CHAPTER – I

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Introduction

After Arabs’ invasion of Iran and introduction of Islam, this country turned into a state ruled by Muslim caliphs and rulers for nearly two centuries. During this long period of time, numerous attempts were made to reconstruct and retrieve the independence.

After the Mogul attacks and decline of Abbasid caliphate, a new concept of power in Islamic countries was understood. Moguls and Turks asserted the leadership of the world. So for fulfilling this asset, theory and legitimate were necessary.

Political powers of that time in east and west were affiliated to two significant legitimate sources. This dependency was either to Islam or Christianity. Therefore, Moguls must either have been united with Christianity against Islamic centrality or been allied with Islamic culture and have gotten required legitimacy. They preferred the second way and became associated with Islam and they could stay in triumphed territories. After decline of Mongolian and Timuris rule, four dynasties including Ottomans, Safavis, Uzbeks and Baburis ruled over Islamic world from Anatolia to Indian Subcontinent. They influenced the political, economical, and social areas of Deccan, Mediterranean, Caucasia, Egypt, Arabian Peninsula.

The Safavids Dynasty (1501-1732) the same as Baburis Empire in India appeared as the result of these attempts successfully. According to the contemporary history, Safavids Dynasty was important because it could almost revive Iranians’ lost identity and because it could, by relying on a special faith and religion and Iran’s political and national existence, fought with and resisted against the evils inside the country and against the foreign invasions for 231 years.
The view of Baburi Empire in India as well as Uzbeks and Ottomans on this neighboring Shiite country was to keep their personal interests and benefits in this territory. Therefore, in classifying their policies and determining the trends, political behaviors and religion must have played great roles.

Safavids’ relationships with the important neighbors are considered to be of active kind, and those with the rulers of Deccan as passive. Accordingly, the local rulers of Deccan, by apparently obeying Safavids, tried to withstand and resist against Baburis’ pressure.

Our aim in this research is to examine the effective factors on political relations between Safavis and Qhutbshahis. Certainly geographical conditions of Deccan, historical background of Indo-Iranian relations, Iran’s relationship with Ottomans, Baburis and Uzbeks had effective roles in Iran-Deccan relations; meanwhile, it is necessary to consider Shiism as a joint religion between Iran and Deccan.

There are necessary points to be explained here:

A vast area of historical sources and researchers’ studies in studying relations between Iran and India is influenced by religious studies. Vastness of these studies has created the understanding that religion must be regarded as the dominant element in historical changes. This has made the roles of other elements appear to be less influential. Sometimes researchers of religious studies have regarded belief in ideological principles of Shiism equal to political tendency towards Shiism and have ignored the difference between the two of them or have not paid attention to them. It seems that the belief-related role of these kingdoms’ tendencies towards Shiism must be fully distinguished from their political manners. The influence of faith in Shiism on political performance needs a separate research but here Shiism has been used as a political ideology by “Afaqhis”. This religion protected them against their political rivals who had conflicts with them in ideology and nationality. Precious researches have been conducted in this relation and the valuable
work of Riaz ul Islam is one of them. The expanded filled of his study caused him not to focus merely on Iran -Deccan relations. The book of At’har Rizvi Shiism in India¹ and John Norman Hollister’s book The Shiia of India² could be sources of study in this regard.

New investigations about Deccan Muslim Kingdoms such as the book “History of Medieval Deccan, ed. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi”³ which is compiled by a Sunnite do not give any information about Shiism to the reader. Author of the above does not give any role to Shiite as an innovator. While the large number of Bahmani Sultans and their governors had unique roles in relieving to Shiism.

The western historians have named the dynasty established by Zahir-ud din Muhammad Babur, fifth offspring to Timur Goorkanid in 932 AH/1525 in the Subcontinent as “Moguls of India”. This term applied by the westerns is not accidental but it is misleading. Did Timur originally belong to the same nomadic tribes united by Genghis? So that we can explicitly call Baburi Dynasty as Moguls? Cannot Sheybanis be called “Moguls of Transoxiana”? though we don’t have such a term. Does not application of the term “Great Muguls” necessitate identification of “Non-Great Moguls”? And eventually is it not better to give the name “Babur” to this dynasty and call the Baburis as successors of Timur are called Timuris and a branch of Uzbeks is called Sheibanis? Based on these evidences, in this research, we have chosen the name “Baburis” for this dynasty.

Perhaps the “Moguls” term has been applied in few cases in order to avoid repetition. In other cases, our intention by using “Moguls of Genghis” and his successors is Hulagu Khan and their Ilkhans in Iran and Transoxiana, unless a branch of them has been mentioned specifically.

