Foreign Relations of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujerat with special reference to the Portuguese & Turkey

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Bahadur Shah was the last valiant Sultan of independent Gujerat. There was none like him in the dynasty as courageous and magnanimous. Immediately after his accession to the throne he decided to expand his kingdom. In 934 A.H./1527 A.D. the Sultan started from Champaner towards Deccan to help Ala-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Berar, against Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. After defeating Nizam Shah he occupied Ahmednagar in 936 A.H./ 1529 A.D. Nizam Shah appears to have accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan of Gujerat.[1]

Bahadur Shah was not on good terms with the Portuguese, who had some Indian ports in their possession. The latter had an energetic governor Nuno da Cunha, who had arrived at Goa in October, 1529.[2] In the beginning of 1530, the new governor changed the headquarters of the Portuguese possessions in Western India from Cochin to Goa, which from that date became the capital of their possessions in India.[3] Cunha had a mind to seize the port-city of Diu, and include it in Portuguese India. Accordingly, a large fleet of 400 including 199 warships was prepared for occupying Diu. The Portuguese forces consisted of 3600 Portuguese soldiers, about 2000 Malabaris, 8000 slaves and 6460 seamen including 5000 native seamen.[4]

With such a formidable fleet Nuno da Cunha left Goa on January 6, 1531 and proceeded towards Diu.[5]

The Portuguese fleet at last arrived at the island of Bete on February 7, 1531.[6] This rocky island was strong by nature and was garrisoned by a small force of 800 soldiers alongwith 1,000 labourers. The besieged were willing to surrender on honourable terms but the Portuguese Governor insisted on their enslavement. The garrison, losing all hopes of survival, killed their wives and children and fought vigorously till every living soul on the island was killed.[7]

Arrival of a Turkish Fleet under Amir Mustafa in India in February 1531

While the island of Bete was being assaulted by the Portuguese, a Turkish fleet under Amir Mustafa and Khawaja Sefer reached Diu without any hindrance from the Portuguese. It is said that Amir Mustafa's force consisted of 600 Turks and 1300 Arabs.[8] He had also with him considerable amount of artillery. According to a contemporary source the Turkish adventurer had also brought 7 cannon.[9]

Evidently the arrival of Amir Mustafa at the Port of Diu, at such a critical monent when the defenders were in need of such assistance, ultimately changed the whole aspect of affairs.

The island of Diu at that time was governed by Malik Toghan ibn Malik Ayaz, who was the representative of Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujerat. According to Ulugh Khani[10] the Turkish admiral was received warmly by Malik Toghan, who treated him with great respect and honour.

Immediately after his arrival at Diu island, Amir Mustafa took charge of its defence in his own hands. The superior Turkish artillery was mounted, the entrances to the city were mined and every other possible step was taken. Amir Mustafa by these measures greatly strengthened the defensive position of the city.

The Portuguese fleet after the devastation of the island of Bete anchored off Diu and covered the sea in front of it.

The Portuguese fleet repeatedly assaulted the city, but Amir Mustafa gave them such a poundering with his artillery that Nuno

da Cunha's ship was compelled to shift her berth. On the following day the city was heavily bombarded, without intermission, from a distance of some 50 yards with 40 pounder guns. However, the Portuguese ships were repulsed off Diu, with heavy losses. The enemy in despair raised the siege and retreated on the evening of 19th February 1531, leaving an enormous cannon, behind.[11]

Retreat of a formidable Portuguese fleet from Diu, evidently increased the reputation of the Ottoman Sultan and he was ultimately considered as the most powerful Muslim sovereign of the age.

While Bahadur Shah was besieging the fort of Chitor, the Portuguese fleet reached Diu. On hearing this news, he immediately raised the siege of Chitor and came to Champaner. By that time, the Portuguese attack was repulsed and the enemy had retreated.

