Seljuqs and Atabegs

Alamut, and the Syrian Isma’ili’s played a significant role in a three-cornered struggle with the Franks and the Sunni Muslims. Since the Isma’ili’s were comparatively few in number, assassination of prominent people often served as a substitute for direct military action, and their supposed victims included the vizier Nizam-al-Mulk, the caliph al-Mustarshid and the crusader Conrad of Montferrat. The story related by Marco Polo and others, that hallucinatory drugs were used to stimulate the assassins to bolder efforts (whence the name ‘Assassins’<Hashish-eeyin or Hashish-eeyin ‘Hashish-eaters’) is unconfirmed in any of the genuine Isma’ili sources. According to Isma’ili tradition, Nizâr and his son were murdered in Egypt, but an infant grandson was smuggled out to Persia. Whereas Hasan-i Sabbâh and his two successors claimed only to be emissaries of the Nizâr imams, the fourth Grand-Master Hasan I himself claimed to be the imam in a spiritual sense.

In the thirteenth century, the extremism and violence of the Assassins began to moderate slightly. The ‘Abbâsid caliph an-Nâsir scored a great propaganda success in the contemporary Muslim world by securing the Grand Master Hasan I’s return to the fold of Sunni orthodoxy. Continuing this pro-caliphal policy, the Isma’ili’s of Persia opposed the imperial designs of the Khwârazm-Shâhs. But the last Grand Master, Khûrshîd, was unable to withstand Hâlegî’s Mongols; Alamut was captured in 654/1256, and in the next year Khûrshîd seems to have been killed by the conquerors. The Syrian Isma’ili’s had become an accepted part of the local political scene, becoming tributary to the Christian Knights Hospitaller in 624/1227, but their continued existence was later regarded by the sultan Baybars as intolerable, and by 671/1273 the last Assassin stronghold, al-Kalif, had fallen to the Mamluks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Justi, 457; Sachau, 15; Zambaur, 217-18.
M.G.S. Hodsdon, The order of Assassins, the struggle of the early Nizâr Isma’ili’s against the Islamic world (The Hague 1955).

7

Anatolia and the Turks

470/1077 Sulaymân b. Qutalmish
479/1086 interregnum
485/1092 Qilîch Arslan I
500/1107 Malik-Shâh
510/1116 Rûkn-ad-Dîn Mas’ûd I
551/1156 ‘Îzz-ad-Dîn Qilîch Arslan II (division of territories amongst his sons during the latter part of his reign)
588/1192 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Kay-Khusraw I, first reign
592/1196 Rûkn-ad-Dîn Sulaymân II
600/1204 ‘Îzz-ad-Dîn Qilîch Arslan III
601/1204 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Kay-Khusraw I, second reign
607/1210 ‘Îzz-ad-Dîn Kay-Kâ’ûs I
616/1219 ‘Alâ‘-ad-Dîn Kay-Qubad II
634/1237 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Kay-Khusraw II
644/1246 ‘Îzz-ad-Dîn Kay-Kâ’ûs II
649/1254 Kay-Kâ’ûs III and his brother
Rûkn-ad-Dîn Qilîch Arslan IV jointly
647/1249 Kay Kâ’ûs I, Qilîch Arslan IV and ‘Alâ‘-ad-Dîn Kay-Qubad II jointly
655/1257 Qilîch Arslan IV
663/1265 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Kay-Khusraw III
681/1282 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Mas’ûd II, first reign

1

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After the Seljuq chief Qutalmish had unsuccessfully rebelled against Sultan Alp Arslan in 456/1064, his son Sulayman and his Turkmen followers were deflected from the settled lands of Persia and Iraq into Anatolia, where there were ample opportunities for warfare with the Byzantines. In about the year 470/1077 Sulayman was master of Iznik (Nicaea), but the emergent Comnenian dynasty, later aided by the First Crusaders, began to re-establish their position in western Anatolia, and Sulayman turned eastwards. He endeavoured to get a foothold in the Anti-Taurus region, but was killed in 479/1086 by the troops of Sultan Malik-Shah. It was only some years later that Berk-yaran released Sulayman’s son Qilich Arslan I and allowed him to go back to Anatolia. Qilich Arslan had ambitions in Diyarbakir and al-Jazira, but he was killed fighting there, and after this, his successors concentrated their power on central Anatolia. From this base they attacked the Dânishmandids, the Armenian princes of Cilicia and the Franks of Edessa. Qilich Arslan II overthrew the Dânishmandids, and his defeat of Manuel Comnenus at Myriocephalon in 572/1176 quashed Byzantine hopes of a revanche in the east, but in his old age he lost control over his sons, his territories became fragmented and in 586/1190 the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the Third Crusaders temporarily occupied the capital Konya.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 afforded the sultans of Rûm an opportunity to re-establish their power. Antalya and Sinope were seized, and the port of Alanya or ‘Alâ’iyya (thus called after Sultan ‘Alâ’-ad-Dîn Kay-Qubâd I) was constructed. Because of this control of the coasts, an important transit trade to the Black Sea grew up, and commercial relations were opened up with the Italian city-states.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 155; Justi, 452-3. Zambur, 143-4; Halil Edhem, 216-17, 219.

\^1 Seljuqs (J. H. Kramers).
succession disputes of the Rûm Seljuqs, fought the Armenians in Cilicia and the Franks in the County of Edessa, and in 521/1127 captured Kayseri and Ankara; because of his warfare with the Christians, the caliph al-Mustarshid granted the Dânîşmendids the title of Malik 'King'.

But when Malik Muhammed died in 536/1142, disputes arose amongst his sons and brothers: Yaghi-basan proclaimed himself Amîr at Sivas, his brother 'Ayn-ad-Dîn succeeded in Elbistan and Malatya, and Dhu‘n-Nûn seized Kayseri. There were thus for a time three rival branches of the Dânîşmendids, but after Yaghi-basan’s death, the Seljuq Qilîch Arslan II interfered several times in the affairs of the Sivas branch, finally killing Dhu‘n-Nûn in 570/1174 and seizing his lands. At Malatya, discord existed amongst the three sons of Dhu‘l-Qarnayn, and the last ruler here, Nâşîr-ad-Dîn Muhammed, reigned as Qilîch Arslan II’s vassal till the latter took over Malatya himself in 573/1178; according to the historian Ibn-Bibi, the surviving Dânîşmendids entered the service of the Seljuqs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 156 (very fragmentary). Justî, 455; Sachau, 15; Zambaur, 146-7. Halîl Edhem, 220-3; El‘ ‘Dânîşmendids’ (I. Mélikoff). (above table based on these two) I‘A ‘Dânîşmendîler’ (M. H. Yînanî) (with a genealogical table).
in modern Turkish eyes at least, the Qaramānids have achieved some fame for their encouragement of Turkish instead of Persian as the language of administration.

Inevitably, they clashed with the expanding Ottomans, and in 792/1390 ‘Alī-ad-Dīn Khalīl was defeated by Bayezid at Aq Chay, and the Qaramānids territories annexed. But after his defeat of Bayezid at Ankara in 805/1402, Timūr restored many of the Anatolian principalities which the Ottomans had swallowed, including that of the Qaramānids. Clashes continued with the Ottomans, for after the absorption of the Isfendiyār Oghullари of Sinope and Kasamonu in 866/1462, they were the last great rivals of the sultans. The Qaramānids were now drawn into the nexus of Mediterraneanean powers opposing Ottoman expansionism. The alliance of the ‘Grand Karaman’ was sought by Venice and the Papacy, and by their eastern neighbours, the Aq Qoyunlu of Uzun Hasan, and Qāsim, the last Qaramān, supported the Ottoman pretender Jem. But internal succession disputes facilitated Ottoman intervention, and the dynasty was shortly afterwards extinguished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 184; Zambaur, 158, 160.
Halil Edhem, 206-302 (on which the above table is largely based).
EI 1 ‘Karaman-Oghlu’ (J.H. Kramers) (with genealogical table differing in several places from Halil Edhem’s).
IA ‘Karamanlilar’ (M.C. Şihâbeddin Tekindağ).
ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS

The Ottomans or Osmanlis
680-1342/1281-1924
Anatolia, the Balkans, the Arab lands

680/1281 'Uthmān (Osman) 1 b. Ertoghrul
C.724/C.1324 Orkläh
761/1359 Murād I
791/1389 Bāyazid (Bayezit) I Yıldırım
('the Lightning-flash')
804/1402 Timūrid invasion
805/1403 Muhammad (Mehmet) I Chelebi (at first in Anatolia only, after 816/1413 in Rumelia also)
806/1403 Sulaymān I (in Rumelia only till 813/1410)
824/1421 Murād II, first reign
848/1444 Muhammad II Fāṭih ('the Conqueror'), first reign
850/1446 Murād II, second reign
855/1451 Muhammad II, second reign
886/1481 Bāyazid II
918/1512 Selim I Yavuz ('the Grim')
926/1520 Sulaymān II Qānūnī ('the Law-giver', also called in western usage 'the Magnificent')
974/1566 Selim II
982/1574 Murād III
1003/1595 Muhammad III
1012/1603 Abūhd I
1026/1617 Muṣṭafā I, first reign
1027/1618 'Uthmān II
1031/1622 Muṣṭafā I, second reign
1052/1643 Murād IV
1054/1640 Ibrāhīm
1058/1648 Muhammad IV
1069/1657 Sulaymān III
1102/1691 Abūhd II
1106/1695 Muṣṭafā II
1115/1703 Abūhd III

THE OTTOMANS

1143/1730 Muṣṭafā I
1168/1754 'Uthmān III
1177/1777 Muṣṭafā III
1187/1774 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd I
1203/1889 Selim III
1222/1807 Muṣṭafā IV
1223/1808 Muḥammad II
1255/1839 'Abd-al-Majīd I
1277/1861 'Abd-al-'Azīz
1293/1876 Murād V
1293/1876 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd II
1327/1909 Muḥammad V Rashād
1336/1918 Muḥammad VI Wahḥād-ad-Dīn
1341-2/1922-4 'Abd-al-Majīd II (as Caliph only)

Republican regime of Muṣṭafā Kemāl

The beginnings of the Ottomans are shrouded in legend, and few firm historical facts are known before 1300. The family seems to have stemmed from the Qayğh clan of the Oğuz and to have led a nomadic group in Asia Minor; they were thus part of the great wave of Turkmen who came in from the east and pushed the Byzantines back. The Ottomans had been loosely attached to the Seljuq Sultans of Konya, but the appearance of the Mongols and the decline of the Seljuqs during the thirteenth century impelled them to move to the north-western corner of Anatolia, the ancient province of Bithynia and the later Ottoman vilayet of Hüdavendigar. Whilst more settled Turkish principalities were being set up in other parts of Anatolia, such as those of the Qaramanlıs, the Menteşe Oğulları and the Germeyan Oğulları, the Ottomans had to keep up the fight with the Byzantines. Their forces were accordingly continuously replenished by fresh arrivals of Turkmen from the east, eager to act as ghāzis or warriors for the faith against the Christians, and from these ghāzī origins, the Ottoman dynasty acquired a military tradition and a vigour which allowed it to expand and flourish, and eventually to absorb all the other, more static Turkish principalities.

In 1358/1357 the Ottomans crossed into Europe at Gallipoli, and taking advantage of the disunity of the Balkan Slavs and the religious enmities of Orthodox and Catholics, they rapidly
overran a large part of the Balkans; these conquests were eventually formed into the province of Rumelia. Indicative of the Ottomans’ new concentration on Europe, rather than Asia, was the removal of their capital from Bursa to Edirne (Adrianople) in 1366. Militarily, they came to depend less and less on their Turkmen followers, whose religious sympathies were often heterodox. There arose a feudal cavalry element who were allotted estates to live off, but most important in creating an image in Christian Europe of Ottoman ferocity and invincibility were the Janissaries (Yeni Cheri, ‘New Troops’), who were recruited from the children of the subject Christian populations of the Balkans, converted to Islam and trained as an elite military force. In 978/1571 Bayezid I secured the Sanjak of Caliphate in Cairo, al-Mutawakkil I, the title of Sultan of Rum, but his Asiatic empire was suddenly shattered by the onslaught of Timur, who defeated the Sultan at Ankara in 805/1402. Over the following decades, the Ottoman empire in Asia Minor was gradually pieced together again, the Qara-mansids being the last major group to be absorbed, and in 857/1453 Mehmet the Conqueror finally captured Constantinople.

The sixteenth century was the golden age of the empire. In 923/1517 Selim the Grim conquered Egypt and Syria from the decadent rule of the Mamluks; after the victory of Mohacz in 932/1526, Sulayman the Magnificent brought most of Hungary under Ottoman rule for over a century and a half; footholds were secured in southern Italy, and corsairs brought Ottoman rule to Algeria and Tunisia. On the eastern borders, the Shi’i Safavids, bitter rivals of the Sunni Ottomans, were defeated at Chaldiran in 920/1514 and Azerbaijan invaded; in the Indian Ocean, Turkish naval forces operated from Arabian bases against the Portuguese.

At this peak of their strength, the Ottomans maintained an attitude of tolerance towards the millets or religious and ethnic minorities within their empire, and Jews, for instance, resorted thither from persecution in Christian Europe. It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that the tide began to turn definitely against the Turks in eastern Europe. They had failed to take much advantage of the European powers’ pre-occupation with the Thirty Years’ War, and their only major success was the capture of Crete from the Venetians. Yet the Turks were only just repulsed from Vienna in 1683, and the loss of Hungary and Transylvania still left them in control of the Slav, Greek, and Rumanian parts of the Balkans. European divisions and jealousies preserved the Ottoman empire for two more centuries, for the Europeans’ technical skill had by now given them a clear military and naval superiority. The undisciplined Janissaries had long been a barrier to modernisation of the Turkish forces, but it was not until 1241/1826 that Mahmut II broke their power. Economically, the Turkish and Arab lands began to suffer from the competition of western manufactured goods and superior commercial techniques; native production declined, internal sources of revenue decreased and in the nineteenth century Turkey frequently tottered on the edge of bankruptcy.

