CHAPTER -VI

Conclusion
Bibliography
Photography
In this study, relations between Safavis and Deccan rulers emphasizing on Qhutbshahis have been discussed. One of the objectives of this thesis was analyzing the influence of great neighbors of Safavis on these relations. We were trying to find out how and under what conditions, these relations were formed and which movements, groups and necessities created these relations and influenced them.

Political relations concerning Deccan could be studied in two regional and international aspects.

- **In international aspect**
  Uzbek and Ottomans had minor but influential roles on these relations. Despite Shah Jahan’s efforts in competition with Safavis, Baburis could not establish close relations with Uzbeks because firstly, Ottomans had always been closely concerned about Uzbeks (and this made Baburis more afraid of Uzbeks’ empowerment) and secondly, conflicts with Uzbeks on territories in Transoxiana made it difficult for Baburis to have friendly relations with them. If Kandahar was not the subject of conflicts between Iran and Baburis, even Jahangir would have kept his policy of inattention towards Uzbeks and would not have summoned them for balancing power against Safavis.

  Another subject is that admitting superiority of Ottomans as the powerful leaders of Muslims and Islamic caliphs was not generally welcome to Baburis and especially to Shah Jahan. He had objection on the literature Ottoman Sultan used in his letters to Shah Jahan, and symbolically had sent a book to teach Ottoman writers the principles of letter writing in royalty. This very reason led the Mogul Emperor stop all his relations with Ottomans. Therefore, Baburis could not create an organized unity against Safavis. This gave Safavis the chance to seek for penetration in Deccan on the basis of their international conditions. Originally Iranian elements and the phenomenon of immigration could be mentioned as two major factors in these relations.
• In the regional aspect

Contribution of Iranian immigrants to Deccan in formation of relations between Iran and Deccan is peerless.

The influential immigrant groups on political relations of Safavis and Qhutbshahis could be divided into two groups.
- The first group, were the immigrants who had to leave their country and take refuge in Deccan because of political or social suppression, court rivalries and also ideological controversies.
- The second group, were the immigrants who had come to this country under no compulsion or threats but only because of getting better positions. Unlike the previous group, members of this category did not end political relations with their homeland. Iranians Shiite, except scholars and those who had come to preach religion did not make a lot of pretention in preaching Shiism. They maintained their interest in bringing changes in their homeland as well. Neither of these groups stopped their connection with culture, language and ideology of their motherland. Therefore, lots of immigrants who were from high positions started their efforts to establish good relations with Iran as soon as they achieved positions in India. Even among the first group there are individuals like Shah Taher and Mahmud Gavan who tried to confirm relations as soon as they found an opportunity. Attitude of Safavis towards Deccan region was influenced by the following elements:

Common rivalry of Deccanians and Iranians with Baburis and controlling their dominance by both sides was one of these elements. In this convergent competition with Baburis, if language was the means of mutual understanding between the two sides, religious commonalities between them were influential in formation of unity and agreement and establishment of political ties. But this never means that Shiism was the reason for this connection. Because even when Adilshahis showed tendency towards Sunnis,
still they kept their diplomatic relations with Safavis like the time of tendency towards Shiism. Safavis’ support of Deccan and Deccanians’ belief as a base for Safavis against their mutual rival (if not enemy) was very important. Although, there are various reasons for Safavis’ lack of support regarding kingdoms of Deccan but the sources do not mention these reasons.

**Permanent rivalries between Deccanian kingdoms** weakened them. Their conflicts were not bound to any time or place. Affluent property, fertile lands and plenty of water sources had made them settle and somehow had bounded them in these productive lands. This had negative influence on their intentions to go to northern areas. Therefore, without paying attention to other lands, they maintained in the midst of these conflicts and did not change the direction of conflicts. Going to new lands could have drawn their attention away from each others’ territories towards new lands outside, and eventually could have created ages of peace between these kingdoms, and also give them the opportunity to re-organize their official system, army and provide their required equipments.

These instable categorizations and permanent conflicts did not have clear and predictable outcomes. From the viewpoint of the two powers of Iran and Baburis, these kingdoms did not have outstanding independent identities and were known as regions of Deccan and were often regarded as one political unit\(^1\) with same political values; unless in some cases because of compromise in order to conceal their tendency of domination over Deccan they had to compliment these kingdoms. Because of so much instability among kingdoms of Deccan, Safavi shahs especially Shah Abbas could not take the risk of seriously supporting them. Such supports were so much costly. In case of supporting Deccanians, Safavis had to spend their good relations with Baburis and open a new field against Baburis; neither Iranians

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\(^1\) In the letters remained from these two kingdoms, generally the term Deccan has been used unless in case a specific kingdom has been mentioned.
nor Baburis were interested to do so. They had taken most cautious policies in case of conflicts over the borders in Transoxiana, Indus and Kandahar. Both neighbors had remarkable dominances and Safavis could not risk these relations because of supporting small kingdoms whose stabilities were not determined.

