CHAPTER -III

Political Relations between Safavids dynasty and Qhutbshahis sultanate
A Review on Middle Deccan
Examining the Qhutbshahis sultanate history
Studying the historical Relations of Iran and Qhutbshahis
A Review on Middle Deccan

Deccan – Dekshiana (Sanskrit), Dekhen (Indian dialect), and Deccan-literally means “south”. There are different ideas about territory of Deccan, therefore by analyzing definitions in the present sources on its territories we can conclude that in the north Deccan spreads up to Narmada River, which pours to Khambhat Gulf in Arabian Sea, in the northeast to Mahanadi River, that pours to Bengal Gulf, and in the west up to Tungabhadra and Krishna Rivers. Nowadays this area extends in the north up to Maharashtra and Orissa, in the east and center to Andhra Pradesh and in the south till Karnataka. Most significant cities of this region are Ahmad Nagar and Pune in the west, Bidder and Nagpur in the north and Bijapur in the southwest. Most fertilizing area is between Krishna and Godavari Rivers which are running in two sides of Hyderabad. Existence of many ports in eastern bank of the river has attracted local and foreign rulers to this politico-economic location. Existence of mines such as gold, manganese, iron, lead, copper and coalmines have added to its importance. Affluent diamond veins of Golkanda region were famous in Medieval ages which have ended by now.

Records of Tavernier, Bernier, Sevenat and documents of English factories speak of extraction, carving and refining of diamonds which made Golkanda very famous. Kallur located in Krishna River region was the richest diamond mine. Garnet, purple rubies, yellow rubies, agate, etc. were also extracted in this kingdom. Machilipatnam was not only a crowded port for ships from Far East, Southeastern Asia, Persian Gulf and Europe, but it was a center for different goods and products. Iron extracted in this region was sold to and used for making sword, dagger and spears all over India. There were vast ship building fields near Machilipatnam. The main roads connected Hyderabad to Bijapur, Surat, Goa, Machilipatnam and Madras through Gandyata and minor roads connected other regions of the kingdom to main roads.

This region has three seasons with hot and dry, rainy and cool weather in which turns mild.
The political dominance of Muslims on Deccan

The first entrance of Muslims to Deccan goes back to the time of Khiljis from the dynasty of Delhi Sultanate. Alaud’din Muhammad Shah I (693-715AH/1294-1316) could defeat Hindu kingdom of Yadavaraja and conquer its capital, Devgiri. He expanded Delhi kingdom region in northeast and northwest as well. Other kings of Khilji and Toghlaghi had invasions on neighboring kingdoms and gradually subdued them and brought their territories under their own rules.

Indian kingdoms in the south that had been forced to pay tax to Delhi consisted of Yadavas of Devgiri, Kakatyas of Warangal, Hoysalas of Devarayamudram and Pandians of Madurai. It was only Devgiri that because of disobedience of its Hindu ruler and not paying annual tax to Delhi was occupied and included in Delhi kingdom. He expanded Delhi kingdom in northeast and northwest as well.

Sultan Muhammad II Toghlag had found out that he could not rule over Deccan from Delhi at the same time, therefore he moved his capital to Devgiri (Daulat Abad) in the north of Deccan; but peace did not endure in Deccan and gradually rebellions broke out since 746 AH/1347 The reinstate ruler of Toghlag Shah in conquests of Toghlagis led the first of these rebellions who succeeded to establish kingdom of Hindu Vijayanagar in the south of Deccan. Ala’ud din Hassan Gango was also one of these rebel rulers. The period of Bahmani kingdom must be considered as cultural development of Shiite religion, Islamic art and architecture and Persian literature in Deccan. Lots of schools, khangahs, palaces and gardens were established in Islamic and Iranian style combined with local elements.

Another one of the rulers was Zafar Khan in Gujarat who formally declared independence under the name of Mozaffar Shah and established kingdom of Gujarat Sultans (810-991 AH/1391-1583). Kingdom of Faroughi Khandish Sultans (772-1009AH/1370-1601) was established in south Malowa in the Valley of Tapeti River by King Raja (772-801 AH/1370-1399). In Southern
India and in southern bank of Krishna River also two independent kingdoms appeared which were: Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar (736-972 AH/ 1336-1565) and in the southernmost of India Maa'ber kingdom (734-780 AH/1333-1378) was established and its capital became Madurai. Maabar Kingdom which its kings were Muslims did not last more than forty some years and was included in Vajayanagar after receiving a military defeat.

**Structure of Deccan Kingdom**

Political structure of Deccan Shiite kingdoms and also political structure of Safavi in Iran had been based on official systems of Abbasid Caliphates and Turk rulers in Iran. Neither Safavi Shahs of Iran nor Shiite kings of Deccan did offer any ideology or a new political pattern. Shiite kings considered the 12th Imam as practical ruler of the world and themselves as his representatives.

The kingdoms that became independent during the breakup of the Bahmani Sultanate are In :1490, Ahmadnagar declared independence, followed by Bijapur and Berar in same year. Golkanda became independent in 1518 and Bidar in 1528. In 1510, Bijapur repulsed an invasion by the Portuguese against the city of Goa, but lost it later that year.

Although generally rivals, they did ally against the Vijayanagar empire in 1565, permanently weakening Vijayanagar in the Battle of Talikota. In 1574, after a coup in Berar, Ahmadnagar invaded and conquered it. In 1619, Bidar was annexed by Bijapur. The sultanates were later conquered by the Mughal Empire; Berar was stripped from Ahmadnagar in 1596, Ahmadnagar was completely taken between 1616 and 1636, and

Despite business of Babur and Humayun in Northern India, none of them ignored Deccan. They were in contact with Borhan Nizam Shah, ruler of Ahmadnagar. Humayun conquered Gujarat for a little while and he was also keeping an eye on Khandish.

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1 See: *Ensha-e Shah Taher*
Since the escape of Humayun till end of Akbar’s period, Baburis had gone a long way and had established and strengthened foundations of their kingdom; therefore they could go for removing independence of Deccan kingdoms and dominating them. Hence, destroying unity of Deccanians with Iran was followed seriously as an alternative. Chaos and permanent wars between Deccanians strengthened Akbar’s policy in Deccan. After conquest of Gujarat, Malwa and Orissa (1592), pressures of Moguls on Deccan increased. Khandish was the first Deccanian kingdom which accepted superiority of Moguls and agreed to pay tax. Other kingdoms of Deccan resisted in front of Baburis. Moguls position in conquest of Ahmadnagar Fortress in 1600 made Nizam Shahis accept an agreement on territories offered by Baburis. Less than one year later Khandish was conquered. Therefore, in late years of Akbar’s reign Baburis turned out to be a great power in Deccan.2

In the meantime, according to some reports, Iranian envoys were trying to reconcile Baburis with Deccanian rulers.

The fact was that Baburis never formally accepted independence of Deccanians and Jahangir in Tuzook repeatedly uses the title “Khan” instead of “Shah” when he refers to them.3(p.148)

During the stay of Mirza Barkhordar titled Khan Aalam (envoy of Jahangir in Shah Abbas’s court) in Iran Mostafa Bey arrived in India with Shah Abbas’s letter regarding conquest of Georgia. The next year , (1616), on the very day of arrival in Ajmir, Muhammad Reza Bey met Jahangir, it seems that the reason for his meeting was to give suggestions to Jahangir regarding Shiite kings of Deccan and creation of friendly relations between Baburis’ court with them, since there was the threat of Jahangir’s invasion to Deccan. Sir Thomas Row, English envoy in Mogul court received reports which revealed that apparently the Iranian envoy had a mission to establish peace between the emperor and rulers of Deccan.3 (p126)

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2 Tuzook Jahangiri. Ibid. p. 84
3 Riaz ul Islam. Ibid.
Again a person who named Sayyed Hassan went to Jahangir’s court with a letter about conquests of Shah Abbas in Western Iran. These journeys were only to maintain relationships and business affairs and also political issues were considered with them.

Afterwards, Zeynal Bey who headed the most glorious and most comprehensive political council between Iranians and Baburis in the time of Jahangir arrived in Lahore in 1620. In the meantime of his mission and negotiations about Kandahar (which was the main reason of his mission), he sent a report to Shah Abbas about sending a great Mogul army headed by Shah Jahan (Prince Khorrani) to Deccan in 1621. Sending the Royal Army was to defeat movements of Malik Anbar, military commander of Nizam Shahis. (p.131)

In the time of Jahangir, aggressive policies of Baburis against Deccan became softer and in his time, Mogul borders remained untouched. But Shah Jahan followed a more elaborate and determined policy in Deccan. Deccan kingdoms still were hopeful to win Iran’s political support against invasion of Moguls. (p176)

When Muhammad Qhuli Bey (son of Ghasem Bey, Shah Abbas’s envoy in Qhutbshahi’s court) arrived in Sourat Port with Kheirat Khan, envoy of Abdollah Qhutbshah, Shah Jahan sent them a letter regarding their departure to Agra.