Amir Mustafa, the Turkish admiral, whose valour had saved Diu, was called on by the Sultan at Champaner, where he was received with great honour by Bahadur Shah. The Sultan bestowed on Amir Mustafa the title of Rumi Nasir Khan and Khawaja Sefer Selmani was granted the title of Khudawand Khan. Furthermore, Bahadur Shah recognised the great services of the Turkish adventurer by appointing him as Governor over Raner, Surat and all the adjoining coast as far as Muhaim, to which he afterwards added Diu.[12]

Bahadur Shah of Gujerat within a few years after his succession to the throne came to be regarded as one of the greatest Muslim rulers of his time, and many Indian princes sought his aid against their opponents. Not only this, but Gujerat was a place of shelter for every one who sought the protection of the king of Gujerat. However, in the prime of his reign, Bahadur Shah made a political mistake, which in the forthcoming years provided opportunity to the Portuguese to increase their influence in Western India. Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a rebel fleeing from Delhi came to Gujerat, where he was given asylum by Bahadur Shah. An ambassador was sent with letters by the Emperor Humayun, demanding the surrender of the rebellious Muhammad Zaman Mirza. Bahadur Shah, instead of setting the matter diplomatically, sent a scoffing reply. This insolent

answer annoyed Humayun, who ultimately resolved to march against Bahadur Shah to punish him.[13]

While Bahadur Shah was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Humayun arrived at Gwalior with a large army. During Bahadur Shah's siege of Chitor, Humayun waited at Gwalior for Bahadur Shah to finish his ghazwah. Bahadur Shah carried on the siege of Chitor, and finally seized it by storm, and secured enormous booty. Bahadur Shah then marched to the fortress of Mandasor where he entrenched his army in a camp with superior artillery, commanded by Amir Mustafa Rumi Khan. For two months the armies of two Muslim monarchs remained confronting each other, but the soldiers avoided to venture within range of guns and rockets. Humayun's strict measures to blockade the supplies of Bahadur's camp ultimately resulted in a famine in Bahadur's Camp. Bahadur Shah perceiving that he might be taken prisoner, lost heart and fled. After his flight, the Gujerat troops were dispersed.[14]

It is interesting to note here that Amir Mustafa Rumi Khan, the Turkish adventurer, who had played a significant part during the Portuguese siege of Diu in 1531, deserted Bahadur Shah at Mandasor and went to Humayun who received him cordially.

After his flight from Mandasor Bahadur Shah, first reached Mandu, then fled to Champaner. Meanwhile Humayun captured Mandu. After the fall of Mandu, Humayun went off to Champaner in pursuit of the king of Gujerat. On being informed of the arrival of Humayun, Bahadur left the place hurriedly for Cambay.

It is said that at Cambay, there were about 100 ships and other war-material prepared with the purpose of driving the Portuguese out of India. At a critical moment when Humayun was following him he ordered everything to be set on fire so that Humayun might not capture them. Bahadur, then hurried off to the port of Diu.[15]

Bahadur Shah, after repeated blows at the hands of Humayun, lost almost the whole of his kingdom except Surat. Greatly distressed, he tried to obtain assistance from any quarter who could help him in recovering his kingdom.

During his refuge in the city of Diu, he started negotiations with the Portuguese to secure their help in recovering his kingdom. Ultimately a treaty of peace was concluded in October 1535 between the King of Gujerat and Nuno da Cunha and it was agreed that Bahadur Shah would grant the Portuguese a place of their choice for a fortress in Diu on the condition that they would have no claim to any dues and rents. It was also agreed that Governor would assist him (Bahadur Shah) in the name of the King of Portugal both at sea and on land and similarly the King of Gujerat was to assist the Portuguese when required by them with his men and fleet.[16]

It appears that the Portuguese were only interested in obtaining a site for the fortress and actually not sincere to assist Bahadur Shah, who might, after recovering his kingdom, try to dislodge them from Diu.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the Portuguese Governor immediately started the work of constructing the fort at Diu. The wall from the sea-side to the hill being 17 ft. thick and 20 ft. high was erected and within five months—in March 1536, the construction work was completed. The governor left a garrison of 900 men, along with 60 cannon, many matchlocks and other supplies under Manuel de Souza in the fort of Diu.[17]

Conceiving the real motives of the Portuguese, Bahadur Shah ordered the construction of a wall with a rampart to separate the Gujeratis from the Portuguese. However, being in a weaker position he desisted from completing the construction work of the wall.[18]

In the meantime, situation in Northern India took a dramatic change by the revolt of Sher Shah Suri against the authority of Humayun. After learning of Sher Shah Suri, Humayun immediately left Gujerat, leaving his brother Mirza Askari in charge of the place and returned to Agra, where he planned a new campaign against Sher Shah. The withdrawal of Humayun provided an opportunity to Bahadur, who with the cooperation of his nobles, succeeded in regaining his kingdom within a short time.