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¹ Rizvi S. A. A. Shiism in India. trans by Islamic studies and research center, Digital Ed, Qhom: publicity office of Houze Elmiyyeh 1376.
There is another point about the concept of Iran in the 16th 17th century. Safavi age is considerable for Iran in two aspects. The first is that they represented formal attribute of Shiite religion. The second is that 9 centuries after decline of Sassanid, the concept “Iran” was revived again in Safavi period. Some believe that accepting Islam made Iranians face a period of inertia, but through coming to power of Safavis, this nationality was reconstructed. While looking for the name “Iran” sometimes there appears letters and governmental documents of foreign countries in Safavi period in which the name ‘Iran” has been mentioned on special occasions. These documents reveal that Safavi kingdom belonged to Iran as a united political geography and implies recognizable identity in kingdom-country of Safavis. Although deep and widespread study of influences by the mentioned kingdoms in all their aspects cannot be included in this study, however, pointing out some of these influences was possible.

**Statement of the Problem**

It has been mentioned in some sources and researches that Safavids Support of Qhutbshahis was not serious or that Safavis did not go beyond spiritual support of Qhutbshahis in front of the Baburi's invasions. Some of the questions that this study is seeking to answer are as follows:

i. What were the reasons for convergence of Qhutbshahis and Muslim kingdoms of Deccan with Safavis and what were the reasons for discontinuity and blockade of such unity?

ii. Did Safavis leave Qhutbshahis alone in front of enemies?

iii. Were Safavis impotent in case of supporting Qhutbshahis and other kingdoms of Deccan?

iv. If it was so, what were the reasons for passivity of Safavis and failure of their allegiance with rulers of Deccan?

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v. Was it Safavids to blame for this impotence and loss of their allies who were
from the same races and same Religion? Or kingdoms of Deccan also were responsible for these instabilities of relationships?

vii. What was the role of religion and sect in width and depth of these relations?

**Objectives**

Relations of Safavids - Qhutbshahis are the prevailing subject in this study, and the motivation for that is lack of independent sources in Persian.

i. To study the influential backgrounds on formation and sustenance of relations between Iran and Deccan in 16th and 17th centuries

ii. Evaluation of relations between Iran and its important neighbors and their effects on Safavids - Qhutbshahis relations

iii. Historical study of reasons for presence and also influence of Iranians on history of Middle Deccan.

iv. Reasons for failure of Deccan in sustaining its political identity and independence against Baburis and the role of Iran in this regard

v. To study nature and motivations of Safavids in creation and sustenance of political relations with Qhutbshahis

vi. Evaluation and review of religious and political aspects in Safavids relations with Qhutbshahis emphasizing on trend of historical events.

**Methodology**

The primary data collected from the manuscripts and documents related to these relationships was found in the archives of respective organizations, whose job is to keep the historical manuscripts, specially Noor Microfilm Center in Delhi, and the academic and cultural centers in both India and Iran including library of Islamic parliaments in Tehran, Astan-e Qhods-e Razavi library in Mashhad, library of Isfahan University, Salarjung Museum and central library of Osmania University in Hyderabad, and
library of Muslim Aligarh university in Uttar Pradesh state, moreover, for completing the comprehensive plan of this study, I visited and collected data (maps and picture) from the Golconda Fort to add to the value of the study. Most applied sources in this thesis are Persian. Its reason is clear because both Qhutbshahi and Safavi sources have been written in Persian. Other sources are in English.

**Review of Historical Sources in this period**

Main sources to prepare political history of this period are political annuals, which are mostly in Persian. But mystical poetic texts, general treatises, geographical narratives, biographies and other texts are available in Sanskrit or in local languages like Sindi, Panjabi, Marathi, Bengali, etc. which could be referred to. They are also in French, Portuguese and Dutch. In this period because scholars, scientists and men of literature from Iran had comprehensive supports of Deccan kingdoms, Persian language bloomed very much and following that, most historical sources especially historical books which had been written by the order of these kings were translated into Persian. Historical sources of this period could be, from one viewpoint, divided into five categories.

- Iranian Sources of Chronicle Writing
- Indian Sources of Chronicle Writing
- Deccanian Sources of Chronicle Writing
- Lack of an enlightening work in chronicle writing is apparent among Uzbeks.
- Travel books: if western historical sources are not mentioned in this categorizing it is because these sources are mostly based on records of adventurers or governmental officials of western kingdoms which according to Riaz ul Islam: “to find a specific historical material among them is like finding a piece of treasure”.5

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Of course, Historical sources of this period could be divided into three groups of general history, dynastical history, and biographies.6

Major elements of history writing in this period are considering political history, description of wars, diplomatic relationships of kingdoms, coming to throne of kings and the situation of court and courtiers. Social, cultural, and religious situations were the following priorities. Historical works like Hadiqhat us salatin by Mirza Nizamoddin Ahmad-ebn-Abdollah Saaedi Shirazi who along with precise narratives on political issues gives almost comprehensive information about social and cultural situation of his time are very rare. In the meantime, Persian language like a steadfast bridge has created links between Indian and Iranian chronicle writing traditions. Primarily both these chronicle writings have been connected since Timuri’s period.

Sometimes works of famous Iranian historians like Khwand Mir go under the category of Mogul chronicle writing.7 And sometimes hand-written works such as that of Nizam Shahis’ envoy in Deccan (History of Ilchi Nizam Shahi) are counted as historical sources of Safavis.

