

CHAPTER - X

RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE

THE SECOND PHASE

Introduction :-

In the previous pages, we have discussed the relations of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh and the Portuguese upto 1511. As stated before, the Portuguese made no vigorous attempt to find a naval base, probably because of their engagements in Malabar.

The relations of Gujarat with¹⁵ Portuguese took a new direction, after the appointment of Albuquerque as Governor and Captain General of Portuguese possessions in Asia. During his stay in India 1509-1515, he sent several missions to Gujarat and also received several and then followed the policy of "Peace and understanding" with Gujarat. But the same policy was not followed by his successors in India. The relations between the Portuguese in India and the Gujarat Sultāns thus fall in three parts i.e. from 1512 to 1515 and 1516 to 1526. The last i.e. after 1526 is beyond the compass of this work.

PART - I

Albuquerque's appointment and his policy in general :-

Affonso de Albuquerque, along with his cousin had

previously visited India in 1503. He did not do much then, but he learnt much that was useful to him in subsequent years. In 1506, Dom Manoel, the king of Portugal, sent him, as the Governor of India from Gujarat to cape Comorin, in command of four vessels and a cargo fleet, under Tristao de Cunha.

Albuquerque reached Cannanore in 1508 and for more than six months he was treated in a humiliating fashion by his colleague and Viceroy in India, de Almeida. Almost after a year of his arrival in India, Albuquerque took up his office on November 5, 1509, as Governor and Captain General of Portuguese possessions in Asia.

It seems that Albuquerque, had three objects in mind viz. to establish Portuguese control over Indian trade, to break the combinations that Egypt and Venice were engineering, and to place the sea power of Portuguese, on which all depended, on a firm basis.

First, after assuming the office in India, he put the ~~the~~ administration, suffering from corruption, on a sound basis. With this accomplished to place the sea power of Portugal on firm foundations, he laid down the scheme consisting of a chain of fortress from Aden to Malacca, which would be the key stations controlling the Indian ocean. Therefore, he considered the possession of

Hormuz, Div, Goa, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon essential.

He began his career with three expeditions, against Hormuz, Calicut and Goa, but failed to capture them in the beginning because of "the political disloyalty of the Portuguese".¹ His early failure did not affect the plan of building a safe commercial monopoly of Indian trade through Portuguese superiority in sea. He therefore, differed from his predecessors and followed a different policy to achieve his goal.

Fall of Goa and its effects :-

Albuquerque, after his arrival in India found it impossible to bring the king of Calicut under his sway like Rajah of Cochin. The defeat of the Portuguese by Zamorin of Calicut in January 1510, forced him to follow "the policy of peace with Zamorin, abandoning the Cochin policy which from the time of Duarte Pacheco, the Portuguese had accepted as their own".² This rendered it necessary to find another and more convenient, base for naval operations. Albuquerque, at the instigation of the Hindu ruler of Vijaynagar attacked Goa, the 'Adilshāhī port and captured it in 1510.

1. K.M. Pannikar - Malabar and the Portuguese, p. 72.

2. K.M. Pannikar - Opp. Cit p. 77.

The conquest of Goa was an important success for Albuquerque. It created a fear complex in the Indian coastal rulers, both Hindus and Muslims, for they found that Portuguese intended to remain on the Malabar coast as a governing power. Goa, before it became a Portuguese possession was the chief centre for Gujarat commerce in South. Besides, the conquest of Goa deprived the earlier centres of trade like Calicut, Cochin and Quilon of their freedom of commerce for the Portuguese, as they were superior in sea, directed the commerce more and more towards Goa. Hence the centres of trade in south suffered a great deal. Secondly, the allies and dependents of Portuguese were also requested to continue their commerce through Goa and not independently.

Gujarat Sultans and the Portuguese :-

In view of avoiding further conflict with the Portuguese Sultān Mahmūd Shāh after the conquest of Goa, sent an envoy, to Albuquerque for negotiating a treaty. However Albuquerque dismissed the ambassador and promised to discuss the terms after the completion of the fortress at Goa.³

3. Danverse F.C. The Portuguese in India P - I.

pp. 212-213.

