CHAPTER – IV

Cultural relations between Safavids dynasty and Qhutbshahis sultanate

Immigration and Cultural relations

Qhutbshahis and Iranian - Shiism Culture
Immigration and Cultural relations

Political and Social Immigration

If some Iranians had gone to India in form of military groups or with trade caravans, invasion of other tribes to Iran would have created a different type of immigration which would have been much more expansive than the initial form. Iranian territories had been invaded from the east by Mogul tribes of Timuris and Uzbeks since 7th AH/13th century till early 11th AH/17th. These invasions had irrecoverable effects on political and social identity of Iran especially in Khurasan. The first one of these invasions was that of Genghis Khan (Reign 1206-1227). This invasion was so widespread and dreadful that even after many decades, it still influenced people. One of these influences was loss of courage for defense against tyrant Genghis Khan which made people leave their homeland. Fereshteh writes in his History of Fereshteh about these years: court of “Naser-ud-Din Mahmud” son of “Shams-ud din Ultotmesh” 644-664 AH/1246-1266 (from dynasties of Delhi sultans) was refuge to 25 princes from Iraq, Khurasan and Transoxiana. After Genghis other invaders Hulagu Khan (Reign 1256-1265) and Timur (Reign 1370-1407) also followed the same savageries. Devastations of Timur were not amendable till the following decades. His invasions led to economic crisis, social injustice and corruption.

Immigration of many physicians, viziers and politicians as well as authors, poets, astronomers, religious scholars, philosophers, mystics, businessmen, artists, manufacturers, skilled constructors, master architects, tradesmen and merchants out of the country was outcome of such invasions. As Baburi Empire was formed, the range of immigrations extended. Records and reports reveal that most immigrants to India were Iranians. Like Ibn Batuta, Tuzook Baburi has also written that Indians called non-Indians “Khurasani” just like Arabs call non-Arabs “Ajam” specializing this name for whole foreigners signifies that Iranians had the most population among foreign immigrants settled in India.

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1 History of Fereshteh.Ibid.Vol. 2 p 128
2 Tuzook Baburi.Ibid.p81
Deccan was one of the ultimate goals of these immigrants. Sultans of Deccan and some of their rulers and viziers were themselves among immigrants who had come to India after 11th century and had climbed stages of promotion by their natural talent. Therefore, the local rulers, commanders and their top agents were non-local. Most sultans of Deccan have passed some period of their reign in war with Rajas or non-Muslim local rulers or they have been after suppressing rebellions, hence they did not trust local elements very much, they had to hand over important governmental positions to non-local foreign people who were mostly Iranians, Turks or Afghans and these rulers in turn gave the positions in their authority to their trusted fellow citizens.

As an example Bahmanis were under invasion and threat by their neighbors. They used to encourage Iranian, Arab and Turk militants, scientists and merchants and hoped that these immigrants would reinforce defensive power of the country and improve their scientific and economic situations as well.

The other point is that it was not only Turks and Iranians who had roles in balance of power in Deccan. When rulers of Deccan alleged with Mahmud Bahmani against Yusuf Adilshah in his early years of kingdom, Yusuf sent his army headed by Asad Khan with 12,000 horsemen who were mostly Moguls. The immigrants respectively filled different positions in social categories. Their presence was obvious everywhere especially in politics and military in Northern and Southern India. According to historical texts of Bahmanshahi period, they were mainly called “Qharib”(strangers) or “Qharib ud diar”(away from one's country) and Afaqhis. this strangers became the accepted name for this group of Iranian immigrants which was originally a Fiqh-related term that entered historical texts and continued to be used in new historical researches.

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3 History of Fereshteh.Ibid.Vol.1p 18
4 History of Fereshteh.Ibid.Vol.2 p 10
5 See: Hadiqhat ul aalam & Burhan -e Ma’athir, & GIE, Sami’i majid, below Afaqhis entry
Afaqhis were mostly from Sadat and Shiites who played important roles in political, social and scientific issues from the beginning and some of them gained positions and responsibilities such as vizier, minister, chief, main judge, etc. We come across lots of Iranian and Shiite names and titles among viziers and position holders of this period such as Gilani, Mazandarani, Ardestani, Sistani, Kermani, Badakhshi, Qhazvini, Astarabadi, Hamedani, Samarqandi, Tabrizi, Shirazi, Qhomi, Mashjadi and Karbalaii. This clearly reveals influence and effect of this group in all political and social aspects of life in this period.

Influence and penetration of immigrants made Bahmani sultans pay special attention to this group and other Shiites and Sadat who had immigrated to Deccan from other regions. In fact immigrant Sadat from Iran and Arabic countries to Deccan in this period formed the first Shiite centers which after Bahmanis came to be formual religion of Deccan.

Immigration to Deccan stopped by invasion of Baburis to Muslim kingdoms of Deccan in Shah Jahan’s time and destination of Iranian immigrants shifted from Golkanda and Bijapour to Baburi's court.

- **Cultural Immigration of Iranians to Deccan in Safavi Period**

Although those immigrations were political and social before 16th and 17th centuries, but the great immigration of Iranians must be considered as cultural immigration. Iranian immigrants used to go to India on land through Kabul and Kandahar or they used to send their poems and writings to India with caravans which in their poems are called *Qhafely-e hend* “Caravans of India”. Reasons for this type of immigration could be divided into two internal and external reasons.

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6 They were direct offspring of Prophet Muhammad (PBOH)

I. **Internal reasons**

   **Improper social and economic conditions in Iran**

   Frequent wars, destruction of agricultural lands and destruction of residential areas. Agriculture in these periods was damaged and insecurity of roads led to damages in trade. Local authorities suppressed urban and rural classes of people to keep and supply military forces and in this way the situation became unstable. Another point is ignorance of talents and abilities of people and occupational positions which *Sharden* has pointed out in his travel records. He says Safavi Shahs did not know the value and quality of occupational position and when they decided to give a position to someone they never considered its importance.\(^8\)

   **Misbehavior of local rulers**

   About the outcomes of local rulers’ misbehavior, some researchers have mentioned immigration of a group from Shiraz in the time of Safavis. They were almost 10,000 Muslims who in the time of Ali Adilshah went to India. It seems that the main reason for this immigration was brutality of local ruler in Fars.\(^9\) It was from among these groups that Enayatollah Shirazi, Ali Adilshah’s teacher appeared. He was killed because of giving Shiite education to Ali son of Ibrahim Adilshah. Mir Ghias ud din Shirazi, Shah Fathollah Shirazi, Afzal Khan Shirazi and Rafi ud din Ibrahim Shirazi all were courtiers and scholars of Adilshahi court and they were in this category of immigrants.

   **Restrictions and prejudice of Safavi shahs**

   Especially Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmasb led to immigration of great deals of people from central and southern parts of Iran to India. These people were Sunnis. These restrictions continued intensively until coming to power of Shah Abbas I, although massacre of Noghtavis could be mentioned as a kind of restrictions in this period as well. Still it was not so much like early Safvi period.

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8. *Sharden*. Ibid. Vol. 8 p 54
Ignorance of art, men of literature and artists

In Safavi period, Iranian poets never had the value and importance of previous periods. Researchers of literary history believe that Safavis did not pay any attention to Persian literature and poetry. One reason was that poetry had deep connection with the language of Gnostics and Sufism; therefore, they considered attention to poetry and poets or so-called "Keyfiyyat" (Qualities) in contradiction to “religiosity” and avoided it. Shah Tahmasb’s behavior with Mohtasham Kashani approves of this claim. This ignorance was not the same all over Safavi dynasty but it never reached the situation of previous periods. Elders, mystics and scholars who mostly had poetic talent found no space in this period to express their talents, but they found the route smooth with few obstacles in India.