Russian expansionism was an especial threat, for the Russians subdued the Ottomans’ allies the Crimean Tartars and were eager to get control of Istanbul and the Bosphorus, thus acquiring access to the Mediterranean. In the opening years of the nineteenth century, the Albanian soldier Muhammad ‘Ali became governor and virtually autonomous ruler of Egypt; the Greeks revolted and by 1829 had their independence recognised; and Algeria was lost to the French. The growth of nationalist sentiment engendered by the French Revolution led the Balkan peoples to rebel against Turkish rule, and by the end of the Second Balkan War of 1912-13, Turkey in Europe was reduced to Eastern Thrace. Turkey’s participation in the First World War on the side of the Central Powers caused the loss of the Arab provinces, and tempted the European powers to make claims on what was genuinely ethnic Turkish territory. But the greed of these powers provoked a reaction of Turkish national feeling, one aspect of which was a weariness with the Ottoman dynasty itself, which seemed to be a bar to progress and which was inextricably identified with the reverses and humiliations of the previous two centuries. Under the stimulus of the nationalist leader Mustafa Kemal (the later Ataturk), first the Ottoman sultanate was abolished in 1922, and then in 1924 the caliphate was ended and the last Ottoman, ‘Abd-al-Majid II, deposed.
ANATOLIA AND THE TURKS

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Zambaur, 160-1 and Table 0; Halil Edhem, 320-30.

EIGHT

THE MONGOLS

The Mongols or Chingizids

The recorded history of the Mongols begins only at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, for it is only with the thirteenth-century *Secret history of the Mongols* and some Persian and Chinese sources of that time that any historical records become available. It seems, however, that the Mongols were originally a forest people, inhabiting the Siberian and Outer Mongolian forest fringes around Lake Baikal, rather than steppe nomads, even though it is as steppe conquerors, moving swiftly on horseback, that they first appear in history.

Chinggis' father Yesügey was Khan of the Mongol tribe. Chinggis originally had the name Temüjin (= "blacksmith"), and he rose to prominence in Mongolia through the patronage of a chief of the Keriye tribe, Toghril or Ong Khan (the Prester John of Marco Polo). Later, Temüjin quarrelled with Ong Khan, and defeated in battle first the latter and then a Mongol rival, Jamiq. He had already acquired the title of Chinggis (? < Turkish öngör 'sea' = 'Oceanic, Universal [Khan]'), and at a *Qurilay* or assembly of Mongol chiefs in 1206 was proclaimed Supreme Chief of all the Mongol peoples. He now undertook campaigns against the Tibetan Tanguts of the Kansu and Ordos regions of north-western China, and in 1213 invaded China proper, sacking Peking in 1215 and undermining the position of the Chin emperors. An invasion of Semirechie in northern Turkestan in 1218 gave Chinggis a common frontier with the territories of the Islamic Khwārazm-Shāh. There had already been peaceful diplomatic contacts, but the Utrar incident of 615/1218, when the Khwārazmian governor there massacred Chinggis' envoys and a whole caravan of Muslim
merchants accompanying them, precipitated the Mongol invasion of the Islamic world. In 616-17/1219-20 Transoxania was conquered; Chinggis' son Toluy was sent into Khurasan, and after a momentary reverse at Parwàn in Afghanistan, the last Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl-ad-Dīn was pursued into India (618/1221). Meanwhile, two other sons, Jochi and Chaghatay, were operating in the region of the lower Syr Darya and Khwārazm, destroying the homeland of the Shāhs; for the last years of his life, Jalāl-ad-Dīn was a fugitive, fleeing ever westwards before the Mongols.

It was the custom of Mongol chiefs to distribute sections of their territories to other members of their families, and this Chinggis had done before his death in 624/1227, allotting each of them a stretch of pasture ground (a yurt or nemrut) for their followers and herds. The territories overrun by the Mongols were too vast to be ruled as a centralised state, and the Mongols themselves were politically and administratively quite unsophisticated; the Mongol language was not at this time a written one. Hence a bureaucracy had to be hastily improvised for the conquered lands, if only to collect taxation for the khan. The official classes of these lands, Uyghur, Persian and Chinese, were drawn upon, and the Buddhist Uyghur secretaries, the bakhshis, were especially noteworthy. It is from two Persians in the Mongol service, 'Aṭī Malik Juwayni and Rashīd-ad-Dīn Faḍlallāh, that much of our knowledge of the early Mongols and their history comes.

Chinggis' lands were accordingly divided between his four sons in the following way:

1. The eldest, Jochi, in fact died just before his father, but his inheritance was passed on to his own son Batu. Jochi's allocation had been of western Siberia and the Qipchaq steppe, extending into southern Russia and including also Khwārazm, which had always been linked culturally and commercially with the lower Volga. His son Batu founded the Blue Horde in South Russia, nucleus of the later Golden Horde, and another son Orda founded the White Horde in western Siberia, these two groups being united in the fourteenth century. At a later date, various khanates in Russia, Siberia and Turkestan evolved from them, including those of the Crimea, of Astrakhan, of Qazan, of Qasimov, of Tiumen, of Bukhārā and of Khiva. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the descendants of another of Jochi's sons, Shiban, sc. the Shaybānids or Özbegs, made themselves masters of Khwārazm and Transoxania.

2. The second son Chaghatay was given the lands stretching eastwards from Transoxania to eastern or Chinese Turkestan. The western branch of Chaghatay's descendants in Transoxiana soon came within the Islamic sphere of influence, but was overthrown by Timūr; the eastern branch in Semirechye and the ilī basin and across the T'ien Shan in the Tarim basin, was more resistant to Islam. However, the eastern descendants of Chaghatay eventually helped to spread Islam in Chinese Turkestan, and they lasted there till the seventeenth century.

3. The third son Ögedey was chosen by a Kuriltai of Mongol chiefs to succeed his father as Great Khan, but within two generations the Supreme Khanate fell into the hands of the descendants of Toluy, although Ögedey's grandson Qaydu retained his territories in the Pamirs and T'ien Shan and combattted the Chaghatayids and the Great Khan Qubilay, till his death in 702/1301.

4. The youngest son Toluy had received the heartland of the Mongol empire, Mongolia itself. His sons Möngke and Qubilay followed Ögedey's line as Great Khans, but only Möngke retained Qaraqorum in Mongolia as his capital. Their possessions included the Chinese conquests, where the Mongols became known as the Yīan dynasty and reigned till the second half of the fourteenth century. The cultural and religious attraction of the civilisation of China proved strong for the Great Khans in Peking; they became Buddhists, and their adhesion to this faith gradually opened up a breach with the Mongol subordinate khans in western Asia and Russia, who adopted Islam. It was one of Qubilay's brothers, Hülegū, who launched a fresh wave of conquest upon the Islamic world and founded the Il-Khanid line in Persia; thus the khanates of western Asia ceased, for all practical purposes, to acknowledge the control of the Great Khans back in Mongolia and in Peking.
THE MONGOLS

603-1206 Chinggis (Chingiz) Khan
624/1227 Ögedey
639/1241 Töregene, as Regent
644/1246 Güyük
647/1249 Oghul-Ghaymish, as Regent
649/1251 Möngke (Mengü)
658/1260 Qubilay
693/1294 Temür Öljeytu (Ulijurtu)
706/1307 Qayshun Güllük
710/1311 Ayurparbhadra Buyantu
720/1320 Südhipala Gege'en (Gegen)
723/1323 Yesün Temür
728/1328 Ariqaba
728/1328 Jilaghutu Toq-Temür
729/1329 Qusília Qutuqtu
732/1332 Kirichenpal (Irinjipa)
733-71/1332-70 Toghan Temür

The line of Toluy's descendants continued in Mongolia alone till the seventeenth century, but the Khans in China were replaced in 1368 by the Ming dynasty.

Ögedey's reign was marked by the completion of the conquest of northern China, i.e. the Chin empire, and the annexation of Korea; it was not until 1279 that the Sung empire in southern China was overthrown. At the other end of the Old World, Batu was raiding the South Russian steppes and central Europe, terrorising mediaeval Christendom (see below pp. 153-4). Although Ögedey's son Güyük had numerous offspring, the supreme khanate passed on Güyük's death in 647/1249 to another line, that of Möngke and the descendants of Toluy. When Möngke's brother Qubilay was proclaimed Great Khan by a Qurilhey in China, the descendants of Ögedey broke out in revolt, and under Qaydu and Chapat were for a long time an embarrassment to the Great Khans. They eventually submitted to the family of Toluy, but in later times, various members of the house of Ögedey were raised to power in periods of revolution and unrest, and the great Timur set up two of these in Transoxania, Soyrughatamish and his son Mahmud, to replace the Chaghatayids there.

The Great Khans in Qaraqorum and after Möngke's time, in Peking or Khan-balıq (= 'City of the Khans'), led a life of a certain barbarian splendour, as the accounts of travellers and visitors from western Europe and the Near East show. The material wealth and plunder gained from the Mongol conquests was concentrated on the capitals; artisans and craftsmen were gathered there; and scholars, writers, and religious leaders made their way to the khans' encampment. The Mongols displayed the traditional tolerance of the steppes, and were willing to give a hearing to the arguments of Latin and Nestorian Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and Confucians. Inevitably, the original animistic shamanism of the Mongols gave way in Mongolia and northern China to one of the higher religions, in fact to Buddhism in the Tibetan Lamaist form. This became and has remained the dominant religion of the Mongols of eastern Asia, and was even carried westwards to the Volga and Kuban by the Oyrot Mongols or Kalmucks in their great migration of the early seventeenth century.

The Mongol Great Khans gradually settled down to being yet another Chinese dynasty of barbarian origin, called in Chinese the Yüan. They ruled in China till in 1368 they were replaced by the Ming, but well before then they had ceased to have much influence over the Mongol khanates of central and western Asia. Only in Mongolia proper did the descendants of the Great Khans survive with some independence, though under the general suzerainty of the Ming emperors.

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L. Hambis, Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che, les généalogies impériales mongoles dans l'histoire chinoise officielle de la dynastie mongole (= Supplement to T'oung Pao, XXXVIII) (Leiden 1945) (Tables based on both Chinese and Persian sources).
F. W. Cleaves, "The Mongol names and terms in the History of
The Chaghatayids, descendants of Chaghatay

**Transoxania, Semirechye and eastern Turkestan**

624/1227 Chaghatay
639/1241 Qara Hülegü, first reign
645/1247 Yesi Möngke
650/1252 Qara Hülegü, second reign
650/1252 Orqina Khatun
659/1261 Alughu
664/1266 Mubārak Shāh
664/1266 Baraq

C.670/C.1271 Negiibey (Nikpāy)
670/1272 Tuça Temür

C.680/C.1291 Duwa
706/1306 Könehk
708/1308 Taliq
709/1309 Kebeck (Köpek), first reign
709/1309 Esen Buqa

C.718/C.1318 Kebeck, second reign
726/1326 Eljigidey
726/1326 Duwa Temür
726/1326 'Ala‘ ad-Dīn Tarmashirīn
734/1334 Changshī
735/1334 Buzan

C.739/C.1338 Yesūn Temür
C.743/C.1342 Muhammad
744/1343 Qazan
747/1346 Dānishmendji
749/1348 Bayan Quli
760/1359 Shāh Temür

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After Chinggis’ death, Chaghatay had great prestige as the eldest surviving son and as being an acknowledged expert on the Mongol tribal law, the *Yasa*; he was, indeed, strongly anti-Muslim and insisted on enforcing those prescriptions of the *Yasa* which ran counter to the Muslim *Shari'a*, e.g. over the slaughtering of animals for meat and over ablations in running water. Chaghatay’s *Yars* straddled the T’ien Shan Mts on both sides, but the Chaghatay khanate was not really founded till after Chaghatay’s own death. His sons and grandsons quarrelled amongst themselves and conspired against the Great Khan Möngke, and according to William of Rubruck, the North German friar who travelled to the Mongol court in Qaraqorum, the whole Mongol empire was divided c.1250 between Möngke and Batu. The real founder of the Chaghatay khanate was Chaghatay’s grandson Alughu, who took advantage of the civil war between Möngke’s sons Qubilay and Ariq Böke to seize Khwārazm, western Turkestan and Afghanistan, nominally for Ariq Böke but in fact for himself; these territories became the nucleus of the khanate.

The Chaghatayids were less directly under the influence of Islam than the Mongols in Persia, the Il-Khanids, and preserved their nomadic and tribal ways much longer; these facts probably contributed to the general decline of urban life and agriculture in central Asia outside the cities of Transoxania and eastern Turkestan. Mubārak Shāh (666/1266) was the first Chaghatayid definitely to adopt Islam, but from 690/1291 onwards, Duwa and his descendants were fiercely pagan and resident in the eastern territories straddling the T’ien Shan. Kebeck was the first to return to Transoxania, where he built a palace at Nakhsbāb or Qaršī. Tarmashīrīn (whose name in this Persianised form enshrines a Buddhist one like Dharmaśāla ’Having the habit of the Dharma or Buddhist law’) became a Muslim, but the strongly anti-Islamic nomadic Mongols of the eastern part of the khanate rose against him and killed him (734/1334). The unity of the Chaghatayids began to disintegrate soon after this, as Timür rose to power in Transoxania. Various Chaghatayids were placed on the throne in Trans-
oxania, and then some descendants of Ögedey. The Chaghatayid family managed to survive, and after Timur’s death its fortunes revived in Transoxania under Esen Buqa II (833-67/1429-62), a dangerous enemy of the later Timurids; but its Transoxanian territories eventually fell to the Shaybansids. Only the eastern branch persisted in Semirechye and in the Tarim basin, where it expanded towards Turfan and shared power in Kashi with the Dughlat tribe of Turks until the final extinction of the Chaghatayids in the later seventeenth century.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Lane Poole, 241-2; Zambaur, 248-50. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che.*

El² ‘Čagharay Khan’, ‘Čaghatay Khānate’ (Barthold-Boyle).

