

Geography, empire and sainthood in the eighteenth-century Muslim Deccan*

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Introduction

After its re-foundation by Awrangzeb in 1092/1681, the city of Awrangabad became the centre for the Mughals' last great period of imperial expansion, which saw the conquests of the independent Deccan sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda.¹ During the following decades, until the re-establishment of Haydarabad as the capital of the Deccan under the Āṣaf Jāh dynasty in 1178/1763, Awrangabad served as the main Muslim political and cultural centre of the Deccan. The opportunities which the city's wealth provided attracted soldiers, administrators, poets and Sufis from all over India, and beyond it from Iran and Central Asia. As well as producing the finest Mughal monuments in southern India, Awrangabad's decades of prominence also saw the flourishing of several important literary schools. Although most of this literature was composed in Persian, Awrangabad also saw Urdu (Rēkhta) poetry beginning to emerge for the first time from the shadows cast by the grander edifice of Persian letters.² Awrangabad's cultural and political achievements during the reign of Awrangzeb were continued after his death in 1118/1707, with the city remaining a centre for Mughal traditions through much of the twelfth/eighteenth century. While the Deccan's independence was certainly re-established by the middle of the century, this eventuality was by no means certain during the first decades following the death of Awrangzeb, during which the founder of Haydarabad state Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh (r. 1137/1724–1161/1748) continued to present himself as a Mughal viceroy to the end of his reign.³ As a consequence, the Mughal period of Awrangabad and the Deccan's history had an after burn that considerably outlasted Awrangzeb himself to overlap with the subsequent 'reign' of Nizām al-Mulk.

Groups of Sufis played a prominent part in Awrangabad's brief era of pre-eminence.⁴ The large and ornate shrines that were built around the tombs of the major Sufi residents of the city by Mughal generals and statesmen

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¹ On this period more generally, see S. Chandra, *Essays on Medieval Indian History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003) B. Stein, 'Eighteenth century India: another view', *Studies in History* 5 (1989), and M. Umar, *Islam in Northern India during the Eighteenth Century* (Delhi: Munshiram, 1993).

² See S. A. A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, 3 vols (Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1929) and N. Hashimi, *Dakan meñ urdū* (Dihli: Taraqqī Urdū Biyūrū, 1985).

³ See M. A. Nayeem, *Mughal Administration of Deccan under Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah (1720–48 AD)* (Delhi: Jaico Publishing, 1985) and idem., 'Political status of Nizamu'l Mulk Asaf Jah I in the Deccan (1713–1748 A.D.)', in M. Taher (ed.), *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 6, *Muslim Rule in Deccan* (Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1997).

⁴ On the earlier history of Sufism in the Deccan, see C. W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), M. Y. Kokan, 'Sufi presence in South India', in C. W. Troll (ed.), *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Vikas, 1985) and M. Z. A. Shakeb, 'The role of the sufis in the changing society of the Deccan, 1500–1750', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds), *The Heritage of Sufism*, Vol. 3, *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750)* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999).

during this period are a sure testament to the Sufis' social prominence. Indeed, the shrine of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir in Awrangabad and popularly known as Panchakkī ('the watermill') is one of the great sub-imperial Mughal buildings of the age. Several other late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Sufi shrines also punctuate the townscape of Awrangabad, including that of Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī. As well as providing the inspiration for architectural patronage the Sufis of Awrangabad were also important for their commemorative and didactic writings in Persian. For both shortly after their deaths and in the centuries to follow, the Sufis of Mughal Awrangabad became the focus of a local tradition of literary production that would memorialize their achievements and so maintain the status of both their shrines and their adoptive city as the decades rolled by.

Sufi texts from Awrangabad: Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya and Aḥsan al-Shamā'il

Sufi biographical writings offer an insight into social and cultural change quite distinct from the perspectives of courtly historians. Two long Sufi works from Awrangabad in particular demonstrate the different processes involved in the Mughal colonization of the Deccan. In early eighteenth-century Awrangabad, the authors of *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* and *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* described the lives and teachings of three Sufis and their many followers living at the centre of epochal transformations of the Deccan's ethnic, political, religious and indeed linguistic character.⁵ Despite their differences in style, it is useful to analyse the two texts together since both were written in Awrangabad in the 1140s–50s/1730s–40s by direct followers of the saints they describe.⁶ Both texts were also composed a number of years after the deaths of their primary subjects, one decade in the case of *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* and two decades for *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya*. Insofar as it is more concerned with the deeds and events surrounding the lives of its two Sufi heroes, Shāh Palangpōsh (d. 1110/1699) and Shāh Musāfir (d. 1126/1715) than with whatever teachings they may have had, the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* is actually more representative of the Sufi forms of the *tadhkira* genre than is the *malfūzāt* proper.⁷ Indeed, its original title seems to have been *Tadhkira-ye-Şufiyya-ye-Ḥazrat*

⁵ Kāmgar Khān, *Aḥsan al-shamā'il: malfūzāt-e-shāh nizām al-dīn*, ms, Shrine Library of Shāh Muḥammad Tawnasawī, Taunsa, Pakistan (henceforth *AS*). Although the copy in the Salar Jung library in Hyderabad (Tas. 156/2, no. 3368) has also been consulted (and contains some differences), all page numbers refer to the Taunsa manuscript. The text has also been published in Urdu translation as Ḥazrat Khwāja Kāmgar Khān Ḥussaynī, *Majālis-e-Kalimī wa aḥsan al-shamā'il*, trans. Muḥī al-dīn Aḥmad Ṣadiqī (Aurangābād: Super Offset Printers, 2003). Shāh Maḥmūd Awrangābādī, *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya: ḥālāt-e-ḥazrat Bābā Shāh Musāfir sāhib* (Haydarābād: Nizāmāt-e-'Umūr-e-Madhhabī-e-Sarkār-e-'Alī, 1358/1939–40) (henceforth *MN*). The text has recently been translated into English by S. Digby as *Sufis and Soldiers in Aurangzeb's Deccan* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001). However, all page references in the article are to the Persian edition.

⁶ The colophon of *Aḥsan al-shamā'il* records its composition by Kāmgar Khān in the year 1156/1743. The date of the composition of the *MN* has been established by Digby as the mid-1140s/1730s due to internal evidence, especially its last mentioned date of 1145/1733 and its failure to mention the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah some six years later. See S. Digby, 'The Naqshbandīs in the Deccan in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century A.D.: Bābā Palangpōsh, Bābā Musāfir and Their Adherents', in M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarccone (eds), *Naqshbandīs: Chiminements et Situation Actuelle d'un Ordre Mystique Musulman* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1990), 171.

⁷ On this wider literature, see M. K. Hermansen and B. B. Lawrence, 'Indo-Persian tazkiras as memorative communications', in D. Gilmartin and B. B. Lawrence (eds), *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000); and J. A. Mojadeddi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism: The Tabaqat Genre from al-Sulamī to Jami* (London: Curzon, 2001).

Shāh Musāfir Awrangābādī.⁸ The second text, *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*, meanwhile, conforms more closely to the *malḡūzāt* genre by recounting the speeches attributed to its subject Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī (d. 1142/1729), but is notable for presenting the spoken teachings of the master as consisting in large part of exemplary tales of the lives of earlier Sufis partially drawn from the *tadhkira* tradition. However, it too describes numerous episodes in the life of its subject.

The writers of the texts were the Naqshbandī Sufi, Shāh Maḡmūd (d. 1175/1762), and the Chishtī Sufi, Muḡammad Kāmḡār Khān (d. after 1156/1743). Although the stylized authorial humility of the *Malḡūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* affords little room for details of its writer Shāh Maḡmūd's own biography, it seems that he was one of the many orphans looked after by Shāh Musāfir in Awrangabad. Shāh Maḡmūd seems from his childhood to have adopted the way of the dervish and upon the death of his master in 1126/1715 was appointed without issue as his successor and so became the first *sajjāda nashīn* of the shrine, Panchakkī. Tradition identifies Muḡammad Kāmḡār Khān, the author of *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*, as a courtier who gave a haveli to his master Nizām al-dīn that would act as the saint's khanaqah and shrine. While no other details survive concerning his life, he may have been related to two Irānī notables of Awrangzeb's reign of the same name, who were also erstwhile residents of Awrangabad.⁹ Kāmḡār Khān certainly seems to have been a disciple whom Nizām al-dīn made in the Deccan rather than one who had accompanied him from Delhi. Certainly, Kāmḡār Khān was long desirous of visiting the Delhi khanaqah of Nizām al-dīn's own master Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (d. 1142/1729), the master of Nizām al-dīn, and seems never to have visited Delhi until he was finally given permission by his master to make the perilous journey from Awrangabad in 1133/1720.¹⁰ He made this journey with his brother and fellow disciple Muḡammad Nūr al-dīn Husaynī, who died *en route*. While in Delhi, Kāmḡār Khān also compiled a short collection of the *malḡūzāt* of Shāh Kalīm Allāh entitled *Majālis-e-Kalīmī*. The date of Kāmḡār Khān's death in Awrangabad is uncertain.