This victory ^{at} of Goa, was also an important factor for weakening the naval strength of Gujarat. Therefore, the Sultān of Gujarat opened negotiations with the Portuguese in India.

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh died in 1511. This changed the situation in Gujarat. Muzaffar Shāh II, who succeeded him, could not always control his nobles. Therefore internally, Gujarat became a house divided in itself. By this time, the joint naval action of Gujarat and Egypt had also broken down. Hence Amīr Husain the Comm^and^ear of the Egyptian fleet left Gujarat in 1510.

Embassy from Gujarat to Goa, 1512 :-

After two vigorous attempts, Albuquerque captured the important port of Malacca in 1511. It gave the Portuguese, the control of the spice trade. Thus it struck the final blow at the Muslim control of the eastern trade. The trade of Malacca is said by the Portuguese chroniclers, to have been largely in the hands of the merchants from Gujarat. It is stated "The king of Malacca was making ready as fast as was possible and that it was the Gujaratis who were at work day and night upon the fortifications of the stockades, for these were the principal people who could not bear that the Portuguese should get

a footing in the land" ⁴ This victory helped Albuquerque in strengthening his position among the Indian rulers. Muzaffar consequently despatched an embassy at Goa, to negotiate with Albuquerque in 1512.

The embassy from Gujarat was received at Goa and was detained there till December 1512, the reason being that Albuquerque was awaiting definite instructions for his dealings with Gujarat, from Dom Manoel, the king of Portugal. After the receipt of his orders, Albuquerque appointed Tristao de Ga as an ambassador, to the court of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh. The Portuguese envoy carried with him some valuable presents and three written instructions from Albuquerque. First, he was to demand permission to erect a fortress in Div for the security^{u t} of the subjects and the property of the king of Portugal. Secondly, the merchants of Gujarat were to send their merchandise to Goa and not to any other port in India, and lastly, the king of Gujarat was not to receive any Rumes or Turks into his kingdom, because of their enmity with the Portuguese. ⁵

The Gujarat envoy taken round the arsenal at Goa and the fortress of Benestarim :-

Before his departure of the envoy for Gujarat, he

4. Commentaries Vol. III pp. 92-93.

5. Ibid pp. 244-245, Danverse F.C. The Portuguese in India Vol. I, p.255.

was taken a round the fort of Goa, which were full of munitions and material of war and stables containing horses. Albuquerque, ordered the army to come out in formation before the envoy, "so that he might witness the might of the Portuguese". Then the envoy was taken to the fort of Benastarim which had been taken two years before from Bijapur, to witness the destruction caused by Portuguese. This was done, as Albuquerque writes "to convey the might of the Portuguese and thereby to suggest the Sultan not to place too much of confidence in the ramparts of Div, in case of orders from the king of Portugal to Albuquerque to take that place." ⁶

No detailed account, of the representation made by Gujarat envoy, is given in the contemporary Portuguese accounts and in Persian chroniclers. Therefore, it is not possible to know much about this embassy. Nevertheless, Albuquerque's instructions to Tristao de Ga, indicate the real basis of his policy towards Gujarat upto his death in 1515.

It can be clearly seen that Albuquerque was primarily interested in Div and Gujarat Commerce. So he pressed for the permission to erect a fortress at Div. A 'Verbal

6. Commentaries - III pp. 244-246, F.C. Danverse.
Op. Cit pp. 255-256.

threat' of the destruction of the fortifications at Div, if necessary, also indicates that Albuquerque was mainly interested in that island.

