging to Singráam Wádhel, Rája of Jagat, and after frustrating a scheme devised by that chief to entrap a body of the troops on board ship, under pretence of pursuing Muzafar's family, led his men back to Jânágad. The Viceroy, now hearing whither Muzafar had fled, marched to Morvi, where the Jám of Navánagar came and paid his respects. At the same time the Cutch chief, who is called Khengár in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi and Bhára in the Mirat-i-Sikandri, sent a message to say that if the Viceroy would refrain from invading his country and give him the *pargnah* of Morvi which originally belonged to him, and supply him with a detachment of troops, he would point out to them where Muzafar was concealed. The Khán Ázam agreed to these terms, and the chief accordingly, capturing Muzafar, handed him over to the force sent to secure him. The detachment, strictly guarding the prisoner, were marching rapidly towards Morvi, when, on reaching Dhrol, under pretence of obeying a call of nature, Muzafar withdrew and cut his throat with a razor, so that he died. This happened in A.D. 1591-92. The Viceroy sent Muzafar's head to court, and though he was now recalled by the emperor, he delayed on pretence of wishing to humble the Portuguese. His real object, however, was to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and in A.D. 1592 he started from Verával² after obtaining the necessary permission from the Portuguese.

The emperor, who was much vexed to hear of the departure of the Viceroy, appointed prince Sultán Murád Bakht in his stead.

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

MIRZA ÁZIZ
KOKALTÁSH,
Seventh Viceroy,
1588 - 1592.

Muzafar flies to
Cutch.

Commits suicide,
1591-92.

SULTÁN MURÁD
BAKHT,
Eighth Viceroy,
1592 - 1600.

¹ Jagat (north latitude 22° 15' and east longitude 69° 1'), the site of the temple of Dwárka, at the western extremity of the peninsula of Káthiáwár.

² Verával (north latitude 20° 55' and east longitude 70° 21'), on the south-west coast of Káthiáwár. On the south point of Verával bay stood the city of Dev or Mungi Pátan, and within its walls the temple of Somnáth.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

MIRZA ÁZIZ
KOKALTÁSH,
Ninth Viceroy,
1600-1606.

Jahāngir,
Emperor,
1605-1627.

KALIJ KHÁN,
10th Viceroy,
1606.

SYAD MURTAZA,
11th Viceroy,
1606-1609.

MIRZA ÁZIZ
KOKALTÁSH,
12th Viceroy,
1609-1611.

In A.D. 1593-94 Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh returned from his pilgrimage and repaired to court, and next year prince Murád Bakht going to the Deccan, Surajsingh was appointed his deputy. In A.D. 1594-95 Bahádur, son of the late Muzafar Sháh, excited a rebellion, but was defeated by Surajsingh. In A.D. 1600, owing to the death of Sultán Murád, Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh was a third time appointed viceroy of Gujarát, and he sent Shams-ud-din Hussain as his deputy to Áhmadabad. Further changes were made in A.D. 1602 when Mirza Áziz sent his eldest son Shádmán as deputy; his second son Khurram as governor of Jûnágad; and Syad Bayázid as minister. Khurram was afterwards relieved of the charge of Sorath and Jûnágad by his brother Abdullah.

In A.D. 1605 Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahāngir ascended the Imperial throne. Shortly after his accession this emperor published a *farmán* forgiving certain taxes, but specially noticeable here as fixing the responsibility in cases of robbery on the landowners of the place where the robbery was committed. It forbids the soldiery also alighting forcibly in *rayats'* houses (this had also been forbidden by the emperor Akbar), and directs that dispensaries and hospital wards should be opened in all large towns. He appointed Kalij Khán to be viceroy of Gujarát; but Kalij Khán never joined his charge, allowing Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh to act in his place. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1606, on the transfer of Mirza Áziz to the Láhor viceroyalty, Syad Murtaza Khán Bukhári was entrusted with the charge of Gujarát, Syad Bayázid being continued as minister. Syad Murtaza, who, it is said, owed his appointment as viceroy to a present to the emperor of a magnificent ruby, appears to have been more of a scholar than a governor and the only thing of note that he did was to repair the fort of Kadi.¹ During his tenure of power disturbances broke out, and Rái Gopináth, son of Rája Todar Mal, with Rája Sursingh of Jodhpur, were sent to Gujarát by way of Málwa, Surat, and Baroda. They overcame and imprisoned Kalián, chief of Belpár,² but were in turn defeated by the Mándwa³ chieftain, and withdrew to Áhmadabad. Rái Gopináth, however, this time obtaining reinforcements, returned to Mándwa and succeeded in capturing the chief. He then marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Kánkrej, and took prisoner their leader, whom, on promising not to stir up future rebellions, he afterwards restored to liberty.⁴

In A.D. 1609 the Khán Azam Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh was for the fourth time appointed (twelfth) viceroy of Gujarát; he was, however, permitted to remain at court and send his son Jahāngir Kuli Khán as his deputy. This may be said to have been the commencement of the custom of governing by deputy, which in

¹ Now belonging to His Highness the Gáikwár, about twenty-seven miles north-west of Áhmadabad.

² Belpár, belonging to the Thákor of Umeta in the Rewa Kántha.

³ This Mándwa is probably the Mándwa under His Highness the Gáikwár in his district of Atarsumba, but it may be Mándwa on the Narbada in the Rewa Kántha. Atarsumba is about ten miles west of Kapadvanj in the British district of Kaira.

⁴ In A.D. 1608 Captain Hawkins, with the permission of the Viceroy, sold some goods at Surat.

later times was carried to such lengths, and was so injurious to the Imperial interests. It is true that the Khán Azam had himself acted as deputy of Kalij Khán, but then that was merely a case of allowing a former viceroy to officiate, and not of sending a separate deputy. In this year Malik Ambar, chief minister of Nizám Sháh's court and governor of Daulatabad, invaded Gujarát at the head of 50,000 horse, and plundered both the Surat and Baroda districts but retired as quickly as he came. To prevent such outrages in future, a body of 25,000 men was posted at Rámnagar¹ on the Deccan frontier, and remained there for four years. The following details, of the strength of the several contingents of which this force was composed, give some idea of the relative importance of the different chiefs at that time:

The Viceroy of Áhmadabad	...	...	4000	men.
The nobles of his court	...	...	5000	"
The chiefs of Sálér and Mulher (Báglán)	...	...	3000	"
The son of the Cutch chief	...	...	2500	"
The chief of Navánagar	...	...	2500	"
The chief of Idar	...	...	2000	"
The chief of Dungarpur	} Now under the Hilly Tracts Agency, Rájputana.	{	2000	"
The chief of Bánsvada			2000	"
The chief of Rámnagar (Dharampur)	...	...	1000	"
The chief of Rájipipla	...	...	1000	"
The chief of Áli (Alirájpur under the Bhopáwar Agency)	...	...	300	"
The chief of Mohan (Mohan, a former capital of the State of Chhota Udepur in the Rewa Kántha)	...	...	350	"

Total ... 25,650 men.

In A.D. 1611 Abdullah Khán Bahádur Firoz Jang was appointed thirteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Gheías-ud-din as his minister, under orders to proceed to the Deccan to avenge the recent inroad.² The Viceroy marched accordingly, but, returning without effecting anything, was again, in A.D. 1616, this time in company with the prince Sháh Jahán, directed to move against the Deccan. This second expedition was successful; the country was humbled, and, with the exception of Malik Ambar, most of the princes submitted to the emperor. During his viceroyalty an Imperial *farmán* was issued which, amongst other things, forbids nobles on the frontiers and in distant provinces affixing their seals to any communications addressed to Imperial servants. On their return

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

MIRZA ÁZIZ
KOKÁLTASH,
12th Viceroy,
1609-1611.

Sack of Surat by
Malik Ambar,
1609.

ABDULLAH KHÁN
FIROZ JANG,
13th Viceroy,
1611-1616.

¹ Now belonging to the Rája of Dharampur, east of the British district of Surat.

² In this year (A.D. 1611) the English East India Company sent vessels to trade with Surat. The Portuguese made an armed resistance, but were defeated. The Moghal commander, who was not sorry to see the Portuguese beaten, gave the English a warm reception, and in A.D. 1612-13 a factory was opened in Surat by the English, and in A.D. 1614 a fleet was kept in the Tápti under Captain Downton to protect the factory. In A.D. 1615, Sir Thomas Roe came as ambassador to the emperor Jahángir, and obtained permission to establish factories, not only at Surat but also at Broach, Cambay, and Gogha. The factory at Gogha would seem to have been first established in A.D. 1613. The Dutch closely followed the English at Surat and were established there in A.D. 1618.

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroy.

MUKARAB KHÁN,
14th Viceroy,
1616.

Elephant hunting
in the Panch
Mahals,
1616.

to Delhi, Mukarab Khán was appointed fourteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Muhammad Safi as his minister. At this time the emperor came to Gujarát to hunt elephants in the Dohad forests. But owing to the density of the forest only twelve wild elephants were captured. He visited Cambay, and thence went to Ahmadabad. But as the climate of that place was disagreeable to him,¹ he retired to the banks of the Mahi river. Here the Jám of Navánagar came to pay his homage, and presented fifty Cutch horses as tribute. The emperor now returned to Ahmadabad, where he received a visit from the Rái Bhára of Cutch, who presented 100 Cutch horses, 100 *ashrafs*,² and 2000 rupees. The Rái was then ninety years of age, and had never before paid his respects to any emperor. Jahángir, much pleased with the old chief, gave him his own horse, a male and female elephant, a dagger, a sword with diamond-mounted hilt, and four rings of precious stones. As he still suffered from the climate, the emperor set out to return to Ágra, and just at that time he heard of the birth of a grandson, afterwards the famous Abúl Muzafar Mahya-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb who was born at Dohad in Gujarát. In honour of this event Sháh Jahán held a great festival at Ujain.

PRINCE SHÁH
JAHÁN,
15th Viceroy,
1616-1622.

Sháh Jahán rebels,
1622-1623.

Builds the Sháhi
Bágh at
Ahmadabad.

SULTÁN DÁWAR
BAKSH,
16th Viceroy,
1622-1624.

The emperor then started for Ágra, appointing ere he left Sháh Jahán to be fifteenth viceroy of Gujarát. Muhammad Safi was continued as minister. As, however, the prince preferred remaining at Ujain, he chose Rustam Khán as his deputy; but the emperor, disapproving of this choice, selected Rája Vikramájit in Rustam Khán's stead. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1622-23, Sháh Jahán rebelled, and in one of the battles which took place Rája Vikramájit was killed. Sháh Jahán, during his tenure of the viceroyalty, built the Sháhi Bágh at Ahmadabad. After the death of Vikramájit, his brother succeeded as deputy viceroy. While Sháh Jahán was still in rebellion, the emperor appointed Sultán Dáwar Baksh as sixteenth viceroy of Gujarát, Muhammad Safi being retained in his post of minister. Sháh Jahán, who was then at Mándu in Málwa, appointed on his part Abdullah Khán Bahádúr Firoz Jang viceroy and Khwájah Sara Abdullah Khán minister. Sultán Dáwar Baksh, the emperor's nominee, was accompanied by Khán Ázam Mirza Áziz Kokaltásh to instruct him in the management of affairs. Now, the prince Sháh Jahán had instructed his minister to carry away all the treasure; but Muhammad Safi, who appears to have been a most able man, at once imprisoned the prince's partisans in Ahmadabad, and, among others, captured Khwájah Sara Abdullah Khán. When this news reached the prince at Mándu, he sent Abdullah Khán Bahádúr with an army to Gujarát by way of

¹ At first Jahángir who visited Ahmadabad in the hot weather (March) contented himself with abusing its sandy streets, calling the city the 'abode of dust,' *gardábad*. After an attack of fever however, his dislike grew stronger, and he was uncertain whether, the 'home of the simoon,' *samumistán*; the 'place of sickness,' *bimáristán*; the 'thorn brake,' *zakumdar*, or 'hell,' *jahannamabad*, was its most fitting name. Elliot's History of India, VI. 358.

² This was probably the gold *ashraf* or seraph, of which Hawkins (1609-1611) says, 'Serraffins Ekberi, which be ten rupees a-piece.' Thomas Chron. Pat. Kings of Delhi, 425.

Baroda. The minister, however, met and defeated him, and forced him to fly and rejoin the prince at Mándu. Muhammad Saif, for his gallant conduct, received the title of Saif Khán, while his monthly pay was increased from £70 to £300 (Rs. 700 - 3000) and the command of 3000 horsemen was conferred on him. In the meantime Sultán Dáwar Baksh, with the Khán Azam, arrived and assumed the charge of the government, but the Khán Azam died soon afterwards, in A.D. 1624, and was buried at Sarkhej. Sultán Dáwar Baksh was now re-called, and Khán Jahán was appointed deputy viceroy with Yusuf Khán as his minister. On his arrival at Áhmadabad, however, prince Sháh Jahán employed Khán Jahán in his own service, and sent him as his ambassador to the emperor. Saif Khán, who acted for him, may be called the seventeenth viceroy, as indeed he had been the governing spirit for the last eight or ten years. He held the post of viceroy of Gujarát until the death of the emperor in A.D. 1627.

On the death of the emperor Jahángir, his son Abúl Muzafar Sháháb-ud-din Sháh Jahán ascended the throne. He, remembering Saif Khán's hostility to him during his rebellion, at once caused him to be imprisoned, and appointed Sher Khán Tú'r as eighteenth viceroy with Khwájah Haiyát as his minister. When the emperor was near Surat, he appointed Mir Shamsuddin to be governor (*kiledár*) of the castle at that port. In A.D. 1627, Sháh Jahán visited Áhmadabad, and encamped in tents outside of the city, near the Kánkrya tank. Sher Khán was advanced to the command of 5000 men, and received an increase of salary and other gifts; while Khán Jahán was appointed his minister, and Mirza Isa Tar Khán viceroy of Tatta in Sindh. In A.D. 1628 Khwájah Abúl Hasan was sent against the country of Násik and Sangamner, which he ravaged, and returned after taking the fort of Chándod and levying tribute from the chief of Báglán. In A.D. 1630, Jamál Khán Karáwal came to the Gujarát-Khándesh frontier and captured 130 elephants in the Sultánpur forests, of which seventy were sent to Delhi. These seventy elephants were valued at a *lakh* of rupees. In A.D. 1631-32 there was a great famine in Gujarát, known as the *Satiásio Kál* or the famine of Samvat 1687. So severe was this famine that men are said to have eaten human flesh.

Sher Khán was re-called in A.D. 1632, but died ere he could be relieved by the nineteenth viceroy of Gujarát, Islám Khán, along with whom Khwájah Jahán was chosen minister. The monthly salary of Islám Khán was £400 (Rs. 4000), and he was a commander of 5000; and on his sending the emperor some valuable presents, he was raised to the rank of a commander of 6000. In A.D. 1632 Khwájah Jahán went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was succeeded as minister by Ága Afzal with the title of Afzal Khán. Afzal Khán was soon appointed commander of Baroda, and Riáyab Khán succeeded him as minister. The post of viceroy of Gujarát, at this time, appears to have been granted to whichever of the nobles of the court was in a position to make the most valuable presents to the emperor. Government consequently became lax, and, as will be seen hereafter, excesses were committed by the Kolis of the Kánkrej, while at the same time the Jám of Navánagar

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Moghal Viceroys.

SULTÁN DÁWAR
BAKSH,
16th Viceroy,
1622-1624.

Sháh Jahán's party
defeated,
1624.

SAIF KHÁN,
17th Viceroy,
1624-1627.

Death of Jahángir,
1627.

Sháh Jahán,
Emperor,
1627-1658.

SHER KHÁN TÚ'R,
18th Viceroy,
1627-1632.

Elephant hunting
in Sultánpur,
1630.
Year of famine,
1631-32.

ISLÁM KHÁN,
19th Viceroy,
1632.

Disordered state
of the province,
1632.

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Moghal Viceroy.

BÁKAR KHÁN,
20th Viceroy, 1632.
SIPÁHDÁR KHÁN,
21st Viceroy, 1633.
SAIF KHÁN,
22nd Viceroy,
1633-1635.

ÁZAM KHÁN,
23rd Viceroy,
1635-1642.

Governs with
ability.

Punishes the Kolis,

and the Káthis.

withheld his tribute. At this time Bákar Khán presented the emperor with a valuable gift, and was appointed viceroy, Riáyat Khán being continued as minister; and in A.D. 1633 Sipáhdár Khán was appointed viceroy, and presented the emperor with a costly velvet tent embroidered with gold, Riáyat Khán being continued as minister. In A.D. 1635 Saif Khán was appointed twenty-second viceroy, with Riáyat Khán as minister, but he was also changed within the year. During his tenure of power Mirza Isa Tar Khán received a grant¹ of the province of Sorath, which had become waste through the laxity of its governors.

At the end of A.D. 1635 Azam Khán was appointed twenty-third viceroy, with Riáyat Khán in the first instance, and afterwards with Mir Muhammad Sábar, as minister. The men who had recently been allowed to act as viceroys had shown themselves unfit to keep the rebellious chiefs and predatory tribes of Gujarát in order. For this reason the emperor's choice fell upon Azam Khán, a man of ability, who perceived the danger to the government in the existing state of affairs, and saw that to restore the province to order, firm, and even severe, measures were required. When Azam Khán reached Sidhpur, the merchants complained bitterly to him of the outrages of one Kánji, a Chunvália Koli, who had of late been especially daring in plundering merchandise and committing highway robberies. Azam Khán, desirous of commencing his rule with vigour, at once, before proceeding to Áhmadabad, marched against this chief and defeated him. Kánji fled to the Kherálu district, whither Azam Khán pursued him so promptly that Kánji surrendered himself and handed over the property he had plundered, and gave security not only that he would not again commit robberies, but that he would pay an annual tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Azam Khán then erected two fortified posts in the Koli country, one of which he named Azamabad after himself, and one Khalilabad after his son. He next marched to Káthiáwár² and subdued the Káthis, who were continually ravaging the country near Dhandhuka, and erected a fortified post to check them, called Sháhpur, on the opposite side of the river to Chuda-Ránpur. Aga Afzal Fázal Khán, who had at one time held the post of minister, and had, in A.D. 1636, been appointed governor of Baroda, was now selected to command the special cavalry composing the body-guard of prince Muhammad Aurangzeb. At the same time Syad Iahdád was appointed governor of Surat fort. Isa Tar Khán was still at Jûnágad, and at this time, A.D. 1637, Mir Muhammad Sábar was chosen minister in place of Riáyat Khán, and in A.D. 1638 Moiz-ul-Mulk was re-appointed to the command of Surat fort. Azam Khán was now high in favour, and his daughter was at this time sent to Delhi, and espoused to the emperor's son Muhammad Sujáh Bahádur.

¹ The word used in the text is *tuyul*. In meaning it does not differ from *jágir*.

² This is one of the first mentions in history of Káthiáwár as such, or as anything other than Sorath or Sauráshtra. It probably, however, only comprised the eastern possessions of the Kháchar Káthis and the division of the province known as the Panchál.

In A.D. 1639, Azam Khán devoted his whole attention to placing fortified posts to check rebellion and robbery in the country of the Kolis and the Káthis, and he made such arrangements that people could travel safely in the districts of Jhálávád, Káthiáwár, the country of the Jám of Navánagar, and in Cutch. The Jám, however, who had been accustomed of late years to do much as he pleased, resented these arrangements, and in A.D. 1640 withheld payment of tribute, and set up a mint to coin *koris*.¹ When Azam Khán heard of this, he marched with an army against Navánagar, and, on arriving about three miles from the city, he sent the Jám a peremptory order to pay the arrears of tribute and to close his mint, directing him in case of any disturbance occurring in that part of the country to send his son at once to the Viceroy to learn his will. He further ordered the Jám to dismiss to their own countries all refugees from other parts of Gujarát. The Jám being unable to cope with Azam Khán, acceded to these terms, and Azam Khán, receiving the arrears of tribute, returned to Ahmadabad.

Though Azam Khán had acted so firmly and well in the imperial interests, he necessarily made many enemies. These persons ceased not to traduce him to the weak emperor, who was at last induced to think that Azam Khán's government was not beneficial, and, accordingly, re-calling him, in A.D. 1642, he appointed in his place Mirza Isa Tar Khán, the governor of Sorath, twenty-fourth viceory of Gujarát. And as it was insinuated by his enemies that Azam Khán might resist the message of re-call, this order was written by the emperor with his own hand. The new viceroy, thanks to Azam Khán's firm rule, found the province on the whole in good order, and was able to devote his attention to financial reforms, and introduced the system of levying revenue in kind known in Gujarát as *bhágvatái*.² When Mirza Isa Tar Khán was raised to be viceroy of Gujarát, he appointed his own son Inayat-ulláh to be governor of Júnágad, and Moiz-ul-Mulk to fill the post of minister. Mirza Isa Tar Khán's term of power was, however, brief, for in A.D. 1644 the emperor appointed prince Muhammad Aurangzeb to the charge of Gujarát, Moiz-ul-Mulk continuing to act as his minister. One of the events of interest recorded in the next year (A.D. 1645) is the capture of seventy-three elephants in the forests of Dohad and Chámpáner.

Prince Aurangzeb's rule in Gujarát was marked by religious disputes. One quarrel between the Hindus and the Musalmáns ended in the destruction, by the order of the prince, of a temple of Chintáman near Saraspur.³ In another case, both of the contending parties were Musalmáns, the orthodox believers rising against the representatives of the Mahdviyeh sect in Ahmadabad, who were then numerous. In consequence of these disturbances, prince Aurangzeb was relieved and Sháistah Khán appointed twenty-sixth viceroy of Gujarát. In the following year Moiz-ul-Mulk, who had till then continued to act as minister, was recalled, and his place

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AZAM KHÁN,
23rd Viceroy,
1635-1642.

Revolt of the Jám
of Navánagar,
1640.

ISA TAR KHÁN,
24th Viceroy,
1642-1644.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD
AURANGZEB,
25th Viceroy,
1644-1646.

SHÁISTAH KHÁN,
26th Viceroy,
1646-1648.

¹ The author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* says that in his time, A.D. 1746-1762, these Navánagar *koris* were current even in Ahmadabad, two *koris* and two-thirds being equal to one imperial rupee. They were also called *jámis*.

² Literally division into shares.

³ A suburb of Ahmadabad.

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PRINCE MUHAMMAD
DÁRÁH,
27th Viceroy,
1648 - 1652.

SHÁISTAH KHÁN,
28th Viceroy,
1652 - 1654.

Mutiny among
the troops,
1653.

PRINCE MORÁD
BAKSH,
29th Viceroy,
1654 - 1657.

Morád proclaims
himself Emperor,
1657.

supplied by Háfiz Muhammad Násir. In A.D. 1648, prince Muhammad Daráh Shekoh was chosen viceroy, with Ghairat Khán as his deputy and Háfiz Muhammad Násir as minister, while Sháistah Khán was sent to Málwa to relieve Sháh Nawáz Khán. In A.D. 1651, Mir Yahya was appointed minister in place of Háfiz Muhammad Násir, and in A.D. 1652 prince Daráh was sent to Kandahár. Sháistah Khán now, for the second time, became viceroy, with Mir Yahya as minister; while Sultán Yár was chosen governor of Baroda with the title of Himat Khán. Mirza Isa Tar Khán was now summoned to court from his *foujdári* of Sorath and his son Muhammad Sálíh was appointed as his successor. In A.D. 1653, an Imperial order was issued reducing the pay of the troopers, as well as of the better class of horsemen, who brought with them a certain number of followers. This order created much discontent, and was most impolitic. During this year several changes were made in the charges of the different governors, Muhammad Násir was sent to Surat, Himat Khán to Dholka, the governor of Dholka to Baroda, and Kutb-ud-din to Júnágad; while Syad Shekhán, son-in-law of Syad Diler Khán, was appointed governor of Tharád under Pátan, and Jagmál, the holder of Sánand, was deputed to Dholka as revenue collector.¹ At this time Sháistah Khán in person marched against and defeated the Chunvália Kolis, who, since Ázam Khán's time, had been ravaging the villages round Ahmadabad as well as those of Dholka, Kadi, and Viramgám.

But though Sháistah Khán had, during these two years, restored some order in the province, the emperor seemed determined to neutralize the good effects of vigorous rule by continually changing his officers. Accordingly, in A.D. 1654, he appointed prince Muhammad Morád Baksh twenty-ninth viceroy of Gujarát, and Diánat Khán minister in place of Mir Záhya. Diánat Khán was, however, immediately superseded by Rehmat Khán. Mujáhid Khán Jhálori relieved Mir Shams-ud-din as governor of Pátan. At the same time the management of Godhra was entrusted to Syad Hasan, son of Syad Diler Khán, and its revenues assigned to him. When prince Morád Baksh reached Jhábuá² on his way to Ahmadabad, the chief of that place presented him with £1500 (Rs. 15,000) as tribute; and when he reached Ahmadabad, Kánji, the notorious leader of the Chunvália Kolis, surrendered through Syad Shekhán, and promised to remain quiet and pay annually a tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Dildost, son of Sarfaráz Khán, was appointed to the charge of the post of Bijápur under Pátan; while Syad Shekhán was made governor of Sádra, and Syad Ali paymaster, with the title of Radwi Khán. Many other changes were made at the same time, the prince receiving a grant of the district of Júnágad.

At the end of A.D. 1657, news arrived that Sháh Jahán was dangerously ill; and on hearing this, prince Morád Baksh at once proclaimed himself emperor by the title of Murawwaj-ud-din. His

¹ The word used is *dmil*, a term applied both to a collector and to a farmer of the revenues.

² Jhábuá, now under the Bhopáwar Agency.

next step was to put to death the minister Āli Naki, and direct his men to plunder and deprive of their estates the governor and Kudsi¹ Begam of Surat. He then borrowed £55,000 (5½ *lákhs* of rupees) from the sons of Satidás Jhaveri, £4000 (Rs. 40,000) from Rohidás partner of Satidás, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) from Sánmal and others. With this sum he raised an army, arranging to meet his brother, prince Aurangzeb, and with him march against the Mahārāja Jasvantsingh of Jodhpur and Kásam Khán, whom Sháh Jahán had appointed viceroys of Málwa and Gujarát, respectively, with orders to join together and march against the princes. Morád Baksh and Aurangzeb, on their side, uniting their forces, early in A.D. 1658, fought an obstinate battle with Jasvantsingh, in which they were at length victorious, and entered Ujain in triumph. It was from this city that prince Morád Baksh wrote the order allotting to Mánikchand priority of payment over his other creditors, and assigning to him £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000) from the revenues of Surat, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) from Cambay, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) from Pitlád, £7500 (Rs. 75,000) from Dholka, £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from Broach, £4500 (Rs. 45,000) from Viramgám, and £3000 (Rs. 30,000) from the salt works, in all £55,000 (5½ *lákhs* of rupees). Further sums of £4000 (Rs. 40,000) are mentioned as due to Rohidás, partner of Satidás, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) to Sánmal and others. The princes now advanced upon Ágra, and fought a still more obstinate battle with the Imperial forces, commanded by prince Dáráh Shekoh, and after a long and doubtful contest were victorious, though Morád Baksh received several wounds. Prince Dáráh fled to Delhi, and the princes advanced and took possession of Ágra. After confining his father, Aurangzeb marched for Mathura, and, having no further use of Morád, he there seized and imprisoned him. From Mathura, Aurangzeb went to Delhi, but found it abandoned by Dáráh, who had meanwhile retired to Láhor.

In A.D. 1658, Aurangzeb, though his father was yet alive, assuming the Imperial titles ascended the throne, and in A.D. 1659 appointed Sháh Nawáz Khán Safávi thirty-first viceroy of Gujarát, with Rahmat Khán as minister. On this occasion Sántidás also received a *farmán* directing that the provincial officials should settle his accounts and Kutb-ud-din Kheshgi was appointed Foujdar of Sorath. Sháh Nawáz Khán was the father-in-law of both Aurangzeb and Morád Baksh, and it happened that, shortly after his appointment, while Morád's wife was paying a visit to her father, prince Dáráh, leaving Cutch, where he had been hospitably received by the Ráv, made a sudden descent on Gujarát. The Viceroy, won over by the entreaties of his daughter (who saw in the success of Dáráh a hope of release for her husband), joined the prince, who entered Áhmadabad, and thence, after collecting an army, and appointing Syad Áhmad deputy viceroy, marched towards Ájmir, once more to try his chance for empire. He was, however, defeated in A.D. 1659, and fled to Áhmadabad, where Sardár Khán, who had confined Syad Áhmad, closed the gates of the city in his face. The unhappy

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KÁSAM KHÁN,
30th Viceroy,
1657 - 1659.

Morád with
Aurangzeb
victorious.

Morád is confined
by Aurangzeb,
1658.

Aurangzeb,
Emperor,
1658-1707.
SHÁH NAWÁZ KHÁN
SAFÁVI,
31st Viceroy,
1659.