It is symptomatic of the nexus between Sufi shrines and texts that it was common in Awrangabad, as elsewhere, for text-producers to be buried in the same shrines as their saintly subjects or related ones. Both Shāh Maḡmūd and Kāmḡār Khān possessed especially elaborate tombs within or next to their masters' shrines and set aside from those of the saints' other disciples. Religious history is replete with such cases of the power implicit in the act of writing serving to preserve and sanctify the memory of writer as well as subject. Other South Asian examples beyond Awrangabad are common, none perhaps more so than the graves of the great Chishtī memorialists and panegyrists Amīr Khusraw in Delhi and Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī in Khuldabad, both of whom would have almost certainly been known to their successor, Kāmḡār Khān.

⁸ The original manuscript was previously indexed in the Osmaniya University Library (now Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library) as ms. TF 200.

⁹ Two figures by the name of Kāmḡār Khān who were resident in Awrangabad appear in the *Ma'āthir-e-'Ālamḡirī* and *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*. The earlier of the pair was the son of the *wazīr* Ja'far Khān 'Umdat al-Mulk (d. 1081/1670) and was presented at court by Awrangzeb's son, Muḡammad Akbar, before serving in a number of high-ranking posts in imperial service. Shāh Nawāz Khān considered him a talentless snob and ridiculed him in his *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*. He died some time after 1115/1703. The other Kāmḡār Khān was the son of Hushdār Khān (d. 1082/1672) and also an imperial *mansabdār*. Both, however, seem to have died too early to have been the author of *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*. See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umarā*, trans. H. Beveridge (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911–52), vol. 1, 383, 760–61; and Sāqī Must'ad Khan, *Maāsir-i-'Ālamḡirī*, trans. J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1990), 103, 118, 146 and 149.

¹⁰ See M. Ashraf (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library* (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, 1966–), vol. 13, 216–17.

In exploring the relationships between *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* and *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*, and the contexts of their composition on what was in both a spatial and a chronological sense the outer limits of the Persianate world, we are able to widen the horizons of evaluations of the scope and character of Persian literary culture.¹¹ At the same time, as an examination of texts about Sufis, the article also hopes to show something of how religious lives, both as lived and as written, interacted with a wider social and political context dominated in this case by the experience of empire.

Patterns of Sufi life in late Mughal Awrangabad

The *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* describes the life and deeds of two Central Asian Naqshbandī migrants to the Deccan, Shāh Sa'īd Palangpōsh (d. 1110/1699) and his disciple Shāh Muḥammad Musāfir (d. 1126/1715). Recounted by one of their contemporaries in great detail, the lives of these two Sufis reveal a pragmatic and at times darkly bewildering dimension to the practice of Sufism in Mughal Awrangabad. Both shaykhs migrated to the Deccan on the trail of the region's northern conquerors as Central Asian immigrants from the important Naqshbandī shrine-centre of Ghijdawān.¹² Prior to their migration they had spent the first decades of their lives in the towns of present-day Afghanistan—the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* describes several episodes in their earlier lives, centred on such towns as Karshi, Kabul and Ḥasan Abdal.¹³ It was, however, a well-trodden trail, and the shaykhs' itineraries followed with great precision the well-established trade-route between the cities of Central Asia and those of Hindustan (i.e. North India) and the Deccan.¹⁴ In view of the long and close connections of the Indian Mughals with the Naqshbandiyya, the arrival in Awrangabad of a pair of its representatives was perhaps only to be expected.¹⁵ The pair's connections with Ghijdawān may also have struck a chord with those associated with the ruling Mughal house, for it was at Ghijdawān in 918/1512 that Babur had suffered the decisive defeat at the hands of the Uzbeks that propelled him towards India.

The move of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir down through India probably occurred separately, though both shaykhs had arrived in India by 1085/1674–75.¹⁶ Shāh Palangpōsh was the elder of the pair, and acted as Shāh Musāfir's principal *murshid* for most of his career. Having already developed a reputation in his Central Asian homeland as a protector of armies, Shāh Palangpōsh began an association with military groups in the Deccan that

¹¹ See M. Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Nationalist Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

¹² The shrine of 'Abd al-Khāliq (d. 575/1179–80) at Ghijdawān at times rivalled even that of Bahā' al-din Naqshband in importance, while *MN* (3) adds that the shrine of Bābā Qul Farid, the *murshid* of Shāh Palangpōsh, was also located in Ghijdawān and resorted to by the city's inhabitants. On other contemporary Central Asian travellers in South Asia and their accounts of their own often picaresque adventures, see R. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 106–26.

¹³ The chronology of their pre-Aurangabad lives has been ingeniously reconstructed by S. Digby in 'Before the Bābās came to India: a reconstruction of the earlier lives of Bābā Sa'īd Palangpōsh and Bābā Muḥammad Musāfir in "Wilāyat"', *Iran* 36 (1998).

¹⁴ The levels of continued immigration from Central Asia into the Mughal realm during the reign of Aurangzeb may be seen in Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-umara of Kewal Ram*, trans. S. M. Azizuddin Husain (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985); and M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (London: Asian Publishing House, 1966).

¹⁵ Babur's father had been a disciple of Khōja Ahrār, whose *Risāla-e-Wāliidiyya* Babur translated into Turkish. This affinity continued, waxing and waning, with Babur's descendants. On Aurangzeb's relationship with the Naqshbandiyya, see Y. Friedmann, 'The Naqshbandīs and Aurangzeb: a reconsideration', in Gaborieau, Popovic and Zarccone, *Naqshbandis*.

¹⁶ Digby 'Before the Bābās', 159–60.

would continue throughout his career. He attached himself to the army of the commander of the principal wing of the Mughal forces in the Deccan, Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang, the father of Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh (subsequently the founder of Ḥaydarabad state). Shāh Palangpōsh in this sense resembles other military saints found within martial contexts in Islamic tradition no less than its Christian and Hindu counterparts.¹⁷ Shāh Palangpōsh was also present at the wedding of the seven-year-old Nizām al-Mulk, at which gathering he was claimed by his biographer Shāh Maḥmūd to have miraculously saved the precarious life of the future prince through the mystical power of his breath.¹⁸ For his part, Shāh Musāfir chose rather to settle in the region's new Mughal outpost at Awrangabad where his Central Asian (*tūrāmī*) followers eventually constructed an impressive mosque, *takiyya* and mausoleum for him. Having adopted the region's new metropolis as his home, Shāh Musāfir remained in Awrangabad until his death in 1126/1715.¹⁹

As described in *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*, the career of Shāh Musāfir's erstwhile contemporary Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī reveals a picture of a Sufi tradition at work in Awrangabad that was alive to many of the chief social and intellectual currents of the day. Like the city's Naqshbandīs, Nizām al-dīn was originally a migrant to the Deccan and was born in the region of Awadh around 1076/1665–66.²⁰ His home town is not mentioned in the earliest sources, such as *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* itself or his own book on meditation *Nizām al-Qulūb*, though the town of Kakori and its nearby village of Nagrawn often feature in later sources.²¹ As a young man he travelled to Delhi which, like Awrangabad a few decades later, was enjoying a period of royal and aristocratic patronage under the aegis of Shah Jahan that was as beneficial to the city's Sufis as to any of its other inhabitants. There Nizām al-dīn came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishtī shaykh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (d. 1142/1729). Shāh Kalīm Allāh was perhaps the most influential Chishtī figure of his day and left numerous texts, including *Kashkūl-e-Kalīmī* and a collection of letters known as *Maktūbāt-e-Kalīmī*. He has also been considered an important transmitter of the thought of Ibn 'Arabī.²² Eventually, in part through the influence of Kalīm Allāh's own master Yaḥyā Madanī (d. 1101/1689), Nizām al-dīn became the initiate and eventually the favourite of Kalīm Allāh.