Albuquerque's meeting with Malik Ayāz, 1513 :-

After dismissing the ^a Ambassador, Albuquerque sailed out of Goa on February 7, 1513, on his Red sea expedition and reached Aden in March, 1513. Aden occupied an important position both for commerce and pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. Albuquerque after an unsuccessful attempt to capture it, decided to return to India, and sailed directly to Div, where Malik Ayāz received him and offered him and his captains the customary presents. Albuquerque with his fleet, halted for six days, for the repairs of his boats, which had become worn from constant use. It seems that some discussions took place about concession in Div. Albuquerque appointed Fernao Ma^ystⁱn Evangelho as "Factor" and George Correa as s^er^viener. Leaving behind him a ship "Rⁿoxobregas" with a quantity of merchandise for sale. After this he sailed towards the south.

This meeting of Albuquerque with Malik Ayāz in Div, is significant. He seems to have impressed Malik Ayaz by his policy of "no war" with Div at this time. This can be seen in the light of the engagements and plan of Albuquerque. First, his main interest was in capturing Aden and thereby

to close the passage into Red sea and also with this he wanted to break the alliance between Egypt and Venice. Further with this he could control the Indian commerce before it could reach to Egypt. Therefore, to take up any armed action against Div appeared to him premature.

Secondly, since the Sultān of Gujarat depended more on Egypt for his naval strength this contact could be cut off only after the capture of Aden. This would automatically force the Sultān of Gujarat to accept the "Terms of peace". Therefore Albuquerque, in the first instance contented himself with the permission granted to him by Malik Ayaz to found a factory at Div.

Albuquerque meets Tristao de Ga in Chaul :-

Albuquerque had to halt at Chaul on his way to Goa due to bad weather. Tristao de Ga by this time had reached Chaula from Gujarat two days earlier with the envoys of Gujarat. He submitted a full report to him on his mission to Gujarat.

Tristao's account is very useful to us for he described the political situation of Gujarat and the attitude of the two principal nobles of Gujarat towards the Portuguese.

Tristao reported that he had no cause of complaint

about the attitude of the Sultān towards the Portuguese. It seems that Malik Gopi had already gained the favour of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh. "The Sultān had given him a letter for Malik Gopi, one of the principal moors, of that kingdom, who showed a keen desire to serve the king of Portugal". ⁷ The proposals of Albuquerque were accepted by the Sultan except the one of erecting a fortress at Div. Instead other sites were offered by the Sultān which Tristao declined saying that he had no authority to accept any place other than Div. ⁸ The Portuguese proposal for Div, had been rejected, due to Malik Ayāz who feared, "his exit from Div" in case of such a grant being made. Malik Ayāz brought pressure on Muzaffar Shāh, through the Sultān's favourite queen Bibī Ranī, not to allow the Portuguese to gain a foothold in Div.

This indicates that at this time Malik Ayāz had fallen from the favour of Muzaffar Shāh. It also suggests that the rivalry between the two great nobles viz. Malik Gopi and Malik Ayāz, had also increased. Malik Gopi and his supporters, as could be seen had largely influenced the Sultān, in his attitude towards the Portuguese. It

7. Commentaries IV. pp. 59-60.

8. Commentaries IV - pp. 59-60.

is also difficult to understand the friendly attitude of Malik Gopi towards the Portuguese. This might have been the result of Malik Gopi's rivalry with Malik Ayāz.

Albuquerque and the envoy of Gujarat :-

The Ambassador of Gujarat delivered his credentials to Albuquerque and sought his permission to send a trading company of Gujaratis to Malacca, he also asked for a safe conduct for Gujarat ships, navigating towards the ports. On behalf of his master he complained the capture of "Meri" a Gujarat ship by the Portuguese in the time of peace. Albuquerque on his part stated his desire of establishing a "perpetual friendship" with Gujarat but declared that "the injury caused to Gujarat ship or soldiers due to Gujarat's alliance with Malacca and Hormuz by favouring them with arms and soldiers, when the Portuguese were at war with them." ¹⁰

9. Ibid

10. Commentaries - IV pp. 59-60, Danverse F.C. The Portuguese in India - Vol. I pp. 276-277. The author writes that Albuquerque defended his stand so as not to break off relations with him i.e. Gujarat Sultan.

