Sufism is often regarded as standing mystically aloof from its wider cultural settings. By turning this perspective on its head, *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century* reveals the politics and poetry of Indian Sufism through the study of Islamic sainthood in the midst of a cosmopolitan Indian society comprising migrants, soldiers, litterateurs and princes.

Placing the mystical traditions of Indian Islam within their cultural contexts, the study focuses on the shrines of four Sufi saints in the neglected Deccan region and their changing roles under the rule of the Mughals, the Nizams of Hydarabad and, after 1947, the Indian nation. Of particular interest is the book’s focus on religion in princely Hydarabad, examining the vibrant intellectual and cultural history of this independent state. However, close attention is also paid to the effects of British colonialism on Sufi individuals and institutions in India. Against these settings, the place of Sufis and their followers in the Indo-Persian and Urdu literary traditions is analysed, showing a popular religious tradition supported by a literature no less than an architecture of sainthood. In this way, an overview of the main developments of devotional Islam in South Asia over the past three centuries is presented from a regional perspective.

*Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century* is essential reading for scholars with interests in Sufism, Islam, India and cultural studies.

Nile Green is Milburn Research Fellow at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and Lecturer in South Asian Studies at Manchester University. His wide-ranging research interests focus on Sufism and the history and ethnography of Islam in South Asia, Iran and Afghanistan.
The Routledge Sufi Series provides short introductions to a variety of facets of the subject, which are accessible both to the general reader and the student and scholar in the field. Each book will be either a synthesis of existing knowledge or a distinct contribution to, and extension of, knowledge of the particular topic. The two major underlying principles of the Series are sound scholarship and readability.

1 BEYOND FAITH AND INFIDELITY
The Sufi poetry and teaching of Mahmud Shabistari
Leonard Lewisham

2 AL-HALLAJ
Herbert W. Mason

3 RUZBIHAN BAQLI
Mysticism and the rhetoric of sainthood in Persian Sufism
Carl W. Ernst

4 ABDULLAH ANSARI OF HERAT
An early Sufi master
A.G. Ravan Farhadi

5 THE CONCEPT OF SAINTHOOD IN EARLY ISLAMIC MYSTICISM
Bernd Radtke and John O’Kane

6 SUHRAWARDI AND THE SCHOOL OF ILLUMINATION
Mehdi Amin Razavi

7 PERSIAN SUFI POETRY
An introduction to the mystical use of classical poems
J.T.P. de Bruijn
8 AZIZ NASAFI
Lloyd Ridgeon

9 SUFIS AND ANTI-SUFIS
The defence, rethinking and rejection of Sufism in the modern world
Elizabeth Sirriyeh

10 REVELATION, INTELLECTUAL INTUITION AND REASON
IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF MULLA SADRA
An analysis of the al-hikmah al-‘arshiyyah
Zailan Moris

11 DIVINE LOVE IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM
The teachings of al-Ghâzalî and al-Dabbîgh
Binyamin Abrahamov

12 STRIVING FOR DIVINE UNION
Spiritual exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis
Qamar-ul Huda

13 A PSYCHOLOGY OF EARLY SUFI SAMA
Listening and altered states
Kenneth S. Avery

14 MUSLIM SAINTS OF SOUTH ASIA
The eleventh to fifteenth centuries
Anna Suvorova

15 SUFI VISIONARY OF OTTOMAN DAMASCUS
‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 1641–1731
Elizabeth Sirriyeh

16 SUFI RITUAL
The parallel universe
Ian Richard Netton

17 EARLY MYSTICS IN TURKISH LITERATURE
Mehmed Fuad Koprulu
Translated, edited and with an Introduction by Gary Leiser & Robert Dankoff

18 INDIAN SUFISM SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Saints, books and empires in the Muslim Deccan
Nile Green
INDIAN SUFISM SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Saints, books and empires in the Muslim Deccan

Nile Green
FOR MY PARENTS, GEOFFREY AND OLIVIA GREEN
# CONTENTS

*List of figures* xi
*Preface* xiii
*Acknowledgements* xvii
*A note on transliteration and names* xxii
*List of abbreviations* xxviii
*Map 1* xxv

1 Muslim mystics in an age of empire: the Sufis of Aurangabad 1

2 The poetry and politics of sainthood in a Mughal successor state 46

3 The Sufis in the shadow of a new empire 82

4 Saints, rebels and revivalists 103

5 The Aurangabad saints in the new India 134

*Conclusions* 158
*Glossary* 162
*Notes* 164
*Bibliography* 186
*Index* 200
FIGURES

1.1  The mausoleum of Awrangzeb’s wife (Bibi ka Maqbara) in Awrangabad
2
1.2  Throne (masnad) of Nizām al-Mulk at Nawkhanda Palace, Awrangabad
17
2.1  Panchakkī, the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Palangpōsh
58
2.2  The tombs of Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Palangpōsh
60
3.1  Shrine attendant (khādim) before the tomb of Shāh Musāfīr
92
4.1  The mausoleum of Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī
107
4.2  A Sufi pilgrim at the shrine of Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī
114
5.1  Miniature painting of Shāh Nūr at the maḥb of Mānpūrī in Dawlatabad
137
5.2  Sufi musicians singing qawwālī at Khuldabad
141
PREFACE

...a qalandar without equal, an enlightened dervish, a griffin on Mount Qaf, a holy hawk in the space of divine intimacy, he was always busy in the remembrance of the Truth and is among the fakirs and great ones of the Sufi path.¹

The mystical Muslim tradition known in the West as Sufism was intimately associated with the cult of the saints (awliyā) from early in its history.² Yet the dichotomy once drawn by an earlier generation of scholars between an ‘authentic’ sophisticated and textual Sufi tradition and a ‘decadent’ popular and non-literate tradition of the veneration of living or dead saints has done much to obscure the actual nature of Sufis and Sufism in the different societies of the past.³ In many ways this problem was engendered by an over-reliance upon written materials (especially poetical and doctrinal works) without reference to their wider contexts. But this model of Sufism as primarily (or even ideally) the pursuit of the erudite hermit rather than a shared and collective phenomenon rooted as much in social as in individual dispensations has proven to be as influential as it is distorting. For if ‘real’ Sufism was this learned and didactic quest for divine union, then any persons and practices linking Sufism with less elevated and more worldly concerns needed necessarily to be marginalized as peripheral or ‘inauthentic’. Over time, this individualist model led to a widening of the separation between Sufism and its cultural contexts, for in practice it was often these very ‘debased’ saintly practices that formed the bonds tying Sufis and their multifarious practices to their wider social environments. While little work has been done on saintly or other shrine cults in the early centuries of Islam, it may have been partly in the face of widespread competition for saintly status and confusion regarding its precise criteria that such early Sufi writers as Tirmidhi (d. c.295/908) wrote their handbooks of the stages of the path to sainthood (walā‘iat).⁴ Both the cultural geography and the religious forms of the Near East prior to the rise of Islam were characterized by an abundance of saintly cults of one kind or another.⁵ However sensitive to the ‘originality’ and integrity of Islam, the idea of a complete hiatus of such religious activity with the rise of Islam that was only to be followed a few centuries later by a kind of saintly re-awakening runs contrary to the developmental history of religious traditions as extended cultural phenomena as opposed to abstracted sets of limited theological ideals. While sudden religious
transformations may typify the life of prophets, they rarely characterize the life of whole peoples. While scholars once saw such early texts as those of Tirmidhî as the proof of a chronologically earlier tradition of ‘authentic’ mystic pursuits, it seems possible that the presence of miracle-working holy men already formed the wider religious context within which such early theorists were writing. At what point Muslim intellectuals chose to dignify such figures in writing, and describe them through the vocabulary of Sufism (tasawwuf), is another matter. Yet Tirmidhî’s own tomb soon became the focus of a robust saintly tradition. And by the turn of the eleventh century other early Sufi writers like Sulamî (d. 412/1021) and Hujwîrî (d. 465/1072) were more candidly describing the shrines of earlier Sufis and pilgrimages to them and doing so, moreover, in terms of a normative practice.

With a few notable exceptions, until the 1990s the scholarly marginalization of Sufi shrines and the variety of activities surrounding them continued, phenomena which traditional scholarship had regarded as related only tenuously to Sufism if related to it at all. Yet despite the concentration of many scholars working earlier in the twentieth century upon individual ‘mystical’ writers as exemplars of the Sufi path, there were relatively few among these great literary luminaries who were not themselves the centre of shrine cults in their own right. While a tradition of single-mindedly textual scholarship almost entirely divorced Sufis and their literary products from the world of shrines and saint veneration, the two were in practice closely linked if not inseparable, with a given Sufi’s literary production itself often forming an important criterion in the saint-making process. In regions such as Afghanistan to this day, the connection between poetic inspiration and sainthood remains unbroken. Here is Islam in its fully human trappings, standing firm as both Muslims and non-Muslims attempt to whittle it away into a modernist equation of doctrine and regulation. The roles played by Sufis as litterateurs and seekers of divine transcendence were only two aspects of much more complex personae, with politics, miracle-working and even soldiering forming other roles associated with and often expected of Sufis. Hagiographic no less than ethnographic material thus show Sufis reflecting many of the roles associated with the traditional sabios (‘wise ones’) of the Andalusian countryside, whose special possession of gracia (‘grace’) clearly echoes the association of baraka (‘blessing, life-force, grace’) with charismatic Sufi holy men. Embodied in the human social world through the presence of its representatives, Sufism was a far more worldly and vital force than a mere inventory of abstract beliefs would suggest.

It is only when the wide range of activities that Sufis performed is acknowledged that the close links between the living Sufi and the dead saint become apparent. For while the scene of pilgrims begging for help with their daily material needs at the shrines of Muslim saints can seem a world away from the image of the Sufi shut definitively away from the world in rapt meditation, the gap between shrine and Sufi seems less unbridgeable if the same Sufi is known to have spent as much time administering the worldly affairs of his clients as with his more solitary and ‘mystic’ pursuits. Such misconceptions often seem to be the result of a narrow definition of mysticism adopted from intellectualist European milieux, and in more recent times from an Anglo-American neglect of social theory. But in practice,
saint and Sufi were often overlapping categories, each adapting and informing the other. In this way, the literary imagining of the characters and careers of earlier Sufi saints helped to shape the lives of living Sufis through the widespread reading of hagiographies, while the writing of hagiographies of past saints was in turn informed by the living concerns of the Sufis by and among whom they were written. A sense of the constant interplay between the lived and the written worlds of the Sufis is therefore essential to understanding Sufism both as transcendent ideal and as social reality.

Traced in the following chapters is the evolution and subsequent history of a loosely linked local pantheon of Muslim saints in India. The regional focus for the study is the southern part of India known as the Deccan, whose rich Muslim legacy reaches back to at least the thirteenth century. The specific focus for the study is the city of Awrangabad, whose history from its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century heyday under the Mughal and Ásaf Jāh rulers (the latter better known as the Nizāms of Haydarabad) through to modern times forms the context against which the history of the city’s Sufi saints is examined. Particular attention is given to the roles played in the formation of Muslim sainthood by written narrative and sacred space, both in terms of a specific built environment of shrines and a wider cultural geography. Yet such writing and architecture both depended on the patronage born from a specific social order. The transformation from a living holy man to an immortal saint is shown to be heavily dependent upon the construction of a saintly shrine and at all later stages closely connected to its maintenance. In addition to the actual mausoleum of the saint, such shrine complexes included a khanaqah, mosque and residence for the living representative of the saint known as the sajjāda nashīn (‘he who sits on the prayer rug’). As both lodges for the spiritual retreat of dervishes and pilgrimage-centres for wider clienteles, amid their settings in the human geography of urban or sub-urban life, the shrines reveal the interdependence of Sufism and the cult of the saints along with their common ties to the wider cultural history of their communities.

As a territory newly conquered by the Mughal rulers of North India in a region already possessing a rich Muslim heritage of its own, during the first century after its re-foundation in 1092/1681 Awrangabad and its hinterland was particularly well-placed to exhibit the cosmopolitan diversity of Indo-Muslim life. Looking out from Awrangabad the book charts the social and cultural fissures of Indo-Muslim history from the zenith of Mughal power through the evolution of the Muslim successor state of Haydarabad to the consequences of colonialism for the institutional and intellectual world of devotional Islam. Finally we assess the state of Awrangabad’s saintly traditions after the loss of its officially Muslim persona with the collapse of Haydarabad state after Indian independence in 1947. Re-asserting the inevitable politics of spirituality, we show how the careers and indeed characters of the Sufi saints evolved in reflection of the changing fortunes of their clients. Against this background of intractable historical change, memory and its local mechanisms are seen to be at the heart of the cultural functions of the saints and of the literature, legends and monuments that surround them. By mapping the contours of these changes in the social and the written worlds of the Sufis, this study accentuates the diversity and mutability of Islamic tradition through an investigation into the cultural history of one of its more neglected regions.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research and writing of this book would not have been possible without the financial and other forms of support I have received from a number of academic institutions and learned societies. I would like to express my special gratitude to the Faculty of Theology at Oxford University for electing me to the Gordon Milburn Junior Research Fellowship and to the Principal and Fellows of Lady Margaret Hall for making my years in Oxford so comfortable and congenial. I would also like to acknowledge the Trustees of the Ouseley Memorial Trust at the University of London for granting me the Sir William Ouseley Memorial Scholarship for the doctoral work at the School of Oriental and African Studies from which this monograph developed. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the department of Religions and Theology at Manchester University for their support as I brought this project to completion. My earlier studies of Sufism, and of Persian in particular, were enabled several years earlier by a studentship from the British Academy to study at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

The numerous field trips from which my research developed were also partly funded by a number of bodies. An early field trip to Iran in 1996 was supported by the British Institute of Persian Studies; later field trips to India were supported by the Ouseley Memorial Trust, the Society for South Asian Studies, the Faculty of Theology at Oxford University and the Fellows Travel Fund of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. I was also able to collect some final material while researching another project in Hyderabad supported by a Small Research Grant from the British Academy in 2005. In this connection I would also like to thank Brian Wood and Carl Welsby, formerly of Travelbag Adventures, for turning a blind eye while I pursued my intellectual interests on the pretext of running dozens of tours for them during the 1990s in India, Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East. I am also grateful to the librarians at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library and Indian Institute, Oxford, the archives of the Church Missionary Society at Birmingham University Library, the Bibliothek der Asien-Afrika-Institut der Universität Hamburg, the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, and to Roberta Staples at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and Nigel James of the map room at the Bodleian Library.

Revised sections from my articles ‘Geography, Empire and Sainthood in the Eighteenth Century Muslim Deccan’, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


I would also like to express an evident and lasting debt to my teachers in Sufi, Persian and Indo-Muslim studies, namely Julian Baldick, the late John Cooper and particularly Christopher Shackle. In Aurangabad, my studies in Urdu were guided by the latter-day guardian of the city’s learned and cosmopolitan traditions, the poet Bashar Nawaz. As the repercussions of the September 11 attacks on America unfolded, the year I spent working as Research Assistant (or portaburse, as certain friends preferred) to Sir Jack Goody was inspirational on a variety of levels. I would also like to thank the following scholars for their support, advice and conversation: Francis Robinson, Ian Richard Netton, Simon Digby, Omar Khalidi, Bruce Wannell, Jürgen Wasim Frembgen, George Michell, Helen Philon, Alessandro Monsutti, Michel Boivin, Scott Kugle, David Washbrook, Sanjay Subrahmanyan, William Dalrymple, Farhan Nizami, Stuart Blackburn, Crispin Branfoot and Jagdish Mittal. I would like to record my special thanks to Carl Ernst for sending me xerox copies of manuscripts of works by Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri and Khaksar Sabzawari. Fatima Nejadveisi was generous enough to send me a whole series of books from Iran.

In Aurangabad and elsewhere in the Deccan, I was helped (and occasionally hindered) by a variety of individuals. Along with my dear friend and ustad Bashar Nawaz, I would like to record my special gratitude to Seyyid Hasan, Mirza Agha Beg and Mohammed Abd al-Hayy for their help in supplying copies of manuscript and rare printed works. Prof. Sheikh Ramzan was particularly helpful in supplying me with copies of administrative documents that he has preserved from Panchakki and for allowing me to consult his PhD thesis on medieval Aurangabad. At Balapur, I was helped by Syed Zahir ul-Islam Naqshbandi, who supplied me with works related to the tradition of Shah ‘Inayat Allah of Balapur. I would also like to record my thanks to the Sheikh family; Dr Mirza Khizr of Babasaheb Ambedkar University; Mrs Rizwana Ateeq Kazi, Taqi Ahmad Naqshbandi, Yusuf Maghrebi and Hafez Aqil Maulana of Panchakki; Dada Pir, Mirza Ibrahim ‘Lal’ Beg, Mohammed Sharafuddin Siddiqi, Athar Siddiqi, Shihabuddin and Usman Bhai at the shrine of Shah Nur; the late Syed Yaqub Ali and the sajjada nashin of Nizam al-din’s shrine, Mohammed Miyan, for his exemplary hospitality; Muinuddin Khan, Seyyid Quddus and Kashifuddin Khan at the shrine of Banne Miyan; Riazzuddin Nehri and Muazzam Ali Nehri at the shrine of Shah ‘Ali Nehri; Iqbal Ahmed Khan and his wife Kaniza at the shrine of Shah Sokhta Miyan; Seyyid Iqbal Ahmed Shattari at the shrine of Shaykhana Awliya; and Maqsood Ali, Namdev Gopinat Perkar, Khajar and Mahdu Gangathar Jadhav at the math of Manpuri at Daulatabad. Samir Khan, Nural Husayn, Rafat Nawaz and Shivaji were also among those who recounted legends of the saints to me. Abdul Rashid Wahdati was magnanimous in inviting me to join hands with the golden chain of the saints.

Mercifully, many dear friends have distracted me during the years in which this book was ruminated, written and revised and I would like to record something of
them too. These were my fellow travellers: the Bermondsey Bohemians, the Cambridge Four and the international buccaneers of the Safinat al-Baraka. Salud!

Final thanks must go to my parents, Geoffrey and Olivia Green. And also to my wife, Nushin Arbabzadah, who via London, Aurangabad, the Cotswolds, Hamburg, Cambridge, Oxford and Moratalla was there through every humble hal wa maqam through which this book passed before reaching its present state.
A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND NAMES

The system of transliteration adopted in this work for Arabic, Persian and Urdu words consists of a simplified and somewhat modified form of the Encyclopaedia of Islam system, with qaf rendered as q, jim as j and zad as z. Underdots and hamza have been omitted. The letters ŏ and ũ represent the voicing of the long Indo-Persian vowels and have been used in addition to u and i in accordance with standard usage for Indo-Persian and Urdu transliteration.

With the exception of Mecca and Delhi, place names have been given in transliterated form rather than in accordance with modern spelling (e.g. Haydarabad for Hyderabad, Awrangabad for Aurangabad). However, for simplicity’s sake I have omitted diacritical marks. All personal names are fully transliterated, with the exception of the names of Indian rulers who are suitably well known. Except for Chapter 5 (which deals with the period after 1947), the term India should be taken in the premodern geographical sense rather than in reference to the modern state of the same name.

Dates are provided according to both the Islamic (hijrī) and Gregorian calendars.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āfīb</td>
<td>Tūrā Sāhib Qurēshī – Āfīb-e-Dakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>Muhammad Īsmā’īl Shāh Qādirī – Ā’zam al-Karāmāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Āmira</td>
<td>Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī – Khazāna-ye-‘Āmira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqtāb</td>
<td>Rawnaq ‘Alī – Rawzat al-Aqtāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’rās</td>
<td>Muhammad Najīb Qādirī Najawrī – Kitāb-e-A’rās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Kāngār Khān – Absān al-Shama’īl (Malfūzāt-e-Shāh Nizām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangābādī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āthār</td>
<td>Sayyid Ahmad Khan – Āthār al-Sanādīd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakhriyyat</td>
<td>‘Ināyat al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān – Fakhriyyat al-Nizām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan</td>
<td>Sayyid Hasan – Hālāt ū Zindagī-ye-Nizām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangābādī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaškūl</td>
<td>Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī – Kaškūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khb</td>
<td>Ghulām Sarwar Lāhawrī – Khabānāt al-Asfiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maktūbah</td>
<td>Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī – Maktūbah-e-Kalimī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī – Ma’aṭībir al-Kirām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN</td>
<td>Shāh Mahmūd Awrangābādī – Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya: Hālāt-e-Hazrat Bābā Shāh Musāfīr Sāhib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MU</td>
<td>Shah Nawaz Khan – Ma’aṭībir al-Umarā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizām</td>
<td>Nizām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangābādī – Nizām al-Qulāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Zahir Khān Zahūr – Nūr al-Awūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī – Rawzat al-Awliyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw</td>
<td>Khāksār Sabzawārī – Sawānīb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadb 2</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Jabbar Khān Malikpūrī – Mabbūb al-Zamān: Tadbīra-ye-Shu’arā’-ye-Dakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takmila</td>
<td>Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī – Takmilā-ye-Sīyar al-Awliyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>Ghulām Imām Khān – Tārikh-e-Khurṣīd Jābī wa Tārikh-e-Khujista Buṇyād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhfa</td>
<td>Afzal Bēg Qāqshāl Awrangābādī – Tuhfat al-Shu’arā’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 1 The Deccan (inset): India

1

MUSLIM MYSTICS IN AN AGE OF EMPIRE

The Sufis of Awrangabad

As soon as he started to build there, Awrangzeb renewed the country of the Deccan with the buildings of Awrangabad, which is one of the great cities of the world. Its suburbs are also beautiful, and they sell gold there as though the sky had asked for a shop to sell its stars.¹

Introduction

The city of Awrangabad was the heir to a long tradition of urban immigration and cosmopolitanism in the southern region of India known as the Deccan. In 1019/1610 the city was founded in the name of the Nizām Shāh rulers of nearby Ahmadnagar by a former Ethiopian slave, Malik ‘Anbar.² In this first incarnation, under the name Khirki, Awrangabad stood as the last major city to be founded by the independent sultanates of the Deccan prior to the region’s conquest by the Mughal empire of Hindustan (in precolonial usage, North India as opposed to the Deccan). But in spite of this early history, Awrangabad would owe its fame, name and subsequent architectural as well as broader cultural and religious character to the period beginning with the Mughal defeat of the Nizām Shāhs in 1047/1637.³ After the initial Deccan conquests of Shah Jahan (commanded by the youthful Awrangzeb), following his own accession to the Mughal throne Awrangzeb moved his court to the Deccan and re-founded the city in 1092/1681.⁴ His choice of the city as the centre for his wider conquests of the independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan was perhaps fitting, for the migrant Persian geographer Sādiq Isfahānī (fl.1045/1635) had earlier interpreted its name of Khirki as signifying the ‘gateway’ opening onto the Deccan.⁵ What was in the eyes of its conquerors the good fortune of the city also soon earned it the sobriquet of Khujista Bunyād, ‘the auspiciously founded’. Following Mughal custom, however, Awrangzeb also honoured his new capital with his own name and it was with the royal eponym of Awrangabad that the city eventually settled.

As the royal centre of what was in this period perhaps the richest empire in the world, Awrangabad was quickly endowed with a host of public and private buildings. The most famous of these was to be the last great royal garden-tomb to be the built by the Mughals, the ‘second Taj Mahal’ built for the wife of Awrangzeb on the northern limits of the city that remains the greatest Mughal monument in the
Deccan (Figure 1.1). However, imperial and sub-imperial patronage led to the construction of numerous other buildings across the city, from a royal palace designed after the models of the ‘red forts’ of Delhi and Agra to aristocratic mansions, markets, mosques and eventually shrines for the new city’s emergent Sufi saints. In 1667, during the early years of Awrangzeb’s reign, the French traveller Jean de Thevenot stayed in Awrangabad and penned a memorable description of its early cityscape. After pouring praise upon the recently completed mausoleum of the emperor’s wife, Thevenot went on to record his other impressions of the city.

There are several other pretty fair Mosques in this town, and it is not destitute of publick places, Caravanseras and Bagnios. The buildings are, for the most part, built of Free-stone, and pretty high; before the Doors there are a great many Trees growing in the Streets and the Gardens are pleasant and well cultivated, affording refreshment of Fruit, Grapes, and Grass-plats….This is a Trading Town and well Peopled, with excellent Ground about it.6

Numerous other foreigners visited the city over the following decades, whether European diplomats and merchants or the larger body of Christian Armenian traders with whom they usually lodged in Awrangabad. As the city gradually acquired further architectural additions to its urban topography during its period as the founding capital of the successor state of Haydarabad from c.1136/1724 to 1178/1763

Figure 1.1 The mausoleum of Awrangzeb’s wife (Bibi ka Maqbara) in Awrangabad.
others also penned descriptions of the city. The eighteenth-century belle-lettrist and man-about-town Shīr ‘Alī Afsūs (d. 1223/1808) was particularly complementary. Making a pun on the meaning of the word awrang (‘throne’, but also ‘sky’, ‘coloured paint’), he wrote that

the prince [Awrangzeb] peopled a city…and called the name of it Awrangabad, for his eyes, from seeing the colour and beauty of that city, enjoyed pleasure, and from its extent, his afflicted heart expanded at once; its air also is charming like the spring breezes, and its buildings are pleasing to every man of taste; its water has the effect of wine of grapes; every season there is good, and fresh like the spring…[I]n the gardens and woods there are also fruits of every kind, very plentiful, well-tasted and nice coloured; besides this there is always plenty of corn and lots of grain; various kinds of cloths of good texture, and good jewels, rare and costly, are obtainable at all seasons; besides this, rarities of every country, and curiosities of every land, are procurable, whenever you desire them. Its inhabitants also dress and feed well, and are generally wealthy and rich, and the beautiful ones are altogether unequalled in loveliness and coquetry.7

Before the later drain of the Maratha wars, the first decades of the Mughal presence saw Awrangabad lay the blueprint for the final phase of Mughal architectural history. Among the first projects of Awrangabad’s new rulers was the building of a great palace, which the English ambassador Sir William Norris noted as towering above the urban skyline, and the girding of the city with 6 miles of walls and 12 major gates. The late Mughal architectural practices of uncovered tombs, the emphasis on architectural verticality and the embracing of the pliant possibilities of stucco took shape during the period of Awrangabad’s preeminence before their eventual export to the north with the permanent return of the court to Delhi after the death of Shah ‘Alam in 1124/1712. Trade was also diverted to the city from the earlier Deccan cities by the presence of such wealth, and Awrangabad was to maintain its role as a regional entrepôt long after the Mughal princes departed, and the population of the city continued to grow through the first half of the eighteenth century. The manufacture of the embroidered silks originally purchased by the elites of empire remains the city’s oldest industry to this day. Against this background, the flow of Central Asian and Hindustani dervishes had no less a colonial dimension than the conquests of the emperor himself. It remains important to stress, however, that this was not so much a Muslim colonization of a Hindu region as a Mughal colonization of a region governed for centuries by other Muslim powers. Competition and colonization, then, were directed towards fellow Muslim political and cultural rivals rather than Hindus, who as bureaucrats and traders were often significant partners in the Mughal imperial project.

Although Awrangzeb seems not to have resided in Awrangabad after 1095/1684, choosing instead to live permanently in his roving military encampment, the city retained its character as the primary military outpost of the empire’s new territories.
And to the extent that the city developed as an aristocratic centre it was of an expressly imperial kind. Its population during this heyday has been estimated at some 200,000, spread through no fewer than 54 suburbs. Laid out principally under military and ethnic criteria, these suburbs were named after the generals or communities residing there, as for example in the quarters known as Jaysinghpura and Mughalpura. Describing the city as ‘inhabited by many Rich merchants, ye Governt Greate & profitable’, the English ambassador Norris stayed in one such suburb, which he recalled as ‘Coranporee’, when he passed by the city in 1701. Several large caravanserai were built on the edge of the city to accommodate merchants, one of which contained almost 200 domed chambers. But while commerce had certainly contributed to the city’s wealth during the first decades of the Mughal presence, the city maintained a strong military dimension to its character throughout Awrangzeb’s rule as the erstwhile military as well as cultural centre of a powerful and still expanding empire.

If political dissolution, literary brilliance and mystical revival have each been seen as characterizing the period of the precolonial North Indian ‘twilight’, then all these shared part of their roots in Mughal Awrangabad. For during its first century, Awrangabad stood at the crossroads of many of the developments that would shape the course of Indian history during the century to come. The first century of the city was played out against the background of final Mughal expansion and the subsequent fracture of the imperial realm into a number of successor states keen to draw upon the legacy of Mughal prestige. Yet it is too easy to see this period as a time of the unravelling of empire, of the fraying and rending of a grand and princely rug. The period of Awrangabad’s heyday was as much one of creativity as destruction, quickened with the bustle of peoples from across Islam and India. Mughal Awrangabad witnessed the meeting of the cultures of the Indian north and south; it was the jewelled city in a blackened and war-torn landscape later witnessed by the French traveller Claude Martin; it was also a city of great opportunities. This was not only the case for Mughal generals like the future founder of Haydarabad State, Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1161/1748), for poets like the great Wali Awrangabādī (d. 1119/1707) also saw these bright possibilities. During its first century Awrangabad consequently acted as an important centre of literary production in Persian and Urdu, a role that has often been obscured by the later re-establishment of the literary primacy of Delhi and the rise of Lucknow and Haydarabad as its successors.

**Sufis in an Age of Empire**

Many Sufis also saw their fortunes as inextricably linked to those of the new city and it is against this wider literary background that Sufi writings from the city must be seen. Yet it was also amid the imperial atmosphere of Awrangabad that the lives of its Sufis were enacted. For Sufis and soldiers were frequent companions in Mughal Awrangabad, often bound together by shared faith, heritage and ethnicity no less than interwoven fortunes. Highlighted in the following account of Sufi lives in the Mughal city are associations with the royal court, the corporate nature of Sufi discipleship
and the varieties of style and practice at work under the broad nomenclature of Sufism (*tasawwuf*). Each of these forces was of importance to the development of the shrines and the posthumous images of the city’s Sufi saints. Their careers reveal the social identities of the living Sufis as well as the social contexts that formed the cradle of saintly cults. The careers of the living shaykhs described in this chapter may in this sense be seen as the pre-history of their shrine cults, whose own development and fortunes are described in subsequent chapters.

Sufism was a thriving concern in the Mughal heyday of Awrangabad. Sufis from the Chishtiyya and Naqshbandiyya, the major Sufi traditions of the day in India, as well as dervishes unattached to any specific Sufi lineage (*silsila*), all gathered in considerable number in the city. Interacting with the merchants, notables and soldiers of the city, many of the city’s Sufis also possessed these other social identities in addition to that of a formal Sufi initiate (*murid*). The number of ‘full-time’ Sufis – individuals whose social identity was constructed in exclusive terms of the dervish life – was of course smaller. Among these professionals of the soul, four Sufis emerged as the greatest capturers of large and moreover influential constituencies of followers in Awrangabad, founding the patronal associations that would help to ensure the continuation of their cults of fellowship after their deaths. These Sufis – the unaffiliated (or possibly Qâdirî) Shâh Nûr, the Naqshbandi Shâh Palangpôsh and Shâh Musâfir and the Chishti Nizâm al-dîn – were the Sufis who were later transformed into the city’s foremost saints.

By the time Awrangzeb moved his court permanently to the Deccan, Sufis from a wide variety of traditions could look back upon a long history of their ‘orders’ (*turnaq*) across not only India in general but the Deccan in particular.¹³ Although Qâdirî Sufis enjoyed considerable importance in the medieval Deccan, the region also became associated early on with the Chishti order through the transfer of the Delhi-based tradition to nearby Khuldabad in the fourteenth century.¹⁴ However, many other Sufi groups enjoyed considerable success in different parts of the region, with Bijapur as an important centre for Shattârî as well as Qâdirî and Chishti Sufis and Bidar pivotal in the history of the Ni’mat Allâhî brotherhood before its reintroduction to Persia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such Sufis therefore gathered in centres of political importance and did so for reasons of patronage, safety and propagation. The richest contemporary source on Sufism in the Mughal city, the *Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya* that was mainly compiled from the mid-1140s/1730s by the Sufi resident Shâh Mahmûd (d. 1175/1762), describes a good many of the kinds of comings and goings we have just sketched.¹⁵ There were, of course, the dervishes, no mean proportion coming from as far as Central Asia and Persia. Then there were the fighting men of all ranks, from the elevated station of the great Mughal soldier Ghâzî al-dîn Khân Fîröz Jang (d. 1122/1710, Awrangzeb’s greatest general in the Deccan) to the many humbler men of fortune having business with the Sufis whom Shâh Mahmûd commemorated.¹⁶ Like the Awrangabad Naqshbandîs, Ghâzî al-dîn and many others of these soldiers were immigrants from Central Asia. Contributing in large part to the city’s wealth were the merchants we have seen among the city’s visitors and erstwhile residents; like Awrangabad’s amirs and princes, they too occasionally made
donations to the coffers of the city’s Sufis. The other major textual source on this period is the collection of the ‘recorded conversations’ (malfūzāt) of the Sufi Nizām al-dīn (d. 1142/1729) entitled Abshān al-shamā‘īl. Along with a series of other hagiographical and occasionally doctrinal works, these sources allow us to build up a picture of considerable detail of the Sufi circles of Mughal Awrangabad.

The Sufis of Mughal Awrangabad acted as the sources and recipients of authority in a society in which Sufi and courtly power sometimes competed but just as often complemented one another as the natural state of affairs in the world. As the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya demonstrates, a considered acceptance of the king’s shilling, far from entailing an abandonment of a lowlier clientele, actually provided the means by which that clientele could be helped. Like their posthumous shrines, the living Sufis often formed a means of brokerage and interaction between the few possessors of power and wealth and the more or less indigent masses in a society where the allotment of resources was strictly vertical. This interaction between the living Sufis of Awrangabad and members of the city’s elites belies the image that such interactions occurred mainly at the deplorable ‘shrine stage’ of Sufism.

Such a concern for politics and the world grew partly out of the daily engagement of the masters of Awrangabad with the immediate and mundane concerns of the societies around them. An understanding of Sufism as spurning all concern for matters of this world is plainly a misunderstanding, for either in their mystical or practical admonitions Sufis have rarely proposed complete disengagement from society. The picture of the Sufis abstracted from worldly affairs is perhaps in the main the reflective luxury of a stable and comfortable world. As the early Awrangabad texts reveal, Sufis were as often involved in curing the sick, praying for rain or unveiling brigands as in the ignoring transcendence of the worldly affairs of their neighbours. For while Awrangabad was a royal city, it was no less a city of impoverished souls inhabiting the thatch dwellings of the urban masses. Between palace and chantier, Awrangabad’s Sufis played the different roles appropriate to their varied and demanding clientele, ranging from attendance at the wedding of the son of an eminent general to helping poor widows and the sick.

By the seventeenth century, multiple Sufi initiations were commonplace in India and we know that Nizām al-dīn, the most subsequently famous of the Awrangabad Sufis, was received into the Naqshbandī and Qādirī orders as well as what posterity would regard as his own particular branch of the Chishtiyya. The use of Naqshbandī meditational chants (dhikr) by the circle of Nizām al-dīn was mentioned in the latter’s biography and also described at some length in the manuals on dhikr of both Nizām al-dīn and his master Shāh Kalīm Allāh. Yet despite this, there was a certain discreteness among the Sufi gatherings in Awrangabad, one based on the shared cultural, linguistic and in some sense ethnic inheritances of the different communities which populated the short-lived Mughal metropolis. This perhaps reflected the division of Awrangabad’s urban geography into dozens of suburbs making up the distinct enclaves of these different communities. One of these quarters, Mughalpura (‘Mughal quarter’), was the residence of many of the followers of the Central Asian Naqshbandī Sufi, Shāh Musāfir. Other Sufis seem to have been tied in some form to the city’s large community of Persian immigrants and their descendants.
The Sufis attracted to Awrangabad by the rich and varied possibilities available during its Mughal heyday represented a cross section of several of the different styles of Sufi practice common to their age. Hailing from different homelands and different Sufi traditions, their own spiritual apprenticeships (more or less learned, more or less sober vis-à-vis association with non-Muslims and the use of music) combined with their own distinct regional cultural heritages (North Indian or Central Asian) to present a diversity of imagery and practices capable of acting as boundary-markers that could define their sources of power and styles of *tasawwuf* as distinct brands for their followers and other contemporaries. Yet amid this considerable diversity, four Sufis shared much in common. Each of them belonged to the bifurcated Central Asian and Indian cultural sphere of the city’s Mughal rulers, in whose wake each of them had likewise travelled to the Deccan. In this sense, they were all strangers to the Deccan. Each of them, then, was in some sense an imported holy man, connected not primarily to the Muslims of the Deccan but to the migrant North Indian or Central Asian Muslims who travelled in the Deccan. In this respect they suited the tenor of their adoptive city perfectly in its role as an outpost of North Indian politics and culture.

The lives of Shâh Nûr, Shâh Palangpôsh, Shâh Musâfir and Nizâm al-dîn demonstrate the varied types and traditions operating in Mughal Awrangabad within the broader framework or rhetoric of *tasawwuf*. This is seen not only in their membership of three different Sufi ‘orders’, but also in their manifestation of the different reaches – literary, ethnic or stylistic – of Sufi life. In the case of Shâh Nûr, short references in a contemporary biographical dictionary of Mughal notables and the existence of two early albeit posthumous commemorative texts (*tadhkirat*) allows insight into the style, if not always the detail of his life, while in the case of the three remaining Sufis we are fortunate in possessing contemporary records of their careers. It is to these texts that we now turn to gain a more detailed picture of Sufi life in the Mughal city.

**Shâh Nûr**

Shâh Nûr, the earliest of the Sufis studied in this book, was a resident in Awrangabad before the arrival of either the Chishti Nizâm al-dîn or the city’s Naqshbandî shaykhs, Shâh Palangpôsh and Shâh Musâfir. In the biographical dictionary *Ma’âthir al-umârâ* of Shâh Nawâz Khân, written in Awrangabad a few decades after the death of Shâh Nûr in 1104/1692, Shâh Nûr is briefly described by virtue of his relationship with the erstwhile governor (*diwân*) of the Deccan, Diyânât Khân, who was himself the great-uncle of Shâh Nawâz Khân.21 Although *Nûr al-anwâr*, a late recension of the earliest full account of Shâh Nûr’s life by Bahâ’ al-dîn Hasan ‘Urûj (d. c. 1230/1814) records the saint’s place of birth as Baghdad, the *Ma’âthir al-umârâ* records that Shâh Nûr’s followers believed him to be from the Pûrâb, that is the eastern sector of Hindustan.22 In view of Shâh Nûr’s later succession by a follower from the same region of the north, and the proliferation of Baghdadian themes and associations otherwise only in the later memorial tradition, a homeland for Shâh Nûr
in eastern Hindustan, that is north-eastern India, seems likely, leaving open the possibility that he was born there to a family of Arab descent. From his North Indian homeland, Shāh Nūr probably travelled gradually to the Deccan. Later hagiographies credit him with extensive travels across the Muslim world, though the augmentative nature of such itineraries leaves them open to considerable doubt. More certain is that Shāh Nūr had arrived in Awrangabad by the 1070s/1660s, early in its transition to the Mughal metropolis it was by then becoming. On his arrival, he settled in the Moti Karanjhar quarter, establishing a retreat (hujra) and subsequently a proper Sufi lodge or khanaqah there. This quarter belonged to the earliest stage of the city’s development and was originally a Hindu village prior to Malik ‘Anbar’s establishment of Awrangabad’s predecessor, Khirki. Far away from either the royal quarters of Awrangzeb’s new city where other khanaqahs would be founded in the following decades or the grand suburbs built after the arrival of the attendants of empire, the location of Shāh Nūr’s first gatherings indicates the lowliness of his status in his early days in the city. As his following grew, these circumstances changed and some years later (around 1091/1680?) a large khanaqah was built for him by a wealthy devotee, Diyānāt Khān, in the prestigious surroundings of the imperial suburb of Qutbpūrā. Upon his death with neither wife nor offspring in 1104/1692, in accordance with Sufi custom Shāh Nūr was buried within this extensive khanaqah.

Shāh Nūr managed to attract a considerable body of devotees during his lifetime. The fact that upon the arrival in Awrangabad around 1093/1682 of Shāh Musāfīr, the founder of the Naqshbandī tradition in the city examined in the following sections, he stayed in the retreat (takiyya) of one of Shāh Nūr’s followers, Shāh ‘Ināyat Darwish, is indicative that Shāh Nūr’s following in the city was well organized by this time. For during his years in Awrangabad, Shāh Nūr attracted a following that included several influential figures from the city’s government and administration. Foremost among these was the aforementioned Diyānāt Khān, a courtier belonging to an Īrānī family (i.e. a family of Persian migrants or their descendants) who were well-established in Awrangabad with strong links to the Mughal imperial bureaucracy. During the reign of Awrangzeb, Diyānāt Khān held the post of diwān of the entire Deccan and remained resident in Awrangabad partly by virtue of this position. Diyānāt Khān also lived in the Qutbpura quarter. It seems due to Diyānāt Khān’s residence there that the site of Shāh Nūr’s gatherings was moved from the poorer Mochiwara quarter to the large khanaqah (and subsequently mausoleum) which Diyānāt Khān’s son (also later known as Diyānāt Khān) established for Shāh Nūr near to his family residence. This second Diyānāt Khān was also a disciple of Shāh Nūr and, as the financial administrator (mutasaddī) of the principal Mughal port of Surat, also later became the companion and patron of Shāh Nūr’s follower, Shāh ‘Ināyat. This Diyānāt Khān was buried near to Shāh Nūr after his death in c. 1141/1729.

Several other official figures of the Mughal administration in the city were among Shāh Nūr’s followers, including the chief judge (qāzī al-quzāt) and market regulator (mutbātib) of the city, Muhammad Ikrām and Qāzī Muhammad Mas‘ūd. One of the wives of Awrangzeb may also have been a disciple. It was precisely Shāh Nūr’s associations with members of this cultured and elite class that were reflected in his
nickname of Hammâmî (‘of the bathhouse’). Like the family of Diyânat Khân, these followers may have been drawn from Awrangabad’s Irânî community, itself made up partly of recent immigrants to the city in the service of the Mughals and partly of families in residence there since the period of Nizâm Shâh rule. Many of the latter were Shi‘is like several of their former Nizâm Shâh rulers, and the reference to Shâh Nûr as a Husaynî sayyid in one of the earliest accounts of his life may also reflect a Shi‘i dimension to this clientele.34 Shâh Nûr’s principal patron Diyânat Khân was certainly the most prominent Irânî in Awrangabad, while Shi‘i connections later lingered about the shrine and cult of Shâh Nûr for centuries.35

As we have seen, the earliest version of Shâh Nûr’s name refers to him as Shâh Nûr Hammâmî.36 In the Ma‘âthîr al-umârâ, this name was ascribed to his practice of giving each of his visitors enough money to visit a bathhouse. However, a few decades later the name was explained by the hagiographer Sabzawârî as being due to the saint’s ownership of a bathhouse (hammâm) in Awrangabad where people went to meet him.37 Despite these apparent oddities, the earliness of the title and the attention given to it suggests that Shâh Nûr did indeed have some kind of link with customs or places of bathing and that these links were of sufficient cultural significance to be worthy not only of recording but of naming the master in their memory. The imagery of the hammâm seems to have functioned here as an elite cultural symbol, for hammâms were widely regarded as an adjunct of the wealth and cultivation of the Mughal elites. The construction of hammâms in India had greatly increased after the Mughal conquests: Babur built many, while at Fatehpur Sikri the house of every notable had its own hammâm.38 When the Khân-e-Khânân ‘Abd al-Rahîm built for himself the quarter of Jahangirpura in Burhanpur in the northern Deccan that would become a by-word for elegant living, the foundation of hammâms played a central role in his plans.39 Not only a symbol of Mughal technology and high culture, through their courtly and aristocratic use as chambers of private council, as an eastern equivalent of the Elizabethan privy council they were also a symbol of political power and the privilege of access to it.40 In the Mughal show-piece of Awrangzeb’s new city, the nickname (laqab) Hammâmî was perhaps therefore a title resonant with associations of the political power and the refined culture of the Mughals as manifested in Awrangabad.

Some decades later, Shâh Nûr’s kin-name (nisba) was given as Hamadânî in reference to his family lineage.41 It is unclear whether the nickname gradually metamorphosized into a similar sounding family name denoting prestigious foreign origins. According to the earliest source referring to the saint’s kin-name of Hamadânî, Shâh Nûr was the son of Sayyid ‘Abd Allâh ibn Abû ‘Alâ’ Hamadânî and a Husaynî sayyid, that is a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad via his grandson Husayn. However, the Ma‘âthîr al-umârâ recorded no details of Shâh Nûr’s parentage other than that he was thought to be the son of a rich man from the north-east.42 Despite the claims of the biographer Bahâ‘ al-dîn Hasan ‘Urûj of Shâh Nûr’s Sufi initiation at the hands of Shâh Qutb al-dîn Qutb Hamawî in Baghdad, it cannot then be said with any certainty what Shâh Nûr’s spiritual lineage was.43 In modern times Shâh Nûr is widely regarded as having been a Qâdirî Sufi. This claim is bolstered by
a statement to the same effect in the *Makhzan al-a'rās*, a calendar of Muslim saints' days based on an earlier version written in Awrangabad around 1155/1742–3.\(^{44}\) But any claims of an extra-Indian initiation should be viewed with caution and despite the claims to a Qādiri affiliation, the *Ma'āthir al-ummarā* claimed that Shāh Nūr himself never spoke of belonging to any order (*zariqat*), nor even of the business of mastery and discipleship in general.\(^{45}\) In view of this, it seems likely that Shāh Nūr belonged rather to that more autonomous tradition of individualist dervishes who lived and taught outside the bounds of formal membership of the Sufi orders that had also included such luminaries as the great Andalusian Sufi, Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240). The *Ma'āthir al-ummarā* adds that Shāh Nūr's order only came into being after his death.\(^{46}\)

Shāh Nūr also seems to have had contact with the Hindu ascetics who, with their long-established association with Hindu holy sites in the region of Awrangabad, formed part of the religious life of the city with which Sufis sometimes interacted. Indeed, shortly after Shāh Nūr's death, the circle surrounding the Chishtī Sufi Nizāṃ al-dīn (d. 1142/1729) in Awrangabad also included a number of Hindus.\(^{47}\) Although it is difficult to be sure with how many of these Hindu ascetics Shāh Nūr was associated, surviving literary and architectural evidence bears witness to his close connections to at least one such figure, the noted Sadhu Mānpūrī Parshād.\(^{48}\) Mānpūrī later became the focus of a posthumous cult in his own right that centred on his lodge (math) a few miles outside Awrangabad at Dawlatabad.\(^{49}\) An anthology survives of Mānpūrī's devotional poems (*bhajans*), blending the vocabulary of Sufi and Sadhu and pointing to the close links forged at this time between Muslim and Hindu mystics in the Deccan. One of the poems said to address Shāh Nūr is preserved in an eighteenth century poetic anthology (*tadhkira*) that was compiled in Awrangabad by 'Ināyat Allāh Khān Awrangābādī.\(^{50}\)

Leaving no written works of his own, Shāh Nūr was some way detached from the Sufi writers of sophisticated verse and theory. He seems to have belonged to a tradition of Sufi men of power, possessors of the mysterious abilities valued greatly in premodern societies as important members of both community and state. Together with his aristocratic associates and cultured associations, this was sufficient to enable him to attract a clientele from among not only faqīrs like himself (whether Muslim or Hindu), but also from among the classes of officialdom associated with Awrangabad's position at the centre of the empire. The partisanship of such Sufis was recognized to be as much an aid in worldly success and security as in achieving more spiritual ambitions. Yet while both spiritual longing and Shāh Nūr's own religious and political badges of honour were factors in this strange union of officials and faqīr, the many surviving descriptions of miraculous encounters between Shāh Nūr and these clients remind us that the main reason behind Shāh Nūr's success may have been more straightforward. Of paramount and day-to-day importance in the Mughal city, this was the matter of the belief in the possession of supernatural power. The Venetian traveller Niccolo Manucci (d. 1717) demonstrated the scale upon which such power was seen to operate in his description of the desperate visit of Awrangzeb's brother Dara Shikoh, close to defeat in his war with Awrangzeb for control of the empire, to plead for supernatural assistance at the shrine in Multan.
of the medieval Sufi, Bahā’ al-dīn Zakariyā. Such a visit would have surprised few of his contemporaries. The visitation by courtiers to holy men even formed a popular genre of Mughal miniature painting, reflecting not only the frequency of such encounters but also the ways in which they were churned in the cultural imagination and transformed into a topos of the natural order of things. Shāh Nūr’s perceived ability by his contemporaries to stand at the cross section of such powers – between God and empire – appears to have been a defining factor in his Sufi career. For the posthumous development of his cult at least, it was a factor of greater importance than such Sufi activities as the provision of spiritual guidance and the writing of pious tracts.

Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir

Described in great detail by their first spiritual successor (sajjāda nashīn), the lives of the Naqshbandī Sufis Shāh Palangpōsh (d. 1110/1699) and his disciple Shāh Musāfir (d. 1126/1715) confirm the importance of access to supernatural power, revealing a pragmatic and at times 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 immigrants from the important Naqshbandī shrine-centre of Ghijdawan in Central Asia. Prior to their migration they had spent one or two decades in the towns of present-day Afghanistan and their hagiography, the Malfāzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, describes several episodes in their earlier lives set in such towns as Karshi, Kabul and Hasan Abdal. The shaykhs’ itineraries followed a well-trodden trail along the trade route between the cities of the Mughals’ ancestors in Central Asia and those of their newer empire in Hindustan and the Deccan. In view of the long and close connections of the Mughals with the Naqshbandī order, the arrival in Awrangabad of a pair of its representatives was only to be expected. The father of the founder of the Mughal dynasty, Babur, had been a devotee of the great Central Asian Naqshbandī Khwāja Ahrār, whose Risāla-e-wālidīyya Babur translated into Chaghatai, and this affinity with the Naqshbandī order continued, waxing and waning, with Babur’s descendants. The connections of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir with Ghijdawan perhaps also struck a chord with those associated with the ruling house, for it was at Ghijdawan in 918/1512 that Babur had suffered the decisive defeat at the hands of the Üzbeks that had first propelled him towards India. The spread of Naqshbandī Sufism in the Deccan, as indeed in India more generally, was closely associated with Mughal rule. Burhanpur, the centre for the onset of the Deccan conquests under Shah Jahan, had become an important Naqshbandī centre in the decades before Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir arrived in the Deccan. Prominent among the Sufis of Burhanpur was Muhammad Kishmī, who had migrated into the Mughal realms from his native Badakhshan. In India he became associated with the self-styled Naqshbandī ‘renewer’ (mujaddid) Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) and went on to establish an important circle of followers of Sirhindī in Burhanpur. In 1065/1654 another Naqshbandī circle was established some miles away from Burhanpur at Balapur by Shāh ‘Ināyat Allāh (d. 1117/1705). As the
Mughals gradually moved southwards, Naqshbandi holy men and members of prominent families descended from the Naqshbandi saints of the Bukhara region helped introduce the religious foundations of the Mughal cultural world of Hindustan and Central Asia into the Indian south. As Awrangzeb moved southwards from Awrangabad, in 1065/1654–5 Khwaja Barkhwurdar, one such descendant (khwajażāda) of an earlier Naqshbandi saint, was even appointed as the commander (qila’dār) of the fortress of Awsa.

Shāh Palangpōsh was the elder of the pair, and acted as Shāh Musāfīr’s principal spiritual director (murshid) for most of his career, although it seems that Shāh Musāfīr earlier underwent a Kubrāwī initiation that was played down after his move to India. This seems to have been partly a reflection of the rising star of the Naqshbandī order both in Central Asia and India and in its concomitant eclipse of the Kubrāwiyya. Shāh Musāfīr had spent some time as a tutor in a prosperous household in Ghūr. He was perhaps in his thirties by the time he chose, like so many of his Central Asian contemporaries, to follow the route down through the mountains towards the opportunities of India and into the environs of its most powerful ruler in the Deccan. The move of Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Palangpōsh down through India probably occurred separately, though both shaykhs had probably arrived in India by 1085/1674. Shāh Palangpōsh had developed a reputation as a miraculous protector of armies in his Central Asian homeland, and so began an association with the Mughal army on his arrival in the Deccan that continued throughout his career. Shāh Palangpōsh then attached himself to the forces of Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang, the father of the subsequent founder of Haydarabad State Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh and commander of the principal arm of the Mughal forces in the Deccan. While he regularly passed through Awrangabad, and was eventually buried there, most of his career seems to have been spent in the roving encampments of Fīrōz Jang’s army. Shāh Musāfīr, by contrast, chose to settle permanently in the Mughal outpost of Awrangabad. As we have seen, he stayed first in the lodge of Shāh Nūr’s disciple, Shāh ‘Ināyat. Some time later, however, Shāh Musāfīr established a thatch takiyya of his own on the outskirts of the opposite side of the city from the khanaqah of Shāh Nūr. Shāh Musāfīr remained in Awrangabad until his death in 1126/1715.

The accounts of Shāh Palangpōsh’s behaviour during his years of military accompaniment with the army of Fīrōz Jang reveal a striking portrait of a face of Sufism that is rarely seen. Yet warrior dervishes, such as the famous Sayyid ‘Alī Sultān, were also a feature of the history of Anatolia and other regions of Islam, including East Turkestan and the Maghreb. Their functions reflected the warrior saints of Byzantium, as well as the Sadhu brigades attached to the armies of Hindu kingdoms in India. During his years in the Deccan, Shāh Palangpōsh fashioned a clear role for himself as the protector of the Central Asian soldiery among the Mughal forces in their ongoing skirmishes with the Marathas. Although he had earlier accompanied the Mughal armies in their battles around Jalalabad, his especial duty was unambiguously directed towards the protection and miraculous assistance of Fīrōz Jang. Far from appearing desirous solely of association with such grand and titled men of war, Shāh Palangpōsh at times displayed a notable esprit de corps with the lowly
foot-soldiers, not to mention dealing with the wine and cannabis drinkers who form the unlikely heroes of several of his military exploits. Nonetheless, in an incident recounted by his biographer Shāh Mahmūd in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya, Shāh Palangpōsh appears on horseback surrounded by a large entourage of dervish footmen and so also seems to have possessed an air of exalted military rank. In an overlapping of symbolism, the Sufi appears here as the commander of supernatural forces possessed of his own legion of holy warriors, both visible and hidden to the ordinary mortal eye. The imagery evoked in the meaning of Shāh Palangpōsh’s name as ‘the wearer of leopard-skin’ belonged to the traditions of the warrior elites of the Persianate world and to its dervishes, for wandering religious mendicants and mounted warriors both partook in this sartorial symbolism.

Shāh Palangpōsh’s connections with the Mughal war effort in the Deccan may be compared to similar feats of supernatural aid expected from loyal Sufis elsewhere in the Deccan. During this period Awrangzeb made several pilgrimages to the Sufi shrine of Gēsū Darāz (d. 825/1422) at Gulbarga to the south of Awrangabad, ‘removing the veil of poverty from the heads of the residents’ of the shrine. The nature of these royal connections with the Sufis is perhaps best brought out in an episode recounted in the Maʿthir-e-ʿĀlamgīrī of the chronicler Sāqī Mustʿad Khān, which relates to the capture in 1099/1689 of Sambhājī, the son of the Maratha leader Shivājī, who had long resisted Mughal expansion in the Deccan. According to Mustʿad Khān, Sambhājī’s unexpected capture had been predicted to Awrangzeb some ten days before the event took place by Mīr Sayyid Muhammad, the descendant and former spiritual successor (saJJāda nashīn) of Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga. When the prediction came true, Awrangzeb rewarded the saJJād personally and granted 10,000 rupees to the shrine. Mīr Sayyid’s son had already been appointed as saJJāda nashīn of the shrine by Awrangzeb, who was later careful to maintain the goodwill of this representative of the most important Sufi shrine in the Deccan by awarding him at court with a jewelled dagger and a horse with gold trappings. Bedecked in such splendour, we see in Mīr Sayyid’s appearance at court a mirroring of the description of Shāh Palangpōsh in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya with his attendants beside him as he rode his horse. Indeed, given the expense of importing them, horses were in themselves signifiers of rank. Such correspondences between the two figures are perhaps fitting, since the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya also informs us that Shāh Palangpōsh was resident in Gulbarga for an undisclosed period of time prior to his eventual death there in 1110/1699. During his time in Gulbarga he regularly visited the shrine of Gēsū Darāz, and the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya describes an encounter there one night between Shāh Palangpōsh and a luminous dervish from the ‘hidden world’ (ghayb) with whom he shared a meal of stale bread and sat in contemplation (muṛāqabā) throughout the night.