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The Il-Khanids, descendants of Qubilay’s brother Hulegu

654-754/1256-1353

*Persia*

654/1256 Hulegu (Hulagü)
663/1265 Abaqa
680/1282 Almād Tegüder (Takūdar)
683/1284 Arghun
690/1291 Gaykhatu
694/1295 Baydu
694/1295 Māhrūd Ghazar
703/1304 Muḥammad Khudābānda Öljetü (Uljaytū)
717/1317 Abū-Sa’id
736/1336 Arpa
736/1336 Mustā’

736-54/1336-53 period of several rival khans nominated by the Jalāyirid Amīr Hasan Buqur and the Chūpānī Amīr Hasan Kitkūk; thereafter Persia divided amongst local dynasties such as the Jalāyirids, Mughalids and Sarbadāris of Khurasan.

The Great Khan Mongke entrusted his brother Hulegu with the task of recovering and consolidating the Mongol conquests in western Asia, for in the interval since Chinggis’s death, direct control of much of the Islamic world south of the Oxus had slipped from the Mongols’ hands. Hulegu accordingly came westwards. He overcame the resistance of the Ismā’īlīs or Assassins of northern Persia (654/1256); routed a caliphal army in Iraq and murdered the last ‘Abbāsid of Baghdad, al-Musta’sim (656/1258); and advanced into Syria, where, however, the Mongols were defeated and halted by the Mamluks of Egypt at ‘Ayn-Jalīt in Palestine (658/1260). Hulegu now became ruler on behalf of the Great Khan of all the region of Persia, Iraq, the Caucasus and Anatolia, and assumed the title of Il-Khan, s.c. subject or subordinate of the Great Khan.

The Il-Khanid kingdom was now definitely constituted, but
it had many external enemies, including the Mamluks, who had now destroyed the popular belief in Mongol invincibility. The other Mongol houses of the Golden Horde and the Chaghatayids were also hostile over disputed territories in the Caucasus and northeastern Iran respectively. It was common hostility towards the Il-Khanids that brought about the political and commercial alliance of the Mamluks and the Golden Horde, whereas the Il-Khanids for their part tried to make an anti-Muslim alliance with the European Christian powers, with the Crusaders of the Levant coast towns and with the Armenians of Cilicia. Hülegü’s wife Doquz Khatun was a Nestorian Christian, and the early Il-Khanids were definitely favourable towards Christianity and Buddhism.

The Il-Khanids managed to hold their own against external foes, but after Qubilay’s death in 693/1294, links with the Great Khans in China became very loose, especially as the cultural and religious pressures of the Persian environment brought about the conversion to Islam of Ghazan Khan and his successors. Abü-Sa’ïd was the last great Il-Khanid. He made peace with the Mamluks in 723/1323 and thus ended the fighting over Syria, but his kingdom was racked by internal strife and it was unfortunate that he died without legitimate heir. The years after his death were accordingly filled with a succession of ephemeral khans, raised to the throne by the rival Jalayirid and Chûpânumi Amirs, until finally the Il-Khanid empire fell to pieces and was replaced by local dynasties. It was left to Timur to reunite the Persian lands under one sovereign.

Despite much warfare and internal stress, the Il-Khanid period was a prosperous one for Persia. With the conversion of Ghazan, a reconciliatory process between the Mongol-Turkish ruling class and their Persian subjects began. The Il-Khanid capitals of Tabriz and Marâgha became great centres of learning, with the natural sciences and historical writing especially favoured. After 707/1307 Öljeitu planned a new capital at Sulâniyya near Qazwîn; artists and architects were encouraged, and a distinctive style of Il-Khanid architecture emerged. The internationalist attitudes of the Mongols, their connections with such differing cultures as those of Christian Europe and China, brought fresh intellectual, commercial and artistic influences into the Persian world; for instance, colonies of Italian

traders now appeared in the capital Tabriz, and the Il-Khanid empire played a significant connecting role in trade with the Far East and India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole 217-21; Zambaur, 244-5.
Hambis, Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che.
B. Spuler, Die Mongolen in Iran, Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilkanzeit 1220-1350 (Berlin 1955), with a genealogical table at p. 533.
The Khans of the Golden Horde
623-907/1226-1502
South Russia and western Siberia

1. Line of Batu'sids, khans of the Blue Horde in South Russia and western Qipchaq
624/1227 Batu b. Jochi
653/1255 Sartaq
654/1256 Ulaghchi
655/1257 Berke (Baraka)
665/1267 Möngke (Mengü) Temür
679/1280 Töde Möngke (Mengü)
686/1287 Töle Buqa
689/1290 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Toqçu
712/1312 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Muhammed Özbeg
742/1341 Tûn Beg
742/1341 Jânı Beg (Jambek)
758-82/1357-80 period of anarchy, with the claimants Muhammed Berdi Beg, Qulpa and Nawrâz Beg Muhammed

2. Line of Orda, khans of the White Horde in Siberia and eastern Qipchaq, and after 780/1378, of the Blue and White Hordes united into the Golden Horde of South Russia
623/1226 Orda b. Jochi
679/1280 Köchî
701/1302 Bayan
708/1309 Sişıbuqa (Sarîgh Buça)
c.715/c.1315 Ilbasan
720/1320 Mubârak Khwâja
745/1344 Chîmêtay
762/1361 Urus
777/1375 Tuqaqîya
777/1375 Temûr Malik
778/1376 Ghiyâth-ad-Dîn Tuqanîsh
797/1395 Temûr Qultugh
803/1401 Shûdî Beg

810/1407 Pûlád
813/1410 Temûr
815/1412 Jalâl-ad-Dîn
815/1412 Karîm Berdi
817/1414 Kebek
820/1417 Jâbbâr Berdi
822/1419 Ulûg Muhammed, first reign rival khans
823/1420 Dwîlat Berdi
825/1422 Bâraq
832/1427 Ulûg Muhammed, second reign (later in Qazan)
c.838/c.1433 Sâyyîd Ahmâd I
C.840/c.1435 Khîchîkh Muhammed
871/1465 Ahmâd
886/1481 Shâykh Ahmâd
886/1481 Sâyyîd Ahmâd II co-rulers
886/1481 Murtâdâ
Defeat of Shâykh Ahmâd by the Giray khans of the Crimea in 907/1502 and absorption of the remnants of the Golden Horde into the Crimean Tatar Horde

Chinggis’ eldest son Jochi had been allotted as his Yur flight western Siberia and the Qipchaq Steppes, and on his death in 624/1227, the eastern part of his appanage, ie. western Siberia, fell to his eldest son Orda, who became titular head of the descendants of Jochi and founded in his territories the White Horde. Little is known about the early White Horde khan, but the forceful and energetic Toqanîsh (d. 809/1406) is a figure of major importance. He united the Batu’id Blue Horde (by now known as the Golden Horde) with the White Horde, and once more made the Golden Horde a power of importance in Russia, sacking Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow in 784/1382. However, he had the misfortune to come up against Timûr, who drove him out of his capital Saray on the Volga, and Toqanîsh was forced to flee to exile with Vitold of Lithuania.

The western half of Jochi’s appanage, Khâvarrazm and the Qipchaq Steppes of South Russia, went to his second son Batu. Batu ravaged Russia almost as far as Nizhny Novgorod, captured Kiev and attacked Poland and Hungary. Christian Europe was only
saved from further molestation after Batu's army's Liegnitz victory of 638/1241 and the pursuit of Béla IV to the shores of the Adriatic, by the news of the Great Khan Ögedey's death. Based on the capital Saray, Batu's Blue Horde became the nucleus of the Golden Horde (a name apparently given to them by the Russians, Zolotaya Orda). From Özbeg onwards (d. 742/1341), the khans of the Golden Horde were all Muslims, and this meant that there was a religious gulf fixed between the ruling Horde and the mass of their Christian Russian subjects, although Latin Christian missionaries continued to work for some time in the Qipchaq Steppe. The Horde had important commercial links with Anatolia and the Mamlûk empire in Syria and Egypt; slave replenishments were sent to the Mamlûks, whilst the culture of the Horde received a definite Islamic-Mediterranean impress, in contrast to the Persianised Il-Khanids. However, the growth of the Ottoman power and their control of the Dardanelles after 755/1354 cut them off from the Mediterranean and contact with the Mamlûks and henceforth made them a purely Russian power.

Real power in the Golden Horde was held after Toqanîsh's death by the capable 'Mayor of the Palace', Edîgi, but after the latter's death in 822/1419, a process of disintegration, with much internal discord, began. Already in the later fourteenth century the rise of Poland-Lithuania and the Princedom of Muscovy had seriously checked the authority of the khans, and the Ottomans and their allies the Crimean Tatars were also hostile. It was, indeed, the Crimean khan, Mengli Giray, who in 907/1502 finally overthrew the Golden Horde. But before this date, other khanates had split off from the Golden Horde, under various descendants of a third son of Jochi, Toqa Temîr: these included the khanates of Astrakhan (till the Russian conquest of 961/1554), of Qazan (till the Russian conquest of 959/1552), of Qasimov (around Ryazan, to the southeast of Moscow, till c.1692/c.1681, the last khans becoming Christians), and of the Crimea.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 222-31.
Zambur, 244, 246-7 and Table s.
oxanıa from the last Timūrids. During the sixteenth century, the Sunni Shaybānids carried on fairly continuous warfare with the Shi‘i Safavids of Persia, and their alliance was courted by other Sunni powers such as the Ottomans and the Mughals of India. The Shaybānids ruled in Bukhāra till 1067/1558, when the Jānids, descendants of Jochi’s son Orda and connections of the Shaybānids in the female line, assumed power; Khwārazm, or Khiva, as the Khanate there came to be called, remained under the authority of a collateral branch of the Shaybānids, the 'Arabshāhids, until the end of the eighteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 238-40, 270-3; Zambour, 270-1.
Amongst the descendants of Jochi’s son Toqa Temür, one branch established itself in the Crimea during the internece strife which convulsed the Golden Horde after 760/1359. At first they were vassals of Toqanish, but then in the early fifteenth century they became wholly independent of the Golden Horde under their own khan, Hâji Giray (d. 871/1466). The family name Giray derives possibly from that of the Kerey, a component clan of the Golden Horde which had supported Hâji Giray. The Crimean khanate now became one of the most enduring states to arise from the stock of Chinggis Khan.

The Ottomans were the natural allies of the Girays, at first against the Golden Horde, whose khans regarded the Crimea as subject to themselves, and then from the sixteenth century onwards, against the Russians. The Girays claimed to be heirs to the Golden Horde, and did at times in the sixteenth century rule in Qazan. From the later sixteenth century, the khans ruled from their capital at Bagdad Saray (Simaferopol) over much of the southern part of the Ukraine and the lower Don-Kuban region, acting as a Muslim buffer-state between the Ottomans on one side and Russia and Poland on the other. Dependence on Istanbul was shown by the requirement of a Giray hostage at the sultans’ court; on the other hand, there was a vague feeling that, should the Ottoman dynasty die out, the Girays had a claim to the succession in Turkey.

The eighteenth-century Russian expansionism towards the Black Sea and Mediterranean and the enfeoffment of the Ottomans, spelled the end of Crimean independence, and in 1197/1783 Catherine the Great’s troops occupied and annexed the Crimea; one or two of the Girays were, however, subsequently appointed by the Sublime Porte to head the Tatars in Bessarabia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 235-7.
Zambaur, 247-8 and Table s.
1a ‘Giray’ (Halil Inalcık), with a detailed genealogical table, on which the above list is based.
NINE

PERSIA AFTER THE MONGOLS

713/1314 Mubāriz-ad-Dīn Muḥammad b.
   al-Muẓaffar
719/1318 Qutb-ad-Dīn Shāh Maḥmūd (in Isfahān
   and Abarqūh till 776/1375)
765/1362 Jalāl-ad-Dīn Shāh Shujā’ (in Fārs and
   Kīrman; after 776/1375 in Isfahān
   also)
786/1384 Muḥājīd-ad-Dīn Zayn-al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī
   (deposed by Tīmūr 789/1387)
786-95/1384-93 'Imād-ad-Dīn Ahmad (in Kīrman)
789-95/1387-93 Nuṣrat-ad-Dīn Yābūyā (in Yazd)
789-95/1387-93 Mānṣūr (in Isfahān, Fārs and Iraq)

Timūrid conquest

The founder of the dynasty, Sharaft-ad-Dīn al-Muẓaffar, was in
the service of the Mongols, being appointed a ‘Commander of
a Thousand’ (Amūr-i Hazāra) by Ghazan Khan and governor
of a town near Isfahān. His son Muḥammad was also governor
of Yazd, and in the chaos in the Il-Khanid empire following
Abū-Sa‘īd’s death in 736/1336, expanded his possessions in
Fārs after protracted struggles against the Injū’id Abū-Iṣḥāq.
A marriage to the daughter of the last Qutlugh-Khanid ruler of
Kīrman brought that province to him. By 758/1356 he was
undisputed master of Fārs and Iraq, and was tempted into

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invading Azerbajan, where he captured Tabriz, but was unable to hold on to it.

