CHAPTER -V

The effective factors on political relations between safavids and Qhutbshahis

- regional factors
  - Presence and influence of Iran in Deccan
  - The Deccanian quarrels

- over regional factors
  - Kandahar and its influence on the relations
  - Uzbeks and their influence on the relations
Regional factors

Presence and influence of Iran in Deccan

Muhammad Shah Tughlaqi (reign 725-752 AH/ 1325-1351), one of Delhi kings, weakened in second half of his ruling period. Therefore, he lost dominance over newly conquered regions of Deccan. In southernmost of Deccan, kingdom of Madurai appeared, but rebellions in Deccan were more important than that. Among the rebels, Hassan Gangu (reign 1347-1358) established Bahmani Dynasty in Daulatabad with the title Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah in 748 AH/ 1347. Bahmanis considered themselves as descendents of Iranians. Their efforts to attribute themselves to these ancestors must be pointed out as a reason that Hassan Gangu had not have a significant ancestral origin and as Boswerth mentions, this claim of them must not be taken as serious. Another point is that this narrative joins Bahmani kingdom, from the very beginning of their reign, to an issue called Iran and Iranians and apparently it had inseparable connections with political, social and cultural lives of Bahmanis to the end.

Bahmanis 748-933 AH/ 1374-1526

This dynasty is known with two periods, the first period from Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah (1347-1358) till Taj-ud-din Firouz Shah (1397-1422) in Golbarga including 80 years and the second period in Bidar from Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Shah (1422-1435) till Kalim-ullah Shah (1524-1527) including two reigns within 105 years. The last years of Muhammad Shah II’s reign 780-799 AH/ 1378-1397, the fifth Bahmani king, coincided with Timur’s invasion of Delhi. And

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1 The Madurai Sultanate or the Ma’bar Sultanate was a short-lived independent Muslim kingdom based in the city of Madurai in Tamil Nadu, India during the 14th century. It lasted from 1335 until 1378. It came into existence following the decline of the Second Pandyan Empire and was destroyed by the rise of Vijayanagar.see:Majumdar, R.C. (Editor ). The Delhi Sultanate. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 2006.
2 Esami.Ibid. Vol. 1 p.55
3 The Islamic Dynasties. Ibid.p 299
kingdom of Delhi lost its authority in the north to a great extent. In this way, some small kingdoms like Junpur, Gujarat, Khandish and Malwa were formed. These kingdoms from the north and Vijayanagar Empire from the south as well as Orissa and Tilangana kingdoms also threatened Bahmani kingdom. Vijayanagar and Warangal were two major Hindu kingdoms who had conflicts with Bahmanis for a hundred years. In 1425, Ahmad Shah I (1422-1435) brought down Warangal kingdom and included it in his own territories. After that Ahmad shifted his capital to Bidar which was closer to center of his kingdom. So much of conflict and chaos needed a political, military and organizational authority for which Bahmanis did not have necessary specialized forces to maintain the dominance. Therefore absorption of productive forces from Islamic countries especially Iran was seriously and widely carried on so that this kingdom could keep itself against these threats.

Presence of immigrant forces in Southern India was apparent from the beginning of Bahmani kingdom. In fact, Khiljis and Tughlaqis who formed the aristocrats and commanders gradually ought to have been controlled by a force which was dependant on Bahmanis. Remains of influential aristocrats in Delhi kingdom who had mostly immigrated from Northern India to Deccan and also the older generation of Muslims who had settled in India are to be added to this group. Also Abyssinians who had come from Africa to Deccan, especially from Somali became closer to this group. It seems that they also accompanied this group because of its being Sunni.

Another group was mostly consisted of Shiites and Iranians, Turks and Moguls of Central Asia. They were widely known as Afaqhis or Qharibs. Sophisticated and authoritative Iranians had significant roles among them. Hindus were also part of Bahmani aristocrats but they did not have any influence in the central government and were mostly dominant in army and

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5 Hollister. Ibid. pp 116-117
within their own territories. Maintenance of power by Bahmanis had made it essential to balance power between these two groups. Success of the immigrants in finding out and undoing conspiracies and success in wars especially with Hindu governments helped them improve their positions. In this way, in the early years of formation of Bahmani kingdom, their army consisted of different groups who had always competitions with each other.

These rivalries led to bloody conflicts, a sample of which will be mentioned below. It appeared another time as a massacre of Sadat and Shiites. The king granted all important governmental positions (Eghtaa) to Afaqhis. Afaqhi rulers in the four states of Bahmani kingdom got hold of substantive military positions. The king appointed Khalaf-ud din Hassan Basri as his chief vizier. This specific attention brought bloody outcomes in the time of his successor Ahmad II (839-862 AH/ 1435-1458). In 850 AH/ 1446, Ahmad II appointed Bahmani army which was made of Afaqhi, Deccanian and also Abyssinian groups to invade Maratha in Southern Konkan which was ruled by Raja of Sangameshwar (originally near the coastal city of nowadays Ratnagiri in Maharashtra). Khalaf-ud din Hassan who was commander in this battle was killed and Afaqhi groups of his army were massacred. This was satisfactory for Deccanian militants because after deceiving Ahmad II while he was drunk, they could gain the command from him to massacre the rest of Afaqhis in a place near today Pune in a region called Chakna with the excuse that they were going to rebel. In a short period of time, 2500 Afaqhis among whom there were hundreds of Sadat from Medina and Karbala were killed as well as their women and children. Later, Mahmud Gavan (813-886 AH/ 1410-1481) brought a kind of adaptation and harmony between the two groups by distribution of governmental positions among them.

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6 Sherwani, H. K. “The Bahmanis”. Ibid. vol. I p152
7 Fereshteh.Ibid. vol.1 p322-3
Political, Economic and Social Situations

In Bahmanis system of kingdom, king was at the top of governmental structure and his power was limitless and he ruled over all official, judiciary and military institutions. Most part of the first Bahmani king’s reign spent in conflicts with internal and external opponents and there was not an appropriate opportunity to organize the kingdom. But Muhammad Shah I, the second king, could establish new official, military and judiciary systems and appoint a top official for each institution. Vakil-us saltaneh in this system was the next authority after king i.e. prime minister and all orders before execution had to be signed by him. Sadre Jahan was head of judiciary and had the responsibility to deal with religious affairs and Mirjomleh was head of economic institution. Minister Ashraf was responsible for foreign diplomacy. Heads of institutions were supervised by the chief minister. Commander of army was Amir-ul omara (Amir of Amirs) and officers were called Mansab-Dar (position holder). They had degrees from 100 to 2,000. One of the important points in battles of this time was using artillery and fire weapons which were used from the second half of 14th century. European forces were also used in this army. Head of military and official affairs of city was called Kutwal. The country had been divided into 4 parts i.e. Gulbarga, Bidar, Berber and Daulatabad. These four regions had four rulers or “Tarafdars” who were responsible for gathering taxes, gathering forces and commanding them and also for choosing military and administrative heads.

Bahmani territory in the time of Mahmud Gavan’s ministry (851-886 AH/ 1447-1481), the famous vizier of Muhammad Shah III (1463-1482), reached its widest area and its borders were spread from Bengal Gulf in the east to Arabian Sea in the west and from Vijayanagar in the south to Gujarat in the north and bordered with Malowa and Warangal. Four parts of this land were divided between eight “Sar Lashkar” (army commanders) with the aim of supervision over power of “Tarafdars”.

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8 Sherwani. Ibid. vol. I p57
Bahmanis formed a mighty army in order to conquer new territories and stand against powerful neighbors. Bahmani army consisted of 3000 archers from Iraq, Central Asia and Ottomans\(^{10}\), 300,000 infantry, 190,000 cavalry and 575 elephants.\(^{11}\) It couldn’t have been possible to absorb so much immigrant forces without great deals of economic power based on merchandise, rich diamond mines and fertile agricultural lands. Bahmanis made a lot of efforts to improve conditions of farmers and develop agriculture. They established canals for agricultural lands. In addition to land taxes, booty also was another source of income for them. The seized lands were granted to officials of government as “Jagir” or “Eghtaa”.\(^{12}\) the ruling period of Shams-ud din Muhammad Shah III titled as “Lashkari” (1463-1482), 13th king of Bahmanis, was famous mostly because of his intelligent vizier, Khwaje Emad-ud din Mahmud Gavan titled as Sadre Jahan (813-886 AH/ 1410-1481). In the time of Humayun Bahmani, he had the title Malek-ut tojjar and in the time of his son, Burhan became his vizier. But climax of his authority was in the time of Muhammad III of Bahmanis who honored him with the title “Emir-ul omara” added by “Vekalat Omour Shahi” (representative of royal affairs). He was a knowledgeable organized man and a qualified politician. Gavan was originally Iranian. His writings have been recorded in a book titled Riaz-ul enshaa.\(^{13}\) It reveals that personally he was in touch with lots of his contemporary scholars such as Sharaf-ud din Ali Yazdi author of Zafar

\(^{10}\) Aziz Ahmad, *studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment*, Oxford University Press 1970.p48
\(^{11}\) Chowdhury, J. N. "Administration of the Bahmani Kingdom". *The India Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, Ed. N. N. Law, Delhi(1926) : 696
\(^{12}\) Sherwani, H.K. Ibid.p50
Publication Center of Sarkar Aali: 1948.
Nameh, Jalal-ud din Davani\textsuperscript{14}, Abd-ur rahman Jaami\textsuperscript{15} and Abu-Bakr Tehrani ,Sadr-ud din Rowasi\textsuperscript{16}. He brought new reformations in organizing and creating order in the kingdom and administered affairs with authority. His wise management promoted the situation of Deccan all over the Subcontinent and even among eastern kingdoms of Islam. Invasion of Moguls and Timur to Iran in short-term caused a new period of economic power transfer from east towards southern parts of Iran which immediately led to bloom of trade in the regions of Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. This caused immediate political and economic empowerment of local authorities and merchants including local rulers of Hurmoz, Kerman, India and later Larestan. Khwajeh in this period succeeded in bringing valid and reasonable connections with trading regions around Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, in addition to winning the great advantage of sea trading for India, he played significant roles in blooming of the trade between India and Southern Iran. He personally led some battles in Duab and Konkan and subdued the whole region. His army consisted of Turks Arabs and Kurds. This very reason intensified hostility of enemies against him and led to his murder ordered by the king.

Relations of Bahmani merchants with other regions caused development of their cultural and political relations as Bahmanis in the period of Muhammad Shah III were the first kingdom that had relations with Ottomans (the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad Fateh) and sent envoys to Egypt\textsuperscript{17} and made relations with kings of Gilan and Iraq. The oldest relation of Iranian and Deccanian kings goes back to the time of Shah Ismail Safavi in which messages along with gifts were sent to Bahmani Sultan Mahmud II (877-924 AH/ 1482-1518) to Bidar. Author of Borhan Maather writes that along with clothes, jewelry and horses, a Qhezelbash crown was also sent for the

\textsuperscript{14} Jalal-ud din Davani was one of the great scholars of morality in 9th century and author of "Akhlagh Jalali".

\textsuperscript{15} In one of his sonnets, Jaami, mentions him by the title "Malek-ut tojjar".

\textsuperscript{16} One of 9th century scholars who had been considered a lot by Abu Saeed Gourkani and had taught for a while in Heart.

\textsuperscript{17} Aziz Ahmad. ibid.
Bahmani king and Ali Taba Taba says that because in this time king and the army were Sunni and the sent crown signified Asna Ashari sect, Sultan Mahmud did not pay much attention to the gifts.

Signs of disorder and separation as a result of internal controversies, greed, conspiracies and rivalries between Deccanians and Afaqhis appeared in late 15th century. Brutal murder of Mahmud Gavan, as he himself had predicted\textsuperscript{18}, left future of Bahmani kingdom in obscurity. He had succeeded in creating power among politicians of the two rival groups by properly dividing positions between them. But as he was killed, conditions of society became fragile and vulnerable and eventually led to gradual decline of Bahmanis. The last four kings of Bahmani were puppets to the Turk Emir, Qhasem Barid, and his dynasty. They formed their independent kingdom in Bidar and declined in 1619 in the time of Adilshahi kings of Bijapur. As a result, Nizamshahis in Ahmadnagar, Qhutbshahis in Golkanda and Emad Shahis in Berar declared independence.