The envoy was taken from Chaul to Goa, where the vessel "Meri", the Gujarat ship held by the Portuguese was handed over to him. Albuquerque entrusted him a letter for Malik Gopi, in which he thanked him for rendering valuable service to him and assured him of some substantial reward for the same at the time of his departure from Goa to Gujarat.

Ferano Evengelho's information regarding political situation at Div :-

Ferano Evengelho, whom Albuquerque appointed as factor at Div in 1513, was also charged with the duty of reporting on the political situation in Gujarat, especially as he was asked to watch Malik Ayāz in addition to his other duties as factor. Albuquerque received reports from the factor at Cannanore, of the arrival of the representative of Qādi of Cairo, with presents for the Sultāns of Gujarat and Bijapur. The representative urged these rulers with blessings "to war upon the Christians". The Portuguese factor also warned the Captain General that Shaikh of Aden was trying all the possible means to collect the force for resisting the Portuguese attack.¹¹

Albuquerque despatches an embassy to Gujarat, 1514 :-

Albuquerque, on receiving the news decided to

11. Ibid pp. 75-77.

despatch an embassy to Gujarat. It seems that Albuquerque decided this step, as he did not like to be involved in war with Gujarat, while engaged against Aden. Therefore, he selected Diogo Fernandes de Beja, his flag captain in Red sea and James Taxeira, as envoys to the court of Sultān Muzaḥḥar Shāh. The envoys were instructed to discuss with the Sultān the proposals, sent before.

Before the Embassy set out on their voyage, Pero Quiemada and Ganpatim,¹² acquainted with the Gujarat language, were sent in advance, to seek the safe conduct from the Sultan, for the envoys and their retinue.

The Envoys in Surat, March 15, 1514 :-

The embassy with many Indians reached Surat on March 15, 1514. Pero Quiemado or Ganpatim were not present when they arrived there and therefore Dastur Khān, the governor at Surat, was contacted to allow the Portuguese to disembark at Surat. Dastur Khān, because of his illness sent Miyaḥābū, the brother of Malik Gopi, to receive the Portuguese embassy, according to the instructions from the

12. Commentaries IV pp. 93-94 Correa in the "Lendas" calls this Hindu "Chatim" and Castenhada, "Anagaptu" and "Ganpatu".

Sultan. The Governor, then honoured them with the silken dresses.

The ambassadors were lodged at Malik Gopi's house and during their stay at Surat Miyānbābū looked after them. Pero Quiemado, after some time brought the news that "Malik Gopi was out of the court and out of the favour with the king". At this time Dastur Khān, also inquired as to when they proposed to start for the capital to meet the Sultan. The envoys found themselves in awkward situation, for they had been instructed to take any decision after consulting Malik Gopi. They replied to Dastur Khān that since the Sultān was engaged against Rajputs and since Albuquerque had ordered them to be back in Goa before rains, so they planned to return to Goa and come back again the following year. Dastur Khan was too shrewd for such arguments and sent a message with Miyānbābū that as the Sultan had favoured them with a safe conduct and so it would^{be} an insult to him if they turned back; besides he himself would be in trouble in case they left, for he had no power to allow them to return to Goa. The envoys, therefore, changed their plans and prepared to leave for Champaner. ¹³

13. Commentaries IV pp. 95-96.

The Ambassadors in Champaner and Ahmedabad :-

The Portuguese embassy left Surat on March 28, 1514, accompanied by Miya Kamāl-ud-dīn, the captain of the Gujarat troop and thirty attendants. The party reached Champaner on April 4, 1514. They were received and entertained by Malik Gopi, who was at this time in Champaner. Diogo Fernandez delivered Albuquerque's letter to him. The embassy halted there for a day and at night Malik Gopi invited them for a dinner. Diogo Fernandez discussed with him the problem of the fortifications at Div. Malik Gopi told them that he saw no chances of any concession at Div, for Malik Ayaz had won over the Sultan and prepared him for "the policy of resistance". It was felt that such concessions would be detrimental to the security of Gujarat. ¹⁴ Malik Gopi added that for this purpose Malik Ayaz, after the departure of Tristao de Ga, had strongly fortified Div against the Portuguese. ¹⁵