Nizām al-dīn spent several years at the khanaqah of his master before setting off for the Deccan around 1094/1683 on the latter's instructions.²³ He then travelled for a number of years with the Mughal army through the war-torn countryside of the Deccan, like Shāh Palangpōsh, whose own martial career may be suggestive of Nizām al-dīn's uncertain activities during these

¹⁷ For the best known account of the 'military *pīr*', see R. M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). On comparable phenomena in other religious traditions, see D. N. Lorenzen, 'Warrior ascetics in Indian history', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98/1 (1978) 61–75; and C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁸ *MN*, 34–5.

¹⁹ *MN*, 109.

²⁰ For other summaries of Nizām al-dīn's life, see K. A. Nizāmī, *Tārīkh-e-mashā'ikh-e-Chishtī* (Dilhi: Idārah-e-Adabiyat-e-Dillī, 1980–85), 427–59 [Urdu]; and M. Z. Siddīqui, 'Aurangābādī, Shāh Neẓām-al-dīn', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

²¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* (Dilhi: Maṭba'a Sayyid al-Akḥbār, 1263/1827), 4, 30–33 [Urdu]; and 'Abd al-Jabbār Khān Malkapūrī, *Mahbūb al-zilmanān: tadhkira-e-awliyā-e-Dakan* (Ḥaydarābād: Ḥasan Prēs, 1331/1912–13), 1093–1100 [Urdu].

²² See W. C. Chittick, 'Notes on Ibn 'Arabī's influence in the Indian sub-continent', *Muslim World* 82 (1992).

²³ This order is recorded in a letter to Nizām al-dīn preserved in Kalīm Allāh's *maktūbāt*. See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt-e-Kalīmī* (Dilhi: Maṭba'a-e-Mujtabā'ī, 1315/1897), 26.

years. Making use of military postal services, the letters sent to him at this time from Kalīm Allāh were delivered through the channels of the imperial army.²⁴ Many of these letters, which were later collected as the *maktūbāt* of Kalīm Allāh, allow us a very direct view into the concerns of Nizām al-dīn during his years in the Deccan. During his lengthy itinerary with the army, Nizām al-dīn visited several of the cities of the Deccan, including the notable political and Sufi centre of Burhanpur (where his *murshid* seems to have wished him to settle), before finally deciding to reside in Awrangabad, where he remained until his death in 1142/1729.²⁵ Nizām al-dīn's connections with the Mughal martial elites may have served his purposes well, for some time after his arrival in Awrangabad, Kāmgar Khān, the writer of the *malfūzāt* of Nizām al-dīn, seems to have offered the Sufi his haveli in the Shāh Ganj quarter that was the centre of the city and the site of its famously wealthy royal market.²⁶ The ground floor apartments of this haveli survive as the oldest portion of Nizām al-dīn's shrine.

Over time, Nizām al-dīn built up a following in Awrangabad that combined a retinue from among the Mughal elite classes with more humble petitioners from across the city. Like his Naqshbandī contemporaries in Awrangabad, Nizām al-dīn seems to have been associated with the founder of Haydarabad state, Nizām al-Mulk, an association which later tradition would adopt in ascribing the latter's military and political successes to Nizām al-dīn's miraculous help.²⁷ Following Chishtī sensibilities towards royal friendships, Kāmgar Khān made no mention of this association in *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*, though the fact that Nizām al-Mulk may have composed a devotional life of Nizām al-dīn is certainly suggestive of a close relationship.²⁸ This apparently close connection later remained in the prince's family and almost forty years after Nizām al-Mulk's death, his grandson 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Firūz Jang III (d. 1215/1800) composed an important biography of Nizām al-dīn's son and successor, Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn (d. 1199/1785).²⁹ Moreover, in the *mathnawī* entitled *Fakhrīyyat al-Nizām* that 'Imād al-Mulk also wrote in praise of both Fakhr al-dīn and his father Nizām al-dīn, it is claimed that Nizām al-Mulk actually undertook a Sufi initiation (*bay'at*) at the hands of Nizām al-dīn and so became his disciple. The same work also claims that upon Nizām al-dīn's death, Nizām al-Mulk came in grief to the khanaqah personally to appoint Fakhr al-dīn as the successor of his dead father, an

²⁴ Cf. R. A. Alavi, 'Working of the postal and intelligence services in the Mughal Deccan', in R. A. Alavi, *Studies in the History of Medieval Deccan* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1977).

²⁵ Kalīm Allāh actually suggested that Nizām al-dīn found his own suburb of Burhanpur and name it Nizampur. See Umar *Islam in Northern India*, 62.

²⁶ Unfortunately, all of the early documentation of the shrine's foundation and early landholdings were destroyed in a fire during the 'police action' of 1948.

²⁷ An otherwise unknown writer called Sabzawāri, writing a guide to the shrines of Awrangabad and Khuldabad a few decades after Nizām al-dīn's death, provided one of the earliest surviving textual references to this association. See Khāksār Sabzawāri, *Sawānih* (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon Collection, ms. 85), f. 35r. I am grateful to Carl Ernst for sending me a photocopy of this manuscript. On the oral tradition associating Nizām al-dīn and Nizām al-Mulk, see N. S. Green, 'Stories of saints and sultans: re-membering history at the sufi shrines of Aurangabad', *Modern Asian Studies*, 38/2, 2004.

²⁸ The book, entitled *Rashk-e-gulistan-e-ihram*, must now be presumed lost, since the searches of neither the present writer nor those of Rizvi and Nizami have succeeded in tracing a copy. Nor is any reference made to it in M. Fathullah Khan, 'The Nizams as men of letters', *Islamic Culture* 12/4 (1938). However, when Mawlānā Rahīm Bakhsh was writing his *Shajārat al-anwār*, he reportedly saw the book in the house of Ḥājī Waşel, the famous *khalifa* of Nizām al-dīn's son, Fakhr al-dīn. See Nizāmī, *Tārīkh*, 453.

²⁹ C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 2 vols (London: Luzac & Co, 1927–71), 1028–30.

extraordinary image of the intervention of men of state in Sufi affairs.³⁰ Nizām al-Mulk was also connected with Nizām al-dīn's Naqshbandī contemporaries in Awrangabad, while his predilection for the company and comfort of dervishes was also noted by one of his administrators and early biographers, Lālā Mansārām (d. unknown).³¹ Among the many encounters between Nizām al-Mulk and dervishes in *Ma'āthir-e-Nizāmī*, Mansārām at one point describes the Nizām discussing appointments to his administration with a Sufi called Shāh Ghulām Muḥammad.³²

If Nizām al-dīn, meanwhile, was willing at times to associate both himself and his *murīds* with the royal machinery of state, the letters sent to him by his own master Kalīm Allāh show that he did this with a good many qualms of conscience.³³ Yet at the same time he had been willing to accompany the royal armies engaged in the conquest and pacification of the Deccan, a duty to which he later also sent his follower Nūr al-dīn Ḥussaynī.³⁴ As the deeply humane correspondence recorded in *Maktūbāt-e-Kalīmī* shows, Sufis like Nizām al-dīn and his master were very much aware of the moral compromises that life in an imperial milieu threw before them. Yet the accompaniment and protection of the armies of the north (of Delhi in particular) was already a long-term pattern of Chishtī history. Not only had such camp-following lain behind the coming of the Chishtīs to the Deccan in the first place in the form of the arrival of the Sufis of nearby Khuldabad alongside the armies of the Delhi Sultans four centuries earlier, but two of Nizām al-dīn's co-disciples of Shāh Kalīm Allāh also accompanied the Mughal armies on their conquest of the Deccan kingdom of Golkonda in the 1090s/1680s. Like Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad, Shāh Yūsuf al-dīn Qādirī (d. 1121/1709) and Shāh Sharīf al-dīn Qādirī (d. soon after 1121/1709) left the army to establish themselves in the newly conquered city, where together their tombs came to form one of the most important shrines in Ḥaydarabad.³⁵

During the years between the death of Awrangzeb in 1118/1707 and the formation of Aṣaf Jāh autonomy in the Deccan two decades later under Nizām al-Mulk, *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* shows how Nizām al-dīn's khanaqah served as the focus for a cross-section of Sufi activities. These ranged from the performance of religious exercises and the devotional recitation of Sufi biographies to the redistribution of wealth and reflections on political authority.³⁶ Pilgrimages

³⁰ 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān, *Mathnawī-ye-fakhriyyat al-Nizāmī*, ms., 92–3 and 136–7. I have consulted a copy held at the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Aurangabad; Storey, *Persian Literature*, 1030 notes that no manuscripts of this work are known in public collections. Awrangzeb too at times interfered in such matters, as when he dismissed the *sajjāda nashīn* of Giṣū Darāz at Gulbarga during an early visit to the shrine. The conditions of the custodian families at the shrine in Gulbarga immediately after the conquest were described by the chronicler Bhimsen. See Bhimsen, *English Translation of Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, trans. J. Sarkar (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1972), 115–16.

