Muhammad bin Tughlak's rule, although inefficient and ineffective, is a landmark in the history of India because, for the first time, Muslim rule was extended to almost all parts of India except the deep south. Gujarat was one of the provinces of the great sprawling Empire of the Tughlaks, which established an independent Sultanate after the death of Firoz Shah Tughlak.

Sultan Ahmed Shah was the grandson of Muzaffar (1391 - 1411) whom Firoz Shah Tughlak ennobled in 1351. He was a convert Tak Rajput who was made the Governor of Gujarat in 1391. By 1396 he had made himself practically independent. Anhilawad Patan continued as his capital and Cambay, despite physical and commercial deterioration in the 13th and 14th centuries, retained its premier place as a port of international trade on the West Coast. Ahmed Shah made no pretence regarding his ambition to establish an independent Kingdom in Gujarat. He was challenged by some Turkish nobles who, in order to deprive him of his commercial wealth, raided and laid waste Cambay. But Ahmed Shah succeeded in retaining Cambay and defending the Kingdom. In 1411 he proclaimed himself the Sultan of Gujarat.
The shifting of the major trade route of Gujarat, with the founding of the exclusive Kingdom of Gujarat under the Solanki Dynasty, from the Ujjain-Broach route to the Anhilawad Patan-Cambay route, had certain disastrous effect on the trade of Broach. Broach had gradually accepted the locational advantages which Cambay enjoyed in relation to the capital of the Gujarat Kingdom and in the context of the change in its major trade route. Ahmed Shah was not slow in realising the need for stabilising the main artery of his Kingdom and continued to maintain his links with Cambay. The Sultanate Period therefore saw the completion of the work started by the Solankis, that of making Cambay, the main outlet of the Gujarat Kingdom. Ahmed Shah went a step further to strengthen Cambay's communications with its hinterland by shifting his capital further south, to the old site of Asawal, (Karnavati of the Solankis) which was an important market town on the Patan-Cambay route. By the time Ahmed Shah founded the Kingdom of Gujarat, Patan had become too vulnerable to the Turkish-Afghan hordes who were pouring into India through the north-western passes. A capital further south and nearer to the major port of Cambay, was necessary, both for the defence of his Kingdom and for its commerce. He founded the city of Ahmedabad, made it his capital, settled weavers and craftsmen in the town and developed many industries with a view to stabilising the commerce of Cambay and the economy of his Kingdom.
It is difficult to measure with any accuracy the share of Broach in the trade of the Gujarat Kingdom under the Sultanate. It continued to be overshadowed by the superior locational advantages of Cambay which the changing political and commercial accidents endowed on it. Most of the travellers of the period, when the Gujarat Sultanate was at its Zenith, during the reigns of Ahmed Shah (1411-1441) and Muhammad Begada (1459-1517) and during its declining days after Bahadur Shah, speak of the great wealth of the Gujarat Kingdom and the commercial prosperity of Cambay. All products which went in and out of the Gujarat Kingdom were to them products of Cambay or the Kingdom of Kambayat. Duarte Barbosa who was in the service of the Portuguese Government in India between 1500 and 1516 or 1517 must have seen Gujarat during Muhammad Begada's time. He cites Ahmedabad, Cambay, Patan and Champaner as the major towns of Gujarat. Broach, although not comparable to Cambay in commercial wealth, or to Ahmedabad and Patan in manufacturing, seems to have continued as one of the ports of Begada, sharing the general prosperity which an efficient government brought to Gujarat. "Barbasy" (Broach), says Barbosa, "is a good port with much shipping where dealings take place in many kinds of goods, which are taken hence in many directions." "In these places" he says "the king has his Governors and Collectors of Custom which yield him great revenue, also a great sum of money from the dues of merchandise.
of which all the towns are full\textsuperscript{(1)} Broach was thus at least an important enough town under Sultanate to have a governor, a collector and customs officer. Its revenues seem to have been large and these mostly came from its merchandise. Broach was however only one of the 84 ports of the Gujarat Kingdom, and had to compete, not only with Cambay, on which were bestowed many facilities, both natural and manmade, at this time, but also with other smaller ports of which the long Gujarat and Saurashtra coasts had a large number, with long-standing, experience in overseas trade like Broach. But Broach, although crippled by competition and physical deterioration, seems to have survived at least as a market town in the hinterland of Cambay and also as a port in its own right. Barbosa's account of Broach confirms that Broach did share in the general prosperity of the Gujarat Kingdom of which almost every traveller of the period speaks with admiration. Pires, Duarte Barbosa, Linschoten and Caesar Frederici give eloquent accounts of the wealth of Gujarat. "The Kingdom of Gujarat", says Barbosa, "is very great and possesses many towns and cities both along the coast and inland and many sea ports with much trade where dwell great merchants, both Moors and Heathen, who trade here with great abundance of goods.\textsuperscript{(2)} He speaks of the "Baneans" who were great traders and merchants and who dwelt among the Moors to carry on their trade ...." They have orchards and fruit gardens and
many water tanks wherever they dwell.... they anoint themselves with white sandalwood mixed with saffron and other scents.... they are clad in long cotton and silk shirts, some wear silk and brocade.... they carry no arms except knives, ornamented with gold and silver... they are men who made little use of weapons but the Moors defend them... they are much given to golden earrings set with many precious stones, rings on their fingers and golden girdles on their clothes". (3) This is a picture of an affluent merchant community, inclined to very luxurious living, carrying on a peaceful trade along with the Moors, (Muslims) on whom they depended for protection, to carry on their vocation in times of calamity or danger.