Muhammad was deposed by his own son Shâh Shujâ’ (who followed Abû-Is'̄hâq Injû'i as patron of the poet Hâfa in Shâh Shujâ’ was involved in disputes with his brother Malîmûd, governor in Isfahan, till the latter's death. Malîmûd had sought the help of the Mu'azzafarids' old enemies, the Jalâyirids, and when he had at last secured Isfahan, Shâh Shujâ’ led an expedition into Azerbajan against the Jalâyirid Husayn b. Uways. But the shadow of Timûr was now falling across Persia. Shâh Shujâ’ hastened to submit to the great conqueror. His successors, however, were less circumspect. Before his death in 786/1384 Shâh Shujâ’ had divided his possessions between his brother Ahmad (Kirmân) and his son Zayn-al-'Abîdin (Fars and the capital Shiraz), and dynastic disputes over the various parts of the Mu'azzafarid dominions were to disunite and weaken the dynasty fatally. Zayn-al-'Abîdin submitted at first to Timûr, but Timûr later sacked Isfahan after his tax-collectors there had been killed in a popular rising. The last Mu'azzafarid, Mansûr, was ruler over all Fars and Iraq when Timûr resolved in 795/1393 to extinguish the independent dynasties of western Persia; Mansûr was killed in battle and the surviving Mu'azzafarids massacred.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 249-50; Justi, 460. Zambaur, 254.
81 'Mu'azzafarids', 'Shâh Shujâ’' (K. V. Zetterstên).

63
The Jalâyirids
736-835/1336-1432
Iraq, Kurdistan and Azerbajan

736/1336 Taj-ad-Dîn Hasan Buzurg
737/1336 Uways 1
776/1374 Jalâl-ad-Dîn Husayn 1
784/1382 Ghîyân-ad-Dîn Ahmad
784-5/1382-3 Bâyazîd (in Kurdistan)
813/1410 Shâh Walad
814/1411 Malîmûd, first reign (under the tutelage of the Queen-Mother Tândû)
818/1415 Uways II
824/1421 Muhammad
825/1422 Malîmûd, second reign
827-35/1424-32 Husayn II
Qara Qoyunlu conquest of southern Iraq

The Jalâyirids were one of the successor-states to the Il-Khanids of Persia, succeeding to their territories in Iraq and Azerbajan. The Jalâyir were, it seems, originally a Mongol tribe in Hülegü's following. The founder of the dynasty's fortunes was Hasan Buzurg (called Buzurg 'Great' to distinguish him from his enemy and rival of the Chûpânîd family of Amirs, Hasan Kîchîk 'the Small'), who had been governor of Anatolia under Sultan Abû-Sâ'id. He eventually prevailed over the Chûpânîds and made Baghdad the centre of his power; nevertheless, he continued to recognise various Il-Khanid faîdants as his suzerains down to 747/1346, and it was left to his son Uways to assume full personal sovereignty.

Uways conquered Azerbajan in 761/1360, and asserted his overlordship in Fars over the disputing Mu'azzafarids, but his successors had to cope with the rising power of the Qara Qoyunlu Turksmen in Diyarbakr and an invasion through the Caucasus into Azerbajan by the ambitious khans of the Golden Horde. Uways's son Ahmad opposed Timûr when the latter appeared in northern Persia and Iraq, and had to flee into exile with the Mamlûks of Egypt, only returning to Baghdad after Timûr's death in 807/1405. However, the shock
of the Timūrid invasions had much weakened the Jalāyirids' position. Azerbaycan quickly fell to the Qara Qoyunlu, and then Baghdad itself was captured by them in 815/1412. Only in Lower Iraq, at Wāsit, Basra, and Shushtar, did minor Jalāyirid princes survive as vassals of the Timūrid Shāh Rukh, till Ḥusayn II was killed at Ḥilla in 835/1432.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Lane Poole, 246-8; Zambaur, 253.

*Efs* "Djalāyir" (J. M. Smith Junr).
built up, setting up as figure-heads there the descendents of Chingiz’s son Ögedey, Soyurghamish and Mahmud.

Timur’s first campaigns were in Khwarazm and Khurasan, after which he began the conquest of Persia in earnest; during the ‘Five Years’ War’ beginning 797/1395, the Muzaffarids of Fars were destroyed and the Jalayird Omar b. Uways driven from Iraq. However, Timur’s northern frontier was an open one, and his great rival in the steppes was Toqamish, khan of the White Horde, who had united his wing of the Mongols with the Blue Horde and was thus supreme all over the Qipchaq steppe; Timur accordingly invaded Qipchaq in 797/1395, penetrating as far as Moscow and Astrakhan. But his main efforts were directed against the rich territories of the Islamic heartlands, where his campaigns had a dissolving effect on the contemporary political structure. During the Indian campaign of 809/1398–9, Delhi was sacked and the end of the Tughluqids hastened, facilitating the rise of independent provincial sultanes such as those of Jawnpur, Gujarât, Mêlwa, and Khândesh. In the west, Timur’s defeat of the Ottoman Bayazit at Ankara in 805/1402 gave the Turkmen principalities of Anatolia a few more decades’ respite from absorption by the Ottoman sultans.

Before his death, which occurred just as he was about to leave for China, Timur divided his territories amongst his sons and grandsons; but with the terror inspired by his personal presence gone, the later Timurids eventually sank to the status of local rulers in Khurasan and Transoxania. At first there were two great kingdoms under Timur’s two sons Jalâl-ad-Dîn Mîrânshâh in western Persia and Iraq and Shâh Rukh in Khurasan and later also in Transoxania. Whereas Timur’s lifetime had been largely taken up with military conquest, the Timurids of the fifteenth century made the eastern Islamic world a splendid cultural unity, whose achievements were outstanding in the fields of Persian and Chaghâtay Turkish literature, in architecture, and in painting and book production, furthermore, Shah Rukh’s son Ulugh Beg became famed for his astronomical interests.

By 823/1420 Shâh Rukh had taken over all Timur’s former territories in Persia and Iraq, and still held a nominal suzerainty over India and China. His great-nephew Abû-Sâ’îd was, next to the Ottoman Mehmet the Conqueror, the most powerful

monarch of his age, although he was unable to prevent the Özbeks from raiding across the Oxus and his campaign of 873/1468 to help the Qara Qoyunlu Hasan ‘Ali against the Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Hasan and to regain the western territories lost on Shâh Rukh’s death, only ended in disaster. Husayn Bayqara was the last great figure amongst the Timurids, ruling from Herat over all Khurasan; it was at his court that the final florescence of Timurid culture took place, with the poets Jâmi and ‘All Shir Nevâî and the painter Bîhzad working there.

The Timurids were the last great Islamic dynasty of steppe origin; the rise of powerful states like the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, all employing firearms and more advanced military techniques, tilted the scales against any further large-scale invasions from the Eurasian steppes.

The Qara Qoyunlu or ‘Black Sheep’ arose out of Turkmen elements pushed eastwards by the Mongol invasions. Their ruling family seems to have sprung from the Ivi clan of the Oguz, and the seat of their power lay to the north of Lakes Van and Urmia, whence they gradually spread their authority over Azerbaycan and the eastern fringes of Anatolia.

Qara Muḥammad served the Jalāyirid sultan Uways, but his son Qara Yūsuf occupied Tabriz, henceforth the capital of the Qara Qoyunlu, and made himself independent. Qara Yūsuf made the unfortunate decision to oppose Timūr, and had to flee to Mamlūk Egypt, only regaining Tabriz in 809/1406. Now firmly re-established, the Qara Qoyunlu carried on warfare with their Aq Qoyunlu rivals in Diyarbakr, with the Georgians and Shārvān-Shāhis in the Caucasus, and against their suzerains the Timūrids in western Persia; once the forceful Shāh Rukh was dead, Jihān Shāh extended his rule over Iraq, Fārs, Kirmān, and even Oman. Finally, he attacked the redoubtable Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uṣūn Ḥasan in Diyarbakr, but was defeated and lost his life. Two years before his death, Jihān Shāh had also extinguished a subordinate line of Qara Qoyunlu which had ruled in Baghdad since Qara Yūsuf’s time. When Jihān Shāh was killed, his son Hasan ‘Ali returned from exile to Tabriz, but was unable to secure the loyalty of the Qara Qoyunlu troops and was killed in 873/1468.

Politically, the rise of the Qara Qoyunlu confederation meant the end of Il-Khanid rule in Iraq and western Persia, and the failure of the Timūrids also to maintain themselves in the west; ethnically, the concentration of Turkmen accelerated the process, already well advanced, whereby Azerbaycan has become predominantly Turkish in race and speech. As to the religious affiliations of the Qara Qoyunlu, later sources describe them as strongly Shī‘ī, but contemporary sources are not so categorical; all one can safely say is that Shī‘ī beliefs were certainly very prevalent amongst the Turkmen of western Asia at this time, as the rise of the ʿ Ṣafavīds shows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 253; Zambaur, 257. I.A ‘Kara-Koyunlular’ (Faruk Sümer) (with detailed genealogical table).
who in the fifteenth century were mopping up the remaining Turkish principalities of Anatolia and pressing relentlessly eastwards. Anti-Ottoman policy made him ally with the Qara-
mâuids, and he also tried to save Trebizond, to whose last
emperors he was related through his Byzantine wife Despina,
from the attacks of Mehmet the Conqueror. Under Uzun
Hasan, the Aq Qoyunlu became a power of international signi-
ficance. In 868/1464 diplomatic relations were opened with the
Ottomans' Venetian enemies, and arms and munitions des-
patched from Venice. Yet Uzun Hasan's forces were no match
for the Ottoman artillery at Terjân in 876/1473, and he was
crushingly defeated. His son Ya'qûb carried on the struggle,
but thereafter the dynasty was rent by internecine strife and
succession disputes. The Qaraşâuids had fallen to the Otto-
mans, and the ideological bases of the Sunnî Aq Qoyunlu
power were now being undermined by the Shi'î propaganda
spread by the Safavids amongst the Turkmens of Anatolia. In
906/1501 Alwand was defeated near Nakhchevân by Shâh
Ismâ'îl, and the last Aq Qoyunlu was forced to flee to the
Ottoman sultan, Selim. An autonomous Aq Qoyunlu princi-
pality at Mâardin in Diyarbekr had been extinguished by Alwand
shortly before his own defeat, and the dynasty's rule was now
finished everywhere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 254; Zambaur, 248-9.
1 A 'Aq Qoyunlu' (M. H. Yihâncı) (with detailed genealogical
table).
118 'Aq Qoyunlu' (V. Minorsky).
R. M. Savory, 'The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the
death of Timûr', Der Islam, l.x (1964), 35-65.
ARCH.

archy. This rule soon became a theocratic one, for Ismā'il and his successors not only professed Ašrid origins, but also claimed a semi-divine status as reincarnations of the Shi‘ī Imāms. The Turkish tribesmen supporting them, the so-called Qızıl-başh or ‘red-heads’ (from the red caps which they wore), thus owed them a spiritual as well as political allegiance. Shi‘ism was imposed as the state religion in a country which up till then had been, at least officially, predominantly Sunni. The Safavid period is thus of supreme importance in Persian history because of this consolidation of Shi‘ism there; in the process, Persia acquired a new sense of solidarity and nationhood which has enabled her to survive into modern times with her national spirit and territorial integrity virtually unimpaired.

Militarily, Shāh Ismā‘īl and his successors had to face the unrelenting hostility of their Sunni neighbours, the Ottomans in the west and the Turkmen Özbegs in the north-east. On the Oxus frontier, the Shāhs just about managed to hold their own, with frontier towns like Herat, Mashhad and Sarakhs frequently changing hands; but Turkmen incursions for plunder and slaves continued well into the nineteenth century. The Ottomans were more dangerous, being at the height of their power in the sixteenth century; Selim the Grim’s victory over the Safavids at Chaldirān in 920/1514 was a triumph of logistics for the Ottomans, as well as a display of superior firepower (like the Mamluks of Egypt, the Safavids were for long curiously averse from the use of artillery and small arms). Soon afterwards, Kurdistan, Diyarbakır, and Baghdad passed into Ottoman hands, and Azerbaijan itself was frequently invaded; later, the Safavid capital was moved from vulnerable Tabriz to Qazvin and then to Isfahān.

The reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I, near contemporary of such great rulers as Elizabeth I of England, Philip II of Spain, Ivan the Terrible of Russia and the Mughal emperor Akbar, marks the apex of Safavid political power and also of Safavid culture and civilisation, some of the greatest achievements of which are preserved in the unparalleled architectural beauties of Isfahān. In his reign, the Ottomans were hurled from Azerbaijan, and Persian control over the eastern Caucasus and the Persian Gulf strengthened. Diplomatic relations with Europe were established (although the projected Safavid-European grand alliance
against the Ottomans never materialised), and commercial and cultural contacts grew. In order to counteract the political influence in the state of the *Qājār*-bash, Shāh 'Abbās recruited Georgian and Circassian converts as slave guards, and favoured the growth of a group of Turkmen tribes owing allegiance to himself personally, and not to the chiefs of the great tribes (the Shāh-āyyūn or 'lovers of the Shāh').

After the death of Shāh 'Abbās I in 1666, the decline of the dynasty was obvious. Safavid rule in the east stretched to Qandahār in Afghanistan, but there must have been a certain amount of anti-Shī'ī sentiment in this strongly Sunnī region, and the Safavid governor of Afghanistan, Mir Wāy, declared himself independent in the early years of the eighteenth century. In 1722 his son Māhmūd invaded Persia, and for several years, till the rise of Nādir Shāh, the Afghans occupied much of Persia. Various members of the Safavid family were raised to power as puppet rulers after this, but the effective rule of the dynasty was finished in 1732.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Lane Poole, 255-9; Justi, 479.
Zambaur, 261-2.