Shah Jahan gave them a letter addressed to Shah Abbas I, and dismissed them in August 1628. It seems that Shah Jahan could not have objection against diplomatic relations between Deccan and Iran because he had recently

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4 Malik Anbar, vizier of second kingdom of Nizamshahi who had defeated Baburi forces twice in 1010 and 1012 AH/ 1601 and 1603, built the city Khirki or Khadki and in 1021 AH/ 1612 shifted the capital to this city. Malik Anbar stood 25 years against Baburi forces and in 1024 AH eventually admitted defeat from Mogul forces, the city of Khirki after a brave resistance, was fully destroyed by Baburis (Tuzook Jahangir, p.178)

5 Ibid.
come to power and needed Shah Abbas’s friendship.\(^4\) (p183) Relations between Iran and Deccan were also followed in order to reduce results of Baburis’ territory expansion in Deccan. Shah Safi 1629-1642 sent Ahmad Bey Ghoorchi to Adilshah’s court with a letter. He also dismissed Rahim Muhammad, envoy of Adilshah very soon and gave him a letter.\(^4\) (125)

Safavis even resorted to conflict rising movements in order to weaken Baburis in Deccan. Shah Safi in 1632-3 let the person who claimed to be Baysunghor Mirza, son of Mirza Danyal, Akbar’s son go to Deccan. Probably his intention was to raise conflict among Baburis. Anyway, Mirza couldn’t reach Deccan and was arrested in Tateh and executed because of deceit.\(^4\) (p128) In the time of Shah Abbas II 1642-1667 Prince Boulaghi who claimed to be Davar Bakhsh, son of Khosro’s son, Jahangir’s son came to Isfahan from Qhazvin in the time of conflicts over the throne after Shah Jahan. Shah once again wanted to apply the policy of creating conflicts between sons of Shah Jahan in the time of wars on succeeding to the throne which of course went in vain. As Aurangzeb came to power, the time of Deccan kingdoms came to end and by 1687 when Qhutbshahis declined, whole Deccan had been included in Baburi Empire.

- **Examining the Qhutbshahis sultanate history**

I. Sultan Qhuli Qhutbshah (reign 1518-1543)

Qhutbshahis 918-1098 AH/ 1512-1687 are among the Islamic and Shiite dynasties of Deccan who constructed their dynasty over the ruins of Indian kingdoms of Warangal. The triangle, Tilengana, which is the region Qhutbshahis ruled before they had declared their independence is located in today Andra Pradesh. Tilengana centered by Golkanda expanded up to states of Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra in the north; it was extended to northern bank of Krishna River in the south, and in the east it reached Eastern
Gat Mountains which were next to Bengal Gulf. Golkanda which once was one of the famous cities in the East and its surroundings were considered as main source of producing diamond and other precious stones was located 11 km in the west of present Hyderabad. It was the capital of Andrapradesh State and was constructed in 1143 AD by Ganapathy Shah, a king of Kakatiya Dynasty who ruled in Warangal. It was handed over to Sultan Muhammad Bahmani and he named it the castle of “Muhammad Nagar” after his own name.7

Founder of this dynasty was “Sultan Qhuli” of Qhara Ghuyunlu Turkmans (782-873 AH/ 1380-1468)8 who was from Baharlu tribe and was born in Sa’dabad. His father was Oveis Qhuli and his mother, Maryam Khatoun, daughter of Malek Saleh, one of the elders of Hamedan. After Qhuli was born, Malek Saleh undertook his bringing up and his education.9 Family Tree of Qhutbshahi, seen by Athar Rizvi has been written at the back of the first page in Kanz-ul Loghat by Muhammad Shah, the fourth Qhutbshahi ruler. In a quotation from this book which is now in Salar Jang Museum in Hyderabad we read: “Muammad Qhutbshah Ibn10 Mirza Muhammad Amin Ibn (Ibrahim) Qhutbshah Ibn Sultan Qhuli, Qhutb-ul Mulk Ibn Oveis Qhuli Ibn Pir Qhuli Ibn Alvand Bey Ibn Mirza Eskandar Ibn Yusuf Ibn Qhara Muhammad Turkman…, son of Yafes Ibn Noah”.11 Jahanshah Qhara Ghuyunlu had given Sa’dabad of Hamedan in feudality to Alvand Bey(great

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6 The Golkanda fort has three lines of fortification Walls eight gates and eighty-seven bastions mounted with gun. Encircled by a ditch, it was one of the strongest forts of the Deccan.


8 There was a union of Turkmans who were mainly from northern parts of Lake Van and Lake Urumiyeh. They gradually dominated Azerbaijan and eastern scopes of Anatolia. They fought against Agh Ghuyunlu Turkmans in Dyar Bakr, with Georgians and Shervanshahis in Caucasus and also with Timurid rulers in Western Iran. Their rival union i.e. Agh Ghuyunlus defeated and destroyed them. That was the way Qara Ghuyunlus were spread in the vast lands between Iranian plateau and Anatolian plateau and some groups of them immigrated to India and other countries.

9 Fereshteh. Ibid. p 167

10 Ibn means son of.

11 Tarikh-e Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah. Ibid .P3
grandfather of Qhuli) and he had also married his granddaughter, Prince Yusuf’s daughter to Pir Qhuli, Alvand Mirza’s son. Two sons were born after this marriage, one of them was Oveis Qhuli, Sultan Qhuli’s son and the other was Allah Qhuli, his uncle. When Uzun Hassan Agh Ghuyunlu defeated Qhara Ghuyunlus 874 AH/ 1469, he massacred lots of Qhara Ghuyunlus to stop probable rebellions. In that time, Pir Qhuli was the feudal owner of Sa’dabad instead of his father. Uzun Hassan realized that he did not have the intention to take the throne and was instead indulged in hunting and other pleasures. Therefore, he took guaranty from elders of Hamedan that Pir Qhuli could remain the feudal owner of the land as long as he made no movements against the kingdom.

There are no certain evidences on religion of Qhara Ghuyunlus. It could be only implied that because Shiite beliefs were popular among Turks and Turkmans of Western Asia, they could have been regarded as Shiite. Unlike Uzun Hassan Agh Ghuyunlu, Sultan Yaghoub 883-896 AH/ 1478-1490 started hostility with survivors of Qhara Ghuyunlus. That was why Oveis Qhuli, Sultan Qhuli’s father sent his 12 year-old son accompanied by his uncle, Allah Qhuli, to India with lots of gifts in order to save his life. The council on their way to India met Shah Noor-ud din Nematollah Saani who was one of the great Sufis of Nematollahi Tariqat. This group had previously been familiar with Bahmani kingdom through trade journeys; they entered Bidar which was capital of Bahmanis Dynasty. Qhuli came to Deccan in the time of Sultan Muhammad III known as Lashkary (of army). Bahmanis utilized Turk servants to administer country and army affairs and were interested in applying them, therefore, after presenting his gifts, Qhuli joined the Turk servants of Muhammad Shah and his uncle, Allah Qhuli returned to Iran. His familiarity with accounting and calligraphy won him a good name in the court of Bahmanis and he could attract king’s attention and trust through his truthfulness and good behavior. In this time that the land of Tilengana had become part of feudalities of kingdom, officials and representatives of
Muhammad Shah could not set conditions and affairs of this region in correct order because movements and corruption of feudal and local people had stopped any sort of effort to place order in the region. Qhuli asked the Bahmani king to send him and some of his Turk colleagues to settle order in Tilengana region. Through mediation of court members, king agreed with this request and Qhuli could make the best use of this opportunity. His intelligence and talent, and of course his brutal policies brought peace in the region and suppressed the unrests, and he could very well fulfill the responsibility he had undertaken. Suppression of rebellions and removal of plunderers, robbers, revolt peasants and criminals promoted position and name of Qhuli in Bahmani kingdom and revealed his quality and abilities\textsuperscript{12}, and the king gave him the title “Khavas Khan” (specific Khan). After that, he provided good services in the time of Sultan Shahab-ud din Bahmani 887-924 AH/ 1482-1518. Sultan Qhuli marched his army for a battle towards Bahador Gilani, ruler of Goa who had conquered all beaches of Konkan and had penetrated even into Gujarat. Bahador Gilani was killed in Safar, 900 AH/ 1494 by forces of Qhutb-ul Mulk which were consisted of soldiers of Gilan, Mazandaran and Khurasan. Qhutb-ul- Mulk, ruler of Tilengana was killed in this battle and the king bestowed his title and position to Sultan Qhuli.