It will be interesting to mention here that Bahadur Shah, after repeated defeats at the hands of the Mughul army, made plans to

escape to Mecca. However, later on he changed his mind. Nevertheless, he entrusted his harem and treasures to his vazir Asaf Khan and ordered him to proceed for Mecca.

Asaf Khan set out from Diu alongwith his household, the royal-family and several nobles in 7 sailing ships in Rabi-II, 942 A.H./ October 1935 A.D , proceeded to Mecca via Jeddah, where he according to the instructions of Bahadur Shah, distributed a large amount of gold.[19]

At that time Husrev was the acting governor of Egypt. On learning that Bahadur's treasures and property had arrived at Jeddah, he at once sent a letter to the Emin of Jeddah, ordering him to confiscate all the property and treasures of the Sultan of Gujerat. Thereupon the governor was informed by the said Emin about the inventory of the property; some of it avowed property (Nezir Mali) and the rest presents. Asaf Khan by that time had reached Egypt. He appealed to the governor to cancel this order. Husrev Pasha then issued orders to the Emin for exempting the property. Nevertheless, he sent a steward (Kethuda) Ferhat by name with Hajjaj, who seems to have obtained 3,000 'miskal' of gold and few other things for Husrev Pasha and 6,000 'miskal' of gold for himself.[20]

While Asaf Khan was in Egypt, he got instructions from Bahadur Shah, who by that time had recovered his kingdom, for sending an ambassador to the Sublime Porte in order to strengthen his relations with the Osmanli Sultan Suleyman Khan.

It should be mentioned here that the diplomatic relations between the Osmanli Sultans and the Muslim rulers of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent had been first established soon after the conquest of Istanbul, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, by the Osmanli Sultan Mehmet Fatih in 1453 A.D. The first exchange of ambassadors took place in the year 1481–1482, when embassies, letters and gifts were exchanged between the Bahmani kings Muhammad Shah III (1463–1482 A.D.) and Mahmud Shah (1482–1518 A.D.) and the Osmanli Sultans Mehmet II (1451–1481 A.D.) and Bayazit II (1481–1512 A.D.).[21] Muhammad Shah's Grand-Vazir Khawaja Imad-u-Din Mahmud Gawan was also responsible for extending the Indian trade into the Ottoman

territories as far as Balkans. These contacts reached their culminating point in the days of Sultan Suleyman, the Magnificent.[22]

In compliance with the order of Sultan Bahadur Shah, Asaf Khan despatched an envoy with a letter and rich presents for the Grand Seigneur. Unfortunately Bahadur Shah's letter to Sultan Suleyman could not be traced out in the Turkish State Archives or any where else in Turkey. However, another letter has been found in Topkapi Sarayi Museum Archives, from Asaf Khan to Sultan Suleyman, the Magnificent, written on 17th Zil-Hijjah 942 A.H./7th June 1536 A.D. We learn from this letter that Bahadur Shah had sent him a letter on 13th March, 1936 A.D. in which Asaf Khan was informed of the recovery of the kingdom of Gujerat and the Vezir was instructed to send an envoy to Sultan Suleyman to strengthen diplomatic relations.

The ambassador of Bahadur Shah, Umdet-ul-Mulk arrived in Istanbul in 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.[23] As the Osmanli Sultan Suleyman Khan was at that time at Edirne (Adrianople) the ambassador went on there to deliver Bahadur Shah's letter and presents, including a girdle of jewels claimed to be valued at sixty crores of ducats or thirty crores of aspere.[24] The ambassador was received by the Osmanli Sultan with great honour.