Inattention to mystics and threatening Sufis

Sufism was in its climax when safavi dynasty came to power. It was through the struggles of these Qhezelbash Sufis that Safavi government was formed. But after coming to power, Safavis did not accept them with open arms. Because of objections made by scholars, Sufism was suppressed and Sufi traditions and customs became occasional issues under such names as “Caliph Sultan” or “Caliph of Caliphs”. Shah Abbas called Sufis anarchists and rebels10 and Mulla Muhammad Bagher Majlesi who had full influence in Safavi courts called Sufism “dirty hellish institution”.11 Shiite clergymen and scholars started scolding Sufism and its principles since late Safavi Dynasty. They claimed that Sufis like Batenies and Qhulat were men of interpretation and accused them of dividing religion and truth from each other.12 Therefore, they followed the policy of restricting Sufis. In this way, Safavi kingdom which itself had been born in Khanghah oppressed it and almost destroyed it; therefore India was the best refuge for Sufis.13

11 Tonekaboni, Qhesas ul oulama p. 323, quoted by Hamid Saeedian.Ibid.
12 Zarrin Kooub. Ibid. p 162
13 Ershad, Farhang. Historical Immigration of Iranians to India. Tehran: The Institution of Cultural Studies and Research 1986 p. 221
Disappointment of individuals

Some authors and poets have complained of country’s faithlessness and have spoken of dark destiny and their sufferings from people; they have gone to India following comfort and their fortune.\textsuperscript{14}

II. External Reasons

Popularity of Deccanians regarding support of refugees was so much that peerless individuals like \textit{Hafiz Shirazi} were also encouraged to go to their court.\textsuperscript{15} Position of Iranian artists and poets improved in India so much that being Iranian became an advantage. \textit{Khushgoo} quotes from \textit{Mulla Sheyda Hindi} that he had been belittled by Iranians because of being Indian and had written: “Being an Indian, Iranians would not consider me a bit”.\textsuperscript{16}

The open and smooth way

Immigrants had two destinations ahead i.e. Ottoman and India. Ottomans did not have appropriate situations because of conflicts between Shiites and Sunnis but India, because of its religious and political easygoing policy, had much better conditions.\textsuperscript{17} Closeness of \textit{Khurasan} borders to India and the traditional caravan road or sea route had made it possible for people to immigrate in great numbers. The author of \textit{Haft Eghlim} (Seven Lands) writes about easiness of immigration to India: “One of the good things about India is that travelers need not take supplies, since in every caravansary there are foods, animal feeds and space to rest; and coming and going of caravans does not end.”\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} See: \textit{Golchin Maa'ni, ibid}
\textsuperscript{15} History of \textit{Fereshteh}. Lucknow Edition, p. 302
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Safineh Khushgoo}. Sheet 210, quoted by: Kefayat Koosha. "Immigration of Iranian Artists to India in Safavi Period ". \textit{Aaiineye Miras No 26} pp 32-57

\textsuperscript{17} Ershad.Ibid.p 208
\textsuperscript{18} Razi, Amin Ahmad. Ibíd. p 381
Gaining living and income

As Baburi Dynasty appeared in India, their court became full of scholars, artists and men of literature from different regions. Popularity of this dynasty before every other place reached the neighbor country, Iran, and men of science and knowledge started immigrating to India in large groups. Presence of these people naturally led to attraction of other groups from Iran and talents and artists were encouraged to take use of this advantage. Only in one research, names of 745 Iranian poets have been mentioned who had immigrated to India during Baburis kingdom. It is not strange that in 990 AH/1582 Persian became formal language of Indian kingdom.19 As writings of poets suggest the rich land of India with its gold and jewelry had been attracting greedy persons. since the time of Timuris. Saa'eb had said about this common view on India: “has not my greed desired Indian fortune...” so that he releases himself from that general understanding of people. It is said that ”Huzouri Qhomi” in an assembly “was rewarded with 100,000 coins and he passed away out of happiness”. (Majma-ul-Khavas, p. 78).”Mowlana Foroughi“ went to India and brought a sum of money for his living. (Ibid, p. 284) Shah Jahan gave Kalim Kashani Rs 5000 because of one line (Kalamat-ush Shoara, p. 23) and to Saa'eb Rs 12000 because of one line with allusion on a specific date.20

Trade

Was also a means of developing communications between Iranians and Indians in this period? Some merchants like Mir Muhammad Saeed, "Mir Jomleh" of Qhutbshahis went to India for trade. Abol Ghasem Dadvar in a recent research about Iranians settled in India in Baburis period has identified almost 24 merchants that some of them are from Tabriz.21 Tazkereh of Nasr Abadi counts many poets who concurrently were merchandising as well. One

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20 Quotation from Hamid Saeedian. Ibid. p747
of them is Haj Ismail Khan who was a famous merchant of Tabriz. It is said that he had several journeys to India which believably were trade journeys.\textsuperscript{22} Safineh Khoshgoo and Meratul Khyal have said that Saa'eb, Shapour Tehrani, Ghany Bey and Bagher Ezzat had travelled to India for trade.\textsuperscript{23}

The intention of winning positions at the court

And military positions were also other great motivations of Iranians by immigrating to India. After gaining power, these individuals used to support scholar, poet and artist Iranian fellows wholeheartedly with devotion to art. I don’t know where I saw that Shah Abbas had asked Iranian envoys of Jahangir that why they did not use Indians for diplomacy and politics? and had received in reply that if they had such efficient ones, we would have received nothing.

Immigration of Sufis

And their spread in Indian land is another attribute of these cultural immigrations. Iranian Sufis who intensively absorbed in \textit{Moraqiba} (Meditation) and thinking were enamored of privacy of Indian dervishes. Another group of Sufis also believed that since moral soundness of the king was interest of the people and his corruption, corruption of them, relations with kingdom was essential; therefore, they regarded it a duty to go to India and give advice to the kings. Kings were not so interested in these affairs because some of them were afraid of \textit{Faqihs} (religious scholars) and disregarded Sufis and some others wanted to avoid interference of \textit{Faqihs} with the affairs, so they believed and respected Sufis and their Shaykhs.\textsuperscript{24} Sufis were respected by Akbar and Darashokouh himself seemed to be a virtuous dervish.

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\textsuperscript{23} Quoted by Hamid Saeedian.ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Zarrin Kooub. Ibid. p 173
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Balance of power

Encouragement and support of *Afaqhis* had another reason too, and it was using them in political categorizations. Tughloghis needed a force who could manage their vast territory and their conquests. This force gradually became an aristocrat class that played a very effective role in power alterations. After decline of Delhi kings, some of these forces came to court of Bahmanis. Bahmani Shahs had also understood that they needed loyal forces to balance power between them and these aristocrats. This force needed to be capable, strong, sufficiently ambitious, unbaked and not reliant so that it could serve only Shah and only ask him for help. These characteristics were mostly found in Iranians and after them in immigrants who had came to India. In the blooming years of Baburis and Bahmanis, we see presence of these forces and this reveals their significant role in creation of balance in power, and ultimately in reinforcement of kingdom.