The most important of these services, of course, was saving the life of Bahmani king from a conspiracy. Sultan Qhuli Qhutb-ul Mulk accomplished this service. In 901 AH when Sultan Mahmud came to palace after having usual pleasures, he dismissed some of commanders, some Deccanian rulers who had the intention to attempt on king’s life entered the palace with their arms to kill the king and some Afaqhis. Qhuli who was in the palace along with some other servants bravely saved king’s life.

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King made him ruler of Tilengana 901 AH/ 1496 and added Warangal and Golkanda to his previous feudalities. Paying tax and providing army in the required times were some of rulers’ duties. The grateful king also honored him with the title Amir-ul Omara. The royal army achieved lots of successes under the new commandment of Sultan Qhuli Qhutb-ul-Mulk. He intelligently and wisely dominated this area until 918 AH. Endless conflicts between Deccanians and Afaqhis weakened kingdom of Bahmanis. The last three Bahmani kings had come to throne by help of their own commanders. Rulers of Berar who had declared independence by the name of Imadshahis in 1485 and lasted until 1527 were defeated by Nizamshahis. In 943 AH/ 1527, Kalimullah Shah, the last Bahmani king passed away and the Turk Qhasem Barid announced the dynasty of Baridshahis in Bidar. They also sustained until 1619 when they were dissolved in the kingdom of Adilshahis. Adilshahis declared independence in 1490 in Bijapur and ruled there till 1686 when Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur. Almost in the time of declaring independence by Adilshahis in Bijapur i.e. 1490, Nizamshahis also announced their kingdom in Ahmadnagar. But despite his new position, Sultan Qhuli who was under pressure did not formally declare independence.

In 918 AH/ 1512, following the other independent Bahmani rulers, Qhutb-ul Mulk also announced independence and according to the title “Qhutb-ul-Mulk” they were known as kingdom of Qhutbshahis. Qhutb-ul Mulk gave the important positions to his own tribe members and relatives but until 924 AH/ 1518 as long as Mahmud was alive, he used to send him gifts every year and according to some sources every month. He avoided expansion of his territory during lifetime of Bahmani king; he even did not use the title “king” for himself. In this very year, on an inscription on the door of the Friday Mosque of Balahesar he mentioned name of Mahmud Bahmani as the king and prayed for stability of his kingdom and his dynasty. His own name has been mentioned only as the builder of the mosque. The inscription on his gravestone reveals that by the time of his death in Jamadi-us Sani, 950 AH/ 1543 he did not use the title king for himself and kept the title Qhutb-ul Mulk.
Sultan Qhuli’s precaution in starting war and expanding his territory was not only because of interest in maintaining his loyalty to the Bahmani king. He even marched on Shiite kingdom of Bijapur under request of Bahmani kings, but his presence led to peace and agreement in a concealed way. Qhutb-ul Mulk did not immediately take part in conflicts because rulers of Orissa, Vijayanagar, Shetab Khan, ruler of Warangal and Burhan Nizam-ul Mulk in Ahmadnagar and Ismail Adilshah of Bijapur were also powerful kings and indefatigable rivals. Therefore, he spent early years of his reign reinforcing his kingdom and his sources. He strengthened defensive lines, fortresses, towers and gates of old military fortresses, and after that he started undoing and ruining plans of expansion that Orissa had in the northeast, Vijayanagar in the south, and his other two Shiite and Sunni neighbor. First he marched alongside Krishna River towards Machilipatnam in eastern coast of India and conquered many fortresses. Then he conquered the fortresses next to Golkanda which altogether were almost 60 to 70 fortresses. He expanded his territories up to western coasts of Bengal Gulf.13

Qhutb-ul Mulk revived the system of government after his 90th. He expanded Golkanda and strengthened its fortress and constructed buildings, mosques and gardens. This city had trade communications with Europe and Islamic countries. Tavernier who had visited territories of Qhutbshahis in 1645 has mentioned that the number of workers who worked on the industry of extracting precious stones near Golkanda reached 60,000 workers. The diamond “Kouhe Noor” which was 787 carat (every carat is 2 milligrams) was discovered in this region.14 Qhutb-ul Mulk was murdered on 2nd Jamadi-us Sani 950 AH/ 2nd, September 1518. It is believed that his murder was conducted by his son Jamshid. The History of Muhammad Qhutbshah has mentioned the period of his kingdom as 44 years but according to History of

13 Khanzaman Khan, Qhulam hussies khan, Golzar Asefiyeh by Mahdi Tavassuli, Islamabad: Iran center of Persian research, 1998 p. 9
14 This diamond was given as a gift to Shah Jahan by Mir Jomleh Muhammad Saeed, the famous and authoritative Iranian vizier of Abdullah Qhutbshah. Nader Shah owned it in 1738. And now it is on the crown of Queen of England.
Fereshteh he has ruled 33 years. Researchers of history believe that his year of declaring independence was 924 AH/ 1518 and his death was in 856 AH/ 1543. Therefore his ruling years have been mentioned something between 31 years and 44 years.

II. Jamshid Qhutbshah 950-958 AH/1543-1551

Most of his reign passed with war against neighbors specially Adilshahis. Like his father, he tried to spread Shiism. In his period, relations with Nizamshahis became better and all this was due to mediation of Shah Taher but the conflicts between Adilshahis and Qhutbshahis brought Qhutbshah into controversies. Asad Khan Lari, the competent commander of Adilshah defeated Jamshid many times and eventually they took part in a dual and he left a severe scar on the face of Qhutbshah which remained on his face until his death. It had made it difficult for Jamshid to eat and drink. Jamshid was an audacious and brave warrior. He was also a man of poetry and culture. He became very cranky in later years of his life and his brothers decided to dethrone him and bring his brother, Hydar Khan to power but Jamshid was informed and the brothers fled to Bidar. Ibrahim, the third brother had previously taken refuge in Rama raja.

III. Ibrahim Qhutbshah 958-988 AH/1550-1580

As Jamshid succeeded to the throne, his brothers fled from Golkanda because they were afraid of being killed. Ibrahim fled to Vijayanagar and was welcomed by Rama Raja. As Jamshid died in 1550, some rulers insisted on his young son, Sobhan Qhuli to be king but it was not agreed by other rulers. Therefore, two Qhutbshahi rulers namely Mustafa Khan Ardestani and Salabat Khan determined to call Ibrahim from Vijayanagar to Golkanda, hence they exchanged letters with Rama Raja and requested him to send Ibrahim from Vijayanagar to Golkanda. Rama Raja sent Ibrahim. On the day of his entrance 7,000 people had gathered and Mustafa Khan who had gone as the first person to welcome him became Mir Jomleh and married Ibrahim’s sister.

15 Hadiqhat-ul aalam, p 110
16 Aliya Rama Raja, who has been mentioned as “Ram Raj” in Persian source was the last great emperor of Vijayanagar in the fourth dynasty (last dynasty of Vijayanagar) i.e. Aravidu Dynasty.
According to sources, Ibrahim was a generous man, but he was also very arrogant and strict. He was so much successful in stabilizing Qhutbshahi kingdom that although Sultan Qhuli established dynasty of Qhutbshahis, it was Ibrahim who despite instabilities and political chaos, confirmed and stabilized foundations of this dynasty.

He was a capable manager who had learned the arts of ruling in a state in his father’s period of ruling and during his seven-year stay in Vijayanagar when he was an asylum seeker refugee in Vijayanagar during his brother’s reign had gained a lot of experience. He recruited new officials and court members in his ruling system replacing the old ones. To get well aware of what was going on in his reign either in the capital or the states under his control, he started a spying secret intelligence agency that could effectively cover every piece of news and happening in the country. Moreover, he launched a judicial system with extremely heavy fines and penalties, the lightest of which was pulling the nails off. 17

Another measure taken by Ibrahim Qhutbshah was to pay attention to the army and recruit new soldiers. With Mustafa Khan Ardestani’s assistance, he could reconstruct the Golkanda castle and build a bigger wall around it.