Rebellion of
Prince Dáráh,
1659.

Is defeated,
1659.

¹ Kudsi is a title. It means literally pure, holy.

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Moghal Viceroy.

JASVANTSINGH,
32nd Viceroy,
1659-1662.

prince then retired to Cutch, but meeting with no support fled to Sindh, where he was treacherously seized and handed over to his brother by the chief of Jun. The emperor Aurangzeb, forgiving Jasvantsingh his opposition at Ujain, conferred on him the government of Gujarát, and in the place of Rahmat Khán appointed Makramat Khán to act as minister. Sardár Khán was thanked for his loyal conduct. Presents were also bestowed on Kutb-ud-din, the governor of Sorath, and shortly afterwards, for his refusal to help prince Daráh, the chief of Cutch was rewarded. By these measures all signs of disaffection at the accession of Aurangzeb were removed throughout Gujarát; a *farmán* was issued at this time addressed to Rahmat Khán, the provincial *diwan*, directing him to forbid the cultivation of hemp. *Mohtasibs* or superintendents of morals were appointed to prevent the drinking of wine or the eating of intoxicating drugs or preparations.

Jasvantsing sent
against Shiváji,
1662.

MAHÁBAT KHÁN,
33rd Viceroy,
1662-1668.

In A.D. 1662, Jasvantsingh received orders to march to the Deccan, and join prince Muazzam against Shiváji the Marátha leader; and Kutb-ud-din, governor of Sorath, was directed to act for him in his absence. In this year, Mahábat Khán was appointed thirty-third viceroy of Gujarát, and he joined his charge in A.D. 1663, while Sardár Khán, the governor of Broach, was sent to Idar to suppress certain disturbances that had arisen in that part of the country. About this time Ranmalji, Jám of Navánagar, died, leaving a spurious child named Lákha, whom the late chief's brother Ráisinghji, with the aid of the Ráv of Cutch and other Jádejás, set aside and himself mounted the throne. Lákha was, however, taken to Ahmadabad by Malik Isa, a servant of the family, and the aid of the Viceroy was invoked. Marching at once on Navánagar, Kutb-ud-din defeated and slew Ráisingh, took possession of Navánagar, and annexed the territory, changing the name of the city into Islámnagar. For the successful issue of this expedition, Kutb-ud-din received much praise from court. Ráisingh's son, Tamáchi, then an infant, however, escaped and was sheltered in Cutch. This was about A.D. 1664; and in the same year a Baloch, personating Daráh Shekoh, was joined by many Kolis, and disturbed the peace of the Chunvál, now a portion of the Ahmadabad collectorate north of Viramgám. Mahábat Khán, however, quelled these disturbances, and established two new military posts, one at Gájna under Cambay, and one at Belpár under Pitlád. At this time we first hear of the celebrated Bábi family, one of whose members, Sher Khán Bábi, was sent with 700 men against Duda Koli of the Chunvál. In the same year (A.D. 1664) Shiváji made a rapid descent on Surat, and, by plundering the city created a great alarm over the whole province. The Viceroy Mahábat Khán therefore marched to Surat with the following chiefs and officers: Jagnál, proprietor of Sánand; the governor of Dholka; Shádimal, chief of Idar; Syad Hasan Khán, governor of Idar; Muhammad Abid with 200 superior landholders of the district of Kadi; the Rája of Dungarpur; Sabalsingh, Rája of Wadhván, in Káthiáwár, and other chiefs of Jhalávád; Lál Kalián, chief of Mándva in the Gáikwár's dominions near Atarsumba; the chief of Elol under Ahmadnagar; Prathiráj of Haldarvás; and the chief of Belpár.

Capture of
Navánagar
(Islámnagar),
1664.

Rise of the Bábi
family.

Plunder of Surat
by Shiváji,
1664.

When they arrived at Surat, there were no traces of Shiváji, who had long since carried off his plunder safely to his head-quarters at Ráygad.¹ The Viceroy, therefore, after remaining three months at Surat levying tribute from the superior landholders of those parts, returned to Ahmadabad, and Ináyat Khán, the revenue collector,² Surat, built a wall round the town for its protection. About this time Kutb-ud-din Khán, governor of Sorath, was sent with an army to aid the Mahárája Jasvantsingh in the Deccan, and Sardár Khán was appointed in his place. The Maráthás in A.D. 1666 again attacked and plundered Surat, and in the same year the deposed emperor Sháh Jahán died, and Makramat Khán, minister of Gujarát, died also. In this year the Viceroy, Mahábat Khán, in place of the old iron coins, introduced a copper coinage into Gujarát. Sardár Khán, the governor of Júnágad, was also put in charge of Islámnagar (Navánagar), and 500 additional horsemen were placed under him.

In A.D. 1668, Bahádur Khán Khán Jahán, who had formerly been viceroy of Allahabad, was appointed viceroy of Gujarát, with Haji Shaáa Khán, and afterwards Khwájah Muhammad Háshim, as his ministers. He joined his government in A.D. 1669, and in A.D. 1670 Shiváji again plundered Surat. In A.D. 1670 Shiváji made an attempt on Janjira,³ the residence and stronghold of the admirals of Bijápur. Sidi Yákut, an Abyssinian, the commander of that fortress, applied to the governor of Surat for aid. On his consenting to become a vassal of the emperor and place his fleet at the emperor's disposal, Sidi Yákut received the title of Yákut Khán, and a yearly subsidy of £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000). About the same time Syad Diler Khán, who had accompanied Mahárája Jasvantsingh to the Deccan, was re-called by the Viceroy Bahádur Khán, and appointed governor of Sorath in place of Sardár Khán, who was sent to Idar. Syad Haidar, in charge of the military post of Haidarabad, reported that he had put down the rebellion in that part of the country, but, to preserve order in future, recommended that a small fort should be built. In A.D. 1670 Diler Khán was summoned by the emperor to discuss the state of affairs in the Deccan, and was afterwards sent to the seat of war, being replaced in the government of Sorath by Sardár Khán. An order was passed by the emperor at this time, forbidding taxes to be levied on goods brought to Ahmadabad for sale by Portuguese or Dutch merchants on the ground that they had already paid import dues at the ports. Strict orders were also passed directing all the service tenants to keep their proper contingent of horses, and the provincial *diván* was ordered to muster them in person, and if any *jágirdár* kept a less number of horsemen than his fixed contingent, his *jágir* was to be resumed and granted to another, and a report made to court.

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Moghal Viceroys:

MAHÁBAT KHÁN,
33rd Viceroy,
1662-1668.

Copper coinage
introduced,
1668.

KHÁN JAHÁN,
34th Viceroy,
1668-1671.

Third sack of Surat,
1670.

Sidi Yákut of
Janjira becomes
the Moghal
admiral,
1670.

¹ Ráygad (north latitude 18° 14' and east longitude 73° 30'), the name given in A.D. 1662 to Rairi, a hill fortress in the Mahád sub-division of the Kolába collectorate, Shiváji took the place and made it his capital in A.D. 1662.

² The word is *muttsaddi*, literally clerk.

³ Janjira (north latitude 17° 59' to 18° 32'), on the western coast, about forty-four miles south of Bombay. The Bijápur mentioned is the kingdom of that name in the Deccan.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

MAHÁRÁJA
JASVANTSINGH,
35th Viceroy,
1671-1674.

In A.D. 1671, Bahádur Khán Khán Jahán was sent as viceroy to the Deccan. He was relieved by the Mahárája Jasvantsingh, who, viceroy of Gujarát for the second time, received an assignment of the districts of Dhanduka and Pitlád. Through the intercession of the Viceroy, Jám Tamáchi, the son of Ráisingh, was, in A.D. 1673, on condition of serving the Viceroy when required and of keeping order in that part of the country, restored to the throne of Navánagar. At the same time 25 villages were granted in *inám* to certain Jádeja Rájputs who were his dependents. Nevertheless, as long as the emperor Aurangzeb was alive, the city of Navánagar (Islámnagar) was always kept in the hands of a Musalmán noble, the Jám residing at Khambhália, a town about 30 miles distant from the head-quarters of the state. But in A.D. 1707, on Aurangzeb's death, the Jám was allowed to return to his former capital. So, too, in regard to his pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Cutch. As long as Aurangzeb lived, the Jám forbore to work them, but afterwards again made use of this source of revenue. The Mirat-i-Ahmadi mentions that though the Jám was restored to a certain position through the intercession of the Mahárája Jasvantsingh, the provincial viceroy, nevertheless up to the close of the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb, the Jám resided at Khambhália, and the Islámnagar Sarkár was granted in *jágir* to certain great nobles serving in the Ahmadabad government. But after the death of that emperor, the Jám obtained possession of Navánagar, and built there a strong fort. And the *sarkár* again became tributary. In the time of Sultán Muzafar Gujaráti the Jám enjoyed four entire villages and the fourth share in 4000 villages (can this be a mistake for 400?) and he remained present in the province in attendance on that Sultán with a contingent of 5000 horse and 4000 foot. Accordingly Rája Todar Mal in the reign of the emperor Akbar appointed him to a personal *mansab* of a command of 4000 horse with a contingent of 4000 cavalry and entrusted to him the entire *zamindári* of Navánagar, and imposed on him a tribute of 3 *lákhs* of *mahmudis* and 100 horses. And he served in this manner with all the provincial viceroys up to the time of prince Mîrâd Baksh. Afterwards during the viceroyalty of Mahábat Khán, and the *foujdári* of Kutb-ud-din Khán, the *zamindári* was annexed to the crown possessions. Early in the year 1674 certain taxes were forbidden to be levied from Musalmáns. Prominent among these was *ráhdári* or transit dues. Also taxes on fish brought for sale, as well as taxes on vegetables, grass, fire-wood and other forest produce, and the taxes levied from Muhammadan artisans, and many other miscellaneous dues. About this time the *zamindár* of Chháya, who owned a fourth share in the revenues of the Imperial port of Porbandar, on condition of service and protecting the said port, applied for and received a new *sanad*. Much discontent was caused at this period by the enforcement of an Imperial order confiscating all *wazífáh* land, or land held on religious tenure, by Hindus.

MUHAMMAD
AMIN KHÁN
UMDAT-UL-MULK,
36th Viceroy,
1674-1683.

About the close of the year A.D. 1674, the Mahárája was relieved and sent to Kábul, and Muhammad Amin Khán Umdat-ul-Mulk, who had just been defeated at Kábul, was appointed thirty-sixth viceroy of Gujarát, receiving an assignment of the districts of Pátan

and Viramgám. Among the military posts of which mention is made in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi is that of Sádra,¹ at present the head-quarters of the Mahi Kántha Agency. This post, it would seem, was at that time called Islámabad,² and was under the command of Syad Kamál, son of Syad Kámil. At this time the Bábi family were rising into importance. Muhammad Muzafar, son of Sher Khán Bábi, was governor of the Kadi district, and Muhammad Mubáriz, another son of Sher Bábi, was in charge of one of the posts under Kadi. Kamál Khán Jhálari, who had been removed from the government of Pálanpur and replaced by Muhammad Fateh, was now restored to his former post. In A.D. 1676, the Júnágad fortress was put into repair, and Shekh Nizám-ud-din Áhmad, minister of Gujarát, was sent to Málwa, and was succeeded by Muhammad Sharif. In this year the Kánkrej Kolis were again rebellious, and Muhammad Amin Khán Umdat-ul-Mulk went against them and remained four months in their country, subduing them and reducing them to order. In the end of A.D. 1678, the Viceroy received instructions to join the emperor at Ajmir, and after repairing thither received permission to return. The emperor now forbade the fining of Musalmán officials or *zamindárs* as contrary to the Muhammadan law and directed that if guilty of any fault, they should be imprisoned, or degraded from office, but not fined. In this year an order was given to change the name of the Visalnagar district to that of Rasalnagar.

The emperor Aurangzeb was at this time, A.D. 1679, using all his endeavours to crush both the Rána of Udepur and the Ráthods, but especially the former. Bhimsingh, the Rána's youngest son, made a descent into Gujarát and plundered Vadnagar, Ahmadnagar, and other towns and villages. The chief of Idar, thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover his independence, expelled the Muhammadan garrison from Idar and regained possession of his capital. Muhammad Amin Khán and Muhammad Bahlol Khán, however, retook Idar, and the chief fled to the hills (pursued by Bahlol Khán), where he died, and his body was found by a wood-cutter, who, divesting him of his ornaments, brought the head to Bahlol Khán. As the chief's family had been captured, the head was shown to, and recognized by, his widow, who from that day put on mourning. Muhammad Bahlol Khán was much praised, and was appointed to the charge of Idar, and at the same time the minister Muhammad Sharif was succeeded by Abdul Latif. An Imperial order was now passed imposing the *jazyah* tax on all subjects not professing the Muhammadan faith, and another was published, which regulated the levy of *zakát* from Musalmáns. In 1681 there was a severe famine in Gujarát and riots took place in Ahmadabad owing to the dearth of food, and in A.D. 1683 Muhammad Amin,

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

MUHAMMAD
AMIN KHÁN
UMDAT-UL-MULK,
36th Viceroy,
1674-1683.

Increased power
of the Bábi
family.

Revolt of the
Idar Chief,
1679.

¹ Sádra is always spelt Sháhdarah in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi.

² There was another post of the name of Islámabad in Punádra, which was situated in the *parganah* of Azamabad. Azamabad itself was a fort on the bank of the Vátrak, about twenty-one miles to the east-south-east of Ahmadabad. Azamabad was built by Azam Khán during his viceroyalty, and was at his request erected into a *parganah* by permission of the emperor Sháh Jahán. Twelve villages were attached to it for the pay of the garrison from the neighbouring *parganah* of Bhil and Kapadvanj.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

MUKHTAR KHAN,
37th Viceroy,
1683-1684.

the viceroy died. Muhammad Amin was, according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, one of the best of the governors of Gujarát, and the emperor Aurangzeb used to say 'None of my viceroys have preserved such good order as Amin Khan.'

He was succeeded by Mukhtár Khán as thirty-seventh viceroy, Abdul Latif continuing to hold the office of minister. Fresh orders were passed forgiving taxes of the nature of import dues on both merchandise and fruit, grass, firewood, and similar produce entering the city. In 1683 there was so great a flood in the *Sábarmati* that the water reached as far as the *Tin Darwázah*. It so happened that during this viceroy's rule it became necessary to send troops to Sorath to suppress outbreaks in that province. The Viceroy called on the *diwán* to advance the funds for the payment of the troops; but the *diwán* refused to make any advances without special orders from the emperor. Reference was made to court and the *diwán* was directed in future to make advances in emergent cases of this nature without waiting for an Imperial order. In A.D. 1684, Abdur Rahmán Krori, the governor of Deva Pátan, was removed at the request of the inhabitants of that city, and in his place Muhammad Syad was selected by Sardár Khán, governor of Sorath. In the following year Sardár Khán died at Tatta in Sindh, where he had gone as viceroy. Sardár Khán was, in the first instance, succeeded in the government of Sorath by Syad Muhammad Khán. But not long after Sorath was assigned as a personal estate to prince Muhammad Azam Sháh Bahádur, and during the prince's absence Sháhwardi Khán was sent to manage its affairs. In A.D. 1684 there was a great famine in Gujarát, and in the same year the viceroy died.

Year of famine,
1684.

SHUJÁAT KHAN
(**KÁRTALAB KHÁN**),
38th Viceroy,
1684-1703.

Prince Muhammad Azam Sháh was now appointed viceroy, with Kártalab Khán, governor of Sorath, as his deputy. But almost immediately afterwards (A.D. 1684) Kártalab Khán was raised to the post of viceroy, and Muhammad Táhir appointed minister. In addition to his command as viceroy of Gujarát, Kártalab Khán was afterwards placed in charge of Jodhpur. At the same time, besides his previous personal estate, the district of Pitlád was assigned to prince Muhammad Azam Sháh, and Sher Afgan Khán, son of Sháhwardi Khán, was appointed governor of Sorath. In A.D. 1687, Sher Afgan Khán was relieved by Bahlol Sheráni, but in the following year was again restored to his former command. In A.D. 1689, on the news of the death of Ináyat Khán, governor of Jodhpur, Kártalab Khán started to settle the affairs of that state. As soon as he left Ahmadabad, a rumour was spread that a new viceroy was coming, and the troops grew mutinous. On hearing of this disturbance, Kártalab Khán promptly returned to Ahmadabad and quelled the mutiny. The firmness of his conduct on this occasion so pleased the emperor that he gave him the title of Shujáat Khán, and placed the governor of Jodhpur under his orders. Shujáat Khán now proceeded to Jodhpur, where Dargadás Ráthod, who had incited prince Akbar to rebellion, and Ajitsingh, the son of Maharája Jasvantsingh, were causing much disturbance through the province. Finding that a strong resident governor was required to keep those insurgents in check, Shujáat Khán appointed Kázim Beg Muhammad

The Viceroy quells
a mutiny of the
troops,
1689.

Imin, a brave and resolute soldier, to be his deputy, and returned to Ahmadabad. During this viceroyalty the pay of a trooper owning two horses, *do-aspah*, was fixed at £6 (Rs. 60) and that of the owner of one horse, *ek-aspah*, at £3 (Rs. 30) per month. The pay of a *jamádár* of 50 troopers was fixed at £10 (Rs. 100) per mensem. About this time an alteration was made in the levy of taxes on merchandise, and instead of a tax being levied at the time when and place where goods were purchased, an Imperial order was issued directing the levy of the tax at the place and time of sale. This change causing loss to the revenue, the old system was again adopted. In the year A.D. 1690, the minister, Amánat Khán, with the title of Itimád Khán, was made military governor of Surat, and Syad Mohsin chosen as minister in his place. A curious feature in these times was the oppression of the *rayats* and citizens by the peons of great officials who extorted all kinds of fees and dues from them. Hence officials were forbidden to entertain peons *without payment*.

In the following year (A.D. 1691) an attempt, on the part of the emperor, to suppress a body of Musalmán sectarians, led to a somewhat serious insurrection. Hearing that Syad Sháhji, the religious preceptor of the Matías of Khándesh and the Momnás of Gujarát, two classes of converted Hindus, held heterodox views, the emperor ordered that he should be examined before the religious doctors,¹ and the Viceroy, and admonished. Disgusted with the treatment he received, the Syad committed suicide. The loss of their leader so enraged his followers, that, collecting from all sides, they marched against Broach, seized the fort, and slew the governor. The insurgents held the fort of Broach against the governor of Baroda, who was sent to punish them, and for a time successfully resisted the efforts of his successor, Nazar Ali Khán. At last, at an unguarded spot, some of the besiegers stole over the city wall, and opening the gates admitted their companions. The Momnás were then attacked and defeated with great slaughter.

In A.D. 1692 Shujáat Khán went to Jhálávád and Sorath to exact tribute, and on this occasion stormed the fort of Thán, the headquarters of the plundering Káthis, and after destroying the fort returned to Ahmadabad. Shujáat Khán, one of the most able of the Gujarát viceroys, gave much of his attention to the management of affairs at Jodhpur, and, as a rule, used to spend about six months of every year in Márwár. At this time the emperor sent Shekh Ikram-ud-din to levy the capitation tax from the Hindus of the Pálanpur and Jhálór districts. The Viceroy, accordingly, deputed for this purpose Muhammad Mujáhid, son of Kamál Khán Jhálóri, governor of Pálanpur. Dargádás Ráthod now again excited tumults and sedition in Márwár, so the Viceroy went in person to Jodhpur, and there by a series of politic measures—one of which was on condition of service, confirming and guaranteeing their estates to the chief vassals and landholders²—he withdrew them from alliance

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

SHUJÁAT KHÁN
(KÁRTALAB KHÁN),
38th Viceroy,
1684-1703.

Revolt of Matías
and Momnás,
1691.

Disturbances in
Káthiáwár,
1692,

and in Márwár.

¹ The class (called *moulavis* or *mullahs*) from which judges, lawyers, and ministers of religion were generally or always taken, were rather graduates in law and divinity than ecclesiastics. Elphinstone's History, 485.

² The word *patdavat* here used implies a holder of land on service tenure.

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Moghal Viceroy.

SHUJÁAT KHÁN
(KÁRTALAB KHÁN),
38th Viceroy,
1684-1703.

with Dargádás, against whom he sent his deputy Kázim Beg, who expelled him from Márwár. Then, in place of Sajansingh, appointing Kunvar Mokamsingh as governor of Mertha in Márwár, Shuját Khán returned to Ahmadabad. In A.D. 1693, at the request of Sher Afgan Khán, governor of Sorath, the walls of the fort of Jagat were restored. In this year also the Viceroy himself went to Jhálávád to exact tribute, and on his return to Ahmadabad Safdár Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, wrote to the Viceroy, and at his request the forts of Khamboi and Sámprah were repaired. The Viceroy now went to Jodhpur, and from that returned to Ahmadabad. In A.D. 1694 the wall of Ázamabad was repaired. To show how keen was the Imperial supervision over the provincial accounts it seems that Syad Mohsin, the deputy of Itimád Khán, the provincial *diwán* disbursed £700 (Rs. 7000) for the repair of the fort of Ázamabad from the Imperial treasury. He was, however, ordered to refund the amount as the duty of repairing forts &c. was that of the Viceroy and *thánahdárs* of the respective isolated forts. In this year the emperor, hearing that Ajitsingh and Dargádás were again contemplating rebellion, ordered the Viceroy to go to Jodhpur. Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi was, at the same time, appointed deputy governor of Vadnagar, and an order was issued that the revenue of Pátan should be paid to Shuját Khán instead of, as formerly, into the Imperial treasury. In this year also Safdár Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, was succeeded by Mubáriz Khán Bábi. Not long afterwards an Imperial order reached the Viceroy directing him to cast down the idol temples of Vadnagar. The Viceroy accordingly directed Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi to destroy those temples.

Dargádás Ráthod
reconciled to the
Emperor,
1697.

In A.D. 1696, Muhammad Bahlol Sheráni, governor of Baroda, died, and his place was supplied by Muhammad Beg Khán. During this year also the Viceroy went to Jodhpur and remained there for some months. In A.D. 1697, an emissary arrived from the Imperial court to settle the disputes about the Navánagar succession,¹ and also to inquire into certain complaints made by the inhabitants of Sorath. About the same time Dargádás Ráthod, in whose charge were the son and daughter of prince Akbar, made an application to Shuját Khán, proposing a truce, and saying that he wished personally to hand over the children to their grandfather. Shuját Khán agreed, and Dargádás, accompanying him to Delhi, restored Akbar's children to the emperor. Aurangzeb was much pleased with Dargádás, and made peace with him, assigning him, as a personal estate, the lands of Mertha in Jodhpur, and afterwards adding to this the grant of Dhandhuka and other districts of Gujarát. Dearthness of grain continuing, the government share of the produce was brought to Ahmadabad and sold in public in moderate quantities to the poor and needy. Grainsellers were not permitted to purchase it. About this time Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi was killed by a Koli who shot him with an arrow while he was sacking the village of Sámprah. Safdar Khán Bábi was appointed deputy governor of Pátan in his stead.

¹ See above, p. 68.

In A.D. 1698, on the death of Itimád Khán, his son Muhammad Mohsan was made minister, and he was ordered to hand over to Dargádás Ráthod the district of Mertha. Amongst other changes made at that time Muhammad Munim was raised to the command of the fort of Jodhpur, and Khwájáh Abdul Hamid was appointed minister. Owing to the failure of the rains, 1698 was a year of much scarcity in Márwár and the northern districts of Gujarát. The accounts of this year also notice a petition addressed by the Sinor Bráhmans to the Viceroy, praying that they might not be seized as carriers or labourers. As, for some reason or other, a difference of opinion arose between Shujáat Khán and Safdar Khán Bábi, deputy governor of Pátan, Safdar Khán resigned office, and, until a successor was appointed, Muhammad Bahlál Sheráni was directed to administer the Pátan district. The government of Sorath was, during this year, bestowed by the emperor on Muhammad Beg Khán. In A.D. 1699, Dargádás Ráthod obtained from the emperor a pardon for Ajitsingh, son of the late Maharája Jasvantsingh. Lands in Jhálor and Sáchor in Márwár were assigned as a personal estate to Ajitsingh, who was at the same time placed in charge of these districts. About this time an Imperial order arrived, addressed to the provincial *diwán* directing him to purchase 1000 horses for the government, at the rate of £20 (Rs. 200) per horse. Mujáhid Khán Jhálori, who had formerly held Jhálor and Sáchor, received in their stead the lands in Pálanpur and Deesa, which they still hold. Afterwards, in the time of the emperor Farrûkhsiyar (A.D. 1713-1719), Rahim Yár Khán was appointed governor of Pálanpur and Deesa, and going to Ahmadabad collected men and summoned Firoz Khán Jhálori to give over charge. Firoz Khán however refused, and defeated Rahim Yár Khán, and afterwards, by sending large presents to the emperor, was confirmed in his government. In this year also (A.D. 1699), Amánat Khán, governor of Surat, died, and the Maráthás making a raid into the province, Shujáat Khán sent Nazar Ali Khán to drive them out.

In A.D. 1700, Firoz Khán Mewáti, deputy governor of Jodhpur, died, and the Viceroy appointed Muhammad Záhíd from Viramgám in his place. Rája Ajitsingh of Márwár was now ordered to repair to court, but as he delayed to obey the order, a *mohsal* was imposed upon him agreeably to Shujáat Khán's directions. In the same year the manager of Dhandhuka, on behalf of Dargádás Ráthod, asked the Viceroy for aid against the Káthis, who were plundering that district. The Viceroy, therefore, ordered Muhammad Beg, governor of Sorath, to march against them. At this time Shujáat Khán despatched Nazar Ali Khán with a large force to join the Imperial camp which was then at Panhála in the Kolhápúr country. Shujáat Khán, who had so long and well held the office of viceroy in a most critical time, died in A.D. 1703. In his place prince Muhammad Azam Sháh, who was then at Dhár in Málwa, was appointed thirty-ninth viceroy of Gujarát, as well as governor of Ajmir and Jodhpur; and until his arrival, the minister, Khwájáh Abdul Hamid Khán, was ordered to administer the province. Much disorder now arose in the Pátan districts and the Kolis plundered the country and rendered the roads impassable.

Chapter III.

Moghal Viceroys.

SHUJÁAT KHÁN
(KARTALAB KHÁN),
38th Viceroy,
1684-1703.

Year of scarcity,
1698.

Maráthá raid
upon Surat,
1699.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD,
39th Viceroy,
1703-1705.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD,
39th Viceroy,
1703-1705.

Intrigue against
Dargádás Ráthod,
1703.

Dargádás Ráthod
escapes.

State of affairs
in Surat,
1700-1703.

IBRÁHIM KHÁN,
40th Viceroy,
1705.

On his way to Ahmadabad from the Deccan, the chief of Jhábua, a state now under the Bhopáwar Agency, paid his respects to the new viceroy, presenting him with a tribute of £1600 (Rs. 16,000). Among other arrangements the prince sent Jáfar Kuli, son of Kázim Beg, as deputy governor to Jodhpur, and appointed Dargádás Ráthod governor of Pátan. Shortly after this an order came from the emperor to decoy Dargádás to the prince's court, and there confine him, or else slay him wherever they could. Safdar Khán Bábi, who, in displeasure with Shujáat Khán, had retired to Málwa, now returned and offered to slay or capture Dargádás, who was accordingly invited to attend the prince's court. Dargádás came and pitched his camp near the capital, when suddenly discovering that treachery was contemplated, he burned his tents and fled. Safdar Khán Bábi was sent in pursuit, and, in spite of Dargádás' efforts, the Imperial forces were gaining on him. Seeing this his grandson, who was with him, begged Dargádás to make good his escape, and himself staying behind with a band of his followers, charged the pursuers, and after a most gallant combat, he and his Rájputs were slain. Meanwhile Dargádás had reached Unjá-h-Unáwa, and from there made his way to Pátan. Here, taking his family with him, he retired to Tharád, and from that proceeded to Márwár, where he was afterwards joined by Ajitsingh of Márwár, whom the emperor opposed on the ground of illegitimacy. The Imperial troops followed and took possession of Pátan, putting to death the head of the city police. The emperor Aurangzeb was now very old and he seems to have become more intolerant in religious matters. This is noticeable from the tone of the *farmáns* of the last few years of his reign. In 1702 an Imperial order was passed, forbidding the making of almanacs as being contrary to the Muhammadan law, and the astronomers were to sign agreements not to make them. Hindus also were forbidden keeping Muhammadan servants.

