

## CHAPTER - XIV

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCES USED IN THIS THESIS

The source material of the history of Gujarat used in this thesis may be classified as under :-

- (1) The Persian works
- (2) The non-Persian works
- (3) The works of the foreigners

After the disruption of the Tughulaq empire, the scholars and learned families migrated to Gujarat and Zafar Khan, the Tughulaq Governor of Gujarat, gave them shelter. The independent Sultanate of Gujarat was established in 810/1407 and with its beginning scholars from India and abroad received encouragement. Thus, the history of Gujarat has been recorded by a number of chroniclers. Some of the contemporary works have been lost but we know them through the references in the later works.

#### Persian works :-

The Persian histories of Gujarat may be divided into two classes, viz. contemporary chronicles and the chronicles compiled after the fall of the Sultanate in 980/1573.

The Persian chronicles compiled during the reigns of Sultāns Mahmūd Shāh I and Muzaffar Shāh II :

Dhamimah-i-Ma'thir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī :-

This is a history of the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I, written as a supplement to the Ma'thir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī of an unspecified author. It is couched in highly ornate language. It begins with the year 896/1490.

According to the preface it contains 2 Maqalas, (i) On Mahmūd Shāh (ii) On his contemporaries. The first Maqala begins with the despatch of an army against Bahadur Gilani. This took place in 896/1490. It ends with the surrender of Asir fort by Yūsuf Hāfiz to 'Āzam Humāyūn in 916/1510. This supplement, though small, throws a flood of fresh light on the history of Gujarat, especially regarding the description of the battle of Chaul. Persian histories of later period do not give such a detailed account of this battle. Hence it is an important source book for the Portuguese relations of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh.

I have used the copies of this work available in the Department of History, M.S. University of Baroda.

Ma'thir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī, Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī and Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jāhān are among the other works written during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh. These works are

not yet identified and also there is a great deal of confusion among the scholars. They have not been used here.

Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī :-

This short chronicle deals with the campaign of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh II, against Malwa for liberating Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī II of Malwa, from the control of Medini Rai and his supporters. It begins with the march of Muzaffar Shāh on 4th Dhul Qādā, A.H. 923/19th November 1517, and concludes with the departure of Muzaffar Shāh for Mahmūdābād on the 18th Safar, A.H. 924/1st March, 1518, after restoring Mahmūd Khaljī to power. It is written in ornate style and contain more literary value than historical. It was first edited by Saiyyid Abu Zafar Nadvi with fairly exhaustive summary in Gujarati. It was later on reedited by Dr. Chagtai with summaries in Urdu and English. I have used Nadvi's text of this work.

Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i-Gujarat :-

Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Gujarāt, written by Saiyyid Munnawar Bukhārī, is a 22 page fragment. It is more a scrap book than a historical work, recording information in a haphazard fashion. It is valuable for dates.

The Persian histories compiled during the Mughal period :

Mirāt-i-Sikandari :-

It is important source book for the Sultānate period of Gujarat and it was written during the Mughals.

The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* has, since it was written became valuable history of the Sultāns of Gujarat. The Bahādur Shāhī seems to have been lost and the later writers like Nabawandi and 'Alī Muhammad Khān merely summarised Sikandar's work and came to be regarded as the only historian dealing with Gujarat.

Sikandar's accounts of the early Sultāns is sketchy. For the history of the Sultans later to Ahmad Shāh, he depended on Bahādur Shāhī. This part of his history is more informative and palatable. But it is really in the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh III and his successor, where he is dealing with the immediate past, that Sikandar comes into his own. His father and his elder brother were among the lieutenants of Saiyyid Mubārak and Mirān of Dholka and he himself witnessed the entry of Akbar in Gujarat.

Sikandar has made his work valuable by the numerous stories anecdotes and sidelights. Therefore, while reading his historical narrative, the realistic picture of the age emerges before us.

*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* has been translated both into English and Gujarati. The English translations of Faridi and Bailey have been frequently used in this work. Both

these authors are generally faithful to the original Persian text.

Sikandar in the beginning has declared the aim of writing the Mirat. He writes, "to remove the misconceptions current regarding the Sultāns of Gujarat". This aim has not been observed throughout. As one reads his work however, one gets a feeling that this was not the sole purpose; Sikandar meant also to exalt his patrons, the Bukhāri Saiyyids of Batwa and their successors in Dholka. For instance Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I was brought up by Shāh Alam, the Bukhāri Saiyyid, from his early age. The author took this opportunity and cited number of instances to show the spiritual power of the Saiyyid. Similarly, the problem of the strain relations of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II with Saiyyid Shah Shaikhjiū seems to be a great concern of Sikandar. Therefore, he informs us that Hadrat Quṭb-i-Ālam appeared in a dream to both and brought about an understanding. Here too Sikandar has exalted the Bukhari Saiyyid.

#### Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī :-

Written during the reign of Akbar, this celebrated work has justly won a name for itself. For gazetteer like factuality and correctness, it is difficult to surpass

Khawājāh Nizām-ud-dīn the author of Tabaqāt-Nizām-ud-dīn has consulted almost all the available histories for the regional histories, especially those of Gujarat, Malwa and Bahamani kingdoms.

The Tabaqāt has been translated in English with full notes by B.De. The translation is accurate and reliable.

Nizām-ud-dīn is conservative writer and without proper scrutiny of the fact he would prefer to omit a fact.

#### Tārīkh-i-Firishtah :-

Another famous history of Muhammad Qāsim Firishtah which he called Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī, This is also commonly known as Tārīkh-i-Firishtah. This was composed during the later Mughal era.