**Formalizing superior rights of Baburis in Deccan by Shah Abbas:** the letter that is mentioned in *Jame’e Moraselat* of Abol-Qhasem Hyder and Nazir Ahmad has brought it in his essay “Adilshahi Councils” shows that Shah Abbas obviously speaks about Baburis right to rule over Deccan. According to Shah in this letter, although Deccan had good relations with Safavis, but it paid tax to Baburis.² Although this saying could be refined through filter of usual political formalities, it cannot be completely ignored. Therefore, Shah Abbas has formally admitted the right of Baburis in order to establish his own relations with Deccan and did not go further than spiritual support of Deccan kingdoms.

**Lack of mutual borders between Iran and Deccan,** distance of Deccan borders from Iran and conquest of Northern India by Baburis had blocked relations of the two regions on land and had blocked the way for possible interference of Safavis. Also despite ports as well as western and southern coasts of India, none of these regions could provide powerful navy and detach itself from limits of land and develop the ability to maneuver politically and militarily.

**Complication of political relations in Deccan,** allegiance of Muslim Ghouri kings of Malowa with Hindus against Muslim kings of Gujarat, Sadat of Delhi and Bahmani kings were not new issues. Since invasion of Timur 1398-9 till mid-16th century these kingdoms had conflicts with each other and had opened the way for penetration of Baburis. Permanent conflict and

² See: chapter III, footnote 44
controversies of these kingdoms were mostly because of many fortresses in Deccan region and in their realms of kingdom. Sometimes Shiites against Sunni kingdoms or Muslims and Hindus together used to unite against Muslim kingdoms.

Allegiance could bring good results for them as their allegiance against Vijayanagar resulted in victory in the battle of Talikota (972AH/1565/01/26) and they defeated Vijayanagar forever.

By the defeat of Vijayanagar the five kingdoms shared borders. Therefore, conflicts between them found new aspects.

Neither religion nor other elements such as mutual enemies and rivals like empire of Vijayanagar and Baburis Empire caused them think of allegiance and saving their territories.

Moreover, interference of tribe chiefs and their war seeking attitudes also must be taken into account. They were commanders and position holders who sometimes left service of a king and went to serve another and provoked the latter one to fight against their previous master. Another important element which is the case of contemporary Hindu kingdoms, especially Vijayanagar, must not be forgotten. Hence, the foremost issue of these kingdoms was managing these conflicts.

These issues altogether made Safavis take careful and ambiguous attitudes on Deccan and avoid supplying them with certainly determined supports.

**Role of Religion in Relations of Safavis with Qhutbshahis**

Another issue that we come across in conclusion is the role of some attitudes taken in order to point out the role of some elements in relations between Iran and Qhutbshahis in this period.
Although researchers interested in religious and cultural studies have outstanding roles in historical surveys of this period, it must be considered that opposit their interest, nature of conflicts between these kingdoms was not religious. One of the objectives of this thesis is to indicate that religious controversies were not decisive elements in causing and continuing the conflicts.

**Religion in Iran – Ottomans relations**

Religious controversies seem to have little significance in political conflicts of this region. Religious aspects in these conflicts more importantly form the outer layers rather than the main essence of conflicts. Discussion over religion between Iran and Ottomans was created because of old political and territorial conflicts between them. Shiite Turkmans had the role of Trojan horse inside Ottoman borders. Therefore, massacre of them seems to be an effort over power.

It was stated as a question that if both Safavis and Ottomans as powers of the region had been Sunni, would still have been conflicts between them?

**In the Realm of Baburis**

There were also the feelings of fear and doubt from Iranian especially Shiites among the Baburis. But this fear also was mainly similar to controversies between political groups rather than the serious issue of bringing down, because policies of Mogul Empire signified that it would be more convenient for them to support Iranians. Moreover, compared to territories of Safavis and Ottomans, religious easygoing attitude is apparent all over Baburi period except in some cases in the time of Aurangzeb.

**In the Realm of Uzbeks**

In this region also the situation was the same. Sunni ruler of Mazandaran had said about Uzbeks and Safavis:
“We cannot resist two powerful enemies. One is to be treated moderately, the other to be opposed. With Ismail, who committed heresy, we will oppose and with Shahi Bey (shybak khan), whom we share the same religion with, we will unite. He does not count his religious commonality with Uzbeks’ Khan as a reason of friendship either. When religion was not the reason for friendship, why should it be conceived as a reason of hostility under such conditions?

Uzbeks had historical claim on kingdom of Persia and regarded heritage of Genghis to rule over Iran as their certain right. Hence, religious legitimacy of Uzbeks provoked them to spread territories and gain historical legitimacy. Following victory of Ismail in Battle of Marv Shiite religion became formalized in Khurasan.

**In the Realm of Deccan**

Also in Deccan in the same time, despite intensive and old conflicts between *Afqhis* and Deccanians and regarding the fact that Afaqhis were Shiites and Deccanians were Sunnis, there is no reason to show that religious difference has been the reason for continuation of conflicts and controversies between these two groups. The reasons for most conflicts and controversies of Deccanians with Afaqhis lie in racial issues and in struggle for power and superiority and also in political and military affairs.

Shiites and Sunnis lived together peacefully in most Islamic lands especially in Deccan and did not have conflicts and controversies unless in cases that governments raised conflicts between them. It happened very commonly that Sultans and rulers of some countries or regions were Shiite and their people were Sunnis or vice versa.

There cannot be exceptions for the given descriptions about influence of religion on relations between Safavis and Qhutbshahis.

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