Barbosa also refers to the might of the King of Gujarat. The king, he says, has a great court with many horsemen and elephants. "He always keeps 400 to 500 great and fine elephants which he purchases at the sea ports where they are brought for sale". (4) He also notices the great number of foreigners, Turks, Mamaluks, Arabs, Persians and others who traded in Gujarat. (5) Ahmedabad, according to him, was a very rich city but during his time the King lived in Champaner, a frontier town on the Gujarat-Malwa route. Patan, says Barbosa, "has much coloured silk cloth, richly embroidered which is worn throughout India, Malacca and Bengal." (6)
Caesar Frederici, who came to India about 1563, when the Gujarat Sultanate was on the decline also speaks of the great trade and wealth of the Gujarat Kingdom. Cambay had by this time declined, due partly to the siltation of the navigation channels in the Gulf of Cambay and partly due to the political instability of the Gujarat Kingdom. Ships had to anchor at Diu which was a Portuguese stronghold in his time, and transport the cargo in small ships which could sail up to Cambay. The Indians, however, had to get a licence from the Portuguese to trade at Diu. Still Kambayat had a great trade with West Asia and the Far East. He notices also the industries of Cambay.

The Industries of Gujarat:

The travellers of this period give an account of the industrial wealth of Gujarat. There was no doubt a concentration of economic activity in Ahmedabad, the capital town, Cambay, the major port, and Anhilawad Patan, the one time Solanki capital and the seat of the Viceroy of Gujarat under the Delhi Sultanate. Champaner, a temporary seat of the Sultan of Gujarat is also cited by Barbosa as a centre of production. Broach by virtue of its location on the Malwa-Cambay route and the Deccan-Cambay route, its long standing experience in commerce and manufacturing, its status as the seat of a governor under the Sultanate, with several commercial and administrative Offices attached to it, was also a production centre.
Barbosa mentions the leather industry of Gujarat.\(^{(8)}\)

It was an old industry mentioned by Masudi in the 10th century and by Marco Polo in the 13th century. Although Cambay was its centre, it was an old enough industry to have taken root in the major ports and market towns of Gujarat. The industries of Gujarat (and of India in general) were always a family organisation and were dispersed in both towns and villages, if there was a market for their products. Leather and hides are spoken of as one of the major exports of Gujarat at this time, and Broach, which was still a port of note and a centre of production, must have attracted some of the major industries of Gujarat to some extent.

The agate and stone polishing industry was originally located in Broach when it was the major port of Gujarat. The 13th century travellers hardly notice Cambay as the centre of the industry. But both Varthema (1503-1508) and Duarte Barbosa (1501-1517) mention that it was located in Cambay.\(^{(9)}\) Sometime after the decline of Broach and the rise of Cambay as the major outlet of Gujarat, the agate industry was shifted to Cambay for convenience of export. Since Muhammad Begada was the ruler, who stabilised the Sultanate in Gujarat, and introduced various crafts and industries into Ahmedabad and Cambay, the agate industry probably shifted to Cambay during his reign in the late 15th or
early 16th century. But the agate still came from Limudara, according to Barbosa, a place identified as Limodra near Ratanpur in Rajpipla. Barbosa says that Limudara was situated on the Narbada which was navigable up to Broach. There is no doubt that even when the industry was shifted, most of the agate went to Cambay through Broach because of the facility of cheap water transport. Barbosa also says that the stone workers and polishers of Gujarat were so clever that they could prepare artificial stones which could not be distinguished from real stones. They also made artificial pearls. "Here are many workers in stones and makers of false stones and pearls of divers (diverse) sorts which appear to be real."(11)

Ivory work, making of ivory bracelets, bedsteads and chess boards inlaid with ivory, are mentioned by Barbosa. Gujarat, he says, produced wooden chariots, bracelets, sword hilts inlaid with ivory work, chess boards, dices and other articles of ivory.(12) Linschoten also speaks of the use of ivory bracelets by the women of Gujarat.(13) He refers to the mother of pearls inlay work, tortoise shell work etc.(14) Caesar Frederici says that Gujarat had "an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannii or bracelets of elephants teeth of divers colours...."(15) Ralph Fitch who came much later (1583) also says, "Here the women wear upon their arms infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth..."(16) Other industries mentioned are the arms industry of Ahmedabad,(17) lacquer work, amber work,
manufacture of scents, camphor, aromatics, making of turbans, soaps, quilts, silk carpets, woven with silk and gold thread, cotton and woollen carpets, vegetable dyes, gold, silver, coral and carnelian work etc. (18)

But one of the main industries of Gujarat was the textile industry and almost every town of note and even villages had a cloth industry suited to the needs of its market. Varthema, Barbosa and Caesar Frederici mention cloth as one of the staple exports of Gujarat. The concentration of skilled textile workers in Cambay reminded Barbosa of the textile cities of Flanders and France. (19) But Cambay was not the only centre of textile industry. Broach was well known for its fine and coarse cloth, printed material, cloth woven with silk, silver and gold thread etc. The textile industry like all other industries was dispersed in the towns and villages, each with a specialisation in design or texture. Cambay, which is reported to have exported 20 different kinds of cloth, drew them mainly from its rich hinterland. Patan, Ahmedabad, Broach, Dholka and many other towns were rich in textiles. Barbosa refers to the richly embroidered coloured silk of Patan, (20) of the great trade of Diu in silk cloth and country cotton, (21) and of the cotton trade of Gandevi with Malabar. (22) About Cambay's textile industry, he says, "Here are woven white cotton fabrics, both fine and coarse, also much silk cloth and coloured
velvets, velvety satins and taffeties, also thick carpets...
People here are of great culture accustomed to good clothing. Caesar Frederici also mentions the infinite quantity and variety of cloth produced in Gujarat. It was the cloth of Gujarat that fetched for it the immense quantity of precious metal and other equally valuable commodities from a far flung foreland stretching from the Mediterranean to China, enabling it to engage in a profitable exchange trade. It could be bartered anywhere for practically any commodity. The accessibility to the textile centres and the possession of a large quantity of Indian cloth gave any kingdom or port a certain monopolistic control over the Indian Ocean trade. It is for this reason that the European traders, who came pouring into India after the discovery of the Cape Route, tried to capture its textile and allied industries. Certain valued commodities like ivory and gold from East Africa, and spices from the Far East, could be had only in exchange for Indian cloth.