According to Turkish contemporary sources the purpose of Bahadur Shah's embassy was to solicit the aid of the Osmanli Sultan, who was not only the Guardian of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, but at the same time major Muslim sovereign of the day, against the encroachments both of the Portuguese and the Mughuls. It is further said (in the Turkish chronicles) that Bahadur Shah was willing to bear the cost of the fleet, asking the Osmanli Sultan to take as many pieces of gold as needed from the Bahadur's treasures deposited at Mecca.[25]

It is most probable that Bahadur Shah after recovering most of his dominions, wanted to drive the Portuguese out of India, with the help of the Ottoman Sultan, Suleyman Khan, who had a strong naval force at his disposal. Bahadur Shah's relations with the Portuguese were strained because after the treaty of peace and friendship,

they did not fulfil their promises to assist him in recovering the kingdom of Gujerat. Furthemore, he (Bahadur Shah) was annoyed by the insolent attitude of the Portuguese, who after establishing their position in Diu, did not allow Bahadur's own ships to leave the port of Diu.[26]

After regaining his Kingdom, Bahadur Shah was considering himself powerful enough to compel the Portuguese to retire from Diu. He, therefore, in the end of 1536 came from Champaner to Diu to negotiate with the Portuguese regarding the future of Diu. It appears that Bahadur Shah, being over-confident, was thinking that he would be able to solve the issue in a friendly way.

But unfortunately shortly after the treaty of peace Bahadur Shah of Gujerat was treacherously assassinated by the Portuguese (February 13, 1537).

The treacherous death of Bahadur Shah created fear and horror among the inhabitants of Diu and many of them began to abandon the city. It is said that the palaces of Bahadur were searched, where an enormous quantity of war material, including a large number of brass and iron cannon and three basilisks of a large size were found. Amongst Bahadur Shah's papers the Portuguese had found letters from Asaf Khan, who had been sent to Mecca with the treasures and his harem so that in case of defeat he (Bahadur) could easily escape from India to Mecca.

After the assassination of Bahadur Shah the greatness of the Gujerat Sultanate ended. In fact, he was the last vigorous Sultan of independent Gujerat. According to Ulugh Khani[27] his Khutbah was recited in Gujerat, Deccan, Burhanpur, Mandu, Ajmer, Siwalik Parbat, Jalor, Nagor, Junagadh, Kham Bhayat, Raisin, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Kalpi, Baglana, Idar, Radhanpur, Ujjain, Mewat, Satwas, Abu, Dasur (Mandur) and for sometime at Bayana also.

According to a contemporary source Sultan Suleyman got the news of Bahadur's assassination at Edirne in Shawwal 944 A.H./ February 1538.[28] Ottoman Sultan felt a deep sorrow at the death of the Muslim ruler of Gujerat by the Protuguese in a treacherous and deceitful way.[29]

It appears that Sultan Suleyman was aware that the growing naval strength of the Portuguese was threatening not only the Indo-Pak sub-continent but also the Red Sea, the Gulf of Basrah, and other territories under the Ottoman Rule. He, therefore, decided to intervene in the affairs of Muslim India and shatter the sea power of the Portuguese once and for all. Ultimately a great armada was dispatched under the command of Khadim Suleyman Pasha in June 1538 to crush the Portuguese in India.[30] The Turkish fleet crossed the Indian Ocean with favourable winds and arrived off Diu on September 4, 1538.[31] However, the Turkish expedition could not crush the Portuguese sea power in India totally because of the misunderstanding among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Turkish admiral Khadim Suleyman Pasha.

References

1. Ulugh Khani, Haji ad-Dabir Abdullah Muhammad, An Arabic History of Gujerat, Vol. I, edited by E.D. Ross, London, 1910, p. 262, English Translation by M.E. Lokhandwala, Oriental Institute, Baroda, p. 224.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 914, Ulugh Khani, op. cit., I, p. 220.

3. Tarikh al-Shihri (68-b) in R.B. Serjeant. The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast, Hadrami Chronicles, Oxford, 1963, pp. 18 and 57-58, Berkul-Yemani, pp. 224.

4. R.R. Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power In India 1497-1550, London, 1899, p. 225; C.F. Bukingham in R.B. Serjeant, op. cit., p. 59, F.C. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, Vol. I, London, 1894, p. 400; in Tarikh al-Shihri, (Serjeant, p. 50) 300 vessels; om John Briggs, History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, IV, f. note p. 132, the number of the Portuguese forces as 15,600.

5. Idem, p. 225.

6. There are three small islets—Shial Bet, Sawai Bet and Bhensala Rock—some 26 or 28 miles to the coast of Diu. It is not

possible to identify the precise island. However, this tragic event occurred on one of these islets.