About this time news arrived that the Maráthás were threatening Surat, and the prince despatched a body of troops to guard that city against their incursions. Disputes between the government and the Portuguese were also, at this time, injuring the trade of the province. In A.D. 1703, at the request of the merchants of Gujarát, with the view of inducing the Portuguese to let ships from Surat pass unmolested, orders were issued that certain confiscated Portuguese merchandise should be restored to its owners. In A.D. 1704, Safdar Khán Bábi was raised to be governor of Bijápur, a district lying to the north of Ahmadabad, now under His Highness the Gáikwár. Sarandáz Khán was at the same time appointed to Sorath in place of Muhammad Beg Khán, who was placed in charge of the lands round Ahmadabad. The Maráthás again, this year, threatened Surat, and Mustafa Kuli, governor of Broach, was sent with 1000 horsemen to defend that city.

In A.D. 1705, as the climate of Gujarát did not agree with the prince, Ibráhim Khán, viceroy of Káshmir, was appointed fortieth viceroy of Gujarát, and his son Zabardast Khán, viceroy of Láhor, was appointed to the government of Ajmir and Jodhpur. The prince at once went to Burhánpur in Khándesh, handing over

charge of Gujarát to the minister, Abdul Hamid Khán, until the new viceroy should arrive. Dargádás Ráthod now asked for and received pardon. Abdul Hamid Khán was ordered to restore the lands formerly granted to Dargádás, and he was directed to act under Abdul Hamid's orders.

About this time (A.D. 1705) the Maráthás, who had long been hovering on the frontiers of the province, bursting into Southern Gujarát with an army 15,000 strong, defeated the local forces and laid the country waste. Abdul Hamid Khán, on hearing of this invasion, ordered all governors of districts and officers in charge of posts to collect their men and advance to Surat. Between Nazar Ali Khán and Safdar Khán Bábi, the officers in command of this army, an unfortunate jealousy existed. Not knowing where the Maráthás were to be found, they halted on the Narbada near the Bába Piárah ford. Here they remained for a month and a half, the leaders contenting themselves with sending out spies to search for the enemy. At last, hearing of the approach of the Maráthás, they sent to head-quarters asking for artillery and other reinforcements. In reply, Abdul Hamid Khán, a man of hasty temper, upbraided them for their inactivity and for allowing so much time to pass without making their way to Surat. Orders were, accordingly, at once issued for an advance, and the army next halted at Ratanpur in Rájpipla. Here, apparently from the jealousy of the commanders, the different chiefs pitched their camps at some distance from each other. Finding the enemy's forces thus scattered, the Maráthás, under the command of Dhanáji Jádhav, lost no time in advancing against them. First attacking the camp of Safdar Khán Bábi, they defeated his troops, killed his son, and took prisoner the chief himself. Only a few of his men, with his nephew Muhammad Ázam, escaped to the camp of Nazar Ali Khán. Next, the Maráthás attacked the army under Muhammad Pardil Sheráni; and it also they defeated. Of the Musalmán army those who were not slain, drowned in the Narbada, or captured, reached Broach in miserable plight, where they were well treated by Akbar Áli Khán. Nazar Áli Khán burned his tents and surrendered to the Maráthás, by whom he was well treated.

The Maráthás now heard that Abdul Hamid Khán, then in charge of the province, was coming with an army to oppose them; but thinking he would not risk a battle, they went to the Bába Piárah ford, and there crossed the Narbada. That very day Abdul Hamid Khán, with Muhammad Sher and Muhammad Salábat, sons of Safdar Khán Bábi, and others came to the spot where the Maráthás were encamped. All night long they were harassed by the Maráthás, and next morning found the enemy prepared for a general attack. The Muhammadans, weary with watching, dispirited from the defeats of Safdar Khán, and inferior in number to their assailants, were repulsed and surrounded. The two sons of Safdar Khán Bábi, and two other nobles, seeing that the day was lost, cut their way through the enemy and escaped, though not without difficulty. Abdul Hamid Khán, Nazar Ali Khán, and many others were taken prisoners. The Maráthás now plundered the Muhammadan camp, declared that they had a right to tribute and levied sums from the

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

IBRAHIM KHÁN,
40th Viceroy,
1705.

The Maráthás
enter Gujarát.

Battle of
Ratanpur; defeat
of the Musalmáns,
1705.

Battle of the Bába
Piárah ford;
second defeat of
the Musalmáns,
1705.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

IBRAHIM KHÁN,
49th Viceroy,
1705.

Koli Disturbances.

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PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
BEDAR BAKHT,
41st Viceroy,
1705-1706.

Dargádás Ráthod
again in rebellion.

IBRAHIM KHÁN,
42nd Viceroy,
1706.

adjacent towns and villages and extorted heavy ransoms from their prisoners. That of Abdul Hamid Khán was fixed at £30,000 (Rs. 3 *lákhs*). The Kolis, seeing the disorganized state of Gujarát, also commenced ravaging the country, and actually plundered Baroda for two days. At Ahmadabad Muhammad Beg Khán, who had been appointed Koli governor of Sorath, was recalled to defend the capital, and when the news of the defeat reached Delhi, the emperor despatched prince Muhammad Bedar Bakht with a large army to drive out the invaders. But before this force reached Gujarát the Maráthás had already retired to their own country.

The prince arrived in A.D. 1705 as forty-first viceroy, and appointed Amánat Khán governor of the ports of Surat and Cambay. News was now received that Ajitsingh of Jodhpur and Verisálji of Rájpipla were about to rebel, and the prince took measures to check them. About this time the emperor, hearing that an attack had been made on the Muhammadan post at Dwárka, ordered the temple there to be levelled to the ground; but it seems doubtful whether this order was actually carried out. Nazar Áli Khán, who had formerly enjoyed a grant of Halvad in Jhálávád, had been driven out by Chandrasingh, chief of Vánkáner; but on condition of his expelling Chandrasingh, these lands were again granted to him. Kamál Khán Jhálóri now leaving a body of men under his son Firoz Khán at Pálanpur for the defence of his *táluka*, advanced to Ahmadabad with another force in order to guard the city from any attack of the Maráthás. He petitioned that these troops should receive rations so long as they were employed on Imperial service, alleging that this was the custom of Gujarát. This request of his was acceded to by the emperor and the necessary orders were issued to the provincial *diwán*. Dargádás Ráthod now took advantage of the general confusion to rejoin Ajitsingh, and an army was sent to Tharád against them. Ajitsingh, at first forced to retire, finally succeeded in defeating Kunvar Mokamsingh, and then marching on Jodhpur recovered possession of it from Jáfar Kuli, son of Kázim Beg. Dargádás meanwhile had taken shelter with the Kolis. At the head of a band of robbers of this class, meeting Shah Kuli, the son of Kázim Beg, on his way to join his appointment as deputy governor of Pátan, he attacked and killed him; and soon afterwards, at Chaniár in the Chunvál, laying in wait for Másúm Kuli, the governor of Viramgám, he routed his escort, Másúm Kuli escaping with difficulty. Safdar Khán Bábi now offered, on condition of his being appointed governor of Pátan, to kill or capture Dargádás. His offer was accepted, and as from this time Dargádás is no more heard of, it seems probable that Safdar Khán succeeded in killing him. In consequence of the disturbed state of the province a change of government seemed necessary, and Ibráhim Khán, who had been appointed viceroy in the previous year, was now ordered to join his post. This order he reluctantly obeyed in A.D. 1706.

SECTION II.—FIFTY YEARS OF DISORDER, 1707-1757.

Early in A.D. 1707, the emperor Aurangzeb died, and with his death the period of strong government, which had latterly from year to year been growing weaker, came to an end. As soon as the news of Aurangzeb's death became known, the Maráthás under Báláji Vishvanáth entered Gujarát, marching by Jhábua and Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the governor, Morád Baksh. Thence they went to Munda, and proposed marching on Ahmadabad by way of Nadiád. The Viceroy made preparations to resist them, and, enlisting special troops, camped outside of the city near the Kánkarya lake. The Maráthás did much mischief, plundering even as far as Bátva, only four-and-a-half miles from the viceroy's camp. The Viceroy, now thoroughly alarmed, concluded a treaty with Báláji, and on receiving a tribute of £21,000 (Rs. 2,10,000) the Maráthás withdrew. Meanwhile, in the contest between the princes for the throne of Delhi, prince Muhammad Azam Sháh was defeated and slain, and prince Muhammad Muazzam Sháh mounted the throne with the title of Bahádur Sháh. Ibráhim Khán was confirmed in the post of viceroy of Gujarát, but, fearing that the emperor might be displeased at his concession of tribute to the Maráthás, he went to Delhi to explain his conduct, and there resigned office.

In consequence of Ibráhim Khán's resignation, in A.D. 1708, Gházi-ud-din Khán Bahádur Firoz Jang was appointed forty-third viceroy of Gujarát. In A.D. 1709, Shariat Khán, brother of Abdul Hamid Khán, was appointed minister in place of his brother, who obtained the office of chief Kázi. Much treasure was sent to the Imperial camp at this time by order of the emperor. Ajitsingh of Márwár now rebelled and recovered Jodhpur. As the emperor wished to visit Ajmir the viceroy of Gujarát was directed to join him with his army. The pay of a horseman at this time is said to have been £3 8s. (Rs. 34) and of a footman 8s. (Rs. 4) a month. This viceroy is said to have commenced levying taxes, such as transit dues &c. on his own account, and his successors followed his example. This viceroy kept in his pay 50 men, on a monthly salary of 14s. (Rs. 7) each, to report any movements on the part of the Maráthás or Rájputs. The Viceroy, in A.D. 1710, when on tour exacting tribute, fell ill at Dánta and was brought to Ahmadabad, where he died. As this viceroy had not submitted satisfactory accounts, his property was confiscated, and Amánat Khán, governor of Surat, was appointed deputy viceroy in A.D. 1711 by the title of Sháhámát Khán. When Sháhámát Khán was levying tribute from the Kadi and Bijápur districts, he heard that a Maráthá force had advanced to the Bába Piárah ford on the Narbada. He at once marched to oppose them, summoning Syed Ahmad Giláni, governor of Sorath, to his assistance. When he reached Ankleshvar, the Maráthás met him, and a battle was fought in which the Maráthás were defeated. Sháhámát Khán then proceeded to Surat, and, after providing for its safety, returned to Ahmadabad.

In A.D. 1712, the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son Abul Fateh Moiz-ud-din Jahándár Sháh, and Asif-ud-daulah Asad Khán Bahádur was appointed forty-fourth viceroy of Gujarát. As

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Moghal Viceroys.

IBRAHIM KHÁN,
42nd Viceroy,
1706.

The Maráthás
advance to
Ahmadabad
and levy tribute,
1707.

Bahádur Sháh I.,
Emperor,
1707-1712.

GHÁZI-UD-DIN,
43rd Viceroy,
1708-1710.

Maráthá invasion,
1711.
Battle of
Ankleshvar; defeat
of the Maráthás,
1711.

Jahándár Sháh,
Emperor,
1712-1712.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

ASIF-UD-DAULAH,
44th Viceroy,
1712-1713.

Muhammad Beg Khán, who was then at Kharkol, was a favourite of the new Viceroy, he was, through the Viceroy's interest, appointed his deputy. He accordingly went to Ahmadabad, and Sháhámát Khán was transferred to Málwa as viceroy. In the meantime Muhammad Beg Khán was appointed governor of Surat, and Sarbuland Khán Bahádur was sent to Ahmadabad as deputy viceroy. As Sarbuland Khán was coming to Gujarát, he was robbed in the Ságvár district, now under Rájpipla. On his arrival he promptly marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Chunvál and subdued them. At the end of the year, as Farrúkhsiyar, son of Azim-us-Shán, second son of the late emperor, was marching with a large army on the capital, Sarbuland Khán returned to Delhi.

Farrúkhsiyar,
Emperor,
1713-1719.

This expedition of Farrúkhsiyar was successful, and, putting Jahándár Sháh to death, he mounted the throne in A.D. 1713. This prince, who had been elevated to the throne principally through the aid of Syads Husain Áli and Abdullah Khán, fell under the power of these nobles. Husain Áli was sent against Ajitsingh of Márwár, and concluded a treaty with that chief, whereby he engaged to send his son to court and give his daughter to the emperor in marriage: and the marriage was solemnised in A.D. 1715. In A.D. 1714, shortly after this treaty was concluded, Ajitsingh sent his son Abheysingh to court, and on him was conferred the post of governor of Sorath in place of Syad Ahmad Giláni. He, however, remaining at court, sent to Jūnágad his deputy, Káyat Fatehsingh. Abdul Hamid Khán was now appointed *mutsaddi* of Surat, but after conducting the duties of that post for some time, he resigned office and went to court and obtained there the post of superintendent of the shrine of Shekh Ahmad Kathu at Ahmadabad and returned thither. Mohtarim Khán was appointed to succeed him as *mutsaddi* of Surat. Before this, in A.D. 1713, Sháhámát Khán was appointed forty-fifth viceroy of Gujarát, but was, early in A.D. 1714, superseded by Dáud Khán Panni as forty-sixth viceroy. Until Dáud Khán should arrive, Abdul Hamid Khán was appointed to act as viceroy, and accordingly he took charge of the government of the province from Sháhámát Khán. During this year, on the security of Rája Mokamsingh of Nágor, a sum of £5000 (Rs. 50,000) was granted to the brother of Dargádás Ráthod. In this year there was a great conflict between the Maslim and Hindu population of Ahmadabad, and many of the bankers' houses were sacked, and about the same time there was also a great flood in the Sábarmati. Abdul Hamid Khán was now chosen governor of Sorath in place of Abheysingh, and Momin Khán was appointed from Delhi, governor of Surat, and was at the same time placed in charge of Baroda, Broach, Dholka, Petlád, and Nadiád. Dáud Khán, the viceroy, now went into Káthiáwár and Navánagar to collect tribute, and on his return to Ahmadabad, married the daughter¹ of the chief of Halvad in the Jhálávád sub-division of the Káthiáwár peninsula. Dáud Khán, though an

SHÁHÁMAT KHÁN,
45th Viceroy,
1713.

DÁUD KHÁN PANNI,
46th Viceroy,
1714-15.

Religious riots in
Ahmadabad,
1714.

¹ Probably Jasvantsinghji's daughter.

excellent soldier and strict disciplinarian with his troops, does not appear to have distinguished himself as a civil administrator. He introduced Deccani *pandits* in official posts, who levied a fee called *chitáman* from landholders and took taxes from the holdings of Syads and made themselves very unpopular.

About this time Momin Khán, governor of Surat, arrived in Gujarát, and placing his deputies in Petlád, Dholka, Baroda, and Nadiád, went himself to Surat in A.D. 1715. Here he was opposed by the commandant of the fort, Zia Khán, who, however, was obliged to give way, his subordinate, Syad Kásam, being defeated by Fida-ud-din Khán. At this time some of the shops of Hindu merchants in Ahmadabad were again plundered by the Muhammadan troops, and much ill-blood arose. On this account, and for other reasons, the Viceroy was recalled, and Ghazni Khán Jhálori was directed to act in his place until the arrival of a new viceroy. In this year, A.D. 1715, the Mahárája Ajitsingh was appointed forty-seventh viceroy of Gujarát, and his son, Kunvar Abheysingh, was appointed governor of Sorath. Ajitsingh sent Vajeráj Bhandári to act as his deputy until his arrival, and Fatehsingh Káyat was chosen deputy governor of Sorath. Perhaps one of the most remarkable appointments of this time was that of Haidar Kuli Khán as provincial *diwán* as well as *foujdár* of Baroda, Nándod now the capital of the Rájpipla State, Arhar Mátar,¹ as well as of the ports of Surat and Cambay. He chose an officer to act for him as provincial minister, and after appointing deputies in his different charges himself went to Surat.

The Mahárája Ajitsingh, on reaching Ahmadabad, appointed Ghazni Khán Jhálori to be the governor of Pálanpur Dántiváda, and Jawán Mard Khán Bábi to be governor of Rádhanpur. During this year an Imperial order was received, conferring on Haidar Kuli Khán, Sorath and Gohilvád,² then in the charge of Fatehsingh, the viceroy's deputy. On receiving this order Haidar sent Syad Akil as his deputy, and that officer went to Jambusar, and, collecting men, set out to join his appointment. He first came and camped at Loliánah, where the province of Sorath begins. Syad Akil thence marched his men against Pálitána, and plundered the town. The Viceroy, who was by no means well disposed towards Haidar Kuli Khán, sent a threatening message, that if any injury was done in Sorath he would take vengeance on the aggressors; and as neither Ajitsingh nor Haidar Kuli Khán was of a very compliant temper, civil war was on the point of breaking out. By the help of Salábat Khán Bábi, the deputy in Gohilvád, matters were, however, arranged, and Syad Akil returned from Sorath. Haidar was anxious to send Salábat Khán as deputy to Sorath. But as he demanded too high a salary, Roza Kuli, brother of the late governor of Baroda, was chosen. When this officer, with his brother Másun Kuli, reached Amreli, Fatehsingh, the viceroy's

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DAUD KHÁN PANNI,
46th Viceroy,
1714-15.

Further riots in
Ahmadabad,
1715.

MAHÁRÁJA
AJITSINGH,
47th Viceroy,
1715-16.

Haidar Kuli Khán,
Governor of Surat
and Cambay.

Disagreement
between the Viceroy
and Haidar Kuli
Khán,
1715.

¹ Arhar Mátar now belongs to His Highness the Gáikwár.

² This is the first mention of Gohilvád as the name of a separate district in any written history. Gohilvád is the south-eastern portion of the province of Káthiáwár, and is so called as comprising the possessions of the Gohils, a tribe of Rájputa.

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Moghal Viceroys.

deputy, evacuated Jánágad. After this, Haidar Kuli Khán, in company with Kázim Beg, governor of Baroda, marched against and defeated the chief of Munjpur, now under Rádhanpur, who had refused to pay the usual tribute. The Viceroy went to Sorath to collect the Imperial revenue, and, owing to his excessive demands, met with armed resistance from the Jám of Navánagar. Finally, however, the matter of the tribute was settled, and the Viceroy after paying a visit to the shrine of Dwárka, returned to Áhmadabad.

KHÁN DAURÁN
NUSRAT JANG
BAHÁDUR,
48th Viceroy,
1716-1719.

Contest between
Háidar Kuli Khán
and the Bábis,
1717.

While the Viceroy was at Dwárka, the emperor, in consequence of numerous complaints against him and his Márwári followers, in A.D. 1716 sent Samsám-ud-daula Khán Daurán Nusrat Jang Bahádur as forty-eighth viceroy of Gujarát. As it was expected that Ajitsingh would not give up his government without a contest, an army was prepared to compel him to leave. On hearing of this he marched straight on Áhmadabad, and encamped at Sarkhej, but was persuaded by Nahar Khán to retire to Jodhpur without giving battle. In A.D. 1717, after the departure of Ajitsingh, Haidar Kuli Khán, who had been appointed deputy viceroy, leaving Surat set out for Áhmadabad. When he arrived at Petlád, some of the Áhmadabad nobles, among whom was Safdar Khán Bábi, went out to meet him. A dispute arose between one of Haidar's officers and a water-carrier in the army of the Bábi, which increased to a serious affray, and the baggage of the Bábi was plundered. Safdar Khán took serious offence at this, and returning to Áhmadabad collected his kinsmen and followers and marched against Haidar Kuli Khán. Next day a battle was fought, in which Safdar Khán was defeated. The other Bábis escaped to Pálanpur, and Safdar Khán, who in the first instance had fled to Atarsumba, afterwards joined his party at Pálanpur. Muhammad Firoz Jhálori, governor of Pálanpur, with the title of Ghazni Khán, afterwards succeeded in reconciling the Bábis and Haidar Kuli Khán. In A.D. 1719, there was a great famine in Gujarát. Abdul Hamid Khán, who had filled so many appointments in Gujarát, at this time went to court and obtained the appointment of governor of Sorath. Haidar Kuli Khán now marched against the Kolis, who lived on the banks of the Mahi. In the meantime news was received of the appointment of a new viceroy, and Ghazni Khán, governor of Pálanpur, was ordered to stay at Áhmadabad for the defence of the city.

Year of famine,
1719.

Death of the
Emperor
Farrúkhsiyar,
1719.

Muhammad
Sháh,
Emperor,
1721-1748.
MAHARÁJA
AJITSINGH,
49th Viceroy,
1719-1721.

Early in A.D. 1719, the emperor Farrúkhsiyar was deposed, and put to death by the Syads; and a prince named Rafia-ud-Darjât, a grandson of the emperor, was raised to the Imperial throne. He was put to death by the Syads after a reign of three months, and his brother, Rafia-ud-daulah, who succeeded him, also died after a few days' reign; and then the Syads elevated to the throne prince Roshan Akhtar by the title of Muhammad Sháh. After the murder of Farrúkhsiyar, the most powerful vassal in the neighbourhood of Delhi was Ajitsingh of Márwár, and, accordingly, to enlist him on their side, the Syads granted him the viceroyalty of Gujarát, and Mihr Áli Khán was appointed to act for him until his arrival, while Muhammad Bahádur Bábi, son of Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi, was placed in charge of the police of the district immediately round Áhmadabad. Shortly afterwards, through the influence of the

Mahárāja Ajitsingh, Náhir Khán superseded Mihr Ali Khán as deputy viceroy. He was also appointed to the charge of Dholka, Dohad, and Petlád, and made superintendent of the customs. About this time the capitation tax was repealed, and orders were issued that it should cease to be levied in Gujarát.

In this year Piláji Gaikwár marched on Surat with a large army, and defeated the Imperial troops commanded by Syad Akil and Muhammad Panah, the latter commander being taken prisoner and forced to pay a heavy ransom. Piláji now finding Gujarát an easy prey, made frequent incursions, and conquering Songad established himself there. In this year Mihr Ali Khán, who had been acting for Náhir Khán, marched against and subdued the Kolis, who were committing piracy in the Mahi estuary. From this year it may be said that the rule of the Moghal emperors in Gujarát was finally doomed. Piláji Gaikwár was established at Songad, and in the anarchy that ensued, the great Gujarát Houses of Bábis and Jháloris, as well as the newly arrived Momin Khán, turned their thoughts to gain independence, or usurp supreme power. Ajitsingh was imbued with a hatred to the Muhammadan rule, and secretly favoured the Maráthás, while he was himself anxious to establish his own authority, if not over all Gujarát, at least over such portions as bordered on his own territory of Márwár. And though in after years, under Sarbuland Khán, a vigorous attempt was made to reassert the Imperial dominion, the final seeds of dissolution were already sown, and all efforts at recovery were vain.

In A.D. 1720, Ajitsingh the viceroy sent Anopsingh Bhandári to Gujarát as his deputy, and many changes were made. In this year the viceroy of Ujain, Nizám-ul-Mulk, was superseded by Syad Diláwar Khán. The Nizám retired to Burhánpur, whither Syad Diláwar Khán was ordered to pursue him. A battle ensued, in which the Syad was killed, and the Nizám retired to Aurangabad in the Deccan. Alam Ali Khán, viceroy of the Deccan, was directed to march against him, while from Gujarát Anopsingh Bhandári was ordered to send 10,000 horse to Surat, and Náhir Khán, the deputy viceroy, was instructed to proceed thither in person. A battle was fought between the Nizám and Alam Ali, in which the latter was killed. At this time Anopsingh Bhandári committed many oppressive acts, foremost amongst which was the murder of Kapurchand Bhansáli, the chief merchant of Áhmadabad. In A.D. 1721, Nizám-ul-Mulk was appointed prime minister of the empire. About this time Abdul Hamid Khán was re-called from Sorath, and Asad Kuli Khán, with the title of Ámir-ul-Umrao, was appointed governor of Sorath in his place. Asad Kuli Khán did not, however, proceed to his charge, but sent Muhammad Sharif Khán into Sorath as his deputy.

In this year Haidar Kuli Khán had, in conjunction with Muhammad Amin and Sáadat Khán, freed the emperor from the tyranny of the Syads, and was rewarded by the title of Moiz-ud-daulah Haidar Kuli Khán Bahádur Zafar Jang and the viceroyalty of Gujarát. He obtained the appointment of minister for his brother Jáafar Kuli Khán. Másúm Kuli Khán was dignified by

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MAHÁRÁJA
AJITSINGH,
49th Viceroy,
1719-1712.

Piláji Gaikwár
established
at Songad,
1719.

Decay of Imperial
power,
1720.

Nizám-ul-Mulk,
Prime Minister of
the Empire,
1721.

HAIDAR KULI
KHÁN,
50th Viceroy,
1721-22.

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Moghal Viceroy.

HAIDAR KULI
KHÁN,
50th Viceroy,
1721-22.
Disorder in
Ahmadabad,
1721.

the title of Shujáat Khán Bahádur and appointed deputy viceroy. As soon as this change was notified, the people of Ahmadabad, who were discontented with the rule of Anopsingh, attacked his palace, the Bhadar, and he escaped with difficulty with his life. There had always been enmity between Haidar Kuli Khán and the Márwáris, and Shujáat Khán, the deputy viceroy, attacked the house of Náhir Khán who had been Ajitsingh's minister. Náhir Khán was, however, permitted to leave the city on paying a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*). After this Shujáat Khán ventured to interfere with the lands of Safdar Khán Bábi, the deputy governor of Godhra, and his brothers. But on one of them repairing to Delhi and remonstrating, Haidar Kuli, who, above all things, was a Muhammadan and anxious to strengthen himself with the Muhammandan nobility of Gujarát, restored their lands to the Bábis. In consequence of this decision ill-feeling sprung up between Shujáat Khán and the Bábis, and when the former went to exact tribute he was opposed by Muhammad Khán Bábi, governor of Kaira, who, however, was obliged to pay him £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Shortly afterwards one of the viceroy's officers, Kásim Áli Khan, while employed against the Kolis of that part of the country, was killed at Pethápúr. Against this place Shujáat Khán advanced, and revenged Kásim Áli's death by burning the town. Next, he passed into Sorath, and, after exacting tribute, crossed over to Cutch. Here the chief opposed him, and a battle was fought, the result of which was that the chief was beaten and agreed to pay a tribute of about £22,500 (Rs. 2½ *laks*).¹ In A.D. 1721, a Syad was sent to Sorath as deputy governor in place of Muhammad Sharif, and Haidar Kuli was appointed governor of Kadi, the Chunvál, and Halvad (called Muhammadnagar), and put in charge of Tharád, Arjanpur, Bhámnarli, Pethápúr, and Kherálu in place of Vakhatsingh, son of Mahárája Ajitsingh.

Leaves Delhi for
Gujarát,
1722.

Early in A.D. 1722 Nizám-ul-Mulk took up the office of prime minister of the empire, to which he had been appointed the year previously, and strenuous efforts were made to embroil him with Haidar Kuli Khán, as the Nizám's austerity and craft were a source of not less anxiety to the Delhi court than Haidar Kuli's more daring and restless ambition. Haidar Kuli Khán, unable to contend with the Nizám, leaving Delhi, retired to his command in Gujarát. On his way to Gujarát he met with opposition at the village of Dabháli and one of his chief men named Alif Beg Khán was killed. Moiz-ud-daulah Haidar Kuli Khán was so enraged, that he burned the village, and put all the inhabitants to death. This caused such terror amongst the *zamindárs* and others, that throughout the period of his rule, no difficulty was experienced in realizing tribute, and the roads were safe. About this time, amongst other changes, Muhammad Bahádur, son of Salábat Khán Bábi, was placed in charge of Sádra and Virpur, with the title of Sher Khán. The Viceroy shortly after his arrival, marched against and subdued the rebellious Kolis of the Chunvál, appointing Rustam Áli Khán his governor there.

¹ The sum is 6,75,000 *máhmudis*. Like the *changizi* (see above, p. 16) the *máhmudi* would seem to have varied in value from one-third to one-half of a rupee.

and then, returning to Ahmadabad, took up his residence in the Bhadar. There is little doubt, but that Haidar Kuli at this time desired to become independent and to bring all Gujarát under his rule. Amongst other acts, he seized the Imperial horses which passed through Ahmadabad on their way to Delhi, and he confiscated many *jágers* and bestowed them on his own dependents. Marching to collect tribute from the chiefs in the Dungarpur direction, he levied £8000 (Rs. 80,000) from the state of Lunávada; but through the mediation of the Udepur Rána the Rával of Dungarpur escaped. His tribute was, however, fixed to be a *lák*h of rupees. He next proceeded to Bijápúr, north of Ahmadabad, but hearing that the emperor was displeased at his assumption of the power of giving and changing grants of land, he returned to Ahmadabad and restored several estates which he had confiscated. The court, however, continued to distrust him, and at the close of A.D. 1722 appointed Jumlat-ul-Mulk Nizám-ul-Mulk fifty-first viceroy.