Religious propagations

Have their special positions in the mean time. Presence of influential characters such as *Fazlullah Injo, Qhazi Noorollah Shoushtari, Mir Momin Astar Abadi, Muhammad Ibn Khatoon* and results of their presence has been mentioned in the related parts.

Environmental attractions and freedom

Newly constructed beautiful cities, Indian climate and affluence of rainfalls for lots of Iranians especially those who had lived in *Khurasan* and central parts of Iran and had been fighting against drought for long years, were really attractive. Quotations like this about India are available in sources and books of those centuries: “I saw a land fully civilized and constructed and cities endlessly comfortable to relax and rest. I promised myself that I will live here the rest of my life.”25 Those who had seen India believed that pleasures were ten parts, nine parts of which were given to India and the rest, to the rest of the world.26 *Kalim Kashani* is one of the immigrant poets to India who has many lines and references to its attractions.

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25 *Tazkereh Meykadeh* . quoted by Kefayat.iibid.
26 Amin Ahmad Razi.iibid.p 381
Away evil eyes from India, land of pleasures, Where bloomed hearts and souls are affluent, Arch of Noah it is and the world in flood, Well down at the world of manliness that stranger, If stays thousand years is still honored, Second paradise suits it to be named, Regret finds who has left this garden.27

Social freedom was another attraction that absorbed people. In periods when people were oppressed (like period of Tahmasb) some people took refuge in India in order to get rid of prevention and difficulty. Khales Astarabadi has said in this regard:

This is enough of virtues of India, No one ever worries about no one. Another poet, Muhammad Taher Nasr Abadi, has said:

Night has been created for the comfort of body,
You may breathe some days in India.28

Gaining experiences and maturity

In many poems, India has been mentioned as the land of experiences. Still this attractive mysteriousness about India is visible. Incredible India was the magnet of adventurous minds which were eager to discover it. Naturally, news of these attractions reached other people and attracted them, too. Saa’eb has displayed the ardor of Iranians in visiting India in these lines:

Unlike desire of journey to India in every heart,
Your imagination dances in all of minds.

Abdol-Razzagh Lahiji counts visiting India for men of knowledge and understanding as necessary as visiting Mecca:

Well done India, Kaba of all need, For comfort seeker lads indeed, Whoever lusts for knowledge and art, Visiting India for him is a must.29

28 Tazkereh of Nasr Abadi.Ibid. p 45
29 Saeedian Hamid.Ibid.
Achieving name and fame

Lots of poets and writers owe their popularity to traveling India. Saa'eb Tabrizi says in this regard:

Though had he name in land of Iraq,
Raised Saa'eb’s name was in India

• Cultural Immigration and Its Outcomes

Lots of immigrants also came to Iran from India. Iran was the place of greatest and the richest community of Indian merchants. There was a class of tradesmen in Isfahan and Hurmoz called “Banian” who according to some reports, were almost 20,000 merchants. This group of tradesmen was doing business alongside Jewish, Armenians and Muslim merchants. In addition to merchandise, cultural achievements of these immigrants were also remarkable. Shaykh Ali Manshari was one of the immigrants to India who while coming back to Iran brought 4000 books. He had taken at least some of these books from Jabal Amil to India which he brought to Isfahan. This library was possessed by Shaykh Bahai because his only daughter was Shaykh Bahai’s wife.

The biggest population living with Muslims in India was that of Hindus. Cultural influences of Hindus on Muslims especially after the second generation of those immigrants who had settled in India was based on the basis of majority on minority and influenced them in terms of language, clothes, foods, art, architecture, customs, traditions like marriage, etc. naturally the flow of these influences was slowed down and later speeded up. India, like a huge ocean showed its power in absorbing ideas, views, religions and multiple nations. Later, as merchants, manufacturers, traders, Sufis and clergymen entered India, lots of Hindus converted to Islam. But despite being admitted to Muslim community, convert Hindus could not change their ethnic and national culture and entered Muslim society with the same culture. Abu reyhan Birouni calls Hindus as trapped in prejudice in terms of

30 Caravan of India, Ibid, p.55
31 Dille, Stephan, Fredrick. "Indian Merchandise and Decline of Safavis 1600-1750." The Book of Month in History and Geography. March 1998, No. 17 quoted by Jafari Mazhab, Mohsen
maintaining their ethnic culture and says that they are not ready to share their knowledge with others and have given way to envy.\(^{33}\) Nehru has also evaluated that Hindus were affected very little. He believes that they were so much in engaged in their beliefs that they could not learn much from Muslims.\(^{34}\) It seems that introduction of Islam to countries like Iran and India has provoked an almost similar reaction among the locals and this is because of having rich culture, scientific and also systematic ideology, achievements such as astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and documentary heritage which have had similarities in both nations. Regarding these elements, their resistance could be understood to some extent. The envy which Birouni talks about in common tradition of Hindus was about maintenance of holy books of Hinduism from non-Brahmans and all these rooted in religious culture of Hindus.\(^{35}\)

Lots of Indian languages have the same roots with Iranian languages, therefore, popularity of Persian as the most common language in Turk and Indian Mogul courts in different parts of this country was not very much surprising.\(^{36}\) In the realm of language, formation of Indian style in Persian poetry and development of compound languages including Deccanian and later “Urdu” were outcomes of introduction and local growth of Islamic-Iranian culture.

Some Islamic sects were inclined towards Hindu teachings and some Hindu religions appeared after contact with Islamic ideologies. Naturally, finding common features brought them closer to each other. Elahi religion of Akbar, Sikh religion, Bhakti movement, Kabir religion and other Pundits had one thing in common which was leaving traditionalistic attitudes, easygoingness and admittance of differences among religions, and then combining the prominent features of these religions. Two examples are presented here as witnesses:


\(^{34}\) Nehru. *ibid.* Vol. 1, p 389

\(^{35}\) Saeedi madani.*ibid.*

Akbar and his Din-e Elahi (Divine Religion)

Shaykh Mobarak Naguri who was a great scholar of his time wrote some questions under Akbar's orders to scholars of the time and intelligently received Fatwas from them. According to these Fatwas, Sultan had the authority to interfere with Religious Precepts of Muftis. And whenever controversy arose among scholars, Sultan could mediate in and put an end to controversy with his own order. This reduced authority of religious scholars and Sultan gained the power of prophet or became shadow of God on earth which led to heresies in religion. Din-e Elahi rejected selfishness, lust, graft, counterfeit, scandal, cruelty, threatening and prejudice and regarded killing animals as a bad habit, and liberality, tolerance and avoiding firm attachment to materiality, piety, sacrifice, thinking of future, gentleness, and affection were principles of it's affairs. This sect had 19 members and one of them was Hindu. Divine religion was a mixture of religions of that time i.e. traditions of Zoroastrianism and Hindu, and Islamic beliefs. In fact this sect did not believe in heavenly scripture and it was more a spiritual-ideological entertainment. It was forgotten in the course of years, even Akbar himself forgot it after a while.

