CHAPTER V

NUNO DA CUNHA, THE GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA : (1529-37)

Nuno da Cunha Arrived as Governor, 1529

Nuno de Cunha left Lisbon for India and arrived at Cananor in November, 1529. He took charge of Governorship and ordered to be imprisoned Lopo Vaz. Nuno da Cunha had brought with him the instructions to capture Diu, but he found that nothing was ready for attack.

The Futile Attack on Diu by Nuno and Brilliant Victory of Amir Mustafa, Rumikhan : 1531

The Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, was now engaged in making the most careful preparations for the attack. He had collected a fleet of over 400 vessels including large ships, but mostly consisting of small vessels fitted out by natives. There were 3600 soldiers and 1460 seamen (Portuguese) besides 2000 Malabares and Canarese, 8000 slaves and about 5000 native seamen.

20. NUNO DA CUNHA (GOVERNOR), 1529-1538.
At Bombay, the fleet held a general review and the Portuguese captured Daman which was nearest to it. The Governor, Nuno had promised to distribute three rewards to the first three who would mount the walls of Diu. On 7th February, 1531 they arrived at the rocky island of Shial Bet which is about eight leagues to the east of Diu.

The captain of the fleet tried to approach with the natives of the island but they were musketeers sent by the Governor of Sorath. On showing white flag of truce, the musketeers were allowed to talk with them. The Portuguese Governor was informed that they were from the King of Cambay to erect a fortress. The Portuguese Governor Nuno told them that he was about to wage war against the King of Cambay if he was unwilling to conclude a treaty. The chief guards asked permission to consult his companions on shore at Diu. While stepping on shore, he sent back a message to the Governor that if he wanted a reply the Portuguese would have to come for it.

The white flag was lowered down and made all the preparations for defence were made. Indigenous records narrates that Nuno called upon them to surrender. They refused unless they were allowed to go free with their wives and children. The Governor did not agree because he wanted to terrorize the region and to enslave the soldiers of King of Cambay. The Muslim soldiers of Shiyal Bet confronted with an overwhelming force, killed 150 Portuguese men including Heytor da Silveira (brother-
In this barren enterprise Portuguese Governor lost eight days to capture the isle. The delay on the island also was one of the reasons for their failure of their attack on 11th Feb. 1531. The Portuguese force accompanying the Governor came anchored in front of Diu and surrounded the sea front of Diu. As described in Chapter 7 Diu is situated on a rocky island. It was defended by 10,000 soldiers under the captainship of Malik Tughan, the brave son of Malik Ayaz, with Amir Mustafa bin Bahram.

At Diu, Malik Tughan had a force of 10,000 soldiers for its defense. Diu port was protected at its entrance by the channel between the island and the main land which was closed by massive chains suspended between vessels which were filled with archers and musketeers. Moreover the defence was further strengthened on arrival of Mustafa with 600 Turks and 1300 Arbas with well advanced artillery.

For the people of moors on the island it was not possible to escape because it was surrounded by the Portuguese vessels. The garrison of island throughout to kill their wives and children rather than to fall in the hands of Portuguese.

Hence all the people on the small island were killed and their resistance was stubborn. He mined the entrances to the city and distributed the best advantage the defending forces. Mustafa took over the charge of the battle himself.

In spite of the strength of the Muslim powers and Lord of the Diu, the Governor Nuno ordered his men to attack Diu on 16th February 1531. His ships continued to attack the fort, but they could not do any harm to the strong fort.

They had to halt 50 yards away from the chains although they had 40 pounder guns with them. The loss of Portuguese has not been known but it is likely that Mustafa's artillery did much damage. Their continuous efforts for 15 days remained without any fruitful result and hence on 1st March he sailed away with his fleet for Goa as he realized the failure of his attack. 3

The damage was widespread and it was difficult for the enemies to return with their crippled ships but Flotilla might have captured many of such ships if they had tried before they were repaired.

After Nuno da Cunha left Diu, he ordered Antoni de Saldanha to cruise about the Bay of Cambay with a fleet of sixty vessels.

He sailed for Mahuva and burnt the city to terrorise. He then proceeded to Gogha. Gogha was a great trade center, where he met with sharp resistance but he remained successful in terrorising and burnt many ships in the harbour. In the same way the Portuguese did on the mainland towns viz. Bulsar, Tarapur Mahim, Kelva, Agashi and Surat. Da Cunha was another captain to watch the coast to prevent any supply from entering Diu. This policy of terrorism was actively pursued under Nuno and was repeated by his followers.

Bahadur Shah appreciated Amir Mustafa's services and gave him the title of "Rumi Khan" and rewarded him by making Amir of Broach.

Sultan Bahadur Shah was in Champaner when he heard this welcome news of the success of Amir Mustafa and ordered him to meet him in champaner. The Sultan Bahadur Shah received him with great honour and put him in charge of arsenal over and above the title of "Rumikhan". Mustafa was also promoted to a high rank above the heads of several Grandees. 4

Mustafa gifted his Cannon (Sulaimani) and new name was given to it as 'Layla' and the other cannon also casted in honour of Bahadur Shah called it 'Majnun'.