From the accounts of travellers, Gujarat seems to have had a large enough surplus from her factories and farms under the Sultanate, to engage in a profitable trade with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports, the coasts of Arabia and Africa and with Ceylon, Burma, the Far Eastern Archipelagos and China. A convenient location, midway between the Mediterranean and the Far East, had always given Gujarat and its ports
a certain natural advantage over the eastern ports, in an east-west trade, an advantage which could be easily exploited by an efficient and wise administration. The Gujarat Sultans were far sighted enough to provide the facilities to improve its trade. It is this trade that evoked the administration of Sikander Lodi (1488-1518), a contemporary of Muhammad Begada, who observed the "the magnificence of the King of Delhi rests on wheat and barley while that of the King of Gujarat rests on coral and pearls". (25)

It was during the reigns of Ahmed Shah, his two successors and Muhammad Begada, a period of a little more than hundred years (1411-1517), that the trade of Gujarat, with the Indian Ocean States, reached its peak after touching a low in the 13th and 14th centuries. But the revival of trade under the Sultanate brought with it a revival of the trade of Cambay. As during the Solanki Period, Cambay eclipsed Broach in overseas trade during the Sultanate Period as well. Broach was only one of the many ports of Begada's Kingdom. At one time Begada had under his control 84 ports, most of which had a thriving overseas trade. Barbosa mentions besides Cambay, the ports of Patan, Curiate (Sorath) Mangalor (Mangrol), Dio (Div), Guogarim (Gogha), Barbasy (Broach), Guindarim (Gandhar), Reynel (Rander), Curate (Surat), Dinuy (Dinny), Baxai (Vasai or modern Bassein) and Tana-Majambu (Thana). Thana-Majambu he says is almost on the boundary of
the Kingdom of Cambay. (26) The trade of the Gujarat Kingdom was thus diffused and shared by its many ports each of which had perhaps its own hinterland while Cambay overshadowed all of them. Cambay itself had to combat with the physical deterioration of the navigation channels in the Gulf leading to the port. Muhammad Begada, it is reported, had to keep the channels to Cambay open by dredging them at a very high cost. Barbosa says that heavy silting along the coast between Cambay, Broach and Gandhar had made sailing dangerous during his time. The approaches to Broach were quite unserviceable. Cambay also suffered from the ravages of nature but as the major port of the Kingdom, it received the attention of the administration. Muhammad Begada not only dredged the navigation channels to Cambay at a high cost, but also maintained an efficient machinery to pilot the ships safely to Cambay. Broach on the other hand, being only a minor port and more often, during the period, handicapped by being on the frontiers of the Kingdom and by distance from its core, hardly received any special facility, except that afforded by the local authorities. After Muhammad Begada's death in 1517, Cambay was also neglected. Its navigation channels silted up and trade moved to Diu. Diu became the port of Cambay. Large ships anchored at Diu and goods were transported to Cambay in small boats. (27) Linschoten and De Laval mention that Diu had become the port of Cambay. (28) Beyond Gandhar on the mainland and Gogha on the Saurashtra coast, large
ships could not sail. Probably this is the reason why Barbosa mentions Broach only in passing. While Diu maintained close links with Cambay, because it was still the major commercial centre of the Gujarat Kingdom, Broach had the advantage of being nearest to the Diu - Gogha coast across the Gulf of Cambay. But sailing up to Broach from Gogha or Piram was never at any time easy. Even when its fame was at its height, sailing to Broach was impeded by the shoals along the coast and the low flat nature of the country according to the Periplus. Under the Sultanate, Broach had ceased to be a major port and there was no incentive to improve its facilities. Diego Ribero's map of the world, known as the second Borgian Map, dated 1529, does not include Broach. But that it was a port, and had an overseas trade of its own, is confirmed by Duarte Barbosa. It had a share in the prosperous trade of Gujarat.

**COURSE OF THE TRADE OF GUJARAT IN THE 15th and 16th CENTURIES**

a) The Red Sea Ports, the Ports of the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Coast:

In the 15th and 16th centuries also Cambay overshadowed Broach in overseas trade. The general course of the trade of all the Gujarat ports including Broach was about the same. To the west it traded with the Persian Gulf, the Arabian and Red Sea coast and the coasts of the Horn and East Africa. To the east it had trade links upto China.
Ships from the Gujarat coast went to Mokha, Aden and Suez and from thence to Alexandria which was the chief mart for Indian goods in the Mediterranean. Here the European traders came to buy the luxury goods of the east. Barbosa mentions that Jedda, Mecca, Mokha, Aden, Guardafui, Berbera and Zeila, all commanding the Red Sea route, had a good trade with Gujarat. The rivalry of the Portuguese, who had already discovered the Cape Route in 1498 and had important trading posts in East Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Konkan coast in western India by 1508, had induced the Gujarat Sultan to ally with the Mamluks of Egypt in 1508-09. Muhammad Begada maintained friendly relations with Egypt and Gujarat continued to trade with the Red Sea ports. Later when Bahadur Shah became the Sultan of Gujarat (1526-1536) the Ottoman Turkish Empire had tightened its hold on Abyssinia, Egypt, Mecca, Medina, Socotra and Aden and it permitted Gujaratis to trade at their ports. The Portuguese had failed to take Aden, Berbera and Guardafui in the Red Sea region. The victory of the Caliph and his alliance with Gujarat forced the Portuguese to come to terms with the Ottoman Turks to enable them to trade at the Red Sea ports. The trade of Gujarat with the Red Sea ports therefore lasted longer than that with the Persian Gulf and East Africa, where Portuguese rivalry was keener.
Barbosa says that "many ships came to Guardafui from India and the Kingdom of Cambaya (Gujarat) with much merchandise. Some of them go to Aden, Zeilam (Zeila) and Barbosa (Berbera)". He says that "for these ships those of the king, our Lord, (Portuguese) lie in wait at this spot and capture great booty". (29)

At Berbera he saw "many ships carrying much merchandise from Aden and Cambaya (Gujarat). They carry thence much gold, opium, ivory and divers (diverse) other things". (30) Because of this great trade of Berbera the Portuguese destroyed it in 1518. Zeila also met with the same fate. Zeila had a great number of horses, cattle, butter, milk and flesh, great store of wheat, millet, barley and fruits which were carried to Aden. (31) From Adén they found there way to Gujarat.

Aden, says Barbosa, was a city belonging to the Moors. "To the harbour of this city came ships from all parts, from Juda (Jedda) from whence they bring copper, quick silver, vermilion, coral, woollen and silken cloths and they take thither on their return great store of spices and drugs, cotton cloths, and other wares from the Kingdom of Cambaya." (32) The merchants of Zeila and Berbera came to Aden with many ships laden with food stuffs which they exchanged for cotton cloth and beads, large and small, from Cambaya. (33) "The
ships from the Kingdom of Cambaya came laden with "cloth of many kinds... so great is the number that it seems an astonishing thing..." they bring cotton, drugs (great quantity), gems and pearls in abundance, alaquequas (carne-lians) and to the said Kingdom of Cambaya, they take back madder, opium, raisins, copper, quick silver, vermilion and a great store of rose water, woollen cloth, coloured Mecca velvets, gold in ingots coined, to be coined, (and also some in strings) and camlets... it seems an impossible thing: that they use so much cotton as these ships bring from Cambaya." (34)

Aden was a meeting place for traders from the Mediterranean, the Red Sea ports, East African and Arabian ports, the Persian Gulf ports and the ports of Western India.

On the Arabian coast, Barbosa mentions Xaer (Esn Shihir) Câbo de Fartaque (Ras Fartak), Dofar (Dhofar), Cape de Rosalgate (Ras-l-Hadd) and Char (Sur) which were all held by the Moors. This was the old Frankincense Country which had close trade links with the western coast of India. The region during Barbosa's time, was subject to the King of Aden (35) (the Ottoman Empire) and as such had facilities for trade with the Gujarat Kingdom. The Moors of Cambaya, says Barbosa, "came hither (Xaer) with ships laden with plenty of cotton cloth, both coarse and fine, many perforated garnets, rice, sugar, spices and all sorts of other wares...." (36) After they sell the goods "they bought horses, frankincense, wheat, flesh, grapes, dates.... All the ships, (says Barbosa), come
from India and if they arrive late they cannot go to the Straits of Babel Mandeb, and hence anchor at Xaer or Berbera. In the same way, when returning, if the winds are against them, they go to India hugging the shore and reach the Kingdom of Cambaya."(37)

At Dofar (Dhofar) also Barbosa noticed that the Moors of Cambaya brought cotton cloth, rice and many other goods.

The trade of Gujarat with the Red Sea ports, the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Sea coast continued to be mainly in cotton cloth which was exchanged for gold, copper, mercury, woollen textiles, rose water, madder and slaves. Apart from these, Gujarat traders also took gems, garnets, sugar, spices, and cloth from Chaul and Dabul to Aden and the ports of the Horn and the Red Sea. Although no specific mention is made of the trade of Broach with these ports, by Barbosa or other travellers, it was still a great centre of cloth manufacturing. Cambay's fame as an exporter of textiles to almost all parts of the world, was supported by cloth from many sources, including Broach. Broach was also one of the ports of the Kingdom of Gujarat which had an independent trade with the Red Sea ports, the Arabian coast and the Horn of Africa, a trade which was well established over the previous centuries.
b) Trade of Gujarat with the Persian Gulf Ports:

In the Persian Gulf region, the trade of Gujarat was concentrated at Hormuz (Ormuz) in the early part of the 16th century. It was the main outlet for a very large hinterland including, besides Persia, large parts of Central Asia and Iraq. But when the Ottoman Turks extended their sway to Baghdad and Basra in 1546, Gujaratis began to use Basra and it became the major outlet for Central Asia and Iraq. The Gujarat Sultan allied with Turkey when the Portuguese rivalry became too keen in Hormuz. They had seized Hormuz in 1508 and succeeded in completely subjugating it by 1515. Thereafter it became a necessity for both the Turkish and the Gujarat Sultans to find an alternate outlet on the Persian Gulf to carry on their trade. They succeeded in 1546 when Basra became a Turkish port. With the diversion of Gujarat's trade with the Turkish Empire, to Basra, the Portuguese were forced to come to terms with Turkey. They introduced a system of licences by which they permitted Indians and Arabs to trade at their ports on payment of certain dues. But by this time the Gujarati trade had taken firm roots at Basra, and the facilities offered by the Turkish Sultan in the form of reduced custom dues to draw the eastern trade to his ports, were too profitable to be ignored. Further the Portuguese at Hormuz, despite agreements on licences and payment of dues, still harassed the Gujaratis and plundered their ships.
Gujaratis preferred to trade at Basra, Baghdad, Shahr and Muscat, all under the Turkish Sultan.