Architecture

A special style in Islamic architecture of Deccan appeared in the time of Bahmanis which is divided into two styles of Gulbarga and Bidar. Architectural works of Gulbarga which belonged to the first period of Bahmani kings were influenced by Islamic architectural style of Delhi kings which in some cases had Iranian architectural styles like the Jamee mosque of Gulbarga, the Shah Mosque of Bazaar and the tomb of Geesu Deraz.

\textsuperscript{18} According to the records, after getting to know about his death sentence issued by the king, he told the king: "killing I who have reached old ages is easy but it will lead to chaos in the country and will spoil your name". History of Fereshteh, Kanpur Publication 1883, Vol. 1 p 385. Bahmanid king issued his death sentence in Safar, 886 AH without inspection about truth of claims against him, but after his innocence was proved, king became sick and the country underwent uproar of disorder, and the king did not live more than a year. Mahmud Gavan was falsely accused of having written a letter inviting the king of Orissa to march on Bidar, and was put to death in 1481.
In the tomb of Firouz Shah, the influence of Indian architecture is apparent on the buildings. As the tomb of Firouz is an attractive sample in which Indian and Iranian styles have been mingled in the style that belongs to the time of Delhi kings. As the capital was shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar (Muhammad Abad), features of Iranian culture and civilization overcame the culture of kings in Delhi and Deccan. This influence appeared in architecture as application of pillared arcades, arches on the doors, domed arches, minarets, application of tiles in front views and utilizing lots of inscriptions in Persian. School and mosque of Mahmud Gava, tomb of Shah Khalilollah, son of Shah Nematollah Wali, and tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali in Bidar are samples of this influence.

**Persian Language and Literature**

Studying the names of elders in Bahmani kingdom reveals attention of other regions of the Islamic world to Deccan. Among these names there are such names as Sistani, Azerbaijani, Gilani, Astarabadi, Shirazi, Hamedani, Qhumi and Basri which demonstrate popularity of Iranians among these immigrants. Bahman Shahis attributed themselves to Bahman, son of Esfandyar, one of the ancient and legendary kings in Iran. They celebrated Norouz and considered Persian language very much. The period of Bahmanis was the climax in development of Islamic culture in Deccan. Bahmani kings were very famous in the Islamic world especially from this attitude that their court was center of knowledge and science. Kings of this dynasty themselves had literary talents and were also interested in sciences. Their courts turned to be ultimate goal of scientists, men of literature and merchants all over India. Fifth king of this dynasty, Muhammad Shah II was a poet who also had a collection of poems. He was fond of Arabic and Persian literature. Firouz, the 8th king of this dynasty was a knowledgeable man who was interested in astronomy, and had constructed an observatory and the great astronomer, Hakim Hussein Gilani was in his service.

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19 Karami, Mojtaba. Ibid. p 21
20 Fereshteh. Ibid. p 282
21 Law, N. N. *Promotion of Learning in India*. Varanasi: 1958 p 85
Persian language which was prevalent before Bahmanis in Delhi, Lahore and Multan, now with their presence had entered Southern India as well. Establishment of some schools in Persian in Daulatabad and Gulbarga helped Persian language develop very much. As a result, Persian penetrated into non-Muslim people, too. Establishment of Daulatabad and Bidar schools were important activities carried out by Bahmani kings to spread Islamic culture and knowledge and also Persian language. Bidar School was constructed by Mahmud Gavan. It had a big library. This school is world famous and its remains are still visited by tourists. Therefore, Bahmani kingdom had tints of Iranian culture and Persian language.

Entrance of Orafa (mystics) and Sufi Sheikhs into Bahmani territories was also a movement related to Persian literature and was not apart from Shiism. In the time of Taj-ud din Firouz, Sayyed Muhammad Hussaini, the famous mystic of Deccan who was known as “Khwaja Bande Navaz” and “Geesu Deraz” came to Delhi from Gulbarga and settled there in his 84 and after 20 years settlement, in his 104 (825 AH/ 1422) some months after Firouz Shah’s death, passed away. His treatises and books in Arabic, Persian and Deccanian include his views on poetry of Sufism, interpretation, religion and explanations on other Sufis such as Sheikh Abdol-Qader Gilani and Ibn Arabi.

Shahab-ud din Ahmad Shah I who was known as Ahmad Shah Wali was a religious and somewhat mystic person. After death of Geesu Deraz, he was trying to find a spiritual guide and therefore invited Shah Nematullah Wali who was in Kerman. Shah Nematullah in reply apologized for not being able to travel to Deccan and sent one of his students, Molla Qhutb-ud din to Bidar with a letter and a green crown which had 12 gores as signifiers of 12 Imams. It is said that Shah Nematullah called him “Wali” in the letter and that became the reason for popularity of Shah with this title. After further frequent insistences of Ahmad Shah, Nematullah Wali sent his grandson, Noorollah to Deccan. Ahmad Shah himself came to welcome Noorollah in a place where
later, because of this meeting, was named “Nematabad” and gave him the title Malek-ul Mashayekh (king of Sheikhs) and in this way, he regarded him superior to all sheikhs of Deccan including Morids of Geesu Deraz, his previous Morshid.\textsuperscript{22} He was respected very much in the court of Ahmad Shah and by marrying to Ahmad Shah’s daughter he became a relative of the royal family. The other daughter of Ahmad Shah also was married to Habibullah, Noorollah’s brother. Therefore, Nematullahi family in Deccan was counted into the royal family. After death of Shah Nematullah in 834, his son and successor, Borhan-ud din Khalilollah set off for Deccan with most of his family members. That was the way Bidar became center of Nematullahi dynasty for more than three centuries. Even in 1184, Sayyed Mir Abdol-Hamid, known as Masoum Ali Shah was sent to Iran by Reza Ali Shah of Deccan, 34th Qhutb (master) of Nematullahi dynasty, and caused revival of Sufism in this country. Ahmad Shah Wali is known to be Shiite. He also invited lots of Iranians and also Sadat of Najaf and Karbala to Deccan.

\textbf{Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar 896-1004 AH/ 1959-1490}

Founder of Nizamshahi Dynasty in Deccan is Ahmad Shah, known as Nizam-ul Mulk Bahri, son of Malik Hassan Bahri call that Malik Nawab who was also entitled Nizam-ul Mulk\textsuperscript{23}, a commander of Bahmani kingdom. Ahmad Nizam had conflicts with Jahangir Khan, commander of Sultan Mahmud Bahmani and defeated him in 895 AH/1489. In the time of Shah Mahmud, he declared independence and established an independent kingdom in Junnar\textsuperscript{24}, one of the lands he had conquered in the name of Bahmanis and for the first time omitted name of Sultan Mahmud Bahmani from the speech and then he set off for fortress of Daulatabad. Conquest of the fortress was not easy and despite creating some relations with Malik Naib, commander of fortress, he could not conquer it. Therefore, in 900 AH/ 1494, he started establishment of

\textsuperscript{22} Sherwani, H. K. "cultural Influences under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani". Islamic Culture. Vol. XVIII (1944): 374

\textsuperscript{23} Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri was the son of a Brahman patwari or hereditary accountant of Pathri in the Parbhani district, and according to another, he was the son of a Brahman of Vijayanagar. He was taken prisoner while young, and brought up as a Muhammedan. He possessed great abilities and became governor of Daulatabad province, but when that was divided in 1480, he removed his seat of government to Junnar.

\textsuperscript{24} Is a city with thousands of years of history in the Pune district in Maharashtra.
the city Ahmadnagar as a capital near Daulatabad and passed orders to his commanders regarding construction of buildings in this city. This city is located 108 km away in northwest of present Pune. According to some sources, he encouraged rulers under dominance of Bahmanis to declare independence. Perhaps Nizamshah’s aim by this encouragement of declaring independence was to weaken central kingdom of Bahmanis so that they could not subdue the newly-established Nizamshahi kingdom. Anyway, some local rulers of Deccan followed him and declared independence of their states. Ahmad died in 914 AH but before that, he succeeded to conquer Daulatabad fortress through utilizing the conflicts between inhabitants of this fortress with its rulers.

Therefore, his little son, Borhan Nizamshah came to power (915-960 AH/1509-1553). Borhan was a courageous war-seeking ruler. He had many conflicts with Bahador, Shah of Gujarat and also with Emirs of Khandish.

The most important event in Borhan Shah’s kingdom was entrance of a Shiite Sheikh called Shah Taher Husseini Anjadani (entrance and death 880-952 Ah/1475-1545) to Ahmadnagar. His presence had remarkable political and cultural influences.

Shah Taher was a descendant of Egyptian Ismailis. He was son of Razi-ud din Hamedani and was in Ismaili sect. He was also great ancestor of Shah Taher Muhammad Shams-ud din, brother of Rokn-ud din Khourshah, the last chief of Ismaili sect in Iran. They had immigrated to Iran in the time of Hassan Sabbah. As Ismail Safavi came to power, he found presence of dervishes who owned circles, a danger for himself. Shah Taher whose ancestors were Ismaili Shiites and he himself was accused of being so by suggestion of Mirza Shah Hussein Isfahani, supervisor in the court of Shah Ismail to whom Shah Taher

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25 he was Persian Nizārī Ismā’īli and founded a militia group whose members are sometimes referred to as the Hashshashin.

26 Three major sects of this time were Zeidi, Ismaili and Asna Ashari Shiites among which Asna Ashari was ideologically and philosophically the greatest one. Safavis were attributed to them and in addition to opposition with Sunnis, they did not tolerate other sects of their own religion.
was a Morid, left his career as a dervish and came to be a scholar and started teaching in Kashan to stay safe from harms of the king. But by conspiracy of enemies, he was accused of being Ismaili and of heresy, and fled to India before being killed. He was an expert in knowledge of humanities, Tafseer, Fiqh, Hadith, poetry, literature, logic and mathematics. First he went to the court of Humayun Shah but had controversies with scholars of his court and left for the court of Adilshahis. He did not receive a warm welcome from there either. After that, Shah Taher went to the court of Nizam Shah and started serving Borhan Nizam Shah and became one of his major consultants. In 930 AH/ 1523, he laid the basis for bringing peace between Nizamshah and Ismail Adilshah and acted with specific intelligence in mediation between Sultan Bahador of Gujarat and Nizamshah. Activities of Shah Taher made him find a specific position in the eyes of Nizamshah. Therefore when son of Nizamshah got an incurable sickness, Shah Taher succeeded to draw Shah’s attraction towards Asna Ashari Shiism. It seems that the reason for selection of Shiism as the formal religion by Borhan Nizamshah was the increasing spread of Shiism in Deccan and influence of Shiite scholars among people. After that Nizamshah ordered that the names of three caliphs be omitted from the speech and it was given in the name of twelve Shiite Imams. From then on, sending assistance began to pilgrims of Najaf and Karbala (modern Iraq), holy cities of Shiites. He established a place called Langar, 12 Imams to feed the needy everyday in Ahmadnagar and spent a lot of budgets on attraction of Shiite elites from Iraq, Khurasan, Fars, Gujarat and Agra.27

He deservedly must be considered as the mediator between Nizamshahis and Safavis. When the news of spreading Shiism reached Tahmasb, he sent his agate ring for Shah Taher28 and sent Agha Salman Tehrani “Mehtar Jamal”, his close Cheraghi (light supervisor) to Ahmadnagar to congratulate him on the occasion of the religion. He sent a Turk slave and a precious diamond for Humayun and a piece of ruby with other gifts for

27 Fereshteh.Ibid, p 116
28 Eskandar bey Monshi. Ibid. p 865 and History of Ilchi Nizamshah.Ibid. p 15
Nizamshah. The letter that Shah Tahmasb had written to Humayun and had asked him to send one of his children to the court of Safavis is dated as 949 AH/ 1542. Shah Taher in reply, wrote a letter to Shah Tahmasb and suggested that his son, Hyder be married to Shah Tahmasb’s sister.²⁹ Shahmsb sent a letter in reply and Hyder stayed some time in Iran and then returned to India and took Tahmasb’s letter to Borhan Shah.³⁰

Khourshah Ibn Ghobad Hussaini, author of History of Ilchi, who was sent to Iran by Borhan shah as an envoy, arrived to the court of Shah Tahmasb in Qhazvin in Rajab 952 AH/ 1545. He stayed one year and a half in the camp of Shah Tahmasb. Between 954-955 AH/ 1547-1548; one or two envoys, namely Adham Bey Roomlu or Hassan Bey were sent by Shah Tahmasb to the court of Borhan Shah.³¹ Shah Taher died in 956 AH in Ahmadnagar and was buried there, but some time later his bones were transferred to Karbala.³²

Borhan Nizamshah became sick and died while his fortress-taking conflicts had not still ended and he was busy with siege of Bijapur fortress and was also close to victory; he left 6 sons.