³¹ Long sections of Mansārām have been translated by P. S. M. Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963). On Nizām al-Mulk in the company of dervishes, see Rao *ibid.*, 81, 85–6, 95, 112–3, 120–21. At the centre of many currents of eighteenth-century Sufism, Nizām al-Mulk also exchanged letters with Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1176/1762). See R. Kumar, 'Political letters of Shah Walī Ullah', in R. Kumar (ed.), *Survey of Medieval India*, vol. 9, *Nadir Shah and Anarchy India* (Delhi: Ammol Publications, 1999). This trait of associating with mystics became something of a family custom and was also noted in regard to several of Nizām al-Mulk's successors.

³² Rao *Eighteenth Century Deccan*, 86.

³³ See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt*, 10–12.

³⁴ AS, 70. Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn also spent several years in military service before retiring into a life of contemplation and teaching.

³⁵ D. Prasad, *Saints of Telangana* (Hyderabad: Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, 1969), 8–12.

³⁶ AS, 68–9, 76–8, 86.

to the shrines of the earlier Chishtī saints of the region were also regular and important events,³⁷ and Niẓām al-dīn also instructed one of his followers to write a complete guide book to the shrines of the Muslim saints and their annual 'urs celebrations.³⁸ Paying special attention to the Chishtī saints, the text was eventually completed in the camp of Niẓām al-Mulk in 1156/1743.³⁹ Warm and fraternal encounters with yogis, struggles with local townspeople and discourses on the centrality of alchemy to the practice of Islam form the subject of other episodes in *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il*.⁴⁰

Attempts to stay on the right side of temporal rulers were not uncommon for influential Sufis in the late Mughal period. And no doubt wisely, for several Sufis had earlier been executed by Awrangzeb's administration (most famously the ecstatic Sarmad), and there does seem to have been a dispute of some kind between Niẓām al-dīn and the royal administration in the city regarding the location of the public *samā'* meetings of which he was a champion.⁴¹ Niẓām al-dīn was following notable Chishtī precedents in his defending of *samā'*, not least his predecessor in the Deccan Gīṣū Darāz (d. 825/1422) and his own teacher Kalīm Allāh. *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* for its part contains many of the discourses of Niẓām al-dīn himself on the subject of *maḥfil-e-samā'*.⁴² Niẓām al-dīn also wrote a Persian treatise on the practice and various techniques of *dhikr*, notable for its discussion of yogic methods of breath control.⁴³ This text in large part reflected the *Kashkūl-e-Kalīmī* of his master Kalīm Allāh, a book of similar practical instructions on the different kinds of *dhikr*, which also discussed the benefits of yoga.⁴⁴ However, the source of Niẓām al-dīn's knowledge of such yogic techniques may also have been more direct, for Kāmgār Khān mentions several of Niẓām al-dīn's followers who were in fact yogis.⁴⁵ In such ways, Niẓām al-dīn was very much a perpetuator of the learned tendencies of Chishtī Sufism represented by his teacher Kalīm Allāh.

Yet connections with Delhi as the already ancient epicentre of Chishtī expansion in India always underwrote Niẓām al-dīn's career in the Deccan. Throughout his years in the south, Niẓām al-dīn received instructions from his master in the north, like missives sent from an emperor in Delhi to his general in the field, and we have mentioned pilgrimages made from Awrangabad to Delhi with Niẓām al-dīn's blessing by at least two of his main disciples.⁴⁶ Indeed, *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* is usually found bound together with *Majālis-e-Kalīmī*, the *malḥūzāt* of Kalīm Allāh made by Niẓām al-dīn's disciple and biographer Kāmgār Khān during his trip to Delhi. For despite all of the years which Niẓām al-dīn spent in the Deccan, it was always to the territories of the

³⁷ *AS*, 62, 82, 90 and *MN*, 73, 124.

³⁸ See C. W. Ernst, 'An Indo-Persian guide to sufi shrine pilgrimage', in G. M. Smith and C. W. Ernst (eds), *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 48. This text has been consulted in its later expanded form as Muhammad Najīb Qādirī Nagawī, *Kitāb-e-a'rās* (*Makhzan-e-a'rās*) (Agra: n.p., 1300/1883) [Urdu]. I am grateful to Carl Ernst for sending me photocopies of this text.

³⁹ See W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, First Supplement (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927), 79–80.

⁴⁰ *AS*, 97–8, 192, 194–6.

⁴¹ Niẓāmī, *Tārīkh*, 445. This seems to be referred to in a letter to Niẓām al-dīn from Kalīm Allāh. See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī *Maktūbāt*, 10.

⁴² *AS*, 64, 74, 79–81, 84, 93–7, 113–14, 116–18, 191–3.

⁴³ See Niẓām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangābādī, *Niẓām al-qulūb* (Dilhi: Maṭba'a-e-Mujtabā'i, 1309/1891–92). For a study of this text, see C. W. Ernst, 'Chishtī meditation practices of the later Mughal period', in Lewisohn and Morgan, *Heitage of Sufisim*.

⁴⁴ Kalimullah Jahanabadi, *The Scallop Shell* (*Being a Sufite Practical Course on Divine Union*) (Madras: Ananda Press, 1910), 17, 64–5.

⁴⁵ *AS*, 97. However, yogis also feature in competition with Mu'in al-dīn Chishtī in *AS*, 199–202.

⁴⁶ On these pilgrimages, see Ashraf, *Catalogue*, 216–7.

earlier Chishtīs of Hindustan such as Quṭb al-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235) and Muʿīn al-dīn Chishtī (d. 633/1236) that he returned in his discourses on the Sufī life.⁴⁷ Just as the stories told in the circle of Shāh Musāfir and recorded in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* concerned the earlier Central Asian saints of the Naqshbandī order, so the followers of Nizām al-dīn absorbed tales of the great northern masters of the Chishtīya. First given lasting form in the years of the Delhi Sultanate by such memorialists as Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī (d. after 729/1329) and Ḥamid Qalandar (fl. 755/1354), the Chishtī imagination still remained tied to its north Indian geography of empire and the sacred almost five centuries later in Awrangabad.

What is known of Nizām al-dīn's private life is also of interest. He married twice, relatively late in life, with his first marriage being arranged by his master after Nizām al-dīn claimed he had lost all contact with his own people (*qabīla*).⁴⁸ Another wife came from the family of the great Deccan Chishtī saint Gīsū Darāz and may have been the sister of the Sufī Sayyid Ḥaydar Ḥussaynī (fl. 1133/1720), brought to Awrangabad by her brother upon his move to the city from Gulbarga.⁴⁹ Through his two wives, Nizām al-dīn had five sons and seven daughters, the latter marrying into the families of local religious and political elites.⁵⁰ For a provincial from one of the *qasbahs* of Awadh, Nizām al-dīn had thus carved a considerable position for himself amid the many opportunities offered to able Hindustanis by the Mughal conquests in the Deccan. For though of obscure parentage himself, his own and his offspring's marriages show how he had risen to the same social class as his master Kalīm Allāh, scion of a notable family of royal architects.⁵¹ Like the army whose movements its representatives sometimes shadowed, *taṣawwuf* could also offer its members a career structure with attractive prospects for social betterment. Such alliances were far from uncommon and both Chishtī and Naqshbandī shaykhs intermarried with members of the Mughal royal house itself.⁵² While Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir were both bachelors, the marriages of both Nizām al-dīn and his daughters reveal how Sufis, no less than any of their contemporaries, lived, loved and married within the classic Islamic model of the agnatic family.

Imperial geographies and saintly memories

As modern readers we must be wary of projecting later cultural and political geographies back into the past.⁵³ For prior to as well as during the eighteenth

⁴⁷ E.g. *AS*, 47–9, 68–70, 85–6, 94–6, 198–201.

⁴⁸ See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt*, 14–15.

⁴⁹ Nizāmī, *Tārīkh*, 458–9.

⁵⁰ This relies on the details of all of these marriages in the usually well-informed late source Malkāpūrī, *Tadhkira*, 1100.

⁵¹ Prasad, *Saints*, 141. Kalīm Allāh's grandfather Mawlawī Aḥmad (known as Nādir al-ʿAṣr) was one of the greatest architects of the reign of Shah Jahan, while his father Ḥājī Nūr Allāh designed the calligraphy on the front of Shah Jahan's Friday Mosque in Delhi.