Nādir was a chieftain of the Afshār, a Turkmen tribe settled in northern Khurasan; it was in this home territory that Nādir later constructed his stronghold and treasury, the Qal'at-i Nādiri. In this period of the Safavids' death-throes, when much of Persia was in the hands of the Afghans, the national unity of Persia, which had been carefully built up by the early Safavids, seemed likely to disintegrate. It was to be Nādir's task to re-establish the territorial integrity of Persia, albeit at the price of leaving the country financially and economically exhausted.

Nādir's rise to power began through his service under the Safavid sultan, Tahmāsp II (whence the name he adopted of Tahmāsp Quli 'slave of Tahmāsp'). He began systematically to clear the Afghan invaders from Persia, and when by 1727 this had been achieved, Tahmāsp rewarded him with the governorship of Khurasan, Kirmān, Sistān, and Mīzandārān. With so much territory under his personal control, Nādir began to act like an independent ruler, now coining his own money. Turning to external enemies, he drove the Ottomans out of Azerbaijan and Hamadān in 1730 and penetrated through the Caucasus deep into the heart of Daghestan. Tahmāsp's conclusion of a treaty with Turkey and Russia which was unfavourable to Persia's interests provided Nādir with a pretext to dethrone Tahmāsp, setting up another Safavid prince as a puppet, until in 1736 he was himself proclaimed Shāh. Nādir seems at this point to have sought an end to the ancient Shi'i-Sunnī hostility of Persia and Turkey, and he announced the abandonment of Twelver Shi'ism as the state religion and the establishment of a new faith, a much-attenuated form of Shi'ism whose spiritual head was to be the sixth imām, Ja'far
as-Ṣādiq. Unfortunately, this conciliatory move did not bring about a real détente with the Ottomans.

The expense of continual warfare drove Nādir into his brilliantly successful Indian campaign of 1151-2/1738-9, as a result of which the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh had to cede all his provinces north and west of the Indus, and to pay an enormous tribute. Because of this last, Nādir declared the people of Persia exempt from taxation for three years. An attempted assassination of Nādir in 1154/1741, in which the complicity of his son Ridā Quli was suspected, caused a deterioration in Nādir’s character, so that his policies became more and more cruel and erratic. Rebellions broke out in the provinces against his exactions, and in 1160/1747 a group of Afshār and Qājār chiefs finally did murder him. Two of his nephews reigned briefly, and then his grandson Shāh Rukh held Khurasan for nearly a further half-century, but the glory departed with Nādir; Persia was exhausted now, and ready for the period of relative peace and prosperity under the Zands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 257-9, 262; Zambaur, 261. e1 Ḍādir Shāh’ (V. Minorsky).

In the chaos which followed Nādir Shāh’s death, various military chiefs seized power in the provinces of Persia. Nādir’s Afghan commander Ahmad Durrānī founded in Qandahār an important Afghan state whose territories included Nādir’s conquests in northwestern India. In Khurasan, the blind Afshārīd Shāh Rukh held on precariously to power. In Māzandarān, the Qājār chief Muhammad Hasan maintained his local authority, and in Azerbāyjan, another of Nādir’s Afghan generals, Azād, established himself. In southern Persia, the chief force at first was the Bakhṭiyārī leader ‘Ali Mardān, who had taken Isfahān and raised to the throne there a puppet Ṣafavīd, Ismā’il 111 (1163/1750). ‘Ali Mardān’s lieutenant and ally was Muhammad Karīm Zand, a soldier of lowly Lurī origin, and when ‘Ali was murdered, Muhammad made himself sole ruler of southern Persia.

Azād capitulated peacefully to Muhammad, but the latter had a long struggle with the Qājār Muhammad Hasan before his power in Persia as a whole was made firm. Muhammad Karīm Khān never himself assumed the title of Shāh, but reigned from Shirāz as Wakhīr or Regent for the Ṣafavīd Ismā’il 111. Muhammad’s reign of almost thirty years was one of clemency and moderation, and the country flourished under his enlightened rule; amongst other things, commercial relations with Britain via Bushire on the Persian Gulf were encouraged. But the death of Muhammad was the signal for disastrous disputes over the succession to break out within the family. ‘Alī
PERSIA AFTER THE MONGOLS

Murād finally secured the throne, but died soon afterwards, and in the reign of Ja'far, the power of the Zands' Qājār rivals grew until the Zands had to abandon Isfahan to them. The last Zand, Lutf 'Ali Khan, a popular ruler and an able general, took up arms against the Qājārs and was successful for a while, but in 1209/1794 he was captured at Kirmān by Āghā Muḥammad and brutally murdered; thus the whole of Persia then fell to the Qājārs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 260, 262; Zambaur, 261, 264.

THE QĀJĀRS

\[\text{\textit{\textbf{\textit{(70)}}}}\]

\textbf{The Qājārs}

1193-1342/1779-1924

Persia

1133/1721 Fāṭḥī 'Ali Khan
1163/1750 Muḥammad Ḥasan Khan tribal chiefs in Mazandarān
1184/1770 Ḥusayn Qulī Khan
1193/1779 Āghā Muḥammad
1212/1797 Fath 'Ali Shāh
1250/1834 Muḥammad
1264/1848 Nāṣir-ad-Dīn
1313/1896 Muẓaffar-ad-Dīn
1324/1907 Muḥammad 'Alī
1327-42/1909-24 Ahmad

Pahlavi Šāhs

The Qājār tribe of Turkmens had probably been settled near Astārabād in the Caspian coastlands since Mongol times; later, they were one of the seven great Turkmen tribes supporting the early Šafavids and comprising the Qezīl-bāsh. With the disintegration of the Šafavid empire in the early eighteenth century, the ambitious Qājār chiefs began to play a more-than-local rôle in Persian affairs. They survived the hostility of Nādir Shāh, and after his death, expanded across northern Persia to Azerbaijan, where Āghā Muḥammad, the future Shāh, became governor in 1170/1757. In the struggle for supremacy, the Qājārs were victorious over the Zands of Shirāz; Persian suzerainty was re-established, albeit temporarily, over Georgia; and the Afsharīd Shāh Rukh removed from Khorasan. The frightful Āghā Muḥammad, whose excesses are doubtless in part explicable by the fact that as a boy he had been castrated by Nādir's nephew 'Ādil Shāh, was thus the founder of the dynasty under which Persia was to move definitely into the modern world, acquiring an important strategic and economic rôle in international affairs. It was also under Āghā Muḥammad that Tehran, previously a town of only moderate importance, became the capital (1200/1786); in this way began the centrifugal movement of all life towards the centre which is such a feature of modern Persia.
Regular and continuous diplomatic relations with the European powers date from Fat'ḥ ʿAli Shāh’s reign, when Persia was courted by Britain on one side and Napoleonic France on the other, on account of her strategic position across the routes to the East. A by-product of this attention from the West was the introduction of European techniques and training into the Persian army. During the nineteenth century, Tsarist Russian imperialism was a constant threat; by the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1245/1828, Persia relinquished all claim to territories in eastern Armenia and the Caucasus, but the Russian advance in central Asia posed further potential danger to Persia’s northeastern frontier. For long, the Qājārs were unable to renounce the heritage of eastern conquest left by the Ṣafavids and Nādir, and disputes with Afghanistan over Herat continued until 1273/1857.

Through the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers and the astuteness of Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Shāh, Persia was much more successful than the Ottoman Empire in retaining its territorial integrity. Nevertheless, the cost of warfare and royal extravagance were plunging the nation deeply into foreign debt, thereby increasing the economic struggle of the European creditor nations. During the reign of the weaker Muḥammad-ad-Dīn Shāh, there arose a movement demanding some degree of political liberalism and the granting of a constitution, demands which had to be met in 1906. The prestige and powers of the Qājārs were now perceptibly fading. During the First World War Persia remained officially neutral, but despite this, Turkish, Russian, and British troops fought over her soil, and at the end of the war, various local rebellions and separatist movements grew up in the provinces. Accordingly, it was not difficult for the soldier Rīdā (Rizā) Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the army, to get the National Assembly to depose the Qājārs in 1924, after which he himself ascended the Persian throne as Rīdā (Rizā) Shāh Pahlavi, father of the present Shāh, Muḥammad Rīdā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 260, 262; Zambaur, 261-3.

AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

The Ghaznavids
366-182/977-1186
Khurasan, Afghanistan and northern India
366/977 Nāṣir-ad-Dawla Sebūktigin (governor on behalf of the Ṣāmānids)
387/997 Ismāʿīl
388/998 Yamīn-ad-Dawla Mājmuʿūd
dolb/1030 Jalāl-ad-Dawla Muḥammad, first reign
421/1031 Shībhab-ad-Dawla Maʾūd 1
432/1041 Muḥammad, second reign
432/1041 Shībhab-ad-Dawla Mawdūd
441/1050 Maʾūd 11
441/1050 Bahāʾ-ad-Dawla ʿAlī
dolb/1050 ʿIzz-ad-Dawla ʿAbd-ar-Rashīd
444/1053 Qiwān-ad-Dawla Ẓoghrīl, usurper
dolb/1053 Jamāl-ad-Dawla Farrukhzād
451/1059 Zāhīr-ad-Dawla Ibrāhīm
492/1099 ʿAlī-du-Dawla Maʾūd 111
508/1115 Kamāl-ad-Dawla Shīrzaʿd
509/1115 Sulṭān-ad-Dawla Arslān Shāh
512/1118 Yāmīn-ad-Dawla Bahrām Shāh
547/1152 Muʿizz-ad-Dawla Khusraw Shāh
555-82/1160-86 Tāj-ad-Dawla Khusraw Malik
Ghūrid conquest

On the death in 350/961 of the Ṣāmānīd Amīr ʿAbd-al-Malik, the Turkish slave commander of the Ṣāmānīd forces in Khurāsān, Alpūtīn, attempted to manipulate the succession in his
own favour. The attempt failed, and he was obliged to withdraw with some of his troops to Ghazna in eastern Afghanistan. Here on the periphery of the Sâmânid empire, and facing the pagan land of India, a series of Turkish slave commanders followed Alp-tigin, governing on behalf of the Sâmânids, till in 366/977 Sebîk-tigin came to power. Under him, the Ghaznavid tradition of raiding the plains of India in search of plunder and slaves was established, but it was his son Mahmûd who became fully independent and who achieved a reputation throughout the Islamic world as hammer of the infidels, penetrating down the Ganges to Muttra and Kanawî and into the Kathiawar peninsula to attack the famous idol-temple of Somânâ. In the north, he set up the Oxus as his frontier with the rival power of the Qarakhanids, and annexed Khabîrâz. In the west, the former Sâmânî province of Khurasan was held against Qarakhanid incursions, and at the very end of his life, Mahmûd marched to Ray and Hamadân in western Persia and seized them from the Bûyids (420/1029).

Mahmûd's empire at his death was thus the most extensive and imposing edifice known since the heyday of the early 'Abbâsid caliphate, and the military machine which made it possible was the most effective army of its age. Also, the Sultan's enthusiastic adoption of Persian administrative and cultural ways largely cut off the Ghaznavids from their pagan Turkish steppe background. But under his son Mas'ûd, Mahmûd's empire—essentially a personal creation—crumbled in the west: Khurasan and Khabîrâz were lost to the Seljuqs, and the middle years of the eleventh century were spent in warfare with them for possession of Sistân and western Afghanistan. By Ibrâhîm's accession in 451/1059, a modus vivendi was worked out with the Seljuqs and peace reigned for over half a century. Reduced as it now was to eastern Afghanistan and northern India, the Indian orientation of the Ghaznavid empire became more pronounced. In the early twelfth century, the Seljuq sultan Sanjr intervened in Ghaznavid affairs on more than one occasion, and Bahârîm Shâh's reign culminated in a frightful sack of Ghazna by the 'World-Encourager', the Ghûrid 'Ali'-ad-Dîn Jihân-siz (545/1150-1). The rise of the Ghûrids in central Afghanistan reduced the power of the last Ghaznavids, and Khusraw Shâh and Khusraw Malik ruled essentially in the Panjâb, until the Ghûrid Ghâyâth-ad-Dîn Muhammad finally extinguished the line (582/1186).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 285-90; Justi, 444. Zamburt, 282-3.
E12* Ghaznavids* (B. Spuler).
The Ghurids

1. Principal line in Ghur and then Ghazna
   - Muḥammad b. Sūrī

401/1011
   - Aḥūd-ʿAli
   - Shīrūn
   - ʿAbbās
   - Muḥammad
   - Qutb-ad-Dīn Ḥasan

493/1100
   *Izz-ad-Dīn Muḥammad (ruler in Ghazna from 569/1173)

602/1206
   *Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad

609/1212
   *Bāḥar-ad-Dīn ʿAbīd

610/1213
   *ʿAlī-ad-Dīn Aṭṭār

611-12/1214-15
   *ʿAlī-ad-Dīn or Dīyā-ad-Dīn

The inaccessible central region of Afghanistan, called Ghūr, was almost wholly terra incognita to the early Islamic geographers, known only as a source of slaves and as the home of a

hellicose race of Iranian mountaineers who remained pagan until well into the eleventh century. In this century, the Ghaznavids led raids into Ghūr and made the local chiefs of the Shansabānī family their vassals; but in the early twelfth century the Ghaznavids’ fortunes waned and Seljuq influence spread through Ghūr, so that Iṣṣ-ad-Dīn Ḥusayn, the first fully historical figure of the dynasty, paid tribute to Sanjīr. Attempts by the Ghaznavid sultan Bahrām Shāh to re-assert his declining influence led to the Ghurids’ sack of Ghazna in 545/1150-1 and the eventual acquisition by them of the Ghaznavid possessions in eastern Afghanistan. In the west, ʿAlā’-ad-Dīn Ḥusayn’s expansionist policies were at first checked by Sanjīr, but the collapse shortly afterwards of the Seljuq sultunate in Khurasan allowed the Ghurids to establish an empire stretching almost from the Caspian Sea to northern India, where the Ghaznavid traditions of jihād were inherited and were kept up.