_History of Fereshteh_ describes his strictness this way: “when overcome by anger and fury, he used to brutally punish people. He ordered that their nails be brought out by whipping and be brought to him in a pot for his solace. Because of suspicions about his son, Abdol Qhader who was popular for his knowledge and courage, he imprisoned him to stop his probable allegiance with rulers and after a while poisoned and killed him. Then he regretted that and because he believed this decision had been influenced by Mulla Hussein Tabrizi known as “Khankhan”, he was annoyed by him and

17 Mougim Heravi. Ibid. vol.3 p 81
ordered that everyone who had a book write behind it: “Master Noori, the
tooth remover surgeon who is in Tabriz in a place called Makkaleh and goes
around people’s houses removes the moving teeth of people and takes money
instead…now his son, Hussein is the surgeon”. He did this to belittle Mulla
Hussein and take revenge in this way. Ibrahim was interested in construction
and civilization. Lots of bridges and fortresses were reconstructed in his time.
A list of his works is given in Khan Zaman Khan’s Golzar Asefiyeh. Respecting
and dignifying Shiite principles especially on the 10th night of Moharram and
mourning for Imam Hussein were some of his activities. Ibrahim died in 988
AH in his 51st after 30 years and 9 months ruling and was buried in Langar
Feiz.  

IV. Sultan Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah 988-1020 AH/ 1580-1611

Muhammad Qhuli, 12 year-old son of Ibrahim came to power by help
of rulers, khans and major officials of kingdom. Construction of the city
Hyderabad was started in his time between 1000 till 1004 AH/ 1591-1595
because Golkanda was not big enough to place the population, therefore in a
plain 12 km far from Golkanda, they chose a land to construct a city.
Fereshteh believes that the main reason for construction of the new city was
dullness and bad climate of the old city. He probably meant too much
population and crowdedness and consequently the pollution produced by
them; he also praises delicacy and cleanness of the new city. According to
some historians, the initial name of this city was Bahag Nagar. Fereshteh
narrates that Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah falls in love with an unchaste girl
with this name i.e. “Bahag” and sends 1000 cavalries with her and names the
city after her name, but later he regrets and because of his interest in Ali (A)
he names the city after his title i.e. “Hyder” and calls it “Hyderabad”. But
among the people it becomes popular as Bahag Nagar.  

18 History of Fereshteh.Ibid.p 171
19 Golzar Asefiye.Ibid. p 16
20 History of Fereshteh.Ibid.p 173
21 Khanzaman Khan. Ibid. p.17
Four huge bazaars with high arches, school, mosque, Khanghah, a big main square called Chahar Kaman (four bows) with a beautiful stony pond in the middle, fine porches and exulted palaces were constructed for king and the rulers. A hospital and two Ashour Khanehs were also constructed. The royal Ashour Khaneh is more famous. The author of *Golzar Asefiyeh* writes that Qhutbshah was trying to construct a building like shrine of the eighth Imam of Shiites in Mashhad of Khurasan. Therefore he provided the design of Chahar Manar (four minarets) gloriously and made it religious Madrasa and mosque. In relation to his moralities, it is said that every year he used to send large amounts of benefaction to servants of God’s house in Mecca, to Medina, Najaf, Karbala, Mashhad and other holy places. Everyone who came with the news of his childbirth received gift, everyone who had wedding ceremony or circumcised his son used to receive gifts from the king. If one thousand people came in with such news each day, they all received gifts from the king.22

According to *History of Fereshteh*, his success depended on three factors. The first was that he treated with his brothers most affectionately and respectfully and they also in return treated him very kindly and without any conspiracy and they were very grateful to the king because of his behavior. This is important because not only in history of Muslim rulers in Deccan, but also among other Muslim kingdoms killing brother and son for the sake of power was popular. There are many examples of this kind in Ottomans, Baburis and Safavis. The second reason was presence of *Mir Momin Astar abadi* who was very well-learned on fields of knowledge in his time and was his Nayeb-us Saltaneh (King’s Representative) for 25 years. The third reason that he calls it a mercy from God was friendship with Safavis.

Despite affluent easygoingness of Qhutbshahi kings, because of Muharram days, not only Shiites but also all Muslims and Hindus also respected these rules. On early days of Muharram, thousands of black clothes were distributed among court servants, Maddahs (elegy-mongers) and rosary doers. Mourning gatherings were held by active presence of people. Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah passed away after 33 years of ruling in his 49.

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22 Ibid. p 23
V. Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah 1020-1035 AH/ 1611-1626

Sultan Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah did not leave any son. Therefore, he gave Mir Momin responsibility to bring up his nephew and educate him for his succession. The prince married Muhammad Qhutbshah’s daughter, Hayat Bakhshi Beigom.

Sultan Muhammad Mirza was son of Muhammad Amin Mirza who was born in 1001 AH/ 1592 and because he lost his father in his childhood, Sultan Muhammad Qhuli adopted him as his son. He reached qualified scientific and religious positions under education of Mir Momin Astar abadi and became one of pious and righteous kings of Qhutbshahi. Therefore, according to records of historians, he was a sound, serene, well-learned individual who was not morally corrupted and who prevented anti-religious behaviors and also wine-drinking. He did not ignore religious affairs by indulging himself in royal affairs and avoided Haraam (forbidden) deeds and used to be cautious on incomes and expenditures of wealth. It is said that at the time of constructing the Mecca mosque, he had taken firmly and persisted oath that he had never missed any prayer since he was 12.23

He was promoter of Shiite culture and was intelligent in verbal and ideological knowledge and was talented in Persian language and writing poems. He has composed lots of sonnets and praise poems on family of Prophet.24 He speaks in the rest of his collection of poems “Divan-e Zellollah” about expressions of people in Ashoora (which actually referred to his own mood): Far from heads of kings the ornamented crown has gone, Fine dress of tolerance has turned the a garment by this sorrow once again, Throne of kingdom was removed once again, Mat is there instead of the throne once again.25

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23 Ibid.
As the previous Sultan died, before burial of the deceased king, Mir Momin brought Sultan Muhammad to the throne and coming to throne of the new king and burial of the late king were carried out in the same day. Envoys of Adilshah and Morteza Nizamshah came to Hyderabad with gifts to express condolence on death of the late king and congratulation on succession of Muhammad Qhutbshah. Also Hussein Bey Ghichaghi Tabrizi was sent by Shah Abbas to Hyderabad to express condolence and also congratulate new king’s succession. Sultan Muhammad ruled nearly 20 years and was buried in the graveyard of Langar Feiz after his death.26

VI. Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah 1035-1082 AH/1626-1672

In the time of Abdollah also development of Hyderabad was followed up by construction of buildings. Mourning ceremonies for Imam Hussein was continued with the same enthusiasm it used to be previously. According to Golzar Asefiyeh, Abdollah ruled 52 years during 60 years of his lifetime.27

In his period, signs of decline and weakness appeared in kingdom of Qhutbshahis. Baburis expanded, their invasions of Deccan, under the command of Aurangzeb, and the land of Qhutbshahis was no exception for these invasions.

31 years of Abdollah’s kingdom coincided with Shah Jahan’s time. Abdollah had to leave Speech in Shiite style in his own period; also he had to pay a heavy tax to Baburis. Mir Muhammad Saeed Ardestani’s (known as Mir Jomleh, vizier of Abdollah Qhutbshah) taking refuge in Aurangzeb’s court and the excuse of supporting Muhammad Saeed’s son who had been taken captive in Golkanda all became excuses for invasion on Hyderabad. Being informed by military invasion of Baburis, Sultan Abdollah went to Golkanda and took refuge there. Aurangzeb conquered Hyderabad and his army

26 Khanzaman Khan. Ibid. p 24
27 Ibid. p 24
plundered the city and destroyed lots of buildings. Then they went to Golkanda and laid siege to its fortress, but by mediation of Hayat Bakhshi Beigom, Abdollah Qhutbshah’s mother, Auranzeb agreed that Abdollah maintain his kingdom under conditions that he marry one of his daughters to one of Auranzeb’s sons and pay tax to Baburi king.  

VII. Abol-Hassan Tana Shah 1083-1111/ 1672-1687

Sultan Abdollah had no son; therefore he selected Mir Mozaffar, vizier of Abdollah, Abol-Hassan Tana Shah and son-in-law to Abdollah as the king. The author of Matla-ul Anvar writes about Abol-Hassan that he was from Hyderabad and from dynasty of Jughatai who was considered as a very well-learned scholar and a Dervish. Because of his intelligence and character, Abdollah Qhutbshah married his own daughter to him and after death of his father-in-law in 1083 AH, he became heir to throne. In his time, religious schools and number of scholars and authors reached their maximum. After his succession to the throne, Auranzeb passed an order and took his commitment that he had to always be obedient to Baburi king and avoid supporting his enemies and annually send him a sum of money as tax. Tana Shah also accepted the contract and underwent his dominance.