Haidar Kuli Khán was very indignant, but, finding himself no match for the Nizám, he was induced by his friends to retire quietly, and accordingly left Gujarát by way of Dungarpur. Shujáat Khán and Rustam Ali Khán accompanied him as far as Dungarpur, and then returned to Ahmadabad. In the meantime the Nizám had reached Ujain, and thence directed Safdar Khán Bábi to carry on the government till he should arrive, appointing at the same time his uncle Hámid Khán as deputy viceroy and Fidwi Khán as *diwán*. Subsequently the Nizám came to Gujarát and selected officers of his own for places of trust, amongst whom it is here necessary to notice Momin Khán, who was appointed governor of Surat. He then returned to Delhi, but after a short time, disgusted with his treatment at court, he retired to the Deccan, where, making Haidarabad his capital, he began gradually to act as an independent ruler. Meanwhile in Gujarát, dissensions sprang up between Hámid Khán and other officers, but matters were arranged without any actual outbreak of hostility. Tribute was exacted from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak and from Modheara and an insubordinate Koli village was burned down, and garrisons placed in the Koli country. In A.D. 1723, Rustam Ali Khán and Shujáat Khán were ordered from Delhi to march upon Jodhpur, which place they captured and plundered, and then returned to Ahmadabad.

In this year Piláji Gáikwár, who had been long hovering on the frontier, marched upon Surat and was opposed by Momin Khán, whom he defeated. After levying contributions from the surrounding country, he returned to his old head-quarters at Songad, and from this overran a considerable portion of the Surat territory, building, at the same time, several forts in the Rájpipla country. Kántáji Kadam Bándé, too, invading Gujarát from the side of Dohad, commenced to levy fixed contributions. Though occasional demands had before this often been made, it was in A.D. 1723, for the first time, that the Maráthás imposed a regular tribute on Gujarát, Momin Khán was now appointed provincial *diwán*, and Rustam Ali Khán succeeded him as *mutasaddi* of Surat, and as the Nizám had gone to the Deccan without leave from the emperor, Mubáriz-

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Moghal Viceroys.

HAIDAR KULI
KHÁN,
50th Viceroy,
1721-22.

Shows signs of
independence and
is re-called,
1722.

NIZÁM-UL-MULK,
51st Viceroy,
1722.

Hamid Khán,
Deputy Viceroy ;
Momin Khán
Governor of Surat,
1722.

Increase of the
Marátha power,
1723.

Chapter III.**Moghal Viceroy.**

SARBULAND KHÁN,
52nd Viceroy,
1723-1730.

Appoints Shujáat
Khán his deputy.

Contest between
Nizám-ul-Mulk
and Sarbuland
Khán.

Sarbuland Khán's
deputy defeated,
1724.

ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khán Bahádur Diláwar Jang was appointed fifty-second viceroy of Gujarát. He selected Shujáat Khán as his deputy, and made other arrangements for the government of the province. Hámid Khán, uncle and deputy of the Nizám, prepared to oppose Shujáat Khán, but through the intervention of Bábis Salábat Khán, Safdar Khán, and Jawán Mard Khán, Hámid Khán evacuated the Bhadar, and withdrew to Dohad. Shujáat Khán now went to collect tribute, leaving Ibráhim Kuli Khán at Ahmadabad, while Rámraí was posted at Mahudha in Kaira, with strict injunctions to watch the movements of Hámid Khán. As the Viceroy was in need of money, he farmed to one Jivan Jugal the districts of Jambusar, Makbulabad, Dholka, and Broach; and after this, in A.D. 1724, he came in person to Ahmadabad, with Ali Muhammad Khán, father of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, as his private minister.

Rustam Ali, governor of Surat, having succeeded twice or thrice in defeating the Maráthás under Piláji Gaíkwár, now offered, in conjunction with his brother Shujáat Khán, that if 20,000 men were placed under their orders, they would march against the Nizám. The emperor accepted this offer, allowing Rustam Ali to draw on the Surat treasury to the extent of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lákhs*). He accordingly, with the aid of Ahmad Kuli, his brother's son, equipped an army. In the meantime the Nizám was not idle. He promised to Kántáji Kadam Bándé a one-fourth share of the revenue of Gujarát, provided he should be able, in concert with Hámid Khán, to re-conquer the province from Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. Shujáat Khán, who was now at Kadi, instead of following the advice of his minister and carefully watching Hámid Khán's movements from Kapadvanj, went to a distant part of the province. Hámid Khán, seeing his opportunity, united his forces with those of Kántáji Kadam, and marched to Kapadvanj. Shujáat Khán, hearing of this, advanced towards Ahmadabad and encamped at Dabhora, and thence proceeded to Mota Medra, about six miles from the capital. When he came so near the city of Ahmadabad, many of his soldiers returned there, without leave, to visit their families, and at this time the Maráthás attacked his rear guard, and his men giving way, took to flight. Hámid Khán, seeing that Shujáat Khán had but a small force with him, marched between him and the capital. A battle was fought, in which Shujáat Khán was slain, and his two sons, Hasan Kuli and Mustafa Kuli, were taken prisoners. Shujáat Khán's head was cut off and sent to Safdar Khán Bábi, to be sent to Ibráhim Kuli, his son, commandant at Ahmadabad. Hámid Khán took up his quarters in the Sháhi Bágh, and got possession of all the country round Ahmadabad, except the city. Hámid Khán now sent a message to the emperor, that the Maráthás had been successful in defeating Shujáat Khán and conquering Gujarát, but that he had defended Ahmadabad against them. The emperor, on this, sent him a dress of honour, but after a few days the falsity of his message became known. The Maráthás now marched through the country, collecting their one-fourth¹ and one-tenth shares of the revenue. Kántáji first went to Viramgám and besieged the town,

¹ The one-fourth share was called the *chauth*, and the one-tenth the *sardeshmukhi*.

but on the promise of one of the chief inhabitants to raise a sum of £35,000 (Rs. 3½ *lákhs*) the Maráthás retired. Hámid Khán, who had now rendered himself independent, commenced to bestow lands and districts; and many of the grants made at this time remained in the hands of the grantees, and were never recovered by future governors. Ibráhim Kuli, son of Shujáat Khán, in revenge for his father's death, determined to assassinate Hámid Khán. The attempt, however, failed: Hámid Khán escaped, and Ibráhim Kuli himself was slain.

Rustam Áli Khán, governor of Súrat, was now anxious to be revenged on Hámid Khán, and therefore invited the aid of Piláji Gáikwár, and it was agreed that they should meet on the north bank of the Narbada. Piláji promised to aid Rustam Khán, and the allied armies, crossing the Mahi, encamped at Arás.¹ Hearing of this, Hámid Khán, accompanied by Mir Nathu, Muhammad Salábat Rohila, and Kántáji Kadam, marched to oppose Rustam Khán. Hámid Khán also entered into secret negotiations with Piláji Gáikwár, who resolved to remain neutral and side with the conqueror. A battle was fought, in which Piláji took no part, but Hámid Khán was defeated and put to flight, and Mir Nathu was killed. After the fight was over Rustam Áli remained on the field of battle and liberated his nephews, plundering Hámid Khán's camp. In the meantime, Piláji plundered Rustam Áli's camp and then moved off, while Kántáji carried away what was left in the camp of Hámid Khán. Hámid Khán reproached Kántáji for his inactivity; but he pleaded in excuse that he was watching the mode of warfare amongst Muhammadans, and promised to attack Rustam Áli shortly. Now, as the Maráthás really desired to ruin Rustam Áli, who was their bitter foe, they after a few days surrounded him and cut off his supplies; Rustam Áli stood a blockade of eight days, and then forced his way through his enemies and went to Nápád,² marching from that to near Kalamсар, and thence to Nápa Pétlád. The Maráthás still pursuing him, he retired to Vasu, about twenty-five miles from Áhmadabad, where he gave battle, and by a furious charge broke the Maráthá array; they however rallied, and finally Rustam Khán and his men were defeated, and Rustam Khán himself slain. He was buried on the field of battle, and his head was sent to Áhmadabad, and his nephews were again taken prisoners.

Hámid Khán returned to Áhmadabad with the Maráthás, who saw that their only means of effecting a permanent footing in the province was by supporting him. Hámid Khán then assigned a one-fourth share of the revenue of the territory north of the Mahi to Kántáji, and to Piláji a corresponding interest in the territory south of the Mahi, including Surat and Baroda. After this Hámid Khán acted tyrannically, and commenced to extort large sums from rich persons, and he poisoned the two sons of Shujáat Khán. When the news of the success of Kántáji and Piláji reached the Deccan, Trimbakráv Dhábáde, son of Khanderáv Senápati, came with a large

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SARBULAND KHÁN,
52nd Viceroy,
1723-1730.

The Maráthás
engaged as allies
on both sides.

Battle of Arás;
Hámid Khán
defeated by
Rustam Áli,
1723.

Maráthás join
Hámid Khán
against
Rustam Áli.

Battle of Vasu;
defeat and death
of Rustam Áli.

Hámid Khán
shares the revenue
with the Maráthá
Chiefs,
1724.

¹ Arás, in the Anand sub-division of the British district of Kaira.

² Nápád is now under the British district of Kaira.

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Mubáriz-ul-Mulk
sent against the
Maráthás,
1725.

Hámid Khán and
other Maráthás
retire.

Mubáriz-ul-
Mulk enters
Ahmadabad,
1725.

Defeat of the
Maráthás at
Sojitra and
Kapadvanj,
1725.

army and laid siege to Cambay, but the Maráthás were forced to retire. At this time Salábat Khán, leaving Ahmadabad, went to Viramgám, and after some time, placing his nephew at Viramgám, he went into Gohilvád. When the news of the defeat and death of Rustam Ali reached Delhi, the emperor ordered Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to take a strong army and proceed in person to Gujarát and expel Hámid Khán and the Maráthás. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk accordingly marched on Gujarát with a large army, assisted by Mahárája Abheysingh of Jodhpur, Chaṭarsingh Rája of Narur, Gandrapsingh, and the Mahárána of Udepur. On his arrival at Ajmir he was received by his private minister, Ali Muhammad Khán, who afterwards joining Jawán Mard Khán Bábi in Rádhanpur, they together marched and united their troops with those under Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. At that time Salábat Khán was removed from his government, and Safdar Khán Bábi died. Agreeably to the Imperial order, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmir and came to the Gujarát frontier. On his approach Hámid Khán returned to Ahmadabad, and, placing Rupsingh and Sardár Muhammad Ghorni in charge of the city, he himself withdrew to Mehmabad. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk now sent Shekh Aliyár in advance with an army against Ahmadabad. When Shekh Aliyár arrived before the city, Muhammad Ghorni, who was dissatisfied with Hámid Khán for bringing in the Maráthás, persuaded Rupsingh to fly. In the meantime Mubáriz-ul-Mulk with the main body of his forces reached Sidhpur. Hámid Khán, accompanied by a detachment of Marátha horse, now returned to Ahmadabad; but Muhammad Ghorni closed the gates, and would not suffer him to enter the city. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk now marched to Mesána. About this time, Ali Muhammad Khán, the father of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, who was now with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk at Mesána, advised him to conciliate the influential Muhammadan family of Bábi; and, accordingly by his advice, Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi was appointed governor of Viramgám, and Jawán Mard Khán governor of Pátan. Shortly afterwards Morli-dhardás, the Gujaráti minister of Hámid Khán, seeing his master's cause declining, deserted him. When Kantáji heard that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk had arrived at Pethápur, only eighteen miles from Ahmadabad, he retired to Mehmabad. Before the close of the year A.D. 1725, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk arrived at Ahmadabad, and was well received by the officials and merchants of the city.

Hámid Khán and Kantáji, who had by this time reached the banks of the Mahi, were now joined by Piláji Gáikwár. The Marátha leaders, seeing that their only way to preserve their footing in the province was to espouse the cause of Hámid Khán, they united their forces with his, and prepared to march on Ahmadabad. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk deputed his son Khánahzád Khán with an army to oppose them, and made several appointments, amongst other changes raising Ali Muhammad Khán to the post of minister. Khánahzád Khán met the Maráthás near Sojitra, about ten miles to the north-west of Petlád, and defeated them, pursuing them as far as the Mahi. Then returning, he was reinforced by his brother Sháh Nawáz Khán, and marched against the Maráthás, who were encamped at Kapadvanj. Another battle was fought, and the Maráthás

were again defeated and pursued as far as the hills of Āli-Mohan. Khánahzād Khán now appointed Hasan-ud-din governor of Baroda, Broach, Jambusar, and Makbulabad. In the meantime Antáji Bháskar, a Marátha noble, entering Gujarát from the side of Idar, laid siege to the town of Vadnagar. This town was inhabited by wealthy Bráhmans of the Nágars caste, who requested Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to help them and relieve the town ; but as both his sons were at that time in pursuit of the other Marátha bands defeated at Kapadvanj, the Viceroy had no troops to spare from the Āhmadabad garrison. The Nágars accordingly, seeing no prospect of help, paid a sum of £40,000 (Rs. 4 *lákhs*). On receiving this tribute Antáji Bháskar retired. Kántáji and Piláji, encouraged by this raid of Antáji's, entered Gujarát from different quarters. Kántáji again laid siege to Vadnagar, but the Nágars this time were unable to pay the contribution demanded, and consequently escaped at night, leaving their property and house furniture behind them. Kántáji, entering, burned down the town, and the Nágars fled in all directions. Shortly afterwards Umreth, in the Kaira district, suffered a similar fate at the hands of Kántáji. In one of his raids Piláji Gáikwár advancing as far as Baroda was there met by Khánahzād Khán, the son of the viceroy. Distrusting the issue of a battle Piláji fled to Cambay, and from that withdrew to Sorath. For these services the emperor raised Khánahzād Khán to the rank of a noble, bestowing on him the title of Ghálib Jang. About this time several changes were made among the Imperial officers in Gujarát. Āli Muhammad Khán was dismissed from the post of minister, and in his stead first Muhammad Syad Beg and afterwards Muhammad Sulimán were appointed. Not long afterwards Āli Muhammad Khán was again entrusted with a command and raised to be governor of Dholka.

The Maráthás for a time retired to the Deccan, but returning in A.D. 1726, compelled Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to confirm his predecessor's grants in their favour. The emperor, however, refused to acknowledge any cessions of revenue to the Maráthás ; and the Viceroy, hard pressed for money, unable to obtain any support from court, and receiving but little help from his impoverished districts, was forced to impose fresh taxes on the citizens of Āhmadabad and, at the same time, send an army to collect their tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Mahi. It was part of the agreement between Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and the Marátha chiefs that Piláji should receive a share in the revenue of the districts south of the Mahi. But the Peshwa, Bájiráv Balál, to whom, as agent of his rival Khanderáv Dábháde, Piláji was obnoxious, sent Udáji Pavár to drive Piláji away. In this Udáji was successful, and defeating Piláji forced him to seek the aid of Kántáji. Kántáji, perceiving that if the Peshwa became supreme his own independence would suffer, joined Piláji, and marching together upon Baroda they endeavoured, but without success, to prevent the Musalmán governor, Sadr-ud-din Khán, from entering that city. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, in straits for want of funds, was, about this time, forced to sell the greater part of the Dholka district to different landholders.

In the following year, A.D. 1727, the Peshwa, Bájiráv, began to negotiate with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, undertaking that if the one-fourth

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Marátha expedition
against Vadnagar,
1725.

Mubáriz-ul-Mulk
admits the
Marátha claim
to tribute,
1726.

Rivalry between
the Peshwa and
Piláji Gáikwár.

Alliance with
the Pe

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Moghal Viceroy.

Piláji Gaikwár
obtains Baroda
and Dabhoi,
1727.

Capture of
Chámpáner by
the Maráthás,
1728.

Grant of tribute
to the Peshwa,
1729.

and one-tenth shares in the revenue of the province were guaranteed to him, he would protect Gujarát from other invaders. The Viceroy, though he did not consent to these proposals, so far accepted the alliance of the Peshwa, as to allow the governor of Baroda to aid Udáji Pavár against Piláji. Piláji and Kantáji, however, outmanœuvred Udáji and prevented him from effecting a junction with the governor of Baroda, who finally was forced to abandon both that city and the stronghold of Dabhoi, while Udáji retired to Málwa. Piláji Gaikwár now obtained possession of Baroda. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, still sorely pressed for funds, marched into Sorath to exact tribute from the chiefs. On reaching Viramgám, Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi, on behalf of the Jám of Navánagar, presented the Viceroy with a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*h), and for this service was rewarded by the gift of an elephant. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk then marched against Chhaya, the capital of the chief of Porbandar in the west of Káthiáwár. This chief, by putting to sea, hoped to escape the payment of tribute. But on hearing that the Viceroy proposed to annex his territory and appoint an officer to govern it, he returned and agreed to pay a tribute of about £4000 (Rs. 40,000).¹ On his way back to Áhmadabad, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk passed through Halvad in Jhálávád, and there married the daughter of Jhála Pratápsingh, the chief of that district, whom he accordingly exempted from the payment of tribute. About this time the Viceroy received orders from the emperor to restore certain land which he had confiscated, and as he neglected to obey, certain estates of his in the Panjáb were resumed. In the meantime Krishnáji, foster son of Kantáji, made a sudden attack upon Chámpáner and captured that fortress, and from that time Kantáji's agents remained permanently in Gujarát to collect his share of the tribute.

In A.D. 1728 the minister, Momin Khán, died, and in his place the emperor selected his brother Abd-ul-Ghani Khán. About this time Asad Ali, governor of Jûnágad, also died, and on his deathbed appointed Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi deputy governor of that fortress. Salábat Muhammad Khán sent his son Sher Khán Bábi to act on his behalf. When the emperor heard of the death of Asad Ali, he appointed Ghulám Mahya-ud-din Khán, son of the late Asad Ali, as governor. Ghulám did not, however, himself proceed to Jûnágad, but continued Sher Khán Bábi as his deputy. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, now perceiving that neither Piláji nor Kantáji afforded any protection to Gujarát, but rather pillaged it, closed with the offers of Bájiráv Peshwa, and in A.D. 1729 formally granted to him the one-fourth and one-tenth shares of the revenue of the province. The Peshwa accordingly sent his brother Chimnájiráv to collect the tribute. Chimnáji plundered Dholka and the country near Chámpáner, while Mubáriz-ul-Mulk exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak. Kantáji now entered Gujarát and prepared for war in case Chimnáji and the Viceroy should unite against him. His movements were not, however, interfered with, and, after collecting his share of the tribute, he retired to Sorath. The Vice-

¹ The amount was 1,25,000 *mahmudis*.

roy now marched against the Kolis, and after destroying many of them, together with their wives and children, returned to Ahmadabad by way of Modása and Ahmadnagar. Ghulám Mahya-ud-din Khán, governor of Jânágad, who had not yet proceeded to his command, appointed about this time a second deputy. Through the influence of the Viceroy this appointment was not, however, confirmed, and instead Sher Khán Bábi, son of Salábat Muhammad Khán, was placed in charge of that fortress.

The year A.D. 1729 was a year of some mark in the records of the city of Surat. There was a severe flood in the Tápti and a local disturbance of some consequence. The chief cause of the disturbance was a rich Musalmán trader of Surat of the name of Mulla Muhammad Ali. This man, who, as chief of the merchants, had already a special rank in that city, was tempted to take advantage of the disorders of the time to raise himself to the position of an independent ruler. With this object, he chose as his head-quarters the island of Piram, in the Gulf of Cambay, near the port of Gogha, and there spent considerable sums of money in strengthening the island and tempting settlers to place themselves under his protection. Piram was not, however, a popular colony, and, giving it up, Mulla Muhammad fixed on the village of Athva, on the left bank of the Tápti, about twelve miles from its mouth. Here he began to build a fort, but was ordered to desist by Sohráb Khán, the governor of Surat, from which city the proposed stronghold was only three miles distant. Mulla Muhammad, however, so far from obeying, persuaded the commander of the fort of Surat to side with him. Accordingly, next day, the commander of the fort, whose name was Beglár Khán, bombarded Sohráb Khán's residence, proclaiming that his brother Teghbeg Khán was appointed governor. It was finally agreed that the matter in dispute should be referred to the emperor for settlement.

In the same year, A.D. 1729, several changes were made in the management of the different districts of the province. Jawán Mard Khán Bábi was chosen governor of Petlád, Ali Muhammad Khán made collector of the revenue of the country round Ahmadabad; his son, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, and his brother being respectively appointed governor and superintendent of the customs of that district. Ali Muhammad Khán, however, shortly resigned, and was succeeded by Zambil Khán. At this time Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, while subduing the Kolis of Balor, was killed by a man of that tribe, and in revenge for his death the town of Balor was plundered. On the death of Jawán Mard Khán, at the request of Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi, his eldest son Kamál-ud-din Khán Bábi received the districts of Sami and Munjpur and the title of Jawán Mard Khán; and at the same time the second son, Muhammad Anwar, with the title of Safdar Khán, was appointed to the government of Rádhanpur. The Viceroy now went to Nadiád, where Báí Kishandás, agent of Jawán Mard Khán, received the district of Petlád in farm. From Nadiád Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went to collect tribute from Sardársingh, the chief of Bhádarva,¹ on the banks of

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Mulla Muhammad
Ali raises a
disturbance
at Surat,
1729.

Nadiád given
out in farm,
1729.

¹ Under the Rewa Kántha Agency.

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Moghal Viceroy.

The Maráthás
carry off the
Viceroy's elephants.
A fort built at
Athva near Surat,
1730.

The Viceroy
levies tribute in
Káthiáwár and
Cutch,
1730.

Riots at
Ahmadabad.

MAHÁRÁJA
ABHEYSINGH,
53rd Viceroy,
1730-1733.

the Mahi, who, after some fighting, agreed to pay a sum of £2000 (Rs. 20,000). On his way back to Ahmadabad the Viceroy levied tribute from the chief of Umeta.¹ As Rái Kishandás failed to pay the sum agreed on for the farm of Petlád, an order was issued for his imprisonment; but to save himself from such an indignity, he committed suicide.

When Kántáji returned from Sorath he came and camped at Sánand, and his advanced guard carried off some of the viceroy's elephants which were grazing there. Men were sent in pursuit, but in vain, and the Maráthás escaped. Meanwhile, at Surat, Mulla Muhammad Áli had, by his intrigues, continued the building of the Athva fort. At last his accomplice, the commander of the Surat fort, began to perceive that if the Athva fort were completed, the Mulla would be in a position to obstruct the trade of the port of Surat. He consequently ordered him to discontinue his building. The Mulla, however, succeeded in persuading Sohráb Khán to allow him to continue building his fort, promising in return to get him confirmed as governor of Surat. Sohráb Khán agreed, and the fort was completed, and Sohráb Khán was duly appointed governor. As, however, it was at the entrance of the harbour, the revenue of Surat was thereby greatly diminished, and Sohráb Khán, when it was too late, saw his mistake.

In A.D. 1730, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went into Gohilvád in the province of Káthiáwár, and levied tribute from Bhávsingh, chief of Sihor; thence he proceeded to Mádhupur, a town under Porbandar, and laid it waste. While engaged at Mádhupur, Momin Khán, son-in-law of the late Momin Khán, had some misunderstanding with the Viceroy, and in consequence left at once for Ahmadabad, and from that proceeded to the court at Ágra. The Viceroy now marched in the direction of Cutch, and, refusing the offer of a yearly tribute of about £33,000 (10,00,000 *máhmudis*), advanced against Bhuj. He, however, experienced great difficulty in crossing the Ran, and as the Ráo had cut off all supplies, and as at the same time news arrived of disturbances in Ahmadabad, he was obliged, after a month and a half, to retire to Rádhanpur. The author of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* was ordered to suppress the Ahmadabad riots, which had arisen out of the levy of some fresh taxes, and was invested with the title of Hasan Muhammad Khán. In this year, Udikaran, the Desái² of Viramgám, was murdered by a Kasbáti³ of that town named Áli, and Salábát Muhammad Khán Bábi, who was sent to investigate this murder, died on his way at Páldi, a village on the bank of the Sábarmati.

News was now (A.D. 1730) received that Mahárája Abheysingh of Jodhpur had been appointed viceroy and had reached Pálanpur.

¹ In the British district of Kaira.

² The Desáis were local collectors of revenue under the Moghals; they were appointed by Rája Todar Mal in his revenue settlement of Gujarát. Shortly after Akbar's conquest he allowed them to levy from the rayats 2½ per cent on every hundred rupees they collected of imperial revenue. But when Mirza Áziz Kokaltash was viceroy, he diminished their duties by one-half, and afterwards they were again reduced by one-half, so that but ten annas per hundred rupees eventually remained.

³ Kasbátis are descended from certain Musalmán soldiers who formed the garrison of some of the towns of Northern Gujarát. The Kasbátis of Viramgám were Tanks.

The friends of order endeavoured to arrange the transfer peaceably between the Mahārāja and the late viceroy, but Mubáriz-ul-Mulk determined to try the chances of war, and prepared for resistance. At this time Mir Ismáíl, deputy of Ghulám Mahya-ud-din Khán, arrived and took charge of the government of Jûnágad from Sher Khán Bábi. Mahārāja Abheysingh, after making various appointments, set out with his brother Vakhatsingh and 20,000 men to take up the government of Gujarát. When he reached Pálanpur and saw that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk was determined on resistance, he sent an order to Sardár Muhammad Ghorni appointing him his minister and directing him to take possession of the city of Áhmadabad and drive out the late viceroy. This, however, the Sardár Muhammad was not strong enough to effect; so he awaited the Mahārāja's arrival. When the Mahārāja reached Sidhpur he was joined by Safdar Khán Bábi and Jawán Mard Khán Bábi from Rádhanpur. They then advanced together to Adálaj, distant only about eight miles from the capital, their army increasing daily. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk was already encamped between Adálaj and the city, and on the approach of the Mahārāja a battle was fought in which the Mahārāja was defeated. Abheysingh changed his position, and another and bloodier engagement took place, in which either side tried to kill the opposing commander. But as both Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and the Mahārāja fought disguised as common soldiers, neither party succeeded in its attempt. At first the Mahārāja, who had the advantage in position, succeeded in repulsing the enemy, but Mubáriz-ul-Mulk fought so desperately in the river-bed that the Ráthods gave way. Rallying, however, they made one more desperate charge, but were met, repulsed, and finally pursued as far as Sarkhej. The Mahārāja, who had not expected so determined an opposition, now sent Momin Khán and Amarsingh to negotiate with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, who was still determined to resist to the uttermost. It was finally agreed that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk should receive a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) and should surrender Áhmadabad to the Mahārāja. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk accordingly quitted the city, and left for Ágra by way of Udepur.

The Mahārāja then entering Áhmadabad, appointed Ratansingh Bhandári his deputy, and placed Fidá-ud-din Khán, cousin of Momin Khán, in charge of the police of the city. Shortly afterwards took place the death of Karimdád Khán Jhálari, governor of Pálanpur, who had accompanied the Mahārāja into Gujarát. After the death of Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi, his son, Sher Khán Bábi, was dismissed from the government of Jûnágad. He therefore went and lived in his estate of Gogha, and when the Mahārāja arrived in Áhmadabad he went there and paid his respects, presenting him with an elephant and some horses. The Mahārāja confirmed to him the lands assigned to his father, and reported concerning this to the emperor. Momin Khán was made ruler of Cambay, and Fidá-ud-din Khán, his cousin, was made governor of the lands near that city, the revenue of which had been assigned to the Mahārāja. So great fear was at this time entertained of the Maráthás, that Mustafid Khán, the governor elect of Surat, instead of proceeding to that city direct by land, went to Cambay. From Cambay he

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ABHEYSINGH,
53rd Viceroy,
1730-1733.

Mubáriz-ul-Mulk
resists the new
Viceroy.

Battle of Adálaj ;
the Mahārāja
defeated by
Mubáriz-ul-Mulk,
1730.

Mubáriz-ul-Mulk
retires.

Government of
Abheysingh.

Momin Khán,
ruler of Cambay,
1730.

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53rd Viceroy,
1730-1733.

moved on to Broach, and from that city entered into negotiations with Piláji Gaikwár, promising, if allowed to retain possession of Surat, to pay Piláji the one-fourth share of its revenues. Piláji agreed to these proposals, but Sohráb Khán, who was still in possession of Surat, refused to hand it over to Mustafid Khán. In this year, also, Vakhatsingh, brother of the Mahárája Abheysingh, was appointed governor of Pátan, and sent a deputy there to act for him. About the same time Mir Fakhr-ud-din, a follower of the late viceroy, leaving him secretly, came to Ahmadabad, and in an interview with the Mahárája obtained for himself the post of deputy governor of Jânágad. When, however, shortly afterwards he proceeded to take up his appointment, he was opposed by Mir Ismáil, and in a battle fought near Amreli¹ was killed. Muhammad Pahár, son of Karimdád Khán Jhálari, was now appointed governor of Pálanpur in succession to his father, and Jawán Mard Khán was sent to Vadnagar.

League of the
Peshwa and
Viceroy against
Piláji Gaikwár,
1731.