⁵² See A. Husain 'The family of Shaikh Salim Chishtī during the reign of Jehangir', in K. A. Nizāmī (ed.), *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1972); and A. Schimmel, *Im Reich der Grossmoguln* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 155. The emperor Humayun's wife Hamida came from the family of the great Khurasani saint Aḥmad-e-Jām (d. 536/1141), while members of the Safavid royal house had made strategic marriages with the Niʿmat Allāhī order. The family of the Durrani rulers of Afghanistan intermarried with the Naqshbandī *ḥazrats* of Kabul. The daughter of Awrangzeb's brother, Murād Bakhsh, was also married to a Naqshbandī *khwāja* in 1088/1678. See Sāqī Mustʿad Khan, *Maāsir*, 103.

⁵³ Cf. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 300–14; and Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran*.

century the Deccan was very much felt to be a different country from the Hindustan (i.e. northern India) of Awrangabad's new imperial elites and was explicitly defined as such. While 'foreigners' (*āfāqīs*) had long flourished in literary and political circles in the pre-Mughal kingdoms of the Deccan, the Mughal conquests and the continuance of their imperial claim to the Deccan through the presentation of the Āṣaf Jāhs as their viceroys, redefined the Deccan in ways that are easily blurred from a distance of centuries. These re-definitions included such religious dimensions as the decline of official Shiism and the re-introduction of Sufi orders attached primarily to the northern Sunni world, alongside such ethnic dimensions as the influx of Central Asians and Afghans to the Deccan.⁵⁴ However, perhaps the most vivid dimensions of cultural change were the political and geographical changes that redefined the relationship of the Deccan to Hindustan within the framework of the Mughal imperium and the religious geography of the north.

If Persian literature was in itself no stranger to the Deccan, it is important not to ignore the cultural changes that the Mughal conquest of the Deccan brought with it. Like the saints whose lives they portray, the Awrangabad texts were not alien to the Deccan because of their connection with the Persian language and its literary forms. Rather, as a *lingua franca* of an aligned cultural geography that stretched from the Deccan to Anatolia, it was Persian that very much represented the common ground between learned newcomers and the older inhabitants of the Deccan. What was new and alien to the Deccan in these texts was rather the image that they expressed of the new cultural and political order initiated by Awrangzeb's conquests of the Deccan kingdoms.

The Persian historiographical tradition in South Asia is replete with accounts of Sufi saints, the significance of which often baffled early British translators into wholesale omission.⁵⁵ So in turn were political events and their makers counted within the remit of Sufi writings. Such were the similarities between the textual traditions of kings and Sufis in Awrangabad that direct cross-references often occurred. Not least among these was a common stock of characters and events shared between the Sufi texts and political histories of the period such as the Sāqī Must'ad Khān's *Ma'āthir-e-Ālamgīrī* and Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. The *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* contains several long sections and numerous asides in which the major political events of the day that form the stock in trade of the contemporary historians are discussed. It is into this sequence of political events that various followers of the Naqshbandī shaykhs as well as Shāh Palangpōsh himself were placed by Shāh Maḥmūd.⁵⁶ Such cross-overs suggest that the literary separation of the religious and the political was something reflected into the study of Sufi texts from a European perspective rather than one that was in the same way meaningful among readers in pre-modern South Asia. This is not to reaffirm clichés about the union of the political and the religious in Islam, but merely to point out that even the most mystical of texts could be firmly embedded in the contexts of their composition.

Both the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* and *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* contain a vision of the Deccan's geography drawn from their mutual connections with

⁵⁴ On the transformation of the shrine of Mu'min 'Ārif at Dawlatabad outside Awrangabad from Shiism to Sunnism, see Ernst, *Eternal Garden*, 234.

⁵⁵ On Sufis in Indo-Persian historiography, see P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim historical writing* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960).

⁵⁶ E.g. *MN*, 22, 40–41, 62–3, 70–71, 76, 78, 86–8, 102, 104–06, 116–17, 120, 122, 128.

the political and cultural world of the Mughal rulers of Hindustan. Members of the Mughal royal house had themselves written biographies of Sufi saints during the period of the Awrangabad Sufis, including Dārā Shikūh's *Safīnat al-Awliyā* on members of the Qādiriyya and *Mu'nīs al-Arwāh*, a hagiography of Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī by Dārā's sister Jahānārā. The most illuminating image of this interconnectedness of the representatives of Sufism and empire to be found in either of the Awrangabad texts is the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya*'s only description of an encounter between the city's Naqshbandī Sufis and Nizām al-dīn. In this passage, we read of a shared visit by Shāh Musāfir and Nizām al-dīn to pay their respects at the first death-anniversary ('*urs*') of Awrangzeb beside his simple tomb in the shrine of Zayn al-dīn Shīrāzī (d. 771/1369) in Khuldabad.⁵⁷ The sense of partisanship with the representatives of empire that their especial invitation to the gathering suggests is one of the most deliberate and self-evident characteristics of the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya*. Shāh Maḥmūd is not ashamed to show off the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs' friends in high places. For in the text Shāh Palangpōsh is portrayed as the supernatural protector and inveterate companion of Firūz Jang, the principal general of the Mughal armies in the Deccan, while a large proportion of the followers of both saints were soldiers and officers associated with the Mughal war effort. More generally, the *shaykhs* are seen to administer to an exclusively Central Asian (*tūrānī*) constituency, an ethnic bias that was immensely significant in a city acting as the chief outpost for the conquests of a dynasty with close public and private connections with Central Asia.⁵⁸

Shāh Maḥmūd's text reveals a fascinating picture of its subjects' sense of their spiritual and cultural heritage, pointing in the process to their sense of territory and geographical belonging. This may be seen in the references made in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* to an earlier tradition of Naqshbandī saints, in the mentioning of earlier Sufi texts used at their *takiyya* in Awrangabad or else in direct references to specific grand figures of the Naqshbandī past. The names dropped of these earlier saintly grandees, as well as the hagiographies mentioned that described them, all belonged to lands far beyond the limits of the Deccan and even of Hindustan. With its particular focus on the Herat of Wā'iz Kāshifi (fl. 906/1500) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), the narrative geography of the sacred glimpsed in these references was one no less associated with the imperial origins of the Mughals in Herat and Central Asia. For as described in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya*, the world within which the many followers of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs moved was one that revolved around the north–south axis of Mughal geography. Gone was any sense of the earlier cultural and political alignment of the Deccan with Shiite Persia and the vivid interchanges between the rival cities of the Deccan itself. In the many travel narratives recounted by Shāh Maḥmūd, this older geography was replaced by a series of northerly itineraries in which the saints and their followers moved between the cities of the wider Mughal–Timurid world, between Delhi, Kabul and Samarqand.⁵⁹ The accounts of these journeys functioned within a rhetoric that placed a symbolic as much as an historical value on such details. It is little surprise that Shāh Maḥmūd saw nothing inappropriate in

⁵⁷ *MN*, 72–3. I am grateful to Digby's notes for confirming the identification of the Shāh Nizām al-dīn Darwīsh of this passage with Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī.

⁵⁸ On this question of Tūrānī ethnicity, see also Digby, 'The Naqshbandīs', and Foltz, *Mughal India*, 12–51.

⁵⁹ On the discourse of travel among the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs and other South Asian Sufis, see N. S. Green, 'Migrant sufis, hagiography and sacred space in South Asian Islam', *Contemporary South Asia* 12/4 (2003), 594–609.

recounting the dealings of Sufis with the soldiers of empire, for both parties saw themselves as sharing a common geographical, cultural and even spiritual genesis that united the cities of Transoxiana, the classic hagiographical models of Timurid Herat like Jāmi's *Nafahāt al-Uns* and the great spiritual lineage of the Naqshbandiyya that now tied distant Bukhara to the Deccan.