Portuguese Attack on Bassein, (The First Victory Over Kingdom of Gujarat): 1532

Amir Mustafa was made Governor of Rander and Surat and adjoining coast as far as Mahim. Bahadur shah took away Diu from Malik Tughan and gave the charge of Diu to Amir Mustafa. Amir Mustafa was now among the personality of a man who had not his equal at the Gujarat Sultanate for his strength, courage, stature and appearance. Bahadur Shah ordered Malik Tughan to be imprisoned and sometime later he was put to death. But earlier to his death, in 1532, Bahadur Shah ordered Malik Tughan to fortify the town of Bassein. A fort was erected and garrisoned it with with strong army. But Nuno da Cunha set out with 150 ships and 4000 men to destroy the citadel. Bassein was important for Portuguese because it was a chief source for timber to build their ships. Malik Tughan was forced to sue for peace but it was hard to accept for him.

The Portuguese soldiers scaled the ramparts of the fort and defeated Tughan's army. Nuno decided to demolish the ramparts and razed the citadel to the ground. The Governor Nuno went to Goa with 400 pieces of artillery that had been captured and Manoel de Albuquerque was left behind to burn all. The towns surrounding Bassein, Thana, Bandra, Mahim and Bombay were brought under the rule of Portuguese.
Nuno da Cunha persevered his diplomatic relation with Gujarat, though he could not capture Diu from Bahadur Shah. Malik Tughan also commanded at Diu, had inherited his father Malik Ayaz's capacity to keep the Governor's secret spies in political play. Nuno accredited as an envoy to the Sultan's court was his secretary Simao Ferreira whose activities were however neutralized by his interpreter Joao de Santiago. His intrigues secured for him the good opinion of Sultan Bahadur Shah. He received title of "Firang Khan" from Bahadur Shah, as he was converted to Islam. Some muslim historians also called him Sakta. He served Bahadur Shah as a gunner and did a good job against Humayun's attack on the fort of Champaner at the time of Mughal invasion.

Simao Ferreira vs Santiago, Political Tactics and Macedo vs Rumi Khan. Nuno's Visit to Diu, Oct., 1533:

The history of Joao de Santiago is curious one. He was born in Africa and he was enslaved by the Portuguese in early age. They converted him to Christianity and was taught trading. once he performed a voyage to India. His owner died in Goa and he was made free. He started his carrier as traveling purchaser of precious stones and spoke many languages including Gujarati. He was retained as interpreter by Portuguese authorities. He not only impressed his employees at Diu by his intrigues, but also managed to secure the good graces of Sultan Bahadur Shah.
Simão Ferreira succeeded to arrange a meeting between Sultan Bahadur Shah and Nuno de Cunha. Nuno left Goa for this meeting in October, 1533 with 100 ships and 2000 Portuguese. His expenses were lavish, but Bahadur Shah was not in a mood to pay him a visit hence he did not fix any particular date for the interview. The most important incident of his visit to Diu was the challenge to mortal combat given by Manuel de Macedo in Bahadur's open darbar to Rumikhan. The reason was that Rumikhan had tried to supplant Malik Tughan at Diu. The challenge was accepted and fight was to have been on the sea, but Manuel de Macedo waited the whole day but Rumikhan did not appear to do so.

Bahadur Shah's Offering Grant Of Bassein And Some Territory Round It, 1533

Admiral named as Martim Affonso proceeded against Daman with 500 men in 40 ships. It was taken by him, and the fort was razed to the ground. Bahadur Shah did not meet Nuno personally on the ground but he sent to him an ambassador Khwaja Shaikh Iwaz offering a grant of Bassein and some territory round it. This territory was estimated to earn annual income of 30,000 Pounds. The King of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah requested terms of peace, because he wanted to secure the friendship of the Portuguese against the Mughals. The Portuguese Governor, Nuno, who reached Bassein in Dec 1533 and granted on condition that Bassein with its dependencies by Sea and land should be made over
to the King of Portugal for ever. All the ships bound for the Red Sea, from the kingdom of Gujarat set out from Bessein and should return there to pay their duties. No vessels should go to the other ports without the permission from the Portuguese. No war-ships should be built in any ports belonging to the King of Cambay. Finally, no assistance should be provided to the Rumes (Turks). This treaty, was concluded on 23rd December, 1533, whereby the Portuguese obtained a footing in Cambay.

Bahadur Shah's Treaty With Portuguese, The Cession of Bessein, 1534

Bahadur Shah was expecting active assistance for some time in a war with the Mughal. Hence he sent a message to Martim Affonso at Chaul offering permission to erect a fort at Diu. The Mughals also were alert and it is said that same type of offer was made by them to the Portuguese. The treaty of Bessein was concluded on 23rd December, 1533. The possession of Bessein was given in 1534. As a result of this treaty Diogo de Mesquita, Lopo Fernandes de Pinto, Manuel mendez, Joao de Lima and all other Portuguese captives were made free immediately.