No writer of spiritual guidebooks, Shāh Palangpōsh instead resembled the traditional supernatural guardian long familiar to the armies of Central Asia, flying before the troops he safeguarded and omnipresent among them amid the flurry of the attack. In one remarkable scene, during which thieves attempted to steal into Shāh Palangpōsh’s tent on the battlefield, he was even claimed to have transformed
himself into the terrifying image of a pop-eyed tiger. In Shāh Palangpōsh’s sobriquet, with its accompanying aetiological tale of his ritualized hunting of a leopard in a forest before donning its skin, there are strong elements of the heritage of the Central Asian shamans. These serve as reminders of the deliberately bewildering and uncanny appearance of the wandering dervish, the master of undoubted powers but a figure of sometimes uncertain benevolence. Usually detached from the literate traditions of Sufism, such antinomian dervishes or qalandars formed an important part of Sufism in the Deccan as elsewhere. Several qalandars are mentioned in association with Shāh Palangpōsh and the other Awrangabad Naqshbandīs. Powerful, unsettling and surrounded by a devoted dervish retinue and a regular military troupe, Shāh Palangpōsh evokes a darker dimension to dervishry in the Mughal Deccan, concerned as it was with rough and occasionally gruesome transactions. For though Shāh Palangpōsh was seen to be the possessor of undoubted spiritual powers, their employment was regularly sought for more mundane issues and only occasionally for acts directed towards the mystical transcendence of daily life. Association with a gifted Sufi was not only a question of spiritual enlightenment, but sometimes also a matter of triumph and dominion on earth.

Shāh Palangpōsh’s disciple, Shāh Musāfir, affords some contrast to his master. While still showing the same concerns for his clients’ quotidian complaints, Shāh Musāfir’s career led him to settle more urban and domestic matters than his militarily inclined master. The recollections of the followers of Shāh Musāfir of their master recorded in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya paint a portrait of a gentler figure, the indubitable possessor of supernatural powers yet at the same time a warm and humble character. Many closely observed anecdotes describe Shāh Musāfir paying special attention to widows and orphans, many of whom lived in his takiyya, where children (probably drawn from the Central Asian community in the city) were also given an education. The offerings of money that Shāh Musāfir received from his many Central Asian supplicants in Awrangabad were used to look after his many dependents, showing the Sufi in a social role that is not always recognized. Although sought out by men and women of diverse social status, Shāh Musāfir’s clients were almost all of Central Asian (tūrānī) origin. Such ethnic restrictions on Sufi clienteles were a matter of no surprise to Shāh Musāfir’s contemporaries and a similarly exclusive Central Asian circle gathered a few decades later around the Naqshbandī masters of Rai Bareli in North India. Indeed, when Shāh Musāfir had stayed at the takiyya of Shāh Nūr’s follower ‘Ināyat Allāh on his arrival in Awrangabad and fallen ill there, ‘Ināyat Allāh had panicked, declaring that since the elite classes (asbrāf) attended Central Asian Sufis like Shāh Musāfir, the Mughal governor of the city would surely make trouble for him if the Central Asian Sufi should die while he was his guest. Yet a more sinister aspect also lingered about his character that was connected to his mysterious powers, as when a young Baluch suddenly died after inadvertently insulting him while under the influence of cannabis. Such powers were not only associated with eighteenth-century Sufis like Shāh Musāfir, for early hagiographies of the twelfth century Khurasani Sufi Ahmad-e-Jām (d. 536/1141) similarly record the striking blind, mute and dead of those who insulted him. Once again, the ambiguous powers
of such Sufis reflect those of the sabios of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless the use of cannabis preparations (bhang), opium and tobacco all formed a part of the local culture into which Shâh Musâfîr and his Central Asian compatriots arrived in the Deccan, and all were at some point consumed at the takîyya to Shâh Musâfîr’s general but not exclusive disapproval. He did, however, draw the line at some of his followers’ attempts to bring dancing-boys into the takîyya.

Begged for his help as the reliever of illness and misery, of dispute and crime, Shâh Musâfîr was by no means concerned only with matters pertaining to an abstracted spiritual progress and was called upon to cure a variety of illnesses, including epilepsy and a variety of mental disorders. In another instance, his intercession was seen to cause rainfall during a drought, while it was suggested that he helped protect the city during a Maratha raid. In a reflection of Naqshbandî sensibilities Shâh Musâfîr’s technique was usually disarmingly simple in these situations: he came to the scene, often in the company of a small group of followers, and recited the opening verse of the Quran, the Fatîha. In such narratives, we glimpse the Sufi as refuge and protector of the poor and weak, a figure of hagiographic and historical importance. Yet like his master, Shâh Musâfîr was also associated with the Central Asian military elites of the city whom he also sought to protect. Associated with Firûz Jang like Shâh Palangpôsh, Shâh Musâfîr was present at the wedding ceremony of the general’s son, Qillich Khân (later known as Nizâm al-Mulk Āsaf Jâh), where he symbolically assured the long life of the youth by preventing the premature blowing out of his candle by ill-omened winds. On another occasion, Shâh Musâfîr presented a turban and a poetic blessing to Nizâm al-Mulk, in which the Sufi’s biographer later saw the miraculous granting of Nizâm al-Mulk’s future rule over the Deccan. A barakat-laden sleeve granted by Shâh Musâfîr to one of his military followers was also carried into battle on the side of Nizâm al-Mulk. Many of the regular disciples (murîds) of Shâh Musâfîr – and even more so of Shâh Palangpôsh – either were or had been soldiers fighting for the establishment of Mughal sovereignty of the Deccan.

While no accompanier of armies himself, Shâh Musâfîr did give blessings to soldiers at his takîyya in Awrangabad, some of whom also brought their arrows there to be blessed. Such practices were also described in Indian treatises of a century earlier, and echoing wider belief in the saints’ powers on the battlefield, Rûmî had earlier written that ‘the saints can turn back the arrows to the bow’. Although there is no specific mention of this practice in the Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya, the head of Awrangzeb’s archers was one of Shâh Musâfîr’s disciples, and a large collection of eighteenth-century bows and arrows survives in the reliquary of Shâh Musâfîr’s shrine. Shâh Palangpôsh was personally associated with the use of bows and arrows, having used a bow in his youth to slay the leopard (palang) which gave him his coat and name, and having later continued to use his bow in battle alongside Firûz Jang. It seems possible, therefore, that the arrows preserved at the shrine belonged to Shâh Palangpôsh.

Tied in similar ways to the political life of Awrangabad, Shâh Musâfîr was also present at one of the early death anniversaries (‘urs) of Awrangzeb beside his grave in neighbouring Khuldabad. Fittingly, Nizâm al-Mulk later paid a visit to Shâh
Musāfir as he lay on his deathbed at the shrine. Indeed, Shāh Musāfir's followers even regarded him as being miraculously responsible for the successions to the Mughal throne that followed Awrangzeb's death. One of the dervishes also saw a vision of Shāh Musāfir seated upon a throne with Awrangzeb's sons and successors, Muhammad Kambakhsh and Bahadur Shah, positioned to either side, a political vision similar to that witnessed around the same time by the Sufi ‘Abd al-Razāq in Lucknow. Sufi predictions of the careers of princes were far from uncommon, and the textual tradition of the medieval North Indian Sufi Khwāja Gurg similarly recorded his prophecy of the rise of ‘Alā’ al-dīn Khilji; other examples are legion. However, at a more mundane level the political sympathies of Shāh Musāfir were displayed in his grand gesture of refusing offerings (nadhr) from a Central Asian soldier who was 'helping the enemies of the kingdom'. The wealth of his takiyya resulted from such attention to affairs of state, and an inventory of its wealth after Shāh Musāfir's attempts to give everything away to the poor still managed to find some 500 rupees. Yet despite this, the often closely observed details of Shāh Musāfir's own life show the rough and humbling results of the Sufi ideal of personal poverty (faqr) lived out literally and, at times, in extremis.

In spite of his many social duties, Shāh Musāfir was still very much a traveller of the mystical path (tariqa) of Islam, and the brief surviving accounts of his spiritual states in the Malfüzat-e-Naqshbandiya make extraordinary reading. Descriptions of the spiritual experiences of both master and disciples are given at various points in his malfüzat, including descriptions of the world filling with light, or the experience of the mystical expansion (bast) of the self unto the outer edges of the universe. Brought into proximity with God through a lifetime of spiritual exertion, Shāh Musāfir is a figure who is unfamiliar from the metaphysical complexity of many modern presentations of Sufi tradition, even though his life expressed the practical outcome of many such esoteric notions in the social world. Although books (almost exclusively hagiographic tadhkirat of the earlier Naqshbandī saints) played a limited role in spiritual instruction at the takiyya, there was a firm emphasis on the more active spiritual disciplines of prayer and service. Their Naqshbandī affiliation did not prevent Shāh Musāfir and his followers from making pilgrimages to the shrines of the earlier Chishti saints at nearby Khuldabad or, in the case of Shāh Palangpōsh, to Gulbarga. Whatever rivalry there may have been with other living Sufis from different orders in Awrangabad, the sacred geography associated with the region's earlier (and dead) Sufis seems to have been deliberately resorted to for the purpose of meditation and the acquisition of increased spiritual power. One of Shāh Palangpōsh's followers, Mīr ‘Abd al-Qādir, later spent a night in a characteristically Naqshbandī meditation (khatm) beside his master's grave in Awrangabad, a practice that was undoubtedly common.

The embeddedness of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir in the social affairs of their clientele is perhaps most clearly typified by their demanding of offerings (nadhr) as the rightful price for their intercession against impending misfortune (balā). The demanding and offering of nadhr had many different forms both in courtly and Sufi contexts. Even by the late nineteenth century, it was still the custom of the governor
sildedār) of Awrangabad to march in company twice per year to the Nawkhanda palace of the Nizāms (Figure 1.2), hard by the takiyya of Shāh Musāfir, to formally offer nadbr to the Nizām. The offering of nadbr at court in Haydarabad continued to form an important source of income to the Āsaf Jāh rulers until the twentieth century. While demanding nadbr was therefore not a uniquely Naqshbandī or even Sufi practice, the Naqshbandī tradition in Awrangabad nonetheless placed emphasis on it, which helped enrich the takiyya under the leadership of Shāh Musāfir’s successor, Shāh Mahmūd, in whose Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyā the accounts of the importance of offering nadbr were presented. It is in the practice of the demanding of nadbr, with the many graceful or alarming consequences described in the shaykhs’ malfūzāt, that the trajectories of their inner and outer lives, their significance as both spiritual and social actors, is most clearly seen. For while the quiescent flourished, those negligent of paying their dues were driven to insanity or death. Amid the breathing and sometimes brutal circumstances of life in the Mughal city, the abstractions of the spiritual theory of the Sufis and the sovereignty of its sublime states did not entail a retreat from the surrounding world, but at times instead a calamitous leap into the affray.

Neither Shāh Palangpōsh nor Shāh Musāfir were literary-minded theoreticians of even the most modest kind, and their importance for our understanding of the Sufi

Figure 1.2 Throne (masnad) of Nizām al-Mulk at Nawkhanda Palace, Awrangabad.
past lies in this very distinction from their literary cousins. To relegate them to the marginal status of provincial dilettantes is, however, to miss the wider point. The anecdotes preserved in their hagiography show a familiar acquaintance with the vocabulary and practices of Naqshbandi Sufism as it had been formulated in its Central Asian homeland. The contrasting mystical states of contraction (qabz) and expansion (bast) were clearly recognized by Shāh Musāfīr in his followers, and, if it was far from a matter of daily discussion, there was at least one conversation on the theory of the Unity of Being (wahdat al-wujūd) recorded in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqsbandiyya. Specific forms of meditation (dhikr), rules of ceremonial and seemly behaviour (adab), and perhaps most vividly the emphasis placed upon the practice of inner ‘concentration’ (tawajjuh), were practised in the midst of the day-to-day activities of the shaykhs among their varied clientele. These practices were often directed towards their clients’ practical needs, for example in the recovery of stolen goods. In the use of such transcendental techniques in the solution of the morass of everyday problems of human life, such Sufis do not lose their heaven-sent superiority. Instead, they reveal solidarity with the mundane travails of the human condition; and in doing so, the Sufis gain a far deeper humanity.

With its Central Asian character, its more or less specifically Naqshbandī practices and its readings from the lives of the earlier Naqshbandī saints, the circle around Shāh Musāfīr was very conscious of the heritage of its Central Asian lineage. Yet on the evidence of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqsbandiyya, the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs seem to have been oblivious to the developments in Naqshbandī thought and practice associated with the Naqshbandī ‘renewer’ Ahmad Sirhindī and his followers in India during the preceding generations. This is perhaps more revealing about the scale of Sirhindī’s influence in Mughal Sufi circles than it is about the provinciality of Awrangabad, for Sirhindī’s early influence has perhaps been overestimated. While Sirhindī’s followers were present in the imperial camp at Awrangabad during Shāh Musāfīr’s lifetime, they were either unnoticed or deliberately ignored by the better-established circle gathered in the city around Shāh Musāfīr. Despite the role that Sirhindī’s thought would play in Naqshbandī circles in Delhi a few decades later, the evidence of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqsbandiyya suggests that it either made little impact on the circle of Shāh Musāfīr or was deliberately ignored.

This attitude may have reflected the controversy around Sirhindī’s ideas. Awrangabad had earlier played an important role in the discrediting of Sirhindī’s thought and the acquisition of the learned opinions from scholars in the Hijaz that led to the banning of Sirhindī’s letters in the Mughal domains. In 1090/1679, the imperial shaykh al-islām had written a decree on Awrangzeb’s instructions warning the qāẓī of Awrangabad about the dangers of Sirhindī’s followers. The decree asserted that some of the teachings contained in Sirhindī’s collected letters (maktūbāt) were contrary to the principles of the Sunna, and that since the followers of Sirhindī were known to be actively spreading his teachings in Awrangabad, the qāẓī of the city should do his best to thwart and punish them. Since this decree did not seem to have been entirely successful, in 1093/1682 Sirhindī’s opponents subsequently wrote to the Hijaz to request the opinions of the ‘ulamā of the holy cities on certain aspects of
Sirhindī’s teachings. They replied that Sirhindī was surely an infidel, as made clear in the *Qadh al-zand* of the Madinan scholar Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rasūl al-Barzangī.113 In Mughal Awrangabad, many of the opinions and legal rulings (*fatwā*) given against Sirhindī were collated in 1094/1683 by the Indo-Afghan migrant, ‘Abd Allāh Khwāshgī of Qasur (d. after 1133/1720), in his *Mukhtasar Ma’tārij al-wilāya*.114 The disavowal of Sirhindī’s doctrines later continued to play a part in Awrangabad’s circles of religious learning during the period of the composition of the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyā*, as testified by the existence of a manuscript of al-Barzangī’s refutation of Sirhindī’s teachings that was copied by one of his own descendants in Awrangbad in 1157/1744.115 Given the scale of controversy over Sirhindī’s teachings that Mughal Awrangabad witnessed, it seems highly unlikely that Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh would have been unaware of the existence (if perhaps not the details) of this much-maligned fellow Naqshbandī. But as we have seen, their Sufism was more inclined towards the social functions of miracle-working and faction-forming among the city’s Central Asian (*tūrnī†*) community than the kind of abstract and self-aggrandizing speculation that had earned Sirhindī a bad name. It therefore seems likely that Shāh Mahmūd decided to steer clear of controversy in his hagiography of Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh. He achieved this by avoiding reference to Sirhindī and painting Shāh Musāfir as what was in contemporary terms a politically and doctrinally conformist figure, whose abundant miracles were nonetheless wrought by little more than the repetition of the opening verses of the Quran.

**Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī**

With the celebrated and literary-minded disciples that were important factors in his later commemoration, the career of Nizām al-dīn reveals a picture of a Sufi tradition at work in Awrangabad that was considerably more alive to the intellectual currents of the day.116 Like Shāh Nūr and the city’s Naqshbandīs, Nizām al-dīn was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India, and was born in the region of Awadh around 1076/1665–6.117 His precise home was not mentioned in the earliest source relating to his life, *Ahsan al-shamā’il*, though the town of Kakori and its nearby village of Nagrawn often feature in later ones.118 As a young man Nizām al-dīn 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 its Sufis as to its other inhabitants. There Nizām al-dīn came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishtī shaykh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (d. 1142/1729). In part through the influence of Kalīm Allāh’s own master Yahyā Madanī (d. 1101/1689), Nizām al-dīn became the initiate and eventually the favourite of Kalīm Allāh.119

Nizām al-dīn spent several years at the khanaqah of his master before setting off for the Deccan under the latter’s explicit instructions.120 Like Shāh Palangpōsh, Nizām al-dīn then travelled for a number of years with the Mughal army through the war-torn countryside of the Deccan, and Shāh Palangpōsh’s martial career may be suggestive of Nizām al-dīn’s uncertain activities during these years. The letters sent to Nizām al-dīn at this time from Kalīm Allāh were delivered through the postal
service of the imperial army. Nizām al-dīn was not unique in his accompaniment of the royal armies engaged in the pacification of the Deccan. For aside from Shāh Palangpōosh’s accompaniment of the Mughal armies, two of Nizām al-dīn’s co-disciples of Shāh Kalīm Allāh also travelled with the Mughal armies on their conquest of the Deccan Muslim sultanate 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) then left the army to establish themselves in the newly conquered city, where their tombs together eventually formed one of the most important shrines in Haydarabad. Nizām al-dīn would also later send several of his followers to accompany the army of Nizām al-Mulk as well.  

During his lengthy itinerary through the south, Nizām al-dīn visited several of the cities of the Deccan, including the notable political and Sufi centre of Burhanpur (where his murshīd Kalīm Allāh seems to have first wished him to settle), before finally deciding to reside in Awrangabad with his master’s blessing, where he remained until his death in 1142/1729. Nizām al-dīn’s connections with the Mughal elites served his purposes well, for upon his arrival in Awrangabad, a Central Asian notable in Mughal service called Kāmgār Khān built the Sufi a khanqah next to his own haveli in the Shāh Ganj quarter. This Kāmgār Khān later compiled the collection of Nizām al-dīn’s ‘recorded conversations’ (malīfūzāt) entitled Absān al-shāma’ā’il. Shāh Ganj was the centre of the city and the site of its famously wealthy royal market, near the great palace founded by Awrangzeb. 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. His malīfūzāt suggests that there were rarely large numbers of people gathering around him. However, in one amusing anecdote Kāmgār Khān described his master’s irritation at the insults and projectiles that were hurled whenever groups of followers gathered for supper at the khanqah, resulting in Nizām al-dīn’s decision to allow the dervishes, like school-boys in a sweet-shop, only to enter the khanqah in small groups. Like his Naqshbandī contemporaries in Awrangabad, Nizām al-dīn was also associated with 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. Following Chishtī sensibilities towards royal friendships, Kāmgār Khān is vague about this association in his malīfūzāt, though the fact that Nizām al-Mulk may have composed a devotional life of the Sufi entitled Rashk-e-Gulistan-e-Ibrām is suggestive of a close relationship. 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 early biographers, Lālā Mansārām. If such a close connection did exist, it remained in the prince’s family. For almost forty years after Nizām al-Mulk’s death, his grandson ‘Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Firōz, Jang III (d. 1215/1800) composed an important biography of Nizām al-dīn’s son and successor, Fakhr al-dīn. And in his lengthy devotional mathnawī poem Fakhrīyat al-nizām, also written in honour of Fakhr al-dīn, ‘Imād al-Mulk claimed that Nizām al-Mulk underwent a formal Sufi initiation (bay‘āt) from Nizām al-dīn, so rendering himself a disciple (murtūd) of the Sufi. In a vivid image of
the intervention of men of state in Sufi affairs, the same work also claims that upon Nizām al-dīn’s death, Nizām al-Mulk came in grief to the khanaqah to personally appoint Fakhr al-dīn as the successor of his dead father.\textsuperscript{128}

During the years between the death of Awrangzeh in 1118/1707 and the formation of Āṣaf Jāh autonomy in the Deccan under Nizām al-Mulk two decades later, Nizām al-dīn’s khanaqah served as the focus of a cross section of Sufi activities. These ranged from the performance of religious exercises and the devotional recitation of Sufi \textit{lives} to the redistribution of wealth and the crystallization of reflections on political authority into firmer alliances.\textsuperscript{129} We know from literary anthologies that a number of poets were associated with Nizām al-dīn, including one with the classic Sufi pen name of ‘Āshiq (‘the lover’) who was a disciple of the saint.\textsuperscript{130} At his master’s command, ‘Āshiq wrote an extremely lengthy moralizing \textit{mathnawī} poem entitled \textit{Aslāb-ye-akhlāq ā dīn} (‘The Improving of Morals and Religion’). ‘Āshiq was well-respected for his learned poetry, which won him many admirers; the great early Urdu poet Wāli Awrangbādī seems to have later alluded to his works in one of his poems. The mid-eighteenth-century anthologist Afzal Bāgh Qāqšāl also refers to a poet called Mīrzā Turk ‘Āli Bēg, with the pen name Wāsil, as one of the disciples of Nizām al-dīn.\textsuperscript{131} Wāsil was said to have been always busy in divine remembrance and meditation (\textit{dhikr ā fikr-e-darwīshī}) and to have been a regular attendant at the musical sessions held on Thursday evenings at Nizām al-dīn’s khanaqah where, Qāqšāl tells us, there was always much ecstasy (\textit{wajd}). However, perhaps the most significant literary associations of Nizām al-dīn are those that connect him to Sirāj Awrangbādī (d. 1177/1763), who along with his local contemporary Wāli is often regarded as the great founding poet of Urdu. The details of Sirāj’s life in Awrangabad were recorded in a number of early Urdu literary anthologies and have been well-known to Urdu literary historians for generations.\textsuperscript{132} From these, we know that Sirāj was attracted to the city’s Sufis from an early age, and spent a number of years as an ecstatic dervish, wandering naked and staying in the shrines of neighbouring Khuldabad. He eventually became a disciple of the Awrangabad Chishtī Sufi, ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. unknown), who in time forbade him from writing any more poetry. It appears that Sirāj’s master, this Indian ‘gentleman from Porlock’, was the ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd al-Rahīm known to have been one of the followers of Nizām al-dīn. This figure lived close to Nizām al-dīn’s khanaqah in Awrangabad, and left a treatise entitled \textit{Murīd wa murīdī} (‘The Disciple and Discipleship’).\textsuperscript{133} His later command banning Sirāj from composing any more poems is among the most notorious examples of the authority of the master in Sufi history.

As Sirāj’s biography shows, pilgrimages to the shrines of the earlier Chishtī saints of the region were regular and important events in the Chishtī circles of Awrangabad.\textsuperscript{134} Nizām al-dīn for his part instructed one of his followers to write a complete guidebook to the shrines of all the Muslim saints and their annual death anniversaries (\textit{‘arās}).\textsuperscript{135} But despite the reticence of Nizām al-dīn’s Chishtī biographers, association with the political rulers of the city and their own rituals also played a role in his life. The \textit{Malfīṣāt-e-Naqshbandiyya} contains a picture of Nizām al-dīn attending (along with Shāh Musāfīr) the first death anniversary (\textit{‘uri}) of the recently
deceased Awrangzeb at the shrine of Zayn al-din Shīrāzī (d. 771/1369) at Khuldabad in which the emperor lay buried.\textsuperscript{136} Such attempts to stay on the right side of temporal rulers were not uncommon for influential Sufis, for several Sufis had earlier been executed by Awrangzeb’s administration, most famously the ecstatic dervish Sarmad in 1068/1658. There does seem to have been a dispute of some kind between Nizām al-din and the royal administration in the city regarding the location of the public musical sessions (\textit{mahfil-e-samā‘}) of which he was a champion.\textsuperscript{137} But Nizām al-din was following notable Chishti precedents in his defence of samā‘, not least his predecessor in the Deccan, Gēsū Darāz and his own teacher Kalim Allāh.\textsuperscript{138} The biographical \textit{Ahsan al-shamā‘īl} of Nizām al-din’s follower Kāmgār Khān contains many of the discourses of Nizām al-din on the subject of the \textit{mahfil-e-samā‘}.\textsuperscript{139} Nizām al-din also wrote a Persian treatise entitled \textit{Nizām al-qulub} (‘Order of the Hearts’) on the practice and various techniques of \textit{dhikr}. The text is notable for its discussion of Yogic methods of breath control and of meditations borrowed from other Sufi traditions, probably a result of Nizām al-din’s initiation into several orders beside his primary Chishti affiliation.\textsuperscript{140} In such ways, Nizām al-din was very much a perpetrator of the learned tendencies of Chishti Sufism represented by his teacher Kalim Allāh. The \textit{Nizām al-qulub} in part reflected the \textit{Kashkul-e-kalīmī} (1101/1690) of Nizām al-din’s master Kalim Allāh. The latter book was almost certainly written before Nizām al-din left Kalim Allāh’s lodge in Delhi and contains many similarly practical instructions on the different kinds of \textit{dhikr}. Like \textit{Nizām al-qulub}, Kalim Allāh’s work also discussed the benefits of the postures of Yoga (\textit{haythak-e-jūg}).\textsuperscript{141} Nonetheless, the source of Nizām al-din’s knowledge of such Yogic techniques may also have been more direct, for Kāmgār Khān mentions that several of Nizām al-din’s followers were Yogis.\textsuperscript{142}

What is known of Nizām al-din’s private-life is also of interest. In contrast to Shāh Nūr, he married twice, albeit relatively late in life, with his first wife coming from the family of the great Deccan Chishti saint Gēsū Darāz.\textsuperscript{143} Through these wives, Nizām al-din had 5 sons and 7 daughters, the latter marrying into the families of local religious and political elites.\textsuperscript{144} Nizām al-din thus carved a considerable position for himself amid the many opportunities offered to able Hindustani migrants by the Mughal conquest of the Deccan. 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 Kalim Allāh, scion of a notable family of royal architects.\textsuperscript{145} The Sufi orders could also offer their members a career structure with attractive prospects for social betterment. Yet marriage alliances were far from uncommon, and both Chishti and Naqshbandi had earlier intermarried with members of the Mughal royal house itself.\textsuperscript{146} The marriages of both Nizām al-din 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. Like other models of authority in Islam, that of the Sufis thus drew upon genealogical models of kinship in order to articulate, bestow and ultimately inherit the charisma of the saintly master.

Upon the death of Nizām al-din in 1142/1729, his son Fakhr al-din was still a child and control of his khanqah seems to have passed into the hands of one of his deputies (\textit{khālīfas}), possibly his biographer Kāmgār Khān. Fakhr al-din’s education
in Awrangabad seems to have been very much that of a late Mughal gentleman, and included study of the martial arts and medicine as well as more religious matters.\textsuperscript{147} At the age of nineteen, like other well-born youths of ambition, he joined the army of Nāsir Jang, the successor of Nizām al-Mulk as ruler of the Deccan, and only resigned his post to concentrate on religious matters after several years of military service.\textsuperscript{148} Although Fakhr al-dīn seems then to have returned to Awrangabad for some time, it is likely that with his father’s tradition already upheld there by his deputies, a mixture of ambition and the familiar pattern of successional disputes lay behind Fakhr al-dīn’s decision to move to Delhi around 1160/1746–7.\textsuperscript{149} We should not forget that Nizām al-dīn’s khanaqah had been built on land that had originally belonged to his follower Kāmgār Khān and so it is possible that after the saint’s death the property remained in the hands of Kāmgār Khān’s family. Whatever the motives behind it, Fakhr al-dīn’s move would have important consequences for his father Nizām al-dīn’s posthumous reputation. For as the legacy of Nizām al-dīn’s khaltfas in Awrangabad disappeared into provincial obscurity, Fakhr al-dīn and his own descendants’ central role in the vigorous Sufi scene in Delhi during the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth century ensured that Nizām al-dīn’s reputation would outlive the political and cultural eclipse of his chosen city of Awrangabad.

The literary tradition of the Awrangabad Sufis

An overview

As we have seen, the traditions of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir and of Nizām al-dīn possessed early malfūzāt collections describing the lives and teachings of their saints and these two texts form the primary focus of this section. The genre of the malfūzāt is most closely associated with the Chishtiyya order to which Nizām al-dīn belonged. With his Sufi apprenticeship in Delhi before his move to Awrangabad, Nizām al-dīn stood at an intersection between the strong malfūzāt traditions of the early Delhi Chishtiyya and those of the Deccan Chishtiyya based primarily at Gulbarga and Khuldabad. This dual heritage is reflected in the malfūzāt of Nizām al-dīn itself, where the vast majority of anecdotes concerning the wider Chishtiyya tradition focus on either the early Delhi Chishtiyya or upon Gēsū Darāz of Gulbarga.\textsuperscript{150} Details of pilgrimages to the shrines of the Chishti masters at Khuldabad (especially Burhān al-dīn Gharīb, the prime figure of the Khuldabad textual tradition) similarly give evidence of Nizām al-dīn’s integration into the closest to Awrangabad of the early centres of the Chishtiyya.\textsuperscript{151} While malfūzāt collections were composed in India both with reference to later Indian Naqshbandī shaykhs and, with careful dissimulation, also sometimes to the earliest Naqshbandī saints, the anecdotal style of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya on Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir is closer in style to the tadbhkira genre more closely associated with the Naqshbandiyya beyond India than to the classic model of the malfūzāt as a collection of edifying Sufi lectures. Despite these differences in style, both texts are considered here together for the reason that they were written during the same period by direct followers of their respective saints.\textsuperscript{152}
Both texts were similarly composed a number of years after the deaths of their primary subjects.

The author of the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* is known to posterity as Shāh Mahmūd Awrangbādī. Although the stylized humility of his composition affords little room for details of his own biography, it seems that he was either one of the many orphans looked after by Shāh Musāfīr at his *takiyya* or, more probably, a nephew of the saint, as maintained in the oral tradition of his heirs in Awrangabad. Shāh Mahmūd seems from his childhood to have adopted the way of the dervish and so, upon the death of his master (and uncle?) Shāh Musāfīr without issue in 1126/1715, Shāh Mahmūd was appointed as the first successor (*sajjāda nashīn*) of Shāh Musāfīr at his Awrangabad *takiyya*, subsequently known as Panchakkī (‘the watermill’). Shāh Mahmūd died and was buried at Panchakkī in 1175/1762. From the picture painted by his text of *Panchakkī* as an almost exclusively Central Asian enclave during its heyday under Shāh Musāfīr, and the likelihood of his belonging to the family of Shāh Musāfīr, it is likely that Shāh Mahmūd was also of Central Asian ancestry. This ethnic dimension is important for a number of reasons, for it reflects the role of the cult of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs as administering to an exclusively Central Asian clientele, whose presence in Awrangabad was concomitant with the city’s role as the centre of Mughal expansion in the Deccan. The *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* gives many snapshots of the Central Asian character of the original fellowship of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs. None of these is more memorable than the image of Shāh Palangpōsh wandering through the bazaars of the city, hailing people with his cry of ‘O crazy one (*Ay dīwān*)!’ and showing a classic Central Asian proclivity by accosting a seller of falconry gloves. Shāh Musāfīr’s choice of a fellow Central Asian as his successor seems to sum up this association between Sufism and group identity conceived in primarily ethnic terms. Here the circle of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfīr provides a contrast with what is known of the early associates of Shāh Nūr, who were drawn from the community of people of Iranian descent in Awrangabad. Sufi affiliations seem in this way to have mirrored the social and political divide between Central Asian (*tūrānī*) and Iranian (*īrānī*) factions in Mughal society.

The author of the *Malfūzāt* of Nizām al-dīn entitled *Ahsan al-shāmāʿi l* was Kāmār Khān. It is a fitting illustration of the embeddedness of Sufism in the wider cultural life of the Deccan that the only biographical information to have survived on Kāmār Khān is found in one of the numerous poetical anthologies written in Awrangabad during the eighteenth century. This work, the *Tuhfat al-shuʿarā* of Afzal Bēg Qāqshāl Awrangbādī (d. unknown), contains biographical information on scores of poets from the Deccan, and not least those who wrote in Awrangabad during the rule of Awrangzeb and Nizām al-Mulk. It was completed in 1165/1751, around twenty years after Nizām al-dīn’s death. It was by virtue of the verses of his own composition that Kāmār Khān recorded in his *Ahsan al-shāmāʿi l* that he was included in Afzal Bēg’s anthology. Afzal Bēg informs us that Kāmār Khān was also known as ‘Ālī Awrangbādī, and was one of the descendants (*awlād*) of the great Central Asian Sufi, Khwāja Naqshband. This would suggest that like so many of Awrangabad’s residents, Kāmār Khān was of Central Asian (*tūrānī*) ethnicity. Given the fact that
the text mentions that Kāmgār Khān was already resident in Awrangabad when
Nizām al-dīn arrived from Delhi, it would appear that Kāmgār Khān belonged to the
first or (more likely) second generation of tārānīns in Awrangabad that had accompa-
nied the Mughals’ expansion into the Deccan. What is interesting in this respect is
his decision to align himself with a Sufi originating from Hindustan and belonging
to the Chishtī tradition rather than with a fellow Central Asian of his own familial
tradition of the Naqshbandiyya. In its small way, this association with Nizām al-dīn
hints at the wider gradual integration of Central Asian migrants into the Indian
world that had earlier seen some of the Mughal rulers themselves shift their
allegiance from their ancestral ties to the Naqshbandiyya to the pre-eminent Chishtīs
of Delhi.

Afzal Bēg also recorded that Kāmgār Khān was employed in the superintendency
of the Mughal imperial court of justice (dārūghbārī–ye–‘adālat al–‘āliya) in
Awrangabad. Thus, like many of the followers of the city’s Naqshbandīs, Kāmgār
Khān was closely connected to the Mughal state. The patronage of Nizām al-dīn’s
lodge (and subsequent shrine) was in this sense identical to that of Shāh Musāfīr,
whose own shrine would be beautified by followers in the service of the Mughals and
later the independent Nizām al-Mulk. For the Tuhfat al-shu’arā also adds that along
with his brother Muhammad Nūr al-dīn Husaynī, Kāmgār Khān built a khanaqah
and mosque for Nizām al-dīn when he first arrived in Awrangabad from Sholapur in
the southern Deccan, where we know he had been travelling with the imperial army.
In line with the other Sufi institutions in the city, an irrigation channel (nehb) was
also constructed. According to the Tuhfat al-shu’arā, the khanaqah that he built
neighboured his own residence in the city, and after the saint’s death Kāmgār Khān
also built Nizām al-dīn’s mausoleum. We also know that Kāmgār Khān was long
desirous of visiting the khanaqah of Shāh Kalīm Allāh, the master of Nizām al-dīn.
He was finally given permission by his master to make the perilous journey to the
north in 1133/1720.156 He made this journey with his brother Nūr al-dīn, who died
en route, and whose body was carried back to Awrangabad to become the focus of one
of several subsidiary shrines around the city dedicated to Nizām al-dīn’s deputies
(khalifān). While he was in Delhi, Kāmgār Khān compiled a short collection of the
recorded conversations (malfūzāt) of Shāh Kalīm Allāh that he entitled Majālis-e-
Kalimī. This text, which he dedicated to the memory of his brother, is usually found
bound into one volume with the Absan al-shama’il. This theme of fraternal dedica-
tion seems to be surreptitiously continued in the Absan al-shama’il, where Nūr al-dīn
features in almost as many of its anecdotes as Nizām al-dīn himself, suggesting a sub-
text of brotherly as much as saintly memorialization. The date of Kāmgār Khān’s
dead in Awrangabad is not mentioned in the Tuhfat al-shu’arā, though due to his
prestige as a text-producer his grave – like that of his Naqshbandī counterpart Shāh
Mahmūd – was revered and has survived to the present day.

Writing at the same time, in the same city and broadly on the same subject as
Kāmgār Khān, Shāh Mahmūd drew instead upon a literary tradition that flourished
outside of India around the earlier Timurid literary centre of Herat and was written
in memory of the saints of the Naqshbandiyya. In the case of Kāmgār Khān, readings
and sources seem similarly defined in terms of geographical location and affiliation to a specific Sufi order. The importance of Kāmgār Khān’s journey to Delhi and its literary efflorescence lies in the sense of continuity it established with the Chishti literary tradition of Hindustan. Apart from the ʿKimiyāʾ-ye-Saʿādat of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) for which, judging by its regular recurrence, Kāmgār Khān seems to have possessed a special affection, almost all of the hagiographical texts referred to by Kāmgār Khān (such as the Manāqib-e-Chishtiyya) were concerned with the lives of the earlier Chishti saints.157 Just as the geography of the source texts of the Malfuzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya points beyond the Deccan and northwards to Herat and Central Asia, so the source text and narrative geography of the Ahsan al-shamāʾil bears a northerly axis centred mainly on the earlier Chishti heartland of Delhi. It is in this sense that the journey of Kāmgār Khān to Delhi takes on a special significance, for it represents a journey to the source of his literary no less than his spiritual inspiration. It is also one which, despite its own long and varied literary traditions, says much about the status of the Deccan vis-à-vis Delhi and the other early Chishti centers of Hindustan among the new generation of Chishti residing in the Deccan. The memory of Delhi, and a firm sense of belonging to its cultural orbit, thus continued to occupy the mental world of the circle of the North Indian Sufi migrant, Nizām al-dīn.

An earlier tradition of Naqshbandidī and Chishti sacred biographies thus formed the literary background of the two texts. These earlier and distinct traditions may have been responsible for some of their stylistic peculiarities. For stylistically the Malfuzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya looked to the earlier Naqshbandī memorial tradition of Kāshifi and Jāmī in forming its idea of how a Sufi biography should take shape.158 Both these authors had also been major models and sources for the Hasanāt al-abrār, a hagiography of the Indian Naqshbandī-Mujaddidīs written in northern India at the turn of the eighteenth century by Muhammad Murād.159 The malfuzāt composed by Kāmgār Khān, by contrast, more closely followed the structure of such other earlier Chishti malfuzāt as those of Nizām al-dīn Awliyā of Delhi or the Chishtīs of nearby Khuldabad, with which Kāmgār Khān may have been familiar.

In comparing the two texts, one primary point of contrast is of the status of Persian as a vernacular mother tongue or as an acquired language of high culture and instruction. There was a clear sense of Persian as the mother tongue of its Central Asian subjects in the Malfuzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, as reflected in the idiomatic usages that give the text its distinctive style. But in the Ahsan al-shamāʾil, Persian was clearly conceived and used as a learned language of literary composition and instruction. This is similarly reflected in the more formal and standardized prose style of the text. In the case of the Malfuzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, Persian clearly functioned as the spoken language of a fellowship of disciples and associates of the Panchakkī shaykhs who clearly drew the boundaries of their community in ethnic terms based on a shared Central Asian identity. The Āsaf Jātī family dynasty, as initiated in India by the Central Asian immigrant and frequent character of the Malfuzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya Fīrōz Jang, shared with the Mughals both a Central Asian ancestry and sense of self-identity. In the Ahsan al-shamāʾil, however, the use of Persian clearly carried no suggestion of or association with a specific ethnic identity and was employed rather

26
as a learned language of sophisticated and literary expression. In this alternative framework, it was neither birth nor ethnicity that was requisite to the use of Persian, since the factor was rather education.

**Imperial geographies: political visions in the texts**

As modern readers we must be wary of projecting later cultural and political geographies back into the past. For prior to as well as during the eighteenth century, the Deccan was very much felt to be a different country from the Hindustan (i.e. northern India) of Awrangabad’s imperial Mughal elites and was explicitly defined as such. While ‘foreigners’ (āfṣāqi) 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 Āsaf Jāhs as their viceroy, redefined the Deccan in ways that are easily blurred from a distance of centuries. These re-definations included such religious dimensions as the decline of official Shi’ism and the reintroduction 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. 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 the 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 India is replete with accounts of Sufi saints, the significance of which often baffled early British translators into wholesale omission. 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 Khāfī Khān’s *Muntakhab al-Luhūb*. The *Malfūzat-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 Mahmūd. 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 premodern India. 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.

The similarities between the malfūzāt and their textual contemporaries in Awrangabad were as much in style as in content, for the genre of the recorded conversation was a less uniquely Sufi literary format than is often imagined. Just as Sufis adapted the literary styles of the court in the evolution of their rich poetic tradition, the case seems to have been broadly similar with regard to their prose models. The recording of the edifying speeches and bon mots of princely gatherings was known in Cairo before its manifestation in Chishtī circles in Delhi, for example, and was no less a tradition at the courts of Muslim rulers in India, where Sufi and princely texts often shared the same generic titles, such as majālis (‘sittings’).163 In Awrangabad, the notable deeds and choice sayings of no less a figure than Nizām al-Mulk (who re-appears throughout the Awrangabad saintly traditions) were collected by the eighteenth-century bureaucrat and historian Lālā Mansārām in his Ma‘āthir-e-Nizāmī in a form closely reminiscent of the Sufi texts.164 Similar collections, however, were a common enough feature of Persian literature under Mughal courtly patronage in India, not least in the official imperial biographies (pādishābnāmas), though many other such biographies were also produced. What this wider literary context reveals is that just as Sufis and their shrines had far wider social roles than the ‘purely’ religious, so to no lesser an extent did the literature which evolved around them partake in its own cultural and political contexts. Sufi and political texts did not so much borrow from one another’s distinct spheres, but were rather both part of a wider literary and cultural ecumene in which kings and saints shared centre-stage together.

Both the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya and the Ahsan al-shamā‘il contain a vision of the Deccan’s geography drawn from their mutual connections with 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 Shikhū’s Safīnāt al-A‘wiyā on members of the Qādiriyā and the Mu‘nis al-Ārūbī, 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-Naqshbandīyya’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.165 The sense of partisanship with the representatives of empire that their special invitation to the gathering suggests is one of the most deliberate and self-evident characteristics of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya. Shāh Mahmūd is not ashamed to show off the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs’ friends in high places. For in the text Shāh Palangpūsh is portrayed as the supernatural protector and inveterate companion of Fīrūz 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 (*tūrtānī*) 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.166

Shāh Mahmūd’s text reveals a 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 *Malfuzāt-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 special focus on the Herat of Wā’iz Kāshīfī (*fl*. 906/1500) and ‘Abd al-Rahman 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 *Malfuzāt-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 Shi‘ite Persia and the vivid interchanges between the rival cities of the Deccan itself. In the many travel narratives recounted by Shāh Mahmūd, 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.167 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 Mahmūd saw nothing inappropriate in 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 Jāmī’s *Nafahât 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 the *Ahsan 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 *Malfuzāt-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 born in the hinterlands of Timurid Herat but brought to glory only in India, and the connections formed between the royal palace and the Sufi lodge during his reign continued steadily under Jahangir.168 These ties were cemented through several generations of royal Mughal pilgrimage to and patronage of the official cradle of the Chishtiyya at Ajmer.169 The historian Khāfī Khān later described Awrangzeb making a pilgrimage to Ajmer to thank
Mu‘īn al-dīn Chishtī for his help in defeating Dārā Shikhū, while Sāqī Must‘ad Khān described the emperor’s many pilgrimages to the Chishtī shrines of Qutb al-dīn in Delhi and Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga as well as that of Mu‘īn al-dīn.170

However, it is likely that both the Naqshbandī and Chishtī positions towards imperial elites often reflected a form of public rhetoric as much as a true mirror of more subtle motivations. A letter sent to Niz̄ām 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.171

While the tone of the letter suggests the sincerity of Niz̄ām al-dīn’s desire to minimize official or royal friendships, the spiritual and cultural Weltanschauung reflected in his malfūzāt suggests a more complex picture. For woven into Kāmgār Khān’s account of Niz̄ām 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 Niz̄ām al-dīn Awliyā of Delhi (d. 725/1325), though another category refers to the deeds of saints connected to Niz̄ām al-dīn Awrangābādī’s origins in Awadh, particularly the deeds of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Qanawjī.172 The latter heals the sick sūbedār of Qanawj 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.173

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.174 However this tradition too, like the circle around Niz̄ām 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 Niz̄ām al-dīn’s own claims to mystical knowledge and authority were far from lost on Kāmgār Khān. For like the Khuldabad Chishtīs and their own extensive corpus of malfūzāt, the Ahsan 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.

No less than the earlier hagiographers of the Khuldabad Chishtīs, Kāmgār 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.175 This was achieved through the combination of Niz̄ām 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 Niz̄ām al-dīn by Shāh Kalīm Allāh granting him spiritual jurisdiction (wulāyat) over the entire Deccan.176 Both the Khuldabad and Awrangabad Chishtī traditions had arrived in the Deccan travelling either in the wake or in Niz̄ām al-dīn’s case in the actual van of the armies of the north. Whatever the personal feelings of the living Niz̄ām al-dīn towards temporal rulers or the traditional rhetoric of the Chishtī order more generally, the literary
Nizām al-dīn created in the text of Kāmgār 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 Sufī 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. Like the Awrangabad Sufis, Shāh ‘Ināyat of Balapur (d. 1117/1705) was also a migrant to the Deccan, having originated of a Central Asian (tūrānī) family resident in Punjab before moving to the Deccan in 1059/1649. A land grant (jāgīr) was later given 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 re-vitalization 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 Ellichpur in the northern Deccan through the work of his own disciple Ghulām Chishtī (d. 1210/1755).177 Ghulām Chishtī corresponded with the followers of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad and was especially influenced by Nizām al-dīn’s meditational textbook, Nizām al-Qulūb. Other followers of Nizām al-dīn migrated to Haydarabad as well as Delhi in the years after Awrangabad’s eclipse in the late eighteenth century.

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 India 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 Sufī 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 Islamic societies. It was in a common sense of belonging and orientation in the Mughal-Timurid world, this sense of shared origins, that the Sufī 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.178 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.179

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 Sufīs in the Deccan, an index that was amplified by the writings produced by these Sufī 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 Qasur in Punjab. This text, *Akbhār al-Awliyā*, was composed in Awrangabad in 1077/1666 in honour of the Sufis attached to the Khwēshgī clan by ‘Abbās Khwēshgī Qasūrī (d. after 1133/1720). Like other Sufi devotees in military service, Qasūrī had travelled to the Deccan in the company of the Afghan notable Jalāl Khān Dāūdzāī. His heart and memory, however, remained tied to the north. The writings of Awrangabad’s subsequent Chishti and Naqshbandī circles clearly echoed this sense of displacement and it was one that would continue well into the Āsaf Jāh period. The same devotion to the distant saints of Hindustan rings through the *Mā‘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 seems to have been in the shrine of Shāh Muṣāfīr at Awrangabad that this book was written, which perhaps explains the incongruous inclusion of Shāh Muṣāfīr and his master Pālangpōsh within its pages.

Through the spiritual conquests of the Sufis of the north the saintly geography and saintly literature of the Deccan was adapted to fit the cultural identity of the Deccan’s new rulers and residents, a cultural identity based itself upon a northerly geography and introduced to the south by the Mughal conquests. Sufi lineages (silsila) 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 to both reflect and reify the sense in which saintly and imperial geographies mirrored one another.

From a purely literary perspective, the texts of Shāh Mahmūd and Kāngār 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 Muṣāfīr in *Malā‘iz̄āt-e-Naqshbindiyā*, the *Ahsan al-ibamā‘il* similarly shows a world of books aligned almost exclusively to Hindustan and Persia. One of the very few remnants of the Deccan’s earlier textual ecumene to be mentioned by Kāngār Khān is a book by Gēsū Darāz (d. 825/1422) of Gulbarga. 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 and 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-y-e-‘Ālamgīr*. Literary production also later took place within the Awrangabad shrines themselves, and the great eighteenth century man of letters Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. 1200/1786) later wrote two Sufi biographies (*tadhkirāt*) while living for seven years in the shrine of Shāh Muṣāfīr. Around him there gathered at the shrine a large number of his literary followers, some of whom, like Shāhid Mollā 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. Between the death of Awrangzeb in 1118/1707 and the settling of the Āsaf 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 slipped into eclipse by Delhi. 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. One major long-term casualty of this re-allocation of patronage was the fragile cultural and linguistic synthesis attempted by poets writing in Dakhani (in Bijapur in particular). 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. One of the most poignant images of this is the post-conquest career of the Dakhani poet Qāzī Mahmūd Bahrī, the Sufi mentor of the last ruler of Bijapur, Sikandar ʿAlī Shāh, who spent years wandering the Deccan countryside shorn of home and patronage after the fall of his native city. Upon the conquest of Bijapur, Bahrī fled first to Haydarabad, which had yet to be conquered by the Mughals. There in the early years after the fall of Haydarabad he was still able to find a patron for his Dakhani poetry, and in 1112/1700 he wrote his Dakhani poetic masterpiece, Man Lagan. But bereft of patronage once again he was forced to leave Haydarabad and to travel to Awrangabad. It seems to have been in Awrangabad that Bahrī decided in 1116/1705 to compose the Persian rendering of his Man Lagan that he entitled ‘Arūs-e-irfān. The latter work comprised long prose sections interwoven with a variety of poems (in qat’a, ghazal and mathnawī form), describing the mystical journey towards gnosis (‘irfān) through an extended series of metaphors based around the erotic imagery of the bride. Despite this mystic exposition, Bahrī also managed to weave aspects of his own spiritual and professional biography into the text, including his previous service of Sikandar in Bijapur (now rendered as Sikandar Khān and not Shāh), his sojourn in Haydarabad and his final state of wandering exhaustion and misery. But no less than in the tone of its final poems, in the very raison d’être of ‘Arūs-e-‘irfān we hear poignant echoes of the human effects of the shifts in patronage that were incumbent upon the coming of the Mughals. For it was through the arrival of the Deccan’s conquerors from North India and beyond that Bahrī was forced to abandon his original poetic medium of Dakhani and translate his work into Persian in the hope of finding a new and appreciative audience. Whatever his success, he eventually left Awrangabad to return to his home village of Gogan, near Bijapur. On the journey through what was still an unsettled region, he was robbed and lost his own copies of the manuscripts containing all of his verses. He died and was buried in Gogan in 1130/1718.
Literature, then, carried discrete traces of the Deccan’s political history. 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’ārā* of Shafiq Awrangbādī (d. 1224/1808), the *Ma’āthīr al-Umārā* 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 *Risālā-ye-Sālār Jang* (more famous as the *Muraqqa’-e-Dilhī*) was himself a resident of Awrangabad who travelled to Delhi in the company of Nizām al-Mulk. If in some senses derivative, the literary scene in Awrangabad was also energetic and creative, not least in the realm of Urdu. But from the period of the Mughal conquest of the Deccan, the sense of the Deccan as a separate literary domain from the cultural world of the north 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 at all 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 Shāh Musāfīr, the disappearance of this patronage led many of the city’s Sufis to leave Awrangabad for Delhi. The Sufi scene that developed in Delhi in the mid-eighteenth century was connected to the Deccan in more ways than merely the fact of Fakhr al-dīn’s migration. For it was in the great madrasa founded in Delhi by the great Deccan general Fīrōz Jang that Fakhr al-dīn set up his new khanaqah on his arrival in Delhi.192 A scene perhaps hard to associate with the usual quietist picture of Chishtī tendencies, it was one of Sufi life supported by the spoils of conquest. In a strange shadowing of itineraries, south and then back north, this great madrasa also became the place of gathering for the followers of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs who also left the city for Delhi after the death of their masters. Two of the disciples of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs, Shāh Khākī and Shāh Shīdā, actually taught in the madrasa, while others simply stayed there when they were in Delhi.193 Such close connections with one of the main soldiers of empire shows not only the importance of sub-imperial patronage in providing for the institutional and material maintenance of Sufi life, but also the inextricable sense in which Sufis were tied to specific political forces. These ties were not merely of financial patronage. More important was a sense of roots and belonging, a cultural and spiritual identity that seemed to tie the Chishtiyya to North India, and Delhi in particular.194 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 Kāmāgīr Khān and Shāh Mahmūd were a part. In these ways, the origins and destiny of the Awrangabad Sufis were tied to a 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 microhistoric perspective that is the reverse of the same coin. For no less than the wider body of literature produced in Awrangabad, the writings of the city’s Sufis comprised an essentially migrant literature. From this microhistoric 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 generations Awrangabad’s literary migrants like Bilgrāmī, Qasūrī and Shāh Mahmūd 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 Musāfīr could re-attach their devotees to the distant saints and shrines of their ancestors in Central Asian and Hindustan.

Saintly geographies: local shrines and pilgrimage in the texts

For all the possibilities of a political reading of the literary world in which Sufi works were composed, the saints nonetheless mapped out influential geographies of their own. For Sufi hagiographies were invariably grounded on a vision of saintly territory that was allotted and punctuated by the presence of the shrines of the saints. But in Awrangabad as elsewhere in India, relatively few hagiographies existed of saints who did not possess a shrine. For from the earliest period of Sufi history, the tombs of the dead saints and the spiritual power accessible beside them were a given fact that was shared between a specifically Sufi piety and the religious life of Muslims in general. The presentation of the earlier Chishtī saints seen through the many references and anecdotes of the different characters in the Ahsan al-shamīl was almost without exception one which may also be read as a cataloguing of shrine cults contemporary with its composition. One important contextual function of such texts therefore seems to be as saintly charters for maintaining the prestige of a given shrine by demonstrating the wisdom and miracles (karāmāt) of the saint in question. Sufi hagiography was in such ways also a reflection of local geographies of pilgrimage.

This explicit mirroring of saintly texts and shrines should not surprise us, for except as an exemplary model for didactic narratives, a dead saint had a minimal
social function in the absence of a shrine to identify his resting-place and so render his power (barakat) accessible. Insofar as they operated within living social contexts, Sufi hagiographies therefore had little practical use without a shrine at which the blessing of the saint could be accessed. This sacred legacy could be shared out in a number of ways, whether in terms of a tradition of religious teachings; of the distribution of the saint’s barakat; of forming esteemed places of burial; of the appropriation of saintly authority as a means of legitimating other authorities, including royal dynasties; or of landownership in the hands of lineages of sajjāda nasbīns. Here we see Sufi hagiographical texts as the literary manifestation of the wider social and cultural roles of the Sufis, with texts reflecting the sacred geographies of saintly shrines.

Yet in the Awrangabad texts, the shrines had two spheres of existence, as literary places that existed in the writings of Shāh Mahmūd and Kāmgār Khān and as physical places that could actually be visited by readers. Subsequently, the location of graves plays an important role in the Awrangabad texts and the tombs of the characters featuring in the texts had their locations explicitly described if they were not already well-known. Probably as a means of supplementing the prestige of the shrine of the Naqshbandī masters at their takiyya of Panchakkī, in the Malfūzār-e-Naqshbandiyya the location and fame of the graves of Shāh Musāfīr’s followers were always included in the sections describing each disciple’s travels and achievements. This was reflected in many of the narratives of the last days and burials of the Awrangabad Naqshbandī’s followers in the last third of the text.