Abol-Hassan kept his contract with Auranzeb until 1092. But in this year due to support of Sikandar Adil Shah 1672-1686 who had been invaded by Auranzeb, he sent an army to Bijapur which was defeated; therefore, Abol-Hassan apologized to Auranzeb and sent him gifts and Auranzeb who was busy in conflicts with Adilshahis accepted his apology but in 1098 AH/ 1686 he started an invasion with the purpose of conquering Hyderabad and Golkanda. Hyderabad was conquered and Golkanda was under siege for 8 months. Eventually through conspiracy of a fortress officer who opened one of the gates for Baburis, Auranzeb conquered Golkanda and took Qhutb Shah captive and exiled him to Daulatabad. It was decline of Qhutbshahi Dynasty. Abol-Hassan, who had started education in his 14 spent 14 years under trainings and education of scholars and pious individuals, ruled 14

28 Hadight-ul Aalam.Ibid.p358
years and also spent 14 years in captivity. He died in prison of Daulatabad fortress. He has books in Arabic such as a review on *Koshhaf Tafseer* (interpretation of Quran) and a *Divan* (collection of poems) in Persian which has been destroyed.  

- **Studying the historical Relations of Iran and Qhutbshahis**

  - **Constituent Elements in Political Relationship Between Qhutbshahis and Safavis**

    The Qhutbshahi kings were Shiite. This religious commonality was influential in closeness and sustenance of relations between these two powers; their relations were neither based on same borders they shared, nor were Baburis regarded as enemies for Safavids and nor were there any specific benefits for Iran in Deccan so that for defending these benefits, Iranians would involve themselves in conflicts with Baburis and of course neither Baburis liked that. The only thing that could differentiate Iranian policies about Deccan from policies of Baburis was religion. It has been mentioned in letters between Shah Abbas and Baburis as an old friendship between the two dynasties of Safavi and Qhutbshahi many times. It was on the basis of this element that Safavids could justify their sensitivity about Deccan.

    Qhutbshahis were originally Iranian and important positions in their administrative and military system belonged to Iranians. Presence of some Iranian scholars and poets in Hyderabad also caused spread of Persian language and culture in this region. As some Qhutbshahi rulers who were influenced by them started composing Persian poetry. For instance, Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah is one of them whose collection of Persian poems titled *Zellollah* is available. This Ethnic and cultural relation was also another element in strengthening relations between Qhutbshahis and Safavis. Now in this part we will have a review on political relations and influential elements on them.

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30 Divan-e zellolah. Ibid.
Despite good relations between Safavis and Baburis, the two sides had conflict and rivalry over Qandahar and Deccan because on the one side Baburis counted Deccan as their own territory and on the other side Safavis supported Qhutbshahis and other local rulers as powers against Baburis. Therefore, local kingdoms of Deccan also resisted pressures of Baburis through apparently following Safavis. After 10 years of chaos and conflicts - since death of Tahmasb in 1576 till 1587- when Shah Abbas came to throne in 1587- he was on power busy with challenges of civil war, battles with Ottomans and conflicts with Uzbeks until 1598 when Uzbeks declined and retreated from Khurasan.

Abdollah Khan Uzbek had conquered Balkh in 1583 and Akbar also had conquered Kabul after his brother, Mirza Mahmud Hakim’s death in 1585. This way, their borders had come closer to each other. Abdollah could not have penetrated in Khurasan without companionship and assistance of Akbar; and not because of well-wishing for Safavis but because he was afraid of fluctuation of power in his northwestern borders, Akbar did not want victory of Abdollah Khan with loss of Iran. Envoys of Abdollah Khan were trying to win Akbar’s support. In this situation Akbar could make use of Uzbeks’ need and make progresses in Deccan and Kashmir.

In 1587, Uzbeks progressed in Khurasan and Akbar found the situation suitable to sign an agreement on borders with Uzbeks. By this agreement, Shah Abbas lost the chance of occupying his rival (Baburis) by his enemy (Uzbeks). Qandahar was also conquered by Akbar in 1593. Yadegar Sultan Roomlu, envoy of Abbas who now had gone to Akbar’s court to undo the pressure of Uzbeks, was kept in India until 1594 without any positive result.

In these conditions, Akbar marched towards Malva, Gujarat and Orissa and conquered them (1592-1593), and Khandish admitted Akbar’s dominance in 1600. It was the way Akbar established his authority in Deccan. Till five years after that (1605) Shah Abbas was involved in war with Ottomans in Georgia and Erevan and in this year Jahangir came to power.
• Historical Background of Political Relations between Safavids and Qhutbshahis

Political relations between Qhutbshahis and Safavis started at the beginning of Qhutbshahi Dynasty by mentioning the name of Shah Ismail Safavi in the Speech (khutbeh), as according to Hadiqhat-us salatin:

“There has been a permanent unity between these two pious families through constant sending of envoys and they both attempted to glorify Shiism and their allegiance is famous among rulers and people all over the world.”31 Eskandar Bey Monshi writes under title “the (AH 948 / 1541) Events (in Reign of Humayoon and Shah Tahmasb) and states that the representatives of Deccanian rulers, especially the Qhutbshahis frequently visited the Safavids.32

By virtue of the fact that Qhuli QhutbShah ruled over Golkanda till (AH 950 / 1543), it is obvious that from the very early reign of Sultan Qhuli, there had been close communication and travel between the two governments. Moreover, by the word ‘frequently’ (in Alam Aray-e Abbasi) it can be concluded that the minister who had been sent to the Tahmasb’s court on the part of Qhutbshah had not been the first minister, but way before him, many ambassadors had been sent to Iran on the part of the Qhutbshahis. Despite all these ambassadors sent and received by the two governments in the early years of the Qhutbshahis, the sources never point to the their names, perhaps due to the little importance that the Qhutbshah’s ruling had in its early life with the Safavids.

During his ruling in Golkanda (1518-1543), Sultan Qhuli could expand the territories of his reign in spite of Indian rulers’ resistance in the neighboring borders of Orissa in the northeast and Vijayanagar in the south of Golkanda. Moreover, Sultan Jamshid Qhutbshah (AH 950-957 /1543-1550), Sultan Qhuli’s successor, could both keep the power balanced and improve and stabilize his authority in Deccan by facing wars and defeating them.

31 Hadiqhat-us salatin. Ibid. p 81
32 Eskandar Bey Monshi. Ibid. vol.1p19
When Akbar’s attention was drawn to Deccan and he came to dominate Deccan and asked Deccan kingdoms to accept dominance of Baburis, the four kings were surprised by Akbar’s request and of course they did not have power to resist. Amir Kamal-ud din Hussein who was one of aristocrats and nobles in Ardestan of Iran ordered a letter be written to Akbar Shah regarding the fact that Deccan had always been obedient to Shah Tahmasb and without his permission it was difficult to accept Akbar’s request and asked the Baburi Emperor to give them time to send messenger to Shah Tahmasb and ask him what to do. After being informed of contents of the letter, he (Akbar Shah) immediately sent gifts with apologies and requested them not to do anything that would inform Shah Tahmasb of his intention.33

By Ibrahim Qhutbshah’s (AH 957-988/1550 - 1580) acceding to the throne, the ruling system of Qhutbshahis was established. Therefore, it was this authoritative and decisive policy that, as Khanzaman Khan, the author of Golzar-e Asefieh, says, made the area, where once robbery was roaring, a very quiet and peaceful place where the thieves not only could not commit any robbery but also even could not speak of the word ‘theft and thief’.

Ibrahim Qhutbshah’s power peak was when 1564 he could, with the unionism he had established with other Muslim rulers of Deccan, organize the army of Ramaraja and defeat the powerful ruler of Vijayanagar in the battle called ‘the Talikota’.34

The Safavids’ first minister to Golkanda whom the writers have, too, mentioned was Qhaba Bey Qhurchi who had been sent (971AH/ 1563) by Shah Tahmasb (1523-1576) to Ibrahim Qhutb shah’s (1580-1550) court carrying lots of gifts and tokens of friendship and a letter from Shah Tahmasb in which the events and happenings of Iran had been stipulated.35

34 Fozoni Astarabadi,MirHashemBey. Fotoohat-e Adilshahi.manuscript No 5289,Tehran: University Central libraryPp 55-60.
35 The History of Iliche Nizamshah.Ibidp.115
However, the hot peak of the Safavids and Qhutbshahis relationships dates back to the reign of Shah Abbas I (1586-1628). As observed in the sources, the peak of the political relationships between the Qhutbshahis and the Safavids and the frequent trips and transactions between them must have been during Shah Abbas Safavid’s reign. Asad Bey Karakyaraqhtabrizi was the first ambassador sent to Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah (1580-1611) by Shah Abbas. As clearly stated in different sources, having finished his assignment in 1596, Asad Bey went back to Shah Abbas, Iran, and handed over lots of gifts from Deccan.