Presence of dreaming in historical phenomena and its role in interpreting historical events is apparent as a common phenomenon in all these three forms of histories. Preludes of Safavi and Mongolian history books are very close to each other. As an example, one important work could be mentioned for each one. In the preludes of Akbar Name by Abolfazl and Habib-us Siyar there are similarities. Both of them emphasize on fortune telling elements in their writings.8 Akbar Nameh is one of the outstanding historical works and a valuable source in study of political relationships between Great Mongols and

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7 He dedicated his Humayun Nameh also known as Ghanoon-eHumayuni to Humayun in 940 AH/1534
Safavis since Shah Ismail I up to 18th year of Abbas I’s kingdom. This work is valuable because of information and precise knowledge of the writer on political, social, economic and cultural issues of his time. It is also remarkable in terms of historical geography. It could be called a sample of the influence Iranian historians had upon Mongolian history writing which will be dealt with in coming parts.

Beginning publication of first Persian books in India was late 18th and early 19th centuries. During 19th century, gradually a huge part of this great treasure and significant cultural heritage of Afghanistan and Iran in India was published in two ways, lithography and typography.

➢ Iranian-Safavi Chronicle Writing Sources

- Texts

History of Illiche Nizam Shah⁹

History of Illiche Nizam Shah is a Persian book on general history compiled by Khoorshah-Ibn-Qhubad Husseini he has been at service of Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar. In 953 AH/1546 he came to Iran by the order of Bahman Nizam Shah and joined court of Shah Tahmasb 1523-1577in Qhazvin and spent some time there. During his stay in Iran, Khoorshah created his great work. The exact date when compilation of this book started is not clear but it took more than twenty years to be completed.

This book consists of an introduction and seven chapters. Each chapter has many articles. Shiite tendencies of the writer are apparent in fifth article. Fifth chapter in three articles is on coming to power of Timur’s kingdom, his sons and Baburis.

Sixth chapter in five articles is about Qhara Qhoyunlu and Agh Qhoyunlu rulers, appearance of Shah Ismail I and kingdom of Tahmasb. Due to its closeness to the time of writer, this chapter is of higher historical value. For example, information about Shah Tahmasb and his relations with India has specific values. In this chapter, the writer has mentioned subjects, which could hardly be found in other historical sources. His one and a half year stay in Shah Tahmasb’s camp has made this chapter a remarkable treasure and a reliable source on Safavi history.

Seventh chapter contains five articles about history of Indian kings since the appearance of Islam till death of the author. Historical value of its articles is not the same and description of the events becomes more dynamic as they get closer to the time author, especially history of Bahmanis in Deccan, Qhutb Shahis and Nizam Shahis and their political relationships with courts of Iranian Shahs have outstanding values. The book’s completion date is 972 AH/1564 in Golkanda, some months before the author’s death.10

Ahsan-ut-Tavarikh11

It is compiled by Hassan Bey Roomlu, one of the scholars and historians in courts of Tahmasb and Muhammad Khoda Bandeh. Because he was a commander in the army at that time he emphasizes a lot on description of wars. The original book had been written in 12 volumes, however, only volumes 11 and 12 survived. The author has finished the book in 985 AH/1577. The 12th volume contains the events from the time of Shah Ismail up to the time of Muhammad Khoda Bandeh. It also includes a lot of information about history and biography of kings, scholars, and history of neighbor countries such as Uzbek Khans.

Kholasat-ut Tavarikh\textsuperscript{12}

It is by Qhazi Ahmad Qhomi, historian in 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries H. It was started by order of King Ismail in 984 AH/1576 and finished in 999 AH/1590. It covers the events from the time of Sheikh Safi ad din Ardebili up to the early years of the Great Abbas’s kingdom. It also deals with the initial relations of Babur with Shah Ismail, Tahmasb’s help to Homayun, the issue of Ghandehar in mutual relations up to the time of Shah Abbas I. The Author dedicated the book to Shah Abbas and in addition to other useful material; it includes some historical letters in it.

History of Aalam Aray-e Abbasi\textsuperscript{13}

Aalam Araye Abbasi was written in 1025 AH/1616 by the official writer of Shah Abbas I’s court in three volumes. The author is Eskandar Bey, assistant in court of Shah Abbas I. He has had access to governmental documents. Other than introduction in which prior books like Ahsan-ot-Tavarikh have been used, the rest of the book includes events and information that the author himself has experienced most of them. He has included the events of late 10\textsuperscript{th} and early 11\textsuperscript{th} centuries AH i.e. 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries. He has utilized first-hand reports in the government. He has had information about entrance of envoys and caravans -sent by Safavi Kings- to courts of other countries’ kings and has used that information in compiling his work. The book has not ignored biography of some famous figures, tax collection procedures, military events and the situation of nomads.