The Awrangabad texts show how the distinction between the living teacher and the dead saint at his shrine was conceived and navigated by Sufis in the past. For while acknowledging the possibility of communication with the dead and at times actively seeking it, the Awrangabad Sufis were often quite aware of the relative merits of dead and living masters. The most important illustration of this overlapping of cults to living and dead Sufi masters is seen in the several accounts in the Awrangabad texts of pilgrimages made by Shāh Musāfīr or Nizām al-dīn to the shrines of the earlier saints that made up Awrangabad’s surrounding sacred landscape before the construction of their own mausolea within the city. While such pilgrimages were clearly an important dimension of Sufi life, in spite of the descriptions of Nizām al-dīn’s own shrine visitations in the Ahsan al-shamā’īl, he is presented in the same text as warning his disciples that the counsel of a living shaykh is always preferable to visiting the tomb of a dead one. We glimpse here an insight into the ways
prominent Sufis like Nizām al-dīn steered between participation in public rituals expected of them and what they personally understood as worthwhile spiritual endeavour. Nonetheless, such precautionary admonishing aside, the recognition of the specifically mystical uses of shrine visitation was very much a part of Nizām al-dīn’s Chishtī heritage as received from his master Kalīm Allāh. Indeed, a description of a graveside meditation (dhikr-e-kashf-e-qubūr) capable of revealing the spiritual states of the saint beside whose tomb it is performed was given in Kashkūl-e-Kalīmī, one of the spiritual guidebooks written by Kalīm Allāh.198 Sufi meetings at the shrines of various saints in Delhi also feature in the letters sent to Nizām al-dīn by his master.199

Shāh Palangpūsh and Shāh Musāfīr made three pilgrimages to the earlier Chishtī shrines at Khuldabad, while Shāh Musāfīr also visited the death anniversary (‘urs) of Shāh Nūr Hammāmī (who had only died in 1104/1692) at his newly constructed shrine in Awrangabad.200 Nizām al-dīn and his disciples are for their part described in the Ahsan al-shamā’il as present at a number of shrines and their ‘urs celebrations, including those of the Chishtī saints of Khuldabad.201 Details of Nizām al-dīn’s pilgrimages to the Khuldabad shrines, especially that of the prime figure of the Khuldabad malfūzāt tradition Burhān al-dīn Gharīb (d. 738/1337), give evidence of Nizām al-dīn’s integration into what was to Awrangabad the most local of all of the many centres of the Chishtīyya. Here we see how saintly and imperial geographies constantly overlapped. As the Sufi literature that flourished around the shrines at Khuldabad testified, the Sufi centre there had itself been founded as a result of the earlier conquest of the Deccan by the Delhi Sultans and the supposed transfer there of the population of Delhi, including its Sufis. Khuldabad’s role as both the fountain of Islam in the Deccan and the centre of a North Indian tradition of Muslim saints aligned primarily to Delhi lent it a renewed importance in the Mughal period. Both directly before and after the Mughal invasions, Shah Jahan and Awrangzeb reaffirmed the status and landholdings of the Khuldabad shrines, while in the following decades their amirs patronized new building projects there. Seen against this background, the Sufi texts from Awrangabad show how the Sufis and notables of Mughal Awrangabad worked together to re-vivify this earlier centre of Sufi and royal burial.202 If royal and aristocratic elites granted land and money, then Sufi masters from the region’s new centre at Awrangabad came to perform rituals of pilgrimage (ziyārat), death anniversaries (‘urs) and musical audition (samā’). Like many of the cultural patterns of Mughal Awrangabad, this process continued into the Āsaf Jāh period and eventually also incorporated the literary edification of Khuldabad in the Rawzat al-Awliyā of Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. 1200/1786) and the Sawāniḥ of Khāksār-e-Sabzawārī (fl. 1188/1774).203 Sufis, sultans and the text producers who surrounded them worked together in re-creating Awrangabad’s sacred geography at nearby Khuldabad that linked the Deccan’s past to that of Hindustan, and so provided a broad channel of historical continuity between the saints and kings of Hindustan and the Deccan.

Architecture and texts were partners in this project of appropriating or re-directing historical and ritual tradition into new hands. The Awrangabad texts were in this way heirs to an earlier Sufi history brought alive through shrine architecture that was experienced in tandem with the narratives presented in hagiographical texts.
Statehood formed an important narrative backdrop to this textual tradition, with sultans or their representatives regularly appearing in the texts. History, then, was a central concern of the Sufi hagiographical tradition to which the works of Shāh Mahmūd and Kāmār Khān belonged. And this effectively meant a Muslim history, that is to say a history of Muslim saints, kings and notables. Kingship possessed a strange magic of its own, a mystique that was celebrated through ritual, robing and other more robust symbolic exercises of power (Michel Foucault’s descriptions of public executions spring immediately to mind). As such, it was a symbolic power that hagiographers frequently sought to co-opt for the saints they commemorated, often to show the power of the saints as greater than that of kings. But if late Mughal Sufi texts operated within a narrative realm embedded in imperial cultural and political geographies, this did not prevent them from occasionally challenging the authority of kingship. For the Ahsan al-šamā’il’s warnings against converse with kings (subḥat al-salāṭīn), its stories of the pleading of the ruler of Sholapur for Nizām al-dīn to bring rainfall during a drought, and its account of the Sufi Mīr Sayyid Qanawī’s hauteur towards Shah Jahan contain an implicit political statement of the relative authority of saints and kings. It was also a vision that was sometimes shared by rulers themselves. Awrangzeb and Nizām al-Mulk were no less assiduous visitors to living and dead Sufis than their royal forbears. For just as Babur visited the tombs of the Chishtī saints of Delhi upon his conquest of the city, Awrangzeb paid no less court to the tombs of the Deccan saints upon his own conquests of Golkonda in 1097/1686. Yet in his imperial pride Awrangzeb could sometimes pontificate in his letters on the real way to live the dervish life. But here he trod on the territory of the spiritual rulers with whom he shared his realm. And indeed, in his letters to Nizām al-dīn, Kalīm Allāh was critical of what he saw as the emperor’s attempts to combine the two realms of authority in cultivating the image of the pious ruler. For like his Chishtī forbears, Kalīm Allāh remained ever suspicious of those who would unite worldly power (sultānat) and spiritual poverty (faqr).

Perhaps in recognition of this, sultans and saints possessed distinct spaces in which their authority was recognized. Yet in doing so, they often shared the symbolic and linguistic vocabularies through which their power was expressed by the common use of such terms as king (shāh), dominion (wālāyat) and sultan (sultān) to describe their persons and the ritual of the dargāb (royal court, also shrine) to articulate the places of their power. Like political dynasties, saintly dynasties (silsilas) also rose and fell over time. In this respect, the Awrangabad texts bear witness to the realignment of the Deccan into a Delhi-orientated saintly geography that had earlier been established in the era of the southern conquests of the Delhi Sultans during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The texts are silent on the intermediary age of the Ni’mat Allāhī saints of the earlier Deccan capital of Bijapur and the Qādirī and Chishtī saints of the more recently vanquished Deccan kingdom of Bijapur. But they are alert to the earlier saintly history of the period before the Deccan’s independence from the north under the aegis of the independent sultanates of the Bahmani and their regional heirs in the Deccan. Although saintly fortunes might wane no less than those of the royal dynasties that patronized them, royal and saintly destinies did not always
unfold co-terminously. In some cases, as in those of the Naqshbandī saints of Bukhara and the Chishtī saints of Delhi and Gulbarga whose histories are evoked in the texts from Awrangabad, the longevity of saintly careers often far outlasted royal ones. Although the Mughal rulers of the Deccan shared their geographic origins with the Naqshbandīs in Herat and Central Asia and with the Chishtiīs in Delhi, compared to both of these Sufi traditions the Mughals’ claims to authority were much more recent. If members of the Naqshbandiyya forever reminded the Mughals of the shared history that had brought them into India together, then the Chishtiyya were no less aware that they had arrived in Hindustan and the Deccan centuries before either of them.208 The Awrangabad hagiographers’ stories of this earlier past encoded claims to precedence, with the royal and saintly narratives contained in the Ahsan al-shamā‘īl reaching into a hoary pre-Mughal past that by the twelfth/eighteenth century had come to look like an age of Indo-Muslim genesis.

The Sufis and their books: reading and writing in the Awrangabad texts

As far as the finer details of the ethnography of reading practices are concerned, the function of written material in premodern Sufī teaching remains uncertain. Insofar as the Awrangabad texts furnish a picture of day-to-day life and of methods of Sufī pedagogy in the khanaqahs of the city’s Sufis, we may turn to their evidence to address this issue. Despite the Malfīzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya’s great wealth of circumstantial details of khanaqah life, whether in terms of reading or writing, literary activity of any kind seems to have played only a limited role in Sufī life in the circle of Shāh Musāfīr. Such an absence is telling, in that Sufī biographies often have a tendency to exaggerate the learning of the saint in question (even going so far as to invent the titles of books written by the master), and so while positive claims of literary activity should usually be treated with caution, negative evidence may well speak more plainly. While reference to Shāh Musāfīr’s attending school as a boy and to a period spent as a teacher in Ghūr (in present-day Afghanistan) suggests that he was already literate before adopting the life of the dervish, the lengthy description of his long apprenticeship under Shāh Palangpōsh reveals a systematic programme of extreme self-abnegation reached through servitude and beggarly destitution, but which contains no reference to any kind of book-learning.209 Shāh Musāfīr’s own methods of instruction do appear to have included a literary element, but this use of texts was circumscribed and clearly introduced into the Sufī curriculum within a specific context of oral tuition. The oral context within which texts were read is quite clear, in that the texts were woven into ex tempore commentaries and discussions that placed authority with the living master guiding the reading, rather than with an independent reader and the author of the text itself. At one point in the Malfīzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya a shared recitation of the Mathnawī of Rūmī leads one dervish to fall into a state of ecstasy (bāl), and there are also many other references to group reading sessions in the Ahsan al-shamā‘īl.210
The Awrangabad texts thus reflected and reiterated traditional Sufi structures of hierarchy. This may be seen in the ways in which strategies of writing and reading are reflected in the texts. In the case of Shāh Muṣafīr, the honour of writing his biography fell to Shāh Mahmūd, who was not only the memorialist of the saint but as his successor was also the inheritor of his saintly authority and property at the takiyya. The strategies through which texts were in turn read at the shrines further reveals this paradigm of structures of authority on the path to knowledge. In the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya’s description of a reading group at Panchakkī, we see clearly the workings of a tripartite model of textual reception.211 One of the disciples was reading aloud to his co-disciples from a Tadhkirat al-awliyā in the presence of Shāh Muṣafīr, when a dispute broke out over the meaning of a particular section. After some debate among the disciples themselves, it was the master Shāh Muṣafīr who resolved the situation by providing an authoritative answer to the point in question. Here we see how textual knowledge was communicated via a continuum of authorial voice, private and peer opinion and finally the decisive capping of the master. Such interruptions and ad lib commentaries were often so fulsome as to outweigh the readings themselves, and Kāmgār Khān recalled one such episode in the Ahsan al-shamā’il involving the reading out of a letter. Clearly frustrated with his co-disciples’ many interpolations, he was relieved when Nizām al-dīn came to his aid and warned the others that if such running commentaries were not moderated it would be better not to hear readings at all!212

In such Sufi milieux, textual authority – even an author’s control over his own text – was subsumed within a wider schema of the authority of the shaykh. Even within the restraints of these reading groups, texts themselves were by no means all equally accessible and open to unstructured reading. On the contrary, in Sufi circles as in other spheres of learning in Islam, different books and access to them was carefully graded and controlled. In this way, textual knowledge was strictly mediated through the authority of a master who could decide at which point his disciples were ready to read any given text. This practice aimed to control the written word in much the same way that a master decided when and whether to pass on any given teaching through oral means. Here we see the universal Sufi theme of hidden (because dangerous) knowledge. It was the careful protection and limited dissemination of this knowledge that in theory formed one of the fundamental raisons d’être of the Sufi orders’ existence as highly structured communities of knowledge. There is a fine example of this formulation in the Ahsan al-shamā’il during one of Nizām al-dīn’s many discussions of musical sessions (mahfil-e-samā’). Kāmgār Khān was reading from a treatise (risāla) on the subject which recounted how during samā’ people sometimes ‘say the same thing as Hallāj’ (i.e. mystically identify themselves with God). To this Nizām al-dīn replied that the same thing had happened to several of his own disciples and that it was acceptable to speak the words of Hallāj so long as it was in the right company.213 Here, then, in a classic Sufi formulation, it is claimed that knowledge cannot be expressed openly, but only in suitable company and under circumstances of the loss of self-control. Significantly, in both cases of their mention in the episode described, Hallāj’s utterances are glossed as merely ‘the words of Hallāj’.

40
This perhaps suggests either that the genre of the *malfūzāt* was not itself considered a suitable text for advanced travellers of the Path or that risks (either in this world or the next) might be run by writing down statements so close to blasphemy. The clearest expression of this form of controlled readerly access is given in the meditational handbook *Nizām al-qaḥāb* written by Nizām al-dīn. In the introduction, Nizām al-dīn warns the idle reader that the book is only suitable for the serious and advanced practitioner of *tasawwuf* and should, moreover, only be read under the instruction of a living master. This attitude that book-learning was a poor substitute for a living teacher was an axiom of the reading strategies of the Awrangabad Sufis just as it was of their predecessors and contemporaries.

The texts that are mentioned in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* as read by the dervishes were by no means examples of the genre of the technical treatise (*risāla*) of Sufi theory. Instead, they consisted rather of the literature of Naqshbandi sacred biography, as well as what was already a canon of classical Persian Sufi poetry. While technical Sufi theoretical texts did enjoy success in India, it is by no means clear by whom and in what circumstances these texts were employed. The *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* suggests that theosophical treatises were by no means the staple of a successful khanaqah. Rather, in the circle of Shāh Musāfīr, the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī and the lyrics of Ḥāfīz were almost the only non-Khurasani or non-Naqshbandī literary works to receive mention by Shāh Mahmūd. The general picture of the Panchakki *takīyya* provided by the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya* does not suggest the presence at this time of the significant library that later developed there. However, we are reminded at several points in the text of the financial value of books, for example when the *takīyya*’s books are hidden during a Maratha raid, and when a form of arrow-spinning divination is employed to learn who had stolen a precious book. One anecdote has shades of the suggestion that books were regarded as a luxury item not entirely becoming the dervish. After an inventory of the *takīyya*’s possessions reveals the large sum of 500 rupees, two pots of jam and a number of books, Shāh Musāfīr is seen to order that everything in his lodge be given away to the poor except the books, which were to be given away to Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf. In another case, books are used both to manifest Shāh Musāfīr’s powers and to demonstrate the special sanctity of particular texts when a handler of stolen books finds his entire library turned to dust with the exception of the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī, the *Naḥḥāt al-uns* of Jāmī and the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* of ‘Attār.

Little is known of the education of Shāh Palangpūsh, who with his ‘leopard-skin clad’ moniker seems to have shown many of the characteristics of the wandering qalandar. Neither he nor his disciple Shāh Musāfīr engaged in literary composition of their own. Such as it was, the literary activity in their circle seems to owe its origins to the education Shāh Musāfīr received before he became a dervish rather than to any part of his actual Sufi training. Perhaps in a reflection of the social class of many of the shaykhs’ followers, other dervishes resident at their *takīyya* were literate and due to the learning of Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf some of the orphans resident at the *takīyya* were also taught to read and write. But these children were destined for a variety of worldly careers rather than being prepared for the spiritual life per se.
While some of the orphans enrolled in the armies of the Mughals, others joined the upper echelons of the imperial bureaucracy; one of the orphans even went on to become secretary to Nizām al-Mulk.\(^{219}\) It would therefore perhaps be incorrect to see their education in reading and writing as part of a specifically Sufi mode of instruction.

In the Ab\(\text{h}\)san al-shamā'īl, Kāmgār Khān's biography of Nizām al-dīn, the case is rather different. The text suggests that the khanaqāh of Nizām al-dīn belonged to a more literary-minded current within Sufism than its Naqshbandī counterpart, for reading and writing seems to have played a central role in the spiritual instruction given by Nizām al-dīn. In addition to Kāmgār Khān's literary efforts, apparently at the saint's command another of his disciples wrote an extensive calendrical guide to the visitation of the shrines of the saints.\(^{220}\) Unlike the city's Naqshbandī masters, Nizām al-dīn himself wrote an important manual on the practice of meditation (dhīkr) entitled Nizām al-qulāb, while a collection of letters (maktūbāt) sent to Nizām al-dīn in the Deccan from his master Shāh Kalīm Allāh in Delhi is also extant. Shāh Kalīm Allāh was himself an extremely prolific writer in Persian and Arabic of textual summaries of Sufi doctrine and is credited with the authorship of thirty-two other books.\(^{221}\)

The glimpses of Sufi life revealed in the Ab\(\text{h}\)san al-shamā'īl seem to reflect an atmosphere in which the use of writing played a wider role than in Shāh Musāfīr's circle. There are far more references in the text to reading sessions and other textual activities than in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya. A touching example of such activities describes Nizām al-dīn praising the nastālīq calligraphy of one of his followers after it had been mocked for its imperfections by his fellow dervishes, before going on to explain the more intricate rules of this difficult script.\(^{222}\) Kāmgār Khān's text also reveals a finer sense of the subtleties of literary creation than the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, carefully breaking each anecdote into a 'beneficial section' (fā'īza) of its own. Though not original in itself, this practice mirrored the artful construction of the works of Kalīm Allāh. His Kashkūl-e-Kalīmī, for example, divided its contents into 94 'morsels' (loqmah), while his Tasnīm al-tawbīd was divided into 20 edifying 'cupfuls' (tasnīm) of knowledge.\(^{223}\) Kāmgār Khān also employed the strophe of describing readings from the Kīmiyā'-ye-sa'ādat of al-Ghazālī as a means of introducing topics for Nizām al-dīn to discuss. The Kīmiyā' was a popular work in Indian Sufi circles during this period; a generation earlier the North Indian Naqshbandī Sufī Khwānd Shāh Muʿīn al-dīn (d. 1085/1675) had been inspired by the work to compose his own Kanūz al-sa'ādat, which he dedicated to Awrangzeb.\(^{224}\) However, such devices contrast sharply with the literary style of Kāmgār Khān's Naqshbandī contemporary. For despite its enjoyable naivété, the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya is sometimes confused in its organization of material and is stylistically crass by the prose standards of its day.

Like the letters Kalīm Allāh addressed to Nizām al-dīn, the Awrangabad texts possessed specifically pedagogical dimensions that were clearly intended to be instructive and admonishing. While Sufis were always important as teachers, as purveyors of advice if by no means always of metaphysic, they were also important for their
exemplary actions. Whether quietly moral and pious or dramatically miraculous in nature, word and deed were always seen as interlinked by the Sufis through the emphasis they gave to proper etiquette (adab) and practical ethics (akhlâq). It was the ethical and spiritual contiguity of speech and action in the ideal Sufi life that made exemplary tales of the deeds of the saints such a convincing form of Sufi teaching. In the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il, Nizâm al-dîn’s many didactic speeches thus describe the righteous or occasionally miraculous deeds of the earlier Chishti saints. For in neither Sufi life nor literature were word and event seen as separable.

With this highly specific community of references occupying the text and the circumstances of its authorship, it seems likely that Shâh Mahmûd conceived his readership in terms related to Awrangabad’s migrant Central Asian community. Although dying out, the author was at least assured that his own family line could inherit knowledge of the traditions and glory of their forbears along with the property of the shrine itself. Writing with a clear image of the disappearance of the times that he chronicled, it seems unlikely that Shâh Mahmûd expected a wider audience for his memoir than his own successors at the shrine and any future descendants of the city’s Central Asian community who should wish to peruse it. A few generations later the shrine had become a kind of architectural memorial to the city’s glorious past, associated particularly with the Muslim upper classes of Awrangabad (usually with claims to extra-Indian ancestry). In the same way Shâh Mahmûd seems to have intended his text as a comparable embodiment of memory preserved for the slender future generations of the community that peopled its pages.

The circumstances of the composition of the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il were rather different. Although we must not project a foreknowledge of the future success of Nizâm al-dîn’s lineage back into the mind of a writer to whom that success was in some measure owed, there is no sense of loss or nostalgia in the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il comparable with that of its Naqshbandî contemporary. Yet the spirit of commemoration was nonetheless at hand and the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il was no less a work of retrospective memory than the Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya. The colophon of the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il informs us that the text was composed in 1156/1743, a full decade after the death of its subject. This may seem an extraordinarily candid admission in view of the fact that the rhetoric of the text as a malfûzât collection of ‘recorded conversations’ required at least the appearance of verbatim transmission. Perhaps this suggests that in an age during which mnemonic recall stood at the base of intellectual life such a claim seemed less inconceivable or that premodern readers took the genre less at face value than modern scholars. Either way, while the date suggests commemoration of the dead Sufi as the broad spur to literary composition, the ten years that had passed between the subject’s death and the writing of the text suggest that for many years at least little sense of urgency was felt in the project.

The colophon also explains that the Ahsan al-shamâ‘il was composed by Kâmgâr Khân at the request (hasb al-irshâd) of Nizâm al-dîn’s son, Fakhr al-dîn. This is of great significance since the writing of the text took place at a time that was a crucial juncture in the history of Nizâm al-dîn’s tradition. The text was not only conceived as a memorial to the teachings of a beloved master. For it seems likely that Fakhr
al-dīn felt that such a document – written by someone other than himself – could prove to be of the utmost importance in enabling him to establish his own Sufi reputation. With such literary proof of the status of his father and master, Fakhr al-dīn could claim to possess an important saintly lineage in his own right, helping him to advance his own career as a professional Sufi. Through the sheer act of literary commemoration, the father posthumously later helped to establish the name of his son in Delhi. It was quite possibly this context of the text’s composition that encouraged the text’s writer Kāmgār Khān to try to present Nizām al-dīn as himself an heir to and pillar of the tradition of Chishtī saints in Delhi, where Fakhr al-dīn would venture a few years later. This suggests that the Ahsan al-shamā‘il was written at least partly to secure Fakhr al-dīn’s position as a Sufi master with a lineage of repute. And here again we see a textual yoke connecting the Awrangabad Sufis with the older saintly geography of Delhi. For a few years later Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn established his own Sufi circle in Fīrōz Jang’s madrasa in Delhi, presumably helped by the prestige of possessing a malfūzāt honoring his own father.

The intentions of the text seem more sharply directed than those of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, which sought to compress the image of an entire client community around its saintly axis. The ambitions of Kāmgār Khān and his literary director, Fakhr al-dīn, seem to have been at once more limited and more ambitious. It seems symptomatic of its intended audience of a closed and specifically Sufi readership that in classic malfūzāt fashion the text was largely set within the enclosed territory of Nizām al-dīn’s khānaqāh. There could perhaps be no better literary aid to the establishment of a circle of Sufi followers for Fakhr al-dīn than a text describing the discourses of his own father. There seems to be such a mirroring of contents and intended readership in the internal geography of both texts. In reflection of the very kinds of people whom it posited as its likely readers or listeners – certainly Central Asians but by no means exclusively dervishes – the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya included the whole gamut of the Central Asians of Awrangabad within its pages, from military grandees to widows and horse-dealers. In a corresponding manner, the ignoring of the wider life and geography of the city in the Ahsan al-shamā‘il to concentrate solely on the circle of formal disciples (murāds) surrounding Nizām al-dīn suggests a similarly exclusive readership. This imagined readership seems to have consisted principally of Chishtī practitioners of tasawwuf, whether situated at the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad or around his son Fakhr al-dīn in Delhi. This pointedly Chishtī specification may be seen in the text’s citing of itself within a wider tradition of Chishtī literary works by the rhetorical device of the mention of these earlier Chishtī texts within the texts as being read out by devotees in the presence of Nizām al-dīn. In this way, the Ahsan al-shamā‘il could symbolically place itself within a Chishtī canon of earlier classic hagiographies (including those it cites) and at the same time place its subject, Nizām al-dīn, within the canon of the earlier Chishtī saints described in these hagiographies. In contrast to Shāh Mahmūd’s emphasis on and reaching towards an audience familiar with the different social roles of Sufis within wider community life, Kāmgār Khān created a work about Sufis discussing Sufism intended in turn for an audience of other Sufis. But unlike the
posed local readership in Awrangabad envisaged for the Malfūzāt-e-Naqṣbandiyya, the Ahsan al-shamā’īl’s audience spread northwards beyond the local limits of the Awrangabad to Delhi and ultimately to the continuation there of Nizām al-dīn’s lineage by his son Fakhr al-dīn. In contrast to the manuscript of the Malfūzāt-e-Naqṣbandiyya, which so far as we know was never copied outside of the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr, several manuscript copies of the Ahsan al-shamā’īl were later made in different regions of India, from Haydarabad to the towns of western Punjab.
On the day of his death anniversary (‘uri) so many lamps and lanterns are lit that the reflection of the pool’s water amazes the onlookers and… the whole city – from the learned to the people of the bazaar and the craftsmen – all are present.¹

Sufi foundations for a new royal city

Writing in Aurangabad, the great eighteenth-century anthologist and litterateur Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. 1200/1786) composed a treatise in Arabic, Subḥat al-marjān, that envisaged India as a sacred Islamic land, beginning with its hosting of Adam’s fall to earth in Ceylon after his expulsion from Eden.² Bilgrāmī’s purpose formed part of a much wider project incumbent upon the Muslims of India to establish the Islamic credentials of their Indian homeland by maintaining a historical tradition that connected Muslims, their prophets and their saints to India from time immemorial. This process of the localization of Islam took various forms, of which literary works were only one. No less important than such literary works as Subḥat al-marjān or the Dakhani Urdu mathnawī poems sponsored in the Deccan prior to the Mughal conquests was the patronage of Muslim public architecture.³ For through the use of stone, brick and mortar it was possible to modify rural and urban topography so as to plant Muslim roots in the landscape. By the time of the Mughal conquests there already existed a centuries long tradition of Muslim architecture in the Deccan, its grandest edifices lodging the names of the region’s Muslim saints and kings in the cultural memory of its inhabitants. But while the Mughal conquest of the independent Muslim sultanates of the Deccan was in no sense a conquest of one religion over another, it was a conquest nonetheless and as such heralded a period of colonization that was Mughal and North Indian as much as Muslim.

This era of Mughal colonization formed the inheritance of the founder of the state of Haydarabad, Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh (d. 1161/1748). Nizām al-Mulk was the son of the great Mughal general (and companion of Shāh Palangpōsh) Fīrōz Jang, and was also associated with Nizām al-dīn and Shāh Musāfīr in his own right. Having started his career in his father’s footsteps as a Central Asian officer in Mughal service, Nizām al-Mulk gradually rose to become one of the most prominent figures in the politics
of both Hindustan and the Deccan. He played a key role in the history of Delhi during the confused years that followed the death of Awrangzeb in 1118/1707, when fractures in the Mughal body politic saw one of Awrangzeb’s sons ruling in Hindustan and another in the Deccan. But on his re-appointment as governor (subedar) of the Deccan after his sojourn in Delhi, Nizām al-Mulk gradually laid the foundations of the Deccan’s independence from Delhi under the rule of his Āsaf Jāh successors. During this period, when Awrangabad continued to serve as the capital of the Deccan, the khanaqahs of the city’s Mughal Sufis received extensive patronage to transform them into not only the gilded residences of the city’s preeminent Sufis but also into centres of local pilgrimage. While the Mughal colonization of the Deccan had thus initiated a programme of architectural patronage in Awrangabad, this was in turn continued by Nizām al-Mulk as a means of expressing his inheritance of the mantle of Mughal authority. He achieved this by using Awrangabad as the capital of his new state after his assumption of control over the Deccan in 1137/1724. Here the fortunes of Awrangabad echoed those of the centres of the other Mughal successor states emerging at this time in such regions as Awadh and Arkat. While the patronage of such secular architectural forms as markets or fortresses certainly formed part of this process of state formation, the patronage of Sufi shrines was also a key feature of the urbanization projects of the eighteenth-century successor states.

From the time of its re-foundation in 1092/1681, Awrangabad had found itself placed amid an older sacred Muslim geography, aspects of which the Deccan’s Mughal colonists and their Āsaf Jāh successors saw fit to continue patronizing. For like its Mughal sponsors, Awrangabad formed a new urban presence in the Deccan, surrounded by a landscape semantically rich in the evidence of an earlier history of Muslim saints and kings in the forms of royal fortresses and saintly tombs. Just as the Mughal period would later itself bedazzle generations of Awrangabad’s subsequent inhabitants, the shrines of the earlier Chishtī saints at nearby Khuldabad and further south at Gulbarga were held in great reverence by the Sufis and princes of Mughal Awrangabad. Yet amid the victorious cityscape of Awrangabad’s imperial palaces and gateways, mosques and royal markets, one element was lacking if the new city should outdo its older urban rivals in the Deccan. This was a set of shrines belonging to an exemplary circle of patron saints. While Awrangabad was the urban paragon of the age, set amid an older Deccan landscape it lacked a history and saintly tradition of its own. For unlike older Mughal cities like Delhi or Lahore, or even the conquered capitals of the Deccan kingdoms at Bijapur or Golkonda, Mughal Awrangabad possessed no important saintly shrines within its walls but only those some fifteen miles away at Khuldabad. When Awrangzeb died at nearby Ahmadnagar in 1118/1707, it was therefore to the Chishtī shrines of Awrangabad’s vicarious sacred geography at Khuldabad that his body was taken for burial. For during the Mughal and early Āsaf Jāh periods, Khuldabad’s status increased as the Deccan’s new rulers sought to connect themselves to the earlier history of North Indian saints and kings that the town and its shrines represented. As a consequence, Shah Jahan, Awrangzeb and the early Āsaf Jāh rulers were keen patrons of the shrines of the Chishtī saints at Khuldabad,
which were considerably modified with new mosques, gateways and tomb enclosures during this period. It was in competition with this earlier and better-established sacred geography that the shrines of Awrangabad had to emerge.

In the decades that followed Awrangzeb’s death, Awrangabad continued for a further half-century to be the most important city in the Deccan. And as Nizām al-Mulk gradually laid the basis for independent rule in the Deccan from 1137/1724, for some four decades Awrangabad acted as the capital of the nascent state of the Āṣaf Jāh Nizams of the Deccan. It was during the last years of Mughal rule in the city and the first decades of its inheritance by Nizām al-Mulk from the early 1720s onwards that the Sufi shrines of Awrangabad took their present form. Initially endowed with markets, mosques and palaces during the early decades of the reign of Awrangzeb, under Nizām al-Mulk Awrangabad’s architectural patronage once again flourished as the city assumed the role of centre of a new state. Heir to its Mughal founders, Awrangabad continued to act as the major regional political and cultural centre in the Deccan for much of the eighteenth century.

By the time of the death of Nizām al-Mulk in 1161/1748, Awrangabad was therefore well established as the centre of the successor state that would eventually be named after its subsequent capital of Haydarabad. While Nizām al-Mulk and his successors continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors in Delhi, and would continue to issue coins in their names until the exile of the last Mughal emperor in 1274/1858, their effective independence was ratified through their status as provincial governors (sībedār) of the Deccan. Nonetheless, the death of the strong man who had carved out the state led to a short but tempestuous period of political chaos as his four sons competed with one another and with outside powers for the control of Nizām al-Mulk’s territories. The turbulent reigns of Nāṣir Jang, Muzaffar Jang and Salābat Jang, the first three sons of Nizām al-Mulk to inherit their father’s state, lasted a total of thirteen years, until the death of Salābat Jang in 1174/1761. During this period, Awrangabad retained its role as Āṣaf Jāh capital and as a result stood at the centre of the political manoeuvrings through which the different regional powers competed with Nizām al-Mulk’s successors to carve up the legacy of the earlier Mughal conquests in the Deccan. Taking shape around Awrangabad were the forces which would dominate India’s political history for the next two centuries, from the renascent Hindu kingdoms of the Marathas based at Poona, Indore and Gwalior to the newer armies of the French and the British, and the rivalry between the Āṣaf Jāhs and the rulers of such other Muslim successor states as Maysur (Mysore) and Kurnul (Kurnool).

The events that unfolded in the immediate aftermath of Nizām al-Mulk’s death were exacerbated by French and British intrigue, with the rising European powers supporting either side in the civil war that ensued between Nāṣir Jang and his brother Muzaffar Jang. Although Nāṣir Jang successfully established himself in the struggle against Muzaffar Jang, he was killed shortly afterwards in an encounter with the Pathan rulers of Kurnul. When the news reached Awrangabad there was great panic, which the forces of the Maratha Peshwā Bāḷājī used as an opportunity to invade the city. Nonetheless, the military and administrative system installed in
Awrangabad under Awrangzeb and maintained under Nizām al-Mulk was still effectively intact and the raiders were eventually fought and ultimately bought off. As a result of Nāsir Jang’s death, Muzaffar Jang gained control of the Deccan, initiating a decade of increased French influence in the politics of Awrangabad. Stationed in Awrangabad, the French agent Bussy triggered a series of events which would end in the downfall or assassination of several of the major political and cultural figures of the day, including the great statesman and prosopographer Shāh Nawāz Khān (d. 1171/1758). However, Muzaffar Jang’s own murder followed the next year and Salābat Jang succeeded him. Salābat Jang was soon recognized as the legitimate successor by the Mughal emperor in Delhi and his ten-year reign brought a degree of normality back to Awrangabad.

During these years India’s political landscape was changing rapidly. The British were transforming themselves from one of the many foreign trading communities who had benefited from the commercial wealth and political stability of Mughal rule into a military power that might realistically challenge the other parties vying to claim the former dominions of the Mughals. In northern India the sharpest signals of the end of the old order were the British defeat of the forces of the Nawwābs of Bengal at Plassey in 1170/1757 and the Afghan defeat of the French-aided Marathas at Panipat in 1174/1761 that led to the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shāh Abdāl’s occupation of Delhi. Amid the political manoeuvring that followed, in 1175/1761 Salābat Jang was deposed by his brother Nizām ‘Alī Khān (r. 1175/1761–1218/1803), the second ruler to bear the title of Āsaf Jāh. Banished to the provincial obscurity of Bidar, Salābat Jang remained there until his death and burial there in 1177/1763 in the Sufi shrine of Multānī Bādshāh.

Ultimately, Awrangabad’s position would be undermined by the changing political geography of the eighteenth century, which would leave the city exposed on the very borderlands of Āsaf Jāh and Maratha territory. Awrangabad was abandoned by the Āsaf Jāh court in 1178/1763, which turned, in a symbolic statement of independence from the north, to the old capital of the Qutb Shāh rulers in Haydarabad at the heart of the Āsaf Jāh domains. The new capital of Haydarabad would lend the Āsaf Jāh state the name with which it would be forever associated thereafter. But despite the clouds of battle which hung across Awrangabad’s horizon during much of the eighteenth century, many aspects of life in the city continued as before. While commerce was reduced, the city nonetheless maintained its famous markets and in terms of cultural life the literary circles established in Awrangabad during the Mughal period continued to produce poetic and commemorative works right until the end of the eighteenth century when Haydarabad proved too great a temptation for all literary aspirants. Yet the middle years of the eighteenth century saw Awrangabad flourish, with its shrines beautified in physical as well as literary terms.

Sufis in the changing cultural landscape of the Deccan

In order to understand the heritage to which Awrangabad was an heir and the background, both physical and discursive, against which it had to carve out its own
claims of prestige and sanctity, it is necessary to briefly step back into the centuries preceding the city’s foundation. For Awrangabad resided in close geographical proximity to the sites associated with the ‘original’ arrival of Islam in the Deccan four centuries earlier. This earlier genesis of Muslim history in the Deccan was associated with the invasion of the Deccan by the Sultans of Delhi in 695/1296 and the later transfer of their capital from Delhi to the fortress city of Dawlatabad, hard by the future Awrangabad. In view of the religious dimensions of the Mughal conquests of the Shi’i Deccan states, the symbolism of this geographical association may have been a factor in Awrangzeb’s choice of the site to found his new city. For like the earlier northern conquerors, Awrangzeb was also (re-)introducing Sunni Islam to the political realm of the Deccan and may have seen himself as an heir to the Deccan’s earlier conquerors from Delhi.

In the wake of this earlier invasion from the north country of Hindustan there followed the relocation of a tradition of Chishtī Sufism that was originally centred around Nizām al-dīn Awliyā (d. 725/1325) in Delhi. This circle was transplanted to the hilltop town of Khuldabad which soon developed into an important Sufi centre, lying only a few kilometres away from Dawlatabad and some twenty-five kilometres from the later city of Awrangabad. As we have seen, this process of the migration of holy men alongside royal conquest was later repeated in Mughal Awrangabad. But despite the short period of the concentration of political authority at Dawlatabad under the Khilji sultanate and the flourishing of the analogous hilltop citadel of the spiritual conquerors at Khuldabad, the geography of both spiritual and political power soon fragmented hand in hand into a number of different centres under the development of the independent Deccan kingdoms between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sufi groups followed the movements of political power in the Deccan to its new centres, including Gultbarga, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkonda, and in time new shrine centres emerged elsewhere to rival Khuldabad. In the following centuries, a plethora of competing shrines rose and fell across the Deccan, writing and re-writing an entangled map of the sacred over the region’s changing political landscape.

During the centuries between this early incursion of the Delhi Sultanate and the later Mughal invasions, a specifically Deccani Muslim culture developed, centred on several political and cultural centres each with its own traditions of Sufi (and in some cases Shi’i) sacred geography. This composite culture itself developed through the input of earlier invasions and the subsequent immigration to the cosmopolitan courts of the Deccan. Mingled with the local environment, these irregular inputs of people, products and thoughts from abroad came to produce a culture that was both deeply cosmopolitan and at the same time rooted in the soil of the Deccan. Migrant Sufi holy men from other regions of the Islamic world played an important part in this culture through the creation of shrines as centres for popular and elite religiosity. A saintly geography of regional Sufi shrines thus developed to complement a topography of Muslim kingship comprising fortresses, palaces and royal mausolea.

The sacred landscape that Mughal and early Āṣaf Jāḥ Awrangabad inherited was not one that had reached it without competition. For while the Chishtī shrines at
Khuldabad developed and later maintained their success through their association with the coming of Islam to the Deccan in the late thirteenth century with ‘Alā’ al-dīn Khiljī, the great Chishtī shrine of Gēsū Darāz (d. 825/1422) at Gulbarga engaged in dignified competition early on in its life with the slightly earlier shrine of Sirāj Junaydī in the same city before ultimately emerging victorious as the premier Muslim shrine of the Deccan as a whole. Shifts in political geography could have a decisive influence on the continued recognition of the sanctity and power of a Sufi shrine, as seen in Bidar, which declined as a Sufi centre along with its Bahmani rulers. The importing of holy men played an essential role in the creation of Muslim communities both in areas altogether new to Islam and, as in the case of Awrangabad, in new urban settlements in regions possessing older (if sometimes minority) Muslim communities.6 We have already seen the influx of Sufis to Awrangabad during the reign of Awrangzeb, while in his Khazāna-yī kilmā Bilgrāmī described how Sufis continued to arrive in the Deccan during the reign of Nizām al-Mulk from Central Asia, Iran and the Arab countries as well as from elsewhere in India.7 Although Sufis were by no means the only category of holy men in this process – for the presence of descendants of the Prophet (sayyids) and holy warriors (ghāzīs) could serve similar functions – they had become its most important participants since around the twelfth century and so Nizām al-Mulk’s concern for the presence of such figures in his realm had numerous precedents. As embodied sources of divine power and blessing, sites of power developed around the corporeal presence of such figures both in life and death, over time leading to the creation of a specialized architecture of sainthood. Khanaqahs expressed the sacredness of living Sufi masters, while the grand ritualized mausolea constructed in the same khanaqah complexes fulfilled the same function after their deaths. Often the space for the living and the dead saint was combined, as in Awrangabad, into a single architectural complex.

The origins and early development of the Awrangabad shrines lay in the background of courtly patronage and corporate discipleship that formed a feature of the careers of each of the living Sufis. In the case of each of their shrines in Awrangabad, the construction of a saintly mausoleum was envisaged as part of a wider architectural project that also involved the construction of a mosque and khanaqah. Such mausolea had a long history as the ritual and architectural centres of Sufi khanaqahs throughout the Islamic world, and shrine and khanaqah were twin features of wider Sufi institutions rather than representatives of different kinds or ‘stages’ of Sufism. While the granting of splendid buildings and remunerative land grants could change the khanaqah from a profitless to a highly profitable enterprise and in so doing bring certain wings of Sufi activity into the folds of state bureaucracy and administration, this did not necessarily alter the forms of religious activity that were conducted there.8 As we have seen in Mughal Awrangabad, Sufi interaction with the state and its representatives did not begin either at a specific point in Sufi history nor at a specific point during the transition between the cult of the living and the dead saint, but was rather a perpetual theme of Sufi careers without the grave as much as within it.

With an income provided by land grants, the shrines were able to support khanaqahs and sajjāda nashīn lineages descended from the deputies of the Mughal Sufis
to continue local traditions of Sufi initiation and practice for several generations after
the deaths of their founders. These grants enabled Sufism to maintain itself with a
considerable degree of independence. Yet in a premodern society such independence
was limited and ties of a political and social kind were inevitable results of the
khanaqah system, whether in the eighteenth-century Deccan or in Khurasan and
Egypt several centuries earlier.9 The foundation of khanaqahs by the wealthy, like the
similar aristocratic establishment of monasteries in Europe, therefore had certain pro-
visos attached to it. These might include the right to burial near the blessed grave of
the saint (a right assumed by several of the patrons of the Awrangabad Sufis) or the
attendance of Sufis alongside their patrons at public gatherings (as with the presence
of Shāh Musāfir at the wedding of Nizām al-Mulk).10 Aside from personal religious
fulfilment, patrons also won prestige and the assurance of the continued remem-
brance of their name and piety through the entwining of their own names with the
more durable memory of the saint. Political partisanship was also inherent in this
reliance of khanaqahs on aristocratic patronage and this may have resulted in the
determination of certain groups of Sufis to wander rather than settle down in
khanaqahs. But like the number of men at arms a prince or notable could summon,
the number of Sufis resident and at their godly work within a given town or region
represented a form of supernatural insurance that was conceived as one of the crucial
public assets of any premodern Muslim state.

Far from robbing khanaqahs of an earlier innocence, such patronage was a feature
of Sufism from the period of the khanaqah’s early evolution in Egypt and Iran.11 Land
grants and other endowments (awqāf) attached to shrines were the means by which
Sufis no less than ‘ulamā’ were able to maintain themselves over extended periods of
time. Like any other mode of knowledge, Sufism required a material base for its con-
tinued existence. This continuity was achieved through the maintenance of traditions
of sajjāda nashīns after the death of a shrine’s Sufi founder, lineages which played
important roles construed in specifically Sufi forms in the religious life of their com-
munities. For underlying the shrines’ functions as dervish hospices and centres for the
distribution of saintly power or barakat was their role as centres for the residence and
remuneration of the professional class of shrine-managers, impresarios and religious
teachers known as sajjāda nashīns. These sajjāda nashīns also played an important part
in the transformation of a living Sufi to a posthumous saint. As heir to the spiritual
power and authority of his Sufi forbears, the sajjāda nashīn inherited the often con-
siderable material legacy of his predecessors. Subsequently, one of the central func-
tions of his office was as overseer and keeper of the shrine of his predecessor. More
than the spiritualized landed gentry they have at times been painted, sajjāda nashīns
were an integral part of Sufism as an ongoing social institution capable of transmit-
ting itself through time. This is not to deny the wealth of many sajjāda nashīns but
rather to contextualize it, for as has been shown with regard to Central Asian shrines,
the possession of vast landholdings and wealth was often considered a sign of spiri-
tual blessing rather than a disqualification from it.12 In practice, sajjāda nashīns
formed the most effective means by which Sufism was able to maintain a network of
supporting institutions over long periods of time. Without these inheritors of the

52
spiritual and material assets of earlier generations able to maintain *tasawwuf* during the many thin years of royal or aristocratic disinterest (or worse), Sufism could not have achieved the social and intellectual prominence that it did. The extraordinary prominence of Sufism was due to this perpetuum of reverence for its dead saints and the continuation of their legacy by their professional class of successors or *sajjāda nasbīns*. The shrines’ role as the residences of self-perpetuating generations of *sajjāda nasbīns*, able to uphold their institutions as centres of public pilgrimage and private Sufi practice, was thus integral to the maintenance of Sufism at the forefront of public culture. Without such institutional patronage the reverse procedure could also occur, as when in eighteenth-century Awadh the social prominence of Sufis was replaced by the rise of Shi‘i clerics to the same positions of institutionalized influence and wealth.13

In each case, the Awrangabad shrines developed around the resident khanaqahs of the living Sufi masters. The burial of Sufis in their khanaqahs was an early and well-established practice in India and beyond. The major early Sufi *ʿAbd al-Rahmān Sulamī* (d. 412/1021) was buried in his khanaqah-home in eleventh-century Khurasan, as in the direct background to the Awrangabad Sufis the master of Nizām al-dīn, Kalīm Allāh, was similarly interred in his khanaqah-home in Delhi’s Khānum Bāzār. For such khanaqahs were also usually the homes of the Sufi master and his family, reflecting the fact of marriage as the general norm among Sufis, despite the exceptions among the Awrangabad Sufis. Spiritual and family inheritance seem to have overlapped in this matter from early on in Sufi history, partly under the influence of Islamic law, and khanaqahs were usually handed down through families like any other property or dwelling.14 The crucial factor in this process, however, was the means by which such families would develop into professional practitioners of Sufism, part of a well-established class of full-time Sufis that formed an essential feature of premodern Muslim societies. And as we might expect, while some of these *sajjāda nasbīns* were better at their work than others, when their inherited charisma failed there were always new recruits who would come along with a greater vocation, lead men to salvation and in time form their own holy lineages in turn. This process was seen with regard to Shāh Musāfīr, who despite chafing at the presence in Awrangabad of one such hereditary Sufi (a descendant of the great Central Asian Naqshbandī, Khwāja Ahrār), was himself to initiate a *sajjāda nasbīn* lineage of professional Sufis that would last until the twentieth century.15 Yet the traditional activities of the khanaqah continued under the leadership of the *sajjāda nasbīns*, with the grave of the founder Sufi forming an important part of the khanaqah’s ritual life. Thus was the grave of Shāh Palangpūsh used as a place of meditation by the shrine’s early resident dervishes, in the same way that Shāh Palangpūsh had himself sat in meditation (*murāqaba*) at the graveside of the earlier Sufi Gēsū Darāz while staying at the latter’s shrine in Gulbarga.16

*Awrangabad’s Sufis under the early Āsaf Jāh rulers*

The Sufis continued their activities in Awrangabad throughout this period and, in the case of Shāh Musāfīr’s Naqshbandī centre known as Panchakkī in particular, the Sufi
circles established a few decades earlier continued to play a central role in the city’s cultural and religious life. In some cases, the continued cultural and political prominence of Awrangabad during the middle of the eighteenth century attracted Sufis to the city from other parts of the Deccan. The transfer of members of the Naqshbandī lineage of Shāh ‘Ināyat Allāh (d. 1117/1705) of Balapur in the northern Deccan and of Shāh Ghulām Husayn (d. 1176/1762) from Gujarat is discussed in the following sections and other Sufis also moved to Awrangabad to further their careers. One such Sufi was Ghulām Ahmad Kambal Pūsh (d. 1204/1789), who first moved to Awrangabad under the patronage of Nizām ‘Alī Khān Āsaf Jāh after the latter was impressed with the Sufi’s charismatic blend of learning and audacity.17 In Awrangabad he concentrated on the translation of Arabic works into Persian and the writing of scholarly commentaries (hāshiyya) on earlier religious works. But by now well established, the shrines of the city’s Mughal saints were more tenacious than any of the individual Sufis who arrived during this period, none of whom were to become the focus of significant shrines in their own right. Despite the socio-political changes in the city, they were able to maintain and even increase their status throughout the period.

By now established for several decades as part of Awrangabad’s urban landscape, the dead Sufis of the Mughal city could finally form a sacred history and territory of Awrangabad’s own. The primary sacred tradition of the city continued to be the shrines at Khuldabad. Yet there remained an ambiguity in the status of Khuldabad, for like the royal burials that in part provoked them, the hagiographies of the Khuldabad saints written during this period were due to the presence in Awrangabad of the court of the early Āsaf Jāhs. The fame of Khuldabad, which grew during this period due to the effect of Mughal and Āsaf Jāh royal burials and the literary panegyrics of the saints connected to them, was dependent on the existence of Awrangabad as a political centre. For its part, the fame of the newer saints of Awrangabad also rose during the eighteenth century to a point at which the shrines could begin to compete with their older cousins at Khuldabad. The 1180s/1770s was in this respect an important decade in witnessing the writing by Khāksār-e-Sabzawārī of his Sawānīb, the first text in which the saints of Awrangabad and Khuldabad were to appear side by side, a notable literary claim to comparable status.

As the earliest of the city’s Sufis, the shrine of Shāh Nūr had already been established by his patron Diyānāt Khān at the beginning of this period, while the considerable architectural legacy of Nizām al-dīn and the city’s Naqshbandīs provided centres in which their cults could develop during the decades in question. In the case of each of the three Sufi traditions, lineages of sajjāda nashīns emerged to oversee the continuation of their respective forms of Sufi practice (both mystical and pastoral) and of the reverence due to their founding masters. It was no coincidence that in the case of the city’s Naqshbandīs (and perhaps also of Nizām al-dīn), their first sajjāda nashīns were also their literary memorialists, Shāh Mahmūd and Kāmgar Khān. Through the combination of the sajjāda nashīns’ efforts with the continued association of the city’s notables with the shrines, sufficient fame was won to secure the reputation of these sites as sources of blessing and grace. But one crucial factor was missing in Awrangabad’s fulfilment of the criteria of saintly status and this was the
unequivocal seal of approval granted by a royal burial capable of competing with the many such burials in Khuldabad. Yet this was never to be, for just as the shrines of Awrangabad were reaching a level of high status at which such an accolade may have been conceivable, the royal court left the city forever in the 1760s.

**Shāh Nūr**

The shrine of Shāh Nūr flourished throughout the eighteenth century under a line of *sajjāda nashīn* established by Shāh Nūr’s nephew, Shihāb al-dīn. As at other shrines in the city, it was the saint’s first *sajjāda nashīn* who was in large part responsible for establishing the cult of his predecessor. In the case of Shāh Nūr, Shihāb al-dīn’s main role was to oversee the construction of a shrine for his saintly uncle with the help of his patron, Diyarīn Khān (d. 1141/1729). Shāh Nawāz Khān (who was eventually buried at the shrine after his assassination in 1171/1758) recorded in his *Ma‘āthir al-‘umārā* that Shihāb al-dīn was originally from Bihar. He also added that although Shihāb al-dīn had served Shāh Nūr in Awrangabad for many years, he was actually appointed as *sajjāda nashīn* by the saint’s notable devotee, Diyarīn Khān. As we also see in the following sections in the case of Nizām al-dīn, here we see how patrons were able to make key decisions in the management of the Sufi institutions they founded by appointing those whom they saw fit to manage the shrines. During his years of managing Shāh Nūr’s legacy, Shihāb al-dīn made several additions to the shrine with the support of the family of Diyarīn Khān. Shihāb al-dīn seems to have been responsible for overseeing the construction of the large-domed mausoleum of Shāh Nūr, as well as of its neighbouring mosque. He also oversaw the management and expansion of the site of Shāh Nūr’s early residence in the Moti Karanjar quarter of the city, where he had resided prior to the construction of his khanaqah (and later mausoleum and so his shrine) near to the residence of Diyarīn Khān.

Shihāb al-dīn seems to have been more of a scholarly Sufi than Shāh Nūr and around him in Moti Karanjar there gathered a number of Muslim scholars, including Awrangabad’s gāzi, Muhammad Ikram. With the help of these associates, Shihāb al-dīn established a mosque and madrasa, along with an accompanying mansion (mabāl) and pool, around Shāh Nūr’s early residence in Moti Karanjar. Several of the scholarly followers of Shihāb al-dīn were buried around this complex, which served to localize Shāh Nūr’s *barakat* in the heart of the city as well as at his shrine in the city’s suburbs. Shihāb al-dīn also established a madrasa outside the main shrine itself, which was supported through the donations of other notables. Upon his death in 1119/1707, Shihāb al-dīn was buried at the main shrine of Shāh Nūr, adjacent to the domed mausoleum of his saintly uncle.

We know little of Sa’d Allāh, the second *sajjāda nashīn* of Shāh Nūr, other than that he was succeeded by his second son Qutb al-dīn, who in turn became *sajjāda nashīn* of Shāh Nūr. Qutb al-dīn was described in the *Ma‘āthir al-‘umārā* as being acquainted with the traditional (*manqīlāt*) and rational (*ma‘lūmāt*) sciences and as being of good manners and humble disposition. His erstwhile contemporary, the litterateur and memorialist of Shāh Nūr, Bahā’ al-dīn Hasan ‘Urūj (d. c.1230/1814),
would recall Qutb al-dîn’s skills as an orator and the speed with which he had been able to commit the entire Quran to memory. But his commitment to scripture and to traditional Islamic learning (‘ilm) in no way diminished his ardour for the traditions of the dervishes. ‘Urûj thus remarked upon his great conscientiousness with regard to all matters pertaining to the death anniversary (‘urs) of Shâh Nûr. Upon his death in 1169/1756, Qutb al-dîn was succeeded by his own son (or younger brother) Ghulâm Nûr. Ghulâm Nûr had been educated by Qutb al-dîn and continued the learned tradition which had developed under Shihâb al-dîn. He wrote a large number of books, for the most part commentaries (hâshiyya) on classic works of logic by Mîr Zâhid and Mîr Zâhid Mullâ Jalât. Ghulâm Nûr was also well known during his own lifetime as a poet. Some time after his death in 1189/1775, ‘Urûj recorded a poetic chronogram that commemorated the date of the scholar’s demise:

With a thousand sighs the intellect said:
’He whose whole body was light has gone from the world.’

On Ghulâm Nûr’s death, his nephew Nûr al-dîn was elevated to the position of sajjâda nabsîn. Nûr al-dîn was described by his contemporary Sabzawârî as being ‘educated in the arts of Sufism (tasawwuf) and spiritual wayfaring (zulûk) like a shaykh’. After his death, Nûr al-dîn was eventually succeeded by his son Anwar al-dîn, whose dates are not recorded.

The writer of the pilgrimage guide to the shrines of the Awrangabad region Khâûsâr Sabzawârî described the different death anniversaries (‘arâs) of the shrines of Awrangabad during the mid-eighteenth century. Among them, he painted that of Shâh Nûr as the city’s major festival, being attended by the learned classes as well as the merchants and artisans of the city. At the time of Shâh Nûr’s ‘urs, the shrine was said to be surrounded by a street of stalls ‘like the bazaars of Egypt’, where all manner of fruits, sweets (shîrîn), sugared almonds (nuql) and ‘all that there is in the world’ was sold. Along with the pilgrimage guide of Sabzawârî, another result of the popularity of the saint was the writing of the biography of Shâh Nûr, Khizân ü babûr, by the professional tadhkira writer Bâhâ’ al-dîn Hasan ‘Urûj (d. c. 1230/1814). In this text, the association of Shâh Nûr with such early patrons as Diyânât Khân was celebrated through the recounting of a number of miraculous favours (karânât) which the saint granted them. Shâh Nûr thus summoned visions, dealt with outbreaks of cholera and appeared in dreams in order to solve disputes. He also first appeared in this text as the great master of breath control (habs-e-dam) in which guise later oral tradition would also primarily remember him. Reflecting a markedly Indian ascetic inheritance, he was described by ‘Urûj as being buried underground for periods of meditational breath control for up to seventy years at a time.

Whatever the connection discussed in Chapter 1 of the living Shâh Nûr with hammâms and their courtly and aristocratic associations, the lingering of the unusual nickname of Hammâmî in other texts of this period indicates that the imagery of the bathhouse had become an important part of Shâh Nûr’s identity. This suggests that Shâh Nûr was seen as a ‘hammâm saint’, an urban embodiment of the association of
saints with water sources that is known throughout the Islamic world. During the
Mughal and Áṣaf Jāh period there were numerous hammāms in Awrangabad attached
to the city’s royal and aristocratic residences, as well as to religious institutions such
as the ‘red mosque’ (lāl masjid). We know that Panchakkī, the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr,
also owned a neighbouring bathhouse and, whether or not this was also the case with
the shrine of Shāh Nūr, Shāh Nawāz Khān’s account of the saint certainly suggests
some kind of connection between the shrine and a nearby hammām. Such associations
of Muslim saints with bathhouses were widespread and saints of the bathhouse were
particularly common in Syria, where in Aleppo their tombs were found inside the
hammām itself.32 The North African Sufi traveller Ibn Maymūn (d. 917/1511)
described one bathhouse located beside the tomb of the great Ibn ‘Arabī in
Damascus.33 Sufis were also closely associated with hammāms in Bukhara, where sev-
eral of the city’s major bathhouses were named after local saints, an association some-
times forged through the fact that hammāms were often granted to shrines as part of
their initial endowment (waqf). Two bathhouses were thus counted among the
endowments of the shrine of the great Central Asian Naqshbandī ‘Ubayd Allāh
Ahrār, while others were associated with Sufi institutions in Iran.34 In the coun-
tryside beyond the cities, Muslim saints of the waters were widely associated with sacred
springs and wells, and examples are known from almost every region of the Islamic
world. In the context of the premodern Muslim city an association with the hammām
therefore possessed an important symbolism. Indicative of not only ritual purity and
the fertile imagery of water, the association also pointed to one of the few public and
(if only at certain times) specifically female spaces of gathering in the premodern
Islamic city. Like the imagery of water itself, this sense of public space contained
important associations with fertility, for shrine and hammām were the main places in
which women were able to exercise influence in the arrangement of marriages. This
association of shrines with lovers’ meetings was later reflected in a romantic matnawī
doing the Urdu poet Shawq (d. 1288/1871), in which a Sufi shrine in Lucknow acted as
the excuse for a lovers’ tryst. Whatever its early origins, by this period Shāh Nūr’s
name had thus become interfused both with the architectural imagery of the Muslim
city and the social customs of his clientele that enlivened it.