Once more in (1012Ah/1603), Shah Abbas sent Oqhorlu Sultan carrying plenty of gifts to Muhammad Qhuli. Qhutbshah, to respect the Iranian delegates, personally went out of Hyderabad City to welcome them. Oqhorlu Sultan had to stay in Hyderabad for six years due to the break out of the war and Baburiis’ invasion to the northern parts of Deccan. During his stay in Hyderabad he was highly respected and was paid 50,000 Rs. per year for his living cost and expenditure from the Qhutbshahis’ State Revenue.

It was in these relations that Shah Abbas planned a marital connection with Qhutbshahis. Shah Abbas was strongly inclined to more consolidate and de facto fortify the ties with the Qhutbshahis by establishing marriages and relative-in-law relationships between the two dynasties. According to some reports in some references, Shah Abbas asked Hayat Bakhshi Beigum, Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah's daughter, for one of the Safavids princesses in 1603.

Therefore, Sultan Muhammad Qhuli could not have children, that was why after his brother’s death he adopted his son, Muhammad, but after a while a daughter was born and they named her Hayat Bakhshi Beigom. When this girl reached her 11th or 12th, fame of her beauty and charm reached court of Shah Abbas. In 1012 AH (1603), Shah Abbas sent Prince Oqhorlu Sultan as his representative to Hyderabad to make a marriage proposal to her.
The contemporary observers believe that this marriage could be a big honor for the Qhutbshahis; an honor which had never been granted to anyone in Inda from the time Islam had entered there.\textsuperscript{36} Author of History of Fereshteh believed that this marriage would take place and Hayat Bakhshi would be sent to Iran. Naturally, this event would have made Mir Momin happy since he desired very much to establish friendly relations between Iran and Golkanda. Still the proposal had no advantages for Golkanda. Health condition of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qhutbshah was declining and he was not expected to live long. Sultan’s brother, Muhammad Khoda Bandeh who was supposed to replace Sultan was admired by Deccanian aristocrats, Sufis and Sunni population of Golkoanda. And apparently, his succession to the throne would have undone penetration of foreigners and Shiites for which Mir Momin had struggled very much.

However, since Qhutbshah was not willing to be away from his only child, he, taking Mir Muhammad Momin Astarabadi’s advice to reject the proposal, married her to Muhammad, his nephew.

Oqhorlu Sultan, Shah Abbas’s envoy whose presence in Golkanda was partly because of offering proposal to Hayat Bakhshi Beigom was king’s guest for four years. He also participated in wedding ceremony. Now there was no need to reply Shah Abbas’s marriage proposal. Although Shah’s envoy and his companions had been royally entertained, their long-term suspension in Golkanda provoked Shah’s suspicion. In 1018 AH/ 1609, Prince Oqhorlu was permitted to set off for Iran.

Before Oqhorlus’ return to Iran, Qhutbshah, to strengthen and more consolidate the ties, had already sent Haji Qhanbar Ali, a trustee of the court, to Iran with plenty of valuable gifts and presents along with Oqhorlu Sultan. Then, he sent Mahdi Qhuli Khan to the Iranian Embassy in 1609. In 1022AH/1613, in twenty seventh of Shah Abbas’ reign the local governors of Deccan individually sent an ambassador to Shah Abbas.

\textsuperscript{36} Fereshteh. Ibid. Vol. 2 P 170
Deputy of Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah brought a letter in which there was an emphasized request from Iranian Shah for more consideration. Unlike Adilshahi’s letter (which will be mentioned), Qhutbshah’s letter had less provocative aspects and was more concerned with Shah’s defense of Qhutbshahi territories. The issue of Baburi’s invasion to Deccan was also discussed by other Deccanians including Adilshah. According to Eskandar Bey, Adilshah’s representative was Mir Khalilollah. Mir Khalilollah was an Iranian calligrapher who had gone to serve in Adilshahi court. Alam Aray-e Abbasi narrates that this envoy had brought Adilshah’s letter for Shah Abbas before arrival of other Deccanian envoys. In reply to the letter, Shah Abbas also wrote a letter to Jahangir recommending the situation of Deccanians. There is a reference in Anfa-ul Akhbar to a letter sent to Jahangir by Shah Qhuli Bey Zeek in 1023-24AH, and in this letter again Shah Abbas has requested independence for Deccanians. Apparently, the letter has been delivered by same Mir Khalilollah. Representatives who had come to ask for Shah Abbas’s assistance, complained about Joqta’s cruel invasion and frequent attacks on Deccan territory and they asked him to support them in their defense against Baburis.

Adilshah’s letter can represent the common perspective of local kingdoms of Deccan about Jahangir’s invasion and Shah Abbas’ assistance. In Adilshah’s application letter it has been mentioned that Deccan belonged to Shah of Iran and that Adilshah was only executor of Shah’s orders in Bijapur, which of course was not true and is interpreted to be more a political and diplomatic appreciation in order to attract Shah Abbas’ sympathy to impose pressure upon Jahangir because in reply to this very letter, Shah Abbas admires Adilshah with long titles such as “His Majesty Sultan” and “Sultan Adil” (adil means fair). Then Adilshah claims that kingdom of Baburis had made them send an envoy to the Mogul court to express condolences on

Jahangir’s death and to congratulate Shahjahan’s coming to throne. Adilshah also mentions that he knew Shah Abbas’ envoy was in Shahjahan's court and that was the reason he decided not to send a separate envoy to ShahJahan court to offer condolences; he also adds that he had informed Baburis to wait until Shah Abbas’ envoy brought his letter to Adilshah so that Adilshah could decide whether to send an envoy to ShahJahan's court. Then he asks Shah Abbas to send an envoy to ShahJahan's court and ask him to forget conquest of Bijapur and ask him to stop enmity with Adilshah.  

Adilshah also adds that Jahangir has admitted an Ottoman Turk who claimed to be representative of “cursed Roman” Turks. Ibrahim in this letter insists that it was an appropriate opportunity for “champion Iranians” to march towards Kandahar, because in that case feudal land owners of that region and two to three hundred thousand Afghan troops would join the Iranian army.

When Jahangir, the Moghol ruler, was on the throne where they (The Safavids and Jahangir) enjoyed good relations. Shah Abbas wrote a letter to Jahangir to stop his attacks at Deccan.

Adilshah in this letter, instead of applying the formal title “Emperor” for Baburi king calls him “Ruler of Agra and Lahore” to belittle them in Shah Abbas’ view. Adilshah’s letter couldn’t create conflicts between Shah Abbas and Baburis but it attracted Shah Abbas’ attention to Deccan more than it used to be. Shah Abbas in his letters has asked Jahangir “for the sake of him” to ignore adding lands of Deccan to Baburi territory.

Shah Abbas in a letter in his own hand-writing wrote to Shah Salim (Jahangir): “for the sake of me, treat nicely and mercifully with respective rulers of Deccan especially with respected Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah with whom this truthful friend of yours (i.e. Shah Abbas) has close and friendly relations. This issue has engaged my mind a lot. Look upon their crimes with

38 Ibid.
39 Eskandar Bey. Ibid. p1421-22
the eye of mercy and pardon which will lead to peace in the countries and to welfare of people and will also appease my worries. I am sure that you will accept my request.”

Shah was right. He was deeply impressed by Mir Momin’s efforts to develop ideology and religion of Shiism in Qhutbshah’s territories and was eagerly watchful in progress and welfare of Sultan Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah. Mir Momin diverted attention of Sultan Qhutbshah from war and expanding territories towards developing internal administrative system and renewal of country’s organizational identity. He was deeply worried by expanding policies of Moguls and believed that only pressure by Iran could stop the crisis. He did his best to establish peace between Sultans of Deccan.

There is a letter mentioned in Alam Ara in which Jahangir has assured Shah Abbas that invasion to territories of Deccan has been cancelled.

Unlike the Alam Aray-e abbasi’s writer who states that Jahangir accepted Shah Abbas’ request, Baburis Sultan went on his attacks at Deccan even four years after.

In (1022 AH/ 1613 AD) the news of Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah’s death broke in Iran and Sultan Muhammad Qhuti Qhutbshah became his successor, therefore Shah Abbas dismissed the Qhutbshahi’s envoys soon so that they return to Deccan immediately along with Shah Abbas’ own envoys for mediation. He sent Hussein Bey Qheychaqi Tabrizi to Hyderabad to offer condolences for death of Muhammad Qhuli and to congratulate succession of Sultan Muhammad.