In the following year, A.D. 1731, Bájiráv Peshwa, entering Gujarát at the head of an army, advanced against Baroda, then in the possession of Piláji Gaikwár. Afterwards, at the invitation of the Mahárája, he visited Ahmadabad and had a meeting with the Viceroy in the Sháhi Bâgh. At this meeting it was agreed that Bájiráv should assist Azamtullah, the governor of Baroda, in taking possession of that town and in expelling Piláji Gaikwár. By this arrangement the Viceroy, on his part, hoped by playing off the Peshwa against Piláji, to succeed in getting rid of the latter, while the Peshwa intended that if Piláji was forced to give up Baroda, he himself should gain possession of that city. Accordingly the Peshwa, together with an army from the Viceroy, marched on Baroda, but had scarcely laid siege to that city when he heard that Nizám-ul-Mulk was advancing on Gujarát against him. Abandoning all further operations against Baroda, the Peshwa, on receiving this news, withdrew, with all speed, to the Deccan. On his way he encountered the army of Trimbakráv Senápati, who, together with Piláji, Kántáji, and Udáji Pavár, had united to resist the pretensions of the Peshwa in Gujarát, and were also secretly leagued with the Nizám. An engagement was fought in which the Peshwa was victorious and Trimbakráv was slain. Without halting the Peshwa then pushed on to the Deccan, contriving on the way to avoid the Nizám, though his baggage was plundered by that chief, who had camped at Ghala Kámrej, on the river Tápti, about ten miles above Surat.

The Peshwa
recalled to the
Deccan.

Defeats his
opponents.

Abdulla Beg
appointed the
Nizám's deputy
at Broach.

During these changes the city of Broach, which, on account of the strength of its fort, the Maráthás had failed to gain possession of, was governed by Abdulla Bog, an officer originally appointed to that command by Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. Dissatisfied that the government of Gujarát should be in the hands of Abheysingh, Abdulla Beg, in A.D. 1731, entered into negotiations with the Nizám, offering in future to hold Broach as the Nizám's deputy. Nizám-ul-Mulk agreed to these proposals, appointed Abdulla his deputy, and ennobled him with the title of Nek Álam Khán. About the same time Vakhatsingh,

¹ Amreli (north latitude 21° 36' and east longitude 71° 15'), a town in the peninsula of Káthiáwár, 132 miles south-west of Ahmadabad.

brother of the viceroy, withdrew to his chiefship of Nágor, in Jodhpur, and Azmat-ullah went to Ágra. Bájrav Peshwa meanwhile, reaching the Deccan in safety, entered into an agreement with the Nizám under the terms of which the grants of Dholka, Broach, Jambusar, and Makbulabad were continued to the Nizám. Momin Khán received the farm of Petlád, and Kántáji was confirmed in the share he had acquired of the revenues of Gujarát. In A.D. 1732 the paymaster, Amánatdár Khán, died, and was succeeded by Ghulám Hasun Khán, who sent Mujáhid-ud-din Khán to act as his deputy. Through the influence of Mulla Muhammad Ali, Sohráb Áli was now confirmed as governor of Surat, and Mustafid Khán was obliged to return to Ahmadabad.

Piláji Gaikwár as the agent of the deceased Khandaráv Dábháde Senápati, as the owner of the fort of Songad, and as the ally of the Bhils and Kolis, was naturally a thorn in the side of the viceroy Abheysingh. Of late, too, by the acquisition of the town of Baroda and the strong fortress of Dabhoi, he had made himself still more formidable. Under these circumstances, Abheysingh, who had long wished to recover Baroda and Dabhoi, determined to assassinate Piláji, and this was effected by a Márvádi at Dákor,¹ a village in the Thásra sub-division. The Maráthás slew the assassin and hastily withdrew across the Mahi, burning the body of Piláji at the village of Sánoli or Sávali.² They then evacuated the district of Baroda, retiring to the fortress of Dabhoi. The Viceroy on hearing of the death of Piláji immediately advanced against the Maráthás, and, after taking possession of Baroda, laid siege to Dabhoi. He failed, however, to capture this fortress, and as the rainy season had set in and provisions were scarce, he was obliged to retire. He then went to Baroda, and after placing Sher Khán Bábi in charge of the city, returned to Ahmadabad. This year, A.D. 1732, was a year of great famine in Gujarát.

Meanwhile at Surat Mulla Muhammad Áli of Athva was again the cause of disturbances. Resisting with force the demand of a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*) by Sohráb Khán, the governor of Surat, he succeeded in the end in driving Sohráb Khán out of the city, and the government of Surat was then usurped by Teghbeg Khán, a brother of Beglár Khán. On hearing of these contests, the emperor ordered that the Mulla should be imprisoned; and Teghbeg Khán, inviting him to an entertainment, placed him in confinement, and after keeping him in prison for two years, in A.D. 1734 put him to death. He also took possession of the fort of Athva, and plundered it. Sohráb Khán, seeing that he could not recover Surat, went with Syad Wali to Gogha, where his relatives lived, and from that, proceeding to Bhávnagar, settled there. When the emperor heard what had happened, he appointed Momin Khán to Surat and Teghbeg Khán to Cambay. Momin Khán sent Syad Nurullah to act for him, but he was defeated by Teghbeg Khán, who afterwards contrived, in A.D. 1733, to be formally appointed governor of Surat with the title of Bahádur.

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

MAHÁRÁJA
ABHEYSINGH,
53rd Viceroy,
1730-1733.

The Viceroy
procures the death
of Piláji Gaikwár,
1732;

and takes Baroda.

Year of famine,
1732.

Affairs at Surat,
1732.

Teghbeg Khán,
Governor of
Surat.

¹ Dákor. This is a well known place of pilgrimage, now in the British district of Kaira.

² Sávali is a *mahál* under His Highness the Gaikwár, about fourteen miles north of Baroda.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

MAHÁRÁJA
ABHEYSINGH,
53rd Viceroy,
1730-1733.

Advance of the
Maráthás to
avenge the death
of Piláji,
1733-1733.

RATANSINGH
BHANDÁRI,
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

Return of the
Maráthás to
collect tribute.

Contest for the
government of
Gogha.

Disturbance at
Viramgám,
1734.

When Umábái, widow of Khanderáv Senápati, heard of the assassination of Piláji Gaikwár, she determined to avenge his death. Collecting an army and taking with her Kántáji Kadam and Dámáji Gaikwár, son of Piláji, she marched upon Ahmadabad, where, however, the Maráthás were unable to gain any signal advantage, though they slew a Rájput leader named Jivaráj. Nevertheless the Mahárája found it politic to come to terms, and eventually it was agreed that in addition to the one-fourth and one-tenth share of the revenue a sum of £8000 (Rs. 80,000) should be paid from the Ahmadabad treasury, Jawán Mard Khán being kept as a hostage till the payments were made. For his services on this occasion Jawán Mard Khán was made governor of Viramgám. During this year Khushálchand Seth, son of Sántidás, was, by an Imperial order, appointed to be chief of the merchants of Ahmadabad.¹ About this time the Maráthás plundered Rasulabad and the excellent library there was pillaged. Umábái now marched upon Baroda, and the governor, Sher Khán Bábi, prepared to oppose the Maráthás. But Umábái, sending a message to Sher Khán, explained that she had just concluded a peace with the Mahárája, and was suffered to pass unmolested. The emperor, satisfied with the arrangements made by the Mahárája, presented him with a dress of honour. In this year the Mahárája went to court by way of Jodhpur, and appointed Ratansingh Bhandári as his deputy, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* as daily recorder. In the same year, A.D. 1733, Ghulám Mahya-ud-din Khán, governor of Jûnágad, died, and his son Mir Hazabar Khán was selected to fill his place.

Meanwhile as the Maráthás had not received their rights, Jádoji Dábháde, son of Umábái, returned to Gujarát. Peace was, however, concluded on the former basis, and Jádoji then marched into Sorath to exact tribute from the chiefs of that province. In this year the Kolis of the Chunvál and Kánkrej committed many excesses, and one of the Rájput nobles was robbed in the Pátan district. In the meantime Sohráb Khán, the former governor of Surat who had been kindly received by Bhávsinghji the chief of Sihor, began to raise a following and was appointed collector of arrears in Sorath. He chose Syad Nurullah as his deputy, and sent him to recover the revenue for the current year.

Now on the death of Salábat Khán Bábi, though the Mahárája had endeavoured to get Sher Khán Bábi appointed in place of his father, Gogha had been granted to Burhán-ul-Mulk, who chose Sohráb Khán as his deputy. At this time Sher Khán Bábi was at Baroda, and his younger brother, though he resisted, was compelled to leave Gogha. Now the deputy governor of Sorath complained to the governor of the conduct of Sohráb Khán. But Burhan-ul-Mulk supporting him, obtained for himself the government of Sorath, and sent Sohráb Khán as his deputy to Jûnágad. In A.D. 1734, Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, who had a great enmity against Bhávsingh, son of Udikaran, the hereditary officer of Viramgám, persuaded Jawán Mard Khán to imprison him and send him to

¹ The title was *Nagar Seth*. The name is still kept up, though it has ceased to carry with it the position and respect which the holder formerly enjoyed.

Áhmadabad. Jawán Mard Khán went so far as to arrest Bhávsingh, but was forced by his supporters to release him.¹

In this year Sher Khán Bábi, governor of Baroda, went to visit his lands at Bálásinor, leaving Muhammad Sarbáz in command at Baroda. Máhadáji Gaikwár, brother of Piláji, who then held Jambusar, sending to Songad to Dámáji for aid, marched on Baroda with a strong force. The garrison made a brave defence, and Sher Khán hearing of this, at Bálásinor, demanded aid from Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, who directed Momin Khán, the governor of Cambay, to join Sher Khán and drive back the Maráthás. Sher Khán himself started at once for Baroda; but Máhadáji, leaving a sufficient force before the town, pushed on with the bulk of his army to meet Sher Khán, and, though he and his men fought bravely, defeated him, and then returned to Baroda, Sher Khán retiring to Bálásinor. Momin Khán, who arrived after Sher Khán's defeat, did not deem it prudent to engage the Maráthás, and retired to Cambay. In the meantime the garrison of Baroda, hopeless of succour, surrendered the town, and since that day Baroda has continued to be the head-quarters of the Gaikwár family.

Since Jawán Mard Khan's capture of Bhávsingh of Viramgám, he had become much disliked in that town, and accordingly Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, transferring him to the charge of Kadi and Bijápur, appointed in his place Sher Khán Bábi, whose father Salábát Muhammad Khán Bábi had been a popular governor of Viramgám. At this time Dhanrup Bhandári, governor of Petlád, died, and the farm of the districts of Nadiád, Arhar Mátar, Petlád and Mahudha was given to Momin Khán. Umdat-át-thjár managed to write letters from his confinement at Surat, to the Nizám; and as that chief was now not far from Surat, he wrote urgently to Teghbeg Khán to release him. Teghbeg Khán, however, put him to death, and bribing the Nizám's messenger, gave out that he had died of joy at his release. Khushálchand, the chief of the merchants of Áhmadabad, having had a difference with Ratansingh, was forced to leave the city, and sought shelter at Cambay and afterwards at Júnágad. Jawán Mard Khán, who was of an ambitious temperament, now conceived the design of conquering Idar from Anandsingh and Ráisingh, brothers of the Mahárája Abheysingh. He accordingly marched upon Idar, taking with him as allies Aghráji Koli of Katosan and Koli Amra of Elol Kánrah. In this strait, anandsingh and Ráisingh sought the aid of Malhárráv Holkár and Ránoji Sindia, who were at this time in Málwa. The Maráthá chiefs at once marched to the help of Idar, and Jawán Mard Khán, disbelieving the report of the Maráthá aid, continued to advance until he found himself opposed by an overwhelming force. Negotiations were, however, entered into, and Jawán Mard Khán agreed to pay a sum of £17,500 (Rs. 1,75,000). Of the total amount £2500 (Rs. 25,000) were paid at once, and Zoráwar Khán, brother of Jawán Mard Khán, and Ajabsingh, agent of Aghráji Koli, were kept as hostages until the balance should be paid. Teghbeg Khán of Surat, in this year caused a wealthy merchant named Áhmad

Chapter III.

Moghal Viceroys.

RATANSINGH
BHANDÁRI,
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733 - 1737.

Baroda recovered
by the Maráthás,
1734.

Change of
Governor at
Viramgám.

Jawán Mard Khán
fails in an attempt
on Idar.

¹ Grant Duff says that this event took place in A.D. 1732.

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Moghal Viceroy.

RATANSINGH
BHANDÁRI,
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

Rivalry of Ratan-
singh Bhandári and
Sohráb Khán,
1735.

Battle of Dholi ;
defeat and death
of Sohráb Khán,
1735.

Rivalry between
Ratansingh
Bhandári and
Momin Khán,
1735.

MARÁTHA AFFAIRS.
Contest between
Dámáji Gaikwár
and Kantáji,
1735.
Battle of Anand-
Mogri ; defeat of
Kantáji.

Chalabi to be assassinated, and confiscated his property. He also caused a fanatic named Syad Áli to be put to death by certain Afgháns, as he considered that he might excite sedition.

In the following year, A.D. 1735, Dholka was assigned to Ratan-singh Bhandári, and Sohráb Khán, through the influence of Burhán-ul-Mulk, was appointed governor of Viramgám. Ratansingh, however, resented this, and eventually Viramgám was conferred on the Mahárája Abheysingh. When this order reached Sohráb Khán, he forwarded it to Burhán-ul-Mulk, and in consequence of Burhán-ul-Mulk's remonstrances the arrangements were changed and Sohráb Khán appointed governor. Upon this, Sohráb Khán, leaving Sádák Áli as his deputy in Jûnágad, himself marched for Viramgám ; while Ratansingh Bhandári, hearing of Sohráb Khán's approach, summoned Momin Khán and others to his assistance, and with his own army proceeded to Dholka and plundered Kot. From Kot he advanced and pitched at Harálah, about ten miles from Sohráb Khán's camp, and here he was joined by Momin Khán and others whom he had summoned to support him. After the union of these forces he marched to Dholi, six miles from Dhandhuka, at which place Sohráb Khán was then encamped. Ratansingh Bhandári now proposed that peace should be concluded, and that Sohráb Khán should enjoy possession of Viramgám until final orders were passed in the matter by the emperor. Safdár Khán Bábi and others went to Sohráb Khán and endeavoured to bring him to consent to these terms ; but he would not listen to them, and preparations were made on both sides for battle. During the following night Ratansingh Bhandári planned an attack on Sohráb Khán's camp. The surprise was complete ; Sohráb Khán's troops fled, and himself, mortally wounded, shortly afterwards died. By the death of Sohráb Khán the family of Kázim Beg Khán became extinct. He was buried at Sihor in Káthiáwár.

After this success a single horseman attacked and wounded Ratansingh Bhandári in two places ; the horseman was at once slain, but no one was able to recognize him. Ratansingh, who in two months had recovered from his injuries, now determined to attack Momin Khán, as that officer in the recent struggle had taken part on the side of Sohráb Khán. Momin Khán, however, hearing of Ratansingh's intentions, withdrew to Cambay. In the course of this year, on the expiry of the period of the farm of Mahudha, Arhar Mátar, and Nadiád, these districts were transferred from Momin Khán to Safdár Khán Bábi. Kalyánchand, a man of low origin, was appointed to Viramgám in place of Sher Khán Bábi, and instead of Sohráb Khán, Mohsan Khán Khálvi was appointed deputy governor of Sorath.

About this time Dámáji Gaikwár, who had been chosen by Umábái as her representative in Gujarát, appointed Rangoji to act as his agent. Kantáji was dissatisfied with this arrangement, in which his rights were ignored, and marched into Gujarát. Rangoji met him, and a battle was fought near Ánand-Mogri,¹ in which Kantáji

¹ The sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira.

was defeated and his son killed. On suffering this reverse, Kántáji retired to Petlád. Momin Khán with his army was drawn up near Petlád to oppose Rangoji, but was compelled to retire to Cambay, where peace was concluded on condition that Dámáji should receive the one-fourth share of the revenues of the country north of the Mahi. As the districts, where these battles were fought, were held in farm by Safdár Khán Bábi, he suffered much loss, and consequently retired to Rádhanpur. Rangoji was joined by Dámáji Gáikwár, and these two leaders went together to Dholka. While they were there, Bhávsingh of Viramgám invited them to come to that town, both on account of the annoyance he suffered from the Márvádis and that he might take vengeance on the Kasbátis for the murder of his father Udikaran. He accordingly treacherously admitted the Maráthás and slew Daulat Muhammad Tánk, brother of the murderer of his father, and expelled the rest of the Kasbátis, while Kalyán, the Márvádi administrator, was permitted to go to Áhmadabad. Leaving Rangoji at Viramgám, Dámáji now marched into Sorath to levy tribute from the chiefs, and after collecting his dues, he returned to the Deccan, Rangoji staying in Gujarát to levy the remainder of the tribute. In the following year, A.D. 1736, Rangoji advanced as far as Bávla near Dholka and commenced harassing the country. Upon this Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, marched with an army against him, and compelled him to retire to Viramgám. Pursuing the Maráthás to Viramgám, Ratansingh attacked and defeated them, capturing their baggage. The Maráthás, however, made good their retreat into the fort. About this time some Marátha horse who were at Sarnál, otherwise called Thásra, joining the Kolis of those parts, advanced with them against Kapadvanj, and after but a slight resistance succeeded in capturing the town. In the meantime, though Momin Khán had been summoned to his aid by Ratansingh, he delayed coming, as he began to entertain the desire of becoming independent at Cambay.

News was now received by Ratansingh Bhandári that Pratápráv, brother of Dámáji, and Deváji Tákpar, were advancing on Áhmadabad with 10,000 horse. At first he thought this was a device to draw him away from Viramgám, to the walls of which city his mines had now reached; but on ascertaining from trusty spies the truth of the report, he raised the siege of Viramgám, returned rapidly to Áhmadabad, and thence pushing forward to meet Pratápráv,—who, having crossed the Mahi, had advanced as far as the Vátrak,—exactd tribute from the chiefs on the banks of that river. As Pratápráv drew near, the governor of the Bhil district retired before him, and he continuing his advance, passed through Valad and Pethápur, and so by way of Chhála reached Dholka. Here, through Muhammad Ismáil, the governor of that place, he demanded from the Bhandári his share of the revenue. Afterwards, leaving 2000 horse in Dholka, he himself went to Dhandhuka. In the meantime Kántáji, who was a follower of Bájiráv Peshwa, joining with Malhárráv Holkar, advanced upon Idar, and, coming against Dánta, plundered that town. Some Nágar Bráhmans of the town of Vadnagar, who were settled in Dánta, tried to escape to the hills, but were intercepted and pillaged. The Maráthás then

Chapter III Moghal Viceroy.

RATANSINGH
BHANDÁRI,
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

The Maráthás help
Bhávsingh to expel
the Viramgám
Kasbátis.

Battle of Viramgám;
Rangoji defeated
by Ratansingh,
1736.

The Maráthás
capture
Kapadvanj.

Troops from the
Gáikwár and the
Peshwa plunder
the country.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

RATANSINGH
BHANDÁRI,
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

proceeded to Vadnagar and plundered the town. From Vadnagar they went as far as Pálanpur, where Páhar Khán Jhálari, being unable to oppose them, agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*). Kántáji and Malhárráv Holkar then marched into Márwar, while Pratápráv and Rangoji crossed over from Dhandhuka into Káthiáwár and Gohilvád.¹ About this time Muhammad Páhar Khán Jhálari was appointed deputy governor of Pátan on behalf of Vakhatsingh. As no settlement of his demands on the revenues of Dholka had yet been made, Pratápráv returned to that town and sent Narhar Pandit to receive the tribute due to him. Afterwards proceeding onwards to Baroda with Rangoji they were summoned to Sorath by Dámáji to assist him. Sher Khán Bábi, who up to this time had been at Kaira, now came to Áhmadabad, and as the Bhandári was displeased with Momin Khán's conduct when Viramgád was besieged, he appointed Sher Khán as his own deputy at Petlád, Arhar Mátar, and Nadiád; but afterwards, on Momin Khán's remonstrance, Subháchand Márvádi was appointed to examine the accounts and receive the revenue in place of Sher Khán. In A.D. 1737 Dámáji's brother Pratápráv, returning to his country, after exacting tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, died of small-pox at Kánkar near Dholka. Momin Khán, seeing that Sher Khán had not yet left Kaira, collected some men and came to Petlád, while Sher Khán went to Dehgám and awaited the departure of Rangoji. On the Bhandári making preparations to assist Sher Khán, Momin Khán returned to Cambay.

MOMIN KHÁN,
54th Viceroy,
1737.

Contest between
Momin Khán and
the supporters of
the late Viceroy.

At this time, however, as the Mahárája Abheysingh was not in favour at court, Momin Khán was appointed fifty-fourth viceroy. He was, however, unable to effect anything by himself; but, persuading Jawán Mard Khán Bábi to join him by a promise of the government of Pátan, directed him to proceed and take up that appointment. Now the Jhálaris were allies of the Ráthods, and Páhar Khán Jhálari, then in command of Pátan, refused to surrender charge and opposed Jawán Mard Khán, but was finally obliged to vacate Pátan. Momin Khán, who hitherto had not produced the order appointing him viceroy, now made it public and began to act as viceroy with the title of Najam-ud-dauláh Momin Khán Bahádur Firoz Jang, and in A.D. 1737 sent a copy of this order to Abdul Husain Khán, the deputy minister, and to Mustafid Khán, who held the office of Kázi.

Momin Khán allies
himself with the
Maráthás.

Sher Khán Bábi, wishing to remain neutral, retired to Bálásinor. Momin Khán now summoned Rangoji, who was in the neighbourhood of Cambay, to his assistance. Rangoji agreed to aid him in expelling the Márvádis, on condition that, if successful, he should be granted one-half of the produce of Gujarát excepting that of the city of Áhmadabad, the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and the port of Cambay. The ambition of Momin Khán and his disastrous alliance with the Maráthás gave the last blow to the already expiring power of the Moghals in Gujarát, which otherwise might have lingered on for at least a quarter of a century, and he himself lived to repent his conduct. About this time the govern-

¹ This shows that there was even then a distinction between Káthiáwár and Gohilvád.

ment of Jûnágad was conferred on Mir Hazabar Âli Khán in place of Mohsen Khán.

When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the appointment of Momin Khán to be viceroy he wrote to the Mahárája for orders, and in the meantime sent Muhammadan officials to Cambay with the view of persuading Momin Khán to take no further steps until a reply should be received to the reference he (Momin Khán) had made to Ágra. The reply of the Mahárája was to resist Momin Khán if he could. Ratansingh Bhandári therefore prepared to defend Áhmadabad. Momin Khán, on his part, collecting an army, camped at the Náransar lake. He then advanced to Sojitra, where he was joined by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi; then proceeding together they came to Vasu under Petlád, about twenty-six miles from Áhmadabad, and from that to Kaira, about eighteen miles from the capital. At Kaira they encamped on the banks of the Vátrak, and owing to the incessant rain were forced to remain there for about a month. When the rain abated and the rivers were fordable, Momin Khán, moving on to Áhmadabad, encamped in front of the city on the Kánkriya tank and prepared for a siege. About the same time Momin Khán's manager, Vajerám, whom he had sent to Songad to solicit Dámáji to march in person to his assistance, arrived and informed him that Dámáji would join him shortly. Zoráwar Khán, who had been left at the Marátha camp as security for the payment of the tribute, was recalled, and instead the district of Parántij was formally assigned to the Maráthás in payment of their demands. Some of the Mahárája's guns, which were being sent by his agents at Surat, were about this time captured by a party of Momin Khán's men. When the Bhandári wrote to the Mahárája of Momin Khán's advance upon Áhmadabad, the Mahárája was much displeased, and went from the emperor's presence in anger. The nobles, however, fearing the consequences, recalled him, and persuaded the emperor to re-appoint him as viceroy of Gujarát.

Momin Khán was, however, secretly enjoined to disregard this appointment and persevere in expelling the Ráthods, and was assured of the emperor's approbation of this line of conduct. Momin Khán, therefore, continued to prosecute the siege with vigour. In the meantime another order was received from the Imperial court, confirming the reappointment of the Mahárája and appointing Fidá-ud-din Khán to guard the city with 500 men, directing also that Momin Khán should return to Cambay. It was further stated that, as Ratansingh Bhandári had acted oppressively, some other person should be appointed deputy to fill his place, and that in the meantime a Rájput noble, named Abhikaran, was to carry on the government. Shortly before this Muhammad Bákir Khán, son of Mutamid Khán, joined Momin Khán from Surat, while Sádik Âli Khán and his nephew reinforced him from Jûnágad. When Momin Khán was informed of the purport of the Imperial order he agreed to return to Cambay, provided Ratansingh Bhandári would quit the city, hand over charge to Abhikaran, and admit Fidá-ud-din Khán and his men into the city.

Chapter III.

Moghal Viceroys.

MOMIN KHÁN,
54th Viceroy,
1737.

Lays siege to
Áhmadabad.

MAHÁRÁJA
ABHEYSINGH,
55th Viceroy,
1737.

Momin Khán
continues the siege
of Áhmadabad.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

MAHARAJA
ABHEYSINGH,
55th Viceroy,
1737.

Defence of the
city by
Ratansingh
Bhandári.

Ratansingh Bhandári, however, determined not to leave the city, and prepared to defend himself to the last. Dámáji Gaikwár now joined Momin Khán from Songad. Momin Khán met him at Isanpur, three miles from Áhmadabad, and made great show of friendship for him, calling him his brother. When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the arrangements made between Dámáji and Momin Khán, he sent a message to Dámáji saying, 'Momin Khán has promised Rangoji half of the revenues of Gujarát excepting the city of Áhmadabad, the lands immediately round it, and Cambay; but if you will join me, I will give you half of everything not excepting the city nor Cambay, and will send to your camp some of my chief landholders as security if you agree.' Dámáji showed this to Momin Khán, and asked him what he proposed to do. Momin Khán now perforce agreed to do the same; but instead of Cambay offered to make over to the Maráthás the whole district of Viramgám. Dámáji, accepting these terms, ceased to negotiate with the Bhandári. He then proceeded on a pilgrimage to Dudesar, and returning thence in the same year, A.D. 1738, he and Rangoji commenced active operations against Áhmadabad. They bombarded the city and did so much damage that Momin Khán repented having called them to his aid, and foresaw that when the Maráthás were once in possession of any portion of the city, their expulsion would be a difficult matter. Momin Khán now sent the writer of the *Mirat-i-Áhmadi* to the Bhandári, in hopes that he might withdraw peaceably, but Ratansingh refused to listen to any terms. After some time the Musalmáns under Kázim Áli Khán and others, and the Maráthás under Báburáv endeavoured to take the city by storm, but after a bloody contest were forced to retire. Next day, however, Ratansingh, seeing that he could not long hold the city, entered into a negotiation with Momin Khán, and, on receiving a sum of money for his expenses, and on being allowed to retire with the honours of war, left the city.

Momin Khán with
the aid of Dámáji
Gaikwar captures
Áhmadabad,
1738.

Momin Khán then entered Áhmadabad. On the capture of the city half of it was, in accordance with Momin Khán's engagement, handed over to the Maráthás. Momin Khán now sent news of what had taken place to the emperor, and appointed Fidá-ud-din Khán his deputy. Dámáji, who in the meantime had been to Sorath, now returned and was met by Rangoji, who accompanied him as far as the banks of the Mahi, whence Rangoji proceeded to Dholka. After spending a few days at Dholka, Rangoji returned to Áhmadabad and took charge of his share of the city, which comprised the Ráikhari, Khánjahán, Jamálpur, Band, Astoria, and Ráipur gates. The city was thus equally divided, and the gates mentioned were guarded by the Maráthás. At that time the inhabitants of Áhmadabad were chiefly Muhammadans, and the Maráthás, accustomed to extortion, attempting to oppress them, they rose against the strangers, and after a severe affray expelled the greater part of them from the city. Momin Khán, though secretly pleased, affected ignorance and sent Fidá-ud-din Khán to reassure Rangoji, who had remained in the city; and this with some difficulty was effected. Jawán Mard Khán was now sent to Pátan, and, instead of Parántij, the district of Kherálu was granted to Zoráwar Khán Bábi.

The Maráthás
expelled,
1738.

Now that the Marátha oppressions ceased, the city began to recover its former splendour and opulence. The emperor, on hearing what had happened, was much pleased with Momin Khán, and raising his rank, presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, and other articles of value. At the close of the rainy season Momin Khán went to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and Rangoji was asked to accompany him. They marched to Adálaj, whence Fidá-ud-din Khán, the deputy viceroy, returned to the city accompanied by Rámáji as deputy of Rangoji. Jawán Mard Khán and Sher Khán Bábi now joined the Viceroy's camp, and, about the same time, Hathising, chief of Pethápur, paying a visit to the Viceroy, settled the amount of his tribute. From Adálaj they advanced to Mánsa, and here were visited by the chief of that place. From Mánsa they proceeded to Kadi, and from that to Bijápur. After Momin Khán's departure much oppression was practised on the inhabitants of Ahmadabad; and Rangoji, leaving his brother Akoji in the camp, returned to the capital, whence he marched towards Virangám and Sorath. Momin Khán went from Bijápur to Idar, and there levied tribute from the chiefs of Mohanpur and Ranásan.