Bahadur Shah's Second Treaty With Portuguese, 1535

Martim Affonso proceeded to Diu after the message was dispatched to the Governor. He met Simao Ferreira, secretary to Nuno who had been sent on the same business. They arrived on 21st Sept., 1534, and settled the terms of agreement on 25th Oct., 1535. The (5th Oct,1535) according to Whiteway, King of Cambay confirmed the previous agreement with regard to Bessein, that a port of trade agreed to with regard to that port should be transferred to Diu. There should be a league, offensive and defensive between the King of Portugal and himself, that a fort should be raised at Diu, where and in what manner the Governor might appoint. The bulwark on the sea should be immediately handed over to the Portuguese. The news of this agreement was at once sent by special messengers to the King of Portugal and to Nuno. [8]

Portuguese Completed Fort At Diu, 1536

Nuno started vigorously to construct a fort at Diu, which was speedily completed and a commander, named Manuel de Sousa, was appointed with 900 Portuguese and armament of 60 large cannons.

Nuno sent Vasco Pires de Sampayo with 250 Portuguese to recover the fort of Varivence on the Indus which was taken by the Mughals. Vasco Pires captured the fort and handed over to the

8. Nuno da Cunha was annoyed with Martin Afonso for having conti....
King of Cambay, Sultan. Nuno also sent Mancel de Macedo to the relief of Broach, but he returned without accomplishing. Thus presence of Portuguse at Diu prevented Mughals attacking Gujarat.

King of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah had to regret after recovering the portions of his territories as he had given permission to erect a fort at Diu. In short time the King commensad the construction of a wall between it and city. Nuno did not like this and he tried to persuade him to discontinue the work. Nuno arrived at Bassein by the end of March, 1536 where he found all the materials ready for the construction of a fortress. He appointed Garcia de Sa as captain.

Bahadur Shah's feelings were now bitter. When he saw that his country was cleared from the tide of invasion, he asked permission of the Portuguese authorities to build a wall to cut off the fortress from the city of Diu. But it was refused by continue......................

forestalled him. Still more annoyed when he found that he had already sent a Jew and Armenian overland with information to the King of Portugal. Before Nuno sent Simao Terraera, a banished man, Botelho started twelve days earlier with his men in a small boat to inform the king of Portugal regarding the fantastic news of fortification of Portuguse at Diu. It was order to kill him if he was caught on the way. King of Cambay. Nuno also sent Mancel de Macedo to the relief of Broach, but he returned without accomplishing anything.
the Portuguese authorities which made him angry. The sultan openly said that he was deceived and the Portuguese had broken their word.

Bahadur Shah wanted to be independent of Portuguese and not did not like their presence in Diu. Nuno sent to Bahadur 50 horses 100 matchlock men under Martin Afonso de Souza, but the result was not fruitful. The continual friction was not uncommon between the Portuguese garrison in the fort and the citizen of Diu. During riots many Portuguese were killed. Bahadur Shah's own fleet was not allowed to sail. At the end of 1536, he rushed to Diu from Champaner to recover his right which he had bartered away. But situation was not favourable to him to do so. But it was not a strange idea to make Bahadur Shah as captive or to kill him as many historians have mentioned. Bahadur Shah paid frequent visits to the fort and showed conciliatory attitude towards the captain in charge. Bahadur Shah was able to leave the fort unharmed. The Portuguese officers blamed the captain for his weakness in letting him depart alive and he received a severe reprimand from the Governor. This policy was not considered cowardly. The Portuguese historian Caspar Correa said, "We were not allowed to take such a chance by reason of our sins" 9

9. Whiteway, R.S. : Op Cit. 244, 246P
Bahadur Shah was addicted to Bhang. His ravings when drunk, and his abuse of the Portuguese were rumoured abroad. Sultan's ordinary acts were also misunderstood, when he sent antelopes as a present to the fort. (Such thing was happened) when 40 skinny fowls were sent to the Captain in November, 1536. And captain misunderstood that his own life was in danger.

Nuno's Arrival at Diu and Tragic Killing of Bahadur Shah, 1537

In the first month of 1537, Nuno arrived Diu with a fleet of nearly 300 sails accompanied by Antonio da Silveira. The details of these are extensively given by Indian and Portuguese historians. These two sets of historical incidents are supplementary and confirming each other. As Commissariate reviewed in his well known work, a History of Gujarat, Vol.1, (376p). I mentioned that both the sources are independent as they never mentioned each other.