In the decades following the transfer of the Áṣaf Jāh capital, Shāh Nūr’s shrine
continued to bask in the stately associations of its early patrons and was able to main-
tain an association with the administrative and military servitors of the Áṣaf Jāh
state. These connections with local elites also had material effects and a pair of
engraved silver doors to Shāh Nūr’s burial chamber were presented to the shrine, possi-
ibly by Nizām ‘Alī Khān himself. A number of grandiose tomb enclosures in the
roofless style popular during the late eighteenth century were also built around this
time. This fashion for uncovered tombs followed the examples set by the burial of
princess Jahānārā (d. 1092/1681) at the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Delhi and of her
brother Awrangzeb at Khuldabad, and was later continued in Haydarabad by such
preeminent aristocratic families as the Pāēgāhs. Several of the tomb enclosures
around Shāh Nūr’s shrine belonged to the Sālār Jāng family, an important Shi’i fam-
ily partly originating in Awrangabad and with a long-established tradition of state
service. Other tombs seem to have belonged to other prominent local Shi‘i families of the period. This association with the city’s Irānī community was a continuation of the circle around the living Shāh Nūr himself. Thus arrayed with a party of supporters able to maintain the literary and architectural insignia of sainthood, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the definitive consolidation of the fellowship of the obscure dervish of the Mughal city to the position of Awrangabad’s principal saint. Capable of miracles of literally breathtaking power, by this point Shāh Nūr had been transformed into a saint whose posthumous blessing could be sought by all, from men of state to the women of the public bathhouses.

The saints of Panchakkī

The tradition of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir also maintained its position of early prominence in the city during the eighteenth century. Shāh Musāfir’s successor Shāh Mahmūd oversaw the expansion of the shrine to the degree that it acquired much of the surrounding property along the riverbank beneath the city walls (Figure 2.1). Yet with their own gateway in the city walls, the Panchakkī saints’ position as spiritual gatekeepers to the city at large seems to have been regarded more

Figure 2.1  Panchakkī, the shrine of Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh.
as a cause for alarm than peace of mind among the more pragmatic members of Awrangabad’s Āsaf Jāh governing class. These concerns came to a head during the series of Maratha raids on the city that took place in the years following the death of Nizām al-Mulk in 1161/1748. For in view of the shrine’s adjacent location to the city walls and the relative weakness of the gate built by Shāh Mahmūd, Panchakki came to be regarded as the weak point in the city’s defences. In many ways this was ironic, for around the same time the shrine’s sajjāda nashīn Shāh Mahmūd celebrated the miraculous power of Shāh Musāfīr to ward off the raids of the Marathas, while the constant threat of Maratha incursions also partly underwrote Shāh Mahmūd’s veiled assurances in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya that the barakat of Shāh Musāfīr was capable of defending the city indeﬁnitely. Others, however, did not share his faith and the statesman Dargāh Qulī Khān (d. 1180/1766) took the decision to defend Shāh Mahmūd’s gateway by more practical means. For all Dargāh Qulī Khān’s literary celebration of the saints and shrines of Delhi a few years earlier in his famous Maraqqa’-e-Dīhli, the Khān decided to trust in the force of arms rather than the promise of saintly intercession. Seven hundred soldiers were positioned in readiness to defend Panchakki and prevent the city’s defences from being breached when the Maratha forces of the Pēshwā were expected to attack in 1164/1751.36

Like Nizām al-dīn’s biographer Kāmgār Khān, Shāh Mahmūd also featured in one of the poetic anthologies compiled for the early Āsaf Jāh rulers. This was the Gul-e-Ra’īnā (1182/1768) of the Hindu bureaucrat and man of letters, Lakhmī Narā’īn Shafīq Awrangābādī (d. 1224/1808). Shafīq described Shāh Mahmūd as one of the greatest shaykhs of the Deccan and as serving as sajjāda nashīn at the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr for around fifty years.37 Claiming that Shāh Mahmūd was followed by all of the great men of the Deccan, Shafīq added that it was he who constructed the pools and conduits at the shrine as well as the bridge leading to it. When Shāh Mahmūd died in 1175/1762, a poetic chronogram was written for him by his friend Āzād Bilgāmī, who had earlier penned a chronogram for Shāh Musāfīr’s death.38 After Shāh Mahmūd died, he was succeeded by his son, Shāh Muhammad Sa’īd.39 Given the family tradition that Shāh Mahmūd was the nephew of Shāh Musāfīr, this would have meant that the shrine now passed into the hands of the saint’s great-nephew. In view of the sajjāda nashīn’s role as professional mystics, Shāh Mahmūd’s successor Shāh Sa’īd was described by Sabzawārī as devoted to the different forms of Sufi meditation (dhikr, murāqaba).40 In the mid-1770s, Sabzawārī also reported that the shrine’s khanaqah was still the residence of a large number of dervishes as well as local notables (umarā), who would regularly gather to sit in circles repeating the characteristic loud chant (dhikr-e-jahr) of the Naqshbandiyya.41 Bilgāmī, however, hinted that the shrine was not always ﬁlled with people of the same level of learning as he and his friends. In his Khazāma-ye-Ămīra, he recalled an occasion on which he went to meet Shāh Mahmūd at a gathering (maṣlīs) beside the shrine’s pool and was introduced there to a man with the unusual name of Ba’d Bā’l-dīn. Everyone was surprised to hear this nonsensical name, and all were later amused to realize that the man’s parents, who had no understanding of Arabic, had named their son after a series of words in the Quran that had sounded to them like such Arabic names

59
as Fazl al-dîn. 

The shrine was also described by Sabzawârî at this time as a centre of pilgrimage for travellers from beyond the city. Such visits may well have coincided with the celebration of the death anniversary of Shâh Musâfîr and Shâh Palangpûsh, which was celebrated throughout this period. A document referring to expenses at the 'urs in 1186/1772 of 678 rupees suggests that the anniversary was celebrated on a lavish scale. This line of sajjâda nashîns continued through four more successors, all of whom were buried in the forecourt of Shâh Musâfîr’s mausoleum.

The large number of surviving revenue documents from the shrine show that it continued to amass land grants and revenue donations from public and private sources from the time of its construction through to the late nineteenth century. Bilgrâmî noted in his Kbażâna-ye-‘Âmîra the assiduity with which his friend Shâh Mahmûd was able to acquire grants (ma’âsh), though he also remarked on the respect the sajjâda nashîn commanded by spending all the money that was raised on guests or travellers (wârid û sâdir). In addition to receiving donations of land, the sajjâda nashîns of Panchakkî seem also to have actively engaged in the purchase of land themselves, as seen in a document dated to 1173/1759. Another important element of the wealth of Panchakkî was the series of tax (mahsûl) exemptions granted upon revenue from its lands that were confirmed at various points in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Several such exemptions were made on behalf of the government of Nizâm ‘Alî Khân Āsaf Jâh in 1189/1775. But Panchakkî’s income did not only come through its connections with the Āsaf Jâh state and grants were also made by the rulers of the neighbouring Maratha kingdoms. In 1161/1748, the prime minister
of the Maratha Pêshwâ at Poona granted the shrine the right to collect a tax (chawth) from the village of Mokasa in the Pêshwâ’s dominions, and other grants from Maratha rulers and notables were confirmed in Marathi documents written in the Modi script. Such Maratha patronage of a Sufi shrine was by no means unique at this time and the shrines of Khuldabad and Burhanpur also continued to be supported in this way. The support of Panchakkî along with the Khuldabad shrines by the Pêshwâ does, however, reflect the status of the shrine during this period. But we must also bear in mind that Awrangabad was close to the border between the territories of the Pêshwâ and the Nizâms and was raided and occupied by Maratha forces on several occasions. Patronage of Panchakkî seems, then, to have been part of a wider competition for control of the region, as seen in earlier centuries in the competing for patronage of the Deccan’s shrines by the Mughals and the independent sultans of the Deccan. The patronage of the Maratha rulers of Poona must therefore be seen in the same light as the earlier patronage of the Mughals of the Khuldabad shrines in the years before their outright conquest of the region.

Income or ‘gifts’ (nadhrâna) continued to be granted to Panchakkî from the state or its representatives in more direct ways. In 1204/1789, for example, the Nizâm’s government granted the shrine the harvest of fruit from several gardens of the Purajût district of Awrangabad to help cover the expenses of the faqîrs. Wealth and income were subsequently rarely an issue for the shrine during this period, in which its status continued to rise until it became one of the most significant landholders in the Deccan. Unsurprisingly, when in the middle years of the eighteenth century the well-known writer Æzâd Bilgrâmî chose to drop out of society in Awrangabad in 1153/1740 and spend seven years living the life of a dervish, it was at Panchakkî that he chose to reside. Around him at the shrine there gathered a considerable literary circle, composed of both visitors and permanent residents able to reside, like Bilgrâmî, at the shrine of Shâh Muṣâfir through the benevolence of its sajjâda nasîhs. Many of these figures were of the same Central Asian ancestry as the saints of Panchakkî, as in the case of Ārif al-dîn Balkhî (d. 1171/1765). Ārif al-dîn travelled from Balkh to the Deccan, where he came into the service of Nizâm al-Mulk. Writing under the pen name of ‘Ājîz, Ārif al-dîn became a member of Bilgrâmî’s literary circle and settled at Panchakkî under the years of its management by Shâh Mahmûd. His poetry was much respected by his contemporaries, and Shaﬁq Awrangâbâdî recorded numerous verses that he had written. As in the case of the poets Mu‘izz al-dawla Jur‘at (d. 1175/1762) and Shâhid Mullâ Bâqîr (d. 1178/1764), many of these residents of the shrine had either been attached to Āsaf Jâh service or were otherwise drawn from the same social background as the master Bilgrâmî himself. Another resident at the shrine during this period, Mîr Fakhr al-dîn Tirmidhî, was also a poet and Sufi of Central Asian descent and lived at Panchakkî for several years before his burial there in 1190/1776. Another of Bilgrâmî’s literary disciples was Sayyid ‘Abd al-Qâdir Mihrbân (d. 1204/1789), the custodian of the shrine of Burhân al-dîn Gharîb at Khuldabad. Like Bilgrâmî and other writers of the period, his interests spanned Sufi and more literary matters, and he composed a large poetic diwân as well as Sufi-inspired works such as his Miftâh al-ma‘ârif (‘Key to
the Ways of Knowledge’). Like many other literary and Sufi figures from the region, he later abandoned Awrangabad after the relocation of the Āsaf Jāh court and moved to Madras where he became an intimate of the Wālā Jāh ruler, Muhammad ‘Alī Khān.

For most of the eighteenth-century Panchakkī still seems to have retained links with the remaining, albeit much reduced, Central Asian community in the Deccan. Burial played an important part in this, and early in the century great lengths were often gone to to bring the dead to Panchakkī for interment, as for example after the deaths of Shāh Palangpōsh in Gulbarga and Shāh Musāfīr’s follower Shāh Qalandar at Haydarabad. The site’s original association with a Central Asian clientele was still in full flow during the 1770s when Sabzawārī made emphatic reference to the continued presence of immigrant or wilāyat-zād (‘homeland-born’) Central Asians among the shrine’s resident dervishes, as well as to the Central Asian (tūrānī) ethnicity of the sajjāda nasbīn himself. Sabzawārī’s subsequent use of the ethnic term Mughal (moghol) in this context is further indication of the high social class of the shrine’s residents at the top of the Indo-Muslim social hierarchy of the ashraf. The presence of fine and splendidly woven Central Asian carpets and beautifully decorated dervish cells at this time also point to the shrine’s wealth. Sabzawārī twice described Panchakkī as the finest takiyya in the whole Deccan.

The rare technology of Panchakkī’s eponymous watermill also seems to have contributed to its wealth through the milling of large amounts of grain for sale (probably gathered from the shrine’s own landholdings) as well as being used at a fee by small-scale farmers. Sabzawārī recorded proudly that the perpetually turning watermill could grind large amounts of grain every hour, amounts that were clearly in excess of the needs of the shrine’s residents and suggestive of a good measure of commercial enterprise. It is worth noting in this respect that Anatolian Sufi lodges of the same period also brought in a large part of their income as major sellers of grain. Sabzawārī also described the presence at Panchakkī of a group of weavers, suggesting that under good management shrines could also form the basis for small-scale industrialization. Although the indigent and orphaned first looked after at the site by the living Shāh Musāfīr were still present, the shrine had become the favoured retreat of the city’s elites. An exclusive place to which the well-born could withdraw to meditate and write in the comfort and company to which they were accustomed, the shrine promoted the cult of a saint with only a limited albeit high status following.

**Nizām al-dīn**

Compared to Panchakkī, the shrine of Nizām al-dīn was regarded as of lesser importance by the elites of Awrangabad during this period. Its buildings were in any case too small to accommodate the numbers of dervishes and scholars present at the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr. But it seems that its status was also diminished by the departure for Delhi of Nizām al-dīn’s son and chief spiritual heir, Mawlānā Fakhr al-dīn, in the years before 1163/1750. Nizām al-dīn’s legacy in the city in the years after this
point seem to have been managed by either his local deputies (khalīfas), including perhaps Kāmgār Khān and Shāh Sharīf, who both seem to have managed the shrine in the middle years of the eighteenth century, or by one of his older sons. But there is no doubt that the centre of Nizām al-dīn’s spiritual legacy shifted to Delhi with the departure of his younger son, Fakhru dīn. Despite the documentation of the circle of Fakhru dīn in Delhi during this period, nothing is known of the fate of the tradition of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad in the years directly following Fakhru dīn’s departure. It may be assumed, however, that Kāmgār Khān’s successors continued to manage the shrine and maintain contact with Fakhru dīn and his heirs in Delhi, who would have maintained overall authority over the shrine in Awrangabad.

Nonetheless, the departure of the main line of Nizām al-dīn’s charismatic descendants for Delhi left the saint’s heritage insecure in Awrangabad. When Sabzawārī described the saints and shrines of Awrangabad in the 1770s, Nizām al-dīn received much less attention than either the saints of Panchakkī or Shāh Nūr. The shrine probably still maintained a limited congregation of devotees due to the well-known association of Nizām al-dīn with Nizām al-Mulk, which itself formed the centrepiece of Sabzawārī’s muted account of Nizām al-dīn.61 But with the departure of the Āsaf Jāh court for Haydarābād, the shrine seems to have been unable to build a popular following in Awrangabad on the scale of that of Shāh Nūr. Despite the fact that Sabzawārī recorded the death anniversaries of the other saints of Awrangabad and Khuldābād, he failed to mention the date of the death anniversary of Nizām al-dīn, suggesting that it was not a popular event in the city’s calendar like those of Shāh Nūr and the saints of Khuldābād. This seems to contradict the statement made around the same time in Delhi by Fakhru dīn’s hagiographer ‘Imād al-Mulk, who claimed that Nizām al-dīn’s death anniversary was still celebrated in Awrangabad.62 Reading between the two sources, we may assume that it was celebrated but was not as popular a celebration as those of the other saints of the city and of nearby Khuldābād described by Sabzawārī. By the second half of the eighteenth century it was the son in Delhi rather than the father in Awrangabad who lay at the centre of both Sufi and courtly attention. Despite the connections of Nizām al-Mulk with Nizām al-dīn and the fame of his son in Delhi, there is no evidence of either an architectural or a literary kind to indicate that the shrine of Nizām al-dīn was viewed at this time as anything more than one among several other of the city’s saints. It would take more than a century for Nizām al-dīn’s local preeminence to establish itself through the combined effect of legends associating him with the foundation of Haydarābād State and the legacy of his famous descendants in Delhi.

The denizens of Delhi, renascent during this period, seem to have been capable of wounding the pride of Awrangabad’s literary celebrants. Though writing in Awrangabad, in the 1180s/1770s Sabzawārī was fully aware of the circle of important people gathering around Fakhru dīn in Delhi, who ‘benefit from his words, do not leave his side and serve him with dirhams and dinars’.63 It is difficult to be sure of how to read Sabzawārī’s comments on Fakhru dīn, but there seem to be elements in them of a charge of betrayal for his leaving Awrangabad for Delhi and hints of disapproval of his association there with the rich and famous. The main primary sources
on Fakhr al-dīn’s life are the writings of the descendant of Nizām al-Mulk, ‘Imād al-Mulk Fīrōz Jang III (d. 1215/1800). 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 (takhallus) Nizām (‘order’) for his own varied poetic enterprises.64 ‘Imād al-Mulk’s various biographical works on Fakhr al-dīn include a malfāzāt entitled Fakhīr al-tālibīn, the Manāqib-e-fakhrīyya and a long mathnawī poem entitled Fakhriyyat al-nizām. Another important early work in this tradition was the Shajarat al-anwar of Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhīrī (fl. 1194/1780). However, continuing the scholarly tradition of his father Nizām al-dīn and his father’s master Kalīm Allāh before him, Fakhr al-dīn was an important Sufi scholar in his own right. He composed a large number of works on a range of religious subjects pertaining not only to Sufism but to a variety of other aspects of Islamic religiosity. His books, which looked forward to the collusion of mystical and traditionist scholarship that would reshape Indian Islam over the century after his death, included Nizām al-aqā’id and Fakhīr al-basan. For much of his career in Delhi, Fakhr al-dīn taught in the great madrasa that had been founded in Delhi by the ancestor of his and his father’s patrons, Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang. Although Fakhr al-dīn counted some of the leading figures of Delhi’s political scene among his followers and acquaintances, he also taught a number of Sufis who in the twilight years of the Mughal dynasty would go on to found new branches of the Chishtī order right across northern India. One of the most significant of these sub-branches developed through Fakhr al-dīn’s follower Nūr Muhammad Mahārawī (d. 1205/1790).65 In line with such scholarly Naqshbandī Sufis in Delhi in the same period as Shāh Wālī Allāh (d. 1176/1762) and his son Shāh ‘Abd al-Azīz (d. 1239/1824), Nūr Muhammad was keen to clarify and uphold the links that bound the practice of Sufism to the greater vehicle of Muslim piety as delineated in the sharī‘a and exemplified in the custom (sunna) of the Prophet Muhammad.

Upon his death in 1199/1785 at the age of 73 lunar years, Fakhr al-dīn was buried in Delhi at the shrine of the earlier Chishtī saint, Qutb al-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235), whose feats had so often featured in his father’s malfūzāt, the Ahsan al-shamā‘il. In death as in life, Fakhr al-dīn was surrounded by the best company in Delhi and the late Mughal emperors Akbar Shah II and Shah ‘Alam, along with much of the Muslim aristocracy of Delhi, were interred near him at the same shrine. Many years later, the court diary of the last of the Mughal rulers, Bahadur Shah II, recorded the attendance of the emperor’s representative at Fakhr al-dīn’s death anniversary in 1268/1851.66

The literary tradition

An overview: the literary scene in early Āsaf Jāb Awrangabad

During its years as Mughal capital under Awrangzeb, Awrangabad developed into an important literary centre. Although Delhi retained its role as a centre of literary patronage and production throughout the reign of Awrangzeb (not least through the
salon of his sister Jahânarâ), Awrangabad played a central role in the period’s literary history through the relocation of the Mughal court to the Deccan. Under Nizâm al-Mulk and his early successors, this role continued and came to concern not only Persian letters but also the evolution of Urdu (or rêkhta, as it was called in this period) as a literary medium. The importance of the Awrangabadi poets Wâli (d. 1119/1707) and Sirâj (d. 1177/1766) in the foundation of Urdu literature is well-known. Of course, Mughal Awrangabad was not only a centre of poetic creativity and was also host to the writers of religious literature, including the writers of such Sufi texts as those discussed in Chapter 1 and the compilers of the great Mughal compendium of legal scholarship, Fatâwâ-ye-’Âlamgîrî. With the death of Awrangzeb and the gradual reassertion of Delhi’s position as centre of the by now diminishing Mughal imperium, Awrangabad was able to maintain its role as a literary centre. Supported by an important paper industry in the small town of Kaghdhipura (‘town of paper’) on the road between Awrangabad and Khuldabad, Awrangabad’s literary scene was one of the most vibrant of the age.

As we have seen with regard to the Sufi and other texts produced by the followers of Shâh Musâfir and Nizâm al-dîn during the first two decades of Æsaf Jâh rule, eighteenth century Awrangabad remained embedded in an essentially Mughal cultural and political geography that tied its writers to the cultural life of Delhi. The rise in status of rêkhta Urdu was in itself the most obvious example of this, its richness evolving from the meeting in Awrangabad of the vernaculars of Delhi and the Deccan after centuries of largely separate development. Yet like the northerly travel itineraries that we have seen detailed in the Malîfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyâ and the journey of Nizâm al-dîn’s early biographer Kâmgar Khân to the khanaqah of Kalîm Allâh in Delhi, the changes in the language and literature of the period were the consequence of the mobility of writers and the communities for whom they wrote. Such Sufi travellers as Kâmgar Khân were by no means the only mobile men of letters to journey to and from Awrangabad. The period of Mughal rule had seen the city’s biggest influx of soldiers, poets and the other hangers-on of empire, but such journeys continued to be characteristic of its literary life. Illustrating both aspects of this process, perhaps the most famous of such journeys were those of Wâli and Dargâh Qulî Khân Sâlâr Jang (d. 1180/1766). Wâli’s decision seven years before the death of Awrangzeb to quit Awrangabad and take his verses to Delhi became one of the key moments in later constructions of Urdu literary history, the mythical moment when the golden age of Urdu literature was first smelted. Like Wâli, Dargâh Qulî Khân pursued a literary career spanning the cities of Delhi and Awrangabad. His visit to Delhi in the company of Nizâm al-Mulk resulted in the composition of his Risâlâ-ye-Sâlîr Jang (more famous in its Urdu translation as Muraqqa’-e-Dihlî) on the shrines of Delhi and the courtesans and singers whose talents might be enjoyed there. Unlike Wâli, however, Dargâh Qulî Khân was to return to Awrangabad and eventually die there. It remains unclear whether he was buried in the necropolis at Harsul or in the shrine of Shâh Nûr.

Dargâh Qulî Khân was only one of a large number of literary figures who gathered around Nizâm al-Mulk and his sons during Awrangabad’s years as Æsaf Jâh capital.
Reflecting the position in the service of Awrangzeb of Bhimsen, the Hindu author of the Persian history *Tārīkh-e-Dilkhān*, this literary circle included such Hindu figures as the father and son bureaucrats and chroniclers Lālā Mansārām (d. after 1175/1761) and Lākshmī Nārā’īn (d. 1224/1808). Muslim authors in the political service of Nizām al-Mulk included Jur’at Khān Mu’iz al-Dawla (d. 1175/1761), whose works included the epistolary compilation *Inshā’-e-jur’at*, while Nizām al-Mulk’s own letters were later compiled under the title *Gulshan-e-‘Ajā’īb* by another non-Muslim bureaucrat, Munshi Rām Singh. However, by far the most famous of the early literary companions of the Āsaf Jāhs in Western scholarship was Shāh Nūr al-Din (d. 1171/1758), whose account of Shāh Nūr we have already discussed. The biographical dictionary of Mughal notables that he compiled in Awranghabad entitled *Ma’āthir al-umārā* remains one of the most important sources of Mughal history. Like Dargāh Qulī Khān, Shāh Nāwāz Khān was also involved in the political life of the Āsaf Jāh court, a career which would eventually cost him his life during the years in which French intrigue found a home at court in Awranghabad. The political careers of these men of letters (or, alternatively, the literary careers of these politicians) serve to remind us of the myriad connections that tied texts to the social and political concerns of the age.

As Awranghabad’s role as regional capital was cemented under Āsaf Jāh rule, there emerged a need to celebrate its cultural, and especially literary, achievements through the production of biographical dictionaries and literary anthologies. Notable poetic anthologies written in Awranghabad during this period include the *Tuhfat al-shu’arā* (1165/1751) of Afzal Bég Qāqshāl, the *Mardum dīdā* (1175/1761) of ‘Abd al-Hakīm Lāhawrī, the *Gul-e-Ranā* (1182/1768) of Shafiq Awrangābādī Lākshmī Nārā’īn and the *Gul-e-‘ajā’īb* (1192–3/1778–80) of Asad ‘Alī Khān Tamannā. A particular objective of such anthologies was to celebrate the role of Awranghabad in the development of *rēkhta* poetry, which had by this time established itself as more than a passing fashion of poets otherwise devoted to the veneration of Persian letters, though Persian verse retained its supreme position at this time. The capacity to compose poetry was an accomplishment required of any late Mughal gentleman. In this sense, as Awranghabad’s Āsaf Jāh anthologists realized, a city’s reputation as a poetic centre reflected well on its wider status. Poetic production, both in terms of quality and scale, was a well-established measure of cultural achievement and one which would later be continued by the champions of Delhi, Lucknow and Haydarābād as the major centres of Urdu letters.

Along with its links to political figures, poetry was also of course an important medium of expression for religious figures. As we have seen, several of the major figures of Awranghabad – including Shāh Māhmūd, Kāmār Khān and Shāh ‘Alī Nehrī (d. 1177/1764) – featured in the poetic anthologies produced in the city. In this sense, poetry illustrates the way in which literary, religious and political figures interacted and in some cases occupied the same social stratum. One of the daughters of Nizām al-dīn, for example, was married to the poet Sayyid Sharaf al-dīn Khān, who authored a *mathnawī* entitled *Ghawth al-samdānī*.

But the most fitting example was the patron of the great pool at Panchakkārī, Jamīl Bég Khān (d. 1179/1765), who
when not serving beside Nizām al-Mulk wrote poetry under the pen name (takhallus) of Khwāja. Aside from such literary companions of Nizām al-Mulk, there also existed the literary circle of his son and successor Nāṣir Jang, who left a poetic anthology (diwān) using the pen names of Āftāb and Nāsir. In addition to its connections with the great Āzād Bilgrāmī, Nāṣir Jang’s circle also included the Sufi and mathnawī poet Shāh Ghulām Husayn (d. 1176/1762).

However, the most significant of all of the poets of this period in Awrangabad was Sirāj al-dīn Husaynī (d. 1177/1766), whom we have already encountered in connection with Nizām al-dīn. Sirāj was born in Awrangabad, where in the years after the establishment of Nizām al-Mulk’s independence he developed an attraction for the ways of the dervishes of the city and began to compose poetry. As we have seen, he took to visiting the Sufi shrines of the region, particularly that of Burhān al-dīn Gharīb at Khuldābad and probably also the new shrines that we have seen being constructed in Awrangabad during the years of his youth. The mystical quality of Sirāj’s poetry is well-known, as is the tradition—echoing in poetic form the ecstatic utterances (shabh) of the Sufis of old and the tales of the composition of the mathnawī of Rūmī—that his verses were spoken in a state of ecstasy and immediately written down by his followers. Despite this, his work demonstrates clear evidence of sustained craftsmanship, not least in the most famous of his mystical poems, the extensive mystical mathnawī entitled Bustān-e-khayāl. The tradition telling of his renunciation of poetry as an obstacle in the path of his spiritual development at his Sufi master’s command eloquently underlines the interdependence of Sufism and literary composition. For in the case of Sirāj, we see the rigours and contrasts of the Sufi life both in terms of the ecstasy of poetic inspiration and the ultimate act of literary control through the rejection of writing altogether.

After the transfer of the Āsaf Jāh capital to Haydarābād in 1178/1763, many of Awrangābād’s courtiers and literary figures departed to the new centre. There the patronage of Persian and Urdu letters continued unabated, ranging from connoisseurial treatises on horticulture to the spate of dynastic histories which abounded at the court of Nizām Alī Khān (r. 1175/1761–1218/1803). Yet during the first decades after the court’s departure, Awrangābād was able to maintain a rich if diminishing literary tradition. Gathered around such stalwarts as Āzād Bilgrāmī, Awrangābād’s poetic tradition was able to continue on a lesser scale despite the disappearance of the city’s wealthiest patrons. For their part, Sufi biographers were able to use the memory of the saints to invoke the status and noble history of the city. A major characteristic of this literature was an ambiguous sense of both the connection and separation of the new Āsaf Jāh state from the politics and culture of the Mughal state that had reared it. We have noted that with the emergence of the new Āsaf Jāh state, the literary assembling of a glorious regional past became a matter of importance, as was also the case with the foundation of other Muslim successor states at Rampur and Maysur around the same time. An important role in this process was played by writers of commemorative writings (tadhkirāt), particularly works preserving the memory of the early notables and poets resident in Awrangābād. Besides the well-known Sirāj, around whom there had gathered a considerable circle of poets in Awrangābād, the
poets Mahrām, Fazlī and the son of Āzād Bilgrāmī, Dhakā, were all celebrated in Awrangabad during this period. While, reflecting the sources of its patronage, the greater part of this literature celebrated a past populated by notables and kings, Sufi saints were also seen as an important and appropriate element in a past that was worthy of a proper Muslim dynasty. Yet sainthood featured by no means only within the pages of its own distinct literary creations and references to Muslim saints cropped up in a variety of literary contexts. As well as the aforementioned anthologies, another good example is the *Ma’āthīr-e-Nizāmī*, the biography of Nizām al-Mulk written by his Hindu bureaucrat Lālā Mansārām, which contained many references to the Sufis of the Deccan. However, despite the clear evidence of Nizām al-Mulk’s connections with a variety of Sufis, there was no mention of the Sufis in his last testament (*wasiyat nāma*) perhaps other than a vague pious reference to the ‘lords of God’ (*arbāb-e-allāh*).73

**Sufi writers of the mid-eighteenth century**

Hagiographical works were not the only genres addressing Sufi matters to be composed in Awrangabad between the 1720s and 1760s, that is during the reigns of Nizām al-Mulk and his early successors. The main works of Sufi doctrine written in the city did not emerge directly from the *sajjīda nasbīn* of the new Awrangabad shrines, but from Sufis connected to traditions beyond the city (often from older Sufi centres elsewhere in the Deccan) who were attracted to Awrangabad by the presence of the Āsaf Jāh court. Several Persian Sufi works from this period are extant in manuscript, some of which were dedicated to Nizām al-Mulk or his heirs. One of these is the *Anwār-e-tajallīyāt* of Muhammad Haydar.74 This work was concerned with the mystical elucidation of the core Islamic dogma of Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*). But in India at least, by this point in history this dogma had become almost inseparable from the mystical elaboration of the theme expounded by Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) of Mursiyya and his heirs. Muhammad Haydar’s work thus moves early on into a discussion of the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*); the writer attempts to simplify his exposition by regular recourse to the popular Sufi epithet that ‘All is He [God]’ (*hama ʿūt*).75 Nonetheless, *Anwār-e-tajallīyāt* remained a technical work, with discussions of the Sublime Essence of Reality (*dhīt-e-haqq-e-subhāna taʿālā*) and plenty of Arabic quotations of the Quran and Hadith to sanction the doctrine espoused. As in the *Mishkat al-anwār* written by al-Ghazālī over six centuries earlier, the classic Sufi example of the light of the sun (*āftāb*) and its reflection (*aks*) are used to distinguish contingent being and self-sustaining light qua being.76 Although the work was very much an exposition of the thought of Ibn ‘Arabī — discussing such points of his cosmology as the World of Likenesses (*ẓālam-e-mithāl*) — the doctrine was nonetheless presented in a form passed on by the Sufis of Khurasan (such as the poet Jāmī of Herat) and, more locally, of the Deccan (such as the family of Gūsī Darāz of Gulbarga).77 Muhammad Haydar summed up the core of the doctrine with the words ‘this whole collusion of things is One’ (*in majmūʿa-e-shay wābīd ast*).78

What is interesting about the *Anwār-e-tajallīyāt* is its vindication of the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) against the background of the rise of the
alternative theory of the Unity of Witnessing (wahdat al-shuhd) offered by the great Naqshbandi renewer Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) and his followers in India. As we saw in Chapter 1, Awrangabad had earlier played host to a significant part of the debate surrounding Sirhindī’s ideas. But in Muhammad Haydar’s work we see the continued importance in public life of Ibn ʿArabī’s doctrines. Indeed, what is also significant about the Anwār-e-tajalliyāt is the fact that while several Sufis do feature as exponents of the Unity of Being, Ibn ʿArabī himself is never mentioned in the work. Far from seeing himself as taking part in a theological debate between different doctrinal positions, Muhammad Haydar seems rather to have regarded his treatise as an exposition of a timeless truth that was recognized by a range of Sufi ‘witnesses’ over the centuries. The Unity of Being was not in this sense identified as the specific teaching of Ibn ʿArabī (who in any case does not seem to have used the term in his own writings), but rather as a central – albeit advanced and esoteric – dimension of normative Islam.

Another Sufi work written in Awrangabad during this period was the Risāla-ye-‘aynak-e-Būqalmūn of Abū’l Hasan ibn Sayyid Muhī al-dīn Bukhārī. The author completed this work in 1172/1759 as a record of the teachings of his late master, Hāfiz Shāh Muhammad Ibrāhīm (d. 1170/1756). Although both author and teacher are otherwise unknown, references in the text to earlier Chishtī Sufi masters from North India and the Deccan suggest that the work emerged from a Deccani Chishtī tradition.79 While the author seems to have moved to Awrangabad in search of patronage, it is possible that he had connections with Nizām al-dīn’s tradition in the city, though there is no suggestion that this was the case. Dedicated to Nizām al-Mulk’s son and eventual successor Salābat Jang (r. 1164/1751–1175/1761), the Risāla-ye-‘aynak-e-Būqalmūn was in part a Sufi exegesis of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. Although beginning with discussions of such key Muslim practices as formal worship, and referring constantly back to the Hadīth, the treatise was essentially concerned with the achievement of mystical states of encounter and conjunction (wisāl) with the Prophet. While the Anwār-e-tajalliyāt that was dedicated to Nizām al-Mulk was primarily a work of mystical theory, the Risāla-ye-‘aynak-e-Būqalmūn addressed to his successor was by contrast an exposition of mystical practice. As so often in Islamic mysticism, questions of ontology were of central importance; in this case the Prophetic Being (wūjūd-e-nabī) played a central role in the text. In the sole extant manuscript of this work – copied in fine nastaʿlīq script with gold leaf in plenty by the calligrapher Shaykh Mīrān in the year of its composition – the author’s instructions on meditative practice are accompanied by highly unusual graphic representations (sūrat) of the visions appropriate to each stage on the mystic path. Eight of these illustrations feature in the manuscript, each accompanied by instructions on and descriptions of the various practices and stages on the journey towards the Prophetic Being.80 Seven of the illustrations comprise an image of a seated man formed from the Arabic letters of the name Muhammad, with the images gradually ‘purified’ to move from the darkness of the lower stages of the mystical journey through the different levels of the physical and subtle body towards the inner Illuminated Spirit (rūh-e-munawwar). Various kinds
of divine remembrance (dhikr) are described, including the Labour of the Heart (shughl-e-qalb) in which the name of Allāh is envisioned in the mystic’s heart, while the esoteric dimensions of other Muslim rites (such as ablutions) are also discussed in detail.81

As well as these two Sufi writers, the family of Shāh ‘Ināyat Allāh (d. 1117/1705) of Balapur in the northern Deccan (whose tradition was first established under Mughal patronage) was also drawn southwards to Awrangabad during this period. Just as Sufis were originally attracted to Awrangabad as a consequence of its early prominence under Awrangzeb, the same process continued under Nizām al-Mulk and his successors. Mawlānā Qamar al-dīn of Balapur was one such Sufi. Qamar al-dīn was the grandson of ‘Ināyat Allāh and the son of the latter’s sajjāda nashīn, Shāh Munīb Allāh (d. 1161/1748). The reasons behind his leaving Balapur are uncertain, but it seems probable that he was a younger son and so unlikely to inherit his father’s position as head of the Naqshbandī khanaqah in Balapur. Qamar al-dīn moved to Awrangabad in 1155/1742, but two years later decided (like Fakhr al-dīn around the same time) that Delhi would be a more suitable place for his talents. However, after a short residence in Delhi and then Lahore, he returned to Awrangabad, where he established himself as a religious scholar in the Naqshbandī tradition.82 His reputation as a figure of learning soon spread in Awrangabad, and he seems to have received the patronage of the future Nizām, Sikandar Jāh. Qamar al-dīn also became a close friend of Azād Bilgrāmī and through him, if not through his own Naqshbandī affiliation, he was associated with the headquarters of Awrangabad’s already established Naqshbandī tradition at Panchakkī. Qamar al-dīn died in Awrangabad in 1193/1779.

Qamar al-dīn’s literary output was extensive and included a lengthy mystical commentary in Persian on several verses of the Quran entitled Nūr al-Karīmatayn. More interesting, however, was his Arabic treatise Mazbar al-nūr, which he composed in Awrangabad around 1164/1750 and which consisted of a history of Islamic mystical theories of light (nūr). In its spirited defence of the doctrine of the Unity of Being, Mazbar al-nūr reflected the Anwār-e-tajalliyyat of Muhammad Haydar. Qamar al-dīn’s text reflected a long tradition of light mysticism in Islam, stretching from the early treatise of Sahl Tustarī (d. 283/896) and the Mishkat al-anwār of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) to the Kirāb bikmat al-ishrāq of Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and the writings of Ibn ʿArabī. The ideas of Ibn ʿArabī had been transmitted between scholarly Sufis in India over the centuries to also reach Shāh Kalīm Allāh, the master of Nizām al-dīn, in Delhi in the generation before Qamar al-dīn. As noted above, in the time of Awrangzeb, Ibn ʿArabī’s theory of the Unity of Being (wabdat al-wujūd) had been famously rejected in favour of a less controversial notion of the Unity of Witnessing (wabdat al-shuhūd) by Ahmad Sirhindī, whose letters later came into the possession of the Panchakkī library. We have seen in Chapter 1 how Sirhindī’s ideas had already been criticized in Awrangabad during his own lifetime in the Mukhtasar maʿārij al-wilāya of ʿAbd Allāh Khwāshgī, but the Mazbar al-nūr of Qamar al-dīn is more interesting in being written by a Naqshbandī figure associated with the lineage of Sirhindī himself. For in his text, after surveying and classifying
all of the available Muslim ideas on light, Qamar al-dīn finally came down on the
side of Ibn 'Arabī to conclude that the theory of wahdat al-wujūd presented the most
convincing interpretation. Yet 'Abd Allāh Khwēshgī and Qamar al-dīn were only
part of a wider repudiation in Awrangabad of the teachings of Sirhindī that was
connected to the more general discussion of the claims of the Sirhindī that stretched
between Delhi and Mecca.

Qamar al-dīn's learned contribution to Awrangabad's Sufi tradition was continued
by his son, Nūr al-Hudā (d. 1203/1788). Along with several other works, he wrote
long commentaries (hāshiyya) on both of his father's major treatises. A celebrated
scholar in his own lifetime, Nūr al-Hudā was also a friend of Bilgrāmī, who made
mention of him in his Suhbat al-marjān.83 After his death, Nūr al-Hudā was buried
in Awrangabad in a small shrine complex next to the Nawkhanda palace of the
Nizāms. The Naqšbandīs of Balapur continued to maintain their connections with
Awrangabad, and other members of the family who were based in Balapur visited
Awrangabad during this period. Muhammad Ma'sūm Naqshbandī (d. 1235/1820)
was sent from Balapur to receive his education in Awrangabad at the hands of his rel-
ative, Qamar al-dīn, while at least one of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs visited the
shrine at Balapur in turn.84 Another Sufi migrant to find his way into the circle of
Qamar al-dīn in Awrangabad was Shāh Ghulām Husayn (or Hasan) (d. 1176/1762).85
Ghulām Husayn was a follower of Shāh 'Alī Razā Gujarātī who migrated to
Awrangabad and acquired there the following of many of the city's elites, possibly
including Nizām al-Mulk's successor, Nāsir Jang. In Awrangabad, his wealthy
followers helped him to construct a large khanaqah and a mosque. During his years
there, Ghulām Husayn completed an abridgement (mukhtasar) of the Mathnawī of
Rūmī and several other poetic works; some of his verses were recorded in Shafig
Awrangābādī's Gul-e-Ra'īnā. In one of these, he composed versified admonitions to his son
and successor, Jamāl Allāh, which was just as well in that the later prosopographer
Malkāpurī tells us that Ghulām Husayn's other son was a notorious drunk.

In Qamar al-dīn's family tradition we are able to glimpse the role that Arabic
scholarship played in Awrangabad. This tradition was also exemplified in the career
of Bilgrāmī, who in addition to his Persian works composed numerous works in
Arabic of a religious nature and, indeed, was one of the major figures in the history
of Indo-Arabic literature. But despite their prestige, such works were never as impor-
tant or indeed as comprehensible among the city's residents as the Persian texts. Partly
this reflected the relatively smaller reading circles within which Arabic scholarship
circulated, but it was also a reflection of the often highly abstruse theoretical nature
of such texts. By contrast, the narratives contained in the Persian hagiographical
tadhkirāt were able to engage with a wider oral tradition of stories of the saints, with
written text and spoken tale each informing and shaping the other over time as a
result of the common narrative imagination of the oral and written hagiographical
worlds. Stories of the saints also possessed a malleable capacity for affirming the
identities of social groups or even states, enabling them to be easily tied into wider
narrative traditions of family, city or state history. Neither case was true of Sufi
theoretical writings and it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that far fewer such texts
have survived in comparison with hagiographies. Like the meditational treatise of Nizām al-dīn, the theoretical works of Qamar al-dīn and his son certainly reflected an important strand in the Deccan’s cultural life. But such texts were never able to embed themselves into the life of Awrangabad’s inhabitants to anything like the same degree as the miraculous tales of wonder contained in the hagiographical works.

The politics and patronage of praise

The mid-eighteenth century witnessed a considerable flourishing of texts praising the saints of Awrangabad and its surroundings as a whole. These texts contrast vividly with the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya and the Ahvān al-shamā’īl, with their devotion to specific Sufi traditions and their authorship by Sufis closely connected to the saints whose lives they celebrated. The texts under discussion in this section were rather part of the wider project we have seen under the early Āsaf Jāhs of celebrating the splendours of their main urban centre at Awrangabad. As such, they were concerned with more than one saintly tradition, and as often as not more interested in the visual and wider aesthetic appeal of their shrines than with questions of metaphysics or piety. They were, moreover, penned by writers who possessed no distinct links to any tradition, and who may better be regarded as primarily men of letters than as Sufis. Reflecting the position which the shrine of Shāh Nūr had managed to achieve on the city’s pilgrimage circuit, the period saw literary gains for Shāh Nūr, who possessed no early documentation to rival Shāh Musafīr and Nizām al-dīn. But the period also witnessed the consolidation of the textual heritage of Nizām al-dīn himself. While the texts written by the contemporaries of the Sufis that we have discussed in Chapter 1 still discussed their subjects as living and very human albeit elevated individuals, the period examined in this section saw their transformation into figures of incontestable sainthood. For as we have stressed earlier, the literary process by which this was achieved was one deeply connected to the erstwhile status of their city as the birthplace of a new state.

This process took shape during the reigns of Nawwāb Salābat Jang (r. 1164/1751–1175/1761) and Nizām ‘Alī Khān Āsaf Jāh II (r. 1175/1761–1218/1803), when, after the tumultuous years that followed the death of the state’s founder Nizām al-Mulk in 1161/1748, the nascent dynasty settled comfortably in the self-consciousness of its new statehood. Even though Nizām ‘Alī Khān left Awrangabad in 1178/1763, the city was able to maintain its status and the following decades saw the composition of some of the most important documents in its history. During this period, a considerable literature emerged detailing the origins and history of the Āsaf Jāh dynasty and bedecking its early representatives with all the literary accoutrements of kingship. Integral to this programme of literary patronage was the emergence of a retrospective literature highlighting the glories of the region’s past, laying particular emphasis in its early stages on Awrangabad as the first capital of the dynasty.

The concern that Awrangabad’s writers had during this period with hagiographic narratives relating to the city’s Sufi saints and other forms of urban encomia had
several sources. One of them was an understandable anxiety for the presence of barakat-bearing saints within the new Āṣaf Jāh realm. This reflected the eagerness that we have seen in the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandīyya* of the father of the kingdom’s founder, Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang, for the company of Shāh Palangpōsh, and Nizām al-Mulk’s own concerns (as shown in his contemporary Mansārām’s biography of him) for the presence of powerful Sufis in his kingdom. Connected to this was the sentiment that the protection of Sufis and their shrines was one of the proper duties of kingship, as Nizām al-Mulk himself expressly stated in Mansārām’s biography.86 But underlying these individual behavioural patterns was the more widespread belief that any Muslim city or state should have its own saintly protectors, protectors whose greatness would also contribute to the prestige of the state. The presence of such saintly patrons was as widespread in premodern Islam as in Christendom, including such Indian examples as Sāfīm Chishtī in Fatehpur Sikri and Ahmad Khātţū in Ahmadabad.87 In reflection of a trope common to historiography throughout the Islamic world, such figures were often considered as the mystic founders of cities and states.88

These concerns were manifested in Awrangabad from the 1170s/1760s onwards through the creation of a retrospective literature celebrating the city’s saints and shrines. The main vehicle for this process of transforming the living Sufis of the early documents into the saints of the later ones was the same genre used for the celebration of notables and poets. As we see in the following sections, the biographical texts of saints, poets and aristocrats were frequently created by the same writers, revealing Sufi and saintly discourses as embedded within a wider and shared textual ecumene rather than as the sole preserve of practising Sufis abstracted from the world of wider concerns. This early spate of literary celebrations of the saints of Awrangabad and its environs was followed in the nineteenth century by a long silence in the city. Although Nizām al-dīn, with his wider connections to the tradition of the great Chishtī saints of Delhi, continued to be the subject of biographical entries written elsewhere in India, with the gradual eclipse of Awrangabad by Haydarabad writers found more reason to celebrate the buildings, history and saints of the new capital rather than those of its precursor. The erstwhile Hindu litterateur of Awrangabad (and son of Lālā Mansārām), Lakshmī Narā’in Shafīq Awrangābādī (d. 1809) is a fitting case in point. Having completed several historical and commemorative works, in 1214/1800 he turned his hand to penning a laudatory description of the new Āṣaf Jāh capital of Haydarabad, giving only short shrift to the qualities of the earlier capital of Awrangabad which was his own home city.89 Two decades later, the erstwhile resident of Bidar, Qādir Khān Munshi Bīdārī, penned an urban history of Haydarabad entitled *Tawārikh-e-farkhunda*. Like these men of the pen, some Sufis also decided to follow the court to Haydarabad. This was the case with the Awrangabad Sufi Ghulām Hasan, who left his hometown to spend several decades as a recluse in the new capital prior to his death in 1214/1799.90 Muhammad Ma’sūm Naqshbandī (d. 1235/1820), the Balapur Sufi who studied in Awrangabad with the great Sufi scholar Qamar al-dīn, also travelled to Haydarabad during this period, where he was feted by the shaykhs of the city and met by the third Nizām, Sikandar
Jāh, who bestowed a land grant (jāgīr) upon him. One important case of Sufi emigration from Haydarabad, however, was the departure of the Ni’mat Allāh Sufi, ‘Abd al-Hamīd Ma’sūm ‘Alī Shāh, for Iran in 1190/1776, where, despite his martyrdom there, he was able to initiate the great nineteenth-century revival of Sufism in Iran.

As a literary genre, the commemorative text (tadhkira) has a long history in Sufi circles dating back to the Arabic Tabaqāt al-sūfiyya of Sulaimān in the tenth century, before passing into Persian and in time Urdu literary expression. Despite this long history, in which the hagiographical tadhkira predated and quantitatively outweighed certain other forms of Sufi literature, it has until recently received relatively little attention. Yet from what we have seen of Sufi reading circles in the two Awrangabad malfūzāt, such tadbirāt seem to have been used far more than treatises of metaphysical complexity and many tadbirāt seem to have been written for a broader audience than other genres of Sufi literature. Tadbirāt often also reached the audiences of non-Sufis who have for centuries made up the wider constituencies of saintly clients, constituencies which must be seen as an integral part of Sufism as a broad-based social phenomena. Such client groups were the primary context without which the memory of saints or their cults could not survive. This wider audience meant that although still nominally concerned with the lives of saints, tadbirāt were implicitly more concerned with social and political issues than genres like the technical treatise (risāla) and to some extent the ‘recorded conversations’ (malfūzāt) composed for more restricted readerships.

An important caveat remains here, for the tadbirāt remained literary documents and as such possessed only a limited readership among the predominantly non-literate clientele of the shrines. We have little evidence suggesting for example that their recitation was as important among shrine devotees as we have seen it to have been among formal disciples (murīdī). For just as the writings of Shāh Mahmūd and Kāmgār Khān have been seen against their specific contexts of reception, so too must the tadbira tradition be understood in comparable terms. The first generation of tadbirāt – including those of Bilgrāmī, Sabzawārī and ‘Urūj – were composed in Persian, a language which was in most (though not all) local circles a second language of educated discourse. This is of great importance, in that both Bilgrāmī and ‘Urūj were better known as writers of prose works discussing the major political or poetic figures of their age than as primarily religious writers, writers of the very kind of text in which Shāh Nūr was first mentioned by Shāh Nawāz Khān. Similarly, pilgrimage manuals like that of Sabzawārī were also usually composed for an elite clientele. This elite readership is seen in the fact that the eighteenth-century Deccan pilgrimage almanac written under the auspices of Nizām al-dīn by Muhammad Najīb Qādirī Nāgawrī Ajmērī (which also mentioned Shāh Nūr and Shāh Mustāfīr) was later re-dedicated to Tīpū Sultan of Mysur. With the development of Urdu prose in the nineteenth century, tadbirāt were not necessarily created with the aim of bringing letters to the common man, but rather for a comparable, if broader, educated and self-consciously cultivated audience. Such a perspective is in sharp contrast to the image of Sufism as the voice of the masses reared in much twentieth-century historiography...
in India, showing rather how Sufi texts were composed within the framework of the socially embedded knowledge systems of their day.

The reflection in the *tadhkirat* of the specific affairs of the social world of their reception is most clear in the more or less explicit roles played by the narrative themes of kingship and bureaucracy. It is in the *tadhkira* tradition, for example, that images of royal association grow in importance, while the genre in itself may be seen as in some sense a formalization and indeed bureaucratization of sainthood itself. This is reflected not only in *tadhkira* titles (such as *Khazīnāt al-asfiyā*) and their internal structure of providing catalogued inventories of the saintly ‘resources’ belonging to any given community (whether based on geography or Sufi order), but also in *tadhkira* narratives and their casts of characters. Thus, in the case of ‘Urūj we have the ‘prime minister’ (*wazīr*) of Awrangzeb petitioning Shāh Nūr for help with the affairs of his office.94 This process is also well illustrated in the *Rawżat al-awliyā* of Āzād Bilgrāmī, where this bureaucratization of sainthood is seen in the image of 1,400 saints following the medieval army of ‘Alāʾ al-dīn Khiljī to the Deccan, a holy battalion enumerated, paralleled and shaped into the image of a national resource no less than the soldiers themselves. Although *Rawżat al-awliyā* is concerned with the saints of Khuldabad rather than those of Awrangabad, it is of great importance as the most famous saintly *tadhkira* written in Awrangabad during the consolidation of Āsaf Jāh rule. Bilgrāmī chose to commemorate the saints of Panchakkī in his *Maʿāthir al-kirām*, but the *Rawżat al-awliyā* was written as part of the same process of creating a saintly heritage for the new Āsaf Jāh state that fostered the writing of the *tadhkirat* of Sabzawārī and ‘Urūj that dealt with the Awrangabad saints.

Although several of Bilgrāmī’s works adopted time or the ‘age’ (*dawr, zamān*) as their structuring motif, in *Rawżat al-awliyā* Bilgrāmī instead adopted a fixed territory through time in this role. This reflected the pattern of earlier *tadhkira* collections like the fifteenth-century Herati *Nafahāt al-uns*, which were also connected to spiritualized versions of political domains. For just as the creation of pan-Indian *tadhkirat* during the political supremacy of the Mughals may be seen as a process of the sanctification of what was in some sense a new and problematic territorial construction, so Bilgrāmī’s own textual territorialization of the sacred sites of the Sufi saints fitted into a wider agenda of the consolidation of political power. It was by no means coincidence that Bilgrāmī chose to include amid the saintly biographies in *Rawżat al-awliyā* references to the careers and tombs of the first two Āsaf Jāh rulers who were also buried at Khuldabad and whose patronage he had previously enjoyed.

As the most distinguished of the Awrangabad memorialists, a good deal is known of the life of Bilgrāmī that can shed light on the background to the creation of saintly *tadhkirat* under the early Āsaf Jāhs.95 Although featuring here as a writer of hagiographies of the saints, Bilgrāmī was generally better known as the writer of an important poetic biographical anthology *Khazānā-ye-ʿamira* (1176/1762) and other works in Persian and Arabic. Yet despite winning fame as a writer of such sophisticated anthologies and, living at the centre of the literary life of Awrangabad at the
height of its Āsaf Jāh revival, becoming the city’s grand old man of Persian letters, Bilgrāmī also involved himself in political life and was long an adviser and close companion of Nāsir Jang, the son and successor of Nizām al-Mulk: both of their biographies were included in his Khazāna-ye-‘āmira. The latter, alongside the biographies of around a hundred and thirty poets, also devoted a great deal of space to Bilgrāmī’s observations on the recent political history of North India and the Deccan, and particularly to the rise of the Āsaf Jāh family. Given the wearying number of Maratha raids on Awrangabad during this period, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that Bilgrāmī also provided a less than flattering account of the rise of the Marathas. We learn almost nothing in Bilgrāmī’s accounts about the relationship of the Āsaf Jāh rulers with the Sufis of their kingdom, though at one point Bilgrāmī does describe Nizām al-Mulk as having ‘donned the clothes of the faqir’ (labās-e-faqr pūshida) in Delhi. He also describes how all of the religious scholars (‘ulamā) and Sufis (fuqarā) of the Deccan served Nizām al-Mulk and that during his reign Sufi shaikhs arrived in the Deccan from Central Asia, Iran, Iraq and the Arab lands, as well as from other regions of India.

Amid a life of literary composition and political intrigue, Bilgrāmī had also been able to live for a while the life of the dervish and spend seven years as a resident of Panchakkāl, only leaving the shrine once he had secured the patronage of Nāsir Jang. On leaving Panchakkāl, Bilgrāmī acted in the influential capacity of corrector of Nāsir Jang’s poems (i.e. as the prince’s utād or ‘master’), though he later came to advise and negotiate in political affairs and was actually present at the assassination of Nāsir Jang in 1164/1750. In the years after his patron’s murder, Bilgrāmī returned to a life of scholarly and religious reflection. In 1166/1753 he completed Ma’āthir al-kirām, his account of the holy men and scholars of his home region of Bilgram, in which we have earlier seen Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Palangpōsh’s incongruous appearance. Appropriately, Bilgrāmī himself eventually assumed something of the status of a saint, for not only did he feature while he was still alive in Sabzawārī’s saintly encomium alongside the other saints of Awrangabad, but after his death in 1200/1786 pilgrimages began to take place to his tomb at Khuldabad which were still being reported in the early twentieth century. According to the British administrator T.W. Haig, ‘parents take their children to his shrine in order that they may, by picking up with their lips a piece of sugar from the tomb, obtain both a taste for knowledge and the ability to acquire it.’ As in the construction of a special dome for Shāh Mahmūd at Panchakkāl, we see in Bilgrāmī’s burial and subsequent cult the connections between textual production, architectural commemoration and sanctity.