Firishtah utilised the same material as his predecessors but his work is specially important for the affairs in Deccan, because he wrote in Deccan. The revolt of Bahādur Gilānī of Bahmani kingdom and his incursion on the sea-coast of Gujarat has been described accurately and in detail by him. Similarly, reliable information, regarding the expedition of the Sulṭān of Malwa on the Nizamshahi kingdom of Deccan, is given by him.

At other places, where he followed the standard histories available to him; Firishtah is a first rate authority, sometimes more detailed than Nizām-ud-dīn. Sometimes when he is writing of his own, his imagination carries him into error.

A word for the translation of this Persian text will not be improper here. Briggs' translation of Firishtah into English is absolutely unreliable as at places he has ranged far out of the text. So to avoid misappropriation, I have mainly depended on the original Persian text.

#### An Arabic history of Gujarat :-

An Arabic history of Gujarat is written by Zafar-ud-dīn bi Muzaffar Wa alīyah of Abdūl-lah Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makki, al-Aṣafi 'Ulugh Khāni, better known as Hājī-ud-dabīr. He used the same sources as Sikandar and discovered Mirat when his work was nearly complete. Sir E. Dennison Ross has edited it with an introductory note .

#### Other Persian Works :-

For the history of the Sultanate, the other works like Abdūl Fazal's Akbar Nāmā and 'Āin-i-Akbarī and Nāhawandī's Ma'athir-i-Rahīm are not important sources of information. The 'Āin is however very valuable for topogra-

physical and statistical data, the earliest available for this age.

Finally the 18th Century saw another great history of Mughal Gujarat, 'Ali Muhammad Khān's *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*. 'Ali Muhammad's work for the age of the Sultans is a condensation of Sikandar's, but he, however gives some additional facts about revenue and land administration. The supplement to *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* is only translated into English by Nawāb 'Ali and Seddon, in the Gaekwar Oriental Series. James Bird has translated a part of it as "Statistical and political history of Gujarat".

#### The non-Persian histories :-

Besides the Bardic accounts of Gujarat utilised by Kinlock Forbes in his *Ras-Mala*, some Sanskrit works have been brought to light. They are Gangadhar Pratap Vilas, The Raj Vinod and the Mandalika Nripa Charita.

#### Ras Mala :-

Alexandar Kinlock Forbes was principally interested in the tales of the Rajput valour and heroism and therefore he is sympathetic towards them. The work is mainly based on the information of bards and so we have to be cautious in using it. This however gives us the other



side of the story. For instance the Ras Mala has enlisted the Rajput heroes, who lost their lives in defending Champaner. The Persian historians are curiously silent about the conquest of Ranpur by a general of Sultan Mahmud but only through Ras Mala we know of this victory of the Sultan's army. Thus it is a valuable source of information for the Rajput relations of the Sultans. I have used the Oxford edition of Ras Mala.

Mandalika Nripa Charita :-

It is a Sanskrit poem dedicated to Mandalika, the last Rajput ruler of Junagadh. The poet in it has described the valour and virtues of Raja Mandalika. The work is an eulogy but it helps us in understanding the early career of Raja Mandalika and his character.

It has been edited by Prof. H.D. Valenkar of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay and published in the Bhavan's Journal of 1953.

Foreigners' Accounts :-

Among the foreigners' accounts, the works of Ludvico di Varthema, a Bolognese traveller and Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official in India have been referred to in the preparation of this thesis. Both these foreigners visited Gujarat in 1503-06 and 1515 respectively. Their

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 informations are first hand, therefore important.

We get details of the economic and social conditions of mediaeval Gujarat, from their writings. Thus, their accounts fill an important gap in the history of Gujarat.

Both these works have been edited and translated into English and are published by the Hakluyat Society.

COMMENTARIES of Affonso de Albuquerque is another notable work for the period in review. It is valuable for tracing the relationships between the Portuguese and the Sultans of Gujarat. Since the Persian historians are silent about the Portuguese activities in Gujarat and so we have to depend on this work to understand this aspect of our study. COMMENTARIES as a source book, then has great value. The letters which Albuquerque wrote to his master, the king of Portugal and to Malik Gopi are of a special interest to us. The embassy which was despatched from Goa to Gujarat and the instructions given to its leader clearly indicate the aim and interest of the Portuguese in Gujarat. Hence this work as a cotemporary source book is indispensable for this period in review.

R.S. Whiteway and F.C. Denverse have written the histories of the Portuguese in India and these as the general works have been fully utilised here.

Other important works :-

A brief account of other important sources used may also be made :

Rajasthan and Gujarat came into close contact and therefore the history of the former had an immediate bearing on the latter. The study of the history of Rajasthan is essential for understanding the relations of Rajasthan with Malwa and Idar. It was in Malwa and Idar, Rajasthan and Gujarat, took the opposite side. Therefore, for the balanced evaluation of the events, it is necessary to examine the other side of the story, that is Rajputs. Hence with this view in mind, I have consulted Tod's the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" and Pandit G.H. Ojha's several volumes on "History of Rajasthan".

Tod's, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, a pioneer work in Rajput history, is an important and sometimes an indispensable work of reference.

Pt. Ojha has written the history of every major state in Rajasthan. His work is balanced and written particularly with a high deal of research material. The Persian historians have given distorted informations about Rana Sanga's character and personality but Pt. Ojha's informations are useful for the impartial judgment of this problem.

Jote Ratnamanirao Bhimrao has done great service to Gujarat by writing numerous volumes on the history of Gujarat in Gujarati. Besides his histories of Cambay and Ahmedabad, the four volumes on the Cultural history of Gujarat, particularly part II and III are useful for this study.

Mr. Jote's works are compilations than the real research works. The author has very little to say of his own. Hence these works have been used as text books than the works of reference.

These are the major works utilised in this work. The other works, not included in this analysis have been cited in foot notes and included in bibliography.

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