Sultan invited the Governor to banquet on the shore. Nuno had received a report that the Sultan's intention was to make him captive. So he pretended to be sick as an excuse for refusing the invitation and sent Manuel de Souza to the King to convey his inability. Bahadur Shah urgently proceeded to visit Nuno in a boat with his thirteen selected men. One of them was Khwaja Safar and his two sons-in-law, Asad Khan and Qara Husain, Langar Khan, Joao de Santiago, the interpreter who had deserted to Bahadur Shah and had now become a favourite under the title of
Bahadur Shah's visit was unexpected. The Governor Nuno got hastily into a position to receive him, and the crew were buckling on their weapons position when Sultan Bahadur Shah passed over the deck alone and unsuspicous of evil, entered into the cabin of Governor. The conversation was not extra-ordinary on matters and even did not last long. The Portuguese naval officer on board were in tension and anxiously awaited for orders from the Governor. But his sense of hospitality was felt with sudden arrival of Gujarat Sultan hence he could not furnish any hint to them. During this time a page sent by the captain, who whispered something in Nuno's ear asking for definite orders which aroused Bahadur's suspicions. The Sultan now realised that his visit had been a blunder. He asked permission to leave and he went to his barge and ordered his men to row off swiftly towards the shore. Nuno hurriedly sent captain Manuel de Souza to call him back in another boat as the Governor had forgotten to give him a message from the King of Portugal. De Souza was also instructed to invite the Sultan to the fort awaiting for the Governor there. Nuno also dispatched orders to other fidalgos to

10. Faria, Y Souza : Asia Portuguese, tr. by J.Steevens, 91694), Tome I pt IV cap VII. (Briggs Firishta, IV, 135-38P.
11. Whiteway, R.S. : Op Cit. 247 P.
follow Manuel de Souza. Hence this great excitement led them to develop crisis. Diogo de Mesquita and Antonio Correa also were with the captain. On the royal barge had proceeded some distance before Manuel de Souza started but royal barge had been delayed somewhat to enable Khwaja Safar to join the Sultan, Bahadur shah saw that the captain of the fort was following him. Manuel delivered the Governor's message by overtaking the Sultan's boat. While stepping the Royal barge he fell into the water and was pulled out by Bahadur Shah's boatmen. This misadventure brought the trouble for the Portuguese officers who now came up in the other boats, were in full tension and with naked weapons. They thought it to be a deliberate attack on captain Manuel. Several Portuguese men boarded hastily into the Sultan's boat for any action. A hand to hand struggle with weapons was drawn. But Portuguese account differs from ours as they say that an arrow was fired by the royal page at the Sultan's orders. Manuel was the first among to be killed, Diogo de Mesquita attacked and wounded the Sultan Bahadur Shah with a sword thrust. Several persons of both groups were killed in this melee. Bahadur Shah tried to escape but his boat was stopped by a cannon shot. Due to this cannon-shot three men who rowed the Sultan's boat, were killed. Bahadur Shah realized the danger, so he jumped overboard in hope of swimming to the shore but being

in danger of drowning, he cried out. Tristan de Payva, one of the Captains of Nuno reached out to bring him aboard his vessel, when a portuguese sailor struck the king across the face with a halbert and another one also struck him till he met with death. He was for a while above the water and then sank, but his body was not recovered. The same fate met to Manuel. Though Nuno had tried to search the dead bodies of both, but he could not get them. (According to Erskine, we the people believed fondly indulged in that he was alone and one day he would return to govern his kingdom in Baber and Humayun 1195-96. ) In this melee, Khwja Safar and Qara Husain could succeeded to escape. Firang Khan could swim to the shore at fort but the guard stoned him to death. 14 According to Indian author, Abul Fazal has narrated, in his Akbarnama, as this tragedy occurred on 13th February, (943 H). Most of the description of this tragedy has common things but it clearly writes that illness of the Governor was a mere pretence and he was sorry for that. When the King sought to return to shore at once, but the Portuguese were not willing that his victim should thus escape. They hoped by keeping him prisoner to obtain some more ports of Gujarat. The Governor came forward and asked the Sultan to stay for a little while and examine some presents he had brought. But Bahadur Shah did not stay for a little while and turned quickly towards his own boat.

14. Abul Fazal’s Akbarnama, By Beveridge[ M.S.Commissarist,380p.]}
A European Kazi (Priest) placed himself in the Sultan's way and bade him to stop. The King impatiently drew his sword and cleft him in twain and then he jumped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels, which were near by, closed in upon the sultan's boat and fight began. The Sultan and Rumikhan (Khwaja Safar) threw themselves into the water. Rumikhan was saved as he was a friend of the Portuguese who stretched out a hand to help him, but the Sultan was drowned in the waves and his companions also perished. Sikandar-bin-Manju also have narrated this tragedy in Mirat-I-sikandari. Bahadur Shah began to consider how to expel the Portuguese. He wished to effect his object by stratagen and proceeded from Ahmedabad by way of Cambay to Diu. According to the Commissariate the King's approach was humble and friendly, but Portuguese concluded that his arrival was of mean and treacherous design. When Sultan reached Chogha, he sent Nur Mohammad Khalil to the Portuguese chief with instruction to persuade him by any device to pay visit to the King on the shore. He was plied with wine and under the influence of wine, he was exposed to the captain about the Sultan's secret intentions. The next morning, Governor sent him back with the excuse that owing to indisposition it was impossible for him to wait on the Sultan. After the reply Bahadur resolved to go on board the Governor's vessel on the plea of inquiring about his health, but in fact to clear up his own doubt. (as mentioned in Mirat-i-Sikandari)