7. In F.C. Danvers, op. cit. I, p. 401 only 9 Portuguese killed among whom was Editor da Silveira, in R.S. Whiteway, op. cit., pp. 227-227, = 150 Portuguese casualties; while in Tarikh al-Shihri (in R.B. Serjeant, op. cit., p. 59) the garrison of 2000 was lain, the Portuguese casualties were 500.

8. R.S. Whiteway, op. cit., p. 227, R.B. Serjeant, op. cit., p. 18; F.C. Danvers, op. cit., I, p. 402.

9. Zain al-Din Mabari, Tuhfel-dul Mujahideen, edited by Hakim S. Shamsullah Qadri, Hyderabad (Deccan) (no date), p. 36.

10. Ulugh Khani, op. cit., p. 220.

11. R.S. Whiteway, op. cit., p. 227; F.C. Danvers, op. cit., I, p. 401.

12. Ulugh Khani, op. cit., p. 220, Tarikh al-Shihri (ff. 68 b) in R.B. Serjeant, op. cit., p. 60; Akhbar-ul-Yemani, op. cit., ff.

13. Mirat-I-Ahmedi, Part I (Persian text, ed. by Syed Nawab Ali, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1928, pp. 73-74; Muhammad Munawar-ul-Mulk, Tarikh Salatin Gujerat, Bodleian Lib., Oxford Ms. No. Caps. or C. 10, yp. 13b-14a; Elliot, The History of India, V.P. 190. Portuguese contemporary historian Fariay Souza being ignorant of the internal affairs of India gives incorrect information. See Briggs: Farishta IV, pp. 133-4. In Bikers Portuguese (Indian) treaties 1507-1542), Vol. I, p. 97, the reason of Humayun's attack on Gujerat is wrongly given the appeal from the queen of Chitor against whom Bahadur Shah had taken arms, and Humayun sent a word to Bahadur Shah not to attach Chitor which was evidently rejected by Bahadur Shah. Thereupon, Humayun returned to take back the kingdom of Chitor, and that of Mandu and greater portion of Gujerat.

14. Elliot, op. cit., V, 191-192; Ulugh Khani, op. cit., I, p. 232. J.W. Watson, History of Gujerat, Bombay, 1886, p. 42.

15. F.C. Danvers, op. cit., I, p. 404; Briggs' Ferishta, IV, p. 133.

16. Bikers Portuguese treaties (1507-1542), Vol. I, Translation of the original treaties. I.O. Lib. Ms. No. 125 (Tombo da Estada da Indi vol. 180 v), pp. 98-105; R. S. Whiteway, op. cit., pp. 239-240; F. C. Danvers, op. cit., pp. 416-417.

17. P. Baldaeus, A description of..... Corromandal in Churchill's Collections of voyages, III, p. 592.

18. Briggs, op. cit., IV, p. 134; P. Baldaeus, op. cit., III, p. 592.

19. Tarikh al-Shihri (81b) in R.B. Serjeant, the Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast, pp. 71-72; E.D. Ross, The New Cambridge History, pp. 14-15, M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujerat, Vol. I, p. 391.

20. T.S.M.A. No. 10895. Misir Beyler Beyi Hadim Suleymen Pasa' dan Dirasa ariza; cf. Ferzi Kurtoglu, Belleten, 13, pp. 60-61; M.S. Commissariat, op. cit., p. 392.

21. (Insa Hoca Cihan Mahmud Gavan, Millet Ktb. Faliha Instanbul, Fayazulla Uftadi No. 1606) Riaz-ul-Insha, edited by Dr. G. Yazdani, Hyderabad Deccan, Dr. Bernard Levis, The Moghals and the Ottomans, Pakistan Quarterly, vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 4.

22. Prof. Dr. Halil Inalcik, Bursa, Belleten, No. 93, 1960, document 3, 12, 40.

23. Ulugh Khani, op. cit., pp. 386-7. E.D. Ross has described the interview of Sultan Suleyman Khan with Asaf Khan in the unpublished papers. See A. Rahim, The Moghul Diplomacy (unpublished Ph.D. thesis) S.O.A.S. London, 1932, p. 173. The present writer during his stay at London tried to trace out these unpublished papers of E.S. Ross, but in vain. Kanun name Sultan Suleyman Khan, Manuscript in Veliy-ud-Din Efendi Ktd. No. 1970, ff. 14a; while no other source mentions the name of the Ambassador.