When Momin Khán arrived at Idar, Ánandsingh and Ráisingh, brothers of Maharája Abheysingh, went to him and paid the tribute of Mohanpur and Ranásan as being within the limits of the Idar territory. The matter was amicably settled, and the two brothers accompanied the Viceroy as far as the Idar frontier, when Ánandsingh returned to Idar, and Ráisingh, at Momin Khán's request, remained with him, Momin Khán agreeing to pay the expenses of his men. Prathiráj the *zamindár* of Mánsa agreed to pay £2300 (Rs. 23,000) and the *zamindár* of Varsoda agreed to pay £1000 (Rs. 10,000) as tribute. At this time Sher Muhammad Khán Bábi was appointed to succeed Mir Dost Álias deputy governor of Sorath. The Maráthás, who had attempted to deprive some of the Rasulabad and Bátwa Syads of their land, were now attacked by the Muhammadan population, and a few men were wounded on either side. Momin Khán, receiving tribute from various chiefs, had now reached Pálanpur, and Páhar Khán Jhálari, the governor of that place, was introduced to the Viceroy by Sher Khán Bábi. News was now received that Deváji Tákpár was advancing through the Baroda districts, so Momin Khán marched towards Ahmadabad, dismissing Páhar Khán Jhálari on the Pálanpur frontier. Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, appointing his brother Safdar Khán Bábi as his deputy at Pátan, pushed forward in advance for Áhmadabad. Mámur Khán, who had been chosen by Mir Hazabar Áli as his deputy in Sorath, now arrived and complained to Momin Khán regarding Sher Khán Bábi's appointment. Momin Khán said that, as neither had assumed charge of their duties, they should await a final order from the emperor. He then advanced to Háji pur, and thence encamped on the side of the city near Bahrámpur, and occupied himself in strengthening the city defences; and from that camp he proceeded to Isanpur on the banks of the Vátrak, and commenced levying tribute from the chiefs of that neighbourhood. After this he proceeded to Kapulej, where he heard that Dámáji had left Songad, and crossing the Mahi had gone to Árás. Next he returned to the city, while Dámáji going

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Moghal Viceroys-

MOMIN KHAN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

Prosperity of
Ahmadabad,
1738.

Expedition of
the Viceroy to
collect tribute,
1738.

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Moghal Viceroy.

MOMIN KHÁN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

Sher Khán Bábi,
deputy governor
of Sorath,
1738.

to Dholka marched from that to Sorath. Momin Khán now permitted Sher Khán to return to his lands in Gogha, whence he proceeded to Junágad and took charge of the office of deputy governor.

In the meantime, in A.D. 1738, Mir Hazabar Khán, the governor of Sorath, died, and as Sher Khán had occupied the city, and taken into his employ all the troops of Mir Dost Áli, Mámur Khán was obliged to resign his pretensions and return. The emperor now appointed Himat Áli Khán, nephew of Momin Khán, governor of Sorath, and he wrote to his uncle to appoint a fitting deputy. Momin Khán, as the Maráthas incursions into Sorath increased yearly, and as Sher Khán Bábi was a man able to hold his own with them, suffered him to remain as deputy. When Dámáji returned to Viramgám after levying tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, on account of the excesses of the Kolis, he was obliged to march against Kánji Koli, the chief of Chaniár in the Chunvál. He could not, however, prevail against them, and was forced to call on Momin Khán for aid. Momin Khán sent Fidá-ud-din Khán at the head of a well-equipped army, and on their approach the Kolis fled, and the village was burned down, and Fida-ud-din Khán returned to the capital. Dámáji now leaving Rangoji as his deputy, returned to Songad. About this time, A.D. 1738, occurred the invasion of Hindustán by Nádir Sháh, the sack of Delhi, and the surrender of the emperor. But except that coin was struck in Nádir's name,—and even this ceased as soon as he withdrew—these events had but little effect on the politics of Gujarát.

Expedition of the
Deputy Viceroy
to collect tribute,
1739.

In A.D. 1739 Fidá-ud-din Khán was sent to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and accompanied by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and Rája Ráisingh of Idar, marched to Charárah. About this time the village of Pánmul under Bijápur was assigned to the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. He therefore also accompanied Fidá-ud-din Khán, who now marched to Ahmadnagar, and thence demanded tribute from Jitsingh of Mohanpur, and Ránásan. Jitsingh made armed resistance and a doubtful battle was fought. Next day Fidá-ud-din Khán changed his position and again attacked him, and the chief being defeated agreed to pay £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Thence they went to Idar, where they were hospitably received by Rája Ráising, who presented the leaders of the force with horses. From Idar they proceeded to Vadnagar, which was under Jawán Mard Khán, who also received them courteously and presented horses; the army then marched to Visalnagar. On the arrival of the troops at Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán requested Fidá-ud-din Khán to subdue Jámoji the Koli chief of Thara Jámpur in the Kánkrej, who was then at Balásana, and who was continually plundering the country. Fidá-ud-din Khán marched therefore to Balásana, but Jámoji would not risk a battle and fled, and the Muhammadans plundered the town. From Balásana he marched to Kadi, and at this point, allowing Jawán Mard Khán to return to Pátan, he himself proceeded to Áhmadabad.

Maráthas re-gain
their share in
Áhmadabad,
1739.

At Áhmadabad disputes frequently occurred between Rangoji and Momin Khán regarding the government of the city; and on one occasion a serious disturbance arose, when Momin Khán was

worsted and forced to sue for peace and grant Rangoji his half share both in the government and revenue, which had, since the affray in A.D. 1738, been in abeyance. A formal agreement was drawn up between the parties containing six heads, but it was acted up to for but a short time. Momin Khán's nephew Muhammad Momin Khán Bakshi received this year a *mansab* and the title of Nazar Áli Khán. This year, A.D. 1739, was marked by two events—a disastrous flood in the Sábarmati, and the capture of the city of Bassein from the Portuguese by the Maráthás under Chimnáji Ápa.

In the following year Dámáji, on his return from his progress in Sorath, took Rangoji with him to the Deccan and appointed Malhárráv Khuni as his deputy at Áhmadabad. Fidá-ud-din Khán met the new deputy at Isanpur and escorted him to the city. Fidá-ud-din Khán and Nazar Áli Khán now marched to collect tribute, and Jawán Mard Khán sent his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi to accompany them. They advanced against Dabhora in the Bhil district and fought with the chief, who agreed to pay tribute. Thence they went to Atarsumba, where the Kolis tried to surprise their cannon; they also eventually agreed to pay tribute, and the force then proceeded to Mándva and levied a contribution from that chief. They then went to Kapadvanj, and passing through Bálásinor reached Virpur under Lunáváda. Here, from Sultánsingh, agent of the Lunáváda chief, they received two horses and £300 (Rs. 3000) as tribute. While they were engaged at Lunáváda an order of recall came from Momin Khán, who intimated that Malhárráv Khuni had laid up large stores of grain and contemplated war. He, therefore, desired them to return quickly to Áhmadabad. Fidá-ud-din Khán at once pushed forward through Bálásinor and Kapadvanj, advancing rapidly towards the capital. On the way, however, he received a second despatch from Momin Khán saying that, as the risk of war had for the present passed over, they should advance to Petlád, where they would find Malhárráv Khuni and settle with him about the revenue accounts. They then continued their march, and in two days reached Kaira, being joined on their way by Muhammad Kuli Khán, who was charged with some messages for them from Momin Khán. On arriving at Kaira they found that Muhammad Husain, nephew of Fidá-ud-din Khán, who had been sent with a force to Mahudha, had reached there two days before his uncle. As Malhárráv Khuni was at Pinj near Kaira, Fidá-ud-din Khán expressed a desire to meet him, and it was agreed that both sides should go to the Petlád district and there settle the disputes about the revenue collection. Shortly afterwards they met and arrangements were being made when the Kolis of the Bhil district rebelled and Abdul Husain Khán and Vajerám were sent against them. After burning two or three villages this detachment rejoined the main body of the force, and not long after all returned to Áhmadabad. During the following year, A.D. 1740, Bájráv Peshwa died.

In A.D. 1741 Momin Khán went to Cambay, and while residing at Gheisapur near that city received information that Dámáji had again appointed Rangoji as his deputy in place of Malhárráv Khuni, and shortly afterwards Rangoji arrived at Petlád. At this time Momin

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Moghal Viceroys.

MOMIN KHÁN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

Capture of Bassein
by Maráthás,
1739.

Tribute
Expedition,
1740.

Death of Bájráv
Peshwa,
1740.

The Viceroy
engaged at
Cambay,
1741.

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MOMIN KHÁN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

Bhávsingh forced
to surrender
Viramgám to
the Maráthás.

Receives instead
the district of
Pátđi.

Siege of Broach by
the Maráthás,
1741.

Khán turned his attention to the falling off in the customs revenue of the port of Cambay and appointed Ismáil Muhammad collector of customs. As he was anxious to clear away some misunderstanding that had arisen between Rangoji and himself, Momin Khán set out to visit Rangoji and assure him of his good wishes. At this time Bhávsingh, of Viramgám, who found the Maráthás even more troublesome than the Muhammadans, as soon as he heard of Malhárráv's recall, suddenly attacked the fort of Viramgám, and with the aid of some Arabs and Rohillás expelled the Marátha garrison and prepared to hold it on his own account. Shortly afterwards Rangoji demanded that a tower in Áhmadabad, which had been raised a storey by Momin Khán so as to command the residence of the Marátha deputy at the Jamálpur gate, should be restored to its original height. At the same time he suggested that Momin Khán and he, uniting their forces, should advance and expel Bhávsingh from Viramgám. Momin Khán agreed to both proposals. The addition to the tower was pulled down, and Momin Khán and Rangoji, marching against Viramgám, laid siege to the town. Bhávsingh made a gallant defence, and Momin Khán, who was not sorry to see the Maráthás in difficulties, after a time left them and marched to Kadi and Bijápur to levy tribute. Rangoji, however, continued the siege, and as Bhávsingh saw that the Marátha army was sufficient even without Momin Khán to reduce the place, he came to terms and agreed to surrender Viramgám, provided the fort of Pátđi and its dependent villages should be granted to him. Rangoji agreed, and thus the Maráthás again obtained possession of Viramgám, while Bhávsingh acquired Pátđi,¹ a property which his descendants hold to this day.

Momin Khán, meanwhile, had arrived at Bánsah, about twenty-six miles from Áhmadabad, but hearing that Dámáji had crossed the Mahi with 10,000 men, he at once returned to the capital. Dámáji, in the meantime, arrived at Bánsah and besieged it. The chiefs and Kolis defended the place bravely for about a month, when it fell into Dámáji's hands, who not only removed the prickly-pear stockade which surrounded it, but also burned down the town. After this Dámáji marched to Sorath, and on his return from Sorath he laid siege to Broach, a port which, from its natural strength as well as from its favourable position on the banks of the Narbada, it had been the constant ambition both of Dámáji and his father Piláji to capture. As has been already mentioned, Broach was, at this time, held in the interests of the Nizám by Nek Álam Khán. On the approach of Dámáji this officer prepared to defend the fort, and wrote to the Nizám for aid. In reply the Nizám addressed Dámáji, warning him not to attack his possessions. On receiving this letter Dámáji raised the siege and returned to Songad. It seems probable, however, that some concessions were made with the view of tempting Dámáji to retire from Broach, and that the Gáikwár's share in the customs of that city dates from this siege.

¹ Pátđi (north latitude 23° 10' and east longitude 71° 44'), at the south-east angle of the Ran of Cutch, distant fifty-two miles west of Áhmadabad.

At this time a battle was fought between Káim Kuli Khán, governor of Dholka, and Rangoji's deputy, in which the Maráthás were defeated. Momin Khán, however, at the request of Rangoji, made peace between them. Fidá-ud-din Khán, who had recently been raised in rank with the title of Bahádur, starting to collect tribute burned down the refractory Koli village of Dabhora, and placing a post there, he passed to Sátumba, Balásinor, and Thásra. After the battle at Dholka, Rangoji built the fort of Borsad, and another fight took place between the Muhammadans and Maráthás there. Upon this Muhammad Hádi Khán, governor of Dholka, begged Fidá-ud-din Khán to come to Borsad. Fidá-ud-din accordingly, passing through Mahudha to Petlád, pushed forward to help him. In the meantime a battle was fought, in which the Maráthás under Malhárráv attacked Muhammad Hádi Khán, and after a short contest withdrew. Next day the Muhammadans, strengthened by the arrival of Fidá-ud-din Khán, besieged Sojitra. A letter was now written to Rangoji, asking the meaning of this attack, and he replied excusing himself and attributing it to the ignorance of Malhárráv. Muhammad Hádi Khán and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* eventually met Rangoji at Borsad, and there it was settled that he and Fidá-ud-din Khán should come together and arrange matters; but as Rangoji in his heart intended to fight, he wrote to his deputy Rámáji at Ahmadabad to be ready for war. Malhárráv now joined Rangoji at Borsad. About this time there were many misunderstandings and several fights between the Maráthás and the Muhammadans; but they were appeased by Momin Khán and Rangoji, who, in spite of the ill-feeling among their subordinates and a certain distrust of each other's designs, appear throughout to have retained a warm mutual regard. Dámáji from his stronghold at Songad was too much occupied in the course of politics in the Deccan to give much attention to Gujarát affairs. Rangoji, on the other hand, gained so much influence with the Gujarát chiefs, that at one time he succeeded in engaging Sajansingh Hazári in his service, and also induced Rája Ráisingh of Idar to join him; but Momin Khán soon detached Ráisingh from this alliance, by placing him in charge of the post of Amlíára, and making him a grant of the districts of Modasa, Mánkrej, Ahmadnagar, Parántij, and Harsol. Moreover the sum sent daily by Rangoji to Rája Ráisingh for the expenses of his troops had begun to fall into arrears, though at first it was paid regularly. Rája Ráisingh made his peace with Momin Khán, through the mediation of Nazar Ali Khán, Momin Khán's nephew, who appears to have been a very leading spirit of the time. The daily payment for the expenses of troops when actually in the field seems to have been usual in Gujarát even although the *jágirdar* held lands on service tenure.

In the year A.D. 1742 another fight took place in the city of Ahmadabad, between the Maráthás and Muhammadans, in which the Muhammadans gained a slight advantage. Rangoji now leaving the city, appointed, as before, Rámáji as his deputy, and joining Jagjiwan Pavár went to Borsad, where he had built a fort. At this time one Jivandás came with authority from the Nizám to

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Moghal Viceroys.

MOMIN KHÁN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

Battle of Dholka;
defeat of the
Maráthás,
1741.

Contests between
the Musalmáns
and Maráthás.

Disturbance at
Ahmadabad,
1742.

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Moghal Viceroy.

MOMIN KHÁN,
56th Viceroy,
1738-1743.

The Viceroy
collects tribute in
Káthiáwár.

Death of Momin
Khán,
1743.
Fidá-ud-din acts
as Viceroy,
1743.

act as manager¹ of Dholka, part of the lands assigned to the Nizám as a personal grant. Jivandás was not, however, able to take up the appointment. About this time Rája Anandsing of Idar was killed, and his brother Ráising, taking leave, went to Idar to settle matters. Momin Khán had his *mansab* increased to the personal rank of commander of 6000 with a contingent of 6000 cavalry; he received also a dress of honour, a jewelled turban, plume, six pieces of cloth, an elephant, the order of Mahi Murátib, and the title of Najam-ud-daulah Momin Khán Bahádur Diláwar Jang. Differences again broke out between Momin Khán and Rangoji, and again matters were settled by a friendly meeting between these two chiefs at Borsad, at which place Rangoji had taken up his residence. Momin Khán now went to Petlád, and from that to Cambay, where he was taken ill, but after six weeks came to Vasu, where Rangoji visited him. Here he was again unwell, but nevertheless went to Dholka, and shortly afterwards he and Rangoji marched upon Limbdi, which at this time is mentioned as being under Viramgám. While before this town, Rangoji was summoned by Dámáji to help him against Bábu Náik, and at once started to his assistance. Momin Khán now marched into Gohilvád, and proceeded by Loliána to Gogha, then under the charge of a resident deputy of Sher Khán Bábi. Here he received tribute from the chief of Sihor, and from that, marching into Hálár, went against Navánagar. The Jám resisted for twenty days, but eventually, on his agreeing to pay £5000 (Rs. 50,000) as tribute, Momin Khán returned to Ahmadabad. During his absence Nazar Áli Khán and Vajerám had collected tribute from the Koli chiefs, but had met with a stubborn resistance. Rangoji, who had now left Dámáji, joined battle with Bábu Náik ere he crossed the Mahi, and Bábu Náik turned back. Rangoji therefore remained at Borsad, but hearing of Momin Khán's illness, which had now become very serious, he went once or twice to Ahmadabad to visit him.

In A.D. 1743 Momin Khán died. His wife, fearing lest Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán, Momin Khan's son, would deprive her of her estate, sought the protection of Rangoji. In the meantime Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán received an Imperial order to carry on the government until a new viceroy should be appointed. At this time a man named Anandráam, who had been disgraced by Momin Khán, went over to Rangoji and incited him to murder Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán. Rangoji with this intention invited them both to his house, but his heart failed him, and shortly afterwards Fidá-ud-din Khán went to Cambay. Rangoji now determined at all events to assassinate Muftakhir Khán, and with this object took Muftakhir Khán's associates, Vajerám and Káim Kuli Khán, into his confidence. Muftakhir Khán, however, accidentally heard of his designs, and remained on his guard. Rangoji, in the meantime, had promised Sher Khán Bábi the post of deputy viceroy, and he accordingly

¹ The word is *dmil* or revenue collector.

had advanced to Dholka and commenced plundering some of the Cambay villages. Rangoji, after another futile attempt to assassinate Muftakhir Khán, sent for his deputy Rámáji, who was then in the neighbourhood, and prepared to fight. Muftakhir Khán, on his part, summoned Fidá-ud-din Khán from Cambay, and in a few days they succeeded in uniting their forces. Sher Khán Bábi now deserted the cause of Rangoji, and fighting commenced; but the Maráthás were worsted and Rangoji's house was besieged. Rangoji, being hard pressed, eventually agreed to give up Anandráam and to surrender both Borsad and Viramgám, Sher Khán Bábi becoming his security. In this way Fidá-ud-din Khán became sole master of Gujarát.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

Muftakhir Khán
defeats the
Maráthás.

At this time Dámáji Gaikwár returned from Sátára and came to Cambay. In the meantime Rangoji, who had been living with Sher Khán Bábi, his security, contrived, with the connivance of Sher Khán, to escape together with his family. Fidá-ud-din Khán was much enraged with Sher Khán on this account, and he accordingly, leaving the city on pretence of hunting, escaped to Bálásinor, where his wife joined him. Fidá-ud-din Khán now put Anandráam to death, while Rangoji, on his part, through the kind aid of Sher Khán Bábi's wife, made good his escape to Borsad. Fidá-ud-din Khán had set out to collect tribute, when news arrived that Khanderáv Gaikwár, brother of Dámáji, had crossed the Mahi and joining Rangoji had laid siege to Petlád. On hearing this, he at once returned to Ahmadabad, and sent Valabhdás Kotwál to Khanderáv to complain of the misconduct of Rangoji.

Dámáji Gaikwár
returns to Gujarát.

About this time Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, after the death of Momin Khán, the most powerful noble in Gujarát, began to aspire to power, and Fidá-ud-din, who was not good in the field, had thoughts of appointing him to act for him. Matters were in this state, and Jawán Mard Khán was already laying claim to the revenue of the district round Ahmadabad, when an order was received appointing Abdul Aziz Khán the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to be viceroy of Gujarát. This order was really forged by Abdul Aziz Khán in Jawán Mard Khán's interests, whom he appointed his deputy. Fidá-ud-din Khán doubted the genuineness of the order, but was not sufficiently powerful to remove Jawán Mard Khán, who now proclaimed himself deputy viceroy. At this time the troops, clamorous on account of arrears, placed both Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán under confinement. Jawán Mard Khán assumed charge of the city and placed his own men on guard. While Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán were still in confinement, Khanderáv Gaikwár sent them a message that if they would cause the fort of Petlád to be surrendered to him, he would help them. But to this they returned no answer. Fidá-ud-din Khán now entreated Jawán Mard Khán to interfere between him and his troops. Jawán Mard Khán accordingly persuaded the mutineers to release Fidá-ud-din Khán, who eventually escaped from the city and went to Ágra.

ABDUL AZIZ KHÁN
of Junnar, Viceroy
(by a forged order).

Mutiny of the
troops.

Meanwhile Rangoji continued to press the siege of Petlád and the commander, Ága Muhammad Hussain, after in vain appealing

Maráthás capture
Petlád.

Chapter III
Moghal Viceroy.

MUFTAKHIR KHÁN,
57th Viceroy,
1743-44.

Appoints Jawán
Mard Khán his
deputy.

The Maráthás
enforce their right
to share the
revenues of
Ahmadabad.

Abdul Áziz Khán
of Junnar comes
to Gujarát,
1744.

for help to Jawán Mard Khán, was forced to surrender. Rangoji now demolished the fort of Petlád and marched upon Ahmadabad. As he approached the city Jawán Mard Khán sent the writer of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and Ajabsingh to negotiate with Rangoji, who demanded all his former rights and possessions.

News had now reached Delhi that a false viceroy was governing Gujarát, and accordingly, Muftakhir Khán was chosen fifty-seventh viceroy, the order explaining that Abdul Áziz had never been appointed viceroy, and directing Jawán Mard Khán to withdraw from the conduct of affairs. Muftakhir Khán was perplexed how to act. He succeeded, however, in persuading his troops that now he would be able to pay them their arrears, and he sent a copy of the order to Jawán Mard Khán; and as he dared not displace him, he informed him that he had appointed him as his deputy, and that he himself would shortly leave Ahmadabad. Jawán Mard Khán, however, so far from obeying, ordered Muftakhir Khán's house to be surrounded. Eventually, Muftakhir Khán, leaving the city, joined Rangoji, and then retired to Cambay.

Khanderáv Gaikwár now returned, and, with the view of enforcing his claims, uniting with Rangoji marched to Banjar, about five miles from Ahmadabad. Jawán Mard Khán also issuing from the city camped near the Kánkriya tank. Narhar Pandit and Krishnáji were, on behalf of the Marátha leaders, sent to Jawán Mard Khán to demand their former rights and possessions. He at first refused, but eventually consented, and Dádu Morár was appointed deputy of the city by the Maráthás. Sher Khán Bábi now returned to Bálásinor. Khanderáv and Kánáji then went to Dholka, and Rangoji to Petlád. Shortly afterwards Khanderáv Gaikwár left for Sorath. Fidá-ud-din Khán now requested Rangoji to help Muftakhir Khán; he replied that he was willing to help him, but that he had no money. Rangoji then accompanied Fidá-ud-din Khán to Cambay, where Muftakhir Khán then was. Negotiations were entered into, and the Kháns tried to collect £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) which Rangoji asked for to enable him to make military preparations to aid them. They raised £8000 (Rs. 80,000) with great difficulty and admitted Rangoji's Náib to a share in the administration. Rangoji now withdrew with the £8000 (Rs. 80,000) to Borsad and said that when the remaining £2000 (Rs. 20,000) were paid he would aid them; but this was a mere excuse. Fidá-ud-din Khán was much grieved at Rangoji's conduct and went to reside at Dhowan, a village belonging to Jálam Jália Koli.

In the year A.D. 1744 Jawán Mard Khán, after appointing one of his brothers, Zoráwar Khán, as his deputy at Pátan, and keeping his other brother, Safdar Khán, at Ahmadabad, advanced from the city to Kadi to collect tribute. His next step was to invite Abdul Áziz Khán, the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to join him in Gujarát. Abdul Áziz accordingly set out from Junnar, taking with him Fatehyáb Khán, commander of the fort of Mulher in Báglán and Rustamráv Marátha. Directing his march in the first instance to Surat, he was there watched in the interests of Dámáji Gaikwár, by Deváji Tákar, the lieutenant of that chief, who, seeing that on

leaving Surat, Abdul Aziz continued to advance northwards to Ahmadabad, pursued him to Kim Kathodra, about fifteen miles from Surat, and there attacked him. In the engagement that followed Deváji Tákar, who had gained over to his side Rustamráv Marátha, one of the leading men in Abdul Aziz's army, was victorious. Abdul Aziz Khán retired from the battle, but so closely was he followed by the Maráthás, that at Pánoli he was forced to leave his elephant, and, mounting a horse, fled with all speed towards Broach. On reaching the Narbada he failed to find any boats, and, as his pursuers were now close upon him, putting his horse at the water, he tried to swim across the river; but sticking fast in the mud, the Maráthás overtook him, and he was slain.

On hearing of the death of Abdul Aziz, Jawán Mard Khán thought of joining Muftakhir Khán. But, ere he could carry this plan into effect, the emperor receiving, it is said, a present of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lákhs*) for the nomination, appointed Fakhr-ud-daulah Fakhr-ud-din Khán Shujáat Jang Bahádur fifty-eighth viceroy of Gujarát. The new viceroy forwarded a blank paper to a banker of his acquaintance named Sitárá, asking him to enter in it the name of a fitting deputy. Sitárá filled in the name of Jawán Mard Khán, and Fakhr-ud-daulah was proclaimed viceroy. About this time Safdar Khán Bábi, after levying tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, returned to Ahmadabad, and Khanderáv Gaikwár, as he passed through from Sorath to Songad, appointed Rangoji as his deputy. On being raised to this post Rangoji sent Krishnáji instead of Morár Náik as his deputy to Ahmadabad, and proceeded himself to Arhar Mátar on the Vátrak, and from that moved to Kaira to visit Jawán Mard Khán, with whom he established friendly relations. In the same year Áli Muhammad Khán, superintendent of customs, died, and in his place the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* was appointed. In this year, too, Pahár Khán Jhálori died, and his uncle, Muhammad Bahádur, was appointed governor of Pálanpur in his stead.

Khanderáv Gaikwár was, about this time, summoned by Umábái, widow of Khanderáv Dábháde, to help her in her attempt to lessen the power of the Peshwa, and as Dámáji Gaikwár could not be spared from the Deccan Khanderáv was appointed as his deputy in Gujarát, and he appointed one Rámchandra as his deputy at Ahmadabad. Fakhr-ud-daulah, now advancing to join his appointment as viceroy, was received by Sher Khán Bábi with much respect at Bálásinor. Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, on the other hand, determined to resist Fakhr-ud-daulah to the utmost of his power, summoned Gangádhar with a body of Marátha horse from Petlád and, posting them at Isanpur, about ten miles to the south-west of the city, himself leaving the fortifications of Ahmadabad, encamped at Asárva, about a mile and a half from the city. The new viceroy was, as he continued to advance towards the capital, joined by Ráisinghji of Idar at Kapadvanji, and, advancing together, arrived at Bhilpur, eighteen miles east of Ahmadabad. On their approach Jawán Mard Khán sent Safdar Khán and Gangádhar to oppose them, and the two armies met at about six miles from the

Chapter III.

Moghal Viceroys-

MUFTAKHIR KHÁN,
57th Viceroy,
1743-44.

Battle of Kim
Kathodra; defeat
and death of Abdul
Aziz Khán.

FAKHR-UD-DAULAH,
58th Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Jawán Mard Khán
Bábi, deputy
viceroy.

Khanderáv
Gaikwár called
away to Satára.

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Moghal Viceroy.

FAKHR-UD-DAULAH,
58th Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Defeat and capture
of the Viceroy by
Jawán Mard Khán
Bábi.

Rangoji disgraced
by Khanderáv
Gáikwár.

Is restored by
Umábái.

Punáji Vithal and
Fakhr-ud-daulah
oppose Rangoji
Jawán Mard
Khán.

capital. After some fighting Fakhr-ud-daulah succeeded in forcing his way to the suburb of Rájpura, and next day continuing to drive back the enemy occupied the suburb of Bahrámpura and began the actual siege of the city. At this point, however, affairs took a turn. Fakhr-ud-daulah was wounded and returned to his camp, while Jawán Mard Khán succeeded in winning over to his side Sher Khán Bábi and Ráisinghji of Idar, two of the viceroy's chief supporters. The Mirat-i-Ahmadi specially notes that Rája Ráisingh asked for money to pay his troops but Fakhr-ud-daulah considering the strict Imperial regulations, said that as he held a *parganah* on service tenure, it was not proper for him to ask for a money aid when on Imperial service. The historian adds that Fakhr-ud-daulah was not aware that this regulation had long fallen into disuse. Next day Fakhr-ud-daulah was surrounded by Safdar Khán Bábi, and the Maráthás and himself, with one wife and some of his children, were taken prisoners, while another of his wives and his son, who had managed to escape to Sidhpur, were captured and brought back to Ahmadabad.