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Various Accounts and Remarks on Untimely and Premature Death of Bahadur Shah, 1537

Bahadur Shah ordered five or six of his favourite officers and stepped in the royal barge. The arms were prohibited to carry with them. The Portuguese captain said that his plan was to capture the Sultan, and he proceeded to the shore to meet him, and attended him to his chief's vessels. Showing the most deceitful respect to him. During a pause in the conversation the Portuguese made some preconcerted signs at each other. Hence Sultan Bahadur Shah perceived that he was betrayed. He then arose and was attacked on all sides by the Portuguese. When the Sultan was near his boat, a Portuguese struck him over the head with sword and threw him into the sea. His companions also met with the same fate. 15

Nuno and Bahadur shah were resolved each other to seize the other. The followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party, so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed, the accident which blew embers of suspicion and mistrust produced a melancholy result. 16

W. Erskine says that Bahadur Shah was not a such person to form any design against Governor. The information about the visit

of the Persian ambassador at Gujarat court derived from Firishta's history can also be supplemented by a foreign authority viz. Afonso D Alboquerque. As per Portuguese records the ambassador's visit is mentioned in connection with the activities of Albuquerque in Indian Ocean in 1513.17

The Persian envoy who arrived in Gujarat (i.e. Yadgar Beg Qizilbash, Mirza Ibrahim at the court of Muzaffar-II, according to sources of Firishta and Mirat-i-Sikandari) in the last days of Mahmud Begda and stayed there for two years duration. A fresh embassy was also sent by the Persian ruler to the court of Muzaffar II. According to Portuguese sources Shah Ismail of Persia sent two ambassadors to the king of Gujarat and Bijapur.18

Estimate of Bahadur Shah's Reign

Sultan Bahadur Shah was killed at sea on 13th February 1537 and his Hijri year of his death has been preserved in an elegant chronogram composed by his Vazir Ikhtiyar Khan. Bahadur Shah was twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and was thus only thirty - one at the time of his death. During his reign of eleven years, he had shown all the ability and martial valour of his ancestors, had kept the nobles loyal to him and completely under his control, and had raised the power of Gujarat to its culminating point. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his

alliance was invoked by the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers of the neighbouring kingdom, and the discontented Princes of the house of Timur sought his protection, the people must have longed for the peaceful, and on the whole, glorious days of his reign.

The Portuguese made the fullest use of the opportunity presented to them by sudden death of the Sultan. Their Governor took possession of the royal palace, the treasury and all the public arsenals at Diu and assumed control of the administration. The populace, however were seized with panic and fearing that the town would be given up to plunder, they abandoned their homes and made a rush for the gates. In this frantic effort many were crushed, while number of them drowned in the narrow channel that separates the island from the mainland.

The Portuguese take Possession of Diu:
Nuno spared no efforts to quiet their fears, and the rich traders and others, being assured of safety, soon returned to the city. In order further to pacify the people, the Governor ordered that the Muslims in the city should be allowed free exercise of their religion and laws and that all pensions and allowances granted by Bahadur Shah should be continued. Nuno also sent off a special messenger overland to Portugal to convey to the King at Lisbon the good news. He put Khwaja Safar in charge of the city while Antonio da Silveira, his brother-in-law, was made captain of the Fort. In the royal palace at Diu, Nuno found a
large number of brass and iron cannons, including three basilisks of such great size that he sent one of them to Portugal as a curiosity. We are told that this was afterwards kept in the castle of St. Julillan at the mouth of the Tagus and called "the Gun of Diu." [19] That the action of the Portuguese in assuming sovereign rights over the city of Diu was wholly unscrupulous and unjustified, cannot be denied. It is, however, not to be wondered at as Erskine says, "The Spirit which in that age regulated the proceedings of Europeans towards the Princes of Asia and their subjects was that of the most unprincled cruelty and rapacity, in no degree superior to the buccaneers of a later period." [20] The Portuguese had made themselves the tyrants of the Indian Seas, and were not likely to surrender the prize which they had desired for so long and which chance had so unexpectedly thrown into their hands.

The Portuguese writers inform us that among the late Sultan's papers Nuno found 'incriminating' evidence of his designs against the Portuguese power. There were letters from his Vazir Asaf Khan giving an account of the progress he had made towards bringing a Turkish force to attack the Portuguese, and copies of other letters from Bahadur to the rulers of Aden and Xaer regarding the same subject.

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The Governor submitted all this evidence of the Sultan's 'Treachery' before a meeting of the principal merchants and learned men of the town of Diu, and obtained from them certificates, duly signed and attested in Arabic and Persian, of the Princes of the Deccan, and to the rulers of Hormaz and of the coast of Arabia as far as Aden, that they might be duly informed of the circumstances that had led to the Sultan's death. We are told that Nuno also sent messages to Makhduma Jahan, the late King's mother, both to condole her on the melancholy event and to remove all blame from himself. He ascribed the whole affair to unpremeditated accident and offered to lend her any assistance that it might be in his power to afford. But she rejected his offers with indignation and accompanied by the principal nobles set out for Ahmedabad.