Abbas Nameh\textsuperscript{14}

Muhammad Taher Vahid Qhazvini is one of the scholars of Safavi period who became vizier in the time of King Safi and Sultan Husain. The author has narrated the events of 22 years out of 25 years kingdom of Shah Abbas II up to


1067 AH/1656. This book has been designed in three sections and six chapters. A comprehensive report about Baburi’s envoys to Safavi court and the exchanged letters between Shah Abbas II and Aurangzeb have been described and the author has also written about Qandahar Wars.

**Ghesasul Khaghani**

Compiled by Vali Qhuli Shamlu in History of Safavis, it is a general history work which in chapters one and two includes history of ancestors of Safavis till the end of Shah Safi’s period. Third chapter of the book deals with the period of Abbas’s kingdom in details written in 1076 AH/1665. Description of notable’s figures, letter exchanges and orders of rulers are also included in the book.

**Enghelab al Islam beyn al Khawas wal Avam**

The author who had compiled and translated his work by using Turkish sources was one of the assistants and translators of Qajars and died in 1310 AH/1892. Two features of his work are that despite serving in Shiite Qajar government, he maintained his tendency to Sunni sect and regarded his hometown as Ottoman, therefore, his reports must be considered as narration of Ottoman views about history of Shah Ismail’s relations with Sultan Salim.

- **Documents**

**Munsha’at of Fereidon Bey**

This work must be considered as one of Ottoman sources but here in order to be concise has been mentioned among Safavi sources in categorizing chapters. It is also called Munsha’at-us-Salateen. Author and compiler of this work is Fereidoun Ahmad Pasha known as Fereidoun Bey Assistant to Sultan Murad, son of Sultan Salim II. This work has been compiled in 982 AH/1574. It

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contains 1880 historical documents, which includes a collection of governmental letters. These letters have been exchanged between Ottoman sultans and their governors general and rulers, and kings of neighboring and other countries such as Safavi kings, Uzbek khans as well as Indian kings.

Majma-ul Ensha

In the list of hand-written works in British Museum, the name of this work has been mentioned as Jameat Moraselat -ulul-Albab. It has been compiled by Abolghasem ev Oqhi Hydar. It includes a collection of different letters from old periods up to the time of King Safi. Hand-written text of this work in three volumes and its pictorial text in five volumes are available in library of Tehran University.17

Majmou’e Makateeby-e Mukhtalefe 18

This book is compiled by Muhammad Saleh,19 nephew to Eskandar BeyMunshi author of History of Aalam Aray-e Abbasi. This collection has been compiled in the time of Shah Abbas II (1055-1077 AH/1642-1666) and includes letters from Seljuk kings, Timur’s rulers and Safavi kings. It involves the letter of Shah Safi to Aadil Shah.

➢ Baburi’s Chronicle Writing Sources

Akbar Nameh20

It is the first formal and valuable chronicle in the time of Baburis of India especially the period of King Akbar’s rule 1555-1605. Author of this outstanding work is Abolfazl-ebn-e-Mubarak-e-Nagoori, known as Allami ,957-1011 AH/15551-1602 who according to his own saying had for a long time been thinking of writing about Akbar’s life and his ancestors and

18 Collection of Different Texts.
19 Riaz ul Islam, Ibid: 384, Which perhaps due to printing mistake has been mentioned as Muhammad Saleb.
description of his conquests so that in 982 AH/1574 along with his 19th kingdom anniversary (19th divine year), Akbar ordered compilation of the history of Indian Baburi dynasty and the lives and works of its kings after Genghis, and at the same year the compilation started. Akbar Nameh also includes political relations of Baburis and Safavis from Shah Ismail I up to 18th year of King Abbas I i.e. 1605.

The author who was an influential official had had access to official documents of different states. He utilized his hearings from reliable persons and also memories and texts of other writers such as Bayazid Bayat who lent him their information about Babur and Homayun (known as Homayun Nameh or Description of Homayun and Akbar), and of course, he has recorded his observations on the events. Abolfazl also has utilized valid histories of Mongol period and history of Timuri dynasty up to Homayun’s time such as Zafar Nameh of Sharaf ud din Ali Yazdi -for the parts related to Iranian Timurids-, Zafar Nameh of Abdolvase e Shami, Rozat us safa of Mir Khwand, Habib-us-Siyar of Khwand mir, Zobdat ut tavarikh of Hafiz Abroo, Matla’us Sa’dain of Abd-ol-Razzagh Samarghandi21 and other sources like Homayun Nameh of Golbadan Begum, Babur’s Daughter, Ghanoon-e Homayuni by Khwand Mir, Tahrikh-e Rashidi by Muhammad Hydar Doghalat and Tazkirat-ol-Waghiat of Jowhar Aftabe Chi.22

Author of Akbar Nameh completed it in three volumes after 28 years. It seems as if he wanted to write a separate section for all thirty years of Akbar’s rule. Some researchers have regarded the other work of Abolfazl called Aaine Akbari which is somehow an encyclopedia about Mongolian economic activities, categories, jobs, official organizations and customs of Subcontinent inhabitants as the fourth volume of Akbar Nameh or a complimentary to it23

21 Ibid: 180
22 Mojtabaee, Fathollah, GIE, Article No.3804, quoted by Beveridge, H. X. ” The Sources of the Akbarnama “, Journal & Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata.
whereas *Aaine Akbari* apart from being different in subject and contents, has been compiled four years before completion of *Akbar Nameh* Vol.3 i.e. 1006 AH/1597.