The joint architects of this achievement were the two brothers Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad and Muʿizz-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the former campaigning mainly in the west and the latter in India. Bāmiyān and the lands along the upper Oxus were ruled by another branch of the Ghurid family. Employing both native Ghurids and the ubiquitous Turkish slave troops, Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn confronted the Khwārazm-Shāhs and the latter’s suzerains the Qara Khitāy; at one point he invaded Khwārazm itself, and by his death held all Khurasan as far west as Bīsīrān.

Yet it seems that the Ghurids’ resources of manpower were inadequate for holding this empire together, whereas their Khwārazmian adversaries could draw freely on the central Asian steppes for troops. After Muʿizz-ad-Dīn’s death in 602/1206, the dynasty was racked by internal squabbles; a group of the Ghurids’ Turkish soldiers made themselves independent in Ghazna, and the Khwārazm-Shāh was able to step in and incorporate the Ghurid territories in his own great empire. This Khwārazmian domination was, however, of only brief duration, for all the eastern Islamic world was shortly afterwards overwhelmed by Chingiz Khan’s Mongols. Moreover, the Turkish generals of Muʿizz-ad-Dīn continued to uphold Ghurid policies and traditions in northern India, where Qub-
ad-Din Aybak was installed as ruler in Lahore by one of the last Ghurids (see below, s.v. Delhi Sultans).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 291-4; Justi, 455-6. Zambaur, 280-1, 284. E.H. Ghurids” (C.E. Bosworth).

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The Delhi Sultans
602-962/1206-1555
Northern India

1. Mu’izz or Slave Kings
602/1206 Qutb-ad-Din Aybak
607/1210 Aram Shah
607/1211 Shams-ad-Din Iltutmish (Iltutmish)
633/1236 Rukn-ad-Din Firuz Shah I
634/1236 Jalal-ad-Din Raja Ria Begum
637/1240 Mu’izz-ad-Din Bahram Shah
659/1224 ‘Ala’-ad-Din Mas’ud Shah
644/1246 Nasir-ad-Din Mahmud Shah I
664/1266 Ghayath-ad-Din Balban
688/1287 Mu’izz-ad-Din Kay-Qubadh
689/1290 Shams-ad-Din Kayumarth

2. Khaljis
680/1290 Jalal-ad-Din Firuz Shah II
691/1296 Rukn-ad-Din Ibrahim Shah I
695/1296 ‘Ala’-ad-Din Muhammad Shah I
715/1316 Shahad-ad-Din ‘Umar Shah
716/1316 Qutb-ad-Din Mubariz Shah
720/1320 usurpation of Na’ir-ad-Din Khurram Shah

3. Tughluqids
720/1320 Ghayath-ad-Din Tughluq Shah I
735/1335 Ghayath-ad-Din Muhammad Shah II
754/1351 Mahmoud
755/1351 Firuz Shah III

790/1388 Ghayath-ad-Din Tughluq Shah II
791/1389 Abu-Bakr Shah
792/1390 Na’ir-ad-Din Muhammad Shah III
795/1393 ‘Ala’-ad-Din Sikandar Shah I
795/1393 Na’ir-ad-Din Muhammad Shah II, first reign
797/1395 Nasir Shah (disputing power with
Mahmud Shah II)
801/1399 Mahmud Shah II, second reign
816-17/1413-14 Dawlat Khan Lodii

4. Sayyids
817/1414 Khizr Khan
824/1421 Mu’izz-ad-Din Mubarak Shah II
838/1435 Muhammad Shah IV
849-55/1446-51 ‘Ala’-ad-Din ‘Alam Shah

5. Lodis
855/1451 Bahzul Lodii
894/1489 Nizam Khan Sikandar II

C. 923-32/C. 1517-26 Ibrahim II

Mughal conquest under Babor

6. Suri or Afghans
947/1540 Shir Shah Suri
952/1545 Islam Shah
961/1554 Muhammad v ‘Adil Shah
961/1554 Ibrahim III
962/1555 Ahammad Khan Sikandar Shah III

Final Mughal conquest by Humayun

Islam was first implanted in the lower Indus valley by the Arab governors of the Umayyad caliphate; in 92/711 Sind was definitely conquered for the new faith by Muhammad b. Qasim. This foothold was retained during the ensuing three centuries, although some of the Muslim communities were affected by the propaganda of Isma’ili Shi‘i missionaries, who were working intensively at this time in many parts of the Islamic world, from North Africa to the Yemen and the borders of India. There were, too, trade contacts between the Muslim Near East.
and the coastlands of Gujarāt, Bombay, and the Deccan, just as there had been similar contacts in classical times, but these sporadic links hardly affected the interior, so the overwhelming land-mass of the subcontinent.

It was the Turkish Ghaznavids who first brought the full weight of Muslim military power into northern India, overthrowing such powerful native dynasties as the Hindūshāhs of Wayhind by 417/1026, reducing many of the Rājput rulers to tributary status and penetrating as far as Somnāth in Gujarāt, Kālīnāj, and Benares. Although Maḥmūd of Ghazna achieved a glowing reputation in the Islamic world as the scourge of the Hindu idolators, it is clear that the sultan was not a fanatical zealot, bent on the conversion or extermination of the Indians; Indian troops formed a substantial element of the Ghaznavid army, and it does not seem that conversion to Islam was a condition of recruitment. The Ghaznavids' interest in northern India was primarily financial, the subcontinent being regarded as an almost inexhaustible reservoir of treasure and slaves, but they did occupy the Panjāb and make it their permanent base in India, and towards the end of their power, Lahore became their capital.

There was thus in the Panjāb, all ready to hand, a useful springboard for the Indian conquests of Muʿizz-ad-Dīn Ghiyāth and his generals in the last years of the twelfth century and the opening ones of the next. Having taken the Panjāb from the last Ghaznavid, he expanded into the Gangetic plain, coming up against the local Rājput princes: firstly Pritivī Rāj 111, the powerful Chhālamāna or Chawāñān king of Ajmer and Delhi, was overthrown (388/1192), and then Jayachandra, the Gāhādvālī king of Benares and Kanawāl (396/1199). Amongst Muʿizz-ad-Dīn's Turkish commanders, Qutb-ad-Dīn Aybak was placed in charge of all the Indian conquests during his master's lifetime, when the sultan had to be absent in Khurasan. He held on to the Ghiyāth conquests in the Panjāb and the Gangetic-Jumna Dāb, and raided as far as Gujarāt. Another general, Ikhtiyār-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Khalji, penetrated into Bihār and Bengal, making Gawr or Lakhnāwār his base there, and he even attacked Assam. It is in the period of the Ghiyāth and their commanders, then, that the permanent establishment of Islam in northern India begins: long-established Hindu dynasties there were humbled, and the foundations of several Muslim sultanates laid. On the other hand, it must be recalled that throughout the period of the Delhi sultanate the power of local Hindu and especially Rājput chiefs continued in the regions away from the centres of Turco-Afghan military occupation.

When Muʿizz-ad-Dīn died in 602/1206, Aybak assumed power in Lāhor as Malik or ruler on behalf of the Ghiyāth sultan in Fīrūzkhīš. Henceforth, Ghazna and the Afghan parts of the Ghiyāth empire were severed from India, falling briefly to the Khwārazm-Shāhs and then to the Mongols. Aybak and his successors down to 689/1290 are often called the Slave Kings, although only three of them, Aybak, Iltu mish, and Balkh, were of servile origin and they had all been mannured by their masters before achieving royal power. Nor did these sultans belong to one line only, but to three distinct ones. Under Iltu mish, the real architect of an independent sultanate in Delhi, Sind, formerly in the hands of the Muʿizz general Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Qabāch, was added to the Delhi sultanate. He also managed to keep the Khwārazmians out of his dominions, but the Mongols overran the Panjāb in 659/1261, sacking Lahore and then advancing as far as Uch. A succession of weak sultans brought internal discord, and the unity of the sultanate was only assured first by the regency and then the independent rule of the capable Balkh, who was originally one of the famous band of forty Turkish slaves (Chihilgāns) of Iltu mish. Balkh continued the work of his master in placing the sultanate on a firm military and governmental basis by his reforms and in exalting the power of the sovereign on traditional Persian lines. The spiritual and moral links with the rest of the Islamic world were strengthened. Already, Iltu mish had sought investiture from the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustansīr; even after the murder of the last caliph in Baghdad, al-Mustaʿsim, the Muʿizz sultans long continued to put his name on their coins. In this way, one can discern the motif of identification with Sunnit Islam as a whole and of acknowledgement of the spiritual leadership of the caliphate; these motifs run through much of the history of Indian Islam, reflecting its struggle to maintain its identity against the pressure of the surrounding Hindu environment. Important, too, as a fertilising influence in the culture of this
period were the waves of refugees from Persia and Transoxania who fled before the Mongols and who found their way into India during the reigns of Hūkimish and Balkhan; in later times, such as the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluq, infusions of fresh blood continued to vitalise Indo-Muslim culture.

In 689/1290 the Mu'izzī sultans were succeeded by the line of the Khalji Jalāl-ad-Dīn Firūz Shāh I. The Khalji were originally a Turkish people (or perhaps Turkicised people of a different ethnic origin) inhabiting eastern Afghanistan; it seems very likely that the modern Ghilzay Afghans are their descendants. In the reign of Mu'izz-ad-Dīn, the Khaljī played a prominent part in the Ghurid invasions of India, and it was Iktāyiyyār-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Khaljī who first brought Islam into Bengal and eastern India. The pressing task for Firūz Shāh I was to keep out the Mongols; it was, nevertheless, during his reign that large numbers of Mongols converted to Islam were allowed to settle in the Delhi area. The outstanding figure of the Khaljī dynasty is undoubtedly 'Alī'-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, who considered himself a second Alexander and who had grandiose dreams of assembling a vast empire. In actuality, he had first of all to cope with the threat of the Chaghatai Mongols on his north-western frontier, who in the years up to 706/1306 several times raided as far as Delhi. 'Alī'-ad-Dīn's ambitions found their main outlet, however, in south India, the rich area south of the Vindhyā Mts as yet unoccupied by the Muslims. An attack in 695/1296 on Devagiri or Deogār in the western Deccan, capital of the Yādavas, brought him the wealth which he afterwards used to win the sultanate for himself, and when he was firmly established on the throne, he sent further armies to the southernmost tip of the Deccan. 'Alī'-ad-Dīn continued to employ the traditional designation of Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn 'Helper of the Commander of the Faithful'; the first and last Indian Muslim ruler to appropriate for himself the caliphal title of Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn was his son Qutb-ad-Dīn Mubārak Shāh I.

The Khalji line collapsed when Khusraw Khan, a low-caste Gujarātī convert from Hinduism and favourite of the last Khalji sultan Mubārak Shāh I, apsoissed from Islam and usurped the throne in Delhi. Muslim control was re-established by the Turko-Indian commander Ghīzāt Malik Tughluq and his son Muḥammad, who in 720/1320 inaugurated the reign of the Tughluqs. Tughluq did much to restore the economic and administrative stability of the Sultanate and to reimpose Muslim control over the Deccan. Muḥammad is an enigmatic figure, a great scholar of Persian and of the sciences and a skilful general; yet his behaviour was often erratic and his judgement poor. The increase of taxation needed to keep the sultanate on a sound financial basis made him unpopular, and his decision of 727/1327 to transfer the capital from Delhi to Deogār, now re-named Daulatābād, proved disastrous. On the other hand, he did successfully repel the Chaghatai Mongol Tarjamshīrīn's invasion from Transoxania (729/1329), but his project for taking advantage of II-Khanid weakness and invading central Asia via the Pamirs (if such was really his intention, for the statements in the sources are vague about this) was pure fantasy. Muḥammad b. Tughluq had diplomatic relations with the Islamic world beyond India; he was in touch with the Egyptian Mamīlūkīs and sought investiture from the 'Abbasīd puppet caliph in Cairo. Nevertheless, the diversion of energies to unrealistic military projects on the northern frontiers of India led to a weakening of the Tughluqs' hold on the Deccan: an independent Muslim kingdom arose at Madura in the extreme south and lasted till it was overthrown by the rising Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar, and in 748/1347 the Bahmanīd kingdom of the central Deccan was founded by 'Alī'-ad-Dīn Bahman Shāh. Later, Firūz Shāh III restored sultanal authority in Sind and Bengal, but made no attempt to touch the Deccan. The last Tughluqs were weaklings, and the feebleness of the sultanate enabled Timūr to invade India in 801/1398-9 and wreak great devastation; as a result, the political unity of the sultanate was dissolved, and various Muslim leaders seized independent power in the provinces.

For rather less than forty years, power was in the hands of Khīḍr Khan, formerly governor of Multan for Timūr, and he ruled in the names of Timūr and Shāh Rukh, contenting himself with the title of Rāyū-i 'Alā 'Exalted Banners'; because of a fictitious descent from the Prophet, his dynasty acquired the name of the Sayyids. The effective authority of the Sayyids was reduced to a small area around Delhi, and with their initial dependence on the Timūrīs, they were unpopular with the
Turkish and Afghan military classes in Delhi. In 855/1451 their line was replaced by that of Bahādur Khan, a chief of the Afghan tribe of the Lōdis and formerly governor of Sīrhind and Lahore. Bahādur was the equal in vigour of the great Tughluqids, and did much to restore Muslim prestige in India; the authority of Delhi was reimposed over much of central India and the Sharīqi rulers of Jāwānpūr overthrown (881/1477). His son Sikandar 11 conducted operations against the Rājpūt states with some success, and moved his capital to Agra, which offered a better base for these attacks. The last Lōdi, Ibrāhīm 11, alienated many of his nobles and commanders, and certain of these invited the Chaghatayid Mughal Bābur, then in Kabul, to intervene.