Khojehs

The term “Khojeh” is derived from “Khajeh” which means great (elder or noble) and was applied for merchants. Khojehs were a group that most of them were spread in Eastern Africa and Indian Subcontinent. the first preacher of them who had probably come from Alamout in 6th century. He included lots of Hindu beliefs and ceremonies in his beliefs. Religious books of Khojehs are famous as “Janan” and the most popular one is “Das Avatar” (Ten Reincarnations) compiled by Sadr-ud din. This book has been written in 9th century AH, includes 10 chapters and every chapter contains incarnations of Vishnu among which Ali (A) is considered the most important one. Their religious and social principles are mixed with Hindu beliefs. The sect of Khojehs has been divided into many branches which all include some institutions of Hinduism.
Qutbshahis and Iranian - Shiism Culture

Afaqhis and Shiism

The Presence of “Afaqhis” (the plural of Afaqhi) or Qhariban were considered as a“Strangers” among the locals, Deccanians and Abyssians. the competitions over power widened the gaps between them. Despite intensive and old conflicts between Afaqhis and Deccanians and regarding the fact that Afaqhis were Shiites and Deccanians were Sunnis, there is no reason to show that religious difference has been the reason for continuity of conflicts and controversies between these two groups. The reasons for most conflicts and controversies of Deccanians and Afaqhis lie in racial issues and in struggle for power and superiority in court of Bahmanis and also in political and military affairs.

Although conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites were created by Ottoman and Safavi encounter, yet the essence of these controversies was for power. Shiites and Sunnis lived together peacefully in most Islamic lands especially in Deccan and did not have conflicts and controversies unless in cases governments raised conflicts between them. It happened very commonly that Sultans and rulers of some countries or regions were Shiite and their people were Sunnis or vice versa.

Also holding the position of Vizier by Mir Fazlullah and Mahmud Gavan who were both Shiites alongside lots of other Sunni viziers in this period obviously approves of this claim. However, in later decades of Bahamnis’ reign both inside and outside their territories, some events took place which altered this equation and caused appearance of some religious conflicts besides political conflicts. Bahmanis out of Deccan had the maximum relationship with people and scientists and scholars of Iran. In late decades of Bahmanis reign activities of Shiites in Iran led to formation of Safavi Dynasty and announcement of Shiism as the formal religion in Iran. Doubtlessly, the event and appearance of a kind of ruling Shiism had outcomes such as intensification of religious controversies among commanders and Bahmani rulers in Deccan.37

37 Masoumi, Mohsen. "First Indications of Appearing Shiism in Deccan". Magazine of Humanities, Alzahra University. (Spring 2005) pp. 143-162
• **The formation of Shiism in Deccan**

Generally Shiism was being formed in Deccan in this period, and most of its success was due to adaptability of Sufis interested in Shiism who not only Muslims but also Hindus utilized their institution. Bahmani kings and Muslim people were Hanafi Sunnis\(^ {38} \) but Bahmanis paid lots of attention to Sadat and Shiites and made lots of efforts to have relationship with them and invite them to move to Deccan. Widespread relations between Deccan with Shiites and Sadat of Medina, Najaf and Karbala and efforts of Bahmani Sultans to improve economic and political situations of this group and also poems cited by some Sultans regarding asking help of Ali (A) in hardships and presence of the names Ali, Fatima, Hassan and Hussein along with the names Abu-Bakr, Omar and Ottoman on scriptures of some buildings in this period like great mosque of Gulbarga in which the names of Five Members have been engraved and beneath them there are names of Four Caliphs, and policies of these Shahs in supporting Shiism all are signs of their interest. This interest has caused some researchers state that despite their belief in Sunnah, Bahmanis believed in Tafzil (regarding Ali (A) higher than the three initial caliphs although they believed in their caliphate).\(^ {39} \)

*Firouz Shah*, eighth Shah of Bahmanis considered Shiites very much and this group had a lot of influence in his court. After being dedicated the turquoise throne by the king, Tilengana, he sent the old throne of Bahmanis to Medina to be broken and divided between Sadat.

Successors of *Firouz Shah* also followed the policy of supporting Sadat and Shiites. Some of these kings sent great budgets by their representatives and accomplished public projects such as digging canals in Shiite settled cities like Karbala. Respect and honor of Shiites in court of Bahmanis was so much that disrespecting them had a great punishment even if it was done by top commanders and Amirs. This kind of supporting Sadats encouraged them more to immigrate to Deccan.\(^ {40} \)

\(^{38}\) Borhan Maather. Ibid. p 162

\(^{39}\) Bahmanis of the Deccan. Ibid. p 275

\(^{40}\) tabaghat-e Akbari. Ibid. vol. 3 p. 19
Shiism that had entered India was honored a lot by Sufism and was introduced by people who were regarded in the public as Oulia (saints) and owners of Sufism circles. In the meantime, the role of immigrant Shiite politicians from Iran and Mesopotamia caused spread of Shiism in Deccan, as some of the early Bahmani kings like Firouz Shah and Ahmad Shah have been mentioned as Shiites.\textsuperscript{41} Although they lost no chance of preparing the foundations for development of Shiism in Deccan but they lived in Taghyyeh (concealing one’s Shiite beliefs) and the increasing respect of Deccanian people for Sadat prevented the ordinary people from asking them about their beliefs.\textsuperscript{42} It was in such an environment that Mahmud Gavan who also most probably according to researchers’ beliefs was Shiite could keep his Shiite beliefs under a Sunni kingdom.

One of these scholar immigrants is Fazlullah Injo who was student to Sad-ud din Taftazani who died in 791 AH/1389. He had migrated from suburbs of Shiraz to Deccan. Taj-ud din Firouz, the knowledgeable Bahmani Shah and his brother Ahmad both were students of this intelligent man. He was soon considered by Shah. His presence caused invitation of many Iranians to Deccan.

Fereshteh narrates a story in which Firouz Shah was looking for a way to gather lots of women in his Haram Sara (wives house) which was of course against Islamic principles. Injo stated that according to Shiite principles temporary marriage (concubine) with all of those women simultaneously was

\textsuperscript{41} Fereshteh. Ibid. p 285.

Bahmani kings before Ahmad I were Morids (followers) to dynasty of Sheikh Seraj-ud din Joneidi, the famous and dedicated Sunni Sufi, but Ahmad I paid attention to Muhammad Giso Deraz who had Shiite tendencies and with his support, he could defeat his brother Firouz Shah. Influenced by ideas of Giso Deraz, Sultan found intentions towards Shiism. After death of Firouz Shah and shifting the capital from Golbarga to Bidar, Ahmad I found tendency towards Shah Nematullah Wali, the famous Iranian Sufi, who was also well-known to be Shiite. These reasons have been mentioned for Shiism of Ahmad. Shah Nematullah has sent a twelve-gore hat which was the symbol of Twelve Imams of Shiism as a gift to Ahmad Shah. This has been done considering tendency of Ahmad Shah towards Shiism. Masoumi. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{42} Shiism in India. Ibid. chapter 12
permissible and in this way the problem of multiple wives for Shah was solved by practicing Shiite *Fiqh* (principles). It was a chance to attract Shah’s attention towards Shiism. Interest of *Firouz Shah* in *Tafsir* (interpretation of Quran), *Fiqh* (Islamic law), *Kalam* (Islamic philosophical) and Philosophy caused him to invite lots of scholars and poets from Iran and Khurasan to Deccan. Entrance of these characters in addition to Iranian characters in Bahmani army who were Iranian and Shiite immigrants but concealed their religion made believers of this religion increase, as they went under less pressure and oppression which was affluent in other Islamic countries. *Fereshteh* mentions that in the time of *Muhammad Shah I*, his mother Queen Jahan distributed a great sum of money between poor Sadat and pilgrims of Shiite Imams in Najaf and Karbala every year.