41 Nazir Ahmad. Ibid.
He also sent Darvish Bey Mar'ashi as an envoy to Nizam Shah and also Shah Qhuli Bey Zeek along with his letter of request from Jahangir to Adilshah. The envoys left and because the time of marine journeys due to lateness of Shah Qhuli Bey had ended, He and Mir Khalilollah missed the journey. Hussein Bey was welcomed by Mir Zein-ul abedin Mazandarani who was an experienced man in ceremonies in Duble Port. The envoy of Iranian Shah and the companying council were royally welcomed in all parts of their journey. In 10th Rajab 1023 AH (16th August 1614 AD) Hussein Bey arrived nearby Hyderabad. Shah personally appeared to welcome him in Kalachaputra of Golkanda.  

In a letter to Sultan Muhammad, after expressing his condolences and sympathy, Shah Abbas asked Qhutbshah to sooner accept his representatives and also send his (Qhutbshah) representatives to Iran in order to continue the good relations.43

The envoy and his companying council stayed in Golkanda for two years and four months and enjoyed royal hospitality of Muhammad Qhutbshah. Hussein Bey Qheychaqhi had brought a specific order dated Ramathan, 1022 AH/ November, 1613 AD from Shah for Mir Momin. Shah of Iran addressed him with respectful titles in this letter and assured him of support and friendship of Iran. In this order, Shah had thanked support and interest of Mir Momin regarding Safavi Dynasty of Iran and had reminded the fact that Sultans of Golkanda have always been fond of Prophet’s (S) family and were well-wishers of Safavis. According to the order, Mir Momin had been asked to do his best to establish honest friendship between Safavis and Sultans of Golkanda. This order also clarified that Mir Momin could write to Shah in case he had any kind of requests.

42 Khanzaman Khan. Ibid. pp 33-34
43 Ibid.
Mir declared in reply that well-wishing for family of Iranian Shah was a heritage for him, although destiny had separated him from court of Iran, but he was not unaware of situations there and counted himself an Iranian citizen and shah's subject. But about kingdom of Qhutbshahi, its rulers had the names of Prophet (S), Fatima (S) and Twelve Imams (A) and then name of Iranian Shah read in Speech (khutbeh). This letter ends in this way that although Mir Momin had not written letters to Shah it did not mean that he had forgotten his duty i.e. praying for success of Safavi Dynasty. He hoped that this dynasty ruled like before, till advent of Imam Mahdi with full success and stay under endless support of God.

In mid-Ziqa’da 1025 AH (late November 1616 AD), the envoy of Iranian Shah was dismissed and returned to Iran. Mir Momin asked his own trainee Ibn Khatoon in 1009 AH (1600-1601 AD) to go to Iran along with Qheychaqhi and serve there as a representative of Qhutbshahis. Ibn Khatoon delivered Mir Momin’s reply to Shah and until 1625 stayed in Iran and visited important religious and scientific centers.

Shah Abbas has sent other letters as well, recommending rulers of Deccan. One of these letters that has been sent to Jahangir in the case of conquest of Georgia is mentioned by Nasrollah Falsafi. Falsafi in his book mentions that : “in this letter, Shah Abbas has reminded the friendly background of Jahangir towards him (Shah Abbas) and has said that on the basis of that friendship he has written that letter regarding disrespectfulness of Deccanians towards Jahangir and this time also he appealed for the sake of him (Shah Abbas) to forgive their wrong-doings and after that if they did anything against the will of Baburis, let him (Shah Abbas) punish and discipline them so that everybody knows that in those days there was so much friendship between the two kings that they forgave big sins and avoided conquest of lands immediately after receiving letters from each other.”

44 Falsafi. Ibid. p 114
Another letter which Nazir Ahmad had seen in translation of *Jami’a Moraselat* by Abol-Qhasem Hyder and has quoted is very important:

“Kings of Deccan were tax-payers to that respectful dynasty and it is a long time they have friendly relations with this dynasty as well. They have made their utmost attempts to maintain relations with me (Shah Abbas) and since coronation of Your Majesty they have expressed their faith and sincerity in many letters. It was regarding these friendly relations and my request that Your Majesty pardoned their sins once and as it seems Your Majesty has treated them most peacefully.

The reminded rulers have always expressed their obedience to Your Majesty and they are ready to stay faithful and obedient. It is hoped that the king would wash away dust of their sins with water of mercy and forgiveness from the mirror of his heart so that this be a proof for the world to know that friendship of we two kings was so deep and perfect that by suggestion of one, the other would have ignored conquest and joining of neighboring lands to his own territories.

Of course it would not make much difference for Your Majesty whether they stay as tax payers or a specific person is determined to rule over all these lands. But if they are allowed to keep their territories for themselves, it would make them think well of king and add to my comfort. Of course, nobility of Your Majesty is so high that you would hardly need to conquer such small and useless lands.

On the other side, if Your Majesty is still willing to expand territories of that empire, this well-wishing friend is ready to separate half or even more parts of his territories. My desire is that the mentioned kings and their territories remain untouched. *Shah Abbas’* other minister to Qhutbshah’s court was *Qhasem Bey*, the ruler of *Mazandaran*, who came to *Hyderabad* eight years after *Hussein Bey* in 1622.
In 1029AH Qhasem Bey was sent to India with a letter appreciating Jahangir’s mercy upon Deccanians. Shah Abbas in this letter asked Jahangir to send Qhasem Bey, after dismissal, to Deccan so that he would encourage rulers of Deccan to win satisfaction of Baburis.\textsuperscript{45} Qhasem Bey passed away in 1624. After two years of his staying in Hyderabad, Sultan Muhammad Qutbshah appointed his Qhasem Bey son, Muhammad Qhuli Bey, as his father’s successor. Muhammad Qhuli Bey with Kheirat Khan, Qutbshah’s representative, set for Iran in 1628. On their way to Iran, in Surat Port, ShahJahan who had just acceded to throne called them to Agra, and sent an oral message and a letter to Shah Abbas. These two representatives had just arrived in Bandar Abbas when they heard that Shah Abbas had passed away. Thus, they handed over the gifts, presents and the letter to his Shah Abbas’ successor, Shah Safi (1628-1642). Kheirat Khan stayed in Iran till 1634 and in the same year he headed for Golkanda with Imam Qhuli Bey Shamlu.\textsuperscript{46} Having paid a visit to ShahJahan on their way back, these two representatives headed for Hyderabad.

Five years after death of Shah Abbas I in 1043 AH/ 1633, kingdom of Nizamshahi was brought down by Baburis and this increased the pressure over Adilshahis and Qutbshahis and weakened them.\textsuperscript{47}

In 1635, Shah Safi and Shahjahan’s relationships were negatively affected by Baburis and Qutbshahis’ hostility and quarrels. The Indian Baburis from Jalal ud din Akbar Baburis’ reign (1529-1605) tried to lead expansionist policy striving to occupy the territories of Deccan. They strongly proposed that the local rules of Deccan obey them and abide their rules; in fact they believed that these states of Deccan were part of their own reign while they (the Deccan States) not only did not follow the Baburis but also some of them (the local sates of Deccan such as Qutbshahis) inclined towards their (Baburis’) enemies (the Safavids) and they called the Safavids’ Shahs in their Khotbeh.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Esfahani, Muhammad Masoum ibn khajegi. \textit{Khola-tus Siyar}. Teharan : Elmi 1\textsuperscript{st} Edition 1989 P. 132
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Political and Economic Relations of Iran in Safavi Period}. Ibid. p 77
The Moguls’ expansionist policies to occupy Deccan were declining especially in Jahangir’s reign (1605-1627); however, they started to revive by ShahJahan’s (1627-1657) acceding to the throne. In 1636, he could overthrow the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and was intended to suppress the local governors of Deccan such as the Adilshahids and Qhutbshahis and/or to make them their subordinates. The Qhutbshahis possessed plenty of wealth by having many gold and diamond mines, but they did not have a consolidated and powerful army, and instead of resisting and defending they were surrendered and were willing to give ransom and taxes to the enemies.

In 1635, ShahJahan sent Makramat Khan and Sheikh Abdol Latif with a threatening letters to Adilshah and QhutbShah. In one of his letters, he had asked them to surrender to the following demands:

i. Since the Baburis were Sunnite, he had asked them to stop cursing the Prophet’s Sahabies (sages) and caliphs, especially the first caliph and to punish those who went on their cursing.

ii. They had to stop calling Shah Safavids’ name in their Khotbeh (Prologue of Friday prayers) and instead use the title and name of Baburis’ kings.

iii. They had to give huge bulks of money to Baburis’ king every year.