Hussain Nizamshah (960-973 AH/ 1553-1565) took father’s place and from the beginning of his kingdom, he faced opposition of brothers and their taking refuge in courts of father’s rulers and in Adilshahis which led to a battle besides Sholapur fortress and Adilshah had to escape. Allegiance of Hussain Nizamshah with Qhutbsb against Adilshah in conquest of Hassan Abad fortress in Gulbarga was another one of his achievements. Qhutbsb did not keep this allegiance and Nizamshah was defeated. In revenge of this invasion, Ali Adilshah invited Rama Raja, ruler of Vijyanagar to unite with him against Nizamshah. On the other side, Hussain Nizamshah allied himself

³⁰ For contents of the letter see: :History of Ilchi Nizamshah. Ibid.pp19-20
³¹ Ahsan-ut tavarikh. Ibid.p 422, has it as Adham Bey Roomlu and Kholast-ot tavarikh has it as Hassan bey, son of Dalve Sultan-e Roomlu. Qhazi Ahmad Qhomi. Ibid. Vol. 1 p 222
³² Navaii. Ibid. pp 67-68
with Darya Emad-ul Mulk and they defeated Adilshah and Rama Raja in 946 AH/1539. Ahmadnagar used to be threatened by allegiance of Rama Raja and Adilshah. Hussain Nizamshah started reconstruction of earthen Ahmadnagar Fortress and reconstructed it out of stone and strengthened it with trenches all around. Eventually, allegiance of Muslim kingdoms led to defeat of Rama Raja.

In the time of Morteza Nizamshah, conflicts with Adilshahis continued till Miran Hussain, Adilshah’s son removed his blithe and insane father but he himself did not last long either and after one year (995-996 AH/1586-1588), Ismail Nizamshah, son of Borhan and Morteza Nizamshah’s brother who had fled to Akbar’s court in the time of Morteza determined by Akbar’s encouragement to take son’s position and succeed to the throne. After two years since the beginning of Ismail’s kingdom, Borhan rose against his son and brought him down and he himself succeeded to the throne as Borhan Nizamshah II. It was contemporary to Shah Abbas’s success to the throne1587.

Akbar Shah Baburi like Humayun and Babur had his eyes on Deccan. Conquest of Gujarat, Malwa and Orissa increased pressure of Baburis on Deccan. Khandish was the first kingdom of Deccan which admitted dominance of Baburis.

In the time of Shah Abbas I, kingdoms of Deccan maintained their relations with Iran. In 1008 AH/1600, the situation of Moguls in conquering Ahmadnagar made Nizamshahis accept an agreement on settling lands with Baburis and the following year, Baburis conquered Khandish.

An envoy came from Nizamshah court to Isfahan in 1029 AH/1619.33 The author of Alam araye Abbasi narrates that Muhammadi Bey was also sent to court of Nizamshahis by Shah Abbas in this very year i.e. 1029-1030 AH.

33 Falsafi.Ibid. Vol. 4 p 759
Another time, Malik Anbar, commander of Nizamshahi army, together with other rulers of Deccan sent an envoy to Shah Abbas’s court to use his mediation to stop Jahangir’s pressure over Deccanians.\textsuperscript{34} In a letter that “Habash Khan” or “Malek Anbar” had sent to court of Shah Abbas, mission of Muhammadi Bey has been mentioned.

Shah Abbas also accepted their request and sent Dervish Bey Maraashi to Nizamshah and Malek Anbar in 1022 AH and before that he had written a letter to Jahangir and asked him if from then on, kingdoms of Deccan committed any mistakes, he himself was to punish them (Eskandar Bey Monshi, 1430-1431 AH). Dervish Bey died on the way in Shiraz and Muhammadi Bey, his son, followed up father’s responsibilities as an envoy in Indian court. Baburis brought down Nizamshahis five years later in 1043 AH/ 1633 i.e. five years after Shah Abbas’s death.

The closest and most friendly relations between Nizamshahis and Safavis were in the time of Tahmasb and Borhan Shah I due to presence of Shah Taher. Shah Abbas also supported them indirectly; nevertheless, Deccanian policies of Baburis in joining Deccan to their emperor came true.

\textbf{Adilshahi Kingdom (894-1097 AH/ 1489-1686)}

\textbf{I. Yusuf Adilshah 1489-1510}

As instability appeared in the court of Bahmanis and the assassination of Sultan Muhammad III's powerful vizier, Bahmani kingdom started to decline. According to \textit{History of Fereshteh}, Yusuf Adilshah was son of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II. When his brother, Muhammad succeeded to the throne, he tried to kill the other brothers. Yusuf’s mother saved him from death and sent him to Iran and he was in Saveh (near the modern Tehran) till the other brothers joined him and Yusuf’s secret was revealed. It was in Iran

\textsuperscript{34} Falsafi. Ibid. pp 1421-1422
that through journeys to Qhom, Kashan (that was the center of Iranian Shiites at that time), Shiraz and Isfahan, he became familiar with Morids of Sheikh Safi-ed din Ardabili and learned principles of Shiism.

But the habit of kings in creating family trees for themselves (like Bahmanis) in this period casts a shadow over this subject. The title “Saavi” connects Yusuf to Iran and this quotation from Rafi-ed din Shirazi in Tazkerat-ul Molouk that says Yusuf was grandson to the ruler of Saveh, strengthens this doubt. In the new researches, he is very rarely called with the title “Saavi”. But according to History of Fereshteh “tongue broken Indians” on the occasion of his residence in Iran “called him Yusuf Adilshah Savaii”35 which is more correctly “Saavi” that means “of Saveh”.

Yusuf had visited Qhom, Ardabil and Isfahan in Iran and had become familiar with ideologies of Safavi Sufis in these cities.

According to both sources mentioned above, education and growing of Yusuf has been in Saveh. He came to India from Saveh and went to Bidar with his supporter, the merchant Emad-ud din Mahmud Gorjestani and became considered by Mahmud Gavan. Khwajeh Jahan introduced him to Nizam Shah Bahmani and to Shah’s mother, Makhdoume Jahan. Yusuf was adopted as a son by Mahmud Gavan; and when the latter was put to death in 1481 he retired to Bijapur, declared his independence in 1489 and became the founder of the Adilshahi dynasty.

Mahmud Gavan appointed Yusuf because of his qualification, as supervisor of the royal stable. But soon after, the Nizam-ul Mulk Turk, ruler of Berar brought him to Berar and gave him a fine position and titled him as Adil Khan.

35 Fereshteh.Ibid.Vol.2 P4
Nizam-ul-Mulk was killed in invasion to Kahraki fortress or the Battle of Kherla and Yusuf showed a lot of courage and returned to Bidar with victory and affluent booty. In 877 AH/ 1472, Mahmud Gavan appointed Yusuf as ruler of Daulatabad. After murder of Mahmud Gavan, Yusuf conquered Bijapur\(^{36}\) and Belgum which were under direct rule of Mahmud Gavan. Some years after murder of Mahmud Gavan in Bijapur, he made a speech in his own name and 5,000 people of Qharibs and Turks pledged allegiance to him and he declared himself as *Yusuf Adilshah*. In conflicts with his rivals, Yusuf broke the allegiance between *Qhasem Barid* and Empire of Vijayanagar and defeated *Bahador Khan Gilani* in western coast and conquered Gulbarga.

In 908 AH/ 1502, he declared Shiism as the formal religion. According to *History of Fereshteh*, after stabilizing his power, he gathered elders and scholars of his court and spoke to them of the promise he had made long before he came to power. And the promise was that if he had come to power, he would have formalized Asna Ashari sect.\(^{37}\) It was when he heard the news of formalizing Shiism in Iran under the rule of Shah Ismail. Therefore he must be considered as the first person who formalized Shiism in Deccan.\(^{38}\) The next year, in a letter to Shah Ismail, Yusuf declared his friendship with him\(^{39}\) reactions of people regarding formalization of Shiism in Bijapur were not the same. Some people converted to Shiism eagerly and some others left his service. He was very much easygoing in his behaviors and stopped rigidness against Shafei and Maleki sects of Sunnis and prevented holding caliphs in contempt.\(^{40}\)

\(^{36}\) The foundation of this historical city was laid during the reign of Chalukya Dynasty of Kalyani between 10th and 11th centuries. They called “Kannada form of Vidyapur or Vidyanagari in Sanskrit”, the “City of Victory”, which its present name Bidapur has been driven from.

\(^{37}\) Fereshteh.ibid.pp23-24

\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Ibid. Vol.2 p 12

\(^{40}\) Shiism in India.Ibid. pp 127- 8
Formalizing Shiism raised intensive reaction of Sultan Mahmud and Amir Braid who had authority over all affairs of kingdom. As a result, in his letters to his rulers and commanders, the king summoned them against Yusuf and called him atheist and heretic. It was the first time the element religion seriously entered political conflicts and a king called his religious opponent heretic and atheist.

According to court members and the close people to the king, Yusuf Shah was a generous, brave, patient and experienced person; he wrote Nastaaligh calligraphy beautifully and had full authority in poetic rhyme and rhythm. “In music, he was the best of ages and played Tanbur and Oud nicely. He was interested in previous poets and wrote poetry himself.” Yusuf constructed Bijapur fortress out of stone two times and strengthened it. He turned to construction of mosques and other buildings and died in his 75 in 916 AH/ 1510.

II. Ismail Adilshah 1510-1534

As Ismail came to power, conflict between Afaqhi and Deccanian sides rose and continued until decline of Adilshahis by Sunni Kamal Khan, vizier of Yusuf Adilshah who now had become Nayeb-us saltaneh (regent). Afaqhi elements were driven away from court of the king but with support of their advocates in Adilshahi kingdom, they murdered Kamal Khan and revived influence if Afaqhis again. Ismail also like his father insisted on Shiism. he had friendly relations with Shah Ismail Safavi (905-930 AH/ 1501-1524). Gulbarga which had been conquered by Amir Barid in the time of his allegiance with Kamal Khan was taken back from Amir Barid. Amir Barid, Like his father Qhasem Barid, also encouraged Muhammad Khan, Nayeb-us saltaneh of Borhan Nizamshah and Qhutb-ul Mulk to march towards Bijapur
under the command of the appointed king of Bahmanis, Mahmud Shah. Their armies came near Bijapur but were driven back by Asad Khan. Mahmud Shah and his son Ahmad Khan were taken captive but Ismail treated them respectfully and as requested by Mahmud Shah, Ismail gloriously celebrated his sister Bibi Sati’s marriage who had been married to Ahmad Bahmani. The ceremony was held in the resting place of Khwaje Banda Navaz Gesu Daraz in Gulbarga and the bride and groom were sent to Bidar after the ceremony. News of Ismail’s victory made envoys of Shah Ismail Safavi who because of religious conflicts in Bidar were under arrest by Qhasem Barid write a letter to Ismail and ask him to mediate for their freedom. Ismail agreed and they left Bidar after being freed.

In this way Ismail could come over military allegiance of Qhutbashi
Qhasem Barid and Nizamshahis; and through his mediation he freed envoys of Shah Ismail and sent them back to Iran with so much respect and a lot of gifts and they were accompanied on their way to Iran until Zabol. Shah Ismail Safavi was deeply impressed and delighted and sent Ibrahim Bey Turkman, one of his close courtiers to the Capital of Adilshahis, with gifts and letters regarded Bijapur an independent country, an honor that had never been achieved by any other Deccanian king previously. Bidar became full of delight and impression to welcome envoy of Shah Ismail Army soldiers were ordered to wear twelve-gore red crowns resembling clothing items of envoy and Qhezelbashesh who had helped Shah Ismail Safavi succeed to the throne. whoever did not follow this order was to be deprived from his social rights and had to pay twelve sheep as a fine. as ordered by Adilshah, they prayed for sanity of Iranian Sultanate dynasty on Friday prays and other holy days.