Of course, rivalry between Deccanians and Afaqhis who were mostly Shiites reduced development of Shiism. Although it is not for certain that Bahmanis were fully Shiite and apart from *Ahmad Shah Wali* the others have been mentioned as Hanafi Sunnis but it is not unlikely that some of them have concealed their Shiite identity. The point here is that Shiism of Ahmad Shah Wali was personal and he made no attempt to formalize Shiism and his followers were free in their religion, however, the Deccanian-Abyssian party had so much power to take religious difference with Shah as an excuse and create problems for him, as in the time of Shahab-ud din the problems went so far as participation in conspiracy to murder Shah. Religious behavior of Deccan kingdoms must be looked upon as a subdivision of political situation, this is apparent in Adilshahi kingdom as well. Also their easygoingness in religion And lack of a religious system as an official reference to organize the situation of Islam and put regulations to limit activities of other religions and preventing their competition with Islam caused that general and prejudiced religious movements with restrict rules became very rare.

44 *Fereshteh*.Ibid Vol. 3 p 291
If we do not consider the words of Aadil Shah’s formal court historian as compliments of his master when he says: “Scholars of Ja’fari and elders of Hanafi and Shafei have mingled intimately and talked warmly”\(^\text{46}\), one must say that policies of Yusuf Aadil Shah in prevention of swearing at three Caliphates of Sunnis maintained peaceful religious relations between Sunnis and Shiites.

Frequent tendencies of Aadil Shahi kings on the subject of Shiite and Sunni religions was probably in order to create a balance among court members and to restrict and create balance in the arrangement of military and official officers.\(^\text{47}\)

One of other changes he brought (according to *Fereshteh history*) was changing records from Persian language to Indian.\(^\text{48}\) He dismissed lots of militants as almost 3000 *Adil Shahi* soldiers came to serve Hindu king of Vijaynagar. In order to subdue Muslim soldiers, he ordered that a *Quran* be put in front of him when soldiers came to him, so that religiously there was no obstacle for soldiers to bend in front of him.\(^\text{49}\)

Except Rama Raja and kingdom of Vijanagar who were rivals to Muslim kingdom of Deccan, Aadil Shahis had good relations with Hindus and both of them utilized each other’s cultures.\(^\text{50}\) Aadil Shahi kings, due to their easygoing policy in religion, apparently supported Hindu elders and employed Hindu individuals in their official system and also employed military officers as well as soldiers.

\(^{46}\) *Fereshteh*. Ibid. p 11  
\(^{47}\) A brief look upon dilemma of Aadil Shahi rulers between tendency towards Shiism or Sunnism is considerable: 
Yusuf Aadil Shah 1490-1510 AD  
Ismail Aadil Shah 1510-1534 AD  
Ibrahim Aadil Shah 1535-1558 AD  
Ali aadil Shah 1558-1580 AD  
Ibrahim Aadil Shah II 1580-627 AD  
Muhammad Aadil Shah 1627-1656 AD  
Ali Aadil Shah II  
Shiite  
Shiite  
Sunni  
Shiite  
Easy-going  
Sunni with Shiite tendency  
Shiite who coined the coins of Ghulam Hydar ,Safdar  

\(^{48}\) *Fereshteh*. Ibid. p 28  
\(^{49}\) *Hollister*. Ibid. p 129  
\(^{50}\) *Tarachand*. Ibid.
Long-term stability of Muslims in India affected education, training and nature of lots of arts such as architecture, painting, poetry and literature, and overshadowed people’s lives. This development must have affected Indians’ fragile resistance. “Such an environment had prevented not only formation of anti-Islamic and anti-governmental movements, and generally religious conflicts but also some Hindu religious leaders regarded coming to power of Islamic power as a divine destiny and regarded their opponents to belong to hellfire”.51 religion whole-heartedly. Corrupted lives and records about some of them show that they were not pious Muslim believers in religion. For example, it is said that Ali Aadil shah was killed by two young boys whom he had tried to have illegitimate intercourse with. This has been reported by Fereshteh, historian in the court of Ibrahim II, successor of Ali Aadil Shah.52

Shah intended to prevent Bijapour from becoming Shiite that is why he chose Muhammad, his younger son who was Sunni( and had15 years old at that time) as his successor instead of his elder son, Dervish Padshah who was Shiite.53 It is not for certain whether they were followers of Kingdom of Ibrahim Adil Shah II was non-religious. This feature has caused him to be judged as Hindu by some. Islamic values were not considered and Islamic forbiddances were publically propagated. Shah Sebghat Husseini who were one of the students of Shaykh Wajihud’din of Gujarati and was living in Medina immigrated to Bijapour and asked the king to make prostitutes marry and not to assign Shiites in key positions and close wine shops. In this time serious threats of Baburis had increased, therefore, he decides that there were not convenient conditions to accept requests of Sebghatullah Husseini regarding social restrictions to prevent increasing corruption. Finally Ibrahim II gave him a big sum of fortune and asked him to return to Medina.54

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52 Fereshteh. Ibid. p 46
53 Zobairi. Ibid.p 283
54 Ibid. p 280
Shah intended to prevent Bijapour from becoming Shiite that is why he chose Muhammad, his younger son who was Sunni (and had 15 years old at that time) as his successor instead of his elder son, Dervish Padshah who was Shiite.\textsuperscript{55} It is not for certain whether they were followers of religion wholeheartedly. Corrupted lives and records about some of them show that they were not pious Muslim believers in religion. For example, it is said that Ali Aadil shah was killed by two young boys whom he had tried to have illegitimate intercourse with. This has been reported by Fereshteh, historian in the court of Ibrahim II, successor of Ali Aadil Shah.\textsuperscript{56}

Interest in civilization and controlling oneself in front of non-Islamic religions is apparent in this period. The main problem in construction of big shrines in Indian Subcontinent was lack of construction material. Lots of buildings were constructed by the material gained from ruins of Indian temples. However, it was not a good and sustainable alternative since on the one hand there was limited number of temples and on the other hand Muslim kings had to get along with Hindus and prevent destruction of their temples.\textsuperscript{57}

- **Historical Review of cultural relations Between Safavids dynasty and Qhutbshahis**

Lots of politicians, men of literature, scientists and individuals from different classes had come to Golkanda and Hyderabad in the time of Qhutbshahis. Persian teaching institutions had been established and official language, formal letters and monument inscriptions on public buildings were all in Persian. Qhutbshahi kings were themselves men of poetry and literature. Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah used to compose poems in Persian. Persian had penetrated into official and social as well as civil expressions. Persian phrases were applied in music and architecture. Pardeh, Magham,

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, p 283
\textsuperscript{56} Fereshteh. Ibid. p 46
\textsuperscript{57} Gharavi, Mahdi. *Shrine in the Realm of Islamic Culture*. Tehran :the Association of Cultural Works and Achievements 1997. p 175
Khosravani in music are heritage of this period in India adopted from Persian language; phrases like Chahar Kaman, Balahesar, Divane Khas, Divane Aam, Baghe Golshan in architecture are other examples. Ceremonies, weddings and lamentations were held according to Iranian customs.