With this background of the situation in Gujarat, the envoys left for Ahmedabad (Medoal) to meet the Sultan. Next day, the Sultan gave them audience. Presents were exchanged between the two and Albuquerque's letter was handed over to the Sultan. In this letter the Portuguese Viceroy offered the whole of Portuguese fleet for any

14. Danverse F.C. Op. Cit. p. 294.

15. Ibid

service that the Sultan may require.¹⁶ The letter was forwarded to Khudāwand Khān (Sedama Khan), the wazīr and they were directed to him to discuss its contents with him.

At wazīr's residence, at a dinner to which they had been invited, they discussed the proposals made by Albuquerque. The wazīr offered them a site at Bakar, which Diogo declined to accept and argued that Bakar was unsuitable since they required a strong fortress to guard men and property of the Portuguese against 'evil elements'. He added that such injuries were inflicted on them at Calicut, Quilon and Malacca which would have been avoided, if they had fortresses at these places, and peace and friendship with the Indian powers would not have been broken. Diogo further argued that by allowing them to erect a fortress at Div, the Sultān would serve his own interest. Div, would certainly yield him larger revenue because of increased trade by Portuguese establishments. Lastly, he warned the wazīr, that the request made for the fortress at Div was with a view to maintain "true" friendship with the king of Gujarat. Khudāwand Khān, assured them that he would refer the matter with those conditions to the Sultan.¹⁷

16. Commentaries - IV, pp. 97-98

17. Commentaries - IV, pp. 100-102.

Three days latter, Khudāwand Khān returned with the Sultān's reply in which a site for a fortress was offered at any of the following places viz. Broach, Surat, Mahim, Dumas or Bakar.¹⁸ Diogo Fernandez replied that he had no authority to accept any site other than Div.

Khudāwand Khān continued the talks with the envoy though the demand for Div had been turned down. He inquired about the attitude of the Portuguese towards the movement of the Gujarat ships to Aden and the straits of the Red sea provided they carry no spices. Diogo replied that since they were at war with these countries, so it would not be advisable for Gujarat ships to proceed to those parts, for "true" friendship "must hold friends of friends for and enemies of friends for enemies".¹⁹ Khudāwand Khān specially informed the envoy that the matter regarding Div were in the hands of Malik Ayāz and he was unable to discuss it any further, before the Sultan. The envoy then suggested to the wazīr, that Gujarat should be content to trade with Malacca, Pegu, Marthan, Bengal and Hormuz, all of which were allied with the king of Portugal, without seeking to visit Red sea and Aden.²⁰

18. Ibid

19. Commentaries IV - 100-101.

20. Ibid

It seems that after his failure to secure site at Div, Diogo tried other means to isolate Malik Ayāz. He found that even the Sultān had to take into consideration the strong views of this noble regarding Div and so had offered other sites to the Portuguese for their purpose. To undermine the Malik's influence, the Portuguese envoy suggested as stated above that the commerce of Gujarat should be directed towards the places who were friendly to the Portuguese. Thereby a control over the Gujarat commerce could be established even when the fortress at Div was not secured. Another object was obviously to benefit the Portuguese by giving them a monopoly of Gujarat trade. Malik Ayāz clearly allowed no concessions for the Portuguese in Div in view of its commercial-strategic importance. Therefore, if Gujarat commerce was concentrated in Portuguese ports and the way to Red sea closed then in that case Div would lose its importance. Thus this suggestion was a subtle means of undermining Malik Ayāz and the importance of Div.