III. Ibrahim I 941-965 AH/1535-1558

After conversion of Borhan Nizamshah to Shiism under the influence of Shah Taher, Ibrahim Adilshah I became Sunni and ordered that Shiite customs be removed and Hanafi religion be revived. He replaced the names of
twelve Imams with names of four caliphs in the speech. Judgment about him could somehow be inferred from Persian works of this period. One of these works is *Fiqh of Ibrahimshahi* compiled by *Nizam-ud din Ahmad Ibn Muhammad*, the Sunni scholar which has been written by the name of Adilshah I. Wearing the red Qhezelbash crown became forbidden and almost all position holders and lots of Afaqhi army members were dismissed, and Deccanians and Abyssinians came to their positions. The dismissed Afaqhi soldiers had to leave to serve other kings such as Rama Raya. Ibrahim even replaced Persian language with Deccanian and Marathy. He ruled twelve years and although he succeeded to remove Shiism from government rules, but he couldn’t remove Shiism from his own family.

**IV. Ali Adilshah I 965-987/ 1557-1580**

Ali Adilshah I, the fifth king of Adilshahi Dynasty is known among culture-loving kings of this dynasty, to be fond of knowledge, literature and art. He had received Shiite education. *Khwaje Enayatullah Shirazi*, his teacher was a Shiite who was executed by Ismail but the other Ali’s teacher, was also Shiite who had concealed his Shiism. He succeeded to defeat the Deccanian side with the help of these Shiite elements around him, and was crowned as the king in Bijapur. As soon as he came to throne, he ordered that the speech be given in the name of twelve Imams and established Shiite kingdom once again. It was in this time that Muslim kingdoms united against Rama Raya and brought it down in 972 AH/ 1564. He could also conquer some of the seized lands in Southern India. He who was talented in literature and art was a very good reader and it is said that even in wartime he had four boxes full of books. After Ibrahim Shah I’s conversion to Sunni religion, he declared Shiism as the formal religion once again and restarted supervision over Afaqhis. Shah *Fathullah Shirazi, Rafi-ud din Shirazi, Afzal Khan Shirazi, Hakim Ahmad Gilani, Mir Shams-ud din Mahmud Isfahani, Shah Abol Qhasem Injo* and *Morteza Khan Injo* were some of the great and famous scholars in his court.
V. Ibrahim Adilshah II (987-1035 AH/ 1580-1627)

Ibrahim is the most prominent of culture-loving kings in this dynasty. His kingdom coincides with reign of Shah Abbas I in Iran (996-1038 AH/ 1588-1629). He gathered in his court lots of outstanding scholars, Mohaddiths (scholars of Hadith or Prophet’s sayings), men of literature, poets, historians, painters, calligraphers and musicians who matched court talents of Delhi, Agra or Isfahan and Ghazvin in qualities.

Abol-Qhasem Fereshteh wrote his famous chronicle Golshan Ibrahimi by his command and Rafi-ud din Shirazi summarized Rawzat-us safa and Habib-us Siyar. Under his enthusiastic support, Zohouri Turshizi wrote his masterpieces, and he along with Malik Qhomi received great rewards from the king for writing Golzar Ibrahimi and Khwan Khalil. The king himself wrote poems in Deccanian and had a great talent in understanding and review of Persian poems. During his kingdom, Bijapur painting school appeared as a modern style in painting.43

In the time of Ibrahim II, again Sunni religion came to power but generally, radical reactions against Shiites were avoided and people were free to practice their religions. This made it possible for him to maintain his relations with Safavis.

The fifth king of the Adilshahi Dynasty is known in the Indian history as "Jagadguru Badshah."(Master of masters) He tried to bring in cultural harmony, between Shiites and Sunnis and between Hindus and Muslims through music. He was greatly fond of music, played musical instruments, sang and composed praises of Hindu deities Saraswati and Ganapati. He wrote the book Kitab-e Nawras (Book of Nine Rasas) in Deccanian. It is a collection of 59 poems and 17 couplets. According to his court-poet Zohouri, he wrote it

to introduce the theory of nine Rasas, which occupies most important places in Indian aesthetics, to acquaint people who were only brought up in Persian ethos. Ibrahim II publicly declared that all he wanted was Vidya or learning, music, and Guruseva (serving the teacher.) He was a devotee of Khwaj e Bande Navaz Geesu Deraz, the Sufi saint of Gulbarga

He also constructed a specific building for musicians in “Nawras Pour” in the capital. The book of Ibrahim Adilshah II titled “Nawras” edited by Naziir Ahmad was published in 1955 in Lucknow.

Noor-ud din Zohohouri Turshizi (1024) was also one of the Iranian poets settled in Bijapur and Deccan. He has written lots of poems praising Ibrahim Adilshah and Borhan Nizamshah and has received royal rewards from them. The great man of literature and scholar “Mir Fathullah Shirazi” who was one Shiite Sadat and one of their great scholars and immigrated from Shiraz to southern India and because of his affluent knowledge and dominance in experimental science and humanities, he had a high position under Adilshahi kings. He has lots of works. He died in 992 AH/1584 in Kashmir.

VI. Muhammad Adilshah 1627-1656

In 1656 Bijapur was at complete peace from both the internal and external conflicts. Since peace and tranquility prevailed in the Kingdom, the King got engaged in the construction of the beautiful monument including the world famous Gol Gumbaz, which was the last resting place of the King. With the help of two Bijapuri nobles, Daulat Khan (later entitled as Khawas Khan) and Mirza Muhammad Amin Lari (Later entitled Mustafa Khan), Muhammad Adilshah, a staunch Sunni Ruler, ascended the throne in 1627 at the comparatively young age of sixteen. Muhammad’s glorious reign of thirty years witnessed some momentous historical events. The Baburis fought with Ahmadnagar and succeeded in conquering Ahmadnagar.

44 History of Islamic Ideology in India. Ibid. p 65
Bijapur became allied with the Baburis in the extinction of Ahmadnagar. Muhammad maintained friendly relations with Shah Jahan and signed peace-treaty of 1636, after the extinction of Ahmadnagar. And by a command from Shah Jahan he got assurances for the security of the independence of Bijapur from the Baburis aggression. Due to his good relations, Shah Jahan formally recognized Muhammad’s sovereignty and bestowed on him the title of “Shah” in 1648. He was the only ruler of Bijapur to receive such recognition from the Baburis.

In 1633 Ahmadnagar declined and in 1045/1636 Baburis marched towards Bijapur with a huge army and passed Narbada River. Their invasion brought lots of damages to Bijapur and made Muhammad Adilshah sign a peace contract that although it maintained the title “Shah” for Adilshah but practically he had to pay taxes to Shah Jahan.

So Muhammad Adilshah extended his dominations westwards up to Konkan, Pune, and present Mumbai, southwards till Mysore, and eastwards up to Karnataka, present South Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. During his reign, the kingdom attained its greatest extent, power and magnificence, and his territories extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

Besides territorial expansions, Bijapur also attained peace and prosperity during Muhammad’s reign. His kingdom yielded an annual revenue of seven crore eighty four lakh Rupees, besides five and half crores of tributes were vassal rulers and zamindars. Cultural activities like poetry, painting and architecture also received a great impetus. Muhammad Adilshah did his best to emulate the glorious traditions left to him by his versatile father. Diffusion of general education and religious teachings were his chief concerns, and he did his utmost to improve the socio-economic and educational standards of the people.
The colossal mausoleum of Muhammad Adilshah, now named Gol Gumbaz depicts even to this day, after a lapse of four centuries, the glory that Muhammad’s reign had attained. It is the greatest structure of Indo-Persian-Ottoman architecture of Adilshahis.46

VII. Ali Adilshah II (1656-1672)

Through paying tax to Baburis in the time of Muhammad Adilshah there was a proportional peace. Coming to throne of Ali Adilshah had not been approved by Shah Jahan. Therefore, Shah who was looking for an excuse to conquer Bijapur sent a great army headed by Aurangzeb to conquer Bijapur. This army returned to Delhi before attaining full victory because Shah Jahan was dying and competitions among brothers had started since then. Adilshah made a temporary peace agreement with Baburis by giving them Solapur Fortress.

Relations with Iran

After formalizing Shiism in Bijapur, Yusuf sent Seyed Ahmad Heravi to Shah Ismail’s court in Iran with gifts and congratulations.47

Ismail Adilshah expected development of relations with Safavis more than his father did. Ibrahim Bey, Shah Ismail’s envoy went to Ismail Adilshah’s court with many precious gifts. Shah Ismail in a letter had given Ismail Adilshah the exaggerating title of “Shah of Shahs”. The receiver became so pleased with this exaggerating confession from king of Iran that stated it was the sign of beginning kingdom in his family; therefore the Safavi envoy received a glorious welcome. What has been said on relations of Adilshahi kings with Safavi kings and about propagation and formalizing of the twelve-gore hat of Safavi Qhezelbashesh in India -by Ismail Adilshah- and giving speech in the name of Shah Ismail Safavi and names of other Safavi kings in Friday prayers in India had lasted 70 years.48

47 Fereshteh. Ibid.
48 Fereshteh. Ibid Vol. 2 p 14,18,19
By coming to power of Akbar and his son Jahangir, Baburis’ attention to Deccan was deepened. In about 1018 AH/1609, Ibrahim Adilshah II, ruler of Bijapur (1580-1627) sent a preacher called Mir Khalilollah as envoy to the court of Shah Abbas and asked for Shah’s help.

*Mir Khalilollah* has come to Iran twice. Once it was in 1018 AH/1609. According to historical records, he had been in Iran till 1022. The next time in 1029 AH/1619 i.e. 34th year of Shah Abbas’s kingdom, he has been accompanied by Tabib Bey and Qhzi Bey to the court of Adilshahis.49 Ibrahim Adilshah II in his letter sent by Mir Khalilollah congratulated recent victories of Shah Abbas and asked Shah to keep sending him news of his other successes and conquests as well. Explanation of letters has been given in “Political Relations of Safavis and Qhutbshahis” in order to avoid repetition.

Through decline of Nizammshahi kingdom in 1633, kingdom of Adilshahis also weakened. Eventually in 1097 AH/1686 Aurangzeb joined the land of Adilshahis into his own territory.

- **Qhutbshahis and the Deccanian quarrels**

  Political backgrounds of relations between Muslim kingdoms of Deccan could be comprehensively analyzed within some chapters. The followings are some of the most important samples of these backgrounds:

**Land-Expansion Policies of Kings of Deccan:**

Whole history of Deccan has passed by conquest and loss of fortresses; some parts of these conquests and losses have been discussed so far in previous chapters. Their conflicts sometimes led to temporary successes but generally, it had no advantages for them rather than losing their military and economic strength. Perhaps one reason for hesitations and uncertainties of these kingdoms in signing hurriedly prepared agreements and cancelling contracts immediately was that they did not like war with Muslims and on the other hand they could not get rid of temptations for power and its necessities.

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49 Eskandar Bey. Ibid.
Penetration and Provocation of Non-Deccanians

Penetration and provocations like that of empire of Vijayanagar’s and that of Baburis’ in formation of conflicts between Muslims, for example, allegiance of Adilshah and Qhutbshah against Hussein Nizamshah must be considered as a result of influence of Vijayanagar over Deccanians. Every one of these backgrounds could be subject to a separate essay but in previous parts and in this part we have briefly dealt with them.

Religious and Racial Sensitivities

This factor was more apparent in the early periods when Shiism was formalized in Deccan and gradually it was replaced by political issues. Allegiance against Yusuf Adilshah and allegiance against Rama Raja must be placed in this category. Religious prejudice sometimes had positive results for them like the case of Shiites’ unity against Rama Raja.