But because of penetration of Shiite ideology which could be considered as the foundation for all cultural Relations in this period, we will focus on Shiism in this discussion. 4th and 5th AH/ 10th and 11th centuries were the ages of development for Shiism in the world of Islam. Ale Bouyeh in “Iraq”, Fatemis of “Egypt” in the west and “Hamdanies” in Syria were the areas in which Shiism developed. Decline of Fatemis and Hamdanies and appearance of extremist Sunni kingdoms such as Ayyobies and then Mamluks and eventually the last survivors of Shiites in Halab were extremely suppressed by Ottomans, of course this kingdom couldn’t remove Shiism from Balbak and Southern Lebanon, as it could not massacre Alavies of Anatolia. Therefore, Shiism was drawn from Iran towards India. Governments that appeared after the dynasty of Delhi Sultans and were established in central or Southern India were all influenced by Iranian nationality and races, and of course, by Shiite ideology. If this is true, we can conclude that Shiite tendency of kingdoms such as Qhitbshahis and Adilshahis was influenced by their affection and enthusiasm towards Iran. Not only did Iranian ideologists play great roles in reinforcement of Shiite kingdoms in Deccan, but they made all kingdoms from beginning of Akbar Shah’s period to the end of Baburis’ time feel necessity of Iranians in their kingdoms. They laid the basis for philosophical and scientific research in Northern India in 16th century and in this way, they influenced even ideologies of other Islamic sects to a great deal.

Sheikh Azari, poet of Ahmad I’s court and one of his courtiers, Sadr-sharif Samarqandi Judge of Judges and other two more Iranians i.e. Mir Fazlollah Injo Shirazi, vizier of Firouz Shah Bahmani and Emad-ud din Mahmud Gavan, vizier of Humayun, all had Shiite ideologies. Other high
political and official ranks were also given to Iranian immigrants who were naturally Shiites or had obvious or concealed Shiite tendencies. The ranks “Mir Jomleh” and “Pishva” or great vizier, Dabir and “Sarkheil” (assistant of great vizier) were among these positions. Shah Mirza Esfahani Taba Tabaii, vizier of Ibrahim Qhutbshah and also Mir Momin Astar abadi “Pishva” or the famous Prime Minister of Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah and Mir Muhammad Saeed “Mir Jomleh”, authoritative vizier of Abdollah Qhutbshah also could be mentioned as more examples. Mirza Rouzbehah Safahani, Mir Fasih-ud din Muhammad Tafreshi, Sayyed Abdollah Mazandarani and Mir Muhammad Ardestani became “Sarkheil” in the time of Abdollah Qhutbshah. One of the most important activities of Qhutbshahis during two years of their dominance was spread of Shiism in this region. History of Shiism in this period passed many different stages. In the first stage, they constructed religious buildings and preached Shiite customs and as Mir Momin Astar abadi entered the kingdom in 989 AH, the stage of development for Shiism started in Qhutbshahi period.

Kingdom of Adilshahis (in 908 AH/ 1502) before Nizamshahis in 944 AH/ 1537 expressed belief in Shiism. After declaring independence in 918 AH, Sultan Qhuli immediately announced Imamiyeh Shiism as the formal religion in his territory. The story of formalizing Shiism by Sultan Qhuli before formalization of Shiism in Iran has been cited by some sources such as History of Fereshteh about Yusuf Adilshah. Whereas, we know that announcement of Shiism by Safavis in (907 AH/ 1501) has been carried out previously. Reasons for making up such a story could be found in future of relations between Iran and Deccan. It means that they wanted their interest in declaring formality of Shiism to be regarded as an emphasis on their faith rather than as a popular political necessity in so that it could help minimize sensibilities in the region. Such an understanding could reinforce connections between Safavis and Deccanians and it also could develop convergence.

58 History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah.Ibid.1st article
between Shiite elements of Baburi Empire with them and minimize the effects of friendly relationships between Safavvis and them. Anyway, Sultan Qhuli ordered that on Minbars (pulpits) and on coins names of Shiite Imams be mentioned and Moazins (those who called for prayer) added the sentence “Hayya Ala Khair-il-Amal” (hasten towards good deeds) into Azan.\(^5\) After Qhutb-ul Mulk announced Shiism as the formal religion in his territory, he brought the name of Shah Ismail Safavi in the Speech prior to his own name.\(^6\)

I. Formation and Stability of Shiism in the Period of Qhutbshahis

This stage includes ruling periods of Sultan Qhuli, Jamshid, Sobhan and Ibrahim Qhutbshah. Baharlu Dynasty belonged to Shiïte Qhara Qhoyunlus who had immigrated to India.\(^6\) Sultan Qhuli Qhutbshah was member of one of these Turk tribes. He had Shiite beliefs when he entered India in 883 AH.\(^6\)

Qhutb-ul Mulk ordered after declaring independence that Speech must be read in the name of Twelve Imams. It is said that he had made commitment to preach Twelve Imam Shiism in the territories of his domain. Sadre Jahan narrates in Marqhoub-ul qholoub that Qhutb-ul Mulk said: “I swear by Prophet (S) and also his offspring from Ali (A) that whenever I succeed in independence of my kingdom I would preach and reinforce Shiism but it must not be implied that I have taken this idea from Shah Ismail. Because it is clear that since the time of Sultan Yaqhoub (1478-1491), I have believed in the religion of Twelve Imams (A) which was the religion of my ancestors.”\(^6\)

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\(^5\) Hadighat-ul aalam.Ibid. 1st article, p. 32
Khanzaman Khanibid. p. 9

\(^6\) Montakhab-ul-Lobab.Ibid.Vol. 3 p. 370 but author of Golzar Asefiyeh quotes from Sultan Qhuli that Qhutbshah formalized Shiism in Deccan before Shah Ismail’s announcement. Ibid.P 9

\(^6\) From this tribe, we know the great vizier of Akbar i.e. “Bayram Khan” who was also Shiîte

\(^6\) Roymareh, R. H. and others. History of Iran _Safavids Period_. Trans. Yaghoub Ajhand, 1st published, Tehran: Jami 2001 p 229

\(^6\) Shia in India.Ibid.
The anonymous author of *History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah* narrates that he had formalized Shiism in his own territory before it had been formalized in Iran 907 AH/ 1501. Qhuli had gained the title Qhutb-ulm Mulk since 900 AH and had started ruling as governor of Tilengana in that region. His loyalty to the Bahmani Sunni Sultan and accepting Bahman Shah’s order to attack Yusuf Adilshah who had formalized Shiism in Bijapur, makes it difficult to believe that formalization of Shiism has happened in that time, unless the author has meant something else by “formalization” of Shiism or has interpreted the old and ancestral “belief” of Qhutbshah in Shiism to “formalization of Shiism”. It is obvious that formalization of Shiism happened soon after declaring independence in 918 AH/ 1512 and names of the Twelve Imams were mentioned on Minbars and their titles appeared on coins and Shiite terms appeared in Azan.64

In the time of Sultan Qhuli, despite reading the speech in Asna Ashari Shiite style, on the inscriptions and monuments of mosques and some other buildings, names of Imams and Shiite slogans were applied. On an inscription in a mosque near Gate of Golkanda, the Shiite slogan of “La Ilaha Illa Allah, Muhammad Rasolollah, Ali Valiollah” has been written by someone called Abdol-Karim. Gravestones of Qhutbshahi kings also bear the specific Salawat of Shiite Imams and the Innocents which the author himself has seen on the graves of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah. Sultan Jamshid Qhutbshah also in his short-term period of kingdom followed his father’s policy in propagation of Shiism, but despite efforts of these two Qhutbshahi kings, still Shiism was not popular and widespread among people.