The picture painted of royal associations in *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* is more subtle. For the most part the text preserves the picture of Chishtī antipathy to the possessors of temporal power just as the *Malḡūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* seems to confirm the Naqshbandī penchant for becoming saintly *éminences grises*. Chishtī ideals and rhetoric aside, the earlier history of the Chishtiyya shows their affinity with Hindustan and how their order had already come close to the centre of the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar. Akbar's close connections with the order may have been born from a sense of shared destiny with a fraternity originating in the hinterlands of Timurid Herat but brought to glory only in India, and the connections formed between royal palace and Sufi lodge during his reign continued steadily under Jahangir.⁶⁰ These ties were cemented through several generations of royal Mughal pilgrimage to and patronage of the official cradle of the Chishtiyya at Ajmer.⁶¹ The historian Khāfi Khān later described Awrangzeb making a pilgrimage to Ajmer to thank Mu'in al-dīn Chishtī for his help in defeating Dārā Shikūh, while Sāqī Must'ad Khān described the emperor's many pilgrimages to the Chishtī shrines of Quṭb al-dīn in Delhi and Gisū Darāz at Gulbarga as well as that of Mu'in al-dīn.⁶²

However, it is likely that both the Naqshbandī and Chishtī positions towards imperial elites often reflected a form of public rhetoric as much as being a true mirror of more subtle motivations. A letter sent to Nizām al-dīn from his master Kalīm Allāh urges him not to worry about avoiding friendships with the wealthy (*dawlatmandān*), explaining that such associations can be beneficial for the Sufi in a number of ways.⁶³ While the tone of the letter suggests the sincerity of Nizām al-dīn's desire to minimize official or royal friendships, the spiritual and cultural *Weltanschauung* reflected in his *malḡūzāt* suggests a more complex picture. For woven into Kāmgar Khān's account of Nizām al-dīn are stories, often heard from the mouth of the saint himself, concerning the dealings (or avoidance of dealings) of the Chishtī saints of Delhi with the old Muslim kings of the city. For the most part, these accounts refer to the earlier Chishtī lineage centred on Nizām al-dīn Awliyā of Delhi (d. 725/1325), though another category refers to the deeds of saints connected to Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī's origins in Awadh, particularly the deeds of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Qanawjī.⁶⁴ The latter heals the sick ṣubedar of Qanawj

⁶⁰ See A. Husain, 'The family of Shaikh Salim Chishtī' and B. B. Lawrence, 'Veiled opposition to sufis in Muslim South Asia: dynastic manipulation of mystical brotherhoods by the Great Mughal', in F. De Jong and B. Radtke (eds), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: 13 Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999).

⁶¹ See P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989); and S. A. I. Tirmizi, 'Mughal documents relating to the dargah of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishtī', in C. W. Troll (ed.), *Muslim Shrines in India: Their Character, History and Significance* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁶² See Khāfi Khan, *Mumtāḥab al-Lubāb: Khāfi Khan's History of 'Alamgir*, trans. S. Moinul Haq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1975), 78–79 and 337; and Sāqī Must'ad Khan (1990), 69, 78, 98, 118, 123, 175–6. For his part, Dārā had unsuccessfully sought supernatural assistance from the shrine of Bahā' al-dīn Zakariyā at Multan. See N. Manucci, *A Peeps of Mughal India (1653–1708)* (Delhi: Srihist Publications, 1999), 81–2.

⁶³ See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt*, 10–12.

⁶⁴ *AS*, 65–70, 102–05.

and is eventually visited by the vizier of Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan later spreads his fame and begs him without success to join the ranks of his government.⁶⁵

The main references to the cultural geography of the Deccan that enter the text in this way are to the Chishtī tradition at nearby Khuldabad.⁶⁶ However, this tradition too, like the circle around Niẓām al-dīn in Awrangabad, had been a first-generation transfer of a Delhi tradition to the Deccan. These similarities between this neighbouring (albeit more sanctified and better established) Chishtī tradition at Khuldabad and Niẓām al-dīn's own claims to mystical knowledge and authority were far from lost on Kāmgar Khān. For like the Khuldabad Chishtīs and their own extensive corpus of *malḥūzāt*, *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* described the gatherings around a master whose legitimacy was based on his connections to Delhi and positioned this master in a wider lineage of saints heralding from Delhi.⁶⁷

No less than the earlier hagiographers of the Khuldabad Chishtīs, Kāmgar Khān therefore constructed his subject's claims to knowledge, authority and the sacred in terms of a spiritual geography centred on the old imperial capital of Delhi.⁶⁸ This was achieved through the combination of Niẓām al-dīn's recounting of traditions concerning the early great Chishtī masters of Delhi with the fact of his own initiation in that city at the hands of Shāh Kalīm Allāh. As in the case of the earlier generation of Deccan Chishtīs based at Khuldabad, it was to be understood by the reader of the text that the Deccan was there for a Hindustani master residing in Delhi to give away. This was seen in a letter written to Niẓām al-dīn by Shāh Kalīm Allāh granting the former spiritual jurisdiction (*wilāyat*) over the entire Deccan.⁶⁹ Both the Khuldabad and Awrangabad Chishtī traditions had arrived in the Deccan travelling either in the wake or, in Niẓām al-dīn's case, in the actual van of the armies of the north. Whatever the personal feelings of the living Niẓām al-dīn towards temporal rulers or the traditional rhetoric of the Chishtī order more generally, the literary Niẓām al-dīn created in the text of Kāmgar Khān was crowned with the imagery of authority and prestige drawn from his associations with the spiritual and political geography of the north as presented through the narratives he recounted in the text of the heroic deeds of the saints and kings of Hindustan.

It is perhaps unsurprising that the two major Sufi groups in Mughal Awrangabad belonged to traditions with historical connections to the city's new northern rulers. Other new-coming Naqshbandī and Chishtī groups were also able to establish themselves in the Deccan in the wake of the Mughal conquests, particularly in the more pacified regions of the northern Deccan. A Naqshbandī circle was established at Balapur in 1065/1654 by Shāh 'Ināyat Allāh (d. 1117/1705).⁷⁰ Like the Awrangabad Sufis, Shāh 'Ināyat was also a migrant to the Deccan, having originated from a Central Asian (*tūrānī*) family resident in Punjab before moving to the Deccan in 1059/1649. A *jāgīr* was later

⁶⁵ AS, 66–70.

⁶⁶ AS, 62, 82, 90.

⁶⁷ See Ernst, *Eternal Garden*, for an extensive study of the Khuldabad *malḥūzāt* tradition.

⁶⁸ On the symbolic importance of Delhi to the Chishtīyya, see S. Digby, 'Early pilgrimages to the graves of Mu'in al-Din and other Chishtī shaikhs', in M. Israel and N. K. Wagle (eds), *Islamic Society and Culture* (Delhi: Manohar, 1983).

⁶⁹ See Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, *Maktūbāt*, 26.

⁷⁰ See Hādī Naqshbandī, *Rūḥ al-'ināyat* (Burhānpūr: Rashīd Buk Dīpō, 1417/1996) [Urdu]. On other members of this lineage, see Malkāpūrī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 850–57, 861–62, 864–72, 906–14, 931–49. One of Shāh 'Ināyat's descendants later moved to Awrangabad where he wrote *inter alia* a mystical *tafsīr* of the Quran. See Mawlānā Qamar al-dīn, *Nūr al-karīmatayn* (Kānpūr: Maṭba'a-e-Niẓāmī, 1307/1889).

granted to him in 1072/1661 by Awrangzeb, funding the construction of an ornate khanaqah on the outskirts of Balapur. While this order had few direct connections with the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs, the revitalization of Chishtī fortunes in the Deccan owed a more direct debt to Nizām al-dīn. His follower Shāh Ismā'īl (d. unknown) went on to found a Chishtī tradition at Elichpur in the northern Deccan through the work of his own disciple Ghulām Chishtī (d. 1210/1795).⁷¹ Ghulām Chishtī corresponded with the followers of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad and was especially influenced by Nizām al-dīn's *Nizām al-Qulūb*. Other followers of Nizām al-dīn migrated to Ḥaydarabad as well as Delhi in the years after Awrangabad's eclipse.

The connections between Naqshbandī and Chishtī Sufis and the Mughals drew on a common heritage formed during the previous five centuries of Muslim rule in South Asia that had often brought Hindustan together more closely with Central Asia than with the Deccan. In the overlapping of saintly and political geographies seen in Sufi as well as royal texts, these common threads were woven together in the creation of a territorial vision of cultural, political and spiritual contiguity. For territory of residence and territory of belonging were by no means necessarily the same in pre-modern Islamicate societies. It was in a common sense of belonging and orientation in the Mughal–Timurid world, this sense of shared origins, that the Sufi texts of Mughal Awrangabad may in part be considered manuals of spiritual colonization, for they provided a territorial vision in part alien to the Deccan of the period. Just as the kings of this world had conquered the material landscape of the Deccan, in their importing of traditions of saintly power from Hindustan and beyond, the Awrangabad Sufis were involved for their part in a process of the spiritual conquest of an earlier Muslim sacred geography.⁷² As recent studies on Islamic Western Asia show, this was far from the first instance of the re-formulation of a Muslim sacred geography incumbent upon the replacement of one Muslim dynasty by another.⁷³

As the culture of the Deccan slowly changed after the era of the Mughal conquests, people of the region came to address their prayers to the new saints from the north no less than they paid their taxes to the northern rulers who had heralded the saints' southern migration. As we have seen, migration was the key to the cultural and religious changes heralded by Sufis in the Deccan, an index that was amplified by the writings produced by these Sufi migrants in Awrangabad. It is therefore fitting that the earliest Sufi hagiography that we know to have been written in Mughal Awrangabad recorded the lives of the Afghan saints of Qaşur in Punjab.⁷⁴ This text, *Akhbār al-Awliyā*, was composed in Awrangabad in 1077/1666 in honour of the Sufis attached to the Khwēshgī clan by 'Abd Allāh Khwēshgī Qasūrī (d. after 1133/1720). Like other Sufi devotees in military service, Qasūrī had travelled to the Deccan

⁷¹ Details of his life are found in the Urdu introduction to his Persian divan. See Ghulām Chishtī, *Dīwān-e-Ghulām Chishtī-ye-Ilichpurī* (Elichpur: n.p., 1420/1999). A few of the poems mention Nizām al-dīn and his master Kalīm Allāh.