Chronicle writing style of *Sheikh Abolfazl Allami* was followed by *Abdolhamid Lahori* and *Khafi Khan* and also other historians of the following centuries.

**Jahangir Nameh or Tuzook Jahangiri**

This book was compiled by *Muhammad Salim* known as *Abol-Mozaffar Nureddin Muhammad Jahangir Shah* (1014-1037 AH/1605-1627) and it contains daily events of Jahangir’s time. He had finished the book in 1026 AH/1617 but later, he added the events up to 1031 AH/1621. From this date on he handed completion of the book over to one of his courtiers called *Motamed Khan* and he followed up writing until 1033 AH/1623. Sometimes Jahangir speaks so forthrightly about some events such as his contribution to murder of *Abolfazl Allami*, an elder of Baburi’s Court, that the reader suspects his sense of rationalization. Writing the events during seventeen years kingdom of Jahangir under his direct supervision, being aware of all information and affairs, has made this work a reliable source. This book includes a report of Baburi’s perspective over *Qhutb Shahis* and their relations.

**Padshah Nameh**

Compilation of this book which is the formal history of Shah Jahan’s court has been completed between 1037-1068 AH/1627-1657. *Muhammad Amin Qhazvini* known as *Aminaye Qhazvini*, an Iranian immigrant who could enter Shah Jahan’s court was assigned by king to write this chronicle. He wrote the first decade of Shah Jahan’s kingdom in 1047 AH/1637 and according to

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Shah Jahan’s decision Abdolhamid Lahori was assigned to follow up his career. Abdolhamid Lahori wrote the events of Shah Jahan’s kingdom during two decades i.e. 1037-1057 AH/1627-1647 and because of his old age his student, Muhammad Vares Lahori carried on his writing until 1068 AH/1657. Because this book has been written during culmination of political and military conflicts between Qhutb Shahis and Baburis and in addition to access of its writers to orders, official letters and conquest letters they have included all of them; that is why this book has a remarkable value in evaluation of relations between Safavi dynasty and kingdoms of Deccan.

**Lubb-ut Tavarikh-e Hend**

It is a Persian book written by a Hindu ruler under Baburi kingdom called Ray Bindraban son of Ray Baharamal who both have served in Baburi government. The writer has had positions in Shah Jahan’s and Aurangzeb’s kingdoms. *Lubb-ut Tavarikh of India*, as it is clear from its name, is anthropology of Indian history written between 1101-1106 AH/1689-1694. It is about important events of previous ages especially reasons of survival and decline in kingdoms and history of their kings and ruling dynasties of India. The writer has used *History of Fereshteh* as his main source until the events of 1000 AH/1591 and since 1000 up to 1106 AH he has utilized *Padshah Nameh* of Muhammad Amin Qhazvini and Abdolhamid Lahori and Aalamgir Nameh of Muhammad Kazem Qhazvini as well as his own observations and his father’s information. This book must be considered as the first Hindu work about Islamic history of India.

Two copies of this book are available in the library of Muslim Aligarh University. Collection of Subhan Allah in 212 two-page sheets (each two facing pages bear the same page number) has the size of 159×248 cm and collection of Abdusalam in 246 two-page sheets (the same) is 118×125 cm. Although this

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book is brief of previous books, in the first part of the book when the author reports conflicts between Baburi Empire and kings of Deccan as he has observed them himself or even he has been present in some of them. Description of Aurangzeb’s wars and eventually decline of Qhutbshahis in the time of Abol-Hassan Tana Shah, how Hydarabad and Golkanda were conquered and decline of Qhutbshahis have been reported in details. This work has not been published yet.

➢ Sources of Chronicle Writing in Deccan

Fotouh-us salateen

This book was written by Abdol Malek Esami in 751 AH/1350 in 12000 poetic lines. 11727 lines have survived from this collection. This poetic work has a historical and epic value. Esami has dedicated this work to founder of Bahmani dynasty called Abol Mozaffar Bahman Shah (748-759 AH/1347-1357). This chronicle is a work on background of founders, ancestors and commanders of this dynasty. It must be considered as a general history of India up to the time of writer. It discusses conquest of India by Muslims up to Qaznavids, Ghouris, Khaljis, Tuqlukis and Muhammad Tuqluki II. It was first published in Calcutta in 890 AH/1485.

Borhan-e Maaser

Borhan-e-Maaser is a book about history of Deccan kings in Persian by Seyed Ali ebn Azizullah Tababa Taba. He migrated from Iraq to Deccan in the time of Ibrahim Qhuth Shah (957-988 AH/1550-1580), the fourth Qhuth Shahi king and came to his service and stayed in Golkanda till end of King Muhammad Qhuli Qhuth Shah’s rule (988-1020 AH/1580-1611). Then he was sent by Qhuth Shahi king to serve Nizam Shahis in Ahmad Nagar. Ebn Tababa Taba wrote this book (in 1000 AH/1591) by command of Borhan Nizam Shah II (999-1003 AH/1595-1591) and dedicated it to him.