24. According to Mirat-i-Ahmedi (Persian text, p. 73), during the seize of Chitor, Bahadur Shah was offered a huge property

including the belt studded with pearls by Vikramaditya son of Rana Sangha. This belt at present lies in one of those iron boxes which were sent during the second world war from Istanbul to Ankara alongwith the treasury and because of the loss of the keys, the iron box containing the girdle was opened with great difficulty in 1951. (See Daily Turkish newspaper, Cumhuriyet, 4th May, 1951).

Pecevi Ibrahim Efendi, Tarikh-i-Pecevi, Matbaa-i-Amire, Istanbul, 1283 A.H., I, p. 220; Tarikh Sultan Suleyman Khan (Vienna Manuscript) ff. 250 ab; Hammer Osmanli Tarikh (Ata Bey tercumesi) V, pp. 205-6; Hammer, Memoirs on the Diplomatic Relations..... J.R.A.S. London, V. II, 1830.

Author of Tarikh Sultan Suleyman Khan (op. cit., ff. 246a-b) says a certain Indian Prince Burhan son of Sikander, Sultan of Delhi, came to Istanbul. Fleeing before the Mogul armies, he sought refuge at the court of Suleyman, the Law giver in 942 A.H./1536 A.D. He was granted the privilege of kissing the Imperial hand and provided with a daily pension of 300 aspers. However, this event is not mentioned by any Indian historian. As a matter of fact the historians of the Muslim India have not dealt with the relations of Indo-Ottoman in the 16th century, so much so that they have not mentioned the expedition of Suleyman Pasha to India in 1538. It should be mentioned here that some of the Afghan princes of India ever bore the name of Beg. However, Prof. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Ottoman-Mughul Relations During the Seventeenth century (unpublished article) says that this might refer to Sikender of Gujerat (elder brother of Bahadur Shah) who ruled for about two months and was killed in 1526 A.D., the year when Moghul Emperor Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat. Probably Burhan was one of those princes who were driven out of Gujerat by Humayun when he occupied that country in 1535 A.D.

25. Tarikh Lutfi Pasha, Istanbul, 1341, pp. 357-8, Akhbar-ul-Yamani, ff. 336-34a, Philip Bald-eu "A description of the most celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel" in Churchill's Collections of voyages and Travels, vol. iii,

London, 1704, p. 592, says Bahadur had offered six hundred crowns for military assistance against Humayun; Correa (Vol. III, pp. 570, 792, 794-5) quoted by Stripling "The Ottoman Turks and Arabs, 1511-1574", urbana 1942, p. 89 states that Bahadur Shah offered to pay the wages of an expedition of ten thousand men. Regarding Bahadur's treasures deposited at Mecca, Lutfi Pasha (p. 358) gives the number of chests as 250, while in Tarikh Sultan Suleyman Khan (Vienna) (Ms. ff. 278a) three hundred iron chests are given. Ulugh Khani, I, p. 385 gives the figure of iron chests as seven hundred. However, Suleyman Pasha's letter to Sultan Suleyman (T.S.M.A. 10895 cf. also F.K. Oglu Belleten 13, pp. 60-61) gives the correct figures as 350 chests.

26. R. S. Whiteway, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

27. 63. Ulugh Khani, op. cit., p. 128, trans., p. 114.

28. Tarikh Sultan Suleyman Khan (Vienna Ms.) ff. 278a.

29. Kutbuddin al-Makki Ilam bi-alam beyt-ullah el-heram, Koprülu ktb. 205/2, ff. 184 b-185 a, Berkūl-Yemani (British Museum Ms.) ff. 24b.

30. Robert Kerr, op. cit., p. 261.

31. Ibid., p. 267, Whiteway, op. cit., p. 257.

Abbreviations

1. T.S.M.A. Topkapi Saray Museum Archives.
2. J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. S.O.A.S. School of Oriental and African Studies.
4. I.O.Lib. Ms. India Office Library Manuscript.