Bābur’s victory at Pānīpāt in 932/1526 resulted in Ibrāhīm’s death and the first appearance of the line of Mughal emperors in India. But this did not yet mean the permanent establishment of Bābur’s dynasty in India, for his son Humāyūn’s reign was interrupted by the fifteen years’ restoration of Afghan rule there by Shīr Shāh Sūr. Operating from Bihār, Shīr Shāh defeated Humāyūn at Kanawij, thus negating all Bābur’s work (947/1540). As well as being a fine general, Shīr Shāh introduced important fiscal and land reforms. But for his premature death, a strong Afghan sultanate might have been implanted in India, discouraging Humāyūn from trying his fortunes once more; as it was, the weakness of Shīr Shāh’s ephemeral successors facilitated a Mughal revanche.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 295–303; Justi, 464-5.
Zambuir, 285-8; Sachau, 33 (on the Sturis).
R.C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, eds. The history and culture of the Indian people. V The struggle for empire (Bombay 1957), idem. and A.K. Majumdar, eds. VI The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay 1962).
Line of Sayyid Ḥusayn Shāh:
- 899/1494 Sayyid 'Ala‘-ad-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh
- 925/1519 Niṣṭār-ad-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh
- 934/1523 'Ala‘-ad-Dīn Firuz Shāh
- 940-6/1533-9 Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh

Line of Sūrī Afghans:
- 946/1539 Shīr Shāh Sūr
- 947/1540 Khīr Khan
- 952/1545 Muḥammad Khan Sūr
- 962/1553 Khīr Khan Bahādur Shāh
- 968-71/1561-4 Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Jalāl Shāh

Line of Sulaymān Karārānī:
- 971/1564 Sulaymān Karārānī
- 980/1572 Bāyazīd Shāh Karārānī
- 980-4/1572-6 Dā’ūd Shāh Karārānī

**Mughal conquest**

The administration of Bengal had always been a problem for the Delhi sultans; the province’s riches of resources and its distance from the capital constituted standing temptations for its governors to rebel. After the death of Balban in 686/1287, Bengal became virtually independent under governors who ruled at Lakhnāwati, and in the opening years of the fourteenth century, eastern Bengal was conquered and Muslim troops crossed the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam. Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Tughluq for a time reasserted the control of Delhi, and divided Bengal into two governorships, one in the west centred on Lakhnāwati and one in the east centred on Sonārgāon. But after his death, Bengal fell into the hands of Fakhr-ad-Dīn Mubārak in the east and ‘Ala‘-ad-Dīn ‘Alī in the west, and for the next two and a half centuries, Bengal was to be ruled by independent sultans. Over these years, conversions to Islam amongst the Hindu lower classes grew steadily, leading to the present-day preponderance of Muslims in the region.

The house of Shams-ad-Dīn Ilyās united all Bengal under one crown. Under the Ilyāsids, the Muslim arts and sciences flourished, and commerce in Bengal’s textiles and foodstuffs was encouraged. In the first decade of the fifteenth century, Ghiyath-ad-Dīn A‘ṣam renewed old diplomatic and cultural ties with China, and the growth of the port of Chittagong probably reflects increased trade with the Far East. The reign of the Ilyāsids was interrupted for over twenty years by the seizure of power of Rājā Gaṇeśa, a local Hindu landowner of Bhārīrā. He seems to have been the power behind the throne for some years, finally usurping authority for his son Jadu, who became a Muslim and ruled as Jalāl-ad-Dīn Muḥammad. Despite Hindu origins, the line of Gaṇeśa was able to rule with some Muslim support. Under the restored Ilyāsids, the influence of the Abyssinian or Ḥabashi palace guards grew, until in 892/1487 their commander, the eunuch Sulṭān Shāhīzāda, murdered the last Ilyāsid and assumed power himself.

Order was eventually restored by Sayyid 'Ala‘-ad-Dīn Ḥusayn, whose enlightened rule came opportunistically after the chaos of the Ḥabashi period. Bihār was annexed; asylum was given to the Sharqī ruler of Jawnpūr, deposed by the Lōdīs of Delhi, and the Jawnpūr troops added to the Bengal army. The growth of a vernacular Bengali literature was a process continuing through these centuries, and royal encouragement is seen in Nuṣrat Shāh b. Sayyid Ḥasan's patronage of a Bengali translation of the Mahābhārata. The line of Sayyid Ḥusayn was ended by the meteoric rise of the Afghan chief Shīr Shāh Sūr, who took over Bengal and used it as a base from which to eject the Mughal Humāyūn from India. But once the Mughals were firmly re-established in Lahore and Delhi and the Afghans defeated, Mughal influence began to be felt in Bengal. Sulaymān Karārānī, the former governor of southern Bihār, acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar, and in 984/1576 Bengal was overrun and incorporated in the Mughal empire.

Because of its geographical position, separated by mountain barriers from the plains of northern India, Kashmir was long sheltered from Muslim raids. It remained under its own dynasty of Hindu rulers long after most of northern India had passed under Muslim control. Mahmūd of Ghazna made two attempts to invade Kashmir from the south, in 406/1015 and 412/1021, but was held up on both occasions by the fortress of Lohkot. However, Muslim Turkish mercenaries (Turushka) began to be employed by the Hindu kings, and the process of Islamisation, which has made Kashmir today an overwhelmingly Muslim province, must have begun.

In 735/1335 the throne there was seized by Shāh Mīrzā Swātī, a Muslim adventurer who was probably of Pathan origin, and who had been minister to Rajā Sinha Deva. The régime of Shams-ad-Dīn (this being the lagāb which Shāh Mirzā adopted) was tolerant and mild towards the Hindus; but his grandson Sikandar was a pious Muslim who patronised the ulema and scholars and who persecuted the Hindus, destroying their temples and earning the epithet But-shikān ‘Idol-breaker’. However, his son Zayn-al-‘Abidīn reversed this rigourist policy, and his long and enlightened reign was something of a golden age for Kashmir; under his patronage, the Mahābhārata and Kalhana’s metrical chronicle of Kashmir, the Rājatarangini, were translated into Persian. Unfortunately, his descendants were lesser men, and much internecine strife now followed; various provincial chiefs took advantage of the mountainous and difficult terrain and established a virtual independence. In particular, the influence of the powerful Chak tribe grew, its leaders serving as ministers and commanders for the last feeble rulers of Shāh Mīrzā’s line. The Mughal prince Haydar Dughlat invaded Kashmir in 947/1540, and ruled in Srinagar for ten years on behalf of his kinsman Humāyūn, until he was killed in a rising. The Chak family was again in the ascendant, and after 968/1561 ruled as sovereigns themselves, assuming the title Pāṭūshāh ‘Monarch’ in imitation of the Mughals. The last Chaks ruled as vassals of Akbar, until the province was at last fully incorporated into the Mughal empire.

The elucidation of the chronology of the Muslim rulers of Kashmir presents many difficulties; Lane Poole, 311 n., found it impossible to construct a table of any reliability. The task of
elucidation was undertaken by Sir T. Wolseley Haig (see below), and his results have been followed in the list given above; it presents a considerable number of serious differences from Zambaur's list.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Justi, 478; Sachau, 32-3; Zambaur, 293-4.
Sir T. W. Haig, "The chronology and genealogy of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir", JRAS (1198), 451-68.
_ideem_, in Cambridge History of India, III, Turks and Afghans (Cambridge 1928), 277-93, 698-700.

THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT

793/1391 Zafar Khan Muazzam 1
814/1411 Ahmad 1
846/1442 Muhammad Karim
855/1455 Qutb-ad-Din Ahmad II
862/1458 Daud
862/1458 Malik Ahmad Begta
917/1511 Muazzam II
932/1526 Sikandar
932/1526 Naser Khan Malik II
932/1526 Bahdur
943/1537 Mirkhan Muhammad I of Khudahd
943/1537 Malik II
961/1554 Ahmad III
966/1561 Muazzam II, first reign
980/1573 Mughal conquest
991/1583 Muazzam III, second reign
_Definitive Mughal conquest

Because of its commercial and maritime connections with the other shores of the Indian Ocean, Gujarát was a particularly rich province; but although Malik I of Ghazna had marched through it on his way to Somnath, permanent Muslim conquest was quite long delayed. Not till 697/1298 did the troops of Alad-Din Muhammad Khalji defeat the local Hindu dynasty, the Vaghelas of Anahilwara. During the fourteenth century Gujarát was ruled by governors sent out by the Delhi sultans, until in 793/1391 Muhammad III sent out Zafar Khan. As the Tughluqids fell into palpable decline, Zafar Khan became in effect independent, and in 810/1407 formally assumed the insignia of royalty as Muazzam Shah. The new sultanate was consolidated by his grandson Ahmad I, much of whose reign was occupied by warfare against the Hindu Rajas of Gujarát and Ràiputra and against the Muslim sultans of Malwa, Khudahd, and the Deccan; it was he who built for himself the new capital of Ahmadabad, which replaced that of
Anahilwāra. The fifty-four years of Māhāmūd Begrā’s reign (862-917/1458-1511) were the greatest in the history of the sultanate. Campaigns against the Hindus led, amongst other things, to the capture of the fortress of Chāmpāner, now renamed Muḥammadābād and made the Sultan’s capital; indeed, during Māhāmūd’s reign the Gujarāt sultanate attained its greatest extent before the annexation of Mālwa.

A new factor in the politics of western and southern India appeared towards the end of Māhāmūd’s reign, viz. the Portugese. After Vasco da Gama appeared at Calicut in 1498, the Portugese began to divert much of the Indian Ocean commerce into their own hands, thus bypassing the traders of Egypt and Gujarāt. Hence in 931/1528 Māhāmūd allied with the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣǔl al-Ghawrī, but despite the initial Muslim naval victory near Bombay over Dom Lourenço de Almeida, the Portugese captured Goa from the neighbouring ‘Ādil-Shāhīs of Bījaipur and Māhāmūd was compelled to make peace. The last great sultan of Gujarāt was Māhāmūd’s grandson Bahādur Shāh, who assumed the offensive against the Hindus and also conquered Mālwa, only to lose it and part of his own dominions to the Mughal Humāyūn. The menace of the Portugese revived, and despite the grant to them of Diu, they treacherously murdered Bahādur Shāh in 943/1537. The unity of Gujarāt now crumbled; dynastic quarrels broke out, and the kingdom began to split up among various nobles. In despair, the Mughals were called in, and Akbar took over Gujarāt, although the last sultan, Muṣafīr 111, made several attempts at a revanche till his death in 1001/1593.

possessed at this time one of the biggest armies in India. The last Sharqi sultan, Husayn, reached the gates of Delhi on one occasion, but Bahadur Lodi eventually turned the tables on him. He defeated Husayn and expelled him to Bengal; thus Jawnpur passed under the control of the Delhi sultanate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lane Poole, 309; Zambaur, 292.
Philips, ed. Handook of oriental history, 91.
Majumdar, et al., eds. The Delhi Sultanate.
Majumdar, et al., An advanced history of India.

Muslim rule in Málwa was only established after long and bloody struggles with the local Ráiput rulers of Chitór and Ujjain. In 705/1305 the Delhi sultan 'Alá'-ad-Din Khalji despatched an army which subjugated Málwa, and thereafter governors were sent out to the region from Delhi. The governor of Málwa, Dílávar Khan Ghúrí, sheltered the refugee Tughluqúd Málmúd Sháh II during Timúr’s invasion of 801/1398-9, but the shock to the fabric of the Delhi sultanate in this period permitted Dílávar Khan shortly afterwards to declare his independence and assume the insignia of royalty. Málwa’s achievement of independence thus parallels the rise of the Sharqís in Jawnpur. The Málwa sultans made their capital the inaccessible and heavily-defended fortress of Mándú, and adorned it with many splendid buildings.

At one point, the Ghúrí sultans of Málwa undertook a raid into Hindu Orissa, but most of their military activity was against neighbouring Muslim rulers, such as the Sharqís, the Gujarát sultans, the Sayyids of Delhi and the Bahmaníids of the Deccan; in this warfare, they did not hesitate to ally with Hindu princes. In 839/1436 the chief minister Málmúd Khán took over the throne in Málwa (the last Ghúrí sultan fleeing to Gujarát), and began the line of the Khaljís there. Málmúd
Khalji was the greatest of the Mālwa sultans, and despite several setbacks in his campaigns against the Rājputs of Chītīr and the Bahmanids, expanded his territories considerably. His fame spread outside India, and he received a formal investiture of power from the ‘Abbasīd caliph in Cairo. But during the reign of his great-grandson Mājmūd II, there arose an ascendancy of Rājput ministers and courtiers in the state, and tensions between Muslim and Hindu elements grew. At one point, Mājmūd was captured by the Rājā of Chītīr, and though he was restored in Mālwa, his kingdom fell in 937/1531 to Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. The line of Khaljis was thus extinguished; during the next three decades, Mālwa passed to the Mughal Humāyūn, to an independent local commander of the Khaljis, to the Afghan Shīr Shāh Sūr, and finally back to the Mughals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 310-11; Justi, 477.
Zambaur, 292.
Philips, ed., Handbook of oriental history, 90.
Majumdar, et al., eds., The Delhi Sultanate.
Majumdar, et al., An advanced history of India.
1 'Mālwa' (T. W. Haig).