Provocations of Complainant and Escaped Politicians as well as Political Elites

From going of military forces together into territories of Rama Raja to going of Mir Jomlehg Muhammad Saeed, the famous influential politician of Qhutbshahis to Baburi court and his role in the last invasion of Baburi Emperor to Golkanda in the time of Abdollah Qhutbshah, and also irritation of Mustafa Khan Ardestani by Qhutbshahi court and his going to Ali Adilshah are all placed in this category. Some categorizations which were interesting for some politicians must also be considered which were sometimes unsuccessful and brought losses to one certain kingdom. In the time of Sultan Muhammad Qhuli Qhutbshah, Shah Mirzaye Esfahani (according to History of Fereshteh) or Ali Khanlar (according to Golzar Asefiyeh) also is included in this category. One of them called Qhutbshah for allegiance with Nizamshah, against Adilshah.
I. Land-Expansion Policies of Deccan Rulers

Period of Sultan Qhuli Qutbshah

Yusuf Adilshah, ruler of Bijapur in 1490 declared independence and removed the name of Bahmani Sultan from prayer speech and instead of applying the names of Caliphs used the names of Shiite Imams. In 911 AH/1505, Sultan Mahmud issued the order of war with Yusuf Adilshah. One of the reasons of Bahmani king for such invasion could be change of religion because oppositions of Sunnis would not appease by Shiites penetration into the court, but there were more reasons which were stronger. It brought a unique chance for Deccanian Sunnis and Abyssinians to bring down kingdom of Yusuf Adilshah Afaqhi. Also for Qhasem Barid who was interested in defeating kingdom of Bijapur, it was an appropriate chance. He became champion of union of Sunnis under Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani. Ahmad Nizamshah also eagerly supported Qhasem Barid and because of appropriate and necessary reasons, Sultan Qhuli Qutb-ul Mulk who was Shiite and loyal to Bahmani king joined this union.

Because of his duty, Sultan Qhuli set off for war with his army. Ruler of Ahmad Nagar and Amir Barid also accompanied Bahmani army, each one with their own troops. But in the mid-way, Sultan Qhuli and Ahmad Nizamshah received letters from Emad-ul Mulk, ruler of Berar informing them that Yusuf had understood his mistake and had returned to Sunnat (tradition) and warned them about war against Adilshah and murder and bloodshed of Muslims; in addition to that, he informed the Sultan about intensive weakness of Bahmani kingdom and full dominance of Amir Barid (910-950 AH/1504-1542) and the fact that Amir Barid was intended to promote his position by fighting against Bijapur. Therefore, the two of them did not proceed anymore and both decided not to take part, so Amir Barid and Bahmani King were left alone in the after that.\textsuperscript{50} Bravery and loyalty of Asad Khan, the Adilshahi commander brought victory for Ismail Adilshah

\textsuperscript{50} Khwafi Khan. ibid, Vol. 3 p 128
over Amir Barid. On the other side, Burhan Nizamshah (king of Ahmad Nagar) who was unable to resist against Ismail, preferred to ally himself with Ismail. Ismail promised Burhan that during his battle with (Berar), he would keep his neutrality. This strategy of Ismail was ungratefulness to Berar because Berar had always friendly relations with Bijapur.

Conflicts with Hindus

After declaring independence and organizing the army and construction of fortresses for Golkan da, Qhuli Qhutbshah went to east for further conquests and first conquered Rajkonda Fortress and its surroundings; his next target was Durkonda Fortress in Southern Golkanda. The siege took a long time but at last the fortress was conquered. Between 1509 and 1529, the authoritative king of Vijayanagar, Deva Raya Krishna was ruling. After hearing the news about conquest of this fortress, he set off for north with an army to war with Qhutbshahis. Troops of Qhuli also met him in a region called Pangal. In a wise movement when 1,500 forces of Sultan Qhuli suddenly entered the field, troops of Vijayanagar became afraid of the newly approaching troops and fled from battlefield and lost the battle. Pangal Fortress was under siege for two months so that at last its people could resist no more and asked Sultan Qhuli for mercy and surrendered. After that, Qhutbshah delivered the fortress to one of his trustees and himself set off towards Kenpur and Kovilkonda Fortresses in Southern Golkanda.51

Conflict with Rivals

Qhavam-ul Mulk Turk was one of Bahmani commanders in Wilkondel Fortress with 5 thousand cavalry and 10,000 infantry. When Qhutbshah with his troops was engaged in conflicts out of Golkanda, Qhavam-ul Mulk used the opportunity and started invading his territories in northwest. When Qhutbshah found an opportunity in the meantime of war with Hindus, he wrote a letter to Qhavam-ul Mulk and asked him to stop conflicts with Muslims like him and suggested him to negotiate and have peace. Qhavam-ul

51 Hadiqhat-ul-alam. Ibid. p 51
Mulk did not pay attention to this request of Qhutbshah and engaged in war with him but he was defeated and took refuge in the court of Emadshahis and through giving lots of gifts to Emadshah encouraged him and his court members to fight against Qhutbshah. Sultan Qhuli sent many letters and made lots of efforts to prevent war but the two armies encountered and Qhuli used the same entrance of reserved forces to center of enemy’s army and since he had experienced its productivity before, he used this strategy and imposed a heavy defeat upon Emadshah army and returned to Golkanda.52

II. Penetration and Provocations of Non-Deccanians

In the meantime of Qhutbshah’s conflicts with Qhavam-ul Mulk and Emad-ul Mulk, Shitab Khan53 or Chitapu Khan, Hindu ruler of Kamit (a region in northwest of Golkanda) who had authority over many fortresses including Warangal and Wilmukonda and always had 12,000 musketeers with himself, used the opportunity and crossed his own northeastern border and entered Qhutbshah’s territory. Qhutbshah’s army conquered Wilmukonda fortress. It was since then that Shitab Khan took Qhutbshah’s threat seriously and tried to organize a Hindu union against him. According to the sources, after Shitab Khan was defeated, he informed other Hindu Rajas such as Arupeli, Anderkonda and Kondapalli that Sultan Qhuli had conquered all parts of Tilengana and that if they did not stop him, they would lose all their territories. Hindu Rajas sent part of their forces to Warangal to fight with Sultan Qhuli. Shitab Khan was defeated and fled and Kamit Fortress which had strong security was still resisting and its people were not ready to subdue. Therefore, Sultan Qhuli faced lots of problems to conquer the fortress. It was the first time Qhuli was committing a massacre after conquest.

52 Ibid. p 52-53
53 He was from a Hindu family of cow-herders in Boya community, and then he considered "low caste". He joined the infantry in the army of Humayun Shah, the Bahmani Sultan, 862 – 866 AH/ 1457-1461 and rose up the ranks to acquire senior captaincy, his own jagir (a land fief) and the title 'Shitab Khan'. He always used the title in his inscriptions but never actually converted to Islam.
After being defeated, Shitab Khan took refuge with Ramchandar, ruler of Orissa who in the northeast of Qhutbshah territories had control over coasts of Indian Ocean up to Bengal. Ramchandar was well-known for richness and his big army and in a hard battle Sultan Qhuli could defeat him with so much difficulty. The vast territory that he gained through this victory had many temples and affluent treasures of the temples were divided between commanders and soldiers of Qhutb-ul Mulk’s army. After appointing a ruler to the newly conquered areas, Qhutbshah set off for Golkanda.54

After observing the power of Qhutbshah, Kingdom of Vijayanagar came to this conclusion that in order to defeat the enemy they had to take policies to raise conflicts between Deccanians. Therefore, they promised Ismail Adilshah to subdue to him and pay annual tax on condition that Adilshahi kingdom supported them effectively against Qhutbshahis. Adilshah used the opportunity and when Qhutbshah was busy with laying siege to a fortress called Mustafa Nagar in Northwestern Golkanda he came and laid siege to Golkanda. Ruler of Golkanda, Ja’far Bey, Qhutbshah’s cousin, defended the fortress and Qhutbshah also returned to Golkanda and sent a message for Adilshah and asked him not to shed Muslim blood for the sake of non-Muslims. But Ismail Adilshah paid no attention to his request because he was both looking for tax from Vijayanagar and also expanding his territories. Qhutbshah also asked scholars (Olama) about a Muslim who allies himself with non-Muslims to help them. The scholars answered that fighting with such people would be like Jihad with atheists. Therefore, Qhutb-ul Mulk started an eleven-month of fruitless war with Adilshah in which there were conflicts between the two of them and it ended when in 941 AH/ 1534 Adilshah died and the two sides came to a peace agreement.55 While fighting with Ismail Adilshah, Amir Barid also made invasions on border lands of

54 Hadiqhat-ul-alam.Ibid. pp 56-58
55 Fereshteh.Ibid. Vol. 2 p 168
Qutbshahi territories. After peace with Ibrahim Adilshah, Sultan Qhuli invaded Bidar and defeated Barid Shah in first encounter and went for the city. Because people of Bidar knew that Barid Shah could not resist against Qutbshah, they welcomed Sultan Qhuli with many gifts and plead him to have mercy on people of the city. Therefore, Qutb-ul Mulk accepted their request and went towards Kohir Fortress to defeat Amir Barid who had taken refuge there. After a long siege, Amir Barid surrendered and handed over the fortress to Shah.56

**Period of Jamshid Qutbshah 1543-1550**

**Unity with Nizamshah against Bidar**

As Jamshid came to throne, Borhan Nizamshah sent Shah Taher to Golkanda to express condolences on death of Sultan Qhuli. Nizamshah’s envoy was respectfully welcomed there and therefore, rivalry between the two countries turned to friendship. Jamshid had participated in conspiracy to murder his father.57 He had also blinded his elder brother, Qutb-ud din, and had designed a plans to murder Ibrahim, his other brother.

Ibrahim chose Bidar with the help of courtiers to take refuge in, and Ali Barid, ruler of Bidar (1542-1580) also welcomed his presence and admitted him because in that way, he could have enough excuse to invade Qutbshahi territory.

Barid Shah prepared an army and went to lay siege to Golkanda with the help of Ibrahim. When the news reached Shah Taher, he convinced Nizamshah that despite military agreement between Qutbshahis and Nizamshahis, they had to go to defend Qutbshahis in order to stop Barid Shah from gaining authority all over Deccan and therefore, Nizamshah also joined them. Barid Shah left siege of Golkanda and in order to compensate his

56 History of Sultan Muhammad Qutbshah. Ibid. 1st Article
57 Khwafi Khan. Ibid. Vol. 3 pp 369-73
useless efforts, he tried to seize horses and elephants that Ibrahim Qhutbshah had brought with himself and also tried to kill him. That was why Ibrahim fled and took refuge with RamaRaja.\textsuperscript{58}

**Allegiance with Nizamshah and Rama Raja against Adilshah**

There was controversy over Sholapur Fortress between Adilshah and Nizamshah from the time of Ismail Adilshah. In 1523, Ismail Adilshah married his sister to Borhan Nizamshah and his representative, Asad Khan had promised to give fortress of Sholapur to Borhan Shah as dowry, but he had denied it later, and this had led to frequent controversies between them. These controversies had continued till the time of Ibrahim Adilshah I 1535-1558, and Borhan Nizamshah I 1510-1553. Nizamshah asked Qhutbshah for help to take back Sholapur which was under Adilshah’s dominance. In 1543 AD, Borhan Nizamshah of Ahmad Nagar, Jamshid Qhutb-ul Mulk, and Rama Raja, dictator of Vijayanagar who had been appointed by his own king, Sadashiva, came to an agreement to invade Bijapur. Therefore, with coordination of Nizamshah, Jamshid prepared an army of infantry and cavalries and set off for Adilshah’s territory and constructed a strong fortress in Kakni region, southwest of Golkanda, and conquered those regions until Golbarga that was under dominance of Adilshahi. Rama Raja also sent his brother to lay siege to Utgir Fortress. Suggested by Asad Khan, Ibrahim Adilshah laid siege to Sholapur and brought peace to Ahmad Nagar and subdued it and also he signed a peace agreement with Rama Raja. Therefore, Jamshid of Golkanda who had been left alone asked Nizamshah for help and “sent a deputy to Borhan Nizamshah and told him that I trusted your promise and made this journey and it is strange that you have made agreement without consulting me.”\textsuperscript{59}