—The embassy, after their short stay in Ahmedabad left for Surat, with a despatch for Albuquerque and an escort to accompany them. They were furnished with valuable presents,²¹ for Albuquerque and the king of Portugal

21. These presents are enumerated in the "Commentaries"

There is[~] story about "genda" or "Reihnoceros", which

by the Sultān. They reached Surat on May 8, 1514, but could not leave for Goa till September 15, 1514, due to bad weather.

After the arrival of embassy in Goa, Albuquerque wrote a letter to the king Manoel of Portugal in October 1514, explaining the situation in Gujarat and his policy towards Div. The letter itself is of interest for it clearly shows Albuquerque's main interest was in Div and not in Gujarat. The letter is as follows :-

"After the arrival of the envoys from Gujarat, four guards from Malik Ayāz came to Goa. These four men were commanded by Sīdī 'Alī (Cidialī) who is a bad character and who knowing our language, is able to pick up information, which I had rather the Moors knew nothing about. I am of opinion that Malik Ayāz (AZ) will either surrender the revenues of Div to your majesty or grant us permission to erect fortress there, Malik Ayāz sent me the accompanying jewel, which is a royal sceptre of India. I accepted it as a good omen on account of its shape." ²²

21. (contd.) was given by Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh to the king of Portugal. The animal died after sometime in Lisbon. Cf. Commentaries - IV pp. 104-105.

22. F.C. Danverse - The Portuguese in India P -I ,p.307.

Albuquerque did not stay long in India for king Dom Manoel recalled him and appointed Lopo Soares de Albergaria as his successor.

P A R T - II

Albuquerque was succeeded by Lopo Soares Albergaria. He attempted to carry out Albuquerque's plan in Red sea, but did not take up the question of Div.

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, his successor appointed in 1518, re-opened this question for he had been sent with the instructions of erecting a fort at Div, because in Portuguese eyes, so long as it continued to be in Muslim hands, the Turks could always find a footing in India.

Towards the end of 1520, Diogo Lopes arrived before Div, on his return journey from Hormuz, with an intention of taking town by surprise. But Malik Ayāz was on guard and he frustrated this move in such a determined manner that Diogo Lopes had sail away without making any movements. Ayaz realised the danger and he sent Sīdī 'Alī, the one eyed envoy, who had done good service before, to follow the Portuguese Governor to his capital. His reports

revealed the Portuguese plans and Malik Ayāz strengthened the fortifications of Div, and the mouth of harbour was also secured by a chain.²³

Diogo Lopes de Sequeria continued the effort but failing to achieve his objects by negotiations, he determined to use force. He appeared before Div again on February 9, 1521, with a fleet of forty-eight vessels, but found the place so strongly fortified and garrisoned that on the advice of his war council, he gave up the intention of attacking it and after landing an envoy for the Sultan, sailed on to Hormuz. Diogo Fernandez de Beja was also left behind at Div, with few vessels, ostensibly to take away the Portuguese factor when his work was finished. This act was interpreted as hostile one and Gujarat ships under Aghā Muhammad went out against the Portuguese. De Beja had, therefore, to escape from Div and reached Hormuz ten days after the Governor.²⁴

Renewal of attack on Div : 1521 :-

The Portuguese Governor, on his return journey tried other plan namely, to build a fortress in Muzaffarābād or Jāfarābād, twenty miles from Div, and thence to plunder the coast. He discussed the plan with his

24. Whiteway R.S. Op. cit. pp. 191-192 cf. DanVerse
F.C. op. Cit.

captains, but Malik Ayāz's agent came to know of it and reported it to him. Diogo Fernandez proceeded in advance with "four galleons to prevent any ships from entering the port and he captured some that made the attempt". Malik Ayāz too attacked and damaged the Portuguese vessels, compelling them to withdraw.

Diogo Lopes, captured some of the Muslims on his way to Div from Hormuz and divided them in the vessels of his fleet. One of the ships of the Governor carried stores and munitions. The Muslim captives in that ship preferring death to slavery set fire to ship, with the result that the magazine exploded and the vessel was blown up. After this calamity, Diogo Lopes had to leave Div and he proceeded to Chaul.