⁷² On empire and the importation of the holy in Muslim South Asia, see R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). On comparable processes in medieval Europe, see M. C. Ross, 'Land-taking and text-making in medieval Iceland', in S. Tomasch and S. Gilles (eds), *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

⁷³ See Y. Frenkel, 'Baybars and the sacred geography of *Bilād al-Shām*: a chapter in the islamization of Syria's landscape', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001) and J. Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung im urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1995).

⁷⁴ On this community, see M. Shafi'i, 'An Afghan colony at Qusur', *Islamic Culture* 3/3 (1929).

in the company of the Afghan notable Jalāl Khān Dāūdzāi. His heart and memory, however, remained tied to the north. The writings of Awrangabad's subsequent Chishtī and Naqshbandī circles clearly echoed this sense of displacement and it was one which would continue well into the Aṣaf Jāh period. The same devotion to the distant saints of Hindustan rings through the *Ma'āthir al-Kirām* that Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. 1200/1786) wrote in commemoration of the Sufis and other notables of his ancestral home of Bilgrām. Ironically, it was in the shrine of Shāh Musāfir at Awrangabad that this book was written, an irony that perhaps lay behind the incongruous inclusion of Shāh Musāfir and his master Palangpōsh within its pages.⁷⁵

Through the spiritual conquests of the Sufis of the north the saintly geography and saintly literature of the Deccan adapted to fit the cultural identity of the Deccan's new rulers and residents, a cultural identity itself based upon a northerly geography and introduced to the south by the Mughal conquests. Sufi lineages (*silsilas*) no less than the genealogies of kings reached in this way towards the same northerly direction, out of the Deccan and through Delhi to the old centres of Chisht, Samarqand and Bukhara. Through their references to the earlier saints of Hindustan and Central Asia and the pilgrimage sites associated with them, the Awrangabad texts were able both to reflect and reify the sense in which saintly and imperial geographies mirrored one another.

From a purely literary perspective, the texts of Shāh Maḥmūd and Kāmgār Khān reflect the sense in which Awrangabad had become a northern literary school in the Deccan by the 1140s/1730s. Just as there is no book that was actually authored in the Deccan mentioned as being read by the followers of Shāh Musāfir in *Malḥūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya*, *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* similarly shows a world of books aligned almost exclusively to Hindustan and Persia. The sole remnant of the Deccan's earlier textual ecumene to be mentioned by Kāmgār Khān is a book by Gīsū Darāz (d. 825/1422) of Gulbarga.⁷⁶ Yet this was characteristic of wider literary changes in Awrangabad. The city's Mughal heyday had attracted writers of many descriptions, including several poets of major importance—literary production in the city flourished due to its position as the sole major centre of patronage in the Deccan. One result of imperial patronage in Awrangabad was the compilation of the great legal compendium known as the *Fatāwā-e-Ālamgīrī*.⁷⁷ Literary production also took place later within the Awrangabad shrines themselves and, as we have seen, Āzād Bilgrāmī later wrote two Sufi *tadhkirāt* while living for seven years in the shrine of Shāh Musāfir.⁷⁸ Around him there gathered at the shrine a large number of his literary followers, some of whom, like Shahīd Mullā Bāqir (d. 1178/1764), chose to live there with him.

Despite the considerable productivity of writers in Awrangabad, the pull of Delhi remained strong and a notable literary circle gathered there around the emperor's sister Jahānārā.⁷⁹ Between the death of Awrangzeb in 1118/1707 and

⁷⁵ Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-kirām* (Āgrā: Maṭba'a Mufīd-e-Ām, 1328/1910). The account of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs is found on 171–4.

⁷⁶ *AS*, 202.

⁷⁷ See A. M. Guenther, 'Hanafī *fiqh* in Mughal India: The *Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri*' in R. M. Eaton (ed.), *India's Islamic Traditions, 711–1750* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003). The main sources of this text were Hanafī textbooks composed in Central Asia. In similar vein, Awrangzeb also commissioned a copy of the *Baḥr al-asrār* of the Central Asian historian Maḥmūd ibn Amīr Walī (fl. 1034/1624–25).

⁷⁸ See Storey, *Persian Literature*, 856.

⁷⁹ On Delhi as a rival cultural centre during this period, see S. Chandra, 'Cultural and political role of Delhi, 1675–1725', in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi through the Ages* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986).

the settling of the Āṣaf Jāh court to the important royal business of cultural patronage several decades later, many of the writers who had gathered in Awrangabad (including the poet Walī) moved from the Deccan to Delhi. Later the poet Mīr Shams al-dīn Faqīr Dihlawī (d. c. 1180/1767) migrated from Delhi to Awrangabad in search of patronage around 1140/1727, only to return to Delhi with his new patron Qizilbāsh Khān as the fortunes of his adoptive city were eclipsed by Delhi.⁸⁰ Others, however, remained, to leave a permanent imprint upon the post-Mughal literary culture of the Deccan. The literature that was being produced in Awrangabad at this time, and among which the Sufi texts must be situated, represented substantial changes from the texts sponsored by the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, in many cases in terms of the very medium of language no less than the message it contained.⁸¹ One major long-term casualty of this reallocation of patronage was the fragile cultural and linguistic synthesis attempted by poets writing in Dakhani (in Bijapur in particular).⁸² But the casualties were as much by region as by linguistic or literary style, and historians of the period describe in vivid terms the desolation to which Bijapur in particular was rendered.⁸³ One of the most poignant images of this is the post-conquest career of the Dakhani and Persian writer Maḥmūd Bahrī (d. 1130/1718), the Sufi mentor of the last ruler of Bijapur, Sikandar ‘Alī Shāh, who spent years wandering the Deccan countryside shorn of home and patronage after the fall of his native city.⁸⁴ The many *tadhkira* writers who recorded details of the poets and notables of Mughal and Āṣaf Jāh Awrangabad show a literary and aristocratic culture closely associated with the geography, customs and language of Delhi. This may be seen in the *Chamanistān-e-Shu‘arā* of Shafīq Awrangābādī (d. 1224/1808), the *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā* of Shāh Nawāz Khān (d. 1171/1758), or perhaps most clearly in the fact that Dargāh Qulī Khān (d. 1180/1766), the writer of the *Risāla-ye-Sālār Jang* (more famous as *Muraqqa‘-e-Dilhī*), was himself a resident of Awrangabad who travelled to Delhi in the company of Niẓām al-Mulk. If in some senses derivative, the literary scene in Awrangabad was also therefore energetic and creative, not least in the realm of Urdu. But from the period of the Mughal conquest of the Deccan, both Dakhani literature itself and Persian literature in the Deccan as a separate domain from the literary world of the north nonetheless effectively disappeared.

The possibility of such patronage seems the most likely reason why, like so many other providers of cultural and spiritual splendours, Sufi masters chose to settle in Awrangabad rather than live itinerant lives of freewheeling poverty or efface themselves in provincial obscurity. But a generation later, in the case of Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn (d. 1199/1785), the son and successor of Niẓām al-dīn, and many of the followers of Shāh Musāfir, the disappearance of this patronage led many of the city’s Sufis to leave Awrangabad for Delhi (and particularly the madrasa founded there by the great general Firūz Jang).⁸⁵ Sufism, at least of the style we have seen in Awrangabad, was clearly very

⁸⁰ See M. Rahman, ‘Faqīr Dehlavī’ in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

⁸¹ On overlapping linguistic and literary change in Mughal Awrangabad, see S. R. Faruqi, *Early Urdu Literary History and Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 138–140.