As the Sultan left no heir, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the ambitious and intriguing Timurid Prince whose reception at the Gujarat court was proved in the war with Humayun, thought that an excellent opportunity was at hand to secure the crown for himself. Professing the deepest sympathy and distress, he presented his claims before the ladies of Bahadur's household, and urged that as the late Sultan had treated him as a brother the queen mother should now adopt him as her son, and assist him to secure the throne for which he was best fitted by character and descent. He was informed that it was not the custom for the ladies of the royal house of Gujarat to interfere in the
state affairs and that he should address himself to the ministers. Mirza appeared to have secured from them over two millions in gold, which amount he spent in raising a large army. At the same time, the prince alternate demanded from the Portuguese satisfaction for Bahadur's murder, and also secretly sent them large sums of money in order that they might use their influence in getting him acknowledged as sovereign. At Navanagar (Delwada) he entered into negotiations with Nuno da Cunha promising large territorial concessions in Gujarat in return for his help. The treaty entered into between the Portuguese and Mirza Muhammad Zaman, dated 27th March, 1537, is given in Simao Botelho's Tombo. In return for their moral support, Mirza granted them Mangrol and Daman, and a strip of country along the coast two and a half kos broad. The Portuguese accepted the terms, and under their authority the Khutba was read in his name in the Safa Mosque at Diu. Meanwhile, the nobles of Bahadur's court came to the decision that their first duty was to put down these pretensions, and a large army was sent against him under Imad-ul Mulk Malikji. In a battle that was fought near Una, three Kos from Diu the prince was defeated, whereupon his troops forthwith deserted him. He fled from Gujarat to Sind and thence to Delhi. Humayun forgave him.

Sultan Bahadur Shah, who left no heir, had during his lifetime expressly indicated to the assembled nobles that his sister's son Miran Muhammad shah ruler of Khandesh, should
succeed him to the throne of Gujarat. This prince had been a constant companion and loyal associate of Bahadur during the whole of his reign and had for the past ten years participated in all the great military expeditions conducted by the Sultan.

He was stationed at Ujjain in Malwa at the head of a large army. He received the invitation of the nobles to return Gujarat. His reign as Sultan Mahammad Shah III, if it may be so called, was a brief one. On receiving news of his uncle's death, he plunged with grief, and abandoned wonted pleasures, spent his days in fasting and nights in prayers, and died within few weeks. The next heir to the throne was Prince Mahmud Khan, another nephew of Bahadur Shah, being the son of his brother Latif Khan who had risen in revolt after Sikandar's murder and had died a wounded prisoner in 1526. No doubt, Bahadur Shah had, on assuming royal power, sent his all brothers and relatives to the 'kingdom of death', but Latif Khan's son then an infant at the breast, had been spared as its tender age aroused the King's compassion. The child was entrusted to the care of Muhamad Shah of Burhanpur who had brought up under surveillance along with his own brother Mubarak Khan at Biawar. The Gujarat nobles, the chief among whom were Ikhtiyar Khan, Afzal Khan and brother of Ikhtiyar Khan, decided to bring up the Prince Muhamud Khan, now eleven years old, to the capital, and he was then enthroned under the title of Mahmud Shah III.
Among the nobles of Bahadur's and his father's reign, Husam Khan, better known as a historian then as a courtier, was the grandson of Jamal-ud-din Muhammad, entitled Muhafiz Khan, who was for a time Governor of Ahmedabad under Mahmud Begada, and who built in that city the beautiful mosque which still goes by name. Husam Khan is frequently referred to both in the Mirat-I-Sikandari and in Hajji-ad-Dabir's Arabic History, and his work is now lost. It is from these sources that we are able to get some information about his activities. In 1513 he accompanied Sultan Muzaffar II to Dhar, and in 1521 we find him in the service of Giwam-ul Mulk, then Governor at Ahmedabaad. He was present at the accession of Sultan Bahadur in 1520 was ordered by that ruler to look after the elephants. Three years later, we find him mentioned as darogaah of Cambay, and in 1531 he accompanied Bahadur against Mandu. The last date mentioned in his public services is 1533 the plunder of Sultan Bahaddur's great camp at Mandasor by Humayun's troops was going on. Miyan Manjhu, the father of Sikandar, who was librarian to Humayun, kept Husam Khan, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, as a guest in his tent. No further reference to this noble is available after this date.