The two saintly tadhkirāt that Bilgrāmī wrote during this period suggest a certain ambivalence towards the status of Panchakkāl amid the wider sacred landscape of the region. For though Bilgrāmī held Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfīr in sufficient esteem to break the main geographical focus of his memorial of the wise and holy men of his native Bilgram to include them within it, he had nonetheless been unwilling to bend the same rules to commemorate them in his tadhkira on the saints of Khuldabad, Rawzat al-awliyā. Though made good three decades later in the
memorial of the saints of both Khuldabad and Awrangabad written by Khāıkšār-e-Sabzawārī, this omission may indicate that the status of the Awrangabad Naqshbandis during this early period was perceived as unable to compete with that of the saints of Khuldabad. Nonetheless, Bilgrāmī’s attachment to his erstwhile home at Panchakkī was sufficient for him to compose a qasīda of twenty-one couplets in praise of the pool and fountains that were built there by Jamīl Bēg Khān. In the poem, Bilgrāmī poured praise in the most eloquent terms on both the pool and the surrounding scented gardens of the shrine, connecting the terrestrial architecture of Panchakkī with the gardens of paradise through the language of flowers and the direct comparison of the new pool with the pool of Kawthar in heaven. In the same poem Bilgrāmī also eulogized Shāh Musāfīr after the model of the ancient Persian emperor Khusrav, as a king who lacked only the crown, signet ring and standard (tāj wa nāgin wa ‘alam) of an emperor. Reflecting the legends that would also later develop around Nizām al-dīn, Bilgrāmī also presented Shāh Musāfīr as the king-maker (tāj-dāh) of the rulers of Rome, China and Persia. While this was praise indeed, it was nonetheless praise with a political edge.

The contours of Bilgrāmī’s career show how sainthood and politics stepped between the textual world of written documents and the real world of the contexts which helped shape them. Although we do not possess comparable evidence on the life of Bahā’ al-dīn Hasan ‘Urūj (d. c. 1230/1814), his more widely known literary identity as a writer of poetic anthologies alongside his assumption of the pen name (takhallus) of ‘Urūj (‘Zenith’) place him within the same literary sphere as his contemporary Bilgrāmī. In addition to his composition of Kbizān ii babār, ‘Urūj was also the author of the Tadhkirat al-shu’arā on the poets of the Deccan, as well as a poet in his own right. Another of his literary works shows him to have been a member of Bilgrāmī’s literary circle in Awrangabad, for in the epistolary manual Payām-e-ulfaṭ, ‘Urūj included as models several letters that he had himself addressed to Bilgrāmī. Other addressees included the disciple of Nizām al-dīn’s follower Shāh Iṣmā’īl, Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī Chishti (d. 1210/1795) of Ellichpur in the northern Deccan. When ‘Urūj died in Awrangabad around 1230/1814 he was buried in the aristocratic Mughal necropolis in the neighbouring village of Harsul.

Encomia of the city and its saints

The tadbkirāt reveal much about the changing images and fortunes of the Awrangabad shrines, while also reflecting wider cultural change in the city at large. This is seen most clearly with regard to the saints of Panchakkī, where the urgency of their early commemorative tradition in the writings of Shāh Mahmūd, Bilgrāmī and Sabzawārī was then followed by a long literary silence unbroken until the early twentieth century. A shift was already occurring in the memory of the Naqshbandī shaykhs by the time of Bilgrāmī, whose memorial contains early signs of the standardizing and stylizing process of hagiographical literary transformation. There is, for example, an emphasis on prodigious childhoods, saintly titles and the
acquisition of different sources of sanctity (including a probably spurious early hajj) that reflected the beginnings of a transformation from the sharply individualistic and carefully observed anecdotes that distinguish the Malfüzât-e-Naqshbandiyya into the standardized tropes of more typical tadbîra collections. Together, the Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya and the Ma‘âthir al-kirâm show a frozen moment in the textual process of Muslim saint-making, a moment preserved midway between the undoubted idiosyncrasies of two living Sufi masters and the more standardizing image of the Muslim saint. The picture of the cult of Awrangabad’s Naqsbandîs preserved in the slightly later Sawânîb (c. 1189/1774) of Sabzawârî fills in some of the missing context of the accounts of Shâh Mahmûd and Bilgrâmî (who was still alive when Sabzawârî was writing). We have no information as to who Khâksâr-e-Sabzawârî was, though given the shrine connections of the other writers of the period, it seems possible that he may have been connected to the shrine of the Sufi ecstatic (majdhûb) Shâh Khâksâr at Khuldabad. Bilgrâmî described this figure as having come from Bijapur during the reign of Awrangzeb to live on one of the hilltops of Khuldabad, also mentioning that his shrine was established there after his death.

As we have seen earlier, the Sawânîb described Panchakki as a place of considerable Sufi activity, with its khanaqah full of dervishes and with Shâh Sa‘îd, the successor of Shâh Mahmûd, leading regular circles of dhikr. Yet for Sabzawârî, the prestige of the shrine came at least as much from its association with the Naqsbandiyya and their wealthy, high-born Central Asian representatives as from the living presence or memory of the saints themselves. With Sabzawârî affording Shâh Palangpôsh and Shâh Musáfir no further description than the conventional repetition of the poetic chronograms penned for the saints by Bilgrâmî, a process was already beginning of the eclipse of the now dimly perceived saints by the built presence of their splendid shrine.

The emergence of Shâh Nûr into the saintly tadbîra tradition found him already partly assuming the hagiographical attributes of the Muslim saint. In the brief discussion of Shâh Nûr in the Ma‘âthir al-umarâ of Shâh Nawâz Khân, the living dervish was remembered vividly enough to be presented in a manner more mortal than saintly, as an enlightened living dervish from India’s north-east. The other early textual reference to Shâh Nûr, in the visit of Shâh Musáfir to the shrine of Shâh Nûr mentioned in the Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya, suggests that the cult of Shâh Nûr was flourishing soon enough after his death in 1104/1692 for Shâh Musáfir to have made his visit prior to his own death in 1126/1715. This chronology is in itself proof of the speed at which shrine cults could develop. By the time of the writing of ‘Urûj’s Babâr u Khizân some time after 1189/1775, in which Shâh Nûr’s life was first described in detail, Shâh Nûr was being described as a child prodigy, who had mastered esoteric learning (‘ilm-e-bâtînî) in his early years and, in a classic hagiographical foreshortening of ordinary childhood, undergone his first Sufi initiation at an early age. Like Shâh Palangpôsh in Bilgrâmî’s account, Shâh Nûr was also described as having been a childhood ecstatic and holy fool (majhnûn), reflecting Bilgrâmî’s reference to Shâh Palangpôsh’s youthful nickname of ‘crazy Sa‘îd’ due to his being always under the influence of ecstasy (jadhb).
This development of a grander saintly identity suggests another parallel with Bilgrāmī’s text, itself here fulfilling one of the key concerns of the tadhkira genre in the careful presentation of the different sources of Shāh Nūr’s authority. Shāh Nūr’s primary source of prestige was geographical and familial, and in contradiction to Shāh Nawāz Khalīn’s assertion that Shāh Nūr probably came from the Pūrāb, ‘Urūj opted for a more edifying homeland for the saint in declaring that Shāh Nūr was born in Baghdad as the son of Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Hamadānī, a Husaynī sayyid. This geo-spiritual presentation of the saint’s authority was further embellished with details of his travels to Egypt (where he was claimed to have resided for nine years), before moving to Madīna. After making the hajj to Mecca, he was presented by ‘Urūj as having travelled to the early Mughal outpost in the Deccan and important Sufi centre of Burhanpur, before travelling to Ahmadpur and thence to Awrangabad at the time of its foundation.

He was described as having made the hajj several times more, and during one visit to have disappeared for an entire year before returning with descriptions of meetings with the Green Man of Islam, al-Khīrz, and the semi-legendary early Sufi, Ibrāhīm bin Adham. His meeting with this early figure is explained through lending him a fantasticaly long life stretching over several centuries before his eventual death in Awrangabad during the reign of Awrangzeb. In these descriptions, ‘Urūj, like Bilgrāmī and other memorialists before him, carefully delineated the sources of his chosen saint’s authority. At the same time, he provided a new identity for the saint within the terms of the religious and ethnic strata of Indo-Muslim society, defining Shāh Nūr for the first time as an immigrant Husaynī sayyid, an ancestry that would place Shāh Nūr at the top of the Indo-Muslim social hierarchy of the ashīrāf. He also added details to the saint’s specifically Sufi identity through mention of his early initiation, without actually specifying details of which of the Sufi orders he belonged to.

Perhaps of greatest interest is ‘Urūj’s emphasis on the saint’s arrival in Awrangabad just as it was being founded. For here he presents the image of Shāh Nūr as the patronal founder saint of the city. The text informs us that when Awrangzeb founded the city in 1068/1657, Shāh Nūr was already 170-years old. The saint recalled having seen the city in the days ‘when there was nothing there but kikar trees and desert’ and only stopped his wandering when the city was properly settled. Moreover, bringing with it the approval of divine ordination, the saint’s journey to the Deccan was described as having taken place at the Prophet Muhammad’s command. Shāh Nūr is also quoted as mentioning a period of residence in Agra and Delhi, drawing further prestige from association with the father cities of Awrangabad that were the earlier capitals of Akbar and Shah Jahan. It was through this series of images and associations that ‘Urūj fashioned Shāh Nūr into the role of the city’s sacred founder, a desirable personage for a new capital city whose origins and early history ‘Urūj and his contemporaries were giving literary form. As much a part of the late eighteenth-century literary movement that created a heroic saintly heritage for the new Āsaf Jāh state as Bilgrāmī’s Rawzat al-awliyā, ‘Urūj’s tadhkira of Shāh Nūr brought together images of saintly genealogy and the foundation of the city into a narrative sequence that echoed the political movements whose shadows they were.
Urūj’s hagiography is also the earliest source of a story which later became the most famous of the legends concerning Shāh Nūr.118 The story is of particular interest for its Indian imagery, painting the Sufi in narrative colours applied equally to the Yogis. In ‘Urūj’s version, Shāh Nūr was performing one of his regular sessions of meditative breath control (bahs-e-dam); these usually lasted from between 5 and 12 years. On one occasion he was performing this austerity in a pit, which as the years passed became filled with earth so that he was no longer visible. By chance, some Hindu travellers passed by the spot, and their guru informed them that it was a good place for meditation. As a result, they placed a statue there, which over time attracted many other groups of Hindus to worship; little did they know, the text informs us, that they were actually receiving the blessings of Allah while worshipping the statue. Some years later, a nephew of Shāh Nūr set off from his home in Hamadan in Iran to search for his uncle, and attracted by his saintly odour, eventually reached the site of the statue. Seeing what was happening there, he immediately tried to smash the idol in order to exhume the saint. Naturally, the Hindus objected and a dispute broke out, in which the two sides competed with their powers of miracle and magic. Nonetheless, the head guru of the Hindus came to the nephew and asked him why he wished to destroy the statue. Shihāb al-dīn explained that his uncle was buried there, and on hearing this the guru himself performed a meditation (murāqāha) on the spot in order to test the claim. In a narrative resolution that echoes the theme of the common goal of Hindu and Muslim devotion found elsewhere in Shāh Nūr’s tradition, the guru came by his own means to see the truth of the Sufi’s nephew’s claims. The guru then told him to call Shāh Nūr, at which point the nephew sank into a deep state of mystical concentration (khās tawajjuh). After crying out Shāh Nūr’s name and the Muslim call to prayer the earth then began to tremble, before splitting open to reveal the saint buried underground in rapt meditation and surrounded by a great cloud of smoke. Again his nephew repeated the call to prayer and the saint slowly became conscious. On seeing this, the Hindus accepted Islam and the guru became a close follower (murīd) of Shāh Nūr, lived with him for eight years and became a great master of mystical unveilings and miracles (kashf ā’l karāmāt) in his own right.

‘Urūj went on to describe several more of Shāh Nūr’s remarkable miracles in detail, including a period of no less than seventy years spent buried underground in breath control, the healing of a follower suffering from dysentery through the unexpected medicine of a hot kebab and the summoning of a vision for his disciple Diyānāt Khān of his home in distant Agra.119 (Strangely enough, Diyānāt Khān had already entered a much wider narrative tradition in his own right, his fame such that he had featured – as ‘Diyaner’ – in John Dryden’s versified play Aureng-zeb, written in London in 1676, a full century before ‘Urūj’s more local account of the diwan’s deeds.) ‘Urūj’s miracle accounts need to be seen in the context of the shrine as a purveyor of miraculous healing and assistance, for such texts cannot be fully understood without reference to the cultural practice of shrine veneration and pilgrimage. The foundation of the shrine in Awrangabad thus played a considerable role in the text, as did an account of the sajjāda nasbīn of Shāh Nūr, aimed at establishing their relationship to the saint.120 Reference to correspondences between specific ritual practices and the
customs of the saint – such as in the locating of the origins of the Wednesday pilgrimage to the shrine with Shāh Nūr’s habit of leaving his meditations in his retreat (būrjā) on that day to meet the people – further position the text within the context of a flourishing cult of sainthood in Awrangabad.

It was in the context of this cult of pilgrimage that Shāh Nūr also featured in the Sawānīb of Sabzawārī. Sabzawārī provided several fascinating accounts of the celebration of the death anniversaries of the saints of Khuldābad in the second half of the eighteenth century. At the shrine of Muntajib al-dīn Zar Bakhsh, he described the performances of Sufi praise-singers (qawwāls) all through the night, and people climbing to the neighbouring hilltop to gaze down in delight at the festive lighting (chirāghānī) of the shrine. All of the people of Awrangabad were portrayed as travelling out to Khuldābad to attend the ‘urs of Burhān al-dīn, while at the death anniversary at the neighbouring shrine of Zayn al-dīn Yogis were described as deliberately burning their noses with candles. Others gathered to watch the performances of dancers and wrestlers. After accounts of the Chishtī saints of Khuldābad, Sabzawārī in turn described the cityscape and finally the saints of Awrangabad. Awrangabad itself was given lavish and extensive praise as ‘a second Shahjahanabad [i.e. Delhi]’, with descriptions of its markets, mosques and other architectural features making it clear that the Sufi saints were to be similarly regarded as treasures of the city. In this sense, the Sawānīb resembles such urban panegyrics as the Jalwa-e-didār of Hazwar Muhammad Āqil (d. 1143/1730), a text celebrating the buildings, markets and shrines of Delhi.

Awrangabad’s shrines were of paramount importance to Sabzawārī’s account, the architectural majesty of their domes, courtyards and pools described in detail as the concrete manifestation of the power and the glory of the saints. Yet as it would also lead later hagiographers, this led Sabzawārī to an awkward paradox. For while he did not dispute the unrivalled architectural splendour of Panchakkī, which appeared first in his account of the Awrangabad shrines and whose every decorative feature he extolled in detail, he nonetheless had nothing to say about either Shāh Palangpāsh or Shāh Musāfīr themselves. Shāh Nūr, however, received far more praise, the lavish description of his ‘urs confirming his early position as chief among the city’s saints, and enabling Sabzawārī to maintain a balance between the presentation of saint and shrine. In contrast to the Arabian saint described by ‘Urūj, in Sabzawārī’s account Shāh Nūr remained the more local figure associated with hamāmūn and the possession of miraculous powers. Probably drawing on an existing oral tradition among the saint’s extensive clientele, Sabzawārī thus presented Shāh Nūr in the guise of a master qalandar, ever busy in divine remembrance and enamoured of the desert wilds.
Nawwāb Nizām al-Mulk was a student (tālib) of Nizām al-dīn and had complete discipleship and faith. One day Nizām al-Mulk held a celebration for a newly built house and invited him by giving him a note of supplication (ra‘a-yā-ya-niyyāt). But Nizām al-dīn sent the note back in decline, writing upon its back, ‘You are as a child and our dwelling place is full of colors (khāna rāngīn āst).’

The British, the Nizāms and the Saints

Due to the proximity of Awrangabad to the borders between Āsaf Jāh territories and the domains of the Marathas, early in his reign Nizām ‘Alī Khān (r. 1175/1761–1218/1803) transferred his capital from Awrangabad to Haydarabad. There from the 1760s he and his courtiers set about patronizing the city that had been founded a century and a half earlier by the Qutb Shāh rulers of Golkonda whom Awrangzeb had defeated in 1098/1687. In many ways there was also a symbolic quality in the move to Haydarabad, connecting the rule of the Āsaf Jāhs to the independence of the earlier rulers of Haydarabad whose city they had inherited. Like Awrangabad in the preceding decades, Haydarabad became an important centre for the arts. Nizām ‘Alī Khān’s reign saw the writing of the great eighteenth-century musical treatise Usūl-e-naghmat-e-Āsafī of Ghulām Razā Khān, for example. Reflecting this patronage of music, Haydarabad also proved itself to be one of the great centres in the history of the rāgmālā paintings that depicted musical modes (rāg) in pictorial form. Such diverse arts had a way of drawing upon the various aspects of Deccani life. One of the most popular of all the ‘female’ modes or rāgīnīs (of which several examples are extant from the Deccan at this time) was Kedar, portrayed as a great ascetic whose renown was so great as to attract even royal visitors. Yet Nizām ‘Alī Khān’s court also sponsored a series of historical works in Persian that glorified the achievements of the Āsaf Jāh dynasty and gave literary credence to the right of the Āsaf Jāhs to rule the entire Deccan. These included such works as the Ma‘āthib-e-Āsafī (1208/1793) of the migrant scholar from Awrangabad, Shafīq Awrangābādī, the Āsafnāma (c. 1206/1792) of Nizām ‘Alī Khān’s favourite, Shāh Tajallī ‘Alī, and the Tārīkh-e-dil afrūz (c. 1218/1803) of Ghulām Husayn Khān Jawhar. In leaving its first capital of Awrangabad, in Haydarabad the
state founded by Nizām al-Mulk broke from the Mughal shadows of its infancy and finally came of age.

Despite the pomp of his court and the much-needed stability which his longevity would give to his subjects, the long reign of Nizām ‘Ālī Khān was often forced to buy its survival at a high cost. Nizām ‘Ālī Khān was certainly a shrewd politician and like other Muslim rulers of the period was keen to engage with the new technologies that he could see had aided the Europeans so well. Writers like ‘Abd al-Latīf Shushṭārī in his Tuhfat al-‘alām (1217/1802) brought news to his court of the latest European developments in science, while Nizām ‘Ālī built on earlier Mughal practice by employing the Frenchman Michel Raymond (d. 1798) as his controller of ordinance (amīr-e-jinsī). Yet the rise of Haydar ‘Ālī and his successor Tīpū Sultan in the southern Deccan brought the final loss of the southernmost portions of his domains. Tīpū’s eventual defeat in 1213/1799 by the British in alliance with Nizām ‘Ālī led to a series of compromises which resulted in tying the Nizām and his successors into an ‘alliance’ with the British that rendered the British Resident in Haydarabad the most influential figure in the politics of the state. The first British representative in Haydarabad in 1779 was John Holland and later representatives would wield far greater influence than he did. But this was not yet the heyday of British imperialism and the attractions of Mughal court culture that survived in Haydarabad were such that numerous Europeans in Haydarabad would succumb to its charms. And so the Resident James Achilles Kirkpatrick fell in love with the daughter of one of Nizām ‘Ālī Khān’s courtiers and converted to Islam in order to marry her.3

From their outpost in Haydarabad, British agents began to collect data on the government of Nizām ‘Ālī Khān and his predecessors which would contribute not only to the consolidation of British control over India but also to the vilification of Indo-Muslim cultural and political life that was its intellectual counterpart. It was from Haydarabad that Captain James Grant set out to complete his unpublished Political Survey of the Deccan in 1782 in which he and his local assistants compiled a mass of data on the past and the present government of the Deccan through direct observation and the translation of existing Persian revenue documents and historical works. Grant’s attitudes towards the literature that he surveyed provide a bleak insight into the early colonial mentality of the British. The Persian historians of the Deccan, he wrote, ‘furnish very little entertainment for rational curiosity, still less for philosophical enquiry, & are disgusting to humanity’.4 Blind to the evident and tremendous wealth of Persian and Urdu literature in the Deccan, Grant’s prejudices led him to declare that ‘it cannot be imagined that the Arts & Sciences have received any improvement in the Deccan from the genius or labors of its Muslim inhabitants’.5 And despite the obvious success of Indo-Muslim polities in governing much of India for the previous seven centuries, Grant characterized Muslim rule as by nature ‘despotic’. In a chilling prefiguring of later European rhetoric, in what presented itself as an objective political analysis Grant declared that

A spirit of bigotry and intolerance characterises the believers of the Sonna, or traditions of Mahomet, & makes them the most dangerous neighbors, as it
instigates & gives a sanction to foreign conquest, making religion the cloak of the most unlawful ambition, founded in pride, reared in ignorance & cherished as presenting new objects of pleasure to the motivating insatiable sensuality.6

Having created such a dangerous enemy in a land far from their own, the advice of Grant to his superiors led to its inevitable conclusions. So the Nizām was forced to effectively surrender his independence through a series of treaties and alliances that tied his own survival to that of the British.7 The Preliminary Treaty signed between Haydarabad and the East India Company in 1213/1798 compelled Nizām ‘Alī Khān to allow British military contingents to be stationed across his domains. Two years later a regiment under British command was stationed in Awrangabad.

In 1218/1803, within a couple of years of the stationing of British forces in the territories of Haydarabad State, Nizām ‘Alī Khān died and was succeeded by the third ruler to bear the title Āṣaf Jāh, his son Sikandar Jāh. The reigns of Sikandar Jāh (1218/1803–1244/1829) and his successor, Nāṣir al-Dawla Āṣaf Jāh IV (1244/1829–1273/1857) witnessed the lowest point in the history of Haydarabad State.8 Compelled by the treaties that the Nizāms had signed to accept British ‘protection’, the cost of maintaining the armies through which the British directed their authority eventually resulted in the effective bankruptcy of the state. To make matters worse, Sikandar Jāh also built up enormous debts to the private bank established in Haydarabad by the British entrepreneur William Palmer (d. 1867). In order to recoup the debts to the British in which the Āṣaf Jāh government perpetually found itself, large tracts of Haydarabad’s territories (including the whole region of Berar) were later handed over to British control. This desperate financial situation was to characterize the entire first half of the nineteenth century, a period whose woes were made worse by a series of crop failures and famines. It was only with the appointment of the great reformer of Haydarabad’s governance, the modernizing politician and notable Sālār Jang in 1270/1853 that the first hopes of improving the state’s political and economic subjugation began to appear.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Nizām ‘Alī Khān’s treaty with the East India Company led to the stationing of a military contingent in Awrangabad under British command as part of the newly founded Hyderabad Contingent. As in other parts of India, a separate cantonment area was constructed in Awrangabad for the Europeans, who had little contact with the neighbouring old city and its inhabitants. The British officers stationed there, like the young Meadows Taylor, found their life on the city’s outskirts a comfortable one, and in his memoirs Meadows Taylor looked back warmly on the ‘jolly days’ of hunting and coursing he had spent with his fellow officers in the countryside surrounding Awrangabad. He went on to spend his entire career in Haydarabad State and would later marry the daughter of the banker, William Palmer. Despite the steady grip which the British were able to maintain over the military forces nominally in the service of the Nizām, as the century wore on the kind of strains that would later erupt in northern India in the Great Revolt of 1273/1857 were felt as tremors in the Deccan. In 1243/1827 there was a revolt by the native soldiers of the Contingent against their officers in Muminabad that left the
British colonel Evans Davies dead and numerous Indian soldiers hung or court marshalled in recompense.

After four decades of the increasing centralization of political and cultural affairs around the Āṣaf Jāh court in Haydarabad, by the turn of the nineteenth century Awrangabad had lost almost all its former eminence. Reflecting wider calamities in the Nizām’s dominions, its population had been reduced to a fraction of its earlier level, leaving an under-populated township surrounded by the grand ruins of an earlier age. Following his success in the city of Haydarabad, William Palmer established a branch of his banking business in the former palace of Awrangzeb in Awrangabad after the Nizām’s finance minister, Chāndū Lāl, handed over control of Awrangabad’s revenues to Palmer & Co. It was only after the intervention of the British Resident Charles Metcalfe that the grip of the company over the finances of the Deccan was released and the ‘House of Palmer’ (Pāmar kūṭhī) in Awrangabad was closed in 1236/1820. Yet Awrangabad’s vast imperial suburbs continued to sink into decay and after travelling through Awrangabad on his way to the cave temples of Ellora in 1810, the British officer of the Bombay Native Infantry John Seely recorded his impressions of his stay in Awrangabad.9 Although the land surrounding the city was fertile, he was surprised to find it deserted and uncultivated. While he admitted that from a distance the city had ‘an imposing effect’, once within its gates he found it too largely deserted, its ‘scanty population’ living amid a once grandiose city that was now half in ruin. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Shi’is of Awrangabad had taken advantage of the abandonment of Awrangzeb’s vast palace and purchased part of its land for use as a cemetery.

Despite what Seely termed as a general ‘air of dejection’ that struck him as being unlike the bustle and crowds of other Indian cities, he was still impressed by Awrangabad’s streets and buildings and the rich goods that were available in its shops. His observations on the people of Awrangabad are no less insightful, for he claimed that away from the markets the only people he encountered were either grand and finely dressed Muslims or else ‘fakeers’, that is, religious mendicants (faqīrs) probably connected to one of the Sufi orders. Since there was no British Political Agent in Awrangabad at this time, Seely was forced to fall back upon the hospitality of the Nizām’s representative (dīwān) and seek more local means of entertaining himself. Happy to oblige him, the dīwān sent him a hookah, a clay pipe (chilām) and the offer of a nautch, whose dancers apparently impressed Seely most by their modesty, virtue and cleanliness! While clearly enjoying his stay in Awrangabad, and spending time visiting its notable monuments, the city still appeared to Seely as the skeleton of a past empire and ‘a memento of princely folly and pride’. Here, in a verbal equivalent of the contemporary orientalist paintings of the Daniel brothers, was the collapse of one empire seen through the romanticizing eyes of the agents of its successor.

Awrangabad’s fortunes at this time may be compared with those of the other major Sufi centres in the Deccan. A year after Seely’s stay in Awrangabad, George Sydenham, a British officer working for Major Colin Mackenzie’s survey of the Deccan, made a visit to the great Sufi pilgrimage centre of Gulbarga in the southern
Deccan, which had earlier attracted Awrangzeb and Shāh Palangpōsh to its sacred precincts. While he was there, Sydenham compiled a report on the shrine of Gēsū Darāz that is one of the most informative accounts to have survived on the situation of the Deccan’s Sufi institutions in the early nineteenth century. Despite the general antipathy for Mughal ways of his elder brother, Thomas Sydenham, as the British Resident in Haydarabad from 1805 to 1810, George was much impressed by the architectural and cultural traditions of the Deccan. He was struck by the range of buildings set aside at the Gulbarga shrine for the accommodation of faqīrs and by the gleaming whiteness of the shrine’s buildings in general, which he attributed to the annual whitewashing that distinguished the mausolea of the Deccan’s beloved saints from those of its neglected sultans. Trained to inquire about matters of revenue, Sydenham established that the daily expenses of the 60 attendants (khāds) of the shrine for laying flowers and perfumes and for their own sustenance was 10 rupees per head, adding up to the considerable sum of 600 rupees per day. Sydenham reckoned the income of the shrine to still be substantial, with the sajjāda nashīn receiving generous offerings from the 30,000 pilgrims who attended the saint’s death anniversary each year, in addition to the income he received from the shrine’s lands and a levy of a third of the value of all grain imported to Gulbarga. Unsurprisingly, wealth on this scale meant that the position of sajjāda nashīn continued to be an extremely desirable one. Sydenham also recorded some of the extraordinary accounts he was told of the recent attempted murder of the sajjāda nashīn by the disciples of a rival claimant to the shrine’s leadership and another account detailing the exacting revenge taken by the widow of another recent sajjāda nashīn that involved a gun battle and an extorted ‘offering’ (nadhrāna) of some 50,000 rupees. In spite of this unseemly competition and violence, Sydenham still found the status of the saint himself undiminished. ‘Musulmans & Hindoos promiscuously prostrate themselves at his shrine & he is regarded by all classes as the Saint of the Deckan’, he explained; even the Deccan’s Hindus invoked the name of Gēsū Darāz before taking their food each evening.

Surviving documents from the early Āsaf Jāh period shrine of Shāh ‘Alī Nehrī (d. 1176/1763) in Awrangabad refer to similar disputes surrounding the maintenance of the saint’s eponymous water conduit (nehr), whose pool supplied water to the community that inhabited the quarter of the city around the shrine. When Nasīr al-dīn Nehrī and ‘Imād al-dīn Nehrī, sons of the late sajjāda nashīn of the shrine, disputed their respective inheritance in 1226/1811, both parties tried to avoid financial responsibility for repairing the broken conduit. Here, in the decay of the joint infrastructure of shrine and city, we hear an echo of the wider disintegration of Awrangabad described by British visitors of the period.

This disintegration had other ramifications for Awrangabad’s cultural and religious life. Such was the flight of learning from the city during the nineteenth century that the Nizām’s administration had to invite scores of North Indians (Muslims from Lucknow in particular) to help run the city’s administration. Here Awrangabad once again played its part in the promotion of imported North Indian talent over local skills, a process that had long antecedents in the Deccan’s history and
as the so-called mulkī (‘local’) versus ghayr-mulkī (‘immigrant’) controversy would prove to be one of the great disputes in Àṣaf Jâh Haydarabad throughout the nineteenth century. This influx of Hindustanis was connected to the fact that developments in the main centres of Indo-Muslim cultural life (in Delhi in particular) were to affect a gradual re-assessment of the relative status of the Awrangabad saints in spite of the provincialization of the city itself.

More is known about the religious life of the Deccan during this period through an account of the religious practices of the Indian Muslims compiled for a British administrator by a Deccani Muslim. This text, the famous Qanoon-e-Islam, was composed around 1830 by Ja’far Sharîf (‘Jaffur Shurreef’), a former resident of the village of Ellora, located beside Khuldabad. Although the work aimed to discuss the practices of Indian Muslims in general, Ja’far Sharîf constantly drew back on his knowledge of Muslim practice in the Deccan. As in Sydenham’s account of Gulbarga, the great saint Gēsū Darāz emerges as a seminal culture hero, as does the great ‘Abd al-Qâdir Jilânî of Baghdad.12 Along with these master saints, Ja’far Sharîf confirms the infiltration of the Sufi saints into almost every sphere of Muslim cultural life in the Deccan, from recreation and festive holy days to cures for illness, forms of social stratification and patterns of bodily adornment and dress. Echoing the importance that the Persian commemorative writers from Kâmsgîr Khân to Sabzawârî gave to the death anniversaries (‘arâṣ) of the Awrangabad saints, Ja’far Sharîf describes the charged atmosphere on these occasions that blended reverence with revelry. Muslim divines fraternized with cannabis-intoxicated revellers as music and drumming blended into the sound of prayer, for in a very real way the shrines of the saints were the locations for the Muslim equivalent of the carnivals of Catholic Europe. Yet it was the gay world of Ja’far Sharîf, oblivious to the dangers presented by its British observers, that more sober and analytical Sufi scholars like Shâh Walî Allâh (d. 1176/1762) in Delhi and his nineteenth-century heirs were beginning to view as lying behind the malaise of Muslim power in India.13 In this critique, which would change the shape of Islam over the next century and a half, lay both a learned condemnation of the ways of the common man and the Muslim formulation of the politics of pleasure.

Yet in the early nineteenth century, prior to the impact of the interwoven discourses of colonialism and Muslim reform, there was still no clear demarcation between popular and learned forms of Islam in the Deccan. The saints venerated by the illiterate retained their position in the written ontological hierarchies of the learned, while their shrines remained the common place of devotion for the elite and the common people. While the old order of the Mughals survived in Delhi, echoed in the Deccan through the continued use of ceremonial Mughal titles at court and on the coinage of the state, the shrines of the saints acted as spaces which were capable of articulating a continuity with the past, echoed in the continued use of the name Mogholai for the region around Awrangabad. The Sufi shrines served as the storehouses of historical memory in which the remembrance of the saint was entwined with the memory of the age in which he lived. Through their architecture, etiquette and legends, the shrines of the saints of Awrangabad were places in which the age of
Awrangzeb was kept perpetually alive. The architecture of death blended with the commemoration of sainthood and royalty in other ways too, for by this time the great mausoleum of Awrangzeb’s wife at Awrangabad was referred to by locals in the same terminology as the shrines of the saints, that is as a dargah (literally ‘royal court’).\(^{14}\) In Khuldabad, time had correspondingly softened the imperial image of Awrangzeb into that of a saint. While miniature painters across India were already depicting him piously reading or writing the words of the Quran, around the emperor’s simple grave in the shrine of Zayn al-din, his piety was expressed in more vividly local colours. When the resident of Awrangbad’s cantonment Meadows Taylor visited Khuldabad around 1246/1830, the keepers of Zayn al-din’s shrine thus described a scene that placed Awrangzeb squarely in the shoes of the Muslim saint. Standing beside the emperor’s tomb, Meadows Taylor listened to the attendants ‘gravely relate that a tiger of a pious disposition has of late years made his appearance every Friday...to sweep the pavement before it [the grave] with his tail’.\(^{15}\)

**Shāh Nūr**

While the lack of local documentation from the period reflects the broader picture of Awrangabad’s century of obscurity, it is just possible to trace the broad and changing outlines of the saints among the shadows of the age. Despite the ongoing association of the shrine of Shāh Nūr with representatives of the Āsaf Jāh state through the eighteenth century, during the early part of the nineteenth-century support for the shrine declined, and with the removal of this patronage the cult eventually foundered. While it is uncertain which party disappeared first, during the course of the century the shrine lost the support of both its lineage of sajjāda nashīns and its circle of patrons. Without these institutional bulwarks, the status of Shāh Nūr retracted to a shadow of its former self and by the middle of the century the shrine fell into a state of neglect and was effectively abandoned. With the disappearance of the sajjāda nashīn who had long managed it, the shrine’s khanaqah also lost its resident dervishes. Reflecting not only the impoverishment of Awrangabad, this occurred at a time when Sufism in India at large was finding itself with ever fewer sources of material support. The Shi’a Muslim state of Awadh had abandoned the courtly sponsorship of even Shi’a Sufis by the early years of the nineteenth century.\(^{16}\) It may have been during this period that the derelict shrine of Shāh Nūr became associated with the Hindu population of several nearby hill villages, a community who came to form a substantial portion of its regular clientele by the twentieth century and to add a more clearly Indic dimension to the saint’s identity in subsequent oral tradition. But Shāh Nūr had been associated with Hindu religious figures even in his own lifetime, so it is difficult to attach a reliable chronology to these associations. Whatever the changes in the shrine’s clientele through association with a lower status village community during these years, the shrine was nonetheless to remain without the management of a sajjāda nashīn or the patronage of wealthy devotees until the beginning of the twentieth century.
Little is recorded of the history of the shrine during the first half of the nineteenth century. We know that the sajjāda nashīn Shāh Muhammad Saʿīd was succeeded after his death by his son, Saʿd Allāh, who was sajjāda nashīn during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Saʿd Allāh had two sons and was succeeded after his death by the elder of the two, Amin Allāh. When he died without issue the lineage continued through Saʿd Allāh’s younger son, Hamīd Allāh, who seems to have managed the shrine through the middle years of the nineteenth century. Still governed by this lineage, the shrine’s income continued unabated and it remained one of the most important landowners of not only Awrangabad but the Deccan at large.

While the original flow of Central Asian patrons associated with the formation of Mughal and Āsaf Jāh power in the Deccan had all but depleted itself by the early nineteenth century, the shrine’s status still enabled it to maintain connections with the governments of the local ruling powers. Persian and Modi documents from the first half of the nineteenth century testify to Panchakkī’s continued receipt of lands from representatives of not only the Nizām, but also to the existence of orders from the Maratha Peshwā for his officers to protect lands belonging to Panchakkī in their districts. Despite the economic contraction of Awrangabad itself, the shrine’s patrimonial links with the Mughalpura quarter of the city (founded as the domicile of Central Asian migrants in the time of Awrangzeb) continued to pay dividends. One surviving document, dated 1239/1823, details the sale of a haveli in the Mughalpura quarter to a local merchant for 220 rupees. The original owner planned to keep a quarter of the proceeds for himself but pass the remainder on to Panchakkī as an offering. In such surviving documents we glimpse the way in which the shrine remained embedded in the local economy of the city.

Despite the continued recognition of Panchakkī by residents of Awrangabad and the ruling classes of its neighbouring political centres, its saints became increasingly marginalized from wider Naqshbandī tradition. The nineteenth century witnessed an acceleration in the rise of Ahmad Sirhindī’s Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandī order in India and beyond. This process was to cement the relegation of the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs as a provincial chapter far away from the primary narrative of Naqshbandī history as conceived by its North Indian chroniclers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Subsequent Naqshbandī lineages and their memorialists bypassed them, for unlike Nizām al-dīn with his famous teacher and son in Delhi, the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs lacked a position in the wider Indian Sufi network through which they could find recognition by the generic Sufi commemorative writers of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, it was only via the small Naqshbandī outpost established by Shāh ‘Ināyat Allāh (d. 1117/1705) at Balapur and maintained there by his descendants that Panchakkī would maintain any long-standing link with the wider Naqshbandī world.

Yet Panchakkī continued to be resorted to by locals as a place of pleasure and delight as much as piety. Having earlier been eulogized by Sabzawārī as being ‘like a piece of Kashmir in the Deccan’, the shrine’s gardens, pools and fountains came to
form the focus of local promenades among the respectable classes of the city’s Muslims. In the first half of the nineteenth century, these promenades were witnessed by two separate European visitors, who described the shrine as being well-kept and sparkling with lamps, with the many fountains in the great pool built by the Āsaf Jāh general Jamīl Bēg ever spraying and delightful. Naturally, the well-dressed local visitors whom early British visitors observed at Panchakkī combined pleasure with piety during their visits by also resorting to the tombs of the saints. Respectable if no longer lordly, these visitors formed a social group that was in some ways not so far removed from that of the original patrons of the saints. This custom of taking evening walks in the gardens of Panchakkī was by no means unique and formed a social function of Sufi shrines elsewhere; a sixteenth-century source records similar public promenades at the shrine of Shaykh Safī al-dīn at Ardabil in Iran.

As we have seen, in his account of the cave temples at Ellora near Khuldabad, the British officer John Seely described Awrangabad as he saw it in 1810. During his stay in the city, Seely also visited Panchakkī and left an interesting description of the shrine. As with many Indian visitors, it was the shrine’s eponymous water mill that immediately caught his attention. Seely, however, was a child of Britain’s age of industrialization. Writing about Panchakkī from the genteel comfort of Bournemouth a decade later, he could only look back on the technology of the shrine’s water mill (that he claimed attracted more visitors than the tombs themselves) as crude and simple, if ‘unique’ in India. But this interface between religion and technology at Panchakkī was far from unique and in his account of the Sufis of Sind a few decades later the British orientalist Richard Burton spoke of a local Sufi saint whom he was told loved to sit listening to the sound of water-wheels turning. Other such mills survive in the Hasan Abdal region, through which the saints passed on their journey to the Deccan. Yet despite Seely’s faint praise for the water mill at Panchakkī, even he was delighted by the large pool in the outer courtyard, whose shoals of tame fish were fed by visitors and which he was told had been originally put there by the hands of Awrangzeb himself. Echoing Sabzawārī’s description of half a century earlier, Seely also recollected the blossom and fruit upon the trees around the shrine as a scene of great beauty. In a mirroring of the human arena pictured by Sabzawārī, Seely also described Panchakkī as being host to a throng of well-dressed Muslim ‘priests and doctors’, to-ing and fro-ing about the courtyards of the shrine. Within the mausoleum itself, deliberately darkened with oil lamps ‘to “make darkness visible”’, sandalwood, camphor and myrrh were burned in honour of the saints. Comparing the number of visitors to the ‘dargah’ of Awrangzeb’s wife Rābi’ā Dawrānī, which he had visited earlier, Seely noted that there were more people paying their respects at the tombs of the Panchakkī saints. Despite the lure of Rābi’ā’s extraordinary architectural successor to the Tāj Mahal a short way across the city, and her own quasi-sanctification in mirroring the greatest female saint of Islam in her title of the ‘Rābi’ā of her age (dawrānī), the tales of miracles associated with Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Palangpōsh ultimately produced a stronger magnetism than the more plainly imperial piety fostered at the great shrine of the emperor’s wife.
While he was at Panchakkī, Seely was entertained by someone whose name he recalled as Shah Sāfit, a figure who was clearly one of the family descendants of Shāh Mahmūd and possibly the actual sajjāda nashīn of the shrine at this period. The name Sāfit (‘benign, liberal’) may well have been a nickname for either Shāh Hāfīz Allāh or Shāh Sa’d Allāh, the two sajjāda nashīns of Panchakkī whom Seely was most likely to have encountered. Seely described his host as a cultivated and learned man, and even added that he had visited Europe, including Rome. Given the wealth of the shrine and the mobility of other Indians along the colonial trade routes that had emerged by the early nineteenth century, such a journey seems quite possible. Like similar Muslim Mediterranean journeys of the period, it may have been completed during the course of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Over a century earlier one of the followers of Shāh Musāfir had already travelled as far as Alexandria. This worldly and learned atmosphere fits in with other evidence of the shrine’s history at this time. Seely mentioned the number of scholars he encountered there and what we know of the library that developed at Panchakkī confirms this picture of learning. While it is impossible to know precisely what books were present in the library during the nineteenth century, a description of its most valuable assets dating from before its mid-twentieth century dispersal does inform us of a number of early volumes which may have already been present in the first half of the nineteenth century.25 One of the most interesting of these works was a manuscript of the famous letters of Ahmad Sirhindī, the Maktūbāt-e-mujaddid-e-alf-e-thānī, from the library of the Mughal prince (and briefly emperor) Shams al-dīn Rafi’ al-Darajāt (r. 1131/1719). As we have seen, Sirhindī’s extravagant claims in these letters had caused them to be banned under Awrangzeb, so the presence of a royal copy in the library at Panchakkī is interesting evidence of the circulation of Sirhindī’s ideas. Although there was no mention of Sirhindī or his followers in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya, the manuscript of the letters shows that the later residents of Panchakkī at least were aware of Sirhindī’s writings and ideas. Another specimen from a royal collection was a copy of the Babāristān of the great Timurid poet Jāmī that had originally entered the royal library of Awrangzeb in 1069/1658. This is of considerable interest in view of the association we have seen in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya between the circle of Shāh Musāfir and the literary world of Timurid Herat, not least in Shāh Musāfir’s own regular reading of Jāmī’s Nafrabāt al-uns. Other literary works that may have been present in the library during the period in question include a dīwān of Hāfīz dated to 1223/1808, two years before Seely’s visit, and several volumes on epistolary forms (insbā). Unfortunately, the small number of Sufi works noted by the library’s later cataloguer – including a malfūzāt of Burhān al-dīn Gharib of Khuldabad and a treatise by Gēsū Darāz of Gulbarga – bore no dates. Nonetheless, the evidence does suggest the presence of a flourishing library at the shrine during the nineteenth century and probably beforehand as well, a picture that fits in well with the association of Bilgrāmī’s learned circle with the shrine in the late-eighteenth century. Compared to the smaller role that textual culture seems to have played in the Sufi pedagogy of Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh themselves, in the course of the century that followed their deaths their shrine became an important local centre of learning.
Aside from this learned role, Panchakkī had also come by this period to act as a vivid architectural reminder of the city’s glorious Muslim past. Continuing to reap the financial rewards of the shrine’s early endowments, the sajjāda nashīns of Panchakkī evidently still received sufficient income from the shrine’s landholdings to maintain the costly delights of fountains and festive lighting (chirāghānī) mentioned by visitors. It also seems likely that dervishes continued to reside in its khanaqah at the sajjāda nashīn’s expense. Panchakki was thus able to find a role as the epitome of the shrunken city’s Mughal past and its more cultivated traditions of Sufi piety.

_Nizām al-dīn_

As we have seen, Nizām al-dīn’s tradition effectively shifted to Delhi with his son Fakhr al-dīn and his successors during middle of the eighteenth century. In common with what was by this period long-established custom, Fakhr al-dīn was succeeded in Delhi after his death by his son Ghulām Qutb al-dīn (d. 1232/1817) rather than by one of his disciples (murīdī). Ghulām Qutb al-dīn continued the legacy of Nizām al-dīn of Awrangabad in Delhi, the city from which the saint had departed for the Deccan over a century earlier. Nizām al-dīn’s heirs in this way echoed the bonds we
have seen tying Nizâm al-dîn and the literature surrounding him in Awrangabad to the old capital of Muslim saints and kings in Delhi. Nonetheless, Ghulâm Qutb al-dîn’s own followers were numerous and through them he was able to maintain the prestige of Nizâm al-dîn’s lineage among the late Mughal elite of Delhi. Marking his permanent place in Delhi’s commemorative tradition, Qutb al-dîn’s career was briefly summarized by the great Muslim modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khân (d. 1315/1898) in his celebration of the peoples and places of Delhi, Āthâr al-sanâdîd, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.26 In Awrangabad, however, the embers of Nizâm al-dîn’s memory burned less brightly beside the brightness of that of his representatives surrounding the court of the last Mughal rulers in Delhi.

Yet throughout the nineteenth century, the prominence of these North Indian relatives caused a considerable increase in the status of Nizâm al-dîn. The circumstances of this rise in the reputation of a saint whose earlier position in the city was by no means one of pre-eminence are of considerable interest, for they show the importance of literary celebration and the possession of trans-regional connections in the saint-making process. Neither Shâh Nûr nor the Awrangabad Naqshbandîs possessed enduring connections with parties in other major cities, owing their fame rather to the purely local connections they were able to make during Awrangabad’s years of prominence. As we have seen, when the court left and the city fell into decline, this lack of a wider structure of support in other regions meant that while the saints were by then established as the supernatural patrons of Awrangabad itself, they were unable to find a wider following beyond it. The case of Nizâm al-dîn was quite different. It was the same departure of Nizâm al-dîn’s main successor to Delhi that had contributed to the demise in the fortunes of his shrine in Awrangabad that would in the nineteenth century secure his posthumous reputation. For while virtually no mention of the other saints of Awrangabad seems to have been made during the whole nineteenth century, the name of Nizâm al-dîn came to be celebrated in many of the most important North Indian Sufî and other Muslim commemorative works of the age. These included the Takmila-ye-siyar al-awliyâ of Gul Muhammad Ahmadpûrî (d. 1243/1827) and the Āthâr al-sanâdîd of Sayyid Ahmad Khân (d. 1315/1898).

As a result of this external support, traditions emerged over the following decades that would present Nizâm al-dîn as the premier saint of Awrangabad and even argue for a comparable position for him in the Āsaf Jâh state at large. This process of literary celebration combined with the prestige that Nizâm al-dîn automatically acquired through his sharing the same spiritual lineage as the older Chishtîs of Delhi and their early descendants at Khuldabad. These factors drew further strength from the memory of Nizâm al-dîn’s connection with Nizâm al-Mulk Āsaf Jâh in order to become the focus of narrative traditions glorifying the saint’s command of powers of vast consequence, painting him ultimately as the miraculous founder of the Nizâmîs’ power over Haydarabad. The eventual result was the rise of Nizâm al-dîn to the point of eclipsing the prestige of the other saints of Awrangabad. This literary diffusion of Nizâm al-dîn’s memory stemmed mainly from the influence of Chishtî circles in North India and was the result of Nizâm al-dîn’s paternal connection with the
lineage of Fakhr al-dīn in Delhi. After the death of Fakhr al-dīn's son, Ghulām Qutb al-dīn, in 1232/1817 and his burial at the shrine of Bakhtiyār Kākī on the outskirts of Delhi, he was succeeded by his own son, Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn. Better known by the nickname of Kālē Miyān ('the Black Gentleman') in reference to the darkness of his complexion, Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn was part of the religious world of Delhi in the years before the Great Revolt of 1273/1857. All too little is known about either Nasīr al-dīn or the wider practice of Sufism in Delhi during this period, but what is recoverable provides a tantalizing glimpse into the connections of Sufis to the wider cultural life of their surroundings that in its own way reflects what we have seen in Awrangabad.

In the decades before the calamity of the Great Revolt that ended with the British destruction of the whole quarter of Delhi that Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn and his contemporaries had known, Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn was able to drift between the worlds of Sufis, poets and princes. As the scion of what had by then become one of the most learned and respected families in Delhi, several sources mention Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn in the capacity of spiritual master (murshid) of the last of the Mughal emperors, Bahadur Shah (r. 1253/1837–1274/1858). Confirming the emperor's affection for the descendants of Nizām al-dīn, Bahadur Shah's court diary recorded the emperor sending 200 rupees to Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn to defray the expenses incurred at the celebration of Fakhr al-dīn's death anniversary in 1268/1851, as well as sending his close advisor Mahbūb 'Alī Khān to represent him at the ceremony itself.27 Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn seems also to have been an acquaintance of the great Indo-Muslim modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khān (d. 1315/1898), who devoted a short section to him in his Āthār al-sanādīd.28 At the time of the book's composition around 1263/1846, Sayyid Ahmad described Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn as still being alive and aged around fifty. He was also said to have previously completed the hajj and travelled to Pakpattan in Punjab to be received into the service of the major Sufi (and member of his grandfather's initiatic lineage), Shāh Sulaymān Tawnsawī (d. 1267/1851), before returning to settle in Delhi. But as far as Sayyid Ahmad was concerned, by the 1260s/1840s Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn was being followed by all of the notables (umarā) of Delhi in his own right, as well as by the emperor himself. This description was drawn upon by Thomas Beale, the nineteenth century British compiler of the Oriental Biographical Dictionary, for whom Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn was also the spiritual guide of the emperor, but who in spite of his elevated status 'preferred the habit of a dervish'.29

Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn was also a close friend of the great Urdu and Persian poet Mīrzā Ghālib (d. 1285/1869), whose verse poignantly reworked the tropes and terminology of the Sufis in an age in which the old Indo-Muslim world was so clearly falling apart. According to Ghālib's student and biographer, Altāf Husayn Hālī (d. 1914), Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn sought to help and promote Ghālib as best he could. In return, Ghālib rewarded the Sufi with the pleasure of his company and the sharpness of his wit. Hālī recounted how when Ghālib was released from Delhi's British-administered prison after serving a sentence for gambling in 1264/1847, he went to stay at the house of Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn. While he was there someone came
by to congratulate the poet on his release from gaol, to which he replied with a play on his host’s nickname of Kālē Miyān: ‘What idiot has come out of prison? First I was the prisoner of the white man (gūrē kī qayd), and now I am the prisoner of the black man (kālē kī qayd).’

Such jokes aside, Ghulāb’s relationship with Nasīr al-dīn was closer than his barbed wit might suggest. Ghulāb’s letters reveal the warmth of their friendship no less than the poet’s indebtedness to the Sufi, as well as the ways in which their destinies were intertwined during the last years of Mughal Delhi. Ghulāb seems to have lived rent free in one of Nasīr al-dīn’s houses for between 3 and 5 years, while in the period after Ghulāb’s release from prison Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn’s close connections with the emperor were responsible for gaining Ghulāb the audience at court he so much required. In one of his letters from this period, Ghulāb praised his friend Nasīr al-dīn in glittering terms that reflect the nature of Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn’s favours, writing that since he was Nasīr al-dīn’s neighbour, by sitting in the dust of the latter’s threshold even the angels came to envy him. But with the Great Revolt of 1273/1857, much of the world that Ghulāb shared with Nizām al-dīn’s great-grandson in Delhi was to disappear forever. While some sources claim that Nasīr al-dīn died a few years before the Revolt in 1268/1852, as we see in the Chapter 4, this date was disputed by Ghulāb himself.

For Nizām al-dīn of Awrangabad, being connected so closely with the last major Sufi circle of Mughal Delhi meant that his name was plucked from the provincial obscurity that enveloped his contemporaries. The ongoing fame of his descendants in Delhi meant that he was commemorated by a series of Muslim writers anxious to shore up the heritage of Islam in the face of its political, economic and cultural disenfranchisement with the coming of British rule. But Fakhr al-dīn’s position in Delhi was also profitable to Nizām al-dīn’s legacy in other ways. Muhammad Sulaymān (d. 1267/1851), a disciple of Fakhr al-dīn’s own student, Nūr Muhammad Mahārawī (d. 1205/1791), later achieved considerable fame in his own right. In time Muhammad Sulaymān’s son and successor, Khwāja Allāh Bakhsh (d. 1319/1901), developed his father’s shrine and its surrounding village near the Salt Range in Punjab into an important centre of Sufi learning. As in the case of other Indo-Muslim religious circles during this period, the ever-increasing encroachment of British colonial influence over matters of life and thought previously contained within the domain of Islamic praxis and theory encouraged the development of new religious institutions capable of either addressing or avoiding the perceived threat of colonial influence. At Muhammad Sulaymān’s ‘House of Learning’ (dār al-'ulūm) in Tawnisa, as at so many other emerging Sufi teaching institutions across North India at the same time, Sufism was being reigned in to stand within the clear confines of an Islamic religiosity as conceived through the textual and scholarly lenses of šarī'ā and hadīth scholarship. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these developments – still only indistinct almost anywhere at this time – would have little effect on Awrangabad, sheltered under the relative protection of the theoretically independent Nizāms of Haydarabad. But as we see in Chapter 4, for all of Awrangabad’s independence from British India, the years that followed the Great Revolt saw the
shadows of British power creep slowly across India to colour the destiny of its Sufis as well.

The literary tradition

When Delhi remembered the Deccan

Despite the local success of his cult, Shāh Nūr remained very much part of a tradition of local saints, celebrated in Awrangabad but scarcely known elsewhere. For their part, the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs were similarly able only to maintain a restricted local following (in large part through the splendour of their shrine), but lacked the connections beyond the city to spread their fame elsewhere. Of all of the Awrangabad saints, it was the memory of Nizām al-dīn that underwent the widest textual proliferation in the centuries after his death and whose name came to feature in commemorative writings composed right across India. However, the only significant Sufi work from the Deccan in which Nizām al-dīn featured during this period was the early nineteenth-century Mishkat al-nubuwwat of the Haydarabadi Sufi, Ghulām ‘Alī Qādirī. This vast biographical compendium sought to collate material on all of the Sufis from the beginning of Islam to its author’s own lifetime. Of course, the criteria for inclusion were shaped by the author’s own historical and regional context, and the work contains a firmly Indocentric leaning. The short biography of Nizām al-dīn appears amid those of his contemporaries, including figures of merely local importance like the Haydarabadi ecstatic (majdhūb) Bādshāh Sāhib. The closer the work reached to its author’s own period the more it featured local figures whose status was magnified to reflect that of the grand pan-Islamic figures featured in the earlier volumes of the work; in such ways a trans-regional past served to dignify a local present. The notice on Nizām al-dīn repeats what were by now the conventional details of his initiation in Delhi and move to Awrangabad at his master’s command, along with an account of Nizām al-Mulk’s devotion to him. Indeed, the greater part of the notice on the saint consists of a résumé of the career of Nizām al-Mulk and a version of an important legend of the saint’s miraculous aid to Nizām al-Mulk that was by this period finding written form. The author’s description of this tale as a being a ‘famous story’ (qisa-e-mashhūr) shows that it was already well known before it came to be written down. The account concerned the battle that Nizām al-Mulk fought with his rival Mubāriz Khān for control of the Deccan in 1137/1724, and centred on the rival’s possession of a saintly relic of a tattered cloak (gudrī) given to him by another Sufi called Shāh Dawla. But it is faith in the saint that is the central moral of this tale of the saint and the king. For despite delaying battle out of fear, once Nizām al-Mulk put his trust in Nizām al-dīn he immediately won a decisive victory and so it was that control of the Deccan fell into his hands.

However, it was in the literary circles of Delhi that Nizām al-dīn’s memory was passed on most effectively. We have seen his teachings being kept alive in the decades following his death through the transfer of his lineage to Delhi with his son Fakhr al-dīn. Until the aftermath of the Great Revolt of 1273/1857, this tradition would
persist in spheres of the highest influence in Delhi. Although Nizām al-dīn’s tradition continued in Awrangabad under the guidance of the sajjāda nashīn at his shrine — still described as a place of pilgrimage in the nineteenth century in the Misbkat al-mubnuwat — it was nonetheless the flourishing of the main branch of his lineage in Delhi that secured his posthumous reputation in the years following Awrangabad’s eclipse. Narratives concerning the life of Nizām al-dīn thus featured in numerous texts composed in northern India during the eighteenth century, such as the Fakhr ʿl-tālibīn and Manāqib-e-fakhriyya of ʿImād al-Mulk Firuz Jang III (d. 1215/1800), which were mainly concerned with Fakhr al-dīn. Nizām al-dīn also featured in many of the great Chishtī tadkīrāt composed during the nineteenth century, the most important of which was the Persian Takmila-ye-siyar al-awliyā of Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī (d. 1243/1827). What is of interest about these series of texts is their clear geographical bias, emphasizing Nizām al-dīn’s connections with a Delhi-centred tradition rather than a tradition with any firm links to the Deccan.