In the early part of the 16th century, when Hormuz was the major port on the Persian Gulf for Gujarati trade, many ships came, according to Barbosa, with cloth, pepper, cloves, ginger, cardamon, eaglewood, brasilwood, sandalwood, myrobolans, tamarind, saffron, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, coconuts etc. from the Kingdom of Gujarat and the Konkan ports. The commodities speak of the extensive trade that Gujarat maintained with other parts of India as well as with the Indian Ocean States. Many of these products, cardamon, cloves, pepper, sandalwood, iron, coconuts etc. must have come from the Far East, Ceylon and Malabar. Cloth, indigo, ginger, tamarind etc. were probably from Gujarat itself, while sugar, rice etc. must have come from Malwa and saffron from Kashmir. In return Gujarat took gold, silver alum, copper, silk, pearls, tortoise shell, lapis lazuli, raisins, dates, root ruinas, musk, rhubarb, horses and slaves. Hormuz was well placed in the midst of the Persian sea for ships coming from Aden and those from Gujarat and India. It was also very rich in one of the products very much prized by the traders of the period, namely, pearls. Around the Island of Hormuz, and upto Bahrein, seed pearls could be found everywhere in the Persian Gulf. There were also large pearls which were sent to India at a great profit. The seed pearls and
the large pearls were in great demand in Gujarat. Pearls were available in the Vijayanagaram Empire, (Gulf of Mannar and the seas round the southern Indian coasts) but during the Sultanate Period Gujarat seems to have got its pearls mainly from the Persian Gulf.

Caesar Frederici also speaks of the great trade of the Gujarat Kingdom with Ormuz. By the time he came to India, (1563) Diu had become the port of Cambay and the Portuguese had gained control of it. One of the main reasons for the decay of the Gujarat Kingdom was the capture of Diu by the Portuguese (1531) and the consequent loss of its trade. Broach along with Cambay felt the impact of Portuguese domination in the Indian Ocean trade. Diu controlled the trade of Gujarat. Frederici says that Diu was a great city. "There they laid many great ships for the Straits of Mecca and Ormuz with merchandise which came from the Kingdom of Cambaya----these barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke from China, with sandols, with Elephant's teeth, velvets of Vercine, great quantity of Pannina that cometh from Mecca, chickinos which be pieces of gold worth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money and with diverse sorts of other merchandise.... Also an infinite quantity of cloth made of bumbast of all sorts, as white, stamped and printed, with great quantity of indico, dried ginger and conserved, myrobalans drie and condite, Barosa in paste, great store of
sugar, great quantity of cotton, abundance of opium, assafetida, puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants, great stones like to carnealaes, granats, agats, diaspry, calcidonii, hematists and some kind of natural diamonds". (39) Frederici's list of commodities exported from Gujarat to Hormuz suggests that Diu, the port of Cambay, drew its supplies from a wide enough hinterland. Cotton, cloth, indigo, ginger etc. seem to be products coming from Broach.

Varthema also confirms that textiles formed the bulk of exports from Gujarat to the Persian Gulf. The main imports of Gujarat Kingdom from the Persian Gulf were gold, horses, minerals and certain dyes.

c) Trade of Gujarat with East Africa:

Gujarat's trade with the East African ports was also one of long standing. The efficient administration of Ahmed Shah and Muhammad Begada only gave additional facilities to the merchants who engaged themselves in this trade, which the political instability of the 13th and 14th centuries had deprived them of. Abd-er-Razzak in 1422 and Vasco da Gama in 1498 saw Gujarat merchants trading at Mombasa, Malindi, Kilwa, Mogadishu, Zanzibar, Mafia and Sofala. Both Arab and Indian traders were engaged in this trade. They had trading colonies even in Cape Town, long before the Portuguese
discovered the Cape Route. They knew that Africa was surrounded by a sea. But sailing down the coast beyond Sofala (20°S), to about 10°S latitude, being dangerous, because of the contrary winds and the strong currents, they preferred to meet the natives at one of the above ports or go to the interior by land, up the Zambesi river, and through the natural rift valley routes. On the whole the bulk of the exchange of commodities between the natives and the Indian traders took place at these ports, as the interior was inhabited by unknown races and the local routes were tortuous. The natives brought with them mainly gold and ivory and took back Gujarat cloth, millet and rice. The Moors of Sofala, says Barbosa, waited for the ships from the Kingdom of Cambaya to bring "cotton cloth, some spotted and others white and blue, and some silk, many beads, grey, red and yellow". They paid for the cloth by gold in weight and the Gujarat merchants made a great profit by this trade. At Mogadishu, Barbosa saw a great deal of cloth from the Kingdom of Cambaya. The Kings of Zanzibar, Mafia and Pemba, he says, were clad in silks and cotton from the Gujarat Kingdom. This trade was also disrupted by the Portuguese entry into the Indian Ocean. The naval victory of Muhammad Begada over the Portuguese in 1508 and his alliance with the King of Bijapur and the Mamaluk of Egypt, for a time saved the East African trade of the Gujaratis. But the capture of Diu by the Portuguese in 1531 crippled
the trade of the Kingdom of Cambay. Diu had by now become the outlet of Cambay. Important articles of trade from East Africa such as ivory and gold, with which Gujarat was able to carry on a trade as far east as the Spice Islands, now fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Gujarat's commerce began to crumble. By the middle of the 16th century Gujarati ships stopped going to the East African ports. The Portuguese, with their superior sea power and their piratical habits, overwhelmed the Gujarati traders.