After this Khanderáv Gáikwár returned to Gujarát to receive his share of the spoil taken from Fakhr-ud-daulah. Reaching Borsad, he took Rangoji with him as far as Ahmadabad, where he met Jawán Mard Khán, and obtained from Rangoji his share of the tribute. Khanderáv was not, however, satisfied with the state of Rangoji's accounts, and shortly afterwards, appointing a fresh deputy, he attached all Rangoji's property, and finally, before leaving Ahmadabad for Sorath, put him in confinement at Borsad. He confined Fakhr-ud-daulah also in the Gheíaspur *thánah* on the bank of the river Mahi. Meanwhile in consequence of some misunderstanding between Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and his brother Safdar Khán, the latter retired to Udepur, and Jawán Mard Khán went to Visalnagar, then in the hands of his brother Moráwar Khán. From Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán now proceeded to Rádhaupur, and meeting his brother Safdar Khán there, they became reconciled, and returned together to Ahmadabad. Khanderáv Gáikwár, who had in the meantime returned from Sorath, encamping at Dholka appointed Trimbakráv Pandit as his deputy at Ahmadabad in place of Moro Pandit. Umábái, on hearing that Rangoji had been thrown into confinement, sent for him, and he along with Khanderáv Gáikwár repaired to the Deccan.

Shortly afterwards Punáji Vithal, in concert with Trimbak Pandit, being dissatisfied with Jawán Mard Khán, began to intrigue with Fakhr-ud-daulah. But, in the meantime, Umábái appointed Rangoji as her deputy, and, as he was a staunch friend of Jawán Mard Khán, he expelled Trimbakráv from Ahmadabad, and himself collected the Maráthás' share of the city revenues. Upon this Punáji Vithal sent Gangádhara and Krishnáji with an army, and, expelling the Muhammadan officers from the districts from which the Maráthás levied the one-fourth share of the revenue, took the management of them into their own hands. Rangoji now asked Sher Khán Bábi to help him. To this Sher Khán agreed; but not having funds enough to pay his troops, at first delayed much, and

afterwards plundered Mahudha and Nadiád. As he was not now joined by Rangoji, Sher Khán proceeded by himself to Kapadvanj, and from that marched against the camp of the Marátha force, with which Fakhr-ud-daulah was then associated. On the night after his arrival in their neighbourhood, the Maráthas made an attack on Sher Khán's camp, in which many men on both sides were slain. Next morning the battle was renewed, but on Sher Khán suggesting certain terms the fighting ceased. But that very night, hearing that Rangoji had reached Bálásinor, Sher Khán stole off towards Kapadvanj. Punáji and Fakhr-ud-daulah followed in pursuit but failed to prevent Rangoji and Sher Khán from joining their forces.

Shortly after, in A.D. 1746, a battle was fought in which Sher Khán was wounded. He was then forced to take shelter with Rangoji in Kapadvanj, while Fakhr-ud-daulah, Gangádhar, and Krishnáji laid siege to that town. At this time Malhárráv Holkár, on his way back from his yearly raid into Málwa, was asked by the Lunáváda chief to join him in attacking Virpur. Holkar agreed, and Virpur was plundered. Rangoji, hearing of the arrival of Holkar, begged him to come to his aid, and on promise of receiving a sum of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lákhs*) and two elephants, Holkar consented. Gangádhar, Krishnáji, and Fakhr-ud-daulah, hearing of the approach of Holkar, raised the siege of Kapadvanj, and marching to Dholka expelled the governor of that district. Shortly afterwards Rangoji went to Baroda on a summons from Dámáji and Khanderáv Gáikwár; while Fakhr-ud-daulah, Krishnáji, and Gangádhar went to Jetalpur, and, taking possession of it, expelled Ámbar Habshi, the deputy of Jawán Mard Khán. Leaving Baroda, Dámáji and Khanderáv Gáikwár advanced to Vasu, where they were met by Krishnáji and Gangádhar, whom Dámáji censured for aiding Fakhr-ud-daulah. On this occasion Dámáji bestowed the districts of Baroda, Nadiád, and Borsad on his brother Khanderáv. This politic action of Dámáji's removed for ever all ill feeling towards him on the part of Khanderáv. Then proceeding to Goklej, he had an interview with Jawán Mard Khán. From Goklej he sent Kánoji Tákpár with Fakhr-ud-daulah to Sorath, and himself returned to Songad. As Borsad had been given to Khanderáv, Rangoji fixed on Úmreth as his residence.

In this year Teghbeg Khán, governor of Surat, died, and was succeeded by his brother Safdar Muhammad Khán, who, in acknowledgment of a present to the emperor of seven horses, received the title of Bahádur. At this time Talib Ali Khán died, and the writer of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* was appointed minister by the emperor. In A.D. 1747, Rangoji returned to Ahmadabad, and Jawán Mard Khán had an interview with him a few miles from the city. Shortly after this the Kolis of Mehmadaabad and Mahudha rebelled, but the revolt was speedily crushed by Sháhbáz Rohilla.

During this year Najam Khán, governor of Cambay, died. Muftakhir Khán, son of Najam-ud-daulah Momin Khán I., who had also received the title of Momin Khán, informed the emperor of Najam Khán's death, and himself assumed the office of governor;

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Moghal Viceroy.

FAKHR-UD-DAULAH,
58th Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Siege of
Kapadvanj by
Fakhr-ud-daulah,
1746.

At the approach
of Holkar the
siege is raised.

Safdar Muhammad
Khán,
Governor of Surat,
1746.

Momin Khán II.,
Governor of
Cambay,
1748.

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Moghal Viceroy.

FAKHR-UD-DAULAH,
58th Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Increased
strength of
Fakhr-ud-daulah's
party.

Dissensions
among the
Maráthás.

Surat affairs,
1748.

he was afterwards, in A.D. 1748, confirmed in this office. On hearing of the death of Najam Khán, Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Cambay on pretence of condoling with the family of the late governor, but, not being allowed to enter the town, was obliged to retire. He afterwards went to Umreth and lived with Rangoji. Kánoji Tákar, who had gone with Fakhr-ud-daulah into Sorath, now laid siege to and took the town of Vantali; but, as it was now time for the Maráthás to return to their own country, Kánoji and Fakhr-ud-daulah, retiring to Dholka, expelled Muhammad Jánbáz, the deputy governor. Rangoji, who had at this time a dispute with Jawán Mard Khán regarding his share of tribute, now came and joined them, and their combined forces marched upon Sánand, where, after plundering the town, they encamped. It was now time for Kánoji to withdraw to the Deccan. Rangoji and Fakhr-ud-daulah remaining behind to collect tribute from the neighbouring districts, marched to Isanpur, where they were opposed by Jawán Mard Khán. On this occasion both Jawán Mard Khán and Fakhr-ud-daulah sought the alliance of Rája Ráisingh of Idar. But, as he offered more favourable terms, Rája Ráisingh determined to join Fakhr-ud-daulah. Sher Khán Bábi also joined Fakhr-ud-daulah, who, thus reinforced, laid siege to Áhmadabad. While these events were passing at Áhmadabad, Hariba, an adopted son of Khanderáv Gáikwár, at that time in possession of the fort of Borsad, began to plunder Rangoji's villages under Petlád, and, attacking his deputy, defeated and killed him. On hearing this, Rangoji withdrew from Áhmadabad, attacked and captured the fort of Borsad, and forced Hariba to leave the country. Jawán Mard Khán now sent for Janárdhan Pandit, Khanderáv's deputy at Nadiád, and, in place of Rangoji's representative, appointed him to the management of the Marátha share of Áhmadabad.

During this time important changes had taken place in the government of Surat. In the year A.D. 1734, when Mulla Muhammad Áli, the chief of the merchants and builder of the Athva fort, was killed in prison by Teghbeg Khán, the Nizám sent Syad Mathan to revenge his death. Syad Mathan was, however, unsuccessful, and was forced to return; but after Teghbeg Khán's death Syad Mathan again came to Surat and lived there with his brother Syad Achan, who held the office of paymaster. He now tried to get the government of the town into his own hands, but, again failing, committed suicide. His brother Syad Achan then attacked, and took the citadel, expelling the commander; and for several days war was waged between him and the governor, Safdar Muhammad Khán, with doubtful success. At last Sayad Achan called to his aid Malhárráv,¹ the deputy at Baroda, and their combined forces were successful in taking possession of the whole city. During the sack of the city Malhárráv was killed and the entire management of affairs fell into the hands of Syad Achan. Safdar Muhammad Khán, the late governor, though obliged to leave the city, was

¹ Probably Malhárráv Khuní.

determined not to relinquish Surat without a struggle, and raising some men opened fire on the fort. Syad Achan now begged the Arab, Turk, English, Dutch, and Portuguese merchants to aid him. A deed addressed to the emperor and the Nizám, begging that Syad Achan should be appointed governor, was signed by all the merchants excepting Mr. Lamb, the English chief, who at first refused, but finally was also persuaded by the other merchants to sign it. The merchants then assisted Syad Achan, and Safdar Muhammad Khán retired to Sindh.

Meanwhile, on account of some enmity between Mulla Fakhr-ud-din, the son of Mulla Muhammad Ali, chief of the merchants, and Syad Achan, the Mulla was thrown into prison. On this Mr. Lamb went to Syad Achan, and remonstrating with him for what he had done, suggested that the Mulla should be sent for. Syad Achan agreed to this proposal, but on the way Mr. Lamb carried off Mulla Fakhr-ud-din to the English factory, and afterwards sent him to Bombay in disguise. In the meantime Kedárji Gáikwár, a cousin of Dámáji's, who along with Malhárráv had been asked by Syad Achan to come to his help, now arrived at Surat, and though Syad Achan had been successful without his aid, Kedárji demanded the sum of £30,000 (Rs. 3 *lákhs*) which had been promised him. As the Syad was not in a position to resist Kedárji's demands, and had no ready money to give him, he made over to him a third of the revenues of Surat until the amount should be paid. And as before this another third of the revenues of Surat had been assigned to Háfiz Masud Khán, the deputy of Yákut Khán of Janjira, the emoluments of the governor of Surat were very seriously reduced, indeed, but one-third of the entire revenue remained, and this was divided between the Mutsaddi and Bakshi. In this year there was a very severe shock of earthquake.

In the same year (A.D. 1747, S. 1803) there was a great famine in Gujarát and many persons died. In the following year Jawán Mard Khán endeavoured to recapture Jetalpur, but failed. About the same time Umábái died, and Dámáji's brother Khanderáv, who was on good terms with Ambika, wife of Báburáv Senápati, the guardian of Umábái's son, procured his own appointment as deputy of his brother Dámáji in Gujarát. Immediately on being raised to this post, Khanderáv marched against Rangoji to recover Borsad, which, as above mentioned, Rangoji had taken from Hariba. Their forces were joined by two detachments, one from Momin Khán under the command of Ága Muhammad Husain, and the other from Jawán Mard Khán, commanded by Janárdhan Pandit, and the combined army besieged Borsad. After a five months' siege Borsad was taken, and Rangoji was imprisoned by Khanderáv. Upon this Sher Khán Bábi and Rája Ráisingh of Idar, who were allies of Rangoji, returned to Bálásinor and Idar; Fakhr-ud-daulah was sent to Petlád and Fidá-ud-din Khán, leaving Umreth, took shelter with Jetha, the chief of Atarsumba.

In this year the emperor Muhammad Sháh died and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Sháh (A.D. 1748-1754), and shortly after his accession Mahárája Vakhatsing, brother of Mahárája Abheysingh,

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

FAKHR-UD-DAULAH,
58th Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Syad Achan
gets possession
of Surat,
1747.

Mulla Fakhr-ud-
din escapes to
Bombay.

Cession of Surat
revenue to the
Gáikwár,
1747.

Year of famine,
1747.

Dissensions among
the Maráthás.

Siege of Borsad;
the fort taken
and Rangoji
imprisoned.

Ahmad Shah,
Emperor,
1748-1754.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroys.

MAHÁRÁJA
VAKHÁTSINGH,
59th Viceroy,
1748.

was appointed fifty-ninth viceroy of Gujarát. When, however, he learned the state of the province, he considered that his presence would be more necessary in his own dominions, and accordingly never took up his appointment. Vakhatsingh was the last viceroy of Gujarát nominated by the Imperial court, for although Fakhr-ud-daulah, by the aid of the Maráthás under Rangoji and others, was of some little importance in the province, he had never been able to establish himself as viceroy. In this year also occurred the death of Khushálchand Sheth, the chief of the merchants of Ahmadabad.

Fakhr-ud-daulah
retires to Delhi.

Khanderáv Gáikwár appointed Rághavshankar hiq deputy at Ahmadabad, and Safdar Khán Bábi issued from Ahmadabad with an army to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábar-mati. Fakhr-ud-daulah, the former viceroy, when he heard of the appointment of Mahárája Vakhatsingh, retired to Delhi, seeing no chance of deriving any benefit from a longer stay in Gujarát. In this year, A.D. 1748, Asif Jáh, Nizám-ul-Mulk, died at an advanced age, leaving six sons and a disputed succession.

Spread of disorder.

About the same time Bálájiráv Peshwa, who was jealous of the power of the Gáikwár, sent a body of troops, and freed Rangoji from the hands of Khanderáv Gáikwár. During these years certain adventurers in different parts of the country, taking advantage of the decay of the central power, endeavoured to establish themselves in positions of independence. Of these attempts the most formidable was a revolt of one of the Pátan Kasbátis who took possession of that city, and Jawán Mard Khán found it necessary to proceed in person to reduce him. Shortly afterwards he deemed it advisable to recall his brothers Safdar Khán and Zoráwar Khán, who were then at Unja under Pátan, and took them with him to Ahmadabad. Fidá-ud-din Khán who had been residing at Atarsumba now asked permission to return to Ahmadabad, but as Jawán Mard Khán did not approve of this suggestion, he departed to Broach and took up his residence there. Janárdhan Pandit now marched to Kaira and the Bhil district to levy tribute, and Khanderáv Gáikwár appointed Shevakráam as his deputy. In the meantime at Surat, Syad Achan endeavoured to consolidate his rule, and with this view tried to expel Háfiz Masáud Habshi, and prevent him again entering the city; but his plans failed, and he was obliged to make excuses for his conduct. Syad Achan then oppressed other influential persons, until eventually the Habshi and others joining, attacked him in the citadel. Except Mr. Lamb, who considered himself bound by the deed signed by him in A.D. 1747 in favour of Syad Achan, all the merchants of Surat joined the assailants. Among the chief opponents of Syad Achan were the Dutch, who sending ships brought back Safdar Muhammad Khán from Tatta, and established him as governor of Surat. The English factory was next besieged, and though a stout resistance was made the guards were bribed, and the factory plundered. In A.D. 1750 Syad Achan, surrendering the citadel to the Habshi, withdrew first to Bombay and then to Poona, to Bálájiráv Peshwa. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the censure passed upon him by the Bombay Government for his support of Syad Achan, Mr. Lamb committed suicide. Wearied by these continual contests for power, the

Surat affairs,
A.D. 1750.
SYAD ACHAN
unpopular.

Safdar Muhammad
brought back by
the Dutch.

Syad Achan
retires.

merchants of Surat asked Rájá Raghunáthdás, minister to the viceroys of the Deccan, to choose them a governor. Rájá Raghunáthdás accordingly nominated his own nephew, Rájá Harprasád, to be governor, and the writer of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* to be his deputy. Ere however Rájá Harprasád could join his appointment at Surat, both he and his father were slain in battle.

In the same year, A.D. 1750, occurred the deaths of Rájá Ráisingh of Idar, Safdar Khán Bábi of Bálásinor, and Fidá-ud-din Khán, who for some time before had been settled at Broach. Jawán Mard Khán, who, seeing that they were inclined to become permanent residents in Gujarát, was always opposed to the Gáikwár's power, now entered into negotiation with Bálájiráv Peshwa. Choosing Patel Sakdev to collect the Marátha revenue, he asked the Peshwa to help him in expelling Dámáji's agents. The Peshwa, however, being now engaged in war in the Deccan with Salábat Jung Bahádúr, son of the late Nizám, was unable to send Jawán Mard Khán any assistance. Towards the close of the year Jawán Mard Khán started from Ahmadabad on an expedition to collect tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati. Returning early in A.D. 1751, at the request of Jetha Patel, a subordinate of Bhávsingh Desái, he proceeded to Nabud under Viramgám and reduced the village. Ali Muhammad Khán, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, was about this time raised in rank with the title of Bahádúr. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* remarks that now, owing to the Marátha inroads, most of the *pargana*s and *maháls* had passed entirely into their possession, while in others according to agreements with Jawán Mard Khán, they held a half share. Consequently in spite of new taxes, the entire remaining income of the province was only 4 *lákhs* of rupees, and it was impossible to keep up the *thánahs* and keep in control the rebellious Kolis.

It was in this year (A.D. 1751) that the Peshwa, decoying Dámáji into his power, imprisoned him and forced him to surrender half of his rights and conquests in Gujarát. Taking advantage of the absence of the Gáikwár and his army in the Deccan, Jawán Mard Khán marched into Sorath. He first visited Gogha, and then levying tribute in Gohilvád advanced into Káthiáwár and marched against Navánagar, and, after collecting a contribution from the Jám, returned to Ahmadabad. In the following year (A.D. 1752) as soon as the news reached Gujarát that the Maráthás' share in the province had been divided between the Peshwa and Gáikwár, Momin Khán, who was always quarrelling with the Gáikwár's agent, sending Vrajálál his steward to Bálájiráv Peshwa begged him to take Cambay in his share and send his agent in place of the Gáikwár's agent. This was agreed to, and from that time the Peshwa's agent was sent to Cambay. In the same year Raghunáthráv, brother of the Peshwa, entering Gujarát took possession of the Rewa and Mahi Kántha districts and then marched on Surat. Shiáji Dhangar was appointed in Shevakráv's place as Dámáji's deputy, and Krishnáji came to collect the share of the Peshwa.

Up to this time the city of Broach had remained a part of the Nizám's personal estate, managed by Abdullah Beg, whom Asif

Chapter III. Moghal Viceroys.

Alliance between
Jawán Mard Khán
and the Peshwa,
1750.

The Peshwa
obtains a
share of the
Gáikwár's interest
in Gujarát.

Governors of
Broach become
independent,
1752.

Chapter III.
Moghal Viceroy.

Jáh the late Nizám-ul-Mulk had selected to be his deputy with the title of Nekálam Khán. On the death of Abdullah Beg in A.D. 1752 the emperor appointed his son to succeed him with the same title as his father, while he gave to another son, named Mughal Beg, the title of Khertalab Khán. During the contests for succession that followed upon the death of the Nizám in A.D. 1752, no attempt was made to enforce the claims of that family upon the lands of Broach ; and for the future, except for the share of the revenue paid to the Maráthás, the governors of Broach were practically independent rulers.

Pándurang Pandit
marches on
Ahmadabad,
1752 ;

The Peshwa now sent Pándurang Pandit to levy tribute from his share of Gujarát, and that officer crossing the Mahi marched upon Cambay. Momin Khán prepared to oppose him, but the Pandit made friendly overtures, and eventually Momin Khán not only paid the sum of £700 (Rs. 7000) for grass and grain, for the Pandit's troops, but also lent him four small cannon. Pándurang Pandit then marched upon Ahmadabad, and encamping near the Kánkriya tank laid siege to the city which was defended by Jawán Mard Khán. During the course of the siege Pándurang Pandit, sending some troops, ravaged Nikol, part of the lands of Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádur, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Meanwhile the operations against Ahmadabad, not succeeding, Pándurang Pandit made offers of peace. These Jawán Mard Khán accepted, and on receiving from him the present of a mare and a small sum of money under the name of 'entertainment,' the Maráthá leader withdrew to Sorath.

but has to retire.

Unexpected
invasion by
the Maráthás,

About this time the Peshwa released Dámáji Gaikwár, on promise of helping the Peshwa's brother Raghunáthráv, who was shortly afterwards despatched with an army to complete the conquest of Gujarát. Meanwhile Jawán Mard Khán's anxiety regarding the Maráthás was for a time removed by the departure of Pándurang Pandit ; and as the harvest season had arrived, he with his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi, leaving Muhammad Mubáriz Sherwáni behind him as his deputy, set out from Ahmadabad to levy tribute from the chiefs of the Sábar Kantha. At this time certain well informed persons, who had heard of Raghunáthráv's preparation for invading Gujarát, begged Jawán Mard Khán not to leave the city but to depute his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi to collect the tribute. Jawán Mard Khán, however, not believing their reports, said that he would not go more than from forty-five to sixty miles from the city, and promising, should the necessity arise, to entrust his brother with the charge of any more distant excursion, he marched from the city, levying tribute as he went, and arrived on the Pálanpur frontier about seventy-five miles distant from Ahmadabad. Here meeting Muhammad Bahádur Jhálari, the governor of Pálanpur, Jawán Mard Khán was foolishly induced to join with him in plundering the fertile districts of Sirohi, continuing to advance till at last he was not less than 150 miles from his head-quarters. While he was thus engaged Raghunáthráv, joining Dámáji Gaikwár, came suddenly by an unaccustomed route into Gujarát, and news reached Ahmadabad that the Maráthás had crossed the Narbada. On this the townspeople of Ahmadabad sent messenger after messenger to recall

in the absence
of Jawán Mard
Khán.

Jawán Mard Khán, and building up the gateways prepared for defence, while the inhabitants of the suburbs, leaving their houses, crowded into the city for protection with their families. Raghunáthráv, on hearing that Jawán Mard Khán and his army were absent from the city, pressed on by forced marches, and crossing the river Nadi, despatched an advance corps under Vithal Sakdev. Kosáji, a chief of Nadiád, at Dámáji Gáikwár's invitation also marched towards Ahmadabad, plundering Khokhri, only three miles distant from the city. In the meantime Vithal Sakdev reached Kaira, and taking with him the chief man² of that place, Muhammad Daurán, son of Muhammad Bábi, continued his march. He was shortly joined by Raghunáthráv, and the combined forces now proceeded to Ahmadabad and encamped by the Kánkriya tank. Next day Raghunáthráv marched thence and camped near the tomb of Hazrat Shah Bhikan, on the bank of the river Sábarmati to the south of the city. Raghunáthráv now proceeded to invest the city, distributing his army of from thirty to forty thousand horse, into three divisions. Operations against the north of the city were entrusted to Dámáji Gáikwár; those on the east to Gopál Hari; while the troops on the south and west were under the personal command of Raghunáthráv and his officers.

Meanwhile Jawán Mard Khán, after leaving Sirohi, had gone westwards to Tharád and Váv, so that the first messengers who were sent failed to find him; but one of the later messengers, named by name, who had left Ahmadabad immediately after the arrival of Raghunáthráv at the Kánkriya tank, made his way to Váv and Tharád, and told Jawán Mard Khán what had happened. Immediately on hearing the news Jawán Mard Khán set out by forced marches for Rádhanpur, and leaving his family and the bulk of his army at Pátan, he himself pushed on with 200 picked horsemen to Kadi and from that to Ahmadabad, contriving at night to enter the city. The presence of Jawán Mard Khán raised the spirits of the besieged, and the defence was conducted with ardour. Yet, in spite of their watchfulness, a party of about 700 Maráthás succeeded on one occasion, under cover of night, in scaling the walls and entering the city. Ere they could do any mischief, however, they were discovered and driven out of the town with much slaughter. The bulk of the besieging army, which had advanced in hopes that this party would succeed in opening one of the city gates, were forced to retire disappointed. Raghunáthráv now made proposals of peace, but Jawán Mard Khán did not think it consistent with his honour to accept them. On his refusal, the Maráthas redoubled his efforts and sprung several mines, but owing to the thickness of the city walls no practicable breach was effected. Jawán Mard Khán now expelled the Marátha deputies, and continuing to defend the city, with much gallantry contrived at night to introduce into the town by detachments a great portion of his army from Pátan. At length, embarrassed by want of provisions and the want of troops for their pay, he collected a sum of £5000

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The Maráthás
invest Ahmadabad.

Return of Jawán
Mard Khán.

He enters
Ahmadabad.

Gallant defence
of the city.

¹ The word is *tálukdár*.

² The word is *vatandár*.

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Moghal Viceroy.

(Rs. 50,000) from the official classes. This was a fatal error, but he was unwilling to disgorge any of his own money of which he had an ample supply. This mistaken policy lost him the city. The official classes who were the repository of all real power murmured against his rule and openly advocated the surrender of the city, and Jawán Mard Khán, much against his will, was forced to enter into negotiations with Raghunáthráv.

**Jawán Mard Khán
surrenders.**

Raghunáthráv beginning to despair of taking the town, had determined, should the siege be protracted a month longer, to depart on condition of receiving the one-fourth share of the revenue, and a safe conduct. And had Jawán Mard Khán only disbursed his own money to pay the troops, and encouraged instead of disheartening the official class, he might have retained the city on the terms above mentioned. But fate was against him. Much to Raghunáthráv's relief, Jawán Mard Khán was reduced to treat for peace through Vithal Sakdev. Eventually, it was arranged that the Maráthás should give Jawán Mard Khán the sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*) for the payment of his troops, besides presenting him with an elephant and other articles of value. It was at the same time agreed that the garrison should leave the city with all the honours of war, and that for himself and his brothers Jawán Mard Khán should receive free from any Maráthá claim the districts of Pátan, Vadnagar, Sami, Munjpur, Visalnagar, Tharád, Kherál, Rádhanpur with Tervada and Bijápúr in *jágir*. It was further agreed that one of Jawán Mard Khán's brothers should always serve the Maráthás with 300 horse and 500 foot, the expenses of the force being paid by the Maráthás. It was also stipulated that neither the Sarkár's army nor that of the deputy, nor that of any *Foujdár* should enter the *parganahs* of the above-mentioned *jágir* and that no government servants (in Ahmadabad) should alight at any of the Khán Bahádúr's mansions, new or old, or at those belonging to his brothers, followers, or servants. And, finally, that the estates of other members of the family, namely, Kaira, Kasba Mátar, and Bánsa Mahudha, which belonged to Muhammad Khán, Khán Daurán, and Abid Khán were not to be meddled with, nor were the lands of Káyam Kuli Khán or Zoráwar Khán to be encroached on. This agreement was signed and sealed by Raghunáthráv, with Dámáji Gáikwár (half sharer), Malhárráv Holkar, Jye Apa Sindhia, Rámchandar Vithal Sakdev, Sakháram Bhagvant, and Mádhavráv Gopálráv, as securities. This treaty was then delivered to Jawán Mard Khán, and he and his garrison marching out with all the honours of war, Ahmadabad was taken possession of by the Maráthás on April 2nd, 1753.

**The Maráthás take
possession,
1753.**

Collect tribute.

On leaving Ahmadabad, Jawán Mard Khán retired to Pátan. At Ahmadabad, Raghunáthráv with Dámáji arranged for the government of the city, appointing Shripatráv as his deputy. He then marched into Jhálávád to exact tribute from the Limbdi and Wadhván chiefs; and was so far successful that Harbhamji of Limbdi agreed to pay an annual tribute of £4000 (Rs. 40,000). As, however, the rainy season was drawing near, Raghunáthráv did not go further, but returned to Dholka. In the meantime Patel Vithal Sakdev forced Muhammad Bahádúr, the governor of Pálanpur, to

consent to a yearly payment of £11,500 (Rs. 1,15,000). From Dholka, Raghunáthráv went to Tárápur, about ten miles from Cambay, and compelled Momin Khán to submit to an annual payment of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). At the same time Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádúr was appointed collector of customs, and his former grants were confirmed and he was allowed to retain his villages of Sidpur or Syadpur and Kútádh of the Haweli *pargana*h, as well as the village of Pán-mil of the Bijápur *pargana*h, but his village of Nikol was resumed. Dámáji Gáikwár, after levying tribute in the Vátrak Kántha, went to Kapadvanj, which he conquered from Sher Khán Bábi. Thence he went to Nadiád and appointed Shevakrái to collect his half share of the revenue of Gujarát. In the Ahmadabad mint, coin was now no longer struck in the name of the emperor, and the suburbs of the city which had been deserted during the siege were not again inhabited. The Kolis commenced a system of depredation, and their outrages were so daring that women and children were sometimes carried off and sold as slaves. After the rains were over (A.D. 1754) Shetuji, commander of the Ahmadabad forces, and Shankarji, governor of Viramgám, were sent to collect tribute from Sorath. Still, though the Imperial power had sunk so low, the emperor retained some power, and conferred the post of Kázi of the city on Kázi Rúkn-al-Hak Khán who arrived at Ahmadábád and assumed office. At the close of the year Shripatráv, who was anxious to acquire Cambay, marched thither against Momin Khán, but after two doubtful battles in which the Maráthás gained no advantage, it was agreed that Momin Khán should pay a sum of £700 (Rs. 7000) and Shripatráv departed from Ahmadabad early in A.D. 1754. When the Kolis heard of the ill success of the Maráthás at Cambay, they revolted, and Rághoshankar was sent to subdue them. He in a battle fought near Luhára defeated them, but afterwards again collecting, they forced the Maráthás to retire. At this time Shetuji and Shankarji returned from Sorath, where they had performed the pilgrimage to Dwárka. Shetuji was now sent to the Bhil district against the Kolis, but he was unsuccessful, and, ashamed of his failure, returned to the Deccan, and Dandu Dátátri was appointed in his place.