In the series of works written in Delhi by the supporters of Fakhr al-dīn, Nizām al-dīn was presented as the pre-eminent figure in the religious life of the Muslim Deccan. A section of the Manāqib-e-fakhriyya (1201/1787) of Fakhr al-dīn’s courtly follower ʿImād al-Mulk (the erstwhile vizier of the emperor in Delhi) was devoted to the acclamation of Fakhr al-dīn’s father Nizām al-dīn.35 In the Manāqib-e-fakhriyya, ʿImād al-Mulk emphasized the fact that his own ancestor Nizām al-Mulk had taken a Sufi initiation (bayʿat) at the saint’s hands.36 Although writing from Delhi, ʿImād al-Mulk gives some information on the state of affairs in Awrangabad, mentioning that the death anniversary of Nizām al-dīn was still being celebrated there and that the saint’s son Fakhr al-dīn had many followers who were resident in Delhi.37 If this information is correct, it suggests that the spiritual connections Awrangabad forged with Delhi during its period of Mughal rule were retained after the re-emergence of the Deccan’s independence under the Āsaf Jāh rulers.

Nizām al-dīn also featured in the lengthy mathnawī poem ʿImād al-Mulk wrote in praise of Fakhr al-dīn entitled Fakhrīyyat al-nizām. In the poem, ʿImād al-Mulk described the coming of Nizām al-dīn to the Deccan and his settling there to teach the ‘people of Āsaf Jāh’.38 Nizām al-dīn was presented as a great teacher and as having secured the devotion of Nizām al-Mulk, who was once again said to have received a Sufi initiation from Nizām al-dīn. Later ʿImād al-Mulk explained in poetic language how upon hearing of Nizām al-dīn’s death, Nizām al-Mulk rushed in grief to his khanaqah in Awrangabad to give his sympathies (taslīma).39 After much crying and sharing of condolences, as we saw in Chapter 1 Nizām al-Mulk asked Fakhr al-dīn to succeed his father and the other shaykhs of Nizām al-dīn who were present agreed. Even though Fakhr al-dīn did not want to accept, wishing instead to defer to his older brother, he underwent the ritual of succession by having the turban wrapped around his head and being placed on the ‘cushion of rightful guidance’ (masnad-e-irshād). What is fascinating about this account is the way in which it ties the destiny of the families of Nizām al-Mulk and Nizām al-dīn together. For in ʿImād al-Mulk’s verses we in fact read how the author’s own grandfather Nizām al-Mulk was responsible for elevating Fakhr al-dīn into the position of official successor to Nizām al-dīn.
While composing a poem in praise of the deeds of his spiritual master Fakhr al-dīn, ʿImād al-Mulk thereby reminded his readers that his own family were in some way responsible for the fortunes of Fakhr al-dīn. For if Nizām al-Mulk is shown as a devotee of Nizām al-dīn, in being presented as having the authority to appoint Fakhr al-dīn as his successor, the older prince asserts his authority over the young Sufi. Here is a reflection of the description of Diyānat Khān appointing the early sajjāda nashīns of Shāh Nūr and of Mansārām’s account of Nizām al-Mulk appointing a sajjāda nashīn for the shrine of Qādir Awliyā (d. 1098/1687) in Awrangābād.40 ʿImād al-Mulk thus ensured that the memory of Nizām al-dīn’s relationship with Nizām al-Mulk would be passed on through time. It was through such textual webs as those woven in Fakhriyyat al-nizām that the ties that bound the families of Sufis to those of their patrons could be woven into the future no less than the past.

It is interesting to compare ʿImād al-Mulk’s account of Nizām al-dīn with that of the prominent North Indian Sufi, Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī (d. 1243/1827), who was active in founding Sufi teaching institutions in Punjab. Gul Muhammad was a follower of the Punjabi Chishtī, Muhammad ʿĀqīl (d. 1229/1814), who was a disciple of Fakhr al-dīn’s follower Nūr Muhammad Mahārawī (d. 1205/1791) and of Fakhr al-dīn himself. Like his disciple, Muhammad ʿĀqīl also established Sufi foundations in Punjab in which logic and jurisprudence were taught alongside mysticism (tasawwuf). As in the evolution of similar institutions elsewhere in northern India during this period that were tying Sufi teachings into the firm boundaries of legal and traditionist scholarship, the image presented of Nizām al-dīn and Gul Muhammad’s other predecessors must be seen in the context of the creation of the kind of etiology and routinized charisma that such religious institutions demanded. The foundation of an institution in this way formed an important part of the survival of memory upon which sainthood depends. Like ʿImād al-Mulk, Gul Muhammad was also an interested party in the history he was writing, for his own spiritual credibility in some sense stood on the shoulders of each of his predecessors. And as a follower of Muhammad ʿĀqīl, Gul Muhammad’s predecessors perforce included both Fakhr al-dīn and Nizām al-dīn of Awrangābād.

Gul Muhammad’s account of Nizām al-dīn is found in his Takmila-ye-siyar al-awliyā, his completion (takmila) of the classic Chishtī hagiography Siyar al-awliyā of the early Sufi writer Mīr Khwurd (d. 770/1368), whose own life was spent between Delhi and the Deccan. In his text, Gul Muhammad sought to link his own chain of teachers (and so by extension himself) with such great Chishtī saints of medieval Delhi as Nizām al-dīn Awliyā (d. 725/1325) by linking himself and his teachers to them in a continuous chain of initiation and narrative.41 The notices that Gul Muhammad wrote on the section of the chain stretching between Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī and his own master Muhammad ʿĀqīl were far better informed than the rather hazy links connecting Nizām al-dīn with the great Sufis of Delhi from Nasīr al-dīn Chirāgh-e-Dihlī (d. 757/1356) onward. Such an initiatic chain (silīla) did in some sense exist, but the reality which hagiographic texts like that of Gul Muhammad disguised was that what they recounted were in fact only one of many chains of succession that could claim these connections. Writing was therefore
a means of publicizing and promoting the claims of one of these chains over others. Or at least it was when coupled with the necessary counterpart of a readership capable of acknowledging its assertions.

Like other such texts, Gul Muhammad’s *Takmila* shows the way in which writers of Sufi commemorative texts drew on the writings of earlier Sufi memorialists no less than other writers involved in historiographical enterprises. As such, in his account of Nizām al-dīn, Gul Muhammad cited Kāmgar Khān’s *malfuzat*, Nizām al-dīn’s own *Nizām al-qulūb* and the collection of letters sent to Nizām al-dīn by Shāh Kalīm Allāh. He also supplemented these works with information drawing on oral tradition and, possibly, other unnamed written sources. What is interesting about Gul Muhammad’s use of written sources, however, is the editing and shaping process which he undertook in selecting what information to take from them for his own account of Nizām al-dīn. Unsurprisingly, the selection of this nineteenth-century Indian scholar differed from that of the modern day European scholar: Gul Muhammad makes no reference to the friendships with Yogis or the squabbles with students that we have described in the present work. By contrast, Gul Muhammad’s purpose was to provide a biographical account of Nizām al-dīn which, though attempting to be historically accurate, nonetheless brought to the fore those qualities of the Sufi which might be most worth emulating. In this respect, we must again bear in mind the institutional context in which Gul Muhammad’s account was written and his likely imagined readership among his own students and disciples. It is partly as a result of the institutional contexts in which such texts were written and intended to be read that their contents vary significantly from the more colourful accounts which sometimes occur in *tadhkirat* composed by writers (like ‘Urūj) who were positioned outside this pious tradition and whose works were intended for a wider readership than solely aspirant professional men of the faith. It is therefore hardly surprising that Gul Muhammad emphasized Nizām al-dīn’s dedication to the upholding of the religious law (*sharī‘a*) and to the pious etiquette (*adab*) that won the saint the respect of all who knew him.

These complementary attributes are of great importance with regard to both the teaching institutions overseen by the likes of Gul Muhammad and the overall character of Muslim social life in India in which Sufism played so large a part. For what Nizām al-dīn embodied here was the importance of self-discipline, the constant will towards shaping one’s character and behaviour towards compliance with an ideal ultimately embodied in the custom (*sunna*) of the Prophet Muhammad. In many ways, this deliberate re-shaping of both the private and the public self formed the greater part of the guidelines laid out by the study of Sufism and Islamic law respectively. It is in this sense that we should understand the madrasa institutions such as those governed by Gul Muhammad and his Indian contemporaries as places in which learning was not merely a phenomenon of the intellect, but a means of shaping the whole being. An important part of this self-fashioning was the disciplining of the body, a discipline which was not to be carried to ascetic excess but to be exercised within the more moderate limits prescribed by centuries of Sufi and other Muslim moralizing works. The complementary aspect to this outward discipline was the
purification of the inner self. This was precisely the function of the Sufi meditational techniques described by Nizām al-dīn in his *Nizām al-qulāb*, and whose importance was further emphasized by Gul Muhammad. The ideal product of these institutions was therefore a particular kind of man, not primarily learned but transformed. Ready to return to the wider community, such a man could act as an example before others, as Nizām al-dīn had before those who knew him.

In Gul Muhammad’s account of Nizām al-dīn we find that the edifying figure of Nizām al-dīn was himself devoted to the imitation of the behaviour of the Prophet Muhammad. It is in this sense that works such as the *Takmila* must be seen as textual aids to this process of self-transformation. Here was the conjunction of a much older Sufi tradition of self-discipline with an emergent current of Muslim piety during the nineteenth century, giving renewed emphasis to the imitation of the Prophet as the basis for all Muslim religious life. At this point in Indo-Muslim history, however, it was the Sufi saint who was still seen as best able to embody the Prophet’s own qualities.

Nonetheless, it is important that we do not miss the changes that were occurring within the tradition of Sufi biographical writing at this time. For no less than Gul Muhammad’s *Takmila*, Kāmgār Khān’s *Ahsan al-shamīl* on Nizām al-dīn also sought to present the saint as a model for pious emulation, as made clear in its title’s invocation of the saint’s ‘beautiful characteristics’. Both texts placed considerable emphasis on the institutional character of Sufi life, *Ahsan al-shamīl* in its literary use of the khanaqah as the setting for the episodes it describes and the *Takmila* in its emphasis on Nizām al-dīn’s institutional links to his master Kalīm Allāh’s and his own khanaqah. In neither text do we see the Sufi aside from his proper institutional milieu, which is only appropriate given the important role of the institution in the spiritual task at hand of the shaping of the self. The milieu is therefore constitutive of the man. But despite these similarities, Gul Muhammad’s version of the Sufi man is a more narrowly defined one than that presented by Kāmgār Khān or even that glimpsed in the sermonizing letters sent to Nizām al-dīn by Kalīm Allāh. Although many omissions must be forgiven in an account barely reaching twenty manuscript pages in length, a selective narrowing of focus is still apparent. Gone are the (admittedly few) accounts of miracles attributed to Nizām al-dīn, while any mention of his association with Yogis is effaced in favour of the exclusively Muslim company he kept with his learned master and students. Similarly absent are Kāmgār Khān’s accounts of Nizām al-dīn’s pilgrimages to the shrines of other saints, though, in reflection of the legitimacy which music managed to maintain among the Chishtiyya, Kāmgār Khān’s emphasis on the importance that Nizām al-dīn gave to the musical performance (*majlis-e-samā*) is echoed in the *Takmila*. Overall, the predominant tone of Gul Muhammad’s text remains one that was guided by the experience of institutional life and aimed at promoting the behavioural codes maintained by madrasa-khanaqahs like those founded by Gul Muhammad himself. Nizām al-dīn is thus seen always sharing his food, insisting on quiet during meetings (*majālis*), equally dividing the gifts (*nadhr*) he is offered or spending the hours between prayers quietly reading the Quran or other books in his room. We have earlier seen the
saints and the stories told about them serving a variety of social and political functions: here we see the saint promoted as the model student. Yet this should be seen not so much as a demotion in status. Rather, it is a reminder of the important role that the doctrines and discipline of Sufism have played in Muslim societies in the promotion of ethical and behavioural codes aimed at the creation of a humane public sphere.

As the generic title of the *tadhkira* suggests, memory plays a fundamental part in the *raison d’être* of this genre of writings. The memory of the deeds of past notables of the community was valued in its own right, even if this did not mean that historical memory was free from the ideological uses inherent in any historical discourse. Like ‘Imād al-Mulk in his *Fakhriyyat al-nizām*, Gul Muhammad made reference to the association between Nizām al-dīn and Nizām al-Mulk, also claiming that the ruler of the Deccan undertook an initiation (*bay’at*) at Nizām al-dīn’s hands and became his disciple.44 Unlike ‘Imād al-Mulk, however, Gul Muhammad had no immediate family connection with Nizām al-Mulk and the repeating of the tradition of the connection between the ruler and the saint seems rather to fit in with the long hagiographical tradition of aggrandizing the reputation of saints by associating them in one way or another with sultans. We have already had cause to mention the traditional links – whether actual or narrative – between the Muslim saints and kings of precolonial India and in this respect Gul Muhammad forms an important link in the chain with the next commemorator of Nizām al-dīn, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (d. 1315/1898). Writing in early nineteenth-century Punjab, Gul Muhammad still inhabited a region that would not be subjected to British power until 1265/1849, though the decline of Mughal power and the rise of the Sikhs meant that Muslim political power was nonetheless clearly threatened there. The regional ambit of much of Gul Muhammad’s activity fell within the territories of the small Muslim successor state of Bahawalpur, which did not enter into a treaty with the East India Company until 1248/1833, some six years after Gul Muhammad’s death. In the *Takmila*, this precolonial Indo-Muslim world was perhaps echoed in the remembrance by Gul Muhammad, whose teaching institutions were safeguarded by the existence of Bahawalpur state, of the association of his Sufi predecessor Nizām al-dīn with the ruler of a similar Muslim successor state over a century earlier.

Unlike Gul Muhammad, Sayyid Ahmad Khān wrote his short account of Nizām al-dīn in a city that was already under British control. His account of Nizām al-dīn is found in his Urdu *Āthār al-sanāṭid* (c. 1263/1846), the classic nineteenth-century encyclopaedia of the disappearing architectural splendours of Muslim Delhi written largely in response to the rise of British power.45 In contrast to the account of Nizām al-dīn in Gul Muhammad’s *Takmila*, the account of the saint in the *Āthār al-sanāṭid* was more concerned with the upholding of the prestige of an urban tradition than a more specifically Sufi one. While it was a predominantly Muslim Delhi that Sayyid Ahmad Khān described, his text thus belonged more to the tradition of urban panegyrics discussed earlier than to the tradition of strictly Sufi biography embodied by Gul Muhammad’s work. Here the memory of the saints associated with Delhi, like Nizām al-dīn, was evoked to service the memory of a sophisticated urban society rather than
to shape the morals of a discretely religious community of scholars and students. An important consequence of this was that the Āthār al-sanādīd upheld the claims in Nizām al-dīn’s commemorative tradition that associated him with Delhi rather than Awrangabad. In this way, over two centuries after Nizām al-dīn left the city of his early studies its claims to his memory were being championed over those of Awrangabad in one of the key Urdu texts of the nineteenth century. Due to the fame achieved in Delhi by Fakhr al-dīn and his successors in Delhi, Nizām al-dīn’s own biography in this text was pared down to a series of intertwined spiritual and familial relationships: descended from Shihāb al-dīn Suhrāwardī, married into the family of Gēsū Darāz, taught by Kālim Allāh and in turn the father and teacher of Fakhr al-dīn. By this point, almost every trace of the personal identity of the living Sufi had been sacrificed to the very commemorative structures by which the textual tradition continued to uphold Nizām al-dīn’s name. The image of the living dervish was now fully eclipsed by the structures of saintly hierarchy and descent that served to delineate spiritual authority and channel the power of blessing.

The fame and spiritual power of Nizām al-dīn was no longer being used to bring prestige to Awrangabad, nor to confirm the status of its shrines, as in the Sawānih of Sabzawārī. Instead, as part of Sayyid Ahmad’s aim of celebrating the Muslim architecture of memory, Nizām al-dīn’s name was evoked only to add to the prestige of Delhi. Recent appraisals of Nizām al-dīn picturing him as the driving force behind a Chishtī revival have therefore perhaps overestimated the role of individual activity in this process.46 For sainthood and the cultural memory that sustains it are ongoing processes, requiring constant maintenance over time. Whatever Nizām al-dīn’s own writings and efforts, his continuing posthumous fame could only be won for him by the ongoing success of his descendants.
What a heart-opening, wonderful and peaceful place! Surrounding the lodge (takiyya) is a pleasant compound of many corridors. There are several cells (bujrahā) and hermitages (sawāma‘), and in each one of them there live faqirs, amirs, travelers and the tailors of cloaks.¹

From revolt to revival

The Great Revolt of 1274/1857 that ended with the final dissolution of the Mughal dynasty is often regarded as a largely North Indian affair. Yet despite the alliance between the British and the Nizām in Haydarabad, the Deccan witnessed disturbances of its own and later felt the aftershock of the calamities in the north in a number of ways. Despite the independence of Haydarabad State from direct British rule, the guiding colonial hand of the Resident in Haydarabad played a central role in the politics of the region. This was underpinned by the presence of a British Resident in Haydarabad and the Contingent forces paid for by the Nizām but commanded by British officers.² Contingent soldiers had arrived in Awrangabad in the first decades of the nineteenth century and by mid-century the presence of their cantonment a mile to the west of the old city of Awrangzeb and Nizām al-Mulk was an established part of Awrangabad’s urban geography. But while the officers of the Contingent were British, the soldiers were composed not only of residents of the Deccan but also of large numbers of North Indians from Awadh, whose presence was the cause of much anxiety among their British officers as the events of 1857 unfolded. By the mid-nineteenth century, Haydarabad State already had a history of military rebellions in its own right. Amid the competition for privilege and resources among the different social and ethnic groups who made up the state’s population, the nineteenth century saw a reassertion of the old pattern of rivalry between local (mulki) and immigrant (ghayr-mulki) communities that had been a theme in the Deccan’s history since the time of the Bahmani sultanate. This was particularly the case with regard to competition for political influence at court and its humbler counterpart of employment in the administration or armed forces in the provincial towns of the state. While commerce remained largely in the hands of powerful Hindu trading castes, throughout the history of the Āsaf Jāh state the bureaucracy remained the
favoured (though by no means exclusive) domain of Muslims. The overall proportion of Muslims was small compared to the Hindu population, hovering around 10 per cent from the period of the earliest census in 1881 onwards. But the Muslims represented an important landholding class that, through endowment (waqf) arrangements, also included the sajjâda nashîms of many of the region’s Sufi saints. As we have seen in Mughal Awrangabad, the attraction of material reward brought members of many different Muslim communities south to the Deccan and with the gradual fall of India’s Muslim states into British hands, the Āsaf Jâh Deccan continued to attract migrants throughout the nineteenth century. Mainly from North India, but also from the Hadramawt, Afghanistan and Iran, these new migrants continued to enrich the Deccan’s complex and multi-layered Islamic tradition.

Among these many communities, for both the rulers and the citizens of Haydarabad the most wearisome were the Arab soldiering families who had long formed an important part of the Nizâm’s armies. While Arab immigration continued for much of the nineteenth century, both the rearrangement of Haydarabad’s armed forces under British supervision and the more general bankruptcy of the state meant that the Arab contingents became either redundant or badly in arrears of pay. As a consequence, marauding gangs of Arab and to a lesser extent Afghan soldiers became a common feature of the Deccan countryside, while their intermittent riots became no less a threat to urban life. Arab mercenaries formerly in the service of smaller native states further contributed to the problem. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the fiscal and administrative reforms of the Nizâm’s prime minister Sâlâr Jang (d. 1300/1883) gradually brought a solution to the Arab problem, but in the middle decades of the century they remained a serious threat to social order. In 1269/1853 there was a serious disturbance in Awrangabad caused by Arab soldiers nominally in the service of the Raja of Dawalgawm, which was only suppressed by the intervention of the Contingent troops stationed in the city’s cantonment. Two years later, a similar incident occurred in nearby Jalna, when around three hundred Rohila Afghans, who had been plundering the countryside, were pursued into Jalna by soldiers of the Contingent. There they tried to claim sanctuary in the Sufi shrine of Nûr Shâh Walî, but were nonetheless attacked and ultimately forced to surrender after a gun battle that resulted in almost a hundred fatalities.

In many ways, the Great Revolt was the culmination of the disruption caused by the changing social order in India in which the threat to old authorities and loyalties reached a decisive point. But if Haydarabad ultimately emerged from the ‘Mutiny’ with the Nizâm confirmed in British eyes as ‘our faithful ally’, at the time the sepoys’ revolt in North India was seen as a cause for considerable alarm by the Resident in Haydarabad and the officers of the Contingent. Haydarabad witnessed a surreptitious poster campaign decrying British influence. Anti-British sentiments culminated in an attempted storming of the Residency by supporters of the North Indian rebels after Rohila Afghans had gathered in the city’s famous Mecca Mosque to hear sermons preaching rebellion. In Awrangabad itself, the bazaars were rife with rumours of an uprising on the scale of the north that would massacre all of the British Residents of the cantonment. Some of the wives of the British officers were forced to
escape to Ahmadnagar in British territory, disguised as local Muslim women observing purdah. Convinced that the cantonment was due to be stormed by its own cavalrymen, in the summer of 1274/1857 Awrangabad’s British officers attempted to quickly arrange for the cantonment’s defence and fighting soon broke out between rebellious cavalry forces and the loyal infantrymen posted to guard the British enclave. The uprising quickly dissolved due to the arrival of reinforcements from Poona and the rebels escaped into the hills surrounding the city. Twenty-four men were later captured and executed as the ringleaders. The swiftness and violence with which Awrangabad’s uprising was suppressed meant that there were no further violent reverberations of the events in North India.

The years after the uprising saw the British further strengthening their presence in Haydarabad State. As in other princely states, a de facto military presence in the state gradually assumed other dimensions of control as Haydarabad’s administration was rapidly modernized in the wake of Sálār Jang’s reforms. The year 1301/1884 saw the establishment of the office of the Inspector General of Police, whose duties from the state capital included the administration of policing in the state’s second city of Awrangabad. From its establishment, this office was filled by a series of British officers — Inspectors Ludlow, Hankin and Gayer — before an Indian Muslim first assumed the post four decades later. Nonetheless, for much of its early history Haydarabad’s police force had a more intimate connection with the Deccan’s religious heritage. With no proper buildings of their own, local police forces made makeshift stations in the region’s Shi’i ʿashʿārkhānas, which were only used during the mourning ceremonies of Muharram when the police would be annually turned out of their stations. While the central administration of Muslim religious activities remained in the hands of local representatives — largely Haydarabadi Muslim notables — religious matters also at times fell into the purview of police control, not least as communal violence began to spread through the state in the early twentieth century. The fixing of the times and routes of both Hindu and Muslim religious processions became a police matter, bringing the symbolic claiming of public space under police control in the name of public order. These regulations were to have a direct effect on the shrines of the saints, whose annual death anniversaries had always been accompanied by the often raucous processions (jālūs) that carried jars of sandalwood paste to be rubbed into the saint’s tomb to the accompaniment of great merriment. In the wake of what the British saw as the religious roots of the Great Revolt, Haydarabad’s police were also expected to be on the alert for anti-British movements disguising themselves in religious garb. Over time these obsessions would focus on the presence of militant ‘Wahabee’ Muslim propagandists in the state, resulting in a series of high profile trials.

Awrangabad’s Hindus came under suspicion of affiliation to the anti-British propagandizing of Maratha nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) in the neighbouring Bombay Presidency. While never part of British India, many of the people of Haydarabad State were sympathetic and indeed instrumental in the wider Indian movement towards self-rule. Given Awrangabad’s location in the Marathi-speaking region of Marathwada and its proximity to the emerging centres of Maratha nationalism in the Bombay Presidency, the tone of political agitation in Awrangabad
shared much in common with the emerging Maratha nationalist movement. With the overwhelming Hindu majority in Haydarabad State and the fact that the state during this period offered more opportunities in the civil service (if not in commerce or other areas) to Muslims, it was unsurprising that Hindu revivalist movements intersected with cries for political independence as elsewhere. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British presence in Awrangabad was subsequently more visible and influential than ever and as such was enough to provoke a variety of anti-colonial reactions from the city’s residents in spite of the close official relationship between Haydarabad and the British. Some of these relations were amicable, like that between the English novelist E.M. Forster and his ‘dashing’ host during his stay in Awrangabad in 1913, the young civil servant Abū Sa’īd Mīrzā. Together they spent several days wandering around Awrangabad’s monuments, musing on the past glories of Muslim India.

The British community in Awrangabad expanded the cantonment area which had initially developed around the Contingent barracks and the years after the Nizām’s decisive show of loyalty also saw the construction of two churches in Awrangabad. The first of these, Holy Trinity, was built as a garrison church in typical neo-gothic style in 1863, with a bell tower and a large surrounding compound. Known locally as the English church, Holy Trinity was chiefly used by the families of the British officers serving in the Contingent and any other Britons (later including missionaries) who were also resident in the cantonment. As in so many of India’s colonial churches, plaques on the walls commemorated the lives of the officers of the settlement, such as Captain Ogilvy, the Nizām’s Polo Commissioner. The church had a series of British chaplains over the years of its foundation, including a number of chaplains provided by the Church Missionary Society. The appearance of these sturdy and well-tended churches was not the only sign of religious change in Awrangabad during this period. The colonial prestige of British manners and (perhaps more surprisingly) architecture saw the sixth Nizām, Mahbūb ‘Alī Khān (r. 1285/1869–1329/1911), celebrate his silver jubilee by placing a clock tower at the heart of Awrangabad’s Shah Ganj market, from where it overlooked the shrine of Nizām al-dīn at the other end of the bazaar (Figure 4.1). Yet the official character of the state retained its Muslim orientation, notwithstanding the long tradition of religious syncretism in which the region’s Sufis and shrines played so important a part.

By the late nineteenth century, the reformist impulse to defend Islam from both British and Hindu influence also reached the administration of Haydarabad. During the reign of Mahbūb ‘Alī Khān the official character of the state became increasingly Muslim in orientation as the prestige of Mughal culture disappeared into the past. Modern administrative organizations were formed to oversee the religious life of the Muslims of the state, while new Hindu and Muslim missionary movements competed for the religious loyalties of the lower castes and country people. Official prominence placed on the Islamic character of Haydarabad gradually had a detrimental effect on relations between Hindus and Muslims. Under Mahbūb ‘Alī Khān, laws were created to regulate the celebration of Hindu festivals, especially when they coincided with Muslim festivals, as occurred in 1303/1885 with the
coincidence of Dussehra and Muharram. Considering the long tradition of the common celebration of ‘Ashūra, the tenth day of the month of Muharram, by both Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan, these administrative policies had great significance.

This period also saw the beginning of modern industrialization in Awrangabad, aided by its relative proximity to Bombay. Nonetheless, none of these economic, educational or administrative reforms were able to prevent the onset of famine and Haydarabad State (and the Awrangabad region particularly) continued to experience regular famines throughout this period, with Awrangabad catastrophically affected by the droughts of 1336–7/1918 and 1338–9/1920. Nevertheless, the city’s population continued to grow, with growth exacerbated by the rural–urban migration caused by crop failures. In 1298/1881 the urban population of Awrangabad stood at some thirty thousand, which had risen to some thirty six thousand twenty years later. Nonetheless, the city remained a fraction of its size during its Mughal and early Āsaf Jāh heyday.

With the reform of the Āsaf Jāh administration under Sālār Jang and the promotion of a Haydarabadi nationalist ideology of Muslim modernism by some of his successors, the religious and political climate of the Deccan had greatly moved on since the age

*Figure 4.1* The mausoleum of Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī.
of Awrangzeb and Nizām al-Mulk. Yet connections with the region’s Mughal and Muslim past remained strong and were in many ways encouraged in reaction to the rise of British power. The dethronement and exile of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, by the British in 1274/1858 had significant repercussions in Haydarabad State, whose coinage had until this point continued to be issued in the name of the Mughal emperor. After this date, Haydarabad’s coinage replaced the name of the emperor with that of the state’s founder Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, along with the number ninety-two, signifying the name of the prophet Muhammad in the Arabic numerological (*abjad*) system. The final dissolution of the Mughal dynasty and its confirmation of British power contributed to a growing sense of the manifest destiny of Haydarabad to fly the standard of Islam. But the precise place and indeed definition of Islam in the Āsaf Jāh Deccan was by no means clear. As the Deccan’s Sufi traditions show, there was a long tradition of interaction between Muslims and Hindus and a great deal of variety of Sufi and other expressions of Islam. However, once again migration played a part in this debate, for to the North Indian Muslims (termed *ghayr-mulkīs* or Hindustānīs) who moved to Haydarabad throughout this period, Islam was the key feature of the state’s political and cultural identity. This was an ideology strongly influenced by the Aligarh movement, and many of Haydarabad’s North Indian administrators were actual graduates of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. But to many of the Deccan’s inhabitants – the self-styled mulkīs – the Āsaf Jāh Deccan was the heir to a unique regional culture that, while deeply imbued with Muslim tradition, had nonetheless nurtured a distinctively Deccani approach to Islam and even at times transcended religious denominations altogether. Without projecting the terminology of the mulkī and *ghayr-mulkī* conflict into areas in which they were never directly applied, the different orderings of identity that these two ideological banners represented can nonetheless be detected in many aspects of the Deccan’s history during this period, in Awrangabad no less than elsewhere.

Yet if a pan-Islamic ideology began to gain the upper hand in Haydarabad’s official circles during the reign of ‘Uthmān ‘Ali Khān (r. 1329/1911–1368/1948), the old spirit of Indo-Muslim court life continued to act as a model of the Deccan’s social order. The Nawkhanda palace that had been the headquarters of Nizām al-Mulk in Awrangabad’s days as Āsaf Jāh capital was maintained as the Nizām’s residence in Awrangabad and used on his occasional visits. Nizām al-Mulk’s throne room was maintained there and local notables and officials continued to stand in court before the throne (*gaddī*) when the Nizām was present and on holy days when he was represented by the governor (*sūbedār*). The British missionary Henry Lane-Smith described the scene on one such occasion in 1913, when after the ‘īd festival prayers the firing of an old cannon announced the beginning of the procession to Nawkhanda, where two *gaddīs* were placed to represent the Nizām and his master in the new imperial order, the King-Emperor George V. On reaching the palace, as representative of the Nizām the *sūbedār* of Awrangabad bent low and first presented the imperial British throne with gifts of money, before sitting on the Nizām’s throne to receive gifts of perfume, rose petals and rupees from the notables of the city in place of
the absent Nizām. Like the identical acts of salutation and obeisance performed before the *sajjāda nashīn* at the death anniversaries of the saints, the rituals at Nawkhanda echoed an older moral universe. But by now the Mughal emperor had long been replaced by a non-Muslim ruler, whose court lay much further away than Delhi.

**The Aurangabad saints and the British Empire**

*Nizām al-dīn*

In Chapter 3 we saw Nizām al-dīn’s tradition flourishing in Delhi during the first half of the nineteenth century under the leadership of his grandson Qutb al-dīn and great-grandson Ghulām Naṣīr al-dīn. Close to the last Mughal emperor and the poet Ghālib, Naṣīr al-dīn upheld the memory of his ancestor Nizām al-dīn in the city in which the latter had originally studied under Shāh Kalīm Allāh. However, the later history of Naṣīr al-dīn during the period of the Great Revolt is surrounded with uncertainties, like that of many Delhi families at that time. Naṣīr al-dīn is sometimes regarded as having died in 1263/1845 long before the Revolt broke out, but this version of events is contradicted in a letter written by his close friend, Ghālib. In 1278/1862 Ghālib wrote to ‘Alā’ al-dīn Ahmad Khān (d. 1302/1884), claiming that Naṣīr al-dīn had been unjustly put to death by the British in 1274/1857 when Delhi was recaptured. This version of events is also independently attested to in the oral tradition of the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Aurangabad, where Naṣīr al-dīn’s descendants lie buried. Echoing Ghālib, the Aurangabad tradition claims that Naṣīr al-dīn was executed as a result of his protecting a number of rebels whom he had counted among his disciples. In the aftermath of the Revolt, many notable Muslim families in Delhi disguised the involvement of family members in the uprising against the British. In this respect the existence of conflicting accounts of Naṣīr al-dīn’s demise is common to the history of many Muslim families in this period.

Nizām al-dīn’s tradition was also linked to the events of 1274/1857 in other ways. We have seen his descendants acting as spiritual advisors to the declining Mughal court in the years in which Aurangabad became overshadowed by Haydarabad and Delhi. The consequences of the Great Revolt meant that the cultural and spiritual life of Delhi would never be the same. For alongside the deaths, financial ruin and temporary expulsion of the Muslim residents of Delhi was the destruction of much of the old city that lay around the last court of the Mughal emperors in the *Urdū-e-mu‘alā* or ‘Red Fort’. Partly through sheer revenge and partly through a strategy of clearing the hinterland of Delhi’s principal stronghold, the British razed large sections of the Shahjahanabad (now known as Old Delhi) in which Nizām al-dīn’s descendants had lived. It was here that the khanaqah of Shāh Kalīm Allāh stood, in which Nizām al-dīn had studied and around which Kalīm Allāh’s descendants and disciples lived right up to its destruction. It is Ghālib again who describes the loss to literature and learning that accompanied the destruction of Kalīm Allāh’s khanaqah in a moving letter to his friend Mawdūdī, who had written to him hoping
to obtain copies of Kalîm Allâh's writings. In 1280/1863 Ghâlib replied

Do you think that Delhi still flourishes when you ask after the writings of Hazrat Shaykh [Kalîm Allâh] and for news of Qutb al-dîn, son of Mawlânâ Fakhr al-dîn? 'The cow ate the notebook, the butcher killed the cow and the butcher died on the road.' While the Emperor breathed all these things existed. But even Kâlî Sâhib's [i.e. Ghulâm Nasîr al-dîn's] house was destroyed as though a broom had swept it away, such that not a scrap of paper, nor a thread of gold, nor even a yarn of wool is left. The tomb (naqbara) of Shaykh Kalîm Allâh is now deserted. A fine village once flourished there, where all of the saint's descendants lived peacefully. Now it is just a wilderness, a tomb standing in the plain with nothing else beside. If any of the inhabitants survived the bullets, then God only knows what has become of them. It was they who kept Shaykh Kalîm Allâh's writings (kalâm) and some of his relics (tabarrukât). Now that even those people are no longer there, whom should I ask for the Shaykh's writings?15

Ghâlib's letter eloquently expressed the mutually sustaining connections we have seen between Indian Sufism and the precolonial social order, as well as the way in which the memory of the saints and the legacy of their teachings was passed on through their family traditions. We have seen Nizâm al-dîn posthumously celebrated through the efforts of his descendants in Delhi; here we hear Ghâlib explaining that there was no one left in the family of Kalîm Allâh to maintain the legacy of Nizâm al-dîn's master. It was not until several decades later that Kalîm Allâh's tomb was reconstructed through the intervention of the Punjabi Chishtî, Ghulâm Farîd (d. 1319/1901). But unlike the Sufis of Delhi, Ghulâm Farîd was still blessed with the patronage of an independent Muslim prince in the small kingdom of Bahawalpur.

As a close friend of Nasîr al-dîn, Ghâlib's own fortune was also connected to that of Nasîr al-dîn's family. When Ghâlib was desperate for money when the people of Delhi were forced out of the city in the darkest days of the Revolt, he asked his wife for her jewels and the other last valuables of the family. Hopelessly she then told him that she had hidden them in the cellar of their former host, Nasîr al-dîn, and had then sealed the cellar entrance with clay as a precaution against looters. But by the time Ghâlib heard this, the British had already stormed Delhi and the city was burning; it was too late to return to recover the jewels and the family was destitute. Ghâlib's interwoven destiny with the Chishtîs in Delhi rendered it appropriate that on the poet's death little more than a decade later, he was buried near the most famous of the Chishtî saints of Delhi in the shrine of his friend's ancestor's namesake, Nizâm al-dîn Awliyâ.

An account of how the Revolt affected both the last emperor Bahadur Shah II and Nizâm al-dîn's descendants in Delhi is found in an obscure Urdu hagiography printed in Delhi almost fifty years after the events took place. This work, the Tadhkira-ye-Awliyâ-ye-Hind, was written by Mîrzâ Muhammad Akhtar Dihlawî, the deputy (khalifa) of another of Delhi's Sufi masters and erstwhile contemporary of

110
Nasir al-din, Muhammad Dār al-Bakht Mirān Shāh. In its section on Nizām al-din’s son Fakhr al-din and his heirs, Mīrzā Muhammad’s work contains the version of events surrounding the Revolt and subsequent exile of the last emperor remembered in the Sufi circles of Muslim Delhi. Mīrzā Muhammad begins with an account of Fakhr al-din himself, emphasizing how he continued Nizam al-din’s support of musical performances and how on his deathbed he asked to be buried in a simple grave at the medieval shrine of Qutb al-din Bakhtiyār Kākī on the edge of Delhi. Mīrzā Muhammad informs us that a grand cenotaph was built for Fakhr al-din in any case and that in later years Bahadur Shah often spent time at the shrine and (as architectural historians well know) kept a mansion (dīṛb) there. Mīrzā Muhammad then recounted a tale in which the spirit of Fakhr al-din was seen wandering alongside Qutb al-din himself in the gardens surrounding the shrine and mansion. With the same train of thought that in the imagination of his readers immediately connected mention of the emperor to his eventual surrender and exile to Rangoon, Mīrzā Muhammad then turned to a discussion of the politics of Delhi. According to his account, when Nizām al-din’s descendant Nasir al-din was away from the city performing the ḥajj, the British Resident in Delhi heard of this and deemed the absence of the emperor’s spiritual guide a serious enough matter to inform the Governor in Calcutta. As a result, Nasir al-din’s sons, Nizām al-din and Ghulām Mu’in al-din, were implicated in the mutinous events in Delhi. Yet the ties between the families of Nizām al-din and the Mughal emperor continued even after the Revolt was quashed. For Mīrzā Muhammad tells us that in his Burmese exile the emperor missed the spiritual presence of Fakhr al-din so greatly that he asked to be sent a broom (jārūb) from the saint’s tomb so that he could be brushed with it. Mīrzā Muhammad also evoked the piety of the last emperor that was also echoed in his Urdu poetry by recollecting how Bahadur Shah had made no requests for cash or goods in Rangoon but only for the privilege of being buried beside the tombs of Qutb al-din and Fakhr al-din. We also know that it had been to this shrine that the emperor had fled on leaving his palace for the last time in 1274/1857. Delivering into the shrine’s safekeeping the three sacred whiskers of the Prophet’s beard that had been handed down to him by his forefathers, Bahadur Shah had sought the final blessing from the sajjāda nashīn Shāh Ghulām Hasan and left to take shelter from the British in the mausoleum of his ancestor, Humayun. But despite the supposed last wish of the emperor, in recognition of the heady political quotient of burying kings in the pilgrimage places of the saints the British administration ensured that the request was never granted.

Although by the end of the Revolt the emperor’s spiritual master Nasir al-din had certainly died, and like other families of Muslim notables his family had been suddenly impoverished, a number of his sons and particularly grandsons do seem to have survived the debacle. Mīrzā Muhammad gave a considerable list of their names in his Tadhira. Stepping back once more to a more direct source on the events, we find that the letters of Ghālib are once again a useful source on the fate of Nizām al-din’s ancestors in Delhi. In 1277/1860, Ghālib wrote a letter in response to an enquiry about Nasir al-din’s family, in particular about Nasir al-din’s son, Nizām al-din.

111
(d. 1292/1875 or 1295/1878), and his sons in turn.\(^{21}\) Ghālib described how Naṣīr al-dīn’s grandson, the unnamed son of this Nizām al-dīn, had fled Delhi in the wake of the Revolt at the same time as many other prominent men of the city and had travelled to Baroda, Awrangabad and Haydarabad. A year or so later he had returned to Delhi and been pardoned of his life by the British, who nonetheless seized the property which he would have otherwise inherited from the now deceased Naṣīr al-dīn in the same way that they confiscated the property of other suspected mutineers. Naṣīr al-dīn’s grandson forfeited his inheritance of the Rawshan al-dawla madrasa and the havelis of both Khwāja Qāsim and Naṣīr al-dīn, which were then sold at auction and the proceeds collected by the British administration in Delhi. Describing this episode, Ghālib wrote that Naṣīr al-dīn’s grandson had since left Delhi again, though it was unclear where he would settle. Yet Naṣīr al-dīn’s was by no means the only notable Sufī family to have members flee Delhi in the wake of the Revolt. Shaykh Ahmad Saʿīd, the sajjada nasbīn of the great Delhi Naqshband, Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-e-Jānān (d. 1195/1780), similarly fled the city before the British re-captured it, escaping through Punjab to the Afghan frontier, before eventually making his way to Madina, where he died in 1277/1860.\(^{22}\) Surviving members of the imperial family made similar escapes across India and into non-British territory, in a few cases also eventually making their way to Haydarabad. Although it is extremely difficult to find reliable evidence on the fate of the imperial family, it seems that the emperor’s son, Mīrzā Qu’wash, fled to Kathmandu after the Revolt before settling in the princely state of Udaipur. His son Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh later travelled to Awrangabad, before eventually settling in Haydarabad. There Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh seems to have received support from the family of the Nizām and, as the Revolt gradually slipped further into the past, his son married into the family of the sixth Nizām, Mahbūb ʿAlī Khān.\(^{23}\)

In its account of the flight of Naṣīr al-dīn’s son and grandson, Ghālib’s letter echoes the oral tradition maintained in Awrangabad. This tradition also describes one of the sons or grandsons of Naṣīr al-dīn fleeing Delhi to escape the retributions that followed the Revolt. This son (or more probably grandson) of Naṣīr al-dīn, Kamāl al-dīn, travelled from Delhi to Awrangabad and then Haydarabad with his two wives and children. When Kamāl al-dīn remained in Haydarabad, his son Sayf al-dīn settled in Awrangabad. There he took over the management of the shrine of his ancestor, Nizām al-dīn from either the descendants of Nizām al-dīn’s disciple Shāh Sharīf or the caretaker (mutawallī) who had been acting on behalf of the family in Delhi. While Kamāl al-dīn remained in Haydarabad until his death in 1327/1909, his body was brought to Awrangabad for burial in the shrine of Nizām al-dīn.\(^{24}\) The resting place of Kamāl al-dīn is marked at the shrine by an engraved headstone in front of the saint’s mausoleum. Sayf al-dīn married into the family of the reviver of the cult of Shāh Nūr, Shams al-dīn of Haydarabad (who is discussed in the following sections), and continued to act as sajjada nasbīn at the shrine until his death in 1325/1907. He was then succeeded by his son (or, according to another version, his younger brother) Aslah al-dīn. Sayf al-dīn and Aslah al-dīn were both buried beside the mausoleum of Nizām al-dīn. After the death of Aslah al-dīn in 1357/1938, the leadership of the shrine came into the hands of his son, Muʿīn al-dīn (better known as Qaysar Miyān).
In 1362/1943 Qaysar Miyān had his position at the shrine confirmed by an official proclamation (farmān) from the last Nizām, ‘Uthmān ‘Ali Khān. He continued to act as sajjāda nashīn at the shrine until his death two decades later in 1385/1965.

With Aslah al-dīn, the leadership of the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad finally returned to the saint’s own family. Aslah al-dīn was able to maintain the shrine by means of the lands (jāgīrs) in the surrounding region that had earlier been granted to the shrine. Unfortunately, almost all of the documentation of the shrine’s earlier history was destroyed in a fire in the riots that accompanied the dissolution of Haydarabad state in 1368/1948, so the legal mechanisms by which Sayf al-dīn was able to regain control of the shrine and its landholdings remain unclear. Nonetheless, the lineage that he re-established was able to continue for the next century, ensuring that the annual ritual celebration of Nizām al-dīn’s death could continue at his shrine in order to maintain his memory in the city in which he had been buried two centuries earlier. The following that Fakhr al-dīn had made in Delhi also ensured that the shrine in Awrangabad maintained occasional connections with the other Chishti traditions that we have seen developing in North India during the nineteenth century. In Chapter 3 we saw Fakhr al-dīn’s student, Muhammad Sulaymān (d. 1267/1851), achieving considerable fame as a Sufi master in his own right. In time his son and successor Khwāja Allāh Bakhsh (d. 1319/1901) developed his shrine at Tawnsa and its surrounding village in Punjab into an important centre of Sufi learning. As part of a combined programme for the economic and spiritual edification of his villagers, Allāh Bakhsh led groups of his local followers on extended trading visits cum pilgrimages to cities all around India that were the location of major Chishti shrines, including Pakpattan, Delhi and Ajmer. When Awrangabad was also chosen for one of Allāh Bakhsh’s expeditions, it was a further sign of the renewed status of Nizām al-dīn’s shrine and of the renewal of its connections with North Indian Chishti circles.

The revival of the shrine in Awrangabad through its connections with the Chishti traditions of the north drew further strength from the memory of Nizām al-dīn’s connections with Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh. This memory became the focus of oral and written narrative traditions glorifying Nizām al-dīn’s command of powers of vast consequence, ultimately painting him as the supernatural founder of Haydarabad State. The eventual result was the rise of Nizām al-dīn to the point of eclipsing the prestige of the other city despite his earlier overshadowing by Shāh Nūr and Shāh Musāfīr. This success was the result of a determined effort to tie Nizām al-dīn’s name into the Sufi technology of memory comprising commemorative texts (tadhkirāt) and lineage structures (silsila) which placed Nizām al-dīn midway between the grand early Sufis of medieval Delhi and the later Sufis of colonial North India. Here was the late return on Fakhr al-dīn’s investment in commissioning and taking with him to Delhi the Absan al-shamā’il of Kāngār Khān, the first textual stage in the making of Nizām al-dīn’s fame. The nineteenth-century rise of Nizām al-dīn’s reputation continued in the first half of the twentieth century, when legends recounting his miraculous aid in the foundation of the Āsaf Jāh state continued to be popular throughout Haydarabad. In 1331/1912, these claims to the saint’s secret
founding of the state featured in the century’s most important *tadhkira* of the Deccan saints, written by ‘Abd al-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī. From a few decades earlier, we also have proof of the continued reading of Nizām al-dīn’s *malfūzāt*, the *Ahsan al-shama‘īl*. This is found in the writings of the Haydarabadi notable and Chishtī Sufi, Shāh Habīb ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1323/1905). Both his *Habīb al-Tālibīn* and *Habīb al-Barāzīkh* make reference to Nizām al-dīn, whom Habīb ‘Alī counted as his predecessor in the Deccan. At one point in the *Habīb al-Tālibīn*, Habīb ‘Alī drew upon Kāmgār Khān’s accounts of Nizām al-dīn’s *sīlah* during the ritual of musical audition (*mahfil-e-samā‘*), while elsewhere in the same work he referred to the saint as the ‘master of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Deccan (*sāhib-e-walāyat-e-dakan*)’.

Habīb ‘Alī’s *Habīb al-Barāzīkh* also featured references to Nizām al-dīn with the same title, similarly making use of the *Ahsan al-shama‘īl*. Yet even with Habīb ‘Alī in the heart of the Deccan at Haydarabad, this Sufi’s initiation into the lineage of Nizām al-dīn had not come directly from Awrangabad but had passed through several generations of his son Fakhr al-dīn’s followers in North India before Habīb ‘Alī was initiated into the Chishtīyya by Hāfiz ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1266/1850) of Khayrabad in North India during one of his visits to the Deccan. Once again, Hindustan maintained its pre-eminence over the Deccan as the fountain of the Chishtī saints.

In Awrangabad at this time, the *sajjāda nashīns* of Nizām al-dīn were regarded as important figures and were recognized as the chief representatives of the Chishtī
order in the city. When the deputyship to a new Sufi saint in Awrangabad, Banâ Miyan (d. 1339/1921), was being authorized in 1335/1916, the spiritual authority of the sajjâda nashîn of Nizâm al-dîn was called upon when he was asked to witness and sign the sanad-e-khiilafat document recognizing Banâ Miyan’s appointment of his nephew.\(^{32}\) However, other Sufi masters were also active in the city at this time whose links with the Chishtiyya did not necessarily come through the shrine of Nizâm al-dîn. One such Chishti Sufi was Mawlû Muhyî al-dîn, who was active in Awrangabad in the last years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Muhyî al-dîn is of particular interest in having initiated Ahmad Hasan Mawdûl (d. 1339/1920), the father of the founder of the Islamist political party Jam‘at-e-islâmî, Abû ‘Alâ’ Mawdûl (d. 1399/1979), into the Chishti order in around 1318/1900.\(^{33}\) Ahmad Hasan Mawdûl was a lawyer from Delhi who like so many other North Indians migrated to Awrangabad in 1314/1896 to work in the Nizâm’s civil service. Echoing the old pattern of engagement between the Sufis and the grand figures of politics, the birth of Abû ‘Alâ’ Mawdûl was said to have been predicted by a Sufi in Awrangabad. His father Ahmad Hasan’s spiritual passions were such that in 1322/1904 he left Awrangabad to return to Delhi and live the life of a mendicant faqîr at the shrine of Nizâm al-dîn Awliyâ. In 1325/1907 he was summoned back to Awrangabad by his spiritual master Muhyî al-dîn after his spiritual excesses had reduced his family to destitution. If little more is known of Muhyî al-dîn himself, the trajectory of Ahmad Hasan’s spiritual life echoes the way in which Nizâm al-dîn’s Chishti tradition in Awrangabad retained its connections to Delhi during this period through a continuation of the same patterns of migration that had first tied Delhi to Awrangabad centuries earlier.

**Shâh Nûr**

At the turn of the twentieth century, Shams al-dîn Chishti (d. 1347/1928) arrived in Awrangabad to resuscitate the dormant cult of Shâh Nûr.\(^{34}\) Shams al-dîn was a resident of Haydarabad, who had been living for many years at the shrine of Mu‘în al-dîn Chishti in Ajmer. Hagiographic and oral tradition relate Shams al-dîn’s arrival at Shâh Nûr’s shrine in classic Sufi form, describing a visionary encounter with Mu‘în al-dîn Chishti that summoned him to tend to the tomb of Shâh Nûr; it is a motif that is familiar from Muslim shrine cults the world over.\(^{35}\) Shams al-dîn’s arrival in Awrangabad reflected the wider movement of religious revival in both Haydarabad State as a whole and within the Sufi circles of Awrangabad in particular.\(^{36}\) The survival of Haydarabad as an independent Muslim state capable of patronizing Muslim religious figures made it an attractive destination for an array of mystics, poets and scholars. And as the second city of the state, Awrangabad received the overspill of religious figures from the capital at Haydarabad. By the turn of the twentieth century, it was no longer Delhi or the more distant cities of Central Asia or Iran that provided Awrangabad with the majority of its Sufis. Now Haydarabad itself came to act as the principal exporter of Sufis to Awrangabad and other cities in the Deccan. But despite the large number of new Sufi traditions being founded
throughout the Haydarabad Deccan at this time, Shams al-dīn is interesting as an example of a founder of a new religious tradition who anchored himself to the firmer foundations of an older one in order to secure his reputation. Although Shams al-dīn was connected to the Chishtī order, into which he had been initiated in Ajmer, it was through the combination of his own charisma and his institutional position as the representative of Shāh Nūr that he was able to begin a new Sufi tradition in Awrangabad that would continue long after his death.

Despite the stories of Shams al-dīn’s visionary designation by Mu’in al-dīn Chishtī as Shāh Nūr’s successor, his appointment at the shrine seems to have been an official one made by Haydarabad’s Department of Religious Affairs. Nonetheless, Shams was clearly of a religious disposition and took to his work at the shrine with great gusto. His arrival in Awrangabad and eventual assumption of the role of sajāda nashīn heralded the beginning of the second career of Shāh Nūr’s shrine after its abandonment in the nineteenth century. Shams set about restoring the derelict buildings of the shrine, replacing roofing and floors that had collapsed or disappeared and re-initiating the celebration of Shāh Nūr’s death anniversary.37 He also beautified the shrine with new gardens and erected an iron roof over the platform before the saint’s mausoleum to shelter the female pilgrims who were not allowed into the mausoleum itself. Shams al-dīn also seems to have counted the Nizām’s Hindu prime minister, Kishan Parshād, among his followers. Kishan Parshād was diwān of Haydarabad State from 1320/1902 to 1329/1911 and was also connected with the patronage of the shrines at Khuldabad, about whose saints he wrote a hagiography in Urdu. He enlisted Kishan Parshād’s help in his renovation projects at the shrine, redirecting some of the water from the underground water channel (nehr) connected to Kishan Parshād’s havelī in the old city into a channel running to Shāh Nūr’s shrine, which had run dry from years of disuse.38 Other Sufi shrines in the region were also repaired or beautified during this period, as at the shrine of Jān Allāh Shāh (d. 1093/1682) at nearby Jalna, where an engraved silver portal and matching set of gates were added to the mausoleum in 1329/1911. However, the revival of the shrine of Shāh Nūr was also reflected in a number of literary accounts of the saint written during the early decades of the century, particularly that of ʿAbd al-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī.

Associations with an earlier clientele were to some extent re-awoken through Shams al-dīn’s family connections in Haydarabad. The Nizām’s Hindu prime minister, Kishan Parshād, and his minister for religious affairs (nmūr-e-madhhabī), Fazīlāt Jāng, became associated with the shrine, renewing its earlier connections with high-ranking state officials. One source even reports that Fazīlāt Jāng became the administrator (mutawālī) of the shrine after Shams al-dīn’s death.39 The suburb of the city in which the shrine is situated became known during this period as the Sipāhī (‘Cavalry’) Bāzār and cavalrymen from the Hyderabad Contingent were noted as the principal devotees of the shrine during this period.40 While Indian soldiers serving in the Contingent were also connected to the cult of the early twentieth-century Sufī of Awrangabad, Bané Miyān, it is more difficult to assess the claims of both the hagiographers of Bané Miyān and Shāh Nūr writing in the first half of the twentieth century that Englishmen (angrēz) were also counted among the followers of these
saints. While this may be read as a classic hagiographical tendency towards cultic exaggeration, the visitation of Indian soldiers to these saints does suggest other possibilities. Given the presence of a British officer class serving with the Contingent in Awrangabad, it seems possible that some of these officers may have accompanied their men to the shrine either out of curiosity or for the pleasure of the ride into the rural suburb where the shrine was located. We know that numerous Britons visited Panchakki as a picturesque excursion during this period. It would be an interesting inter-cultural misreading of motive if these pleasure visits were interpreted by locals as being pilgrimages like their own.

By piously working in the service of Shāh Nūr, Shams al-dīn gradually attracted a circle of followers of his own, both in Awrangabad and Haydarabad. Being appointed as the representative of the Mughal saint clearly aided Shams al-dīn in establishing his reputation in the region as a religious authority in his own right. Whatever the nature of the spiritual connection between Shāh Nūr and Shams al-dīn, the administrative connection instituted by Shams al-dīn’s appointment at the shrine brought with it a considerable dividend of veneration. For in life as in death, possession of a shrine was half of the proof of sainthood. The growth of Shams al-dīn’s reputation beyond Awrangabad is seen in his connection to the cult of the famous religious teacher Sāi Bābā of Shirdī (d. 1337/1918), who regularly visited Awrangabad during his youth and possibly resided there for several years. Sāi Bābā was an heir to the Sufi traditions of the Haydarabad Deccan, even though the religious politics of independent India would later gradually de-Islamicize his cult and memory. One anecdote from his life describes him sending Qāsim, the son of one of his closest disciples, to Awrangabad to meet Shams al-dīn. According to Qāsim’s companion, Imām Chōtā Khān, Shams al-dīn was waiting for the pair when they arrived at the newly opened railway station in Awrangabad, a journey of around two miles from the shrine by carriage. According to the account, Shams al-dīn was already mystically aware of Sāi Bābā’s command that the pair should present 250 rupees to Shams al-dīn for the performance of praise songs (mawlūd, qawwālī) at the shrine of Shāh Nūr for the Prophet Muhammad and the saints. Sāi Bābā had also prepared local unleavened bread (polī) and chicken for Shams al-dīn to distribute to the poor at the shrine, in an offering often associated with the saintly shrines of the Deccan.