As the authority of Muhammad b. Tughluq waned in the second half of his reign, the recently-conquered parts of the Deccan began to fall away from Delhi. The governor of Mā'bar in the extreme south proclaimed himself independent and founded the sultanate of Madura. Much more powerful and enduring was the state founded on the table-land of the Deccan by the amīr Ḥasan Gangū. Hasan’s origins are very obscure, but they seem to have been humble ones; the claim to Persian descent, seen in his assumption of the old Iranian name of Bahman (= the son of Isfandiyār in the national epic) should not be taken seriously. After his successful rebellion in Rawlatbād, Ḥasan transferred his capital southwards to Gulbarga, and for eighty years this remained the Bahmanid centre.

The rise of the Bahmanids meant that a strong and aggressive
Muslim power now confronted the two chief Hindu kingdoms of the southern Deccan, Warangal, and Vijayanagar. For the next century or so, warfare was frequent, ending in the case of Warangal by its overthrow in 830/1425 by Almād I Shāh and its incorporation into the Bahmanid state; Vijayanagar, on the other hand, was never conquered. A point of note in this warfare is the use from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards of artillery and firearms, knowledge of these weapons being acquired through South India’s connections with lands further west. After the conquest of Warangal, Almād moved his capital to the more central Bīdar, and he also carried the war northwards against the Muslim rulers of Gujārāt and Mālwa.

The Bahmanids thus acquired considerable fame in the Islamic world at large, especially as they made their court a great centre of learning; it was also under them that a specifically Deccan style of Muslim architecture evolved. The Bahmanids were the first power in the subcontinent to exchange ambassadors with the Ottomans (between Muhammad II Shāh and Mehemet the Conqueror). The Bahmanid state, as well as being militarily powerful, had a well-organised administrative system. There was, accordingly, a need for skilled personnel, and many Turks, Persians, Arabs, etc., entered the sultans’ service. It was through this that there arose in the fifteenth century tensions between the native Deccan Muslims and these ‘outsiders’ (Afghān, Parsēsī). The mounting internal chaos in the state and increasing ineffectiveness of the rulers is largely explicable by these rivalries. At the end of the fifteenth century, signs of disintegration appeared. The last four sultans were faindants under the tutelage of the Turkish amir Qāsim Barīdī and his family, and when the last ruler died in 934/1527, the dynasty came to an end.

From now until the conquests of the Mughals Akbar and Averangzib, the Muslim Deccan was divided amongst five local dynasties, all springing from former servants of the Bahmanids.

The Barīdī family at first controlled the rump of the Bahmanid kingdom from Bīdar, and then ruled as the independent Barīd-Shāhīs until absorbed by the ‘Adīl-Shāhīs of Bījaipur in 1028/1619. However, the first provincial dynasty definitely to break with the Bahmanids was that of the ‘Imād-Shāhīs of Berār (890-980/1485-1572), descendants of Fat‘-Allāh ‘Imād-
al-Mulk, governor of Berār, who ruled there till their territories were annexed by the ‘Imām-Shāhīs. The ‘Adīl-Shāhīs (895-1097/1490-1686) sprang from Yūsuf ‘Adīl Khan, governor of Bījaipur and himself of Turkish origin; his dynasty continued until Avarangzib captured Bījaipur. The ‘Imām-Shāhīs (896-1044/1491-1613) began with Almād B. ‘Imām-al-Mulk, governor of Jannar, and then ruled in Ahmadnagar and Daulatbād. The ‘Imām-Shāhīs were conquered by Akbar, but a line of nominal sovereigns continued till Shāh Jīmān’s time. Finally, the Qub-Shāhīs of Golconda (918-1098/1512-1687) grew up on the ruins of the old Hindu kingdom of Warangal. Their founder was a Turkish commander of Qara Qoyunlu origin, Šultān Qulī Qub al-Mulk, who was appointed governor of Telengāna by Mālūmā Shāh Bahmanī; his line persisted down to the time of Avarangzib. The atmosphere in which these five states flourished was one of incessant rivalry and squabbling, as a result of which, a Hindu revival in the Deccan was favoured. All but the Bārīd-Shāhīs and Qub-Shāhīs were Šī‘ī (a faith favoured by some of the later Bahmanids), and in this period, close diplomatic and cultural links were kept up with Šafavī Persia, although these connections were insufficient to save them from absorption by the Mughals.

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Zamburt, 397-9
(All with detailed tables of the five successor-states to the Bahmanids.)
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Majumdar, et al., An advanced history of India.
H. K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan (Hyderabad-Deccan 1953), with a detailed genealogical table.
EI² Bahmanis’ (H. K. Sherwani).
extend his power eastwards against the Hindu Rājās of Gondwāna and Jhārkand, and his exploits earned him the title of Shāh-i Jhārkund ‘King of the Forest’.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, Khāndesh was racked by succession disputes, which conducted to the intervention of outside powers, and especially of the Gujarāt sultans and the epigoni of the Bahmanids in Ahmadnagar, the Niẓām-Shāhīs. With only weak resources of their own, the Fārūqīs’ policy aimed at conciliating the powerful Gujarāt sultans, and at one point Mīrān Muḥammad I was designated heir-presumptive to Gujarāt; he died, however, before this claim could be consolidated. The first clash of the Fārūqīs with the Mughals occurred in 962/1555, and the former became vassals of Akbar. But after c.993/1585, direct Mughal pressure grew; Bāḥādur Shāh offended the Mughals, and his fortress of Asīrgarh was in 1009/1601 captured by Akbar and the surviving Fārūqīs carried off into exile.

Central Asian region of Farghāna, but Bābur found that the rising power of the Shāhānšāhs made it impossible for him to retain a foothold there. Accordingly, in 1501/1504 he occupied Kabul, and almost immediately made his first raid into India as far as the Indus. It seems that Bābur only turned to India when his repeated attempts to gain power in his Central Asian homeland had failed, but eventually a discontented faction at the Lodi court in Delhi invited him to intervene. He defeated the sultan Ibrāhīm I at Panipat in 932/1526, and in the next year, the Rājpūt chiefs at Kārīnā near Agra. Yet these victories were only a beginning; there was as yet no solid structure of Mughal power, and the reaction of the Afghan chiefs, led by Shāh Shāh Sūr, caused Bābur’s son Humāyūn to flee from northern India to Sind and then to Afghanistan for fifteen years. Only the weakness of Shāh Shāh’s successors allowed Humāyūn to return in 962/1555 and establish himself in Delhi and Agra.

The fifty years’ reign of Akbar the Great now followed. The Mughal hold on northern and central India was made firm: Māfwa and the independent Rājpūt states, Gujarāt and Khānḍesh were secured, and by 984/1576 Bengal was restored once more to the control of Delhi. The north-western frontier, gateway to India for so many invaders, was secured by the acquisition of Kabul and Qandahār, although the latter town was to be a bone of contention with the Persians for a long time to come. In the Deccan, the northern tier of the successor-states to the Bahmanids were either directly annexed or made to acknowledge Akbar’s supremacy, but the military and administrative control of the Mughals was not yet strong enough for full authority to be exercised there; this was to be the work of Awrangzīb. On the diplomatic level, the initially friendly relations with the Safavids were exchanged for an agreement with the Ūzbeg ‘Abdallāh Khan over the demarcation of respective territories. There was also contact with the Ottomans over the common threat from the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, but the distances between Delhi and Istanbul were too vast for a Sunni Grand Alliance to emerge.

Akbar was thus undeniably a great general and statesman, but he is perhaps more interesting as a thinker and religious reformer. His syncretistic Dīn-i Ilāhī shows his deep intellec-
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rual curiosity about religions in general. Hindus participated to a greater extent than usual in the administration and direction of the empire. It was under Akbar that the governmental system of the empire took shape, and he welded together into a ruling class diverse ethnic elements, comprising Turks, Afghans, Persians, and Hindus. This class formed the mafāz-

dārā, holders of official appointments who were obliged to provide a certain number of troops. Official salaries were in part paid by jāgīrs or land grants, which were not, however, hereditary like the iqṭā's of the Islamic lands further west. Although the ruler himself had theoretically unbridled secular authority, the early Mughals at least were benevolent rather than tyrannical despots; moreover, the very vastness of the empire inhibited over-centralisation.

Akbar's successors Jhāṅgīr and Shāh Jhān continued the policy of enforcing obedience over outlying parts—over the Rājpūts of Mewār, the Shi'i sultanes of the Deccan, the Portuguese on the coast of Bengal—but Shāh Jhān's ambitions of uniting Central Asia and India in a grand Sūfī empire only ended in failure and loss of prestige (1657/1647).

In a savage succession war after Shāh Jhān's death, Awrangzīb twice defeated his brother Dārā Shūkhā (1658-9/1658-9) and began a fifty years' reign. He broke with the liberal and eclectic traditions of his predecessors. He attacked lax social and religious practices which had grown up in Muslim India under the all-pervading influence of the surrounding Hindu majority society, attempting a reformation along the lines enunciated in the eighteenth century by Shāh Wāḥīd-Allāh of Delhi. In part, Awrangzīb's policy was a reaction against the renewed vigour, intellectual and material, of Hinduism; yet he continued to let Hindus form an integral part of the Mughal military and administrative structure. His military efforts were at first directed at strengthening the northwestern frontier, where fierce fighting was necessary to assert control over the Pathans. Latterly, he became increasingly concerned over the Deccan: the remaining Shi'i sultanes were completely extinguished, and the Marāthās checked; yet this last success was only temporary, and the high-point of Muslim influence in the Deccan under Awrangzīb was never to be reached again.

Awrangzīb's death in 1707 began the agonising decline of the Mughals. A series of ephemeral rulers was raised to power, whilst the outlying provinces of the empire fell into the hands of such groups as the Marāthās, Jāts, Sikhs, and Rohilla Afghans. Nādir Shāh's invasion of India in 1737-8 and the occupation of Delhi, and the subsequent campaigns of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, dealt the empire material and moral blows from which it never recovered. On all sides, Hindu fortunes were reviving, and the factor of the English was now significant in the interior of the subcontinent as well as in the coastlands. Whilst the English were extending their power through Bengal to Oudh, Central India, and Rājputāna, the Mughals in Delhi could only look on helplessly. Shāh 'Alam II was an English pensioner, and in 1748 the last Mughal was deposed and exiled for complicity in the Indian Mutiny.

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1. Durrani

1160/1747 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī
1187/1773 Timūr Shāh
1207/1793 Zamān Shāh
1215/1800 Mahmūd Shāh, first reign
1218/1803 Shāh Shujaʿ, first reign (in Kabul; from 1215/1800 ruler in Peshawar)
1224/1809 Mahmūd, second reign (in Kabul till 1233/1818, in Herat till 1245/1829)
1233/1818 ʿAli Shāh
1255/1839 Shujaʿ, second reign
1258/1842 Fatḥ Jang

2. Bārzakzays

1234/1819 Dost Muḥammad
1280/1863 Shīr ʿAlī, first reign
1283/1866 Afḍal
1284/1867 Shīr ʿAlī, second reign
1296/1879 Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khan
1297/1878 ʿAbd-ar-Rahmān Khan
1319/1901 Ḥabīb-Allāh
1337/1919 Amān-Allāh (Amānullāh)
1348/1929 Nādir Shāh
1352-1393/1933-75 Muḥammad Zāhir Shāh

The Afghans had played a prominent part in Persian affairs during the declining years of the Safavids, overrunning and occupying Persia during the third decade of the eighteenth century. Although Nādir Shāh ended this Afghan domination, he recruited large numbers of Afghans into his forces. One of his leading commanders was Ahmad Khan of the Sadozay section of the Abdalī tribe of Afghans, a tribe which was originally from the Herat region but which Nādir allowed to settle around Qandahār. When Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, the Afghan soldiers elected Ahmad as their Shāh, and he assumed the title Durr-i Durrān ‘Pearl of pearls’, whence the name of the dynasty which he founded. Ahmad Shāh regarded himself as the heir to Nādir’s eastern conquests, and invaded India several times, clashing with the Mughals and in 1170/1757 sacking Delhi and Agra. A great empire was built up in north-western India, including Sind, Baluchistan, much of the Panjāb and Kashmir, and the victory of Pānpāt in 1174/1761 gave a decisive check to the ambitions of the Marāṭhās. In Khurasan, Ahmad established a protectorate over Nādir’s descendant, the blind Shāh Rukh, although in the reign of Ahmad’s grandson Zamān Shāh the Afghans were powerless to halt the advance of the Qijjars and the deposition of Shāh Rukh. Zamān Shāh’s reign was, indeed, disastrous for the Durrānī empire: the family itself was rent internally, and the Sikhs and Marāṭhās pushed the Afghans out of most of their Indian possessions.

Meanwhile, the star of the influential Bārzakzay or Muḥammadzay Afghans had already been rising, and in 1234/1819 Dost Muḥammad drove Mahmūd out of Kabul, formally assuming the title of Amir of Kabul twenty years later. With the loss of the Indian territories, the Afghan kingdom was now a geographically compact unit, comprising the mountain and plateau region of Afghanistan proper, and this unity enabled Afghanistan to survive intact into the twentieth century, despite Persian attacks on Herat, Russian pressure in the north and two wars with Britain. Dost Muḥammad resisted all temptations to intervene in India, and remained indifferent to the rebels’ cause in the Indian Mutiny. ʿAbd-ar-Rahmān Khan established harmonious relations with the Great Powers; these were only broken by the aberrations of Amān-Allāh in 1337/1919, whose subsequent over-hasty attempts at westernisation proved his downfall, the throne passing to the family of its present holders.

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