In the end of the letter, they had been threatened if they did not abide the stipulations, they would face harsh invasion and attacks on the part of Shah Jahan. 48

Along with the letter, ShahJahan had already ordered a big army of soldiers to set for the borders of the Qhutbshahis’ territories so that they could practice cruelty and attack in case the reply was ‘No’ to the letter and demands. Adilshah who had already rejected such demands of ShahJahan had to challenge heavy storms of attacks of ShahJahan. Meanwhile, Qhutbshah

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48 Lahooori ,Abdolhamid.Ibid. vol 2 pp149-50
took the advantage of learning a lesson from the then status quo and started to consult with his advisors of the court. He and the advisors came to this conclusion that paying money and ransom was far better than having their people’s bloodshed and having their government overthrown. Thus, with the presence of Sheikh Abdol Latif, ShahJahan’s representative, Qhutbshah accepted the first and second conditions and concurred to pay tax and ransom annually sending Sheikh Taher, a member of the court secretaries, carrying plenty of gifts and presents with Sheikh Abdol Latif towards Shah Jahan.

According to the conditions stipulated agreed upon and signed by Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah, the government undertook to replace the Sunnite caliphs for the twelve Imams of Shiite and the Baburis rulers’ names for the Safavids’ ones in their Khotbeh. It was also forcibly agreed that the Qhutbshahis’ coin impressions should be first confirmed and approved by the Gurkanid rulers and that Qhutbshahis pay taxes and ransom to them. ShahJahan, too, stipulated in the peace treaty (1636) sent by Muhammad Taher to Qhutbshah that Qhutbshah had to befriend his (ShahJahan) friends and be hostile to his enemies and he also promised that he would do the same and continue good relations as long as they and their dynasty lived.49

Thence after, not only did the Qhutbshahis’ apparent subordination to the Safavids stop, but also they were officially undertaken as the subordinates of Baburis. This caused the Iranian relationship with Indians’ to grow sulky and dark over the issue of Kandahar. Although, the Qhutbshahis were officially under the control of the Baburis, they continued to promote their relationships with Iran because in 1653 when the relationship between Mir Muhammad Saeed, one of the Qhutbshah’s courtier, and Sultan Abdollah started to fade, Muhammad Saeed first wanted to seek asylum before Iranian king, Shah Abbas II (1642-1666), but he (Shah Abbas II), who did not like to

49 Bakhtavar Khan.Ibid. vol.1 p 404
endanger his relations with Golkanda, refused his asylum seeking. Therefore Muhammad Saeed took refuge with ShahJahan and following that flames of war between Qhutbshahis and Baburis began to rise again.

With the excuse of sending back son of Mir Muhammad Saeed, Aurangzeb sent a big army headed by Prince Muhammad towards Golkanda. As soon as he received orders from the emperor, Qhutbshah released Muhammad Amin and his family. The released members met Prince Muhammad near Hyderabad, but Prince did not stop his invasion.

Qhutbshah went to Golkanda fortress to save his life and his family. Although Prince Muhammad laid siege to Hyderabad, he could not capture and kill Qhutbshah as it had been ordered by Aurangzeb. The richest city of India was under plunder and massacre for two days and nights. Appeals and suggestions of Qhutbshah regarding obedience and submission were useless. Aurangzeb on his way to Hyderabad wrote a letter to ShahJahan and requested for permission to join wealthy kingdom of Golkanda to Mogul Empire. He mentioned in his report that how much Golkanda was vast and rich and that none of fertile lands of the whole empire would equal fertility of Golkanda. Then he reported how ungrateful Qhutb-ul Mulk left traditions of Islam and started forbidden heretic practices. Aurangzeb mentioned that Qhutbshah insulted major companions of Prophet (S), and that he had progressed so much that all over his territories, people have left Sunni religion and that whatever was verbally and practically forbidden was being practiced in public.50

Along with drawing attention of ShahJahan towards duties of Muslim kings regarding removal of cruel and non-religious rulers, this letter emphasized on revival of Prophet’s (S) traditions in Golkanda. He adds that

50 Rizvi. Ibid. quoted by Rogha’at-e Alamgiri. Vol. 1 pp 173-183
although Abdollah and his predecessors had been brought up by Mogul Emperors, they regarded themselves reliant on Shahs of Iran and always used to send precious gifts and ships with weapons to Iran.

Certainly by getting permission from emperor to conquer Golkanda, Aurangzeb had laid siege to the city. Qhutb-ul Mulk wrote letters to ShahJahan regarding his loyalty to ShahJahan and (Dara Shokouh). His representatives gave a huge bribe to Dara Shokouh and he could satisfy the emperor to give Qhutb-ul Mulk his kingdom back and instead make him pay a heavy fine.

Emperor sent a letter to Aurangzeb regarding pardon for Qhutb-ul Mulk; but the prince did not consider the letter and continued his invasions to the fortress. After a while, Aurangzeb let king’s mother, Hayat Bakhshi Beigom come and ask him to spare her son’s life. Aurangzeb agreed unwillingly, to give him back his kingdom, on condition that he paid one Crore Rupees (500,000) as recompense and balance all his delayed taxes. Sultan of Golkanda also agreed to marry his elder daughter to Prince Muhammad Sultan. In late March, Mir Jomleh joined Aurangzeb with 6,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry and one line of powerful artillery. On 10th April, 1656 AD, firm orders from ShahJahan made Aurangzeb leave the siege and return to Aurangabad. Therefore, Muhammad Saeed had to resort to ShahJahan where the fire of war between the Qhutbshahis and the Baburis got on flames.

Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah sent a letter to Shah Abbas explaining everything. He Sought help from Shah Abbas II and expected him to disturb the status quo of Baburis on the borders of Kandahar, but because Abbas II desired to refrain from a tension with the Baburis, he only sympathized with Sultan Abdollah and did nothing in his favor. Sultan Abdollah thought that Shah Abbas would lead and incline the force of the Baburis already on Deccan

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51 Razavi. Ibid. Quoted by Makaatib, History of Abdollah Qhutbshah, Museum of Salar Jang, Sheets 2B and 6B.
borders towards Kandahar borders and he (Sultan Abdollah) and his people would rest at peace, but his expectations were not fulfilled. He had already promised to pay all the depression and war expenses to the Iranian representatives in Golkanda.

In 1049, some ladies along with Abdollah Qhutbshah’s aunt entered court of Shah Abbas II. It was an opportunity to exchange secret letters. The aunt passed her nephew’s letters to Shah. Abdollah Qhutbshah had asked Shah in one of his secret letters to prepare facilities for his escape from Golkanda in case something happened there. Shah Safi sent a merchant to Golkanda for royal purchases and along with him sent letters for Abdollah Qhutbshah.

Officials in charge in Mogul kingdom suspected this diplomatic relation and as a result made strong objections to sending of Hakim-ul Mulk (Abdollah’s envoy) who arrived in Iran in 1641 along with Iranian envoy Imamquli Bey. Therefore for many years, no envoy was sent to Iran, and moreover, no envoy was sent by any Deccanian kingdom to congratulate succession of Abbas II to the throne. Nevertheless, one Iranian envoy reached Golkanda by an English ship in 1059 AH/ 1650.52

In 1657/1068, ShahJahan withdrew from the throne which made a terrible chaos among the Baburis’ throne accident claimers. To take an advantage of the status quo among the Baburis and to more incapacitate them, Abbas II wrote Deccan rulers some letters arousing them against the Baburis to recompense all the damages they had suffered from them. He asked them to unite and start a hot war with the being weakened Baburis, and he wrote one of the letters to Sultan Abdollah-e-Qhutbshah stipulating that Safavi Shah would send them help required with no delay and hesitation.53

52 Riyaz-ul Islam. Ibid. p 183
However, with his immediate accidence to the throne, Aurangzeb could pursue his expansionist policies in Deccan and neutralize, castrate and reduce the effect of Shah Abba’s II thoughts and imaginations.

Thence after (1657), the diplomatic relations between the Safavids and the Qhutbshahis started to weaken first due to the relatively incapacitated position of the Safavids and secondly due to the serious decline of Qhutbshahis’ power. The exchange of ministers, ambassadors and representatives between the two governments has not been reported in references and little information is available about whether any representatives were exchanged or not. The Qhutbshahis Dynasty and Reign was experiencing the ending nights and could not last more than 20 years. During this period of 20 years, the Qhutbshahis lived as the subordinates of the Baburis and had only semi-independent government and they apparently ceased to have any relationship with the Safavids.