Borhan deceived Jamshid Qhutbshah once again and insisted on war with Ibrahim Adilshah. In a letter to Qhutbshah, he even divided Adilshahi territories between themselves and emphasized that Qhutbshah tries to keep

\textsuperscript{58} Borhan Maaser.Ibid. pp. 315-16

\textsuperscript{59} History of Fereshteh.Ibid. p 169
Kakni Fortress. Within some months, Asad Khan Lari, commander of Adilshah army succeeded to take two fortresses and in those conditions, Jamshid did not consider it wise to fight with Adilshah and preferred to retreat. But during retreat, he was attacked by Asad Khan Lari several times and was seriously wounded and defeated. Therefore, Qhutbshah agreed to have peace with Adilshah and remained sick in bed for two years, although this victory had no advantages in terms of territory-expansion for Adilshah. On the other side, Ibrahim Adilshah was soon defeated by Borhan Nizamshah in three frequent battles and lost his glory and position and suspected commanders of his own army and killed many of them. Asad Khan, being afraid of Sultan’s fury, took refuge in Belgaum. Sunni commanders of Ibrahim did not trust him anymore either. But Asad Khan remained loyal to Ibrahim till the time of his death. Borhan Nizamshah allied with Rama Raja and they heavily defeated Ibrahim Aadilshah in October 1549 AD. Jamshid died in 957 AH/ 1550. Borhan Shah made a lot of efforts during the following three years to conquer Bijapur. Death of Borhan Nizamshah in December 1553 AD saved Bijapur from inevitable decline.60

Jamshid and Formation of Power Balance in Deccan

Jamshid was engaged in military affairs during seven years of his rule. He conquered Medak Fortress in northwest of Golkanda and defeated Baridshahi forces in Kolas and Narayankoda. He was a smart politician and through diplomatic dialogues, could release Ali Barid Shah who had been taken captive in battle with Adilshah and also could free Baridshahi territory from dominance of Adilshahis so that in this way he could keep the balance of power in Deccan.

III. Religous and Racial Sensitivities in the time of Ibrahim Qhutbshah 1550-1580 and Decline of Rama Raja

Conflicts of Adilshahis and Nizamshahis over their territories engaged other rulers of Deccan and outside in the conflicts. By presence of Mustafa

60 Basaatin-us salaatin.Ibid.pp 47-68
Khan Ardestani, Mir Jomleh of Ibrahim Qhutbshah, and Qhasem Bey, a vizier of Nizamshah, an agreement of allegiance was signed between the two Kingdoms. According to this agreement, Ibrahim Qhutbshah could take Gulbarga Fortress and Nizamshah could take Bidar after defeating Adilshahis. In order to take back Kalyani and Sholapur Fortresses from Hussein Nizamshah Ahmad Nagari and also to get rid of siege in Golbarga, Ali Adilshah allied himself with Rama Raja of Vijayanagar. Rama Raja wrote a letter to Ibrahim Qhutbshah and reminded the previous enmity between Adilshah and Nizamshah and reminded his friendship with Ibrahim Qhutbshah; therefore, Ibrahim Qhutbshah left his allegiance with Nizamshah and returned to Golkanda. Nizamshah also returned to Ahmad Nagar without any success.61

Soon after these conflicts, Rama Raja, Adil Shah and Barid Shah united with each other against Nizamshah and asked Qhutbshah to join them. Ibrahim also joined the allegiance. When Ahmad Nagar was conquered, the allied forces especially Rama Raja plundered the city. Nizamshah’s mother in a letter to Ibrahim Qhutbshah asked him to cut hands of atheist soldiers (Hindu soldiers of Rama Raja) off Muslims’ property and violence against them. This letter provoked Ibrahim’s religious enthusiasm and he left the union with the excuse of reinforcing his army and the allies also returned to their territories. In 971 AH/1563, Qhutbshah decided to be friend Nizamshah. In order to confirm this friendship, Qhutbshah proposed marriage to Nizamshah’s daughter, Bibi Jamal. They came to agreement on owning the fortress of Kalyani which was dominated by Adilshah. Ali Adilshah asked Rama Raja and Barid Shah for help and again the allies (Qhutbshah and Nizamshah) decided not to conquer the fortress and returned, but Rama Raja and Adilshah chased them, and on their way in the states, they made lots of destructions. Mustafa Khan Ardestani made an agreement with the invaders that some of the conquered fortresses must be given to him and some others be returned to Qhutbshah.62

62 History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah.Ibid. 3rd Article
Allegiance against Rama Raja

Soon after that, Shiite politicians in foreign affairs of all three kingdoms convinced their kings that their competitions had hindered and postponed their development in favor of Vijayanagar. Muhammad Keshvar Khan, Mustafa Khan Ardestani Golkandi, Qhasem Bey Hakim Tabrizi and Mulla Enayatollah Khan Qhaeni from Ahmad Nagar who were all Shiites, had important roles in settling these conflicts. They tried to remove the old rivalry between Adilshah and Nizamshah. This rivalry which was the reason for many conflicts and political categorizing was settled with two marriages. After coming to agreements, Hussein Nizamshah married his daughter, Chand Bibi Sultan to Ali Adilshah and Sholapur, over which lots of bloodshed had occurred, was delivered to Bijapur as Chand Bibi’s dowry. Ali Adilshah’s sister also was married to Murteza, Hussein Nizamshah’s son and the marriage ceremonies were held on a specific day respectively in Bijapur and Ahmad Nagar. Ali Barid, Shah of Bidar also agreed to join the unity of Ahmad Nagar, Bijapur and Golkanda, against Vijayanagar. Only Borhan Imad Shah 1562-1574 refused to join the unity.

For the first time, Muslim kingdoms (Golkanda, Bijapur, Ahmad Nagar and Bidar) allied themselves against Rama Raja, ruler of Vijayanagar and camped next to Sholapur Fortress to fight with Rama Raja on 20th, Jamadi-us Sani, 972 AH/ 1564

Reasons of this unity could be mentioned as the followings:
- Religious hostility was one of the major reasons for this unity, because local rulers of Deccan were all Muslims, whereas Rama Raja was Hindu and an atheist in their view, and was regarded as their common enemy.
- In war between Ali Adilshah and Hussein Nizamshah, Adilshah requested Rama Raja that in case of united forces’ victory, soldiers of Rama Raja who were Hindu do not hurt Muslims in territories of Nizamshah, do not take them captive, do not destroy mosques and do not
dishonor Muslims; but after defeating Nizamshah, soldiers of Rama Raja entered mosques with their horses, humiliated religious values of Muslims and massacred lots of Muslims.63

- Rama Raja has had plans from long back to gradually conquer territories of Muslims and join them to his own territories. Conquest of Kenpor and Pangal Fortresses in Qhutbshahi territories in 1563 was Beginning of his territory-expansion plans.64

- According to some sources, informal and prejudiced behavior of Rama Raja had provoked Muslim rulers of Deccan and their representatives. He did not easily let representatives of Muslims meet him and sometimes they had to wait for many days to meet him and were not allowed to sit in his presence and when he got on a horse, they had to follow him for long distances on foot.65

Allied Muslim forces in which the left side was commanded by Ibrahim Qhutbshah and Ali Barid defeated the army of Vijayanagar in Battle of Talikota. Rama Raja was killed and Vijayanagar with its suburbs was conquered by Muslims and its temples and significant buildings were destroyed in return for destructions made by Rama Raja’s army in Ahmad Nagar.66 After this victory, Rama Raja’s head was sent for Imad Shah (939-982 AH), Muslim ruler of Berar who had not taken part in this unity with Muslims and had supported Rama Raja and invaded territories of Nizamshah. When he was informed of Rama Raja’s death, he left invasion and returned to Berar. Adilshah and Qhutbshah took back their fortresses and cities which had been conquered by Rama Raja and returned from Vijayanagar to their territories after six months.67

63 Fozouni astar abadi. Ibid. pp 53-54 and Khwafi Khan. Ibid. Vol. 3 p 379
64 History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah. Ibid. 2nd Article and Mir Aalam. Ibid. 1st Article, p. 145
65 Mir Aalam. Ibid. pp 141-151
66 Qhulam Hussein Khan Khanzaman Khan, ibid, p. 13, Mirza Ibrahim Zobeiri, ibid, p. 95, and Muhammad Ibn Qhasem Hindu Shah, ibid, Vol. 2, p. 171
67 Fozouni astar abadi. Ibid. pp 55-60, and History of Sultan Muhammad Qhutbshah. 3rd article
Betraying the Supporter

It was in returning from this war that Mustafa Khan Ardestani separated himself from Qhutbshah with the excuse of going to Hajj and went to Ali Adilshah and it was in this time that because of Ali Adilshah’s guile, a conflict raised between Qhutbshah and Morteza Nizamshah and as a result camp of Qhutbshahis was plundered by Nizamshahis and 150 elephants were taken as booty and lots of soldiers were killed. The story of conflict was in this way that when Morteza Nizamshah came to power, Ahmad Nagar underwent a chaos and Ali Adilshah used this opportunity and tried to lay his hands on territories of Nizamshah. Morteza Nizamshah asked Qhutbshah and Imadshah for help and in this way they also engaged in war with Adilshah but Adilshah resorted to Shah Abol-Hassan, his “Pishwa” and attracted Nizamshah to himself and provoked him against Qhutbshah who had come to help Nizamshah.

After this event, again conflicts over fortresses started between Adilshah and Nizamshah and Nizamshah asked for Qhutbshah’s help. This time also, Qhutbshah sent Amir Taghi-ud din Isfahani known as Shah Mirza Isfahani and Shah Mir Tabatabaee who was his Mir Jomleh and successor of Mustafa Khan Ardestani with 10,000 cavalry to help Nizamshah and with his help conquered Naldurg Fortress in Adilshahi territories. In this very time, due to death of Genghis Khan, Nizamshahi Representative of the king and also death of Ali Adilshah 988 AH/ 1580 this challenge came to end. Some months later, Ibrahim passed away.

Shah Taher and Ibrahim Qhutbshah

In his late years of kingdom, Ibrahim welcomed Shah Taher who had come as the envoy of Borhan Nizamshah 1510-1553. The Royal Respect Council gave Shah Taher, as a Shiite clergyman, a great welcome. Shah Taher encouraged Qhutb-ul Mulk to develop friendly relations with Borhan Nizamshah. Therefore, Qhutb-ul-Mulk gave him 5,000 armed soldiers who

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68 Fereshteh.Ibid. p 171
were under the rule of Ibrahim Adilshah, ruler of Bijapur, to conquer Sholapur. Shah Taher had previously succeeded in satisfying Ali Barid, ruler of (Bidar) to hand over Medak, which was the main reason for conflict and controversy between Qutbshah and Bidar, to Qutb-ul Mulk. When Shah Taher was going back, a great fortune was given to him as a gift.

IV. Provocations of Politicians
Muhammad Qhuli Qutbshah 1020-1035 AH/ 1611-1626

Muhammad Qhuli Qutbshah had married daughter of his father’s Mir Jomle, Shah Mirza Isfahani, and this very Shah Mirza, accompanied by some others, set off for the state of Adilshah along with Seyed Morteza Sabzevari, head commander of Ahmad Nagar in order to prove his allegiance with Nizamshahis; but despite so much efforts, they could do nothing and suffered lots of damages in their siege of Shahdark Fortress. But Hashem Khan narrates that Shah Mir asked Muhammad Qhuli Qutbshah in 989 AH/1581 to accept leadership of Qutbshahi army to continue siege of Naldurg Fortress which had started from the time of Ibrahim Qutbshah. Shah agreed but the siege took a long time. Because of provocations made by enemies of Shah Mir, controversies rose in Qutbshahi army and Qutbshah appointed Zeynal Khan Astar Abadi as commander of the army. Qutbshahi army stopped siege of the city and on the way back conquered Husnabad Fortress and its surroundings in suburbs of Gulbarga but because of invasion of Adilshahi forces, they received a heavy defeat. Qutbshah punished those who had made encouragements for such deeds. He imprisoned Shah Mirza Isfahani and then exiled him to Isfahan with his property and all belongings. Also because of the envoy Khajeh Ali Shirazi sent by Adilshah in 995 AH/1586, Muhammad Qhuli Qutbshah left aside hostility with Ibrahim Adilshah through a political marriage between his sister and him and friendly relations were maintained till end of their reigns.