d) The Trade of Gujarat with the Islands of the Indian Ocean, Burma and the Far East:

The Far Eastern trade of Gujarat was also a long standing one, which its location, midway between the East and the west, and the enterprising nature of its merchant community enabled it to conduct, since pre-Mauryan times. The Gujarat merchants had always the opportunity of playing the middle-man's role in the East-West trade. Indian traders had reached South East Asia, the Philippines, China and Japan long before the Europeans discovered them.

Barbosa, Varthema and Pyrard de Laval mention that cowries formed the major item of import to Gujarat from the Maldives. Barbosa says that Palandura (Maldives) was the main source of cowries and that it was used as small money in the Kingdom of Gujarat. De Laval says that a large quantity of cowries, which were used as shell money, came
to Gujarat from the Maldives. From these Islands also tortoise shells to Gujarat which were used in the making of bracelets. (43) Besides cowries, Barbosa says that the Maldives Islands were rich in ambergris, (44) (a secretion from certain species of whales found in the tropical seas), which was valued in Gujarat for making perfumes. It was also used in cookery and in medicines.

The Gujarat Sultanate had a great trade with Ceylon from where came pearls, elephants, cats, eyes, rubies, glass, cinnamon and pepper. (45) In return Gujarat sent cloth, saffron, coral, quick silver and cinnabar, some of them re-exports. (46).

Gujarat had also a profitable trade with Burma. The Patolas of Patan and the silk and cotton cloth of Gujarat were much valued in Pegu. Barbosa says that the merchants of Gujarat brought with them opium, great store of scarlet in grain cloth, coral, vermilion, quick silver, rose water and drugs and returned with lac, mace, cloves and many other goods which came to Pegu from Malacca. Burma was also rich in musk which came from Ava, sugar in leaves, (46) (powdered sugar wrapped up in palm leaves) which probably came from Java, elephants and Benzoin (47) all of which were valued in Gujarat.

In the Far East, Gujarat continued its trade with the Malaysian and Indonesian Archipelago. Malacca was the major
meeting place of merchants from all over. It commanded the narrow Straits of Malacca on which converged the sea routes from the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. The innumerable islands and land masses in the Java-Sunda and China Seas, with their safe anchorages had always attracted a coastwise trade. But Malacca, with its superior locational advantages, with regard to the Spice Islands and Borneo to the east and Java and Sumatra at its door, eclipsed all other ports in the 15th and 16th centuries and continued as one of the most important control points on the east-west sea routes, when the Europeans came to the eastern waters in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is for this reason that it was taken by the Arabs in 1411, the year Ahmed Shah established the Gujarat Sultanate. It remained with the Arabs till 1511, when it was taken by the Portuguese. During the reigns of Ahmed Shah and Muhammad Begada, Malacca was, therefore, an Arab port and their friendship with the Arab traders paved the way for close links between the Gujarat ports and Malacca. But the policy of the Portuguese was different from that of the Arabs. They wanted a monopoly of the east-west trade and they depended on their sea power to control the narrow straits and gulfs through which passed the major sea routes. Albourquerque, the Portuguese East India Trading Company's representative in India, explained his policy thus "If Malacca is taken Cairo and Mecca will be ruined and Venice
will have to get its spices from Portugal." (48) The spices of the Moluccas had become one of the most important commodities in the Far Eastern trade by the 15th century and the sea route through the Malacca Straits controlled this trade. The trade through the South China Sea, which had given prominence to the ports of Indo China in the East-West trade, in the Mauryan and the Andhra-Kushana period, had given place to a concentration of trade with Malaya, Java and Sumatra with the establishment of "Greater India" under the Guptas in South East Asia, without much decline in the South China Sea trade. But by the 15th century, the ports visited by Indian traders were mainly in Malaya, Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, Amboyna and Borneo.

Barbosa's account of Malacca and its trade pertains to the latter part of Muhammad Begada's rule, just before and after it was taken by the Portuguese in 1511. But the Indian Ocean trade on the whole was falling into the hands of the Portuguese with the capture of Hormuz and Muscat at the entrance to the Persian Gulf by them in 1508, Jedda and Socotra which gave access to the Red Sea, in 1512-1513 and Goa on the Indian Coast, in 1510. To Malacca, says Barbosa, came a great deal of silk, porcelain, damask, brocades, pearls and many other goods from different countries. (49) The Heathen and Moorish (Muslims) merchants who came to Malacca for trade brought with them a great quantity of Gujarat cloth. They
exchanged Indian cloth for the products of Malacca and also traded directly with Java, Sumatra, Champa, Sulu, Borneo, Timor, BanCam, Amboyna, and the Moluccas. They took with them pepper, incense, Gujarat cloths dyed in grain, saffron, coral, printed and white cotton cloths, vermilion, opium, quick silver, and drugs and they traded everywhere in goods of all kinds.