Husam Khan's famous historical work, variously known as the Tarik-i-Bahadur Shahi and Tabaqat-i-Husam Khani, was consulted by several Muslim historians of India including Firishta. It appears to have covered the period from H.662 to H.940 (1253-1534 A.D.) and was a general history of India as well as that of the Gujarat dynasty. Though quoted as late as 1761 by Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, it is strange that all copies of this well-known work have, long since disappeared, nor has any manuscript been seen by European writers of the last century, such as Sir Henry Elliot or Sir E. Clive Bayley or Professor Dowson. Another interesting point is that though the Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi has been widely quoted, the name of the author is not mentioned by a single Indian writer. Sir E. Denison Ross, the editor of the Arabic History of Gujarat, has however, taken considerable pains to establish the identity between Husam Khan and the author of the Tarik-i-Bahadurshai.[23]

Another famous noble of the reign was Asaf Khan who claimed descent from Jam Nanda [the King of Sind in the middle of the fifteenth century] and who deserves a more prominent place in the history of Gujarat than has been generally accorded to him. His name was Abdul Aziz and he was born at Champaner in 1503. His father, Hamid-ul-Mulk was a noble of the court of Muzaffar II.

Under Bahadur Shah, he rose to the high office of chief Vazir. We have seen that in 1531, after the conquest of Mandu, Asaf Khan, with two other nobles, was placed in charge of Sultan Mamud Khā'ji who had been made prisoner. When the war with Humayun broke out in 1535, Bahadur entrusted his harem and his treasures to Asaf Khan to be conveyed to safety first to Diu and later to household and his vakil or major-domo Siraj-ud-din Omar, the father of Hajjid-ud-Dabir, the author of the Arabic History of Gujarat. He sailed from Diu with several nobles in ten vessels and it being out of season reached Jedda in safety after a two months voyage. The party then proceeded to Mecca, where Asaf Khan, under Sultan’s instructions, distributed the contents of a large number of chests of gold. For the next twelve years i.e. upto 1548, he was away from India, either at Mecca or Egypt.

When the news of Bahadur Shah’s death reached Egypt, Khusrau Pasha, who was ruling over Egypt, the Hejaz and Yamen on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey, sent orders to the Amin of Jedda to confiscate Bahadur’s harem and treasures at Mecca and place his seal upon them. On hearing of this, Asaf Khan, who was in Egypt at the time, used all his influence to have this order cancelled. The reprieve came just in time, for, in anticipation of the seizure, Bahadur’s women, preferring death to capture, had washed, clothed and perfumed themselves, while the chief of the harem sharpened their blades for them. Siraj-ud-din, who had
been left in charge at Mecca by Asaf Khan, on hearing of the original orders, had along with the rest of the household dependents, passed the night in fear and trembling, until the messenger (who brought the reprieve) passed by their house early the next morning.

In 1548, Aasaf Khan was recalled to India, after along absence, by Sultan Mahmud III to organize the kingdom which had fallen into a state of complete disorder and confusion owing to the insubordination of the foreign nobles. He had left behind him such a high reputation for integrity and administrative capacity that Mahmud's advisers with one voice declared that Asaf Khan alone could save the country. On his return to Gujarat he was made Vazir in his subsequent career.

Foreign Nobles: Amir Mustafa bin Baharam (Rumikhan) and Khwaja Safar Salmani

Sultan Bahadur had a natural liking for foreigners as may be seen from the fact that he had 10,000 foreign mercenaries in his service. He welcomed adventures of ability and genius, such as Amir Mustafa bin Baharam and Khwaja Safar who were not only enrolled among the noble of his court and bequeathed with high honours and jagirs. It was from this reign that the rivalry and conflict between the natives and foreign Amir's which became acute in later reigns, comes to be noticed. The career of Amir Mustafa, who received at the Gujarat court the title of Rumi Khan, after his signal services in routing Nuno da Cunha's fleet.
at Diu in 1531, distinguished himself as an artillery-captain during the siege operations at Mandu, Ranthambhor and Chitor until his thwarted ambitions led him to betray Bahadur Shah at Mandasor and to desert to the Emperor Humayun.

Khwaja Safar Salmani:

After Rumi Khan's desertion, the leadership of the Turkish mercenaries at the Gujarat court devolved upon Khwaja Safar Salmani who had accompanied Mustafa to Gujarat from Arabia. The Sultana than transferred to Safar all Rumi Khan's fields, Surat, Rander, Thana, Daman, and also the charge of Diu in 1535. [24] We learn from the Portuguese chronicles that Safar was one of those nobles who in February, 1537, accompanied the Sultan on his last fateful visit to Nuno da Cunha on the latter's vessel, and though wounded in the scuffle at sea he managed to save his life. For a time he assumed a friendly attitude towards the Portuguese who than became all powerful at Diu and was by the placed in charge of this great seaport. The most important part of Safar's career, however, belongs to the reign of Mahmud III from whom he received the title of Khudawand Khan. As governor of Surat he built the famous castle on the banks of the Tapti, and his name will for ever remain associated with the two great attempts made by the Gujarat rulers, in 1538 and 1546, for, the recovery of Diu, involving the siege of the Portuguese fort at this place.