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69 Medak is a district situated in the Tilengana region of Andhra Pradesh, between Bidar and Warangal, 100Km to the North of Hyderabad.

70 Golzar Asefiyeh.Ibid. p 19 and Fereshteh.Ibid .p 172

71 Fereshteh.Ibid p 172

72 Golzar Asefiyeh.Ibid.p 19 and RayBindaraban. Ibid. p 136 and Monshi Qhader Khan.Ibid. p 15
• **over regional factors**

States of Khurasan in Safavi period were divided into four provinces (Biglar Beygi) i.e. Herat, Kandahar, Marv and Mashhad. In Tazkarat-ul Mulook of Biglar Beygi, Sistan and state of Balkh have also been considered as parts of Khurasan. Kandahar has been surrounded by mountain in three sides. Kandahar shares borders with Sistan in south and west. It was a region in lower part of Hirmand River and was known as Garmsir (Warm) Kandahar and also Zamin Davar region was the Garmsir region of Kandahar. Kandahar played a great role in the connection road between Near East to Middle Asia and Far East in Asia; it was the way to transfer Indian goods to Iran and then to Europe and Ottomans. Tavernier, the famous explorer writes in his travel records: “the road of India from Kandahar is a very old road and previously, before the Portuguese conquered Hurmoz Island, that road had been used more than this time”. Fortress of Kandahar, as Muhammad Taher Vahid describes: “consisted of seven wide spread fortresses which had a high area in the middle in which there was settling place of the ruler called ‘Ark’.

**Importance of Kandahar**

Situation of Kandahar as a local region for entrance and exit of goods and supervision on them could have great influence on fluctuations of economic market in Iran or in India. Indians who were called “Banian” in Iran had a lot of interest to export coins especially new coins through Bandar Abbas. It is likely that another path for export of these coins from Iran was

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75 Tavernier. Ibid. p 618
76 Ibid.
77 Vahid Qhazvini. Ibid. p 128
78 According to sources, almost 10 to 20 thousand Indians were doing business and related works in Isfahan. In *Ajayeul Hend* Nakhoda Buzorg Ibn Shahryar has used a lot the term "Bananieh" as an equivalent to sea merchants of India. He has called Arab merchants as "Tajers" to distinguish between the two of them. Nadavi Suleiman." Trading Relationships of

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Kandahar. Safavi Shahs especially Shah Abbas knew well that exit of money from country had unrecoverable outcomes on economy of Iran, therefore this issue increased the importance of borders especially Kandahar which was on the borders of Iran and India. It was because, as Olearius believed, rich state of Kandahar paid only from its treasure house 1 million Talers as tax for customs and other incomes.79

In addition to trade importance, being located on the intersection of the roads to Kabul and Herat, this city was open to whole Western Afghanistan. Sufficient water and its huge fortress gave it a strategic position. Especially conquest of Kandahar would have made it easy to control Afghan and Baluch tribes. Therefore, during two centuries, this city went under siege 15 times and changed authorities 12 times.80

Conflict over Kandahar

At the beginning of Safavi period the state of Kandahar along with lands of Khurasan, Marv, Khwarazm and Sistan up to borders of Kabul and Badakhshan were under the reign of Hussein Mirza Bayghara, offspring of Timur Goorkan, and had a semi-independent ruler called Zon Noon Arghoon. After death of Hussein Baighara in 1506 and because of his unqualified sons, Herat declined and was conquered by Muhammad Khan Sheybani. Children of Zon Noon Arghnoon, offspring of Timur, asked Babur for help but soon regretted and started war against Babur. Babur defeated them and conquered Kandahar and appointed his brother Nazer Mirza as ruler of Kandahar and Zamin Davar and then returned to Kabul. Babur’s dominance over Kandahar did not last long either, because Sheybak Khan sent an army to Kandahar and Nazer Mirza was forced to leave Kandahar after coming to an agreement with Sheybak Khan and again Kandahar was possessed by children of Zon Noon.

79 Olearius. Ibid.p 320
80 Riaz-ul Islam. Ibid. p 38
Defeat of Sheybak Khan in Battle of Marv brought Shah Ismail closer to Babur. Shah Ismail signed an agreement with Uzbeks pointing out that they regard the borders on the other side of Amu Darya, on the other side he encouraged Babur that in case he could conquer, he could count whole lands on the other side of Amu Darya as his own. Also Iranian army came to assist Baburis in siege of Hesar Shadman and Kandahar. Modesty of Babur in front of Safavis and his wearing Qhezelbash hat and clothes was hard to digest for traditional people of Kandahar and they couldn’t take this modesty from Babur because their extremists regarded Qhezelbashes as Shiite and heretic. As consequences of these events, three reasons led to retreat of Babur from Cool Malek (1512). The first one was hatred of Samarqand people for Babur’s behavior. The second one was revival of Uzbeks led by Obeidullah Khan and the third reason was dismissal of assistant forces of Iranian army from Samarqand. In that very year, the forwarded army of Shah Ismail headed by Najm Sani was defeated by Uzbeks in Ghazdevan in suburbs of Bukhara and after that Babur waited for two successive years for proper movements.

Situation of Kandahar is not clear from 917 till 920 AH/1511 till 1514. It seems that business of Babur in Balkh and Badakhshan and conflicts of Shah Ismail in the west with Ottomans after Battle of Marv have attracted historians’ attentions in issues more important than Kandahar. Babur tried to conquer Kandahar in 1514, 1515 and 1516, but he could not come back to Kandahar till 1520. He seized Kandahar in this year. Negotiations of Amir Khan guardian of Shah Tahmasb and Mir Ghyas-ud Din Sadr-e Khurasan stopped Babur temporarily from siege but when Shah Bey, Zon Noon’s son put Mowlana Abdol Baghi instead of himself in Kandahar and himself went to Indus and Punjab, this Mowlana asked Babur to seize the city. Khwand Mir states the precise date of Babur’s entrance to Kandahar as 13th Shawal, 928 AH/1521.81 Babur appointed Kamran Mirza, his second son to rule the city.

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81 Khwand Mir. Ibid. p 590
Shah Tahmasb and Kandahar

Shah Ismail died in 1523 and Tahmasb Mirza, his elder son replaced him. According to writings of Hassan Bey Roomlu during the years 930-937 AH/1523-1530 relationships between Babur and Tahmasb was only in form of exchanging envoys and Kandahar remained under the rule of Kamran Mirza, Babur’s son, and as advised by his father, he did not do any movement that might have led to conflicts between two kingdoms, especially after defeating Uzbeks in Battle of Jaam by Tahmasb, who had 14 years old, that he proved that he was qualified enough for kingdom. Till the end of Babur’s life in 1530, Iranian Shah had conflicts with Ottomans and Uzbeks and did not have the opportunity to take back Kandahar.

After Babur, Humayun succeeded the throne, but his brother Kamran Mirza in Kandahar was ruling independently and a person called Khwajeh Kalan was appointed by Kamran Mirza to rule Kandahar. On this side, Khurasan was dominated by Sam Mirza, Tahmasb’s brother. Shah Tahmasb marched to Kandahar with a big army in April 1537.82

Khvajeh Kalan gave keys of Kandahar to Shah of Iran without any resistance and with appreciation, but he apologized for not being able to visit Shah. Shah seized the fortress and gave a speech in the name of the Twelve Imams of Shiism and added other regions of the land to Iranian territories and appointed Boudagh Khan Qajar as the ruler of Kandahar. The next year Kamran Mirza succeeded to defeat Iranian army in this region and conquered this land once again.83

Kandahar was under dominance of Kamran Mirza till Humayun, the Indian king was defeated in a battle with Shir Khan Souri and departed to Kandahar but in some areas around Shal (Kwaita) and Mastan (5 km from Kwaita) he was informed that Kamran Mirza wanted to capture him.

Therefore he fled towards Iranian border and passed Helmand River and entered Sistan. As soon as he entered Iran, Humayun received a royal welcome from Tahmasb and returned to India with an army of 12,000 Qhezelbashes in 1544 to regain the lost kingdom and promised that after conquering Kandahar, he would hand it over to Safavis. Some sources like Hassan Bey Roomlu have not mentioned anything about handing over Kandahar to Iran.

However, according to some other sources, an agreement was also signed about giving away Kandahar. Siege of Kandahar Fortress lasted for 6 months, but eventually in 952 AH/ September 1545 the fortress was taken by Humayun and Iranian army. Also Humayun handed over Kandahar to Prince Murad Mirza Safavi.

Untimely death of Murad Mirza and rejection of Qhezelbash commanders to accompany Humayun for taking back the throne made him conquer Kandahar Fortress with a sudden attack, although he tried to avoid any action that would have led to destruction of relations. Abolfazl says that Humayun intended to give the fortress back to Iran after conquering India. Apparently Iranian court also had understood Humayun’s situation and since conquest of Kandahar till his untimely death in 1556, they sustained friendly relationships by sending envoys.

But his son, Jalalud din Akbar despite Shah Tahmasb’s request for giving back Kandahar, was not ready to hand over the city to Shah Tahmasb’s agents. Therefore, Tahmasb ordered conquest of Kandahar and Kandahar was seized by him. Because of important role of Kandahar in his foreign policies, Akbar interrupted relationship with Iranian court. Even after Tahmasb’s

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84 Bayat, Bayazid, tazkereh-e Humayun and Akbar. by Muhammad Hedayat hussein, Calcutta Press 1981p. 8
85 Roomlu.Ibid. p 341
86 Badauni.Ibid.Vol.1 p 455 and See: also Ruzat-us safaviyeh
87 Eskandar Bey.Ibid. Vol. 1 p 100
88 Allami,Abolfazl. History of goorkanids in India. by Taba Tabae Majd. Tehran: Cultural Researches of Tehran 1993p. 491
death in 1576 disregarding courtesy and customs of the time, he did not send any envoy to Iranian court to express condolence to the successor and after that also he took the advantage of unrest in Iran in the time of Ismail II and Shah Muhammad Khuda Bandeh (Shah Abbas’s father) and after allegiance with Uzbeks to conquer Kandahar, succeeded to subdue Safavi Mirzas (sons of Sultan Hussein Mirza i.e. Muzaffar and Rostam Mirza) and invite them to India respectively for kingdom. Also because of Uzbeks’ threats and disappointment from young Shah Abbas’s assistance, they gave away Kandahar to Baburi army in 1003 AH/ 1595.89

Shah Abbas came to power in 996 AH/ 1583 and although like previous sultans, he had an eye on Kandahar, but Khurasan was dominated by Uzbeks and the problems of Western Iran and Ottomans had made his mind busy, therefore he preferred Akbar’s friendship rather than conquest of Kandahar. Abbas was aware of agreement between Uzbeks and Baburis about Kandahar and when political council of Baburis along with Safavi envoy, Yadgar Sultan Roomlu came back from India, gave them a warm welcome and to declare his appreciation, he soon dismissed Akbar’s envoys. Shah Abbas was worried about closer friendly ties between Baburis and Uzbeks. In 1006 AH/ 1598 death of Abdollah Khan coincided with murder of his son, Abdol-Mumin. Shah Abbas who had informed Uzbeks of his invasion through a letter, invaded Khurasan very soon and till end of that year conquered a great part of Khurasan. Until one year before Akbar’s death in 1605, Abbas succeeded to oppress internal unrest and win splendid victories against Ottomans; therefore he could act powerfully about Kandahar.

Prince Salim had come to power in that time with the title “Jahangir”. In his early years he encountered invasion of Herat’s governor and rulers of Sistan and Farahah to Kandahar, secretly provoked by Shah Abbas. The fortress was under siege almost one year, but there were no results and they went back to their territories, and in order to sustain friendly relations, Jahangir and Shah Abbas attributed invasion of Kandahar to an willfully movement by

89 Falsafi, Nasrullah. Ibid.Vol.5 p 108
rulers who stood on Iran’s side. Jahangir tried to develop relations between Iran and India. Friendly letters and gifts that were exchanged between the two sides show their intentions to sustain friendly ties with each other. According to sources, the greatest and most glorious diplomatic councils of India and Iran headed by Khan Aalam on Indian side and Zeinal Bey on Iranian side were sent to courts of the two sides and welcomes of the each side are described to be with glorious appreciation.