He has gone to Nizam Shahis in Ahmad Nagar with comprehensive knowledge about QhutbShahis. He has commented on Qhutb Shahis without any hesitation, therefore, in studying the history of Qhutb Shahis, it is considered as a very important source. He has borrowed lots of his material from valid chronicles of Indian kings, from Oyun-ut-Tavarikh by Ibn-e Shaker-e Kotobi, historian and scholar of Damascus (764 AH/1363) and from History of Mahmud Shahi. However, a great deal of the work is based on the writer’s own observations and hearings and because of this; the work has gained specific validity. Not only is Borhane Maaser considered an important and reliable source in history of Bahmanis and Nizam Shahis of India, it also indirectly gives information about Qhutb Shahis, Aadil Shahis and kings of Gujarat.

**History of Fereshteh**

This great historical work was written by Muhammad Ghasem ebn Gholam Ali, Hindu Shah Astar Abadi (960-1023 AH), Iranian writer born in Astarabad who is known as Fereshteh. The book has been written in Bijapur. History of Fereshteh is a book in Persian on general history of India starting from 11th century (1017 AH/1608). It includes an introduction, twelve articles, two sectors, and a conclusion.

It is one of the most substantial works available on studying situation of Southern parts of the Subcontinent in the time of Muslim kingdoms of Deccan. It covers the period of Qhutb Shahis from the beginning until 1017AH i.e. the last years of Muhammad Qhuli Qhutb Shah’s rule (1580-1611 AH/988-1020). The writer, influenced by Iranian chronicle writing, has followed the style of Rozat us Safa by Mir Khwand in writing this book. Fereshteh has also referred to over thirty references in order to write his book; some of these references are extinct now.

The author published the book for the first time under the title “Golshane Ibrahimi” (dedicated to Ibrahim II Aadil Shah) but the work became well known as History of Fereshteh. It seems that Hindu Shah has published it for a second time with some reviews and has added events up to (1023-4 AH/1614-15) and has named it “Nowras Nameh”. 
There are some differences and sometimes contrariety between his reports and reports of some other outstanding historians on certain events and like most old historical records, they must be compared to other works to achieve the correct narrative. Some researchers told that Fereshteh adds his good intentions to the events and changes, reduces, or distorts and hardly bothers to give evidence… in compilation of the book.29

This book was lithographed for the first time in 1247 AH/1832 in Mumbai in two volumes and ordinary size under supervision of Mir Kheirat Ali Khan Mushtaq of Agra.30

Tazkerat-ul Mulouk

This book was written within(1608-1611AH/1017-1020) by Rafiuuddin Ibrahim Tofigh Shirazi. He had served in the courts of Ali Aadil Shah I (965-988 AH/1557-1580) and Ibrahim Aadil Shah II (988-1035 AH/1580-1625). He has written history of Aadil Shahis from the beginning till 1020 AH/1611. The book gives some additional information on the ruling dynasties at the time of Aadil Shahis. The first chapter is about Bahmanis and the second chapter is on history of Yusuf Aadil Shah. Third chapter is on Ismail IV and Ibrahim V and VI and on history of Gujarat kings till victory of Jalalud din Akbar. In the seventh chapter, the author follows history of Aadil Shahis up to end of Ali Aadil Shah’s rule and in chapters eight and nine it pictures the final years of Aadil Shahi period. The author has written all his text with the taste of Aadil Shahi court and has taken side of Aadil Shahis in their relations with other kingdoms and neighbors; nevertheless, it is a valuable work on social situation of Aadil Shahis.

History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutb Shah31

Written by an anonymous author in Persian (1025-1027AH/1615-1617) in the time of Sultan Muhammad Qhutb Shah (1020-1035 AH/1611-1626), sixth ruler of this dynasty, this book has been reproduced under the rule of

29 Riaz ul Islam, Ibid: 355
31 Anonymous. Tarikh-e Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah. Manuscript No:3885.Tehran: national library of Malek
Amir Fasihuddin, a Shahi elder by a person called Nizam-ebn-Abdollah Shirazi in 1042AH which was almost fifteen years after compilation. The book includes an introduction, four articles, and a conclusion. The introduction is about Qhara Yusuf Turkman and other ancestors of Sultan Qhuli, founder of Shahi dynasty. Perhaps it is the only work that discusses ancestors of Sultan Qhuli and has been a reference to other sources on history of ancestors of Qhutb Shahis. Articles one to four respectively deal with events in the time of Sultan Qhuli, Jamshid and his son Subhan, Ibrahim and Muhammad Qhuli Shah. The author gives detailed account of events and has had a special interest in describing appearance and moralities of Shahi kings as the precise image of the king is imaginable. As it is revealed in the book itself, the author has used sources like History of Mahmud Shahi, Marghoob-ul-Gholoub and History of Forsi on Ancestors that is the poetic history of Shahi dynasty. It provides useful information on social situations of Golkanda and Hyderabad of Deccan. The author, besides his exalted prose, has brought some poems from Sultan Muhammad Qhuli Shah and a ballad describing the city Hyderabad. Historical value of the book is because it speaks of events that have remained unobserved by the others, but the author stands on the side of his supporters and sometimes he has made obvious mistakes for example the date of Sultan Muhammad Bahmani’s death is mentioned to be 912AH whereas it was 924AH. Therefore, it seems that the most valid part is the fourth article and conclusion which the author has observed the events mentioned in them. This book has not yet been edited and published; however, fortunately there are several copies of it in different museums of Iran, India and Pakistan.32