⁸² On this earlier literature, see Hāshimī Dakan, A. A. Hussain, *A Scent in the Islamic Garden: A Study of Deccani Urdu Literary Sources* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000); and O. Khalidī, *Islamic Literature in the Deccani Language* (Hyderabad: Hyderabad Historical Society, 1996).

⁸³ See e.g. Bhimsen, *English Translation*, 156–8.

⁸⁴ See N. Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature* (Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1995), 331–2.

⁸⁵ See MN, 174 for details of the relocation of several of Awrangabad’s Naqshbandī dervishes to Delhi.

much a by-product of a wider cultural and economic ecumene, requiring the same financial and intellectual support as any other high cultural product.

The literary connections of the Awrangabad Sufis with the king's men was therefore not only a matter of an association to be revealed or concealed within the narratives of the texts according to the sensibilities of their authors. It was also clearly a consequence of the political and economic foundations that supported the textual ecumene of which the writings of Kāmgar Khān and Shāh Maḥmūd were a part. This rootedness of the writings of the Awrangabad Sufis within an imperially tended field of literary production also concurs with the later history of their specific literary traditions. The statement in the colophon of *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* that the text was written in 1156/1743 at the request of Nizām al-dīn's son Fakhr al-dīn suggests that *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* was written at least partly to help secure Fakhr al-dīn's position in Delhi as a Sufi master with a lineage of repute. Here again we see the textual yoke connecting the Awrangabad Sufis with the older saintly geography of Delhi, writing a *malḥūzāt* of their own master in Awrangabad to impress the citizens of the old imperial capital in Delhi. Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn later established his own Sufi circle in Firuz Jang's madrasa in Delhi, presumably helped by the prestige of possessing a *malḥūzāt* honouring his own father. And he became a great success, such that the textual tradition of Kāmgar Khān and Nizām al-dīn was later carried on by 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Firūz Jang III (d. 1215/1800), whose *Manāqib-e-Fakhriyya* on the life of Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn was written in 1201/1786–87. An erstwhile *wazīr* in late Mughal Delhi, responsible for the blinding of one emperor and the assassination of another, 'Imād al-Mulk, appropriately (if also a touch ironically) adopted the pen-name (*takhaluṣ*) Nizām for his own varied poetic enterprises.⁸⁶ The last ruler of the Mughal house, Bahadur Shah Zafar (r. 1253–74/1837–58), was also associated with Nizām al-dīn's descendants in Delhi, while half a century after the death of Nizām al-dīn a later redaction of the pilgrimage manual originally written by one of his *murīds* at his suggestion was rededicated to Tipu Ṣultan of Mysore.⁸⁷ In these ways, both the origins and destiny of the Awrangabad Sufis were tied to an essentially Mughal political geography, to cities that were intertwined with an early saintly geography and which possessed the resources capable of lending patronage to living Sufis who chose to migrate to them.

Yet as well as reflecting a larger picture of imperial history, in the same way that they reveal their associations with the Mughal ecumene the texts also reveal to us a micro-historic perspective that is the obverse of the same coin. For no less than the wider body of literature produced in Awrangabad, the writings of the city's Sufis was essentially a migrant literature. From this micro-historic perspective the Sufi texts show us much about the phenomenon of displacement and the strategies by which it leads to attempts to establish new senses of belonging. For the political and saintly geographies of the texts were also private geographies, places that were remembered either directly or vicariously by first- and second-generation migrants to the Deccan. Sainthood was always deeply entwined with such private notions of regional identity and family heritage, stretching the allegiances of given families to the saintly protectors of their ancestors generations after their migration into new areas. Just as Jahangir and Awrangzeb attempted to send money for repairs to the tomb of their ancestor Timur in Samarqand, at a remove of decades and even

⁸⁶ See T. W. Beale, *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881), 96.

⁸⁷ See Ernst, 'An Indo-Persian Guide', (1993), 46.

generations Awrangabad's literary migrants like Bilgrāmī, Qaṣūrī and Shāh Maḥmūd remembered their own forefathers and the saints of their homelands in their writings. Saints and their shrines acted as the symbolic registers of family, regional and even ethnic affiliation. It was as much through their interdependence with private senses of identity as through overtly spiritual or missionary endeavour that different Sufi traditions could be introduced into new regions. Through the memory of their homelands migrants carried their saints with them irrevocably and it was partly as the living servitors of such memories that Sufis like Nizām al-dīn and Shāh Musāfir could re-attach their devotees to the distant saints and shrines of their ancestors in Central Asia and Hindustan.

Conclusions

The Sufis whose texts we have examined lived during a period of great change in the Deccan's history. It was a period of conquest, followed by a colonization of the region's new centre at Awrangabad by North Indian, Central Asian and Persian immigrants. Located in an imperial centre and by their professional vocation dependent on benefactions and offerings, the connections of the Awrangabad Sufis to the realm of empire were in some senses inevitable.⁸⁸ In their different ways, all of the Sufis described in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* and *Aḥsan al-Shamā'il* were players, deliberate or reluctant, in the imperial process, as at another level were the texts that described their words and deeds.

Bound up as they were with the cultural world of the Deccan's conquerors, like other texts of the period the accounts of Awrangabad's Chishtī and Naqshbandī Sufis were an integral part of such a colonization of the written word. For Awrangabad's new Sufi residents responded to the political annexation of the Deccan by the rulers of Hindustan by connecting the north and south no less in their writings. The journeys and pilgrimages described in the works we have examined reflected this new imperial geography no less than the collective histories and personal biographies that they record, histories that gaze at a past located far beyond the Deccan's northern limits. In language and style, as well as content, Sufi writings of the period contributed to the spiritual and cultural components of conquest in the ways in which they literally wrote over the earlier traditions of the Deccan sultanates, obscuring the saints no less than the past and places of the conquered kingdoms. Sultans and Sufis colluded in these spiritual and cultural aspects of conquest through their promotion of a sacred Muslim geography and literature in the Deccan that conformed to the predispositions of the Mughal ecumene. What remained of the earlier culture of the Deccan were those aspects which northern migrants could relate to and in turn connect to their own heritage, most notably the shrines of the earlier Chishtī saints at Khuldabad. Such places served an important role for the Deccan's new inhabitants and their offspring, linking religious practice in their new homelands to ancestral traditions in their old ones. For as we have seen, in the same moment that they reflected the experience of migration, the Awrangabad texts mirrored the imperial processes that had underwritten the costs of dislocation.

Among other things, empire is an expression of elitism on a grandiose scale. The Mughal rulers, and their Central Asian cohorts in the Deccan like

⁸⁸ For a study of the question of donations (*fuṭūḥ*) of the wealthy to Chishtī khanaqahs, see R. Islam, *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 87–150.

Fīrūz Jang and Nizām al-Mulk, represented the apex of an imperial social hierarchy, distinguished from other classes of society less by their religion than by their Central Asian (*moghol, tūrānī*) ethnicity. Such ethnicity, mapped as it was with regional origin and genealogical descent, was a persistent factor in the class make-up of society in both the pre-Mughal and post-Mughal Deccan.⁸⁹ The Awrangabad Sufi texts operate almost exclusively within an Islamic cultural framework in which Islam as a category is taken for granted, its place in the Deccan and India at large needing neither explanation nor defence. It is from this perspective that the category of class is more helpful in explaining the relationship between the Sufis and empire than that of religion. For with its manifold ranks of saints, masters and devotees, in its social expression Sufism created hierarchies of its own in a sanctified mirror of pre-modern society. As we have seen, Muslim saints and kings shared the same symbolic titles and appurtenances. Like many other mystical doctrines Sufism was in one sense an inherently elitist discourse, a by-product of which in Indo-Muslim society was the creation of a religious class of professional Sufis with their own rights and status. Bearing this in mind, the mutual affinity we have seen between Sufis and the lords of empire perhaps reflects far more the internal dynamics of social class than any inherent propinquity of Islam towards politics. Sufis and sultans claimed different kinds of dominion, lending them forms of power which placed them in analogous positions in their respective (and at times rival) hierarchies. Ultimately, the imperial fortunes of Awrangabad's late Mughal Sufis reveal to us no more and no less than the social expression of Islamic religiosity and the different cultural identities to which it was tied in an age of empire.

⁸⁹ See P. Brass, 'Elite groups, symbolic manipulation, and ethnic identity among the Muslims of South Asia' in D. Taylor and M. Yapp (eds), *Political Identity in South Asia* (London: Curzon, 1979); and K. Leonard, 'Hyderabad: the mulki-non-mulki conflict', in Robin Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978).