Java, says Barbosa, was rich in pepper, cinnamon, ginger and also gold. The inhabitants he says were Moors and Heathens. They had a Heathen King who dwelt in the interior. The Moors were found in the sea-havens and were subject to the Heathen King but they possessed great towns and villages. The lesser Java (Java Minor) also had a Heathen King but there were Moors, Arabs and Persians trading in the Islands.

Sumatra had an abundance of pepper, silk and gold. Pedir and Pasai (Pase) had dealings with Malacca and the former had long been known to Gujarat as the principal entrepot for pepper. Arabs or semi-Arab sailors were familiar with the Eastern Archipelago. Pacem (Pasai) was also known for pepper.

Champa was under a Heathen King. It was rich in elephants, aloes wood and eaglewood which were much priced in India.
Borneo was under a Heathen King. It had a great store of camphor, greatly esteemed by the Indians, and worth its weight in silver. (57)

Timor was under an independent King. "The island had an abundance of white sanders-wood (sandal wood) which the Moors in India and Persia value greatly.... In Malabar, Narsyangua (Vijayanagaram) and the Kingdom of Cambaya it was much esteemed." (58) Many ships came from the Kingdom of Gujarat and from Malacca with Gujarat cloth and exchanged it for sandalwood.

At Bandam (Banda), Barbosa found both Moors and Heathens trading. It had an abundance of nutmeg and mace that they burnt it. (59) These also could be exchanged for cloth from Gujarat, silk, copper, silver, vermilion, tin, lead etc. (60)

At Ambam (Amboyna), says Barbosa, Gujarat cloths "are held in high esteem and every man toils to hold so great a pile of them that when they are folded and laid on the ground, one on the other, they form a pile as high as himself. Whoso possesses this, holds himself to be free and alive, for if he be taken captive he cannot be ransomed save for so great a pile of cloths." (61)

Moluquo (Moluccas) belonged to both the Heathens and the Moors, says Barbosa. The Islands were rich in cloves.
The Tanarte King, who was a Moor, ruled all the islands formerly, but the rebelled and made themselves independent. Ships from Malacca and Java came here to take the cargo and they took away with them copper, quick silver, porcelain, metal bells, vermilion and cloth from Cambaya. (62)

In the Celebes also, Barbosa found cloth from Gujarat. (63) It was also rich in cloves.

In Bangaya (Island of Banggi off the northern most point of Borneo), much iron was found. It had a Heathen King. It also traded with Gujarat.

Solor (Sulu), also ruled by a Heathen "had much gold, ("found by washing the earth and in grains in the rivers") also great store of seed pearls and good pearls also, perfect in colour but not in roundness". (64)

Duarte Barbosa did not know China, but based his knowledge of it from the reports of "Heathens and Moors" Its inhabitants were great merchants. "They make here great store of porcelain which is good merchandise everywhere, very good silk, from which they make great store of damask cloths, satins and also brocades. There is here also abundance of rhubarb, musk, silver and seed pearls. They also make beautiful gilded ornamental articles such as very rich boxes, wooden dishes, salt cellars and other cunning things.
and for this there are very many skilful men".\(^{(65)}\) The Chinese merchants, he says, sailed to Malacca, "with all the Chinese goods which have a great sale there". They returned "with cloth from Cambaya, pepper, iron, saltpetre, raw silk, opium, coral and incense, which the merchants from all over bring to Malacca".\(^{(66)}\)

All these countries, stretching from the Maldives to China had very valuable products sought after by the merchants of Gujarat as elsewhere, such as pepper, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, sandalwood, eaglewood, aloes wood, camphor, musk, precious stones, lac, silver, gold, iron, silk, damask and brocades all of which could be exchanged for the products of Gujarat (mainly cloth), the Persian Gulf, Arabia, the Red Sea region and East Africa. The Gujarat Kingdom, under the Sultanate, was in alliance with the Hamaluks of Egypt and the Caliph of Turkey. The Gujarat Sultans also maintained cordial relations with the Arabs who had trading colonies in the major ports and were the main carriers of trade. The Arabs allowed the Indians to trade side by side with them. Gujarat also possessed one of the most valuable commodities which entered the Indian Ocean trade and which was in demand everywhere, namely cotton textiles of infinite variety. She had also other commodities like indigo, carnelians, drugs, medicines etc. She could convert raw material into manufactured goods of great value in her workshops and produce goods such as
inlaid ivory work, lacquer work, precious stone and pearl work, wood work, perfumes etc. In more ways than one, Gujarat (and India) was a manufacturing country exchanging its manufactured goods for the raw material of many other countries. She also acted as middleman in the trade of the Indian Ocean, passing the goods of one country to another and making a profit out of this trade. It was a diffused trade which depended largely on the business acumen of private merchants and their preferences to trade at particular ports. The Government, if it was far sighted enough, gave all facilities to the merchants in overseas trade, because they fetched a great deal of revenue and supported the King's ambitious conquests and projects.

e) Coastal Trade of Gujarat:

Gujarat had a flourishing trade with the ports of Maharashtra, Kanara, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal. Goods of Gujarat were exchanged for those from Malabar at Chaul, Dehul and Danda Rajapur. But when the Portuguese established themselves at Goa in 1510, at Chaul in 1521 and at Diu in 1531, the coastal trade of Gujarat with the Konkan ports suffered. In 1532 the Portuguese burnt Daman, Surat and the cities from Bassein to Tarapur. In 1535 they captured Bassein. By 1569 they had ransacked the entire coast from Cambay to Cochin. The piratical activities of the Portuguese affected the trade of Gujarat with the Konkan ports, and it declined.
The trade was diverted to Goa and the Portuguese strongholds of Bassein, Daman and Chaul, while the Gujaratis continued to trade at Dabul and Danda Rajapur.