Hadiqhat –us salatin QhutbShahi33

Mirza Nizamoddin Ahmad ebn Abdollah Saedi Shirazi came to Hyderabad in late years of Sultan Muhammad Shah’s kingdom because of unknown reasons and found a good position in the court of Sultan Muhammad and that of his son, Sultan Abdollah Shah. He was one of the students of Muhammad ebn

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32 Sadeghi Alavi. Ibid.
Khatoon Aameli. The writer has written this book because of the request made by Ebn Khatoun, Pishva of Sultan Abdollah Shah in 1050AH/1640. Daily events of Sultan Abdolla’s life since his birth (1023AH/1614) till 19th year of his kingdom (1035 AH/1625) have been written down in this book as an annual chronicle. The part regarding Sultan Abdollah is in two sections. The first section worked by Seyed Ali Asghar Azad Belgerami in Hyderabad which was published a second time in 1350 in the same city, and the second section is kept in the library of British Museum. The author, after bringing a brief introduction, has narrated the events especially since 1035 AH/1625 annually with explanations and in the style of court writers. Along with precise account of political issues, this book presents almost comprehensive information about social, cultural and ideological situation of Shiites at that time; as about mourning in Muharram, he has brought a separate elaborate chapter. It has also mentioned Mid-Sha’ban and birth of Prophet which is very rare among these books. The writer gives valuable information on mixture of significance that Eids(celebrations) and Husseini Aashoora had in common culture of people including Shiites, Sunnis and even Hindus. This information helps the reader know better the common culture of Muslims and its influence on ethnic society of India and makes this work a considerable source in studying cultural and social conditions of that time. Another significance of the book lies in statement of author’s observations, which has escaped notice of most historians contemporary to him. His reports on discussions Majles e divan Dari Classified Council include lots of information. His records on foreign envoys who were admitted reveal interesting historical details.

Hadaigh-us Salatin fi Kalam-el Khavqhin34

This book about lives of poets in royal family has been written in one section, three hadighes (equal parts) and a chapter. The writer, Ali ebn Teyfour Bastami has paid attention to history of Indian dynasties and other nations, some of their outstanding viziers, Bahmanis, Aadil Shahis and QhutbShahis.

The writer was born in 1058 Ah/1648 in Bastam of Iran and came to Hyderabad in 23rd year of Abdollah Shah’s kingdom. This book has been written in 1092 AH/1681 in the court of Abolhasan Shah (1083-1095 AH/1672-1683). Each part is divided to smaller units called stages. Ali ebn Teifour has used some sources in compiling this book as he himself mentions in Hadayegh-us-Salatin. These sources are Habib-us-Siyar, Tuhfey-e Sami, Dastoorul Vozara, Tazkere ye Haft Eghlim by Amin Ahmad Razi, Almojam fi Molouk-el-Ajam, History of Aalam Ara, Tarikh-e Bahmaniye, Tarikh-e Shahiye, Lubb-ut Tavarikh and Tazkere ye Daulat Shahi.

In the first part of the book, writer deals with Iranian dynasties before Islam and tells the stories of great figures whom he had chosen from mythical dynasties of Iran including Pishdadian and Kianian and at the end, he describes outstanding viziers. The second part is a short report of dominant Muslim dynasties of Iranian, Turk and Deccanian origins like Bahmanis, Aadil Shahis and QhutbShahis. In this part he has quoted poems by kings, viziers and great figures. Third part is about some famous viziers, scholars, well-known poets, and dynasties that have been mentioned in previous parts of the book. The texts about life of Mirza Muhammad Amin Isfahani (Mir Jomle of Muhammad Qhuli Shah), Mir Muhammad Momin Astar Abadi, Ibn Khatoon and Nik Nam Khan are greatly valuable.

The book does not speak about all Shahi kings but only refers to Jamshid, Muhammad Qhuli and Muhammad Shah. This book is in fact a full description of political and governmental elites of different dynasties. Historically, climax of the book are those parts in which the author himself has been present. Hence, in studying background of QhutbShahis especially in late years of this dynasty when the author has been in capital of Qhutb Shahis, this work is a valuable source.