Shams al-dīn’s arrival in Awrangabad heralded the introduction of a new Chishtī association with the shrine of Shāh Nūr through Shams al-dīn’s own prior attachment to Mu’īn al-dīn Chishti at Ajmer. This involved the introduction of elements of Chishtī practice to the shrine, notably the presence of bands of Sufi praise singers (qawwāls) and the construction of a special hall (samā’khāna) for these performances and the ecstatic dancing associated with them. These innovations reflected broader cultural changes in the Deccan that were concomitant with the re-evaluation of the region’s Muslim heritage in the age of Indian nationalism as reflected in a growing sense of the ‘Indianness’ of the Chishtiyya. The shrine of Shāh Nūr also revived its khanqāh during this period and during the 1920s the presence of some thirty to forty faqīrs was reported there. Such mendicants seem to have remained at the shrine until the dissolution of Haydarabad State in 1368/1948, with
similar numbers of Sufi mendicants maintained at other shrines in the city at this time. The sheltering and feeding of such dervishes was often a condition of the endowments which supported shrines. A document dating to as late as 1278/1861 and relating to the family of Shäh Imām al-dīn, a nineteenth-century sajjāda nashīn of the eighteenth-century Awrangabad Sufi, Shāh ‘Alī Nehrī, clearly stipulated that the revenue assigned to his family should also be used for the expenses of the faqīrs resident at Shāh ‘Alī’s shrine. However, modernity also brought with it new priorities and, reflecting the revival in educational projects in the city’s religious institutions also reported in the missionary papers of Rev. Henry Lane-Smith, a new madrasa was opened at Shāh Nūr’s shrine during the years of Shams al-dīn’s management.

Shams al-dīn continued with his projects at the shrine for over two decades until his death in 1347/1928. He was buried directly beside Shāh Nūr, with a dome constructed over his tomb some years later. This construction was of great symbolic importance, in that the earlier eighteenth-century line of sajjāda nashīns was buried more than twenty feet away from the grave of Shāh Nūr and without a single dome between them. With Shams al-dīn’s own reputation architecturally confirmed, a new lineage of sajjāda nashīns emerged among his descendants after his death. But although these sajjāda nashīns remained resident at the shrine and continued to offer a source of blessing and, to some extent, actual Sufi instruction to a number of followers, their authority was later challenged by the establishment of a committee, which was to gain broader control of the shrine’s activities. The foundation of this committee was a reflection of the modernizing patterns seen at shrines throughout the Muslim world in the twentieth century, including at Panchakkī a few miles away at almost exactly the same time. But Shams al-dīn’s status was not so easily undone. Three decades after his death a further domed burial chamber of identical design to that of Shams al-dīn was added to the southern front of Shāh Nūr’s mausoleum in honour of Shams al-dīn’s successor in his new lineage of sajjāda nashīns.

While Shāh Nūr’s cult again flourished in Awrangabad during the first half of the twentieth century, its sister cult of Shāh Nūr’s reputed Hindu companion at Dawlatabad also continued to thrive. This was the cult of Mānpūrī Parshād at his lodge (math) in the village at the foot of the great citadel of Dawlatabad a few miles outside Awrangabad. In the math two eighteenth- or nineteenth-century miniature paintings of Shāh Nūr and Mānpūrī were preserved side by side, presenting the two saints in the simple imagery of the Indian ascetic, devoid of any overtly Muslim or Hindu iconography. Mānpūrī’s religious songs (bhajans) were also preserved and sung at his math throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, lyrics which presented a path of devotion to the spiritual master as the key to religious advancement and which frequently scorned the external formalities of religious practice. While the precise character of Mānpūrī’s cult at Dawlatabad under the Nizāms remains unclear, modern oral tradition in Dawlatabad maintains that the math was always a focus of pilgrimage for both local Muslims and Hindus. Certainly, at the end of the twentieth century Mānpūrī’s Muslim devotees claimed devotion to Mānpūrī as their ancestral tradition and there seems little reason to doubt them.
The Saints of Panchakkī

The extensive landholdings that Panchakkī had collected during the first century and a half of its existence meant that the family of its sajjāda nashīns were able to maintain a high standard of living as long as Haydarabad and its laws of Muslim endowments (awqāf) survived. For much of the second half of the nineteenth century, the shrine was controlled by Shāh Hamīd Allāh, the fifth sajjāda nashīn who had inherited his position on the death of his childless elder brother, Amīn Allāh. While nothing is known of the lives or character of these two figures, surviving documentation from the shrine during the early twentieth century confirms the wealth that Panchakkī continued to possess by way of earlier land grants. Supported by the shrine’s landholdings, the sajjāda nashīns of Shāh Musāfīr continued to live in grand style, maintaining the fountains and pools of the shrine in addition to the large pleasure garden that had developed around Panchakkī by this time. Yet such wealth brought with it duties of its own, and the sajjāda nashīns of Panchakkī are best seen as representatives of what still remained a Sufi religious establishment in provincial Haydarabad rather than as land-owning aristocrats tout court. An example of the moral imperatives of such wealth is seen in an anecdote from A’zam al-karāmāt, the hagiography of the early twentieth-century Sufi, Banē Miyān, written at the beginning of the 1920s. The text recounts the story of how in the early twentieth century the sajjāda nashīn of Panchakkī took pity on one Sarwar Khān, a pious but poor Muslim of Awrangabad, and helped him to fulfil his religious duties by paying for him to accompany the sajjāda nashīn’s own extended party on the hajj to Mecca.

The unnamed sajjāda nashīn of Panchakkī whose charity was described in A’zam al-karāmāt was almost certainly Shāh Ghulām Mahmūd (d. 1339/1920). Ghulām Mahmūd had inherited his position upon the death of his father Hamīd Allāh and throughout his years as sajjāda nashīn won renown for his piety and learning, as well as for his efforts to beautify the gardens and maintain the buildings of Shāh Musāfīr’s shrine. The sajjāda nashīns of Panchakkī evidently still received sufficient income from the shrine’s landholdings to maintain the costly delights of fountains, feasts and festive lighting and a limited number of dervishes continued to reside in its khanaqah at the sajjāda nashīn’s expense. Although Panchakkī’s clients were fewer than in its early age of greatest influence in the Mughal period and its blessing power now of limited distribution, it was nonetheless able to find a role for itself as the epitome of the city’s Mughal connections and Sufi piety. The tradition of scholarship with which the shrine had become associated during the second half of the eighteenth century also combined with the leisurely pursuits of this wealthy class of sajjāda nashīns and a surviving inventory of the shrine’s library also shows that book collecting continued at Panchakkī during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the reputation of Panchakkī’s library was distinguished enough in the early decades of the twentieth century to warrant regular visits by the famous scholar and lexicographer of Urdu, Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Haqq (d. 1381/1961).

The saints’ connections to a long-gone Central Asian military aristocracy meant that their later representatives’ attempts to establish a wider constituency in
Awrangabad were handicapped. But the saints were nonetheless able to maintain a limited local clientele, who took for granted the tradition that had developed over the centuries that Shāh Musāfir had been the spiritual master of the great emperor and founder of their city, Awrangzeb. Locals also continued to resort to the shrine as a place of pleasure and delight. These promenades of Awrangabad’s Indian residents were supplemented by regular visits by the Britons stationed in the city’s cantonment, for whom the shrine and its gardens on the outskirts of the old city became a favoured place of recreation. In the 1860s, one British visitor, Major Robert Gill, wrote of Panchakkī that, ‘the place is much resorted to by the English for purposes of eating and drinking: by the Moslems, and even Hindoos, in honor of the Peer [i.e. Shāh Musāfir], and for purposes of veneration.’ The English novelist E.M. Forster was similarly treated to a picnic by his Indian hosts in the gardens of one of Awrangabad’s Mughal tombs. Although surviving accounts of the visit suggest that this was not actually Panchakkī, we may probably assume that he did visit the shrine on his nostalgic tour of the city’s sights in 1913. The picturesque qualities of the shrine also made it a favoured site for early photographers and in addition to the five photographs of the shrine published by Major Gill and his companion James Ferguson in 1864, the court photographer of the Nizām, Rājā Musāwrir Jang (better known as ‘Raja Deen Dayal’, d. 1905), also took several pictures of Panchakkī during a visit to Awrangabad in the 1880s. For as much as anything else, by this period Panchakkī acted as a vivid architectural reminder of the glory of the city’s imperial past. The visits made by local people were perhaps aimed as much at connecting with that past than with the saintly persons of the Sufis buried there, for the splendid shrine of the saint now regarded as Awrangzeb’s spiritual mentor seemed to embody the history of the entire city.

If the turn of the twentieth century saw the cult of Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir surviving only as a minor saintly tradition, it was nonetheless a tradition endowed with great wealth. The combination of a saintly Central Asian ancestry and a large income from the shrine’s landholdings positioned the last sajjāda nashīns of Shāh Musāfir at the top of Awrangabad’s social ladder. And yet a sense of family tradition and religious duty led Ghulām Mahmūd, the last of the original line of sajjāda nashīns founded by the author of the Ḍzū‘a-ye-Naqṣbandiyya Shāh Mahmūd, to uphold what remained of the shrine’s spiritual tradition. Ghulām Mahmūd was reputed for his conscientiousness with regard to the performance of the death anniversaries of the Panchakkī saints and the other religious functions of the shrine. But when Ghulām Mahmūd died without issue in 1339/1920, the first of a long series of disputes began for control of the shrine that would continue in one form or another for the remainder of the century. Although he had no children, Ghulām Mahmūd did leave two wives, Sāliha Bēgam and Batūl Bēgam, who were determined that control of both the shrine and its landholdings should remain in their hands. Despite some success with the government in Haydarabad, as at the shrine of Shāh Nūr, in the late 1920s a management committee (intīzāmī komitī) was set up to replace them. The committee was placed under the chairmanship of the governor (sūbedār) of Awrangabad and consisted of members of the Nizām’s civil service and a
number of non-governmental figures. The scale of Panchakkī’s landholdings, and the thought of their sole control by two elderly women, also seems to have been a cause for considerable disquiet in the city at large. But despite these attempts to depose them, Ghulām Mahmūd’s widows seem to have been determined and capable women. Since it was Sāliha Bēgam who was responsible for saving the sole manuscript of the *Malfīzāt-e-Naqsbandiyya* upon the death of her husband and seeing to its eventual publication in Haydarabad, we too have much to be grateful to her for.59 But when the two widows both died some time in the early 1930s, the property and landholdings of the shrine finally fell firmly into the hands of Haydarabad’s Department of Religious Endowments. But this was not the end of the old ways of individual control by a representative of the saint and a nephew of Ghulām Mahmūd who had enjoyed the favour of Sāliha Bēgam (and claimed to have been formally adopted by her) came forward to claim the position of *sajjāda nashīn*. While the shrine’s lands had been seized by the state, this claimant, Yūsuf al-dīn Maghribī, remained in residence at Panchakkī and began the first of a long series of court cases to reclaim the lands (or later a stipend based upon them) from the government. The era of Panchakkī’s independent wealth had come to an end.

The literary tradition

*An overview*

The nineteenth century saw far less literary activity in Awrangabad than the wealth of writing that characterized the century before it. The increasing poverty of Haydarabad’s landholding classes and the focus of what patronage there was on Haydarabad played some role in this. However, a limited amount of literary production did continue in the city, even though literary careers started there could often only be continued elsewhere. Probably the most significant local writer from the early part of this period was ‘Ināyat Allāh (fl. 1273/1856), whose *Yā Fatāh* continued the earlier tradition of urban literary celebrations.60 However, the literary scene in Awrangabad in the second half of the nineteenth century is perhaps best evoked in the life of the poet of Urdu and Persian, Ghālib’s friend Miyān Dād Khān Sayyāh (d. 1325/1907).61 Born into a noble family in Awrangabad, Dād Khān saw his family reduced to poverty in his youth before beginning the series of travels that led Ghālib to give him his *nom de plume* of Sayyāh (‘traveller’). This sobriquet echoed the title of Awrangabad’s great Naqshbandī saint, Shāh Musāfīr (the ‘traveller king’) that in turn echoed the long-standing convention of tying together the language of the mystical quest with that of travel, both seen as typified by hardship and discovery. As a lover of fine clothes and perfume despite his poverty, Dād Khān later spent some years as the companion of the Surat nobleman Nawwāb Mīr Ghulām Bābā Khān (d. 1311/1893), but ultimately died in poverty in 1325/1907. The promotion of Arabic and Islamic scholarship was also given renewed attention as Haydarabad developed a renewed sense of purpose and legitimacy as the last great defender of Islam in India. It is often overlooked that the great early star of the
Muslim anti-colonial movement Jamāl al-dīn ‘al-Afghānī’ (d. 1314/1897) resided in Bombay and Haydarabad between 1296/1879 and 1299/1882. While he was in Haydarabad, al-Afghānī received the patronage of a local aristocrat and wrote his major work Haqīqat-e-madhhab-e-naycharī wa bayān-e-bāl-e-naycharīyān in opposition to the ideas of Sayyid Ahmad Khān and the Aligarh Movement. This work was first published in Haydarabad in Persian in 1298/1881, several years prior to its translation into Arabic as al-Radd ‘ala al-dhahriyyān (‘Refutation of the Materialists’). Mapped out in the shifts of patronage between Arabic, Persian and Urdu were the various ideological dimensions of the struggle between pan-Islamism and local nationalism that characterized the intellectual parameters of the struggle for the souls of Haydarabad’s Muslim intellectuals. These linguistic debates were of great consequence, for they would determine which linguistic community Haydarabad’s Muslims – and even Hindus – would belong to, from a pan-Islamic tradition of Arabic scholarship to the tradition of Persian learning that had for centuries tied India into a wider cultural ecumene encompassing Central Asia and Iran, to Urdu and ultimately the strictly regional vernaculars of Telugu and Marathi. Lost in the middle ground between the Arabic of the pan-Islamists and the Urdu of the Deccani and Indian nationalists, Persian learning was the first casualty of Haydarabad’s twentieth-century linguistic struggle for identity. In the first half of the nineteenth century Persian had been able to retain its prominence in India, but its replacement as the official language of British administration by English in the 1830s was reinforced in the Deccan in 1301/1884 by Persian’s replacement by Urdu as the official language of the Āsaf Jāh administration. While Arabic scholarship continued to receive patronage, the fortunes of Urdu rose quickly over the following decades. And with the other historic centres of Urdu in Delhi and Lucknow firmly under British control, Haydarabad came to see itself as the last great protector of Urdu no less than of Islam.

These debates were also echoed in the development of scholarship in English in Haydarabad, where the influential scholarly journal Islamic Culture was founded in 1345/1926 with an editorial board that was dominated by immigrant (ghayr-mulkī) intellectuals sympathetic to the brand of Muslim patriotism they saw as the true spirit of Haydarabad. Such a pan-Islamic ideology could certainly appeal to a wider audience than the people of the Deccan itself, and alongside al-Afghānī also attracted the English scholar and convert to Islam Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936) to move to Haydarabad, where he served as an educationalist in the Nizām’s service and became the editor of Islamic Culture. However, the greatest legacy of Pickthall’s association with the Deccan was his famous translation of the Quran, which he dedicated to Nizām ‘Uthmān ‘Ali Khān.

Subsequently, the late nineteenth century saw a considerable flourishing of Urdu scholarship in Haydarabad, with Urdu finally establishing itself as a prose medium of comparable stature with Persian. This was not least the case in the realm of historiography, and through the writings of Ghulām Imām Khān and Amjad Husayn, khatib of the Friday mosque at Ellichpur in the northern Deccan, among others, the foundations of a modern tradition of historical reflection on Haydarabad’s
history were laid.\textsuperscript{64} In Awrangabad, the promotion of Urdu learning was bolstered through the foundation of a local branch of the Society for the Promotion of Urdu (\textit{Anjoman-e-taraqi-ye-urdū}) in 1321/1903. This institution was later managed in Awrangabad by the famous scholar Mawlawi 'Abd al-Haqq, known for his services to Urdu scholarship as Bābā-ye-Urdū (‘Father of Urdu’). The Awrangabad branch of the \textit{Anjoman} oversaw a great flurry of publishing, with earlier generations of what were by now judged as literary classics being published for the first time, along with a series of newer and lesser known works. A firm characteristic of the \textit{Anjoman} was the publishing of poetry composed in the Deccan, from the Dakhani literature patronized by the Qutb Shāhs of Golkonda through to important editions of the poems of Awrangabad's own Sirāj and Wāli. The establishment of one of the earliest Urdu literary journals, called simply \textit{Urdū}, added a critical dimension to this appreciation of literary tradition by encouraging analysis instead of the more partisan critical traditions of outright praise and defamation. In 1933, 'Abd al-Haqq himself wrote an important work on the role of the Sufis in the early evolution of Urdu literature in the Deccan.\textsuperscript{65}

Despite the succour offered by the independence of Haydarabad, this was still the heyday of Britain's colonial influence and this entry of a canon of Urdu classics into print occurred alongside the translations from European literature that would have such great effect on the Urdu literary imagination across India over the coming decades. Throughout this movement, the shadows of an earlier age of empire still lingered, and the establishment of Urdu as the official language of the state saw a split between those who wished to promote the more Persianized Urdu of North India over the vocabulary and norms of Haydarabad's own Dakhani Urdu tradition. The \textit{Anjoman-e-taraqi-ye-urdū} was only one of a number of similar institutions that represented Haydarabad's attempts at modernization. Breaking with the old traditions of madrasa education, in 1337/1918 the city of Haydarabad saw the opening of the first Urdu-medium university, the Osmania University, while in the 1890s a modern school was established in Awrangabad. Alongside the churches in Awrangabad and the schools attached to them, these new institutions provided strong competition for the madrasas and shrines that had for so long supported learning in the region. The new schools were to have a considerable effect and between 1298/1881 and 1350/1931 the Muslim literacy rate doubled in Haydarabad State, especially with regard to literacy in Urdu.\textsuperscript{66}

During the first half of the twentieth century, these seismic shifts in language use, literacy and the technology of the book had a considerable influence on the literature surrounding Awrangabad's saints. Reflecting the declining fortunes of Persian throughout India, the nineteenth-century \textit{tadhkira} tradition experienced a certain discontinuity with the rise of Urdu prose. Contemporary with this was the spread of cheap lithographic printing in India, which affected the Awrangabad tradition in different ways. For while Persian was certainly declining in India, it did receive an important buttress through the printing of what were considered notable (and marketable) works of Persian literature. And several works related to the Awrangabad Sufis did make the transition into print from the great Persian publishing centres of

123
Delhi, Lucknow and Kanpur in the north. Given the rise we have witnessed in the reputation of Nizám al-dín in northern India throughout the nineteenth century, it is a matter of little surprise that these works were principally related to his tradition rather than that of any of the other Awrangabad saints. North Indian publishers printed lithographic editions of Nizám al-dín’s own *Nizám al-qulân* and the collection of letters addressed to him by Şâh Kalîm Allâh. Several texts relating to the circle of his son Fakhr al-dín were also published around this time. Since these were effectively all commercial editions, the appearance of these works is testament to the interest which North Indian Muslims maintained in the lineage of Kalîm Allâh in spite of the destruction of his shrine, and the manuscripts contained there, by the British in the aftermath of the Revolt. Awrangabad was also fortunate in seeing the works of some of its best known writers, such as Şâh Nawâz Khân and Bilgrâmî, finding their way into print relatively early, while the Anjoman published a great deal of the Urdu poetry produced during the city’s early history. For the most part, however, the works describing the city’s saints would either wait until the mid- or late twentieth century to be printed, with many works never being printed at all and only surviving as rare or in some cases unique manuscripts. The coming of the printing press, and the question of which works passed over into print, thus represented an important change in the worlds of Indo-Muslim memory and learning in Awrangabad. With so many of the texts related to the city and its saints forgotten or in some cases lost for good, much of what was remembered by the new generation of Urdu hagiographers in the twentieth century changed the character of the saints in subtle ways as the old texts and the world they represented were forgotten.

*Urdu hagiography in a changing environment*

The first half of the twentieth century saw a renewed albeit limited interest in Awrangabad’s saints by a new generation of Deccan-based commemorative writers. Although their accounts retained the saints’ by now patrimonial connections with Āsaf Jiāh statehood, there was also room within them to redefine the identity of Muslim sainthood itself in accordance with the changing intellectual climate in India. It was mainly the development of this tradition of Urdu *tadhkirât* that provided the means by which the memory of the saints was passed on to modern times after the collapse of literary participation in Persian. Sufi biographical writings formed part of this growth of Urdu prose writing and Awrangabad also saw the composition of Sufi texts in Urdu by residents of the city attached to the new Sufi tradition of Banî Miyân, as well as the featuring of its older Mughal saints in new Urdu Sufi biographical texts written elsewhere in the Deccan.

We have seen that the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the production of numerous Sufi biographical writings in Persian as Indian Muslims became increasingly conscious of the fragility of their heritage. Amid these works, Nizám al-dín stood out among the Awrangabad saints through his inclusion into what may be seen as the self-conscious production of a Chishti historical tradition from the perspective of the colonial period. Nizám al-dín’s filial connections with Delhi and the last great
phase of the Chishtiyya before 1274/1857 had ensured his memorialization in texts often scarcely concerned with Awrangabad, the Deccan or even Sufism in general. As well as the Takmīla-ye-sīyar al-awliyā of Gūl Muhammad Ahmadpūrī and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān’s Ābār al-sanādīdī, these also included Ghulām Sarwar Lāhawrī’s Khażīnāt al-asfiyā. Beside Nizām al-dīn’s proliferation into texts written in and about the cultural geography of North India, the saint also featured in the Deccan-based Urdu tadhkīrāt of Imām al-dīn Naqūwī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār Khān Makkāpūrī along with the other Mughal saints of Awrangabad.

Just as the earlier literary commemoration of Awrangabad’s saints by Bilgrāmī, Sabzawārī and ‘Urūj sought to create a saintly heritage for the city in deference to the stately amour propre of the early Āsaf Jāh rulers, a similar process was underway in Haydarābād State during the first decades of the twentieth century. Fighting to re-assert its identity at the height of the colonial era, and having come to regard its mission as one of devotion to the protection of Islam in India, a new emphasis was given by a new generation of writers to the Muslim history of the Deccan in which the Sufis had played so large a part. The collective hagiographies of the Deccan’s saints written at this time by Imām al-dīn Naqūwī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār Khān Makkāpūrī were thus part of the wider cultural programmes we have seen aimed at the preservation of either a pan-Islamic or specifically Deccani Muslim historical identity. Reflecting the wider struggle between localized and trans-regional expressions of Islam, these texts represented different visions of what it meant to be a Muslim in early twentieth-century India. While accepting Islam’s presence in the Deccan without question, Naqūwī and Makkāpūrī nonetheless differed in their sense of the religious importance granted to a specifically regional Muslim tradition, no less than to a more accommodating Islamicate tradition that could also incorporate Hindus within its fold. The two authors also differed in their understanding of the meaning and expression of Muslim sainthood. While Makkāpūrī was more amenable to repeating stories of the saints’ miraculous deeds, Naqūwī favoured an image of the saint primarily as instructor.

While reflecting wider cultural changes in Awrangabad at large, the Urdu tadhkīrāt of the early twentieth century reveal much about the changing image of the city’s saints and the changing fortunes of their shrines. This is seen most clearly with regard to the saints of Panchakkī, where the freshness of their early commemorative tradition in the writings of Shāh Mahmūd, Bilgrāmī and Sabzawārī was followed by a long silence unbroken until the early twentieth century with their description in Naqūwī’s Urdu Barakāt al-awliyā, devoted to a range of Sufis from all over the Deccan. Naqūwī’s description of Shāh Mūsāfīr reveals how even the most standardized of literary images of the saints were subject to shifts over time, for in Naqūwī’s writing we see a reflection of the changing textual identity of Muslim sainthood en somme during the age of Islamic reform. Compared to the literary polish of Bilgrāmī’s Persian, Naqūwī’s Urdu was purposeful and lacking in elegance. His text reflects a transformation of the tadhkīra from what was often the pious belle-lettrisme of a cultivated elite to a means of the dissemination of new ideas about Islam and its heritage formed for a readership with only functional literacy in Urdu. Placed within
a new educationalist framework and targeting as wide an audience as possible, works such as Barakāt al-awliyā represented a distinctly twentieth-century form of hagiography. Shāh Musāfīr’s notice in the Barakāt al-awliyā thus begins with a formulaic description of the saint’s most orthodox deeds, ever involved ‘in divine remembrance, worship, dhikr and spiritual works’. The text then praises him as the founder of a centre of learning for shaykhs and ‘ulamā into which the image of his takiyya at Panchakkī had been transformed.67 Despite the shrine’s varied history as the location of poetic inspiration, evening promenades and even the performance of dancing boys, Panchakkī here had its cultural functions narrowed to reflect the sober character of the madrasas we saw emerging at this time among North Indian Sufi groups in Chapter 3. The saint was here no longer the miracle-monger of Shāh Mahmūd’s Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyā, the possessor of terrifying and sometimes ambiguous powers. Gone were the militiamen and notables, the bhang and the bewilderment, of the saint’s first literary incarnation to be replaced by an image of him as the headmaster of a seminary of bookish ‘ulamā. Panchakkī was transformed into the very kind of environment to which Naqwī belonged.

Nonetheless, Naqwī placed great emphasis on the built presence of the shrine of Shāh Musāfīr, quoting the chronogram written for the saint by Bilgrāmī and preserved on the tympanum of the saint’s mausoleum. Standing out as the only distinguishing feature of Shāh Musāfīr among the pious banalities of Naqwī’s text was the claim that Shāh Musāfīr himself built the takiyya, mosque, khanaqah and pool at Awrangabad where he taught the city’s shaykhs and ‘ulamā. Naqwī showed no sign of having read the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyā. All that he knew about Shāh Musāfīr – indeed the fact that he was known to Naqwī at all – was drawn from the presence of the saint’s splendid shrine, whose existence he attributed to saintly rather than stately efforts. This impression is confirmed by Naqwī’s appropriation without attribution of Bilgrāmī’s chronogram of Shāh Musāfīr’s death, suggesting that Naqwī knew the verses from the inscription at the shrine without being aware of their noteworthy authorship. Here then was an interface between hagiography and the architecture of remembrance. For in the absence of a clear textual pedigree for the saint in earlier works known to Naqwī, Shāh Musāfīr’s inclusion in Barakāt al-awliyā seems to have come about solely due to the existence of his architectural legacy in Awrangabad, the description of which occupied more space and was more acutely observed than the references to the saint himself.

Insofar as Shāh Musāfīr was remembered, it was due to the existence of his shrine of Panchakkī, which was in a sense the true entrant in Naqwī’s text. Despite the remarkable individuality of Shāh Musāfīr’s life as described by Shāh Mahmūd, the saint found himself recast after the colonial and reformist image of the missionary-educationalist. For by the early twentieth century, not only were individual saints being groomed for a new identity, but so was Muslim sainthood as a whole. This pattern of presenting the Sufis as teachers and preachers of Islam rather than as miracle workers would later be repeated in a variety of twentieth-century Indian works on the Sufis, most notably in those associated with the Sufi-inspired missionary organization, Tablíghī Jamā’at.68
The long literary silence in the *tadhkira* tradition of Shāh Nūr between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries mirrored the long chronological gap in the written memory of Shāh Musāfir. In the case of Shāh Nūr, the circumstances seem to be related to the long lapse in the cult's management by a *sajjāda nasbīn* in the nineteenth century prior to its early twentieth-century revival. In his *Barakāt al-aʿwiliyā*, Naqwī also wrote a short notice on Shāh Nūr. Like that on the saints of Panchakkī, it heralded a new and less nuanced image of saintly identity than that seen in the earlier *tadhkirāt* of Sabzawārī and ʿUrūj. In an expression of the unresolved struggle between Islamic and ethnic identity that has been so important in the social history of Islam in India, Naqwī was concerned more than anything else with Shāh Nūr's purportedly Arab genealogy. He thereby claimed that Shāh Nūr was born of the *sayyids* of the city of Hama in Syria and was also a descendant of the great early Sufi of Baghdad ʿAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī, here echoing if also strongly emphasizing certain tendencies in earlier tradition.69 Despite its brevity and simple prose, Naqwī's notice on Shāh Nūr encapsulated the distinct strands that would go on to define the identity of Shāh Nūr throughout the twentieth century and prove symptomatic of wider currents in Muslim saintly traditions right across India. For in Naqwī's presentation of Shāh Nūr as a generous *hammām*-owner who lived for more than three centuries, during which he was ever busy in prayer and learning, Shāh Nūr appears as a peculiar collage of remembered historical anecdote, cultic tradition and reformist veneer.

The account given of Shāh Nūr by Malkāpūrī is found in his exhaustive *Tadhkira-ye-awliyā-ye-dakan* (1331/1912–13), a companion work to his parallel works on the poets and kings of the Deccan.70 Although Malkāpūrī's account of Shāh Nūr diverged from that of ʿUrūj over the matter of the saint's nickname and Sufi teacher, the greater part of the stories that he recounted drew upon ʿUrūj as their main source.71 However, connections between the lives of the saints and the wider political and cultural life of the Deccan may also be seen in Malkāpūrī's text no less than in the works of Bilgrāmī a century and a half earlier. In his account of Shāh Nūr, Malkāpūrī was keen to explain the courtly connections of the saint's followers as well as to detail the literary achievements of Shāh Nūr and his successors.72 This literary-minded presentation of the circle around Shāh Nūr was cautiously aware of the reformist currents of the period, leading Malkāpūrī to present Shāh Nūr and his successors as teachers and scholars of the Quran and Hadīth as well as workers of extraordinary wonders. The allusions to the royal court in the text, and their concomitant of an Indo-Muslim social hierarchy within which the saints and their descendants mixed with notables and statesmen, reflected the social world to which Malkāpūrī belonged in Haydarabad. In such commemorative works, whether written in memory of the Deccan's saints, poets or kings, the connections between Āsaf Jāh Haydarabad and the old ways of the Mughals were never far beneath the surface. For if the Indo-Muslim tradition of kingship and the old social order it sustained had disappeared as a frame of reference in Muslim writings from North India, in the Deccan the survival of Haydarabad State allowed local patriots like Malkāpūrī the privilege of preserving a historical identity that remained unbroken from the glorious days of Islam in precolonial India.
The bookish accomplishments attached to Shāh Nūr and his descendants were also important to Malkāpūrī and his audience. In his tadhkira a sense of mutual refinement was exchanged between author and reader, as seen in such tropes as his penchant for quoting direct speech and poetry in Persian and in his evocation of the imagery of the Urdu romance narrative in some of his colourful tales of the saints. Not only do these stylistic traits point towards the intended audience of his works – aimed no less than Bilgrāmī’s earlier tadhkīrat at an audience of learning and status – they are also suggestive of a specific vision of the Deccan’s past. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Malkāpūrī chose not to recount the miracle of Shāh Nūr buried deep in an anthill far out in the jungle, despite its inclusion in the earlier text of ‘Urūj, his main source. For Malkāpūrī’s narrative presented a more mannered version of the Deccan’s heritage as exclusively Persophone, lettered and, like Sir Walter Scott’s medieval heroes, fashioned after the tastes of an emerging book-buying bourgeoisie. Bilgrāmī’s works had formed the written memory of a whole era’s rulers, poets and saints, who sometimes featured alongside one another in the same texts. A century and a half later, Malkāpūrī strove to record the grandeur of a whole regional culture in his overlapping volumes on the Sufis, sultans and poets of the Deccan in his wider literary endeavour to create an encyclopedic written memorial of the Deccan’s past.

Yet like earlier tadhkīrat, Malkāpūrī’s narrative was also connected to a Deccani geography of shrines and the cult practices that brought them to life. A large part of his notice on Shāh Nūr discussed details of his shrine, including matters of its location, architectural features and income. The lavishness of the several death anniversaries regularly celebrated for Shāh Nūr and his sajjāda nashīns was also expressed as a matter of pride. In this respect, Malkāpūrī’s work reflected the earlier saintly almanacs created in the city, serving as an erudite but nonetheless entertaining guidebook to the Sufi pilgrimage centres of the Āsaf Jāh realm. Yet echoes of the changing identity of the saints in an age of reform were no less present. For alongside his discussion of Shāh Nūr’s shrine and its customary celebrations, Malkāpūrī was careful to present the first of Shāh Nūr’s successors, Shihāb al-dīn, as the founder of a madrasa at the shrine. Not only a place of miracles, like Naqwī’s image of Panchakki the shrine of Shāh Nūr found new dimensions to its past as a source of instruction in Islamic law. In a case of a vision of the past outlining a programme in the present, the existence of this earlier madrasa also played a role in justifying the revival of the madrasa at the shrine by its reviver Shams al-dīn Chishtī in the period in which Malkāpūrī was writing. In this way, Malkāpūrī was able to eulogize the shrine’s former days of learning under the benevolent guidance of its sajjāda nashīns. In doing so, he could praise the representatives of the old social order of the hierarchy of saintly representatives who – new committees notwithstanding – would continue to maintain the status of the saints and their shrines as long as Haydarabad State survived.

However, amid the new tradition of Indo-British historiography, Shāh Nūr was also the only one of the Awrangabad saints to feature in T.W. Beale’s mid-nineteenth century Oriental Biographical Dictionary, so finding a small measure of recognition outside the Indo-Islamic tradition.
SAINTS, REBELS AND REVIVALISTS

Saints and kings in the Urdu hagiographies

Given his rise in prestige during the nineteenth century, Nizām al-dīn featured more prominently than any of the other saints of Awrangabad in writings from this period. The championing of the claims to Nizām al-dīn of Delhi and other regions of northern India over those of Awrangabad was reflected again during this period in texts such as the *Khazīnat al-asfīyā* (c.1281/1864) of Ghulām Sarwar Lāhawrī. Again, it was Nizām al-dīn’s position as broker between the great Chīshātīs of Delhi, Kalīm Allāh and Fakhr al-dīn, that formed the focus of Ghulām Sarwar’s account of Nizām al-dīn in a text that was primarily concerned with the saints of Punjab. The only other detail of interest in *Khazīnat al-asfīyā* is a somewhat confused reification of the saint’s relationship with Nizām al-Mulk. Despite its paucity of detail, the emphasis that Ghulām Sarwar’s account gave to structured familial and initiatory relationships reflects an important pattern in the wider organization of Sufi thought and activity. Studies of the Muslim saints in other parts of the world, such as Aleppo, similarly show Muslim sainthood as socially embedded in prestigious state, family and initiatory relationships. Reflecting the success of Nizām al-dīn and the other saints of empire in Mughal Awrangabad, the major saints of modern Aleppo were drawn from elite families associated with Ottoman rule rather than with Aleppo’s rich Muslim history prior to the Ottoman invasion.

Echoing the fame that Nizām al-dīn had won in the north through the nineteenth century, in the century after the return of the saint’s ancestors from Delhi to Awrangabad his status in the Deccan similarly increased. The association of Nizām al-dīn with Nizām al-Mulk that was mentioned in the *Khazīnat al-asfīyā*, and the earlier writings of Sabzawārī and ‘Imād al-Mulk blossomed in the Deccan into a series of more fulsome narratives. Drawing probably on an oral tradition that had gradually developed since Nizām al-dīn’s death, the name and person of Nizām al-dīn came to be seen as the supernatural founder of the royal house of the Āsaf Jāhhs and so in turn of the territorial integrity of the Haydarābād Deccan. These developments are seen clearly in the notices on Nizām al-dīn in the *tadhkirat* of Naqwī and Malkāpūrī.

Both memorialists referred to the saint as a descendant of the major early Sufi, Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawārdī (d. 632/1234). Although this genealogy was not new, given the links being built up between saint and state it is difficult not to see Nizām al-dīn’s pedigree as in some degree a reflection of the official genealogy of the Āsaf Jāh rulers, who likewise claimed family descent from Suhrawārdī. This saintly genealogy may be seen as adding historical depth to the close links cultivated between the successors of Nizām al-dīn and the representatives of the Āsaf Jāh state, tying royal and saintly families together into the distant past in a similar way to ‘Imād al-Mulk’s earlier writings on Fakhr al-dīn. Yet like Shāh Nūr’s prestigious hagiographical genealogy of Arabian birth and descent, that of the Indian-born Nizām al-dīn and his royal follower also testified to the continuum between sanctity, authority and (perceptions of) ethnicity in Indo-Muslim societies.

For his part, Naqwī spent the greater part of his description of Nizām al-dīn in recounting a series of minor but symbolic events relating to the saint’s time in the
khanaqah of Kalīm Allāh in Delhi. He carefully presented the source of Nizām al-dīn’s authority as bearer of the mantle (khīrqa) and teaching licence (ijāza) given to him by Kalīm Allāh, before describing how the latter then granted the Deccan to his student as his own zone of spiritual authority (wilāyat).

What is striking about this formulation is the manner in which it outlines Sufi authority after the form of its political counterpart. For just as it had been the emperor in Delhi who had granted control of the Deccan to his own subordinate Nizām al-Mulk, so was Nizām al-dīn granted control of the Deccan from his master in Delhi. Formulations of saintly and royal legitimacy in the Deccan were thus made to mirror one another, through being based in the older and more legitimate sources of authority of the emperors and saints of Delhi. Over two centuries after the original Mughal conquest of the Deccan and the cultural changes that accompanied it, we see in Naqwī’s narrative a twentieth-century version of the same process of the re-writing of the Deccan’s cultural and political geography seen during the era of Mughal colonization.

As in his other notices on the Awrangabad saints, Naqwī also emphasized the role of Nizām al-dīn as a teacher. A smaller dose of the reformist re-definition of Sufism was felt in Malkāpūrī’s presentation of the saint. Although Malkāpūrī drew in places upon the Ahsan al-shamā’il of Kāmgār Khān, there was also a new emphasis on the conversion of Hindus that was quite alien to the spirit of the earlier work. While the Ahsan al-shamā’il contained several references to the Yogi followers of Nizām al-dīn, there was no sense that the saint’s task was to convert them. In one long narrative in which a Hindu devotee wished to become a Muslim, Nizām al-dīn made it quite clear that he did not see it as his role to convert people. Instead, the Yogi had to resort to the khatīb of the city’s Friday mosque in order to fulfil what was clearly his own wish of accepting Islam. With admirable prescience, Nizām al-dīn remarked in the Ahsan al-shamā’il that converting people would only make others afraid. It was also in a spirit of contrast to the Ahsan al-shamā’il that in an otherwise charming narrative drawing on the tradition of the Urdu romantic mathnawī, Malkāpūrī described how one of the followers of Nizām al-dīn fell in love with a beautiful female Yogi (jīgin), who spent her days on a swing surrounded by 500 followers. With the saint’s help, the final outcome of this romantic entanglement was the mass conversion of the band of Yogi followers, followed by the happy marriage of the former jīgin to Nizām al-dīn’s follower. This emphasis on conversion echoed the broader movement of Islamic revival that we have seen in Haydarabad State during this period, in which Muslim and Hindu groups competed for the religious loyalties of the people of the state. Nonetheless, Malkāpūrī was sensitive to the wider cultural traditions of the Deccan, and like other picturesque elements of his writings the jīgin story also served to add an element of local colour. For his text was more truly a celebration of a specifically Deccani Muslim culture than of a deracinated universal Islam. As a native of the northern Deccan region of Berar, Malkāpūrī in such ways echoed the malkā sentiments of the Haydarabadi nationalists.

Malkāpūrī also gave voice to a new bureaucratic dimension to sainthood that was emerging in this period of the modernizing of state and religious organizations. In a
series of startling images, Malkāpūrī described how Nizām al-dīn enjoyed helping the poor through writing letters of recommendation to the rich, while dealing with the pleas of his clients through the use of paper warrants and an official seal (muhr) given to him by Nizām al-Mulk.85 So many people came to ask for their requests to be officially stamped that the saint decided to hang the seal outside the door of his cell, so allowing the poor to draw promissory notes on the state treasury at their own questionable discretion.86 Needless to say, the plan came to no good and Nizām al-Mulk begged the saint to discontinue the practice. These bureaucratic images fit into the wider narrative association of the saint with Nizām al-Mulk which plays a central part in Malkāpūrī’s account. Alongside descriptions of the ruler’s devotion to the saint, Malkāpūrī recounted the influential tradition of how Nizām al-dīn miraculously intervened to help Nizām al-Mulk defeat his rival Mubāriz Khān in battle at Shakar Khera in 1137/1724, an event generally regarded as having laid the foundation of Āsaf Jāh rule in the Deccan.87 As we have seen, an earlier version of this story had already been presented in the nineteenth-century Mishkat al-Nubuwwat of Ghulām ‘Alī Qādirī of Haydarabad. According to Malkāpūrī’s version, the saint was already present in the army of Nizām al-Mulk and promised the latter signs of victory after he came to beg the saint for help. Shortly afterwards, a series of sandalwood handprints mysteriously appeared on the tents of Nizām al-Mulk’s soldiers, protecting their occupants and prophesying their victory. The symbolism of the sandal handprint acting as a protective talisman drew on the custom during the saints’ death anniversaries of placing red handprints on the walls of the shrine after the sandalmalī ritual of daubing the saint’s tomb with crimson sandalwood paste. Once again the tales of the saints were connected to the ritual practices associated with their shrines. In Malkāpūrī’s narrative, Nizām al-dīn is thus seen as the supernatural patron of Haydarabad’s founder and in a sense as the state’s secret and eponymous founder in reflection of a tradition probably well-known to many of Malkāpūrī’s readers. Yet as in all such narrative associations of saints and kings, the ruler won legitimacy for the actions he carried out by saintly decree.

In the context of his other writings, Malkāpūrī’s narrative of the saintly sponsorship of Haydarabad’s foundation was predictable enough. He also recounted the same story at greater length in his history of the Deccan’s kings. Here was a distinct form of regional nationalism that was engendered through a local historical tradition of a saint giving miraculous rise to an independent polity. By the time of the writing of Malkāpūrī’s text, Nizām al-Mulk’s successor state had lasted for almost two centuries while many of its early contemporaries – Awadh, Arkat, Maysur – had long since fallen to the British. Such narratives of the saintly patronage of kingdoms, though well attested in the premodern historiography of Muslim India, continued to be of importance in the early twentieth century. Despite the reformist image of the Sufi as missionary and teacher, in such cases the saints continued to control the destiny of whole nations.

More fortunate in hagiographical terms than any of the Awrangabad saints during this period were the earlier Sufi saints of nearby Khuldabad. For all of the evident revival of their cults, the Awrangabad saints had to satisfy themselves with a mention in the
pan-Deccan hagiographies of Malkāpūrī and Naqwī, while the Khuldabad Sufis were celebrated in two new Urdu hagiographies devoted entirely to Khuldabad. These works were the Rawzat al-aqtāb of Mawlawī Rawnaq ‘Alī and the Rawza-ye-sharīf of the Nizām’s Hindu prime minister, Kishan Parsād. These two works originally appeared in the early 1930s. In contrast to the aristocratic background of Kishan Parsād, Rawnaq ‘Alī was a local schoolteacher, whose book was clearly related to the ongoing popularity of Khuldabad as a pilgrimage destination. Indeed, with its wealth of architectural and historical detail, Rawzat al-aqtāb was in many ways a species of superior guidebook and as such a worthy heir to Sabzawārī’s earlier Sawānīb. The book was first published in 1349/1931 in Lucknow, where the author had family connections, but was later republished several times in Awrangabad.

Rawzat al-aqtāb is a lengthy work that is devoted not only to the saints of Khuldabad but also to the rulers, notables and poets buried there. Like Malkāpūrī a decade or two earlier, Rawnaq ‘Alī drew on a large number of manuscript sources and his work is of historical no less than hagiographical value. In many ways, Rawzat al-aqtāb was a hybrid text, symptomatic of the evolution of the Islamic hagiography in new stylistic and intellectual directions. One the one hand, the work deliberately echoed the earlier structure (and title) of Bilgrāmī’s Rawzat al-awliyā, while also reflecting such nineteenth-century works as the Mṭr al-sanādal of Sayyid Ahmad Khān in its cataloguing of the architecture no less than the personalities of a given urban habitat. But on the other hand it also resembled the more recent imperial genre of the gazetteer in its attention to the facts and figures of the town’s population and number of residences. The numbers of the various kinds of servants (khuddām) at the shrines and their expenses were similarly presented in tabulated form. From this we learn that along with a whole host of more menial attendants, in the early 1930s there were still forty Quran and prayer reciters (hufāz wa salwāt khwān) employed in Khuldabad. A range of other people devoted their working lives to further rituals associated with pilgrimage to the shrines. These included vendors of flowers, incense (agarbatti) and candles, as well as prayer-makers (duʿā gāh). Four mace-bearers (chūbdār) were assigned to ceremonially guard the tomb of Awrangzib, which in 1341/1922 had been partitioned by marble lattice screens through the joint efforts of Lord Curzon and Nizām ‘Uthmān ‘Alī Khān. A section on the clothing and manners (labās wa akhlāq) of Khuldabad’s residents brought the earlier tradition of the urban encomium into line with more modern ethnographic interests. Its account of the jackets and turbans sported by the men of the holy town contained references to the new imperial geography of Bombay and Shimla. Space was also given in the text to the ancient Buddhist and Hindu monuments at the foot of the Khuldabad hillside and to a picturesque account of the Hindu customs associated with the water tank (kund) there.

Nonetheless, Rawzat al-aqtāb was primarily a work devoted to upholding the memory of the saints and kings buried in Khuldabad, and as such the greater part of the text is devoted to the large number of Sufis and notables interred there. The author was careful to bring a certain academic rigour to his presentation of these figures, and his accounts of the saints are notable for their abundant use of the Sufis’
early collections of ‘recorded conversations’ (malfūzāt). Yet alongside the descriptions of the architecture of the saintly shrines and the rituals associated with them was a corresponding degree of attention to the burials of such notable figures as Nizām al-Mulk and his assassinated son, Nāsir Jang, now designated as a ‘martyr’ (shabid). In the first half of the twentieth century the saints and kings of the Deccan thus seemed inseparable in the works of such writers as Malkāpūrī and Rawnaq ʿAlī. Perhaps there was nothing remarkable about this, for despite the enormous social changes in evidence throughout British India, for many of its people the Haydarābād Deccan remained a feudal society that maintained many of the traditions of the Mughal age. Evident in the writings from this period is the survival – however tenuous – of a political and moral order that was still structured with reference to the Nizām and his saintly counterparts, the aqtāb or ‘axes’ of the cosmos summoned in the title of Rawnaq ʿAlī’s book.
His followers have special faith in him and he was very good in the knowledge of spiritual wayfaring and Sufism (ilm-e-sulāk wa tasawwuf), especially in the arts of Mathnawī-reading and Mathnawī-knowing (mathnawīkhānī wa mathnawīdānī).¹

From Haydarabad to Mother India

From the era of Awrangabad's Mughal Sufis through the establishment of the Āsaf Jāh dynasty and the consequences of the Great Revolt, Haydarabad's independence rendered her Muslims able to partially avoid the colonial disenfranchisement of Islam in India. As in other princely states, British influence did gradually increase from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. But Haydarabad was able to uphold Muslim prestige through an official maintenance of Muslims in positions of influence and a plethora of the individual acts of patronage that a Muslim landowning class made possible. For despite the nineteenth-century reforms of the prime minister Sālār Jang, Haydarabad effectively maintained a feudal system of vast aristocratic landholdings. While Muslims were not the sole landowners in the state, their strong presence among not only the landholding class but also the civil service and the army gave them undoubted privileges over the far larger Hindu population of the state, even if there were Hindus in the aristocracy and government. All this served to encourage the Muslims’ dependence on the state, just as Hindu domination of Haydarabad's trade rendered certain caste communities more independent of it. When the swift dissolution of Haydarabad came about in 1367/1948, its consequences were therefore felt keenly by its Muslim population.²

None of this is to say that Haydarabadi Hindus did not identify with the state, or with the composite Islamicate culture of the Deccan within which Hindus had for centuries adapted elements of Islamic tradition for their own purposes. But the drive towards independence, and the emergence of the religious nationalisms that accompanied it, meant that much common ground between Muslims and Hindus was lost. As India's independence became increasingly likely during the 1930s and 1940s, the anomaly of Haydarabad's position became starkly apparent. Its very existence became a symbol for competing versions of India's identity and political
destiny, with opposing rhetoric painting Haydarabad either as a symbol of Hindu oppression or a final bastion of Muslim independence.

During the 1920s and 1930s, religious approaches towards these questions of collective identity increasingly found political expression. The years leading up to India’s independence witnessed the growing influence of religious nationalism among Hindus in the Central Provinces on Haydarabad’s northern borders and among the Marathi-speaking Hindus of the Bombay Presidency and the western part of Haydarabad State. Some Hindu revivalist organizations went as far as to adopt paramilitary methods for the supposed defence of their faith. Reflecting them, the very last years before India’s independence saw a similar paramilitary wing emerge from Haydarabad’s Council for Muslim Unity (Majlis-e-Ittihād al-Muslimūn) known as the razākārs or ‘volunteers’. Devoted to ‘protecting’ Haydarabad’s Muslims from the threat of Hindu domination, the razākārs soon fell into terrorizing considerable sections of Haydarabad’s Hindu population, particularly in rural areas close to the state’s borders that were suspected of complicity in smuggling Congress activists into Haydarabad. The region surrounding Awrangabad was one of several centres of razākār activity.

The most contentious issue surrounding Haydarabad’s surrender to rule by a united and independent India is that of the alleged massacres of Muslims that accompanied the ‘police action’ of Haydarabad’s invasion by Nehru’s new national army in 1367/1948. While it is difficult to assess the genuine scale of the disaster, it is clear that many Hindus did turn upon their Muslim neighbours in a series of local pogroms throughout the state. In some cases, Sufi shrines and mosques were demolished or turned into temples. The great Bahmani period mosque at Dawlatabad (itself possibly built from temple spolia) was the most famous place of Muslim worship to be turned into a Hindu temple. Still, as they had for centuries, the saints were resorted to for protection in this period of calamity. In Gulbarga, political observers claimed that up to nine thousand rural Muslims sought sanctuary in the shrine of Gēṣū Darāz, before being sent back to their villages. Other enforced population movements were also in progress. While the Deccan had for centuries maintained close contact with the Arabian peninsula, thousands of Ḥadrāmī Arabs resident in Haydarabad who could not claim parental or marital links to India were deported en masse to Aden. The Arabian city in the centre of India of laden camels and women in burqas described by the British traveller Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in the early years of the twentieth century was rapidly transformed. And so the face of Haydarabad began to change within hours of the official surrender of its forces by the Nizām’s Ḥadrāmī commander-in-chief. In a move celebrated by modernizers and bewailed by the old elite, in 1949 the Government of India passed the Jagirdari Abolition Act that heralded the final end of Haydarabad’s old order. Here was the dismantling of the feudal landholding system that had maintained the Deccan’s Muslim status quo in all manner of ways, from giving the direct income of properties to presenting rich offerings to the sajjāda nashīn families of Sufi shrines. The reform of the laws on Muslim charitable endowments (awqāf) had a comparable effect on the wealth and power of Sufi shrines to the earlier erosion of Muslim landholdings in regions under British control.
In Awrangabad, as in other urban centres in the former dominions of the Nizām, the decades after 1948 also saw a tremendous growth in population. Migration was encouraged by possibilities of commercial investment, attracting members of certain communities (Marwaris and Punjabis in particular) associated with trade. With the shock of the swift impoverishment of scores of old families, Awrangabad’s Muslims were slow or financially unable to capitalize on the industrialization of their city in the 1960s and 1970s, when industrial incentives were given for companies to relocate to Awrangabad as a result of the union of the city with Bombay into the new state of Maharashtra in 1956. In the decades after 1948, what had been the second city of an independent state dominated by Muslims thus witnessed the relative impoverishment of its Muslim citizens. But the expansion of educational opportunities offered by the new government and the possibility of work in the Persian Gulf meant that a Muslim middle class did slowly develop in the city in the decades after Haydarabad’s dissolution. But the cultural changes that inevitably accompanied Haydarabad’s transition meant that financial impoverishment seemed for many Muslims to be accompanied by a parallel cultural disenfranchisement. Awrangabad’s detachment from the city of Haydarabad in 1956 with its absorption by the new state of Maharashtra seemed for many to symbolize this, with Urdu’s loss of influence to Marathi felt keenly in a city that had played so central a role in the history of Urdu. Where economic and cultural change coincided in so short a period, religious change was quick to follow. As in other regions of India and Pakistan, the second half of the twentieth century saw the continued spread of Muslim reformist movements, whose stripped-down versions of the faith bear many of the hallmarks of the transition to modernity. From the 1970s such reformist approaches to Islam, shunning hope of the miraculous intercession of the Sufi saints and the veneration of their shrines, were bolstered by the influence of migrant workers travelling between their family homes in Awrangabad and their places of employment in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States.

The Awrangabad saints in the Indian nation

Shāh Nūr

While the arrival of Shams al-Dīn in Awrangabad at the turn of the twentieth century had caused a successful revival in the cult of Shāh Nūr, Shams al-Dīn never enjoyed the financial independence of the city’s other sajjāda nashīns. The earlier decline of Shāh Nūr’s shrine had led to the gradual loss of the landholdings belonging to it and Shams al-Dīn’s solution had been to involve government officials in the shrine’s administration. His follower Fazīlat Jang, the Nizām’s Minister for Religious Affairs (umūr-e-madhhabī), became responsible for overseeing the appointment of an administrator (mutawalī) at the shrine. While the involvement of the state in the shrine’s affairs still left Shams al-Dīn to run the shrine on a day-to-day level, it also helped ease the financial situation by allowing the shrine to reclaim some of the income of its former landholdings. But when Shams al-Dīn died during one of his regular pilgrimages to the shrine of Mu’in al-Dīn Chishtī at Ajmer in 1347/1928, a dispute
arose over the future management of the shrine that would continue for the remainder of the century. While there were personal dimensions to the dispute, including petty rivalries between a new Muslim middle class in Awrangabad and the respectable families of old, the dispute was in essence a structural one. As such, it reflected debates that had existed in the Sufi tradition for centuries about the right to inherit the charisma of a deceased master via ties of either blood or initiation. Modernizing trends in the administration of Haydarabad had meant that by the early twentieth century these old debates were being trumped by the emergence of rule by committee. Given the role of the government in the shrine’s administration under Shams al-dīn, it was therefore only a small step to replace him after his death with an eight-member management committee.10

In the decades after Shams al-dīn’s death, the day-to-day administration of the shrine remained in the hands of a series of management committees. The first of these committees came under the auspices of the Awrangabad Tehsil Office during the reign of the last Nizām, while after 1367/1948 its successor was appointed by the Muslim Waqf Board (later the Marathwada Waqf Board). Despite this, problems continued to arise in the shrine’s administration, particularly with regard to the performance of the saint’s death anniversary that was the most important but financially demanding event of the year. Though it is unclear what the precise problems with the early post-dissolution committees were, it seems likely that they underwent the

Figure 5.1 Miniature painting of Shāh Nūr at the Ṣāliḥ Mānpūrī in Dawlatabad.
same difficulties as other Muslim institutions in the former state after the removal of
the support of the Nizām and his administration. As a consequence, a new manage-
ment committee came into being in 1392/1972 that was composed solely of local
residents of the quarter of the city now known as Othmanpura quarter in which the
shrine was located. Drawn away from the hands of disinterested bureaucrats, the new
committee was composed of local Muslim businessmen keen to make a mark on their
community. Here was a new form of patronage of the saints. The local businessmen
who now managed the committee were generous in their provision of funds for the
‘urs and from the 1970s the shrine became noted for the abundance and quality of the
feasts (langar) served freely to anyone who attended the week-long anniversary of
the saint’s death. The owner of a successful local betel nut business was prominent in
the committee and oversaw the collection of funds for repairs to the shrine buildings.
During the mid-1970s, these included the repair of the feasting hall (langarkhāna),
the mosque roof and several more general programmes of embellishment. A library
and an elementary school with links to the shrine were also established at this time.
The rising influence of the merchant classes also brought with it symptoms of wider
religious change and in 1393/1973 a new madrasa was established, funded by local
donations administered by the committee. The religious teachers (mawlawīs) at this
madrasa drew on the doctrines of the Barīwī movement, which sought to find a
place for elements of traditional Sufi devotionalism within a wider movement
towards religious reform. But in practice its representatives in Awrangabad were far
from sympathetic towards many of the beliefs and practices associated with the shrine
of Shāh Nūr. Seeing their role as expressly one of the reform of a shrine attracting
a large population of Hindu as well as Muslim pilgrims, by the 1980s the mawlawīs
came into competition with other versions of Shāh Nūr’s heritage and with the
persons who claimed to represent it.