In this year died Nek Alam Khán II., governor of Broach, and was succeeded by his brother Khertalab Khán who expelled his nephew Hámid Beg, son of Nek Alam Khán from Broach. Hámid Beg accordingly departed to Surat and remained there. At Bálá-smor, about the same time, a dispute arose between Sher Khán Bábi and a body of Arab mercenaries who took possession of the fortress on the hill, but eventually peace was made between them. Bhagvantráv, the Peshwa's deputy, now conceived the desire of conquering Cambay, and obtaining the Peshwa's permission marched on that town. But Vrajálál, Momin Khán's steward, then at Poona, sent word to his master, who prepared himself against any emergency. Bhagvantráv arrived at Cambay, and displaying no hostile intentions, was well received by Momin Khán. Subsequently, however, Bhagvantráv wrote to Sálím Jámádár at Ahmadabad to march against Cambay, and this letter falling into Momin Khán's hands, he at once surrounded Bhagvantráv's house and made

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Coin no longer struck in the name of the Emperor.

Failure of an attempt on Cambay, 1753.

Koli disturbances.

Maráthás attack Cambay, 1754.

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Moghal Viceroy.

him prisoner. When the Peshwa heard that Bhagvantráv had been captured, he ordered Ganesh Ápa, governor of Jambusar, as well as the governors of Viramgám, Dhandhuka, and other places to march at once upon Cambay; and they went and besieged the town for three months, but without success. Eventually Shripatráv, the Peshwa's deputy, sent the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* to negotiate, and it was agreed that Bhagvantráv should be released and that no alteration should be made in the position of Momin Khán. Shortly afterwards Shripatráv was recalled by the Peshwa and his place supplied by an officer of the name of Rágho. About this time Khertalab Khán, governor of Broach, died, and quarrels arose regarding the succession. Ultimately Hamid Beg, nephew of Khertalab Khán, obtained the post, and he afterwards received an Imperial order confirming him as governor, and bestowing on him the title of Neknám Khán Bahádur.

Álamgir II.,
Emperor,
1754-1759.

Contest with
Momin Khán
renewed,
1754.

Momin Khán
takes Gogha,
1755.

At Delhi, during the course of this year, A.D. 1754, the emperor Ahmad Sháh was deposed, and Aziz-ud-din, son of Jahándár Sháh, was raised to the throne by the title of Álamgir II. Bhagvantráv, who after his release had established himself in the Cambay fort of Nápád, not long afterwards commenced a warfare with Momin Khán; several battles were fought with doubtful success, and peace was at last concluded on condition of Momin Khán paying £1000 (Rs. 10,000), on account of the usual share of the Maráthás which he had withheld. This arrangement was made through the mediation of Tukáji, the steward of Sadáshiv Dámodar, who had come to Gujarát with an army, and been ordered by his master to help Bhagvantráv. As Momin Khán had no ready money, Tukáji offered himself as security for the payment of the amount agreed upon, and this difficulty being removed, Bhagvantráv and Tukáji withdrew to the Deccan. Momin Khán's soldiery were now clamorous for pay, and as he was not in a position to meet their demands, he sent a body of men against some villages to the west belonging to Limbdi and plundered them, dividing the booty among his troops. In the following year, A.D. 1755, Momin Khán went to Gogha, a port which, at one time subordinate to Cambay, had afterwards fallen into the hands of Sher Khán Bábi, and was now in the possession of the Peshwa's officers. The town easily fell into his hands and placing a garrison of 100 Arabs there under Ibráhim Kuli Khán, Momin Khán returned to Cambay, levying tribute as he went. He then sent the bulk of his army under the command of Muhammad Zamán Khán, son of Fidá-ud-din Khán, and Vrajálal his own steward, to plunder and collect money in Gohilvád and Káthiáwár. Here they remained until the arrears of the soldiery were paid off, and then returned to Cambay. After this he plundered several villages of the *Petlád pargana* and finally in concert with the Kolis of Dhowan, attacked Jambusar, and carried off much booty from thence. Momin Khán next marched against Borsad, and was on the point of taking the fort when Sayáji, son of Dámáji Gáikwár, who resided at Baroda, hearing of Momin Khán's success, came rapidly with a small body of men to the relief of the fort and surprised the besiegers. The Muhammadan troops however soon recovered from the effects of

the surprise, and Sayáji fearing to engage them with so small a force retired. On his departure Momin Khán raising the siege returned to Cambay.

In the year, A.D. 1756, the rains were very heavy, and the wall of the city of Ahmadabad fell down in many places. Momin Khán hearing of this as well as of the discontent of the inhabitants, owing to the oppression of the Maráthás, resolved to endeavour to capture the city. He accordingly sent spies to ascertain the strength of the garrison, and also commenced making allies of the chief men in the province and enlisting troops. About this time Rághoji, the Marátha deputy, was assassinated by a Rohilla. As soon as Momin Khán heard of this he sent his nephew, Muhammad Zamán Khán, with some men in advance, and afterwards himself at the close of the year, A.D. 1756, marched from Cambay and camped on the Vátrak. From this camp they moved on to Kaira, and from Kaira to Ahmadabad, and after one or two fights in the suburbs the Muhammadans, finding their way through the breaches in the walls, opened the gates and entered the town. The Kolis commenced plundering, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the Maráthás were worsted and eventually were expelled from the city. The Kolis attempting to plunder the Dutch factory met with a spirited resistance, and when Shambhurám, a Nágar Bráhmaṇ, one of Momin Khán's chief supporters, heard of what had taken place, he ordered the Kolis to cease attacking the factory and consoled the Dutch.

In the meantime Jawán Mard Khán, who had been invited by the Maráthás to their assistance, set out from Pátan, and when he arrived at Pethápur and Mánsa he heard of the capture of the city. On reaching Kálol he was joined by Harbharám, governor of Kadi. They resolved to send Zoráwar Khán Bábi to recall Sadáshiv Dámodar, and to await his arrival at Viramgám. Shevakráṁ, the Gáikwár's deputy, had taken refuge at Dholka. Momin Khán himself now advanced, and entering Ahmadabad on the 17th October 1756, appointed Shambhurám as his deputy. Sadáshiv Dámodar now joined Jawán Mard Khán at Viramgám, and at Jawán Mard Khán's advice it was resolved, before taking further steps, to write to the Peshwa for aid. Jawán Mard Khán, although he enjoyed several *pargana*hs or *jágir*, nevertheless charged the Maráthás £150 (Rs. 1500) a day for the expenses of his troops and those of his brethren. Jawán Mard Khán and the Maráthás then advanced to Sánand and Jitalpur, and hence marched towards Cambay. On their way they were met and, after several combats, defeated by a detachment of Momin Khán's army. Momin Khán now sent some troops to conquer Kadi, but Harbharám, the governor of Kadi, defeated this force, and captured their guns. When the emperor heard of the capture of Gogha, he sent a word as a present to Momin Khán; and when the news of the capture of Ahmadabad reached Ágra, Momin Khán received many compliments. Bálájirav Peshwa, on the other hand, much enraged at these reverses, at once sent off Sadáshiv Rámchandra to Gujarát with his deputy, and Dámáji and Khanderáv Gáikwár also accompanied him with their forces. Momin Khán on his part, refusing

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Momin Khan
recovers
Ahmadabad on
17th October
1756.

Jawán Mard Khán
allies himself with
the Maráthás.

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Ahmadabad
invested.

Respect still
shown to the
Imperial power.

Help sent to the
garrison by the
Ráv of Idar,
1757.

Successful
sally under
Shambhurám.

to give up Ahmadabad, prepared for defence. Upon this Sadáshiv Rámchandra, Dámáji and Khanderáv Gáikwár advanced and, crossing the Mahi, reached Kaira. Here they were met by Jawán Mard Khán and the rest of the Maráthá forces in Gujarát, and the combined army advancing to the capital camped by the Kánkriya tank.

The Maráthás now regularly invested the city, but Momin Khán, aided by Shambhurám, made a vigorous defence. Up to this time Jawán Mard Khán was receiving £150 (Rs. 1500) daily for the pay of his own and his brother's troops. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, considering the number of the troops too small for so large a payment, reduced the amount and retained the men in his service. The exact amount given is not mentioned. After a month's siege, Momin Khán's troops began to clamour for pay, but Shambhurám, by collecting the sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*h) from the inhabitants of the town managed for the time to appease their demands, when they again became urgent for pay. Shambhurám diverted their thoughts by a general sally from all the gates at night. On this occasion many men were slain on both sides, and many of the inhabitants deserted the town. The copper vessels of such of the townspeople as had fled were now melted and coined into money and given to the soldiery. When affairs were in this state an order arrived from the Imperial court, bestowing on Momin Khán a dress of honour and the title of Bahádur. It is a singular sign of those times that although the Imperial power had for years been merely a name in Gujarát, yet Momin Khán asked and obtained permission from the besiegers to leave the city and meet the bearers of the order. The Maráthás now redoubled their efforts, and were successful in intercepting some supplies of grain for the garrison, who however fought gallantly in defence of the town.

At this juncture, in A.D. 1757, Rája Shivsingh of Idar, son of the late Anandsingh, who was friendly to Momin Khán, sent Sajánsingh Hazári with a force to assist the besieged. On their way to Ahmadabad, Harbharám with a body of Maráthás attacked this detachment, while Momin Khán sent to their aid Muhammadlál Rohilla and others, and a doubtful battle was fought. Shortly afterwards Sadáshiv Rámchandar made an attempt on the fort of Kálíkot. It was, however, successfully defended by Jamádár Nur Muhammad, and the Maráthás were repulsed. The Maráthás endeavoured but in vain to persuade Shambhurám to desert Momin Khán, and though the garrison were often endangered by the faithlessness of the Kolis and other causes, yet they remained staunch. Momin Khán, though frequently in difficulties owing to want of funds to pay his soldiery, continued to defend the town. The Maráthás next tried to seduce some of Momin Khán's officers, but in this they also failed, and in a sally Shambhurám attacked the camp of Sadáshiv Rámchandar, and burning his tents all but captured the chief himself.

When the siege was at this stage, Hassan Kuli Khán Bahádur, viceroy of Oudh, relinquishing worldly affairs and dividing his property among his nephews, set out to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. Before he started Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawáb of Lucknow,

requested him on his way to visit Bálájiráv, and endeavour with him to make some settlement of Ahmadabad affairs. Accordingly adopting the name of Sháh Nur, and assuming the dress of an ascetic, he made his way to Poona, and appearing before the Peshwa offered to make peace at Ahmadabad. Sháh Nur with much difficulty persuaded the Peshwa to agree to allowing Momin Khán to retain Cambay and Gogha without any Marátha share therein, and to grant him a *lák*h of rupees for the payment of his troops, on condition that he should surrender Ahmadabad. He obtained letters from the Peshwa, addressed to Sadáshiv Rámchandra to this effect, and set out with them for Ahmadabad. But when he arrived there, Sadáshiv Rámchandra was unwilling to accede to the terms proposed, inasmuch as the Ahmadabad garrison were reduced to great straits. Sháh Nur, however, persuaded him at last to accede to these conditions, provided Momin Khán would surrender without further delay. Accordingly he entered the city, and endeavoured to persuade Momin Khán. Momin Khán, however, demanded in addition a few villages of the *Petlád parganah*, and the Maráthás naturally refused to concede such extravagant demands. Upon this Sháh Nur left in disgust, and shortly afterwards Momin Khán was himself obliged to make overtures for peace. After discussing the state of affairs with Dámáji Gaikwár, it was agreed that Momin Khán should surrender the city, receive £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*h) to pay his soldiery, and be allowed to retain Cambay as heretofore, that is to say, that the Peshwa should, as formerly, enjoy half the revenues. On the other hand, he had to promise to pay a yearly tribute to the Maráthás of £1000 (Rs. 10,000) and to give up all claims on the town of Gogha and hand over Shambhurám to the Maráthás. It was also arranged that the £3500 (Rs. 35,000) worth of *ashrafis* which he had taken through Jamádár Salim should be deducted from the £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lák*h). Accepting these terms Momin Khán finally surrendered the town to the Maráthás on February 27th, 1758.

Sadáshiv Rámchandar and Dámáji Gaikwár entering the city undertook the management of it on behalf of the Maráthás. Of the other chiefs, who had engaged in prosecuting the siege, Sadáshiv Dámodar returned to the Deccan, and Jawán Mard Khán receiving some presents from Sadáshiv Rámchandar departed for Pátan after having had a meeting with Dámáji Gaikwár, at a village a few miles distant from the capital. Shambhurám, the Nágár Bráhmaṇ, who had so zealously supported Momin Khán, when he saw that further assistance was useless, in vain tried to escape, and eventually was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Baroda. Sadáshiv Rámchandar, on taking over the charge of the city, had interviews with the principal officials, among whom was the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, and receiving them graciously confirmed most of them in their offices. He then having chosen Náro Pandit, brother of Pándurang Pandit, as his deputy in Ahmadabad, started on an expedition to collect tribute in Jhálávád and Sorath. On receiving the government of the city the Marátha generals ordered new coin bearing the mark of an elephant goad to be

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Negotiations
for peace.

Surrender of
the city,
February 1758.

Marátha arrange-
ments in
Ahmadabad.

New coins struck.

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struck in the Ahmadabad mint. Sayájiráv Gáikwár remained in Ahmadabad on behalf of his father Dámáji, and shortly afterwards went towards Kapadvanj to collect tribute, and thence at his father's request proceeded to Sorath to arrange for the payment of the Gáikwár's share of the revenues of that district. Momin Khán, on his return to Cambay, was at first much harassed by his troops for arrears of pay; but on the timely arrival of his steward Vrajál with the Peshwa's contribution of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) their demands were satisfied without any actual mutiny.

Momin Khán at
Cambay.

Momin Khán now began to oppress and extort money from his own followers, and it is said that he instigated the murder of his steward Vrajál, who was assassinated at this time. Meanwhile Sadáshiv Rámchandar went from Porbandar to Júnágad, where he was joined by Sayájiráv Gáikwár. Sher Khán Bábi was there and presented Sadáshiv Rámchandra and Siyájiráv with some horses and they spoke about the necessity of admitting a Maráthá deputy in Júnágad. Nothing was however settled regarding this, as the Maráthás found it necessary to return to Ahmadabad. In accordance with orders received from the Peshwa, Shambhurám and his sons, who were still kept in confinement, were now sent to Poona, and Dámáji Gáikwár was also summoned there, but did not go. In this year Ráo Lakhpat of Cutch presented some Cutch horses and Gujarát bullocks to the emperor, and in return received the title of Mirzah Rája.

Expedition from
Cutch against
Sindh,
1758.

About this time the Ráo of Cutch, who planned an expedition against Sindh, solicited aid from both Dámáji Gáikwár and Sadáshiv Rámchandar to enable him to conquer Tatta, and as he agreed to pay the army expenses, Sadáshiv sent Ranchoddás, and Dámáji sent Shevakráam to help him. In this year also Nekkám Khán, governor of Broach, received the title of Bahádur and other honours. In A.D. 1758, Sadáshiv Rámchandar advanced to Kaira and after settling accounts with Dámáji's agent proceeded against Cambay. Momin Khán, who was about to visit the Peshwa at Poona, remained to defend the town, but was forced to pay arrears of tribute amounting to £2000 (Rs. 20,000). In this year Sher Khán Bábi died at Júnágad, and the nobles of his court seated his son Muhammad Mahábat Khán in his place.

Levy of tribute
by the Maráthás.

Sadáshiv Rámchandar besieged Cambay until Momin Khán paid £2000 (Rs. 20,000), being arrears of tribute for two years. Shortly afterwards Dámáji Gáikwár at the invitation of the Peshwa went to Poona, and sent his son Sayájiráv into Sorath. After his success at Cambay, Sadáshiv Rámchandra levied tribute from the chiefs of Umeta, and then returned. On his way back, on account of the opposition caused by Sardár Muhammad Khán, son of Sher Khán Bábi, the chief of Bálásinor, Sadáshiv Rámchandar besieged the town and eventually forced the chief to pay tribute amounting to £3000 (Rs. 30,000). Next marching against Lunáváda, he compelled the chief Dipsingh to pay him the sum of £5000 (Rs. 50,000). Sadáshiv then went to Visalnagar and so to Pálanpur, where Muhammad Khán Bahádur Jhálari resisted him; but after a month's siege he agreed to pay a tribute of £3500 (Rs. 35,000). Marching

mouth from Pálanpur, Sadáshiv then went to Unja-Unáva, and from that to Katosan, where he levied £1000 (Rs. 10,000) from the chief Shuja, and then proceeded to Limbdi.

During the course of this year, A.D. 1758, important changes took place in the city of Surat. In the early part of the year Syad Moin-ud-din, otherwise called Syad Achan, visited the Peshwa at Poona, and received from him the appointment of governor of Surat. Syad Achan then set out for his charge, and as he was aided by a body of Marátha troops under the command of Muzafar Khán Gárdi and had also secured the support of Neknám Khán, the governor of Broach, he succeeded after some resistance in expelling Áli Nawáz Khán, son of the late Safdár Muhammad Khán, and establishing himself in the government. During the recent troubles, the English factory had been plundered and two of their clerks murdered by Ahmad Khán Habshi, commander of the fort. They therefore determined to drive out the Habshi and themselves assume the government of the castle. With this object men-of-war were despatched from Bombay to the help of Mr. Spencer, the chief of the English factory, and the castle was taken in March A.D. 1759, and Mr. Spencer appointed governor. The Peshwa appears to have consented to this conquest and the Marátha troops also aided and made a demonstration without the city, and a Marátha man-of-war which had been stationed at Bassein, also came to assist the English. A Mr. Glass appears to have been appointed *kiládár* under Governor Spencer.

Shortly afterwards Momin Khán, by the advice of Syad Husain, an agent of the Peshwa, contracted friendship with the English through Mr. Erskine, the chief of the English factory at Cambay. Momin Khán then asked Mr. Erskine to obtain permission for him to go to Poona by Bombay. Leave being granted, Momin Khán set out for Surat, and was there received by Mr. Spencer. From Surat he sailed for Bombay, where the governor, Mr. Bouchier, treating him with much courtesy, informed the Peshwa of his arrival. The Peshwa sending permission for his further advance to Poona, Momin Khán took leave of Mr. Bouchier and proceeded to Poona.

From Limbdi, to which point the course of his tour for the collection of tribute has been already traced, Sadáshiv Rámchandra advanced against Dhrángadhra, when the chief who was at Halvad sent an army against him. The Maráthás, however, informed of his designs, detaching a force, suddenly attacked Halvad at night, and breaching the walls forced open the gates. The chief retired to his palace, which was fortified, and there defended himself, but was at last forced to surrender, and was detained a prisoner until he should pay a sum of £12,000 (Rs. 1,20,000). The neighbouring chiefs, impressed with the fate of Halvad, paid tribute without opposition. Sadáshiv Rámchandra now went on to Jûnágad, but ere he could commence operations against the fortress, the rainy season drew near, and returning to Ahmadabad, he prepared to depart for Poona. Sayáji Gaikwár, who was also in Sorath collecting tribute, amongst other places besieged Kundla, and levying from

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Affairs of Surat,
1758.

The English take
command of the
Surat port,
1759.

Momin Khán of
Cambay visits
Poona,
1759.

The Maráthás
in Káthiáwár,
1759.

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that town a tribute of £7500 (Rs. 75,000) returned to the capital. Khanderáv Gáikwár had during this time been levying tribute from the Kolis, and after visiting the Bhil district went to Bijápur, Idar, Kadi, Dholka, and Nadiád. The chief of Halvad now paying the sum agreed on, was allowed to depart, and Dipsingh of Lunáváda, who was also a prisoner, was sent to Lunáváda and there released after paying his tribute. On the news of the capture of the Surat fort reaching the emperor, he issued an order, in the name of the governor of Bombay, confirming the command of the fort to the English instead of to the Habshis of Janjira, appointing the Honourable East India Company admirals of the Imperial fleet, and at the same time discontinuing the yearly payment of £2000 (Rs. 20,000) formerly made to the Habshi on this account. When in the course of the following year, A.D. 1760, this Imperial order reached Surat, Mr. Spencer and the other chief men of the city went outside of the walls to meet and escort the bearers of the despatch. Sadáshiv Rámchandra was at this time appointed viceroy of Áhmadabad on behalf of the Peshwa. Bhagvantráv now conquered Bálásinor from Sardár Muhammad Khán Bábi, and then marching to Sorath, collected the Peshwa's share of the tribute of that province, according to the scale of the previous year. Sayáji Gáikwár, when Bhagvantráv had returned, set out to Sorath to levy the Gáikwár's share of the tribute. He was accompanied by Harbharám whom Dámáji Gáikwár had specially sent from his own court to act as Kámdár to Sayáji. When the conquest of Bálásinor by Bhagvantráv was reported to the Peshwa by Sadáshiv Rámchandra, he was very pleased, and gave Bhagvantráv a dress of honour and allowed him to keep the elephant which he had captured at Lunáváda; he also granted him a *sanad* bestowing on him Bálásinor. Momin Khán after making firm promises to the Peshwa never to depart from the terms of the treaty he had made with the Maráthás, left Poona and came to Bombay, where he was courteously entertained by the Governor, and despatched by boat to Surat. Thence he returned to Cambay by the land route viâ Broach. Sayáji Gáikwár had returned to Áhmadabad from Sorath in bad state of health, and his uncle Khanderáv Gáikwár, who had been vainly endeavouring to subdue the Kolis of Lúhára, came to Áhmadabad and took him away with him to Nadiád. In 1761 Sadáshiv Rámchandra was displaced as viceroy of Gujarát by Ápa Ganesh. This officer acted in a friendly manner to Momin Khán, and marching to Cambay, he fixed the Maráthá share of the revenues of that place for that year at £8400 (Rs. 84,000), and then went to Áhmadabad by way of Dákor. Narbherám collected this year the Gáikwár's share of the tribute of Sorath, and Sayáji Gáikwár went to Baroda. On his return to Áhmadabad at the end of the year, he sacked and burned the Koli village of Lúhára. Jawán Mard Khán now issued forth from Pátan and levied small contributions as *ziyáfat* from the holdings in Vágad, as far as Anjár in Cutch. Then he proceeded to Sorath, and in concert with Muhammad Mahábat Khán of Júnágad, and Muhammad Múzaffar Khán Bábi, between whom he made peace, he levied tribute in Sorath as far as Loliyána, and then returned to Pátan.

At this juncture news arrived of the great battle of Pánipat, and of the utter defeat of the Maráthás.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The above sketch will have shown that the system of collecting tribute by yearly military expeditions was by no means, as is usually supposed, an invention of the Maráthás, but on the contrary had been the custom of the previous rulers, and may possibly have dated from the time of the Anhilvada kings. Perhaps the only distinctive Marátha levy was the claim to the one-fourth share of the revenue. For the rest the *khandni*, their general term for tribute, is in effect synonymous with the Persian word *peshkash*, while such minor claims as those for grass and grain were no doubt enforced by the Muhammadan, not less than by the Marátha governments.

The tribute-collecting expedition not purely Marátha.

The sketch may also have shown that the Marátha rule in Gujarát was at no one period on any stable basis, and had the intervention of the British been delayed for another half century, it seems as likely as not, that, so far from the Marátha yoke being more firmly riveted on the Gujarát chieftains, they might have regained their independence, and the Gaíkwár might have been curtailed of his tributary rights, if not of his territorial possessions. In A.D. 1761 the decisive battle of Pánipat was fought, and that battle shook the Marátha power to its base. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed, the Delhi court despatched instructions to the chief nobles of Gujarát, directing Momin Khán, Jawán Mard Khán, and the governor of Broach to join together in driving the Maráthás out of the province. In consequence of this despatch, Sardár Muhammad Khán Bábi defeating the Marátha garrison, regained possession of Bálásinor, while the governor of Broach, with the aid of Momin Khán, succeeded in winning back Jambusar. Apa Ganesh, the Peshwa's viceroy, remonstrated with Momin Khán for this breach of faith. But in reply his envoy was shown the despatch received from Delhi, and was made the bearer of a message, that before it was too late, it would be wisdom for the Maráthás to abandon Gujarát. Things were in this state when Dámáji Gaíkwár, wisely forgetting his quarrels with the Peshwa, marched to the aid of Sadáshiv with a large army. Advancing against Cambay he attacked and defeated Momin Khán, plundering one of his villages. But the Maráthás were too weak to follow up this success, or exact severer punishment from the Musalmán confederates. Apa Ganesh inviting Sardár Muhammad Khán Bábi to Kaira, on condition of his assenting to the payment of tribute, agreed to allow him to keep possession of Bálásinor. Subsequently Dámáji's energy enabled him to enlarge the power and possessions of the Gaíkwár's house, recovering the districts of Visalnagar, Kherálu, Vadnagar, Bijápur, and Pátan from Jawán Mard Khán, besides acquisitions from other chiefs. Still, after the death of Dámáji, the real importance of the Gaíkwár's power was sensibly diminished; and had it not been for its alliance with the British, it is impossible to say what might not have happened when the sceptre passed to the feeble hands of Sayájiráv. If in the zenith of the Gaíkwár power Momin Khán could reconquer,

General instability of Marátha rule in Gujarát.

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CONCLUDING
REMARKS.
Their character
as conquerors.

Date of the
first capture of
Ahmadabad by
the Maráthás.

and, for so long, successfully defend Ahmadabad, what might have been possible in its decadence?

Defects have, I think, been attributed to the Marátha rule which are common to all conquering powers, and by no means peculiar to the Maráthas. Thus greed, rapacity, and encroachment are terms ordinarily applied to the Marátha rule by historians; yet in point of fact, they do not appear to have been more rapacious or encroaching than the Muhammadans, while by the side of Nádir Sháh and other invaders of India, they contrast very favourably.

One more remark is necessary, before concluding. The first capture of Ahmadabad by the Maráthás has been here, on the authority of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, stated to have taken place A.D. 1753. This is at variance with the account commonly accepted on the authority of Grant Duff,¹ who, on the evidence of the Maráthi records, and the statements made by General Walker, has fixed A.D. 1755 as the date of that event. The question therefore is, which are we to prefer as an authority, the Persian or Marátha account and which date—A.D. 1753 or A.D. 1755—fits in best with the history of the time. To this I would unhesitatingly reply, the Persian for the Persian history was compiled not by an ordinary person, but by a minister of the empire, who, and his father before him, were actors in the scenes recorded. The author had access to the Imperial archives, and his uniform exactness, the fact that the date he gives of a famine which occurred about this time coincides with the date of the Samvat year by which that famine is ordinarily known, and that only shortly before the fall of Ahmadabad his own private estate of Nikol had been plundered, are circumstances which necessarily give weight to his assignment of the date, which moreover fits in more aptly than A.D. 1755 with the general history of the province. On the other hand, Captain Grant Duff, though he frequently quotes the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, was not, I venture to think, thoroughly acquainted with that important work; else why should he have omitted—and many subsequent historians also following his lead have done the same—all mention of the re-conquest of Ahmadabad by Momin Khán and its second capture by the Maráthás. General Walker's source of information being probably the same as Captain Grant Duff's is probably equally unreliable as to the exact date of the conquest of Ahmadabad; and valuable and interesting as all his reports are, I venture to think that no one would assert that they are models of historical accuracy. On these grounds I have adopted A.D. 1753, instead of A.D. 1755, as the date of the first conquest of Ahmadabad by the Maráthás.

Since writing the above I have ascertained, through the courtesy of Sir T. Mádhavráv, former minister of Baroda, that the official records of that State confirm the account given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. And this is the case both as to the date, A.D. 1753, of the original capture of Ahmadabad, as to the fact of its subsequent re-capture in A.D. 1755 by Momin Khán, and as to its final acquisition by the Maráthás in 1758. This is, I think, conclusive, and not only shows that the

¹ History of the Maráthás, II. 51 (Edition 1863).

first conquest of Ahmadabad has been post-dated by two years, but that the important facts of its conquest by Momin Khán and reconquest by Sadashivráv, Dámáji, and Khanderáv Gáikwár have hitherto been entirely lost sight of, all subsequent writers following the version given by Grant Duff.

As in A.D. 1760, the Marátha power was firmly established, and the Imperial power subverted, it is unnecessary to prolong further this sketch of Gujarát under the Muhammadan rule.

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