It is also a considerable source regarding the study of literary conditions, situations of Persian writing poets and writers of India in this period. It has been published in 1942 in Lahore and in 1951 in Madras.
Basaatin -us Salatin\(^{35}\)

Written by Muhammad Ibrahim Zobeiri known as Sahib Hazrat in between 1223AH/1808 till 1237AH/1821, this book has been written as a chronicle of Aadil Shahis. It has been written in eight Boustans (chapters) and each Boustan describes events in the time of one Aadil Shahi king. There is also an additional part for the book which describes the events of Aurangzeb’s time up to dominance of the English in 1233 AH/1817. The main subject of this work is explanation of political and social events in Aadil Shahi period.

History of Qhutbshahi

Muhammad Ghader Khan Bidari, best known as Munshi (Assistant) of mid-nineteenth century wrote this book ordered by Nawab Mir Abbas Ali Khan Montaz Jang about Sultan Qhuli Qhutbshah. It is available in the library of Indian Urdu Development Association, No.349 in 50 pages which presents a brief history of Qhutbshahis.

A list of other sources are given below, some of which are not less important than the works described above but because of no access to the work or its extinction or lack opportunity in this article, I preferred just to mention their names.

Hadiqhat-ul aalam\(^{36}\), Montakhab ut tavarikh\(^{37}\), Montakhab-ul lubab\(^{38}\), Maaser Alamgiri of Saghi Mostaed Khan, Maaser-ul-OMara\(^{39}\), Vagheat-e Aalamgiri of Aaqil Khan Khwafi, Merat-ul-Aalam\(^{40}\), Ravayehe Golshan Shahi of anonymous writer, Char Golshan-e Muhammad shahi from Rai Chatarman Kayesth Saksema, 'Tariikh-e Shahi\(^{41}\), Maaser-e Shahi of Muhammad ebn Abdollah Neishabouri\(^{42}\),

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\(^{35}\) Zobeiri, Muhammad Ebrahim, *Basaatin-us salatin*, Hyderabad Deccan: 1310 AH/1892.

\(^{36}\) Mir Abolghasem Raziud din ebn Noorud din, known as Mir Aalam, *Hadiqhat-ul aalam*, worked by Sayyed Abd-ul Latif Shirazi, Hyderabad Deccan:1309 AH


Golzar Asefiyye or History of Asef Jahian from Ghulamhosain Khan-e Khanzaman Khan, Tarikh-e Mahmud Shahi, Marghoub-ulGholoub of Sadr-e Jahan, Nasab Nameh Shahi (poem history of Shahi dynasty) by Hussein ebn Ali Forsi compiled in 1019AH/1611 in the time of Muhammad Qhuli Shah, Makatib-e Zamaneh of Safavi Sultans which is a collection of letters by Deccan kings and Safavi kings in Asefiye Library of Hyderabad.

➢ Travel Books

Travel Book of Petro Della Valle (1586-1652)\textsuperscript{43}

Amidst Italian tourists who have written travel books on their journeys to Asia, in Baburi’s period and after it, this book has a remarkable value. The author has left precious information about Ottomans, Iran, and India. Della Valle went to Shah Abbas’s court in 1617 and stayed in Iran almost 6 years. His description of Indians settled in Iran especially in Bandar Abbas and their customs and traditions is remarkable.

Travel Book of Tavernier (1605-1689)\textsuperscript{44}

French Jean Baptist Tavernier travelled to the East six times between 1632 and 1668. He came to East 6 and Iran 9 times and visited the courts of King Safi, King Abbas II and King Suleiman. Content of this Travel Book is description of states of Iran, connecting roads, customs and traditions, current religions, trade styles, features of Safavi kings and their ruling methods. His interests were above trade or political benefits. He was interested to discover the world.

Travel Book of Adam Olearius (1605-1689)\textsuperscript{45}

He was sent by Fredrick III, Duke of Chelswick State-Holstein to King Safi’s court. He has given a precise account of geographical conditions as well as different traditions and customs in Iran.

\textsuperscript{42} This book is a Supplement to history of Sultan Muhammad Qhutb Shah and describes the events of his period till his death in 1035AH/1625.


\textsuperscript{44} Tavernier, Travel Book. Trans. Abu Torab Noori, worked by Hamid Shirani, Isfahan: Taeed Book Store 1957.

Travel Book of Chardin 46

This travel book is considered as the most descriptive and most comprehensive travel book to Iran. Chardin was born in 1643 and has travelled to Iran two times. He knew Persian very well and doubtlessly such travel books provoked Westerns to visit the East and had great influences on their knowledge about the East. He has been in Iran in the time of King Suleiman’s (Safi II) crowning and has given inclusive and comprehensive descriptions on trade, culture, life, morals and civilization in Iran and other countries.

Other travel books such as Travel Book of Stoddert 1626 and Gemilli Careri (Italian adventurer and traveler) 1693 and Bernier (1625-1688-French physician and traveler. he was the personal physician of Aurangzeb for around 12 years during his stay in India) are useful sources to study trade and political circumstances in these periods.

I hoped that in addition to reading works of others, I could discover new perspectives but I know to achieve this goal I need deeper and more comprehensive studies.