When Shah Ismail came to the throne, Qhutb-ul Mulk brought the name of Shah before his own name in the Speech. Not only did Shah Ismail own a big empire, but he was also offspring to someone who had the role of

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64 History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah.Ibid. 1st article
spiritual leadership for Qhutb-ul Mulk’s ancestors. Another point that must not be forgotten in formalization of Shiism is the position of religion and its political role. Political forces in Deccanian kingdoms had been divided into two groups of Sunni and Shi'ite. In the time of Qhutbshahis, these forces were mostly Afaqhis who had Shiite tendencies; therefore, political legitimacy must have been derived from the ideology which was approved by them. According to this pattern, periodical tendency of Deccanian kingdoms in Shiism and Sunnism reveal weakness and strength of Afaqhi and Daccani members or interest of kings to balance power between them.

As Ibrahim Qhutbshah came to power, the situations experienced some changes. The greatest Shiite figure in this period was Mustafa Khan Ardestani. He, who had played a great role in coming to power of Ibrahim, gained the position of “Mir Jomleh”. Among the utmost important activities of Mustafa Khan Ardestani, who alongside political reasons had religious motivations as well, there was his effort to unite Muslim kingdoms of Deccan against Rama Raja and to defeat him.

The initial reports of sources about holding lamentation ceremonies of Muharram refer to this period. Demonstration of horse shoe (a piece of iron similar to horse shoe placed on helmet) which according to Shiites of Deccan belonged to Imam Hussein (A)’s helmet and had been brought from Golkanda to Bijapur, was in inseparable segment of lamentation in this period.

II. Development and Bloom

Not only did Shiite thinkers play influential roles in reinforcement of Shiite kingdoms in Deccan, but from beginning of Akbar Shah’s reign till end of Mogul’s reign they made all kingdoms feel necessity of these thinkers. In 16th century, they laid the basis for philosophical and scientific research in

65 Fereshteh. Ibid. Vol. 2 p 170
66 Shia in India. Digital copy Ibid. Vol.1 Digital copy
India and in this way they created great influence even on ideologies of other Islamic sects. Every one of Shiite thinkers played his own role in spread of Shiism. Mir Momin Astar abadi in Southern India was one of the great characters in this line. This period coincided with kingdom of Sultan Muhammad Qhuli, Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah and half of Sultan Abdollah’s ruling period. Mir Momin Astar abadi (960-1034 AH/ 1552-1625) was in the time of Sultan Muhammad Qhuli and Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah. As Mir Momin entered Golkanda in 989 AH, Shiism began to bloom in this region. He was one of Sadat and an elder of Astar Abad and was nephew to Mir Fakhr-ud din Sammaki the poet and was counted one of the scholars of his time.

He was teacher of Prince Hyder Mirza, son of Tahmasb and when Ismail II came to throne he left Safavi court in (986 AH/ 1578-1579) for Hajj and entered Golkanda in 989 AH/ 1581. He soon became famous because of his knowledge in religious science, piety and honesty. Mir Momin was dominant in principles of poetry and had works in different styles of Persian poetry and he was also knowledgeable in study of Hadiths. Because Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah was famous as a Shiite, Mir Momin went to him in 989 AH. After dismissal of Shah Mir Taba Tabae, Muhammad Qhuli made Mir Momin his counselor and was intensively impressed by his piety and political talent.67

Mir Muhammad Momin was appointed as “Pishva” by Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah in 993 AH and maintained this position by end of his life (1034 AH). According to Hadieghat-us salatin, lamentation ceremonies were held in Muharram, since the beginning of Qhutbshahi reign in Golkanda and Hyderabad and were followed more gloriously in the time of Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah.

When Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah was going to construct the city of Hyderabad, he gave Mir Momin the responsibility to design the city. Hyderabad was modeled after Isfahan in Iran. Mir Momin had special consideration for religious buildings especially Shiite religious buildings in designing the city. One of these major religious buildings which started to be constructed in 1001 AH was Ashourkhana.68

Lots of buildings were constructed under supervision of Mir Momin in the time of Muhammad Qhuli. “Dad Mahal” was constructed to carry out special ceremonies of birth or martyrdom of Shiite Imams and included seven floors. The seventh floor was called “Elahi Mahal” and the lower floors were respectively named after Prophet’s (S) and Imams’ (A) names.69 Daru’shifa (hospital), constructed by him in 1004 AH/ 1595 was a medical college as well. Patients were admitted without charges and were provided by free medicine.70 Mir Momin established a graveyard in Hyderabad called “Dayereh” and mixed some soil of Karbala with its soil for sacredness. It was an encouragement for people to avoid sending the dead to Karbala for burial. This had happened frequently for ruling dynasties of Deccan. According to the sources, till 1160 AH, almost 600,000 to 700,000 members of Sadat and great mystics had been buried there.71 He also constructed lots of mosques and Ashoorkhanas in many villages. These mosques and Ashoorkhanas provoked interest of local Indian people in Islam and Shiism and their tendency towards this religion. Mir Momin constructed the village of Sayyed abad in 1014 AH, 6 km in the east of Hyderabad and Mirpeth village in 1019 AH, 13 km far from this city. Tavernier in 1652 compared Hyderabad to Orleans “well-built and opened out” and in 1672, Abbe Carr was much impressed by the city as the center of all trade in the east.

68 Monshi Qhader Khan.Ibid.p 25-26
69 History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah.Ibid 4th article
70 Shia in India.Ibid.
71 Ibid. Vol. 1 p 478
In this period even Sultan himself used to take off royal clothes and like ordinary people, wear black clothes and take part in lamentation ceremonies. According to History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah, expenses of these ceremonies were provided by the court every year and at the end of month of Muharram, a sum of money that was called “Zar (gold) of Ashoori” was given to the poor. In addition to that, every year Sultan used to send sums of money to servants of House of God, Medina, Najaf, Karbala and Mashhad.72

III. Ali Ibn Khatoon73

He was a knowledgeable politician and was one of the most famous individuals in the time of Qhutbshah. He was given the title Allama which revealed his scientific ability and virtue. Ibn Khatoon came to Hyderabad from Mashhad in the time of dominance of Uzbeks over Khurasan. He had spent his childhood in Mashhad74 and in 1009 AH/ 1600 reached there and was welcomed by Qhutbshahi Sultans and became one of their intimate courtiers. He was nephew of the famous Safavi scientist, Sheikh Bahaii and one of his pupils. He was sent to Iran as envoy of Muhammad Qhutbshah and took a thanksgiving letter of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah to Shah Abbas in Qhazvin. He spent some time in Iran as the envoy of Qhutbshahis, and later returned to Hyderabad with Qhasem Bey, envoy of Shah Abbas. Although Eskandar Bey reports the date of his return as 1029 AH, but regarding the fact that in the time of his return Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah (1035 AH) had passed away and Abdollah Qhutbshah (1035-1083 AH) had come to power, it could be inferred that Ibn Khatoon’s return to India was after 1035 AH. After his return, Sultan Abdollah appointed him as “Pishva” and also assistant and representative of Sultan instead of Shah Muhammad Pirzad. He, who was pupil of Mir Momin Astar abadi –predecessor of Muhammad Pirzad- remained in this position for 20 years and in addition to administrating governmental issues, he had a class in his own house every morning in which

72 Golzar Asefiyeh. Ibid. p 24
73 His full name is Abul‐Maali Shams‐ud din Muhammad Ibn Sadid‐ud din Ali
74 Aalam Araye Abbasi. Ibid. Vol. 2 p 941
many students attended and studied in different subjects. *Ali Ibn Teifour* and *Muhammad Ibn Sharaf Jazayeri* are among his pupils. Ibn Khatoun was familiar with different branches of science such as Hadith, Fiqh, math and poetry.