Shah Abbas sent the envoy of India, Khan Aalam, with his own envoy, Zeinal Bey Shamlu, along with a friendly letter and lots of gifts to Indian court. One of requests stated by Shah Abbas was taking back Kandahar. Zeinal Bey stated Shah’s request to kingdom authorities and courtiers of India, but he received no answer and he informed Shah Abbas about it. Shah Abbas made the best use of his policy in winning trust of Jahangir and took the advantage of political unrest in India including treacheries of the court and that of Shah Jahan, and while they were busy with these problems, after five or six weeks he conquered Kandahar Fortress in 11th, June, 1622. It was when Zeinal Bey was still in Jahangir’s court. After that, in order to sustain relationships, Shah Abbas wrote a letter with pleasing content about the reasons of conquering Kandahar and in this letter he exaggerated in appreciation so much that he said “…all our territories belong to you”. Jahangir who had been facing four-year rebellion of Shah Jahan had to accept Abbas’s excuse and sent back his envoys with a complaining letter and stated his surprise of Shah’s behavior. Jahangir tried to unite with Uzbeks against Shah Abbas. In this way Kandahar could show policy of Baburis regarding the use of Uzbeks to bring power to balance against Safavis. Jahangir’s death prevented Baburis from conquering Kandahar another time.

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90 Eskandar Bey. Ibid. Vol. 3 pp 970-1
91 Falsafi, Nasrullah. Ibid. Vol.4 pp 94-108
92 Eskandar Bey. Ibid. pp 970-7
93 Tuzook Jahangiri. Ibid. p 405
Abbas also died a little later, but political relations of the two countries still went on and Shah Jahan sent an envoy called *Mir Baraka*, one of his trusted courtiers, to congratulate *Shah Safi’s* success to the throne and express condolence on Shah Abbas’s death and also gain information about situation of Iran. Indians had the intention of taking back Kandahar and Shah Safi knew it very well, therefore through sending different envoys, he tried to convince them to forget Kandahar. He sent *Yadgar Bey* in this regard, three times to Shah Jahan’s court, but his efforts were useless and Shah Jahan took the advantage of conflicts between *Ali Mardan Khan*, ruler of Kandahar and *Sarootaghi Khan*, Shah Safi’s vizier and through provoking *Ali Mardan Khan*, easily got hold of Kandahar via his own commanders such as *Saeed Khan*, king of Kabul in 1638.\(^94\)

In 1056 AH/ 1646 Shah Jahan sent an envoy called *Jan Nesar Khan* with lots of gifts and a letter to Iran to break the silence on relationships between two kingdoms. Invasion of Baburis to Balkh and escape of the Uzbek *Nazar Muhammad Khan* to Shah Abbas II’s court again activated the diplomacy of sharing borders between three regional powers. Hasty retreat of Baburis from Balkh questioned their fame and encouraged Uzbeks for further unrest and meanwhile paved the way of Kandahar for Iranians.

Applying the aim of shah jahan for dispatching this vizier was to express condolences on Shah Safi’s death and to congratulate Shah Abbas II, but implicitly he followed the recognition of Kandahar union to Baburi territories. Shah Abbas II in his second year of kingdom set off for conquest of Kandahar. Peace with *Sultan Ibrahim*, the Ottoman Emperor had made him ready to invade Kandahar. He made his decision to invade at the time when still *Jan Nesar Khan*, envoy of Shah Jahan was still in his court in Iran. Shah sent a letter through *Bastam* the envoy to India and asked Shah Jahan to quickly hand over Kandahar to Iranian kingdom.\(^95\)

\(^94\) Etemad-us saltaneh.Ibid. p 938  
\(^95\) Shamlu, Vali Qhuli.Ibid. p 319
In February 1649 after two months of siege, Kandahar was conquered by Safavis and some hours after that new coin was produced in the name of Shah and a speech was delivered.96

Shah allowed all Baburi commanders to return to their homeland and even he made some Qhezelbash soldiers safeguard them till Ghaznein to make sure that ignorant Qhezelbashes would not hurt them.

Again Shah Jahan sent his elder son Aurangzeb with a big army and some Rajas towards Kandahar (1059 AH/ 1649). Two more invasions were conducted by Aurangzeb and Darashokouh in 1652 and 1653 and in these two battles neither siege nor bribery could subdue Kandahar. Therefore when in 1656 Shah Jahan suggested invasion to Iran another time, Iranian elders of his court disagreed and conquest of Kandahar was forgotten till end of Safavi period.

After second invasion of Aurangzeb to Kandahar in 1652, diplomatic relationship between Iran and India was interrupted. Apparently despite all conflicts about Kandahar, Iranian and Indian armies generally were not willing to seriously encounter each other. Perhaps one of its reasons was presence of Iranian forces and commanders in Indian army. Safavis regarded Kandahar as part of Khurasan and their inherited land. From another viewpoint, Kandahar for Iranians was the gateway to India and for Indians who had an eye on Khurasan, as gateway to Iran. Therefore, militarily, this region was specifically important for both countries. That is why despite respectful friendly relationships, both sides were ready to conquer this region at any moment.

Generally, importance of Kandahar must be measured in the triangle of relations between Uzbeks, Iran and Baburis. Kandahar had vast regional

96 Vahid Qhazvini. Ibid. p 122
influences on Iran, Uzbeks and even Ottomans. Although in letter exchanges between Baburis and Iranians, both sides intended to show it as unimportant in order to avoid diplomatic damages, but in fact it was so important that sometimes it played pivotal role in political decision-makings. Between 1577 and 1587 Uzbeks were in their full power under the reign of Abdollah Khan Uzbek and his son, Abdol-Mumin. Iran in this time experienced death of Shah Tahmasb and decline of Muhammad Khudabandeh (1576-1587) and also was challenging the unrest of Qhezelbashes at the court and competition with Prince Abbas Mirza and also heavy invasions of Ottomans to western borders. On the other side, Akbar was facing two problems. The first one was to subdue Deccan kings and keeping an eye on Indus and Kashmir which had not been added to his territories respectively until 1586 and 1590. The other one was the fear of Uzbeks empowerment who had plans to conquer Khurasan. Therefore, Baburi king rejected suggestion of Abdollah Khan’s envoys regarding conquest of Kandahar. When Uzbeks conquered Khurasan, Akbar found the situation convenient for agreement on settling borders and his envoy, Hakim Humayun succeeded in signing an agreement according to which Badakhshan and Khurasan were handed over to Uzbeks, and Kandahar and Kabol to Baburis.

Uzbeks and their influence on the relations

Transferring Kandahar hand to hand could be implied as an element of power and weakness in Uzbeks. By predicting the status of Uzbeks, Safavis and Baburis sent forces to Kandahar, but sometimes they made use of allure to conquer it. Sustaining the power balance between the two great neighbors was merely possible by considering Uzbek role in Kandahar.

In the meantime, anti-Shiism was the common point of the two regional powers, Ottomans and Uzbeks, against Safavis. This common feature could accelerate political and military decision-making against Safavis. Uzbeks usually tried to present allegiance with Baburis as an anti-Shiism
agreement against Safavis, but conflicts between Baburis and Safavis were on borders and lands, therefore, whenever Baburis intended to utilize Uzbek movements against Safavis, they resorted to religious differences with them and their commonality with Uzbeks.

When the Abdollah Khan II Uzbek asked for Akbar’s allegiance to finish Safavis, Akbar resorted to an excuse to stop him from war against Safavis. He wrote that Safavi Dynasty was connected to Prophet and his family. This type of look upon Shiite Safavis could be observed by Uzbeks and even Ottomans because all three kingdoms were Sunni and shared the same ideological and religious principles regarding Shiism. However, what prevented acceptance of Safavi Shiism was crucial subject of Khurasan for Uzbeks and Mesopotamia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and parts of Anatolia for the two sides of Ottomans and Safavis.

When Jahangir encountered sudden conquest of Kandahar by Shah Abbas, changed his policy and joined Uzbeks and in his letters to the Uzbek Imam Qhuli Khan spoke of his belief in Sunni religion and his hatred towards Shiism and complete removal of “heretic Shiites”.97 He put aside the policy of disregarding Uzbeks and tried to win a trilateral allegiance with them and with Ottomans against Iran. Removal of Safavis, taking revenge for death of Imam Qhuli’s father i.e. Din Muhammad Khan and destruction of Shiism were the common points of this allegiance.

After Jahangir, Shah Jahan also followed the policy of conquering Kandahar. In addition to that, he had plans to expand the land of his ancestors in Transoxiana. Therefore, he was seeking to sustain friendly relations with Turan while invading Kandahar and to keep Iran impartial in the meantime of invading Turan. Therefore when Nazr Muhammad Khan made

97 Tuzook Jahangiri.Ibid. pp 420-421
an unsuccessful invasion to Kabul, diplomatic councils of the two sides preferred to rationalize and forget the problem and additionally signed an agreement of allegiance against Iran in 1635.

The policy of religious friendship with Uzbeks and Ottomans against Safavis was followed by Shah Jahan as well as in the time of Shah Safi. Again Kandahar was an element which called Shah Jahan towards this allegiance. In a letter to Murad IV in 1046 AH/1636 he suggested his plan of trilateral allegiance. Two years after sending this letter, Ottoman invasions started. Regarding the letter of Shah Jahan to Murad IV, Baghdad was conquered in 1638, because exactly two months after conquest of Kandahar, Turks conquered Baghdad.

Uzbeks still were considered a threat on borders of Baburis and of course both kingdoms of Baburis and Safavis used Uzbeks whenever they needed them. After conquest of Kandahar, when Shah Jahan was preparing the plan of invasion to Balkh, Uzbeks of Maroochagh invaded borders of Khurasan. Baburis started exchanging letters with Iranian commanders98 with the aim of convincing Iran that Uzbeks were the common enemies for both of them and cooperation with Baburis to defeat them had advantages for both kingdoms.

Eventually, Shah Jahan decided to march to Balkh without company of Iran. In this time, Imam Qhuli had gone aside from power because of his weak eyesight and Nazr Muhammad Khan, because of conflicts with opponents, had to seek help from Shah Jahan. It was with the excuse of helping him that Mogul army marched to Balkh in 1646.

98 These writings called Hand-written Collection of Naderi are kept in British Museum
Nazr Muhammad Khan took refuge in Iran but Shah Abbas II was a child and Nazr Muhammad Khan was not acknowledged among Uzbeks, therefore he (Shah Abbas II) took no steps to support him. By sending three diplomatic councils, Baburis asked Iranians to stay impartial in the conflicts between Uzbeks and Indians, but long connection roads, difficult climatic conditions and huge expenses of Baburi soldiers made it difficult for Indian army to stay in Balkh and they had to leave the region.

In those conditions, Kandahar was conquered a second time by Abbas II; from then on, despite Shah Jahan’s efforts to get closer to Uzbeks, Abbas II could win the same influence that Shah Abbas the Great had won among Uzbeks and AbdolAziz Khan, successor of Nazr Muhammad Khan plainly informed Shah Jahan about that.

The problem of Baburis’ relationships with Ottomans is also observable regarding mutual relations with Uzbeks. Ottomans always had higher level of relations with Uzbeks; therefore they did not like conflicts between Baburis and Uzbeks. Ottomans preferred to have a common religious army against Iran in which Uzbeks were a fix part because for allegiance against Safavis, they had no other common attitudes with Baburis and Uzbeks. Shah Jahan also was aware of it, that is why when he wrote a letter to Sultan Murad IV, the Ottoman King, he called Safavi kings “heretic villainous Qhezelbashes”.

The claim of leading the world of Islam by Ottomans was not welcome for Baburi kings and Ottomans’ writing style to Baburi king raised Shah Jahan’s objection so much that in objection to these letters, Shah Jahan sent a book on principles of letter writing to Ottoman Sultan.99

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99 Riaz-ul Islam. Ibid. p 178