Quietly competing with the representatives of the madrasa were several individuals
claiming to be the sajjāda nashīn of Shāh Nūr. Divided among themselves, both of
the sajjāda nashīn lineages at the shrine traced themselves to Shams al-dīn. Through
his marriage to a daughter of the sajjāda nashīn of Nizām al-dīn, Sayf al-dīn, Shams
al-dīn had a son, who was later known as Banē Miyān. Born and brought up in
Awrangabad, Banē Miyān was considered a religious teacher like his father and
sought to widen his circle of followers by travelling widely throughout the Deccan.
In reflection of his claim to have inherited his father’s connection to Shāh Nūr, Banē
Miyān continued to live at the shrine throughout his entire life. His family claim to
the shrine was symbolically upheld by the burial of his father Shams al-dīn right next
to the main mausoleum of Shāh Nūr. Cementing the claim that the shrine was now
not only the sacred territory of Shāh Nūr but also that of the new saint, Shams al-dīn,
during the 1960s a smaller domed mausoleum was constructed over Shams al-dīn’s
grave. Banē Miyān was therefore able to present himself as not only sajjāda nashīn of
Shāh Nūr but also of Shams al-dīn. But while Banē Miyān continued to live at the
shrine, his authority over it was disputed. In a reflection of the old Sufi rivalry
between ties of blood and initiation, a Haydarabadi disciple of Shams al-dīn known
to his own followers as Allāh kē Hukam also claimed to be Shams al-dīn’s true
successor. After Allāh kē Hukam’s death in the early 1980s, a rival lineage based in Haydarabad emerged that was led by his own son, Sayyid Wāsil. Devotees from this line continued to regularly attend the conflated ‘urs of Shāh Nūr and Shams al-dīn in Awrangabad, annually manifesting the claims of Allāh kē Hukam’s lineage as the true spiritual heirs of Shāh Nūr.

However, as is the case at hundreds of Sufi shrines throughout India and Pakistan, still further claimants emerged to the saint’s authority and the revenues of shrine custodian that came with it. Banē Miyān had married an Anglo-Indian (and so presumably Christian) woman, whose father had worked on the railways like so many other Anglo-Indians. Upon his death, Banē Miyān’s own inheritance was disputed between his son and one of his disciples, Khwāja Muḥyī al-dīn Shamsī of Haydarabad. While Banē Miyān’s son continued to live at the shrine, where he attended to the ‘urs of his father and taught a small circle of followers, he was marginalized by many of the shrine’s devotees. In the late 1980s, another disciple of Banē Miyān took over one of the old dervish chambers at the shrine. Free of the controversy surrounding the claimants to the position of sajjāda nāshīn, for the remainder of the twentieth century Mīrāzī Ībrāhīm spent his days in his retreat at the shrine receiving visitors anxious about exams, the sickness of loved ones or occasionally those concerned with more explicitly religious matters. In line with what he presented as the teachings of his master, Mīrāzī Ībrāhīm promised only to pray for these supplicants for the mercy of God and his friend, Shāh Nūr.

Despite (or even because of) these different sources of spiritual authority and practical leadership, the shrine continued to flourish in the decades after Haydarabad’s dissolution. As in the eighteenth century when Sabzawārī described the shrine as being visited by all classes and kinds of people, at the end of the twentieth century Shāh Nūr attracted far more regular visitors than any other Sufi saint in the city. As Sabzawārī had earlier described him, he was

a qalandar without equal, an enlightened (rūshān zamīr) dervish, a roc (ṣimūrgḥ) on Mount Qāf, a holy hawk in the space of divine intimacy, who was always busy in the remembrance of the Truth and was among the faqīrs and great ones of the Sufi path (tarīqāt).

The visitors to the shrine also reflected the different notions of Shāh Nūr’s identity that had developed over the centuries since his death. For many followers, both Hindu and Muslim, Shāh Nūr remained above all the gentle but powerful holy man summed up in the religiously non-denominational term of rabmānī bāhā or ‘compassionate elder’. In oral tradition, this image took on local shape as Shāh Nūr was described in one famous legend as sitting for decades in meditation in the forests outside the city. Here he became covered with an anthill that gradually grew over him, an echo of the story of the Hindu sage Valmīki and local Hindu figures in Maharashtra. For other followers, however, particularly those influenced by reformist interpretations of the role of the Sufis, Shāh Nūr was believed to have come to India from Baghdad on a religious ‘mission’ (Urdu mishān) to convert local Hindus from
idolatry to worship of the single God of Islam. Many devotees of the saint in the late twentieth century found themselves caught between these two conflicting interpretations of the purpose of the Sufis. When one of the students or mullahs (maulwūs) from the neighbouring madrasa came into the shrine, devotees’ behaviour would be subtly modified. Pilgrims would avoid kissing the tomb, while women would quickly cover their heads; the shrine attendants (khādīms) would become less ceremonial in doffing the pilgrims’ heads with the peacock feather fan (mūrkhbāl) kept beside the saint’s tomb. During the performance of Shāh Nūr’s death anniversary, the maulwūs regularly attempted to co-opt the rituals towards their own version of the purpose of popular Muslim piety, chanting loud praise songs (durūd) to the Prophet Muhammad throughout the parts of the ritual they found distasteful. At one such event in the 1990s, their yelling almost led devotees to abandon the ritual washing of Shāh Nūr’s tomb in frustration. However, the close connections between the madrasa and the shrine committee meant that neither ordinary devotees nor the servants and sajjada nasbīns dependent on the committee’s goodwill dared criticize the maulwūs or their students openly.

In the absence of these representatives of Barāḏī reform, the shrine continued many of its old traditions. Hindu and Muslim devotees were brought together in common devotion to the saint, many of them making a point of the love between Shāh Nūr and his Hindu companion, Mānprī. In the ritual etiquette of devotion at the shrine, the cult of Shāh Nūr managed to preserve much of the earlier composite culture that had developed in the Deccan during centuries of Muslim and Hindu co-existence. This legacy was also bolstered by the presence of two tombs at the shrine that were regarded as belonging to two of the saint’s other Hindu followers. One of these tombs lay in a special courtyard of its own on the north side of the shrine and both were regularly garlanded with flowers. In 1424/2003, a special issue of the Urdu journal Awliyā Allāb was devoted to the tradition of Shāh Nūr. Compiled by the local literary historian Mīrzā Āghā Bēg and the local Sufi Muhammad Mazhar Nizāmī, the publication consisted mainly of photographic images of the sites associated with Shāh Nūr around Awrangabad, along with brief descriptions of their history. While handing on the memory of the Mughal associations of Shāh Nūr, the authors also took trouble to bring their readers’ attention to the close connection between Shāh Nūr and Mānprī.17

Reflecting this tradition of friendship between Sufi and Sadhu, the shrine of Shāh Nūr maintained a particularly close connection with Hindus from the village of Satara outside Awrangabad. In the village oral traditions spoke of the saint’s appearance on the surrounding hills at night, as though quietly protecting the village’s population as they slept. The new connections established by Shams al-dīn with parties in Haydarabad earlier in the century continued to be important through the work there of his son Banē Miyān’s disciple, Muḥyī al-dīn. As a result, scores of Haydarabadi pilgrims continued to attend the death anniversary of Shāh Nūr every year. With the fairground, trinket stalls and makeshift tea-shops that appeared outside the shrine during the week-long celebrations, the shrine had a joyful atmosphere during these festivities each year. Along with the musical sessions of qawwālī music
that Shams al-dīn had introduced at the beginning of the century, these attractions combined with the allure of the gentle 
rahnānī bābā himself to call several thousand pilgrims to the festival each year. Reflecting the association of the sūbedārs of Awrangabad with the shrine earlier in the century, in recent times as the chief local representative of the state, the city’s commissioner, continued the custom of attending the opening ceremony of Shāh Nūr’s death anniversary. Just as the saint’s ties to the Mughal and Āsaf Jāh state had been a source of pride for earlier generations of devotees, Shāh Nūr’s association with the representatives of the Indian government continued to be important for many of the saint’s followers at the end of the twentieth century.

The saints of Panckakkī

When Ghulām Mahmūd, the last direct descendant of Shāh Musāfir’s first sajjāda nasbīn Shāh Mahmūd, died without issue in 1339/1920 the property and landholdings of the shrine fell into the hands of Haydarabad’s Department of Religious Endowments as his widows failed to maintain control over them. However, saintly traditions rarely die out overnight and the termination of Ghulām Mahmūd’s lineage was disputed by other relatives. In the years after the death of Ghulām Mahmūd’s two widows, an indirect descendant of Ghulām Mahmūd came forward to continue the tradition of the sajjāda nasbīns. Ghulām Mahmūd’s second wife Sāliha Bēgām had eventually appointed this nephew, Yūsuf al-dīn Maghrībī, to act as sajjāda nasbīn of the shrine when he

Figure 5.2 Sufi musicians singing qawwālī at Khuldabad.

141
reached adulthood.\textsuperscript{18} If this was by no means a conventional mode of appointment, it demonstrated the flexibility of tradition and the sometimes influential role women play in cult life. While Yusuf al-dīn was never recognized by the state government and so never achieved the restoration of landholdings that would come with it (or, after Haydarabad’s abolition, a stipend based upon them), he nonetheless remained resident at Panchakkī with his family until his death in 1414/1994. As a sajjāda nashīn with no absolute claim to legitimacy from either bloodline or state, his position was therefore similar to that of Banī Miyan at the shrine of Shāh Nūr.

Much of the shrine’s land had been surrendered to the state and the shrine was no longer the great landowner it had been during its economic heyday in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But Yusuf al-dīn still managed to acquire a handsome income from the shrine, which was augmented by a number of shrewd local investments that paid off with the city’s commercial development during the 1960s and 1970s. Subsequently, Yusuf al-dīn was able to live out the leisureed lifestyle that his ancestors had themselves been accustomed to as sajjāda nashīns, devoting his time to such gentlemanly pursuits as maintaining the shrine’s splendid gardens and aiding in the compilation of works on Awrangabad’s history. He granted a number of scholars access to what remained of Panchakkī’s library, aiding the local historians Shaykh Ramazān and Muḥārīz al-dīn Rafīʿat. The latter compiled an Urdu history of the shrine entitled simply Panchakkī-ye-Awrangābād, largely based on the Malfūzat-e-Naqshbandiyya but also including useful information on the more recent history of the shrine.\textsuperscript{19} Yusuf al-dīn himself wrote and self-published a small work of his own in English, entitled Aurangabad’s Old Water Supply System of Aqueducts.\textsuperscript{20} Reflecting the antiquarian interests of a local circle of Muslim scholars and dilettantes educated in both Urdu and English, Yusuf al-dīn’s work studied the underground irrigation channels (nehrs) which Awrangabad had possessed since the time of Malik ‘Anbar. Special attention was given to the Panchakkī nehr, while the booklet as a whole was dedicated to Yusuf al-dīn’s ancestor Shāh Mahmūd, the author of the Malfūzat-e-Naqshbandiyya.

Aside from his scholarly and horticultural interests, Yusuf al-dīn was also known in the city for his grand lifestyle. He seems to have been one of the first people in Awrangabad to own a motor car, while also enjoying a certain renown for his conviviality. Nonetheless, Yusuf al-dīn took his duties seriously as heir to the traditions of Shāh Muṣāfīr and while few seem to have considered him a religious teacher before he reached old age, he was always circumspect in the management of the official ceremonial life of the shrine. Printed programmes relating to the celebration of the death anniversary of the Panchakkī saints from Yusuf al-dīn’s lifetime detail a full and expansive programme of events, including a procession (jālūs) through the city carrying the sandalwood that would be rubbed into the saints’ tombs at dawn. But despite Yusuf al-dīn’s attention to the rituals associated with the Sufi shrines of India, as the heir to a tradition of Naqshbandī Sufism he was careful never to permit the musical performances (mahfīl-e-samā’) that were popular at other shrines in the city.

However, throughout his tenure Yusuf al-dīn was never to possess complete control over the shrine. Government claims to Panchakkī both before and after the
fall of Haydarabad found an appropriately bureaucratic symbolism, for after 1368/1948 the former khanaqah buildings in the central courtyard of the shrine yielded from dervish to clerk as they became the headquarters of the Marathwada Waqf Board. As at the shrine of Shâh Nûr, until around 1368/1948 there seem to have been a number of dervishes resident at the shrine, who were able to live without charge in the khanaqah cells as they had for the past two centuries. But from this point on, many of the shrine’s visitors would arrive on official business, coming less in honour of the saints than to attend a government office dealing with a whole range of personal and institutional revenues drawing on earlier Muslim religious endowments (awqâf). As tourism to the city increased from the 1960s, principally attracted to Awrangabad as a stop-over on the way to the more famous cave temples at Ellora and Ajanta, Panchakkî’s earlier role as a place of local promenades found a new national and international audience. A gate was set up at the entrance to the outer courtyard with a ticket booth, while a number of trinket shops appeared around the great pool built by the Mughal commander, Jamîl Beg. The income from tickets and shop rents, however, went to the state, and the expansion of tourism gradually ostracized the sajjâda nashîns through many of the visitors’ ignorance or plain disinterest in the shrine’s Islamic associations. The saints of Panchakkî had always been liable to be outshone by the attractions of the pools and gardens of their burial place and with the promotion of Panchakkî as a tourist centre this effacement was to reach its zenith.

Like aristocrats bypassed by history, Awrangabad’s Naqshbandî saints now came to receive the majority of their visitors vicariously, through the attractions of their splendid home. Given the popularity of evening promenades among British and Indian visitors to the shrine prior to the twentieth century, in some ways the transition of the shrine into the secular geography of the tourist itinerary did not involve any fundamental shift in the shrine’s functions. And tourism did certainly augment the shrine’s fame, with many visitors at least taking the trouble to visit the mausoleum of the saints in the inner courtyard, where they could be doffed with the peacock feather wand of the saints’ servants (khuddám), who came increasingly to rely on the handouts of the tourists. Yet since the scruples and prudence of the travel industry are not those of the historian, Shâh Musâfir’s reputation blossomed in response to the flow of tourists to his shrine. For despite the lack of any explicit connection in the Malfûzât-e-Naqshbandiyya between the saint and Awrangzeb, from the Lonely Planet Guide to scores of Indian travel brochures and eventually websites, India’s blossoming tourist literature painted the saint as the spiritual mentor and confidant of the emperor. With the age of the Persian hagiography now over, here was an unexpected new genre in which the saints could contribute to the fame of their city as they had in the saintly urban encomia of Sabzawârî and Bilgrâmî two centuries earlier.

During this period a number of objects that had long been esteemed as relics of Shâh Musâfir were placed on display behind a grill in the corner of the shrine. These relics included a huge set of prayer beads, a number of fragments of Ottoman cloth and ceramic, and two quivers full of arrows. We may recall Shâh Palangpôsh’s carrying of a bow, though it is unclear if these arrows belonged to him or one of his soldiering devotees. Appropriately, there was earlier a Persian manuscript stored in
the Panchakkī library by Sayyid Mīr ‘Alawī entitled *Hidāyat al-rāmī* that was devoted to the theory and practice of archery. An inventory of the shrine’s possessions earlier in the twentieth century had also described a wooden-handled leather whip (*durra*) used to punish wine-drinkers as among the relics of the saint, an object that reflected Shāh Musāfīr’s furious scolding of those followers he found using alcohol and cannabis. Despite the importance of such cult objects in earlier times, the decline of the popularity of Shāh Musāfīr and the rise of modernizing tendencies among Sufis and other Muslims meant that the relics no longer bore any function other than as dusty curiosities to be briefly gazed at by tourists. By the 1990s, little remained *in situ* of the once famous library of the shrine other than a few printed works, including the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiya* and Malkūpūrī’s Urdu *tadhkira* of the Deccan’s saints. But while the once rich manuscript collection had disappeared, tales continued to linger around the shrine that spoke of a secret library hidden in a locked room underneath the shrine and containing thousands of books; it was so secret that even the British never learned of its existence. Amid the literary destruction we have seen at Kalām Allāh’s shrine in Delhi and the wider cultural impoverishment of other Sufi shrines in colonial and post-colonial India, these stories were a poignant metaphor for a lost local patrimony.

After the death of Yūsuf al-dīn Maḥgūribī in 1414/1994, he was succeeded by his grandson, Qāzī Taqī Naqṣbändī. Despite the family claim that Yūsuf al-dīn had nominated his grandson as his successor, the succession was disputed, not least because Yūsuf al-dīn had no sons of his own and his grandson was the son of his daughter. There soon emerged a rival *sajjāda nashīn* from Yūsuf al-dīn’s family. This other (and elder) claimant asserted himself to be the closest male relative of Yūsuf al-dīn, though as in so many similar cases in India, this came to involve a variety of claims and counterclaims to kinship that were further complicated by the onset of litigation. If there was some ill will as a result, the rival claimant and his immediate family nonetheless remained in residence in the old residential quarter (*zanāna*) of the shrine with other members of Yūsuf al-dīn’s family.

Since Taqī Naqṣbändī was still a child upon his succession during the 1990s, his mother took over many of the affairs of the shrine and some visitors to the shrine even referred to her as the *sajjāda nashīn*. She claimed only to be the administrator (*mutawaliyya*) of the shrine, for according to tradition she could never be considered as *sajjāda nashīn*, not least because of the religious duties of the *sajjāda nashīn* to lead rituals among male pilgrims. Her role did, however, reflect that of Ghulām Mahmūd’s two widows earlier in the century, acting as regent before passing on her position to a male successor whose interests she guarded. Partly as a result of the young age of the new *sajjāda nashīn*, by the 1990s the leadership of most of the religious activities of the shrine fell into the hands of Muhammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīd Wahdatī, a charismatic Sufi from Bidar to the north of Haydarabad. ‘Abd al-Raḥīd’s moral authority grew further with the bifurcation of the official leadership at the shrine and the squabbling between its claimants. While legal wrangling with the state continued over the right to claim income from the shrine’s landholdings, the ceremonial life of the shrine continued in a quiet way. With the tourists focussing on
the pools and shady trees in the outer courtyard, and the bureaucrats and visitors to the Waqf Board milling between the offices of the inner court, the shrine acquired a divided life in which its chief religious function came to be as a place of daily prayer for Muslims living or working nearby. In a late nod to Naqshbandi sensibilities, the shrine’s mosque finally outbid its adjacent mausoleum as the focus of Muslim devotion. Since the 1970s, daily prayers at the mosque came to be led by the Sufi from Bidar, Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rashid. He also came to act in the place of the sajjāda nashīn as master of ceremonies during the performance of the death anniversary of the saints. But by the late 1990s, the death anniversaries of Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh were minor affairs. The processional element of the celebrations had been abandoned entirely and no more than thirty to forty adult males attended the gathering, with a still smaller number partaking in the ritual washing of the tombs in the mausoleum itself. Given the small circle that attended these rituals and the prominence of the Maghrībī family as their hosts the atmosphere had much of the intimacy of a family gathering. Despite the small numbers, the stern Naqshbandī emphasis on the religious quality of the rituals gave the atmosphere an air of sincerity and piety that is sometimes lost at bigger celebrations of the saintly ‘marriage’ signified by the term ‘urs. The Naqshbandī shrine of Shāh ‘Ināyat Allāh at Balapur usually sent a representative at this time, while a small local band of dervishes were also assiduous attendants. Describing themselves as Naqshbandī-Shādhiī Sufis, they nonetheless comported themselves with the clamorous air of the old antiquarian qalandars of the Deccan. All the same, the best attended element of these occasions remained the provision of a feast (langār) of mutton biriyani, the classic rice dish forever associated with Haydarabad and its Persianate culinary traditions. At other shrines in the city, the serving of the repast of mutton stew and bread known as nān-qaliya provided a symbolic culinary link with the past, for this was a dish held to have been introduced to the region during the original Muslim conquest of the Deccan in the late thirteenth century.

As the effective religious leader of Panchakkī, ‘Abd al-Rashid Wahdatī continued to pass on the traditions of the Sufis where others were unable to do so. Born in Bidar around 1333/1915, as a young man ‘Abd al-Rashid travelled to Haydarabad, where he received his first Sufi initiation. Like many Indian Sufis in recent centuries, he received a multiple initiation (bay‘at) into the Chishtī and Qādirī orders, while his early initiation also placed him within a lineage of ‘Aydarūsī Sufis. These ‘Aydarūsī religious teachers migrated to the Deccan from southern Arabia from the medieval period to the reign of the last Nizām, and in this sense ‘Abd al-Rashid stood at the end of an important tradition of spiritual linkages between the Deccan and the Hadramawt. However, he also reflected a more local pattern among the Sufis of Awrangabad, namely the tendency from the late nineteenth century for the city’s Sufi masters to be migrants from the capital of the Deccan at Haydarabad. Although ‘Abd al-Rashid did not leave Haydarabad until 1377/1957, almost a decade after the abolition of Haydarabad State, his move still reflected the old connections between the first and second cities of the former state played out during the previous two centuries. At the end of the twentieth century, these connections were still remembered by Awrangabad’s Muslims, who continued to regard Haydarabad as having close
religious and cultural links to their city. While the practical reasons for ‘Abd al-Rashīd’s relocation to Awrangabad lay in his assignment to the city as part of his work in the civil service, on moving to Awrangabad his Sufi inclinations led him to develop a close relationship with the shrine of Shāh Musāfir and its then sajjāda nashīn Yūsuf al-dīn Maghribī, from whom he unusually undertook a second initiation into the Naqshbandiyya. This initiation later allowed some to see him as the true (if undeclared) heir to the spiritual legacy of the Panchakkī saints.

In many senses this was true, for ‘Abd al-Rashīd not only led the formal ceremonies of the shrine but also convened regular weekly gatherings on the platform before the saints’ mausoleum for the ritual performance of the remembrance of God (dbikr). Early on Sunday mornings, around a dozen of ‘Abd al-Rashīd’s followers regularly joined the servants of the shrine to sit cross-legged in a closed rectangle before the mausoleum. The first half of the Muslim profession of faith (‘There is no god other than God’) was repeated a number of times over with growing intensity, before the second half (‘And Muhammad is His prophet’) was brought in with a rhythmic change that re-established the master’s control of the gathering and tempered its inclination towards ecstasy. In reflection of the classic Naqshbandī tradition of loud chanting (dbikr-e-bī’l-jahr), the voices of the participants took on a rasping tone, as though in reflection of the wearing away of the self that is at the heart of the ritual. Before the sound of rikshaws began to fill the air, the only accompaniment to the chanting were the songs of the many parrots in the surrounding trees. At such moments the scene seemed to resemble that described there by Sabzawārī more than two centuries earlier, where the master of Panchakkī was pictured leading a group of followers in chanting the same dbikr of the Central Asian masters of the Naqshbandiyya.

Nizām al-dīn

The return to Awrangabad of Nizām al-dīn’s ancestors from Delhi after the Great Revolt had brought a new line of sajjāda nashīns to the shrine that ended with Mu’īn al-dīn Qaysar Miyān. Given the historic ties between Nizām al-dīn and the Āsaf Jāh dynasty, the dissolution of Haydarabad must have been an special loss to Qaysar Miyān. Moreover, during the looting that accompanied the end of Āsaf Jāh rule almost all of the shrine’s books and the family documents of Qaysar Miyān were destroyed by fire. Nonetheless, Qaysar Miyān’s position as representative of a reputed saint and his own unorthodox but sincere spirituality did encourage a number of locals to seek initiation as his disciples, despite his reputation as something of a viveur. To them, he tried to pass on the traditions of not only the Chishtiyya but also of the mulkī legacy of Haydarabad’s rich cultural synthesis. As such, the reading of Urdu poetry and the enjoyment of classical Indian music seem to have formed a more important part of his spiritual teachings than the formalities of the religious law. Qaysar Miyān acted as sajjāda nashīn at the shrine until his death in 1385/1965. However, like Ghulām Mahmūd at Panchakkī a few decades earlier, Qaysar Miyān died without any children from his wife. While the landholdings of the shrine had lapsed to the state two decades earlier, after Qaysar Miyān’s death the living quarters
of the shrine became the residence of a previously unacknowledged daughter and her North Indian husband, known throughout the city as Muhammad Miyān.27 Over time, through his scrupulous attendance to the duties expected of a sajjāda nashīn and the humble attention to the traditional etiquette (adab) of the Sufi with which he performed them, Muhammad Miyān was accepted by many of the shrine’s clients as the rightful heir of Nizām al-dīn. By the 1980s, he had taken on the duties of sajjāda nashīn and remained in this position at the century’s end.

Muhammad Miyān’s work at the shrine during the last two decades of the twentieth century is illustrative of the ways in which the traditions of the Sufis have been able to transmit themselves through time. For his public behaviour in the role of sajjāda nashīn demonstrated the ways in which hagiographic traditions of saintly morals and decorum translate themselves into practical models for imitation in everyday life. Muhammad Miyān treated the shrine that was under his care as an open house, regularly coming from his own quarters to greet visitors and offer them tea and cigarettes. With money brought in through the partial success of a court case to claim an income from the state, during the 1990s Muhammad Miyān made efforts to restore the shrine and render it more comfortable for devotees. Two guest rooms were built in the main courtyard, and a new concrete roof was added over part of the main courtyard to shelter devotees from the sun and rain, particularly during the musical concerts (mahfil-e-samā‘) that accompany the saint’s death anniversary. Similar effort was put into attempts to restore the shrine’s traditions of learning through the acquisition of photocopies of manuscripts or printed works pertaining to Nizām al-dīn for the creation of a small library to replace the one destroyed earlier. A considerable sum of money was expended in the translation into Urdu and subsequent publication of Kāmgar Khān’s Ahsan al-shamīl on the teachings of Nizām al-dīn, while efforts were also underway for an Urdu translation of Nizām al-dīn’s Nizām al-qulūb.28 These activities formed important contributions to the transmission of a local tradition of Sufi learning, for the Ahsan al-shamīl had never previously been published and existed only in rare manuscript copies. Under Muhammad Miyān’s administration, the shrine also won local renown for the quality of the praise-singers (qawwāls) brought from Haydarabad and even from as far as Delhi at the time of Nizām al-dīn’s death anniversary.

In these ways, Muhammad Miyān endeavoured to revive the shrine as the centre of a specifically Chishtī tradition of Sufism. In this, he was helped by a local college teacher, Sayyid Hasan. Placing emphasis on not only the Chishtī tradition of musical performances but also on its tradition of ‘peace to all’ (suhb-e-kul), Sayyid Hasan sought to present a tolerant vision of Sufism as the answer to India’s problems of communal violence and Islam’s own problems of violent expression. As a religious teacher, Sayyid Hasan had his own clear vision of Sufism’s role in the twenty-first century and of the timelessness and adaptability of the Sufi message, which he has presented as open to all, regardless of religion, race or class. He has also composed an Urdu hagiography of Nizām al-dīn, which is made freely available to visitors to the shrine and which emphasizes the importance of musical audition (samā‘) in the teachings of Nizām al-dīn.29 In the last years of the twentieth century, Muhammad Miyān and Sayyid Hasan – the institutional representative of the saint and the inspired
reviver of his teachings – hosted hundreds of visitors during the death anniversaries of Nizām al-dīn, to which people continued to travel from throughout the former territories of the Nizām’s State, and from Haydarābad in particular.

As a result of his earlier growth in fame, in the last decades of the twentieth century Nizām al-dīn remained the most famous of the city’s saints beyond its own borders and was the only one of the Awrangabad saints to attract pilgrims in any number from beyond the city. Although Haydarābad State had disappeared in 1948, the memory of the saint’s association with its foundation continued to be of importance and this lent Nizām al-dīn a special role in the self-history of the Deccan Muslims. This role continued to be emphasized in the Urdu accounts of his life written throughout the twentieth century, and legends circulated describing Nizām al-dīn as the true founder of the state for at least a century prior to the end of Haydarābad. The oral tradition of the shrine as transmitted by Muhammad Miyan claimed that all of the Nizāms came to the shrine upon their coronation to be invested with a sword (talwar) at the hands of the sajjāda nasbīn of Nizām al-dīn. While the historicity of these claims is hard to verify in view of the loss of the shrine’s archives, they seem to have been widely believed and Nizām al-dīn’s reputation as the patron saint of the Nizāms was known throughout Haydarābad. While the shrine and its keepers looked to the future in their promotion of a spirituality compatible with secularism and religious pluralism, the shrine also continued to act as a locus of historical memory. It was partly in reflection of the shrine’s older reputation as patron of the Āsaf Jāh state that large numbers of pilgrims continued to attend Nizām al-dīn’s ‘urs from throughout the Deccan. Intimately tied with the memory of the disappeared Nizām’s State, the name of the saint acted as a symbol for the history of the Deccan’s Muslims more generally. Among its many other functions, the shrine of Nizām al-dīn became a place for its clients to encounter their community past, where royal and saintly glory were brought together beneath a single yellow cupola. In one act of homage to that past, Mukarram Jah, the son of the last Nizām, was said to have paid an unannounced pilgrimage in reflection of the visits paid to the saint by his ancestor, Nizām al-Mulk.

The literary tradition

An overview

As we have seen, in the middle of the twentieth century Awrangabad experienced the latest of several major shifts in its political identity, finding itself subsumed into the vast territory of the Indian Union. This period of social and political re-definitions formed the background for the writing of a number of new individual hagiographies of the Awrangabad saints that were often distributed from the shrines of the saints. Although such chapbooks have received little scholarly attention, they form the most widespread modern literary means of disseminating traditions of Muslim sainthood throughout the Islamic world. In modern times, most shrines of local importance in India and Pakistan have made use of this inexpensive form of printed pamphlet biography. Rarely more than forty pages in length, they are often composed in Urdu
from the Tamil south to the Pashto north and as such are testament to the steady transformation of Urdu into the sacred language of the Muslims of South Asia. However, their meagre stylistic merits, often connected to an intended readership possessing only basic literacy in Urdu, have meant that they have received little attention from the arbiters of Urdu letters. But as the heirs of an earlier tradition of saintly literature, such biographies prove a valuable resource in charting further changes in saintly identities as well as in demonstrating the continued embeddedness of Sufism in wider cultural developments.

Nonetheless, the popularity of the hagiographical chapbook did not mean that longer works were no longer written. Writing in the late 1980s from Pakistan, to which many Haydarabadi Muslims had migrated after the end of the Nizām’s rule, the female poet Wahida Nasim composed a new work on the saints of Khuldabad, entitled ُشَهَبَانِ-ٍلِّ-ٍتَعَجَّ.30 Closer to the shrines themselves, at the start of the twenty-first century another fulsome collective work was published on Khuldabad’s saints and kings. This work, ُجِلْسَةٍ-ٍكُلَدَبَادِ was written by Muhammad ‘Abd al-Hayy, a senior servant (khādim) of the Khuldabad shrines.31 Though often derivative, in places drawing heavily on Rawnaq ‘Alī’s ُرُوُذَةٍ-ٍاَقْتَب of seventy years earlier, ُجِلْسَةٍ-ٍكُلَدَبَادِ still contained new material on the Khuldabad Sufis. A great deal of detailed material was presented in the work on a whole series of Sufis connected with Khuldabad, in this way creating a book like that of Rawnaq ‘Alī which was both academic and hagiographical. Yet with the passing of time, the relationship of the saints with the Muslim rulers of the area moved still closer to centre stage, and the work contained lengthy sections on the family of Awrangzeb and Nizām al-Mulk. However, here was no merely nostalgic account of a bygone age, and particular attention was given to the cultural achievements of such figures, through presenting the poetry of Nizām al-Mulk’s son Nāsir Jang and other figures to a new audience. Similarly, a section of the text was devoted to the evocation of Awrangzeb in the poetry of Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1357/1938), who had visited the emperor’s tomb earlier in the century.32 But despite the detailed accounts of the earlier history of the saints, kings and the architecture they shared in Khuldabad, evidence of the association of its shrines with more recent prestige figures remained as much a feature of this as of earlier hagiographical works.

Now, however, the Muslim kings and poets of old had been replaced by the representatives of a newer world order, including India’s first Sikh President, Giani Zail Singh, and foreign scholars such as the late Annemarie Schimmel. Photographs of the visits of these and several similar figures are included in the book, so lending a new technological apparatus for proving the status of the saints.

Panchakkī and the disappearing past

We have seen how by the early nineteenth century Panchakkī became the focus of a local tradition of promenades that (in the eyes of foreign visitors at least) had come to take precedence over the shrine as a destination for purely pious visitation.33 In the twentieth-century textual tradition of the saints no less than in the practice of pilgrimage, the shrine itself caught the attention of memorialists more than the
deeds of the Sufis buried there. This had been no less the case with history-writing in Awrangabad, for in the Tārikh-e-Khūrsbūd Jābī, a late nineteenth-century Urdu history of Awrangabad, it was again the shrine and its builders that elicited description rather than its saintly inhabitants. 34 This emphasis on a tangible architectural legacy rather than a supernatural one was also reflected in a history of the shrine that was probably written during the 1950s by Mubāriz al-dīn Rāfʿat, whom we have seen was a friend of the shrine’s sajjāda nashīn, Yūsūf al-dīn. Entitled Panchakkī-ye-Awrangābād, Rāfʿat’s book echoed the transformation of Panchakkī from purveyor of miraculous aid to symbol of the historical patrimony of Awrangabad’s Muslims. 35 Architectural commemoration had become more important to the memory of Shāh Palangpūsh and Shāh Musāfīr than accounts of their deeds. Insofar as they were remembered it was due almost entirely to the architectural legacy of their early patronage by the Central Asian elite of the early eighteenth century.

It is perhaps ironic that while Muslim saints are commonly eulogized as the glory of their age, in the case of the saints of Panchakkī the saints’ glory came to be perceived conversely as owed in large part to that of their age. This formulation of saintly memory as based on an association with cultural and political halcyon days similarly underwrote the fame of many other of the great saints of India, as seen in the association of the circle of Nizām al-dīn Awliyā with the Delhi Sultanate, of the Chishris of Khuldabad with the coming of Islam to the Deccan under ‘Alā’ al-dīn Khaljī and of Gēsī Darāz with the glory of the early Bahmani rulers. Such an association of shrine and court showed itself clearly in the architectural style of Panchakkī, its architectural parts mirroring the magnificent garden-tomb of the wife of Awrangzeb just across the city. The shrine of the Naqshbandī šaykhīs had come to symbolize the city’s history no less than the mausoleum of the emperor’s wife.

The saintly association of architecture, books and memory continued at Panchakkī after the end of Aṣaf Jāh rule. Attracted by the lingering air of a bygone age, the shrine’s new touristic visitors were still taking part in a modern transformation of an earlier tradition of shrine visitation. For we have seen the popularity of the shrine’s gardens with earlier generations of Britons and local people in Awrangabad. In a strange way, the diverse new bands of visitors represented a new clientele of the shrine, many of them receiving blessings from the graves of the saints at the insistence of their servants (khuddām). Continuing an earlier (albeit more local) tradition of recreational visitations to Panchakkī, like earlier generations of clients they also contributed to the income of the shrine. It was for these visitors, mainly from Bombay and elsewhere in Maharashtra but sometimes from abroad, that the last document of the lives of the Panchakkī saints was composed. Written in English in the early 1980s, this ten-page pamphlet completed the process of the saints’ eclipse by their architectural legacy, a moment of penumbra caught in its title of Glimpses of Panchakee.

As the libraries disappeared and the city’s Muslims, in their changed circumstances, became more conscious of the fragility of their heritage, M.A. Jabbar’s Glimpses of Panchakee achieved a brief respite from this wider sense of loss. Although written for a new touristic readership, Jabbar’s booklet drew on the Malfīzāt-e-Naqshbandiyā for its descriptions of the construction of Panchakkī and short
accounts of the lives of the saints buried there. Intended for a readership interested primarily in the delightful pools and fountains of the shrine, Jabbar’s pamphlet nonetheless reminded its readers of the distinguished local past to which the shrine belonged. But despite Jabbar’s use of the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqīshbandiyya*, there was no mention of the more unusual activities of the saints and their followers, of partisan miracles and feral transformations. The saints had lost the individuality of their identities and become before all else philanthropists and teachers. But with the end of the twentieth century, there came a new possibility for local people to re-connect with the stranger heritage of the city’s Naqshbandīs when copies of the first Urdu translation of the *Malfūzāt-e-Naqīshbandiyya* went on sale in the shops at the shrine.

*Change and renewal in the Life of Shāh Nūr*

Some years after the dissolution of Haydarabad, a new Urdu biography was written by a local follower of Shāh Nūr. Entitled *Āfīṭāb-e-dakan*, it was written by Tārā Sāhib Qurēshī, a successful local betel nut trader and member of the committee established to govern Shāh Nūr’s shrine after the death of its reviver, Shams al-dīn.36 Compared with the historical and tourist literature associated with Panchakkī, this chapbook hagiography of Shāh Nūr was written for a more conventional readership of Muslim pilgrims. Being composed in Urdu, *Āfīṭāb-e-dakan* targeted but also considerably narrowed its intended audience in a region in which Marathi had become far more widely understood and at a shrine that counted many local and village Hindus among its clientele. Compared to the Persian *lingua franca* of the texts of the Mughal and Āsaf Jāh periods, *Āfīṭāb-e-dakan* thus reflected a foreclosure of the reception of Sufi biographical literature. *Āfīṭāb-e-dakan’s* contents drew in large part on the earlier accounts of *‘Urūj* (as preserved in a modern Urdu translation) and Malkāpūrī, as well as on miraculous narratives known only in oral tradition, and in doing so the work presented a pious but nonetheless miraculous Muslim figure. Nonetheless, the image of Shāh Nūr as miracle-working holy man underwent a compromise with the doctrinal formulations of the Barīwī school. In the introductory section of the text, an excursus on the doctrine of the primordial Light of Muhammad (*nūr-e-muhammad*) bears the hallmarks of the Barīwī theological underpinnings of devotional Islam which we have seen become attached to the shrine through the foundation of an associated madrasa there.37 In line with the Barīwī emphasis on devotion to the Prophet Muhammad, Shāh Nūr now appeared in their doctrinal guise. Following all of the prescribed duties of the religious law, in the manner of a proper product of the seminary at Bareilly Shāh Nūr showed his elevated devotion to the Prophet by regularly reciting the Arabic *Qasīda Burda Sharīf* written in his honour by al-Būsūrī (d. c.694/1294).38 Such Barīwī elements jarred somewhat with the miraculous stories lifted from the earlier Urdu tradition of ‘Urūj and Malkāpūrī. However unwittingly, this textual collage echoed the wider tensions at the shrine between the reformists and the followers of an older miraculous ideal of sainthood. But reflecting the role of saintly biography in the broader preservation of historical memory, *Āfīṭāb-e-dakan* also included a long section on the life of the courtly disciple of Shāh Nūr,
Diyānāt Khān, that drew on Khāfī Khān’s early history of Awrangzeb. Despite the input of reformist influences, the shrine’s links with an older Muslim social world thus lingered until the end of the century. By this time Diyānāt Khān had acquired a reverence of his own as the ‘pious vizier’ whose tomb in a separate courtyard at the shrine became incorporated into the ritual life of Shāh Nūr’s devotees.

Afstå-e-dakan presented a renewed image of the saint that tailored certain aspects of his cultic identity to the shifting cultural circumstances of the new ‘Indian’ Awrangabad. Although the text did not alter the version of Shāh Nūr’s sayyid parentage given by Malkāpūrī, his place of birth was shifted, this time to the town of Hamat in Khurasan. This may have been the result of a confused association of Shāh Nūr’s earlier connection in the earlier hagiographical tradition to the sayyids of the Syrian Hama with the celebrated Khurasani homeland of many major Sufis. The text also added elements of the reformist vision of sainthood seen earlier in Naqwī’s Barakāt al-awliyā. Reflecting the powerful influence of the missionary model in colonial India, Shāh Nūr’s purpose in leaving his homeland was expressly described as having been to spread the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. The spirit of Indian nationalism also managed to seep into the text through attempts to identify the saint more closely with the new nation. We have seen in Chapter 4 how the revival of the shrine in the early twentieth century heralded the introduction of a Chishtī affiliation in the cult through the association of the reviver Shams al-dīn with Ajmer. In Afstå-e-dakan, we see the transformation of a saint earlier connected to the towns of Syria and Iraq into a figure more in tune with modern ideas of national identity linked to the Chishtiyya. Shāh Nūr’s extensive travels en route to Awrangabad were thus amended, adding a stronger Indian and particularly Chishtī dimension to the saint’s Wanderjahreen. Though not abandoned, his earlier prestigious associations with Egypt, Baghdad, Balkh and the Hijaz were eclipsed by the introduction of the Chishtī centres of Gulbarga and Ajmer to his itinerary. The text also described how the saint spent a long period of residence in both cities learning from the masters of the Chishtiyya, while his visits to Delhi and Agra were given renewed emphasis. This was not only a reflection of shifting religious and cultural alignments in an age of nationalism, but also a vision of the Sufi past itself conceived in terms of a latter-day geography of pilgrimage. This was only appropriate, for Urdu chapbook hagiographies like Afstå-e-dakan were deeply connected with the practice of shrine visitation, generally being composed for a readership of pilgrims unfamiliar with the oral narratives known to local devotees. Such a concern with cult practice is seen in Afstå-e-dakan itself, where, reflecting Malkāpūrī, the distinctive custom of Wednesday pilgrimage to the shrine of Shāh Nūr was explained and reified with reference to the life of the saint.

Like the earlier textual tradition, the vision of sainthood given in Afstå-e-dakan was one embedded in wider discourses of social and class identity. This was seen in the emphasis Afstå-e-dakan placed on the high social class of Shāh Nūr’s followers, with the disciple Diyānāt Khān – now regarded as having been the vizier (wazīr) of Awrangzeb – receiving a considerable separate section to himself as a kind of courtly counter-biography within the saintly text. Despite the continuing narrative association of Shāh Nūr with Awrangabad’s Muslim elite, the new chapter in the history of the
shrine of Shāh Nūr heralded by the end of Haydarabad’s independence had seen a considerable change in the status of its patrons. This was witnessed in the compositional history of Āfṣāb-e-dakan, for while Shāh Nūr’s earlier biographer ‘Urūj was better known as a writer of the poetic anthologies that flourished during the reign of Nizām ‘Alī Khān, and the later Malkāpūrī was one of the best known Deccan historians of his day, Shāh Nūr’s final biographer owed his fame rather to a flourishing business in betel nuts.

The fall of Haydarabad State had robbed the shrine of all but the last traces of the courtly patronage that had continued into the earlier part of the century in the association of the Nizām’s Minister for Religious Affairs and his Hindu prime minister Kishan Parshād. The committee that was subsequently formed to administer the shrine’s activities became dominated by Awrangabad’s merchant middle class. Exemplifying the consolidation of the position of this new class of patrons, a generation later the committee was being governed by the son of Shāh Nūr’s biographer, Tārā Sāhib Qurēshī. Here there was a kind of parallel life at the shrine, in which textual no less than oral tradition continued to associate the shrine with a clientele of courtly elites, while the shrine in actual fact experienced a sharp narrowing of its zone of patronage to the surrounding Othmanpura quarter. But just as this locality possessed a social hierarchy of its own, dominated by local businessmen, the continued narrative emphasis upon a circle of high-class Muslim patrons and devotees structurally reflected the existing social facts of a shrine frequented by predominantly lower-class Muslims and Hindus but governed and patronized by the new Muslim elite of the Othmanpura quarter. Composed by the major figure of this new generation of patrons, the tales of the saint and his noble early patrons in Āfṣāb-e-dakan provided a mantle of prestige that could be shared equally between the shrine and its new patrons.

**Nizām al-dīn and the lingering image of the Nizāms**

Nizām al-dīn was late in receiving a new Urdu biography. While this may have reflected management and financial problems at the shrine after the death of its sajjāda nasbīn Qaysar Miyān in 1385/1965, it may also have been a reflection of a decline in the popularity of a saint closely connected with a state so ignominiously swept away by the forces of history. Although short accounts of Nizām al-dīn’s life continued to crop up in Urdu publications throughout India and Pakistan, it was not until the late 1990s that a new hagiography was written for him in Awrangabad, entitled Zindagī ū Hālāt-e-Nizām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangāhādī. The author of this chapbook was Sayyid Hasan, the local college teacher and devotee of Nizām al-dīn whom we have seen connected to the shrine in the last decade of the twentieth century. The paucity of the surviving textual heritage of Nizām al-dīn in Awrangabad was reflected in the composition of this biography, which had to be written without resort to the Ahsan al-shamā’il and other early sources. Apart from the inclusion of a few anecdotes drawn from Malkāpūrī and the adoption of the grandiose image of the saint in oral tradition, large portions of the text were based without attribution on the account of Nizām al-dīn given by the modern Indian
scholar of Sufism, Khāliq Ahmad Nizāmī (d. 1997) in his Tārikh-e-mashā‘īkh-e-Chisht (‘History of the Shaykhs of Chisht’). Though of great influence in modern scholarly attempts to reconstruct Indian Sufi history, this work in itself served to highlight one Chishti lineage at the expense of many others. Although perhaps an unusual diversion for a hagiography to take, Sayyid Hasan’s usage of Nizāmī’s work is nonetheless suggestive of the discontinuities of transmission that have at times lain behind the creation of Sufi hagiography.

Like other examples of its genre, the Zindagī û Hālāt was concerned with the maintenance of saintly prestige vis-à-vis local sources of competition. Most important in this respect was its repetition of the tradition of the spiritual jurisdiction (wilāyat) granted to Nizām al-dīn by his master Kalīm Allāh over the entire Deccan. This claim, made through an appeal to what was now a suitably sanctified 300-year tradition, portrayed Nizām al-dīn as the senior saint of the Deccan and as the successor to the earlier Chishti saints of Khuldabad and Gulbarga. We have seen the political subtext of this Delhi-centred configuration of northern authority over the Deccan, but here the claim was pointed more directly at competing shrines in Awrangabad and the Deccan. These cult rivalries were borne out in the contexts of the text’s composition and during the late 1990s it was held by some of the associates of the shrine that the great Chishti shrine of Gīsū Darāz at Gulbarga concealed written evidence in its celebrated library of the association of Nizām al-dīn with Nizām al-Mulk out of fear that this information would challenge Gīsū Darāz’s pre-eminence in the Deccan. But despite the influence of these rivalries, the hagiography did preserve elements of the earliest written account of Nizām al-dīn in the Ahsan al-shamā‘il as transmitted via the work of Nizāmī. For amid the familiar hagiographical apparatus of saintly origins and pedigree and the ever-growing shadow of royal associations was included a picture of Nizām al-dīn as a great defender of the practice of listening to music and as a holy man accessible to devotees of all religious creeds. However influenced by modern nationalist ideology, this was also a picture that was quite in keeping with the image of the Sufi as the friend of Hindus first described in the Ahsan al-shamā‘il.

Reflecting the prominence of Dīyānāt Khān’s biography in the Aftāb-e-dakan, the career of Nizām al-dīn’s stately associate Nizām al-Mulk was recounted in Sayyid Hasan’s text in considerable detail. Although drawing on Malkāpūrī or oral tradition in repeating the narrative of the sandalwood handprints at the battle of Shakar Kera, the text went much further in its descriptions of saintly influence than its predecessor. Drawing on widespread oral tradition, it stated in no uncertain terms that the title nizām (‘orderer [lit. “good order”]’) of the Nizāms of Haydarabad was chosen in honour of the saint, whose favourite yellow colour also became the official emblem of Haydarabad. In resorting to historical narrative as the keystone of saintly identity, the text demonstrated how remembrance of the past continued to be a key constituent of the phenomenon of sainthood. This was all the more striking in a hagiography written half a century after the collapse of the state with whose historical genesis the saint was concerned. Yet Awrangabad’s Muslim past remained important and the same narratives of royal association were emphasized in a biography of Nizām al-dīn printed in a local Urdu newspaper in honour of his death anniversary in 1421/2000.
Four decades after the formation of the state of Maharashtra – the cradle of renewed Hindu no less than Maratha nationalism – for many of the Muslims in its second city of Aurangabad the memory of their lost state was far from forgotten. This did not represent a spirit of disloyalty to India, but an upholding of a distinct community memory that was no doubt reinforced by the promotion of an ‘official’ history of Maharashtra dominated by the Maratha leader Shivaji and his antagonism towards Aurangzeb and his Muslim followers. From its beginnings, the textual tradition of the Aurangabad saints had been entwined with a broader raft of community memory. Two and a half centuries later that relationship remained unbroken.

*Oral biograpy and historical memory*

As in many Indian cities, an earlier townscape still defined much of the character of Aurangabad at the end of the twentieth century, connecting the daily lives of its inhabitants in however feeble a way to those of their predecessors. The past needs always to be mediated and handed on and for many of the residents of Aurangabad this mediation has been achieved in part through the combination of the oral tradition of the saints and the surviving architectural signs of the past. For the past is primarily known to the city’s inhabitants in the form of its surviving architectural presence, amid which its Sufi shrines loomed large as among the few living architectural spaces connecting Aurangabad’s past with its present. Other remnants, including walls, gateways and royal funerary and residential buildings, were also significant in clearly belonging to the same historical and cultural epoch. Yet these monumental pointers to the past required a narrative framework in order to be understood. Amid this wider process of configuring historical memory, the narrative figure of the saint gave structure to the wide plains of the past through descriptions of the saint’s miraculous life-story which connect past and present experience in meaningful ways. With the saint forming a common point of reference, the legends that have gathered around him embrace the kings, courtiers and other notable figures from the city’s past, as well as the imperial city itself as their setting. The oral tradition surrounding the city’s saints has not merely provided the distinctly religious biographies of a local pantheon of Muslim saints, but has also formed a history of the city and its Muslim community. It has presented a past (and so by implication a present) in which God’s presence in the world is made manifest through the actions of his saintly representatives and has in this sense formed a historical tradition that might be seen as combining local and wider Indo-Islamic features.

The architectural presence of a shrine presents the power of a saint in a concrete symbolic expression of sacred space. But though forming the geographical centre of a saintly cult, the physical existence of a shrine is not in itself sufficient to maintain or disseminate a tradition. For this, each shrine has had to rely upon narrative traditions advertising and demonstrating the miraculous powers of its saint in specific forms, a narrative process that in turn required such sponsors as a faction of supporters, *sâtjâda nashîns* or literary commemorators. The interconnectedness of shrines with the narrative traditions of their saints was seen in the ways in which narratives were deliberately
connected to, and at times even modelled upon, the spaces and architectural forms of the shrines themselves. For shrines often provided a narrative framework forming a concrete mise en scène for spoken and written narratives concerning the saint’s miraculous interaction with his devotees. This experiential reality of the shrine evoked the vividness with which hagiographical narratives were received in their living contexts. This anchoring of the stories of the saint onto the shrine cast a kind of narrative spell on the built environment of the saintly tombs. At any point in a shrine’s history, this process formed the final and narrative factor in the creation and maintenance of a saintly tradition. Narrative traditions were always in this sense the lifeblood of the saints.

The most basic form of the process of drawing the shrine into the supernatural world of the saints was through stories concerning the actual building of shrines. The refinement of the architectural presence of each of the Awrangabad shrines was both the starting point and proof of oral traditions ascribing royal associations to their saints beyond the scope of historical fact. The building of Panchakkī was thus attributed in oral tradition to Awrangzeb himself, who was painted as a devoted follower of Shāh Mustafā, while Nizām al-Mulk at times became similarly regarded in oral tradition as the builder of the shrine of Shāh Nūr. However, the process is best seen with reference to a tradition associated with the building of the mosque at the site of Shāh Nūr’s first residence in the Moti Karanjar quarter. One oral tradition describes how Shāh Nūr’s devotee, Dīyānār Khān, offered to build this mosque for him, but Shāh Nūr was at first unwilling to give his permission. After much persuasion, Shāh Nūr finally allowed the construction to go ahead on the condition that the mosque could be built between the hours of the evening and dawn prayers. Through the saint’s miraculous goodwill, this apparently impossible task was achieved. As itself the result of a saintly miracle, architecture here provided material testimony to a saint’s power. The story reflected a more famous tradition concerning the building of the Arhār-din-kā-Jhōnprā (‘two-and-a-half-day mosque’) in Ajmer.

A similarly close mirroring of architecture and narrative could be seen at the actual shrine of Shāh Nūr. A story of Shāh Nūr competing for the attentions of a devotee with a flying Sadhu became rooted into the sacred space of the saint through the narrative absorption of the shrine’s architectural features. The seating platform (chāhūtra) on which the tradition described Shāh Nūr as sitting during this encounter was identified with that beside his shrine. The stream in which this platform was positioned was in turn drawn into the narrative, its name of Shirapūrī being regarded as given in honour of the sweetmeat (shīrapūrī) with which Shāh Nūr commanded it to flow in the legend. This narrative focus on platforms and streams was also reflected at the Sadhu lodge of Shāh Nūr’s Hindu companion, Mānpūrī. In the lodge there stands a stone seat (nashīst) identified as the site of the anthill that was built around Shāh Nūr as he sat in long years of breath control. Such platforms and meditation seats also formed part of the tradition of devotion to Sadhus in India and had no less a role in their narrative cycles. The stream that ran beside Mānpūrī’s lodge took on similar narrative form as having miraculously appeared on the very spot of Shāh Nūr’s meeting with Mānpūrī. A miraculously moving wall which Mānpūrī was said to have ridden to meet Shāh Nūr was identified with a length of wall.
standing incongruously in the middle of the lodge’s courtyard.\(^5\) This echoed wider legendary Sufi motifs, with walls of other wall-riding saints similarly displayed as the proof of oral tradition at Sufi shrines in Multan and Uchch in Pakistan, as well as at a number of sites in Anatolia. The collective imagery of site and tale also shows how Muslim saints shared much of their symbolic vocabulary with their wider Indian environment. The popular Indian cultic associations of seats, springs and walking-walls were reflected in traditions associating the saints with large old trees in the shrines; the huge banyans in the outer courtyards of Panchakkî and Shâh Nûr were regarded as the sites of the saints’ meditation. The construction of shrine and legend mirrored one another in this overlapping between the places of narrative and lived experience.

Decoration formed a similar means of tying the narratives and shrines of the saints together. In modern times at least, this was most evident in the use of colour at the shrine of Nizâm al-dîn, where the saint’s mausoleum was entirely painted in a bright and beaming yellow.\(^4\) This colour served as a visual reflection of oral traditions that held that Nizâm al-dîn always dressed in yellow and had a particular affection for that colour. In a ritual reflection of architecture and narrative, yellow turbans and skullcaps were worn during the saint’s annual death anniversary. Here lay a rich set of references, for with its strong associations with marriage and the coming of spring, yellow was widely regarded in the Deccan as the colour of life itself. Long associated with beauty, yellow played an important part in the Hindu festivals of spring, while at Hindu and Muslim weddings in the Deccan turmeric was often employed in place of henna both as a beautifier and to protect the bride from the evil eye. Yet the yellow colour of Nizâm al-dîn’s shrine also bore political associations, for it was the official colour of Haydarabad State. The Ásaf Jâh flag, postboxes and other official insignia were all yellow in colour.\(^5\) The circle in the centre of the flag was regarded as signifying the piece of bread (rûtî, kulcha) that the saint gave to Nizâm al-Mulk to miraculously bestow upon him rule over the Deccan.\(^6\) In this way, the decoration of the shrine served to ratify the association of Nizâm al-dîn with the family and state of the Haydarabad Nizâms, as celebrated in the most famous stories concerning the saint. In a local context of competition between rival saintly geographies, the shrine’s bearing the official colour of the (former) state acted as a powerful declaration of Nizâm al-dîn’s claim to the status of first saint of a city that had once ruled over the whole Deccan.

In the mirrored worlds of the architecture and narratives of sainthood, the shrines formed a living environment in which the miraculous lives of the Sufis could be traced by their devotees. As an interface between past and present time, the charged narrative presence of the shrines was capable of uniting miraculous narratives and the spaces of pilgrimage into a single experiential whole. Through this continuum of place and meaning, Islam became local and indigenous, while maintaining its connections with older sacred geographies through narratives of the saint’s birth, initiation or travels in such cities as Mecca, Baghdad or Bukhara. Here was the creation of new Muslim territory through the infusion of the built environment with historical and spiritual meaning. For what was visible in the architecture of the shrines was not a Sufism of abstract theories and metaphysical refinement, but a means of writing the epiphanies of local history into the urban fabric of everyday life.
In the previous chapters we have seen how the practice of Sufism was concerned not only with the states of the soul and the eschatology of the hereafter, but also with the physical conditions of life on earth. Although in their later Urdu biographies the Awrangabad Sufis were eventually re-cast as high-minded teachers of scripture and pioneers of social welfare, however anachronous, their reformist biographers were correct to emphasize the importance of the Sufis’ relationship with life in the world. During their lifetimes, the Sufis of late Mughal Awrangabad turned their powers towards curing the sick, retrieving stolen property or protecting favoured followers during a period of great