When he had the positions of representative and “Pishva”, he offered great services in Hyderabad which added to his popularity among people, services such as establishment of schools, construction of hospitals and construction and completion of mosques. He also always appreciated writers and compilers and encouraged them for writing books. According to Ibn Teifour, in 1095 AH/ 1649 he died in port of Mukha because of fatigue on the journey of Hajj, but Sheikh Abbas Qhomi has claimed that he had a copy of the book *Ershad of Allama Helli* in hand-writing by Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Khatoun in which the writer has mentioned the date Muharram 1068. Relying on this report, it can be implied that on the contrary of Ibn Teifour’s report, he had been alive on this date. According to another report, he has died in Hyderabad and was buried there and that his grave has become a shrine.75

Holding Ashoora ceremony which was symbol of Shiism was carried on gloriously every Muharram. Sultan used to remove his glorious clothes and put on black clothes as a symbol of lamentation. During lamentation nights, he brought up thousands of shelves everywhere in the city to light candles on, and gave charity to the poor.76

Other religious ceremonies held in this period were birthday of Prophet (S), Mab’ath Ceremony, birthday of Ali (A), Fitr Eid and Qurban Eid, but it seems that among these ceremonies only birthday of Prophet (S) was held most gloriously, as Nizam-ud din Ahmad Shirazi has brought a chapter titled “On the Celebration of Prophet’s Birthday Ceremony”.77

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75 GIE, below the entry of Ibn Khaldoon
76 Golzar Asefiyeh.Ibid. p 23
77 Hadighat-us salatin.Ibid. p. 13
Expenses of holding religious Shiite ceremonies were provided by the court and respecting some rules and principles by Muslims and non-Muslims made people of this region become much more familiar with Shiite religion.

IV. Decline

But through invasion of Shah Jahan in 1046 AH to Hyderabad, Shiism began to decline in this region. Eventually at the end of 1098 AH, through conquest of Golkanda and Hyderabad by Aurangzeb, kingdom of Qhutbshahis declined, but Shiism established by them continued to live on.

Along with decrease of political power of Qhutbshahis, decline of Shiite religion also started in this region. Jahangir brought down kingdom of Nizamshahis in Ahmad Nagar between 1026 till 1046 AH/ 1617-1637 and intensified his invasions of Bijapur. Despite its affluent wealth, Qhutbshahi kingdom in this period suffered from lack of an effective defense power.

In 1045 AH, Shah Jahan sent Makramat Khan and Sheikh Abdol-Latif towards Adilshah and Qhutbshah with an ultimatum. Shah Jahan had written in his order to Qhutbshah that “I, as an Emperor of Islam, am assigned to spread Sunni religion and make sure that my territory is not the place of heresy and distortion”. In the warning of Shah Jahan, it had been mentioned that Sahaba (companions) of Prophet (S), who according to Hadiths of Sunnis in seven books “Sehah Sette” were all sacred and very close to Prophet, had been disdained. The worse was that no attempt had been carried out to stop or reprimand the offenders. Therefore, Qhutbshah was given full responsibility to stop such evil doings and if an offender committed such sins, he had to be punished immediately; otherwise, it meant that Qhutbshah agreed with the disdain and that Shah Jahan was authorized to seize his territories and properties that existed in these lands.
He offered three main requests in his letter to Qhutbshah:

– Disdaining Caliphs especially the first Caliph was to be prohibited in Golkanda and the offenders had to be punished.
– Name of Safavi Shah which was previously mentioned in the Speech had to be removed and be replaced by name of Baburi Shah.
– A heavy tax was to be paid to Baburi Shah annually.

Shah Jahan had threatened at the end of his letter that Qhutbshah would face his heavy invasion if he did not accept those conditions.78

The point in Shah Jahan’s letter as a threatening to Abdollah Qhutbshah is that there is no reference to Shiism as heretic, but Shah Jahan speaks of his own worries about disdain on companions of Prophet. It reveals that Sunnism of Baburis has problem with offense and disdain of its principles and holy values not with the nature of Shiism; it also reveals that their Sunni prejudice was not so much that they would not let the newly growing tree of Shiism keep on growing.

According to the agreement signed by Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah, Qhutbshahis formally were subdued by Baburis. Qhutbshahis kingdom formally agreed to replace the names of Twelve Imams with names of Rashedin Caliphs and replace the name of Safavi rulers with names of mogul rulers. It was also agreed that the design on the coin of Qhutbshahis had to be approved by Goorkani kings and that Qhutbshahis had to pay annual taxes to Goorkanis. Also Shah Jahan in his peace agreement sent to Qhutbshah through Muhammad Taher in 1046 AH had mentioned that: “as son of the father Akbar, befriend our friends and be enemies to our enemies, since we will also do the same and as long as children of the two sides will live, this agreement will go on”79

In 1069, Aurangzeb was appointed by his father Shah Jahan to invade Hyderabad. In a letter to his father, Aurangzeb described reasons of this invasion as following:

“Qhutb-ul Mulk has left religion of Sunnah and commits forbidden heresies and has popularized insult of Sahaba of Prophet, and has proceeded so much that everywhere in his territory, religion of Sunnis has been left aside and whatever was forbidden to tell and practice, is being told and practiced publically.”80

This letter reveals that in the mentioned date, despite agreement of Sultan Abdollah Qhutbshah signed in 1046, according to which he must have practiced principles of Sunnism, again the Speech was performed in the name of Twelve Imams and religious ceremonies of Shiism was still going on, but there is not much information available on more details. Aurangzeb was far different from Baburi kings preceding him. He did not have easygoing policies of those kings, nor did he establish good relations with Safavis. His hostility with kingdoms of Deccan was apparently revealed in Golkanda. He was a prejudiced Sunni who because of his rigidity in accomplishment of their Fatvas (institutions derived from Quran and Hadith), was named Mohiy-ud din (reviver of religion) by Sunni scholars. As Abul-Hasan Tana Shah succeeded to the throne, religious policies of Qhutbshahis were an altered. If previously there were pressures from outside on Qhutbshahis to leave Shiism, in this period through ministry of Madanna who was a Brahman,81 pressures were brought upon Shiites in the inside from the government. As his influence increased in the kingdom, Deccanian forces (Hindus and Sunni Muslims) seized the power in Hyderabad and Afaqhis

80 Shiia in India. p 519
who were mostly Shiites and main supporters of this religion and previously
had much influence on Qutbshahis, were put aside from governmental
positions and careers. Naturally these events led to weakness of Shiism and
its ceremonies in Qutbshahi territories.

Eventually, through conquest of Golkanda and Hyderabad in 1098 AH
by Aurangzeb and taking Abul-Hassan Tana Shah, the last Qutbshahi king,
kingsdom of Qutbshahis declined and their ruling territory was joined to the
realm of Sunni kingdom of Goorkanis.