Philip Baldaeus’s Account of Bahadur Shah’s Death:

A detailed account of the circumstances leading to the death of Sultan Bahadur is given by Philip Baldaeus, a Dutchman who was Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon. He wrote a work entitled ‘A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar Coromandel as also the Isle of Ceylon’, which was printed at Amsterdam in 1672, and was subsequently translated from the Dutch into English in Churchill’s famous collection of Voyages and Travels. Baldaeus, no doubt, wrote or published his work nearly a century and a half after the events took place. He presumably depended for his information, on the works of the Portuguese historians.

Bahadur sues for Peace:

Bahadur Shah entered victoriously into Chitor, where, having rewarded the services on his officers that behaved themselves well with presents, he marched directly against the Mughals (Mogores), but with very different success for being twice put the rout by them and deserted by Mustafa, his general, he was forced to fly to Diu; and being full of despair would have taken a resolution to leave his kingdom and to send his treasure to Mecca. But at the earnest entreaty of his friends (removed from the resolution,) he sent an ambassador to Suleman the Grand Seignior, to offer him six hundred thousand crowns provided he would send a certain number of well disciplined troops to his assistance. But fearing lest the desired succours
should come too late, he offered to Souza, who then lay before Chaul, as also to Nuno da Cunha (non us Acunia), a proper place for the erecting a fort near Diu provided they would assist him against his enemies.

As the Portuguese were willing to take the opportunity by the forelock, Souza sailed to Diu immediately, and being followed by Nuno, the treaty was signed and place assigned, viz. the hill which overlooks the harbour of Diu. This happened in the year 1535. The Portuguese went to work immediately and laid the foundation of a triangular fort, the wall from the sea side to the hill being seventeen feet thick and twenty feet high, at the end whereof, just upon a hill, near the city was erected a redoubt, and on the other end a stone tower, from whence extended another wall to the other corner of the island, the wall was defended by a deep ditch, so far as the rocks would permit, in the midst whereof was a gate defended by two towers, named St. James. Thus King Bahadur saw the fortress well perfected by the Portuguese within 49 days that part to the sea-side being set aside till another opportunity.

One commander, James Botelho, but fallen into disgrace. With Manuel, King of Portugal, being restored to the King's favour, got a brigantine built on purpose of 18 feet length, and six broad and having provided himself with as many seamen as were required to manage her at sea, he set sail from Diu, without letting them know whither they were bound, and proved so
prosperous in his voyage that without any remarkable accident he arrived safely at Lisbon, and brought information to the King of their success at Diu.

**Fresh Differences between Bahadur Shah and the Portuguese:**

The Portuguese left a garrison of 800 men under Emanuel Souza in the fort, and were no sooner retired from there with their fleet, Bahadur began to repent of his having admitted the Portuguese into the isle of Diu. He ordered the Governor Ninnar to surround the city with a new wall, and to enclose the royal square without the palace, whereby their fortifications must approach very near to and lie directly opposite to, those of the Portuguese. These being resolved not to permit a thing of this nature, which must needs tend to their prejudice, Bahadur was much incensed thereat, exclaiming highly against their proceedings and endeavored to have surprised them in their fort; which not succeeding, he sought for aid from the Zamorin of Calicut and several Malabar kings against them.

**Nuno Sailed Again for Diu:**

Nuno, being advertised of all these treacheries, sailed once more with twenty ships and 500 chosen Portuguese soldiers for Diu, ordering Martin Alphonoso to follow him from the Malabar coast. No sooner did he cast anchor at Diu, but feigning
21. DEATH OF SULTAN BAHADUR SHAH AT DIU ISLAND AND NUNO DA CUNHA
himself sick aboard, he sent certain persons to compliment King Bahadur who went aboard together with Souza, the governor of the fort, to give a visit to Nuno, who met Bahadur at the door of his great cabin, and saluted him with a great deal of civility. For though the death of Bahadur was resolved on beforehand, that might not seem to violate the laws of hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution thereof till his return toward the shore. It was not long before Bahadur went into his boat again in order to return, but was no sooner got into it, and making the best way to the shore, when Nuno giving the signal to his men and exhorting them to do their duty, they leaped into boats kept for that purpose, and following that of Bahadur, attacked him from all sides.

The Bravery of A Servant of Bahadur Shah:

The King becoming desperate, exhorted his people to a brave defense, encouraging both by his words and example; which made the fight so obstinate that the Portuguese were in danger of losing their prey, Souza himself being slain in the first attack. The bravery of a certain servant of Bahadur deserves our particular notice, he being observed to have wounded with eighteen arrows, according to many Portuguese, till he was killed.
by a musket shot himself. In the meanwhile, three yachts, armed with Turk were sent from the shore to succor the King; but being most of them killed, and the Kings galley struck upon the bank, he leaped into the sea, and though sorely wounded, did swim to the galley of Tristan Payva, and discovering himself to be the Sultan, begged his life; which Tristan Payva, would willingly have granted; but just when the Sultan was entering the vessel, he was slain by a seaman who knocked his brains out with a club. This was the unfortunate end of Bahadur, one of the most potent king of Asia, who not long before had been terror to all the circumjacent countries. [25]