On the Kanara coast Gujarat maintained trade with Bhatkal, Basrur, Bera, Udipuram and Mangalore. From Bhatkal came sugar, pepper, ginger, cloves, mace, nutmegs, brasilandwood etc. from the Far East, silks from China and Malacca and other wares. Goods from Malabar, such as pepper, palm sugar, coconuts, palm wine etc. came to Gujarat through Bhatkal. From Basrur, the main exports to Gujarat were coconuts and coconut oil which were brought from Malabar, some copper and molasses. Mangalore sent mainly rice and also a small quantity of pepper. (69)

Gujarat's trade with Malabar was very prosperous. Malabar had spices which were exported to the West from the Gujarat ports. Calicut, Cannanore and Cochin were the main ports of call for Gujarati ships. The commodities carried away by the Gujarati merchants were pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, myrobalan, tamarind, canafistula, precious stones, seed pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes wood and porcelain. Malabar ships also visited the Gujarat ports of Gogha, Dinni, Gandhar, Diu and Surat. (70) The arrival of the Portuguese and decline of the Gujarat Sultanate affected this trade adversely.
The trade of Gujarat with the Coromandel was carried on through Malabar. There were many Gujarati traders in Calicut and they carried on trade with the Coromandel. They also got the goods from the Coromandel through the Malabar merchants who were mostly Arabs, Persians, Khorasanis and Gujaratis. The Coromandel Coast was rich in pearls and precious stones, printed cotton cloth and other merchandise valued in Gujarat. It had also commodities which came from the Far East.

f) Land Trade.

Despite the fact that the Kingdom of Gujarat was comparatively small, its ports commanded the trade of a large hinterland which was otherwise land locked. The overland trade of Gujarat thrived under the peaceful reign of Muhammad Begada. He encouraged all crafts and made the roads safe for trade. Pires says that goods came to the Gujarat ports from Rajasthan, Delhi and Mandu. But the political instability of Malwa and the Gangetic Plain disrupted this trade. Broach, which was the terminus of the old routes from the Gangetic Plain to Gujarat through Ujjain and Muthura, was particularly affected with the loss of this trade. The main route from Cambay to the Gangetic Plain at this time was through Godhra, Dhar, Ujjain and Gwalior. In the Deccan the Bahmani Kingdoms were at war with each other and the Khandesh route from Broach to the Plateau was rendered ineffective for trade. The major route of the Gujarat Sultanate to the south was
the coastal route which hardly gave any access to the Deccan Plateau because Begada's kingdom was confined to the coast. The coastal route, however, was through Broach. Gujarat towns had a thriving trade between them. Broach, being rich in cloth and the district being known for its agates, carnelians and indigo, had a brisk trade with Cambay, Ahmedabad, Patan and Champaner which are mentioned by Barbosa as the major towns of the Gujarat Kingdom.

By the time of Muzaffar II (1517-1526), the overland trade of Gujarat suffered. He was at war with Malwa. Lawlessness and crime became rampant and trade was hampered by taxes and high dues enforced by the chiefs of the trading towns on the arteries of commerce. They began to wield great power and assert their independence.

When Bahadur Shah (1526-36) ascended the throne, Babar, the Mughal had already defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat and founded the Mughal Dynasty in the Gangetic Plain. Humayun, his son, invaded Gujarat. He sacked Cambay, Ahmedabad, Broach, Rander and Surat. Broach therefore must have been of commercial importance in the first half of the 16th century if it attracted the attention of the early Mughals. Bahadur had also to fight the Deccan kings. The Portuguese had become quite strong in the Indian Ocean and on the coasts of Western India. The merchants of Gujarat fell short of the goods with which to carry on the far flung trade stretching from the
Mediterranean to China. It was the ivory, corals, spices, precious metals, incense, horses, pearls, precious stones, sandalwood, camphor etc. which came from overseas, that largely sustained the overland and sea trade of Gujarat. When the Portuguese gained control of this trade, Gujarat's overland trade also declined.

The continuous attacks of the Mughals on Gujarat forced Bahadur to make a pact with the Portuguese for military help against the Mughals. The price he had to pay was the surrender of Diu (now the main outlet of Cambay), to the Portuguese in 1531. The loss of Diu crippled the trade of Gujarat. It did not bring to the Kingdom the expected help from the Portuguese. When the Portuguese saw the superior strength of the Mughal army they sided with the Mughals but refused to part with Diu. In 1573 Akbar, the Mughal, annexed Gujarat. In 1583-84 Muzaffar III, the last Sultan of Gujarat, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover his Kingdom and the rebellion was squashed by the Mughals. Gujarat became a Mughal Province.
References:

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(9) a. Barbosa, Vol.I., op.cit., pp. 142-45. (For Varthema's account see footnote 1 on pp. 142-43)


   d) See also the Periplus, op.cit., pp. 193-194 for an account on the Agate industry before it was shifted to Cambay.

(17) Translated by Lokhandavala, N.F., Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Gaekwad's Oriental series, Baroda), 1935, pp.46-47.
(22) Barbosa, Vol.I, op.cit., p.137.
(30) Barbosa, Vol.I, op.cit., p.34.
(36) Barbosa, Vol.I, op.cit., p.64.
Barbosa, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 183 and footnote (2) on page 181 and footnote (2) on page 182.


(71) Barbosa, Vol.II, op.cit., p.73 and p.76.