Diogo after his failure in Div, opened negotiations with Burhan Nizām Shāh, the Sultān of Ahmadnagar, for erecting a fortress in Chaul. He was successful in his endeavour and secured the required permission.

It seems that the move of Diogo in the territory of Ahmadnagar was aimed against the commerce of Gujarat which would force the Sultan of Gujarat to accede to the Portuguese demand for Div. Consequently. Thinking that it would affect the trade of Div and increase the Portuguese power, Malik Ayāz resolved to prevent it. So he sent a

flotilla of fifty ships under ⁴-Aghā Muhammad and in the battle that followed, the Gujarat navy was successful as the Portuguese lost their former ~~lost their former~~ ambassador to Gujarat court de Beja, during the fight. The expedition did a considerable amount of damage to the Portuguese till the battle ended.²⁵ Malik Ayāz had to retire from Chaul because of the arrival of the reinforcement under Dom Louis.²⁶

Malik Ayāz had died in 1522, and thus the first phase of the Portuguese relations with the Sultan of Gujarat ended.

Ayaz the Governor of Div :-

It was a long duel nearly quarter of a century between Gujarat Sultans and Portuguese power on the western coast, but on the whole Gujarat Sultāns succeeded in keeping the Portuguese off their coast. The main architect for this success was Malik Ayāz. Even after his death the Portuguese, did not succeed in erecting a fortress at Div. Only in 1535. i.e. during the reign of Sultān Bahādur Shah and when the Sultanate was in its decline, that they secured their objective.

25. Whiteway R.S. ~~op~~². Cit. pp. 194-195.

26. Danverse F.C. Op. Cit. pp. 352-353.

Malik Ayāz and his policy :-

The policy followed by Malik Ayāz during the governorship of Albuquerque needs to be appraised. Earlier he had followed the bold policy of attacking the Portuguese. During 1509-1515, with Albuquerque in India, he attempted "indirect resistance" mainly for two reasons. First, after the fall of Goa, Albuquerque's prestige rose high and commanded respect from Indian rulers. Malik Ayāz felt himself weaker in comparison to the Portuguese and did not think it advisable to take an offensive against them. The Gujarate envoy during his visit to Goa, had seen the strength of the Portuguese. Therefore immediately after the envoy's return, he used all possible means to defend Div, in case of a Portuguese attack.

Albuquerque, also felt that he could not take Div by direct attack and though Aden and Div were vital to his projected control of the Arabian sea, he attempted to secure Div by negotiations.

Hence Albuquerque's policy gave Malik Ayāz enough time for consolidating the heady strong defensive, but work of Div. Malik Gopi, whom the Portuguese knew as their "best friend" informed the Portuguese embassy in 1514, that they had lost the opportunity of achieving their object for Malik Ayāz had strongly fortified Div and has gained the Sultān's favour. Albuquerque during

his stay in Div, had an opportunity to examine its fortifications.

It seems that Albuquerque gave up the hopes of storming Div, in face of such defences and so asked for Portuguese factory in Div and this was granted by Malik Ayaz.

Albuquerque, after reaching Goa, sent an embassy to the Gujarat Sultan, inspite of the information he received from the factor at Div, about the hostile attitude of Malik Ayāz.

Malik Ayāz followed the correct policy of "resistance" during 1515-1521. This policy helped him in fulfilling his objective of keeping the Portuguese out of Div, when some of the nobles did not favour him. This, we find, when Khudāwand Khān, said to de Beja that the site for fortification at Div could not be granted to them for it belonged to Malik Ayāz.

Malik Ayāz's timely policy regarding Div helped the Gujarat Sultans in keeping the sea coast of Gujarat free from Portuguese. Undoubtedly, this was the most valuable service rendered by Malik Ayāz to Gujarat, when its nobles were divided and the Sultan¹⁰³ failed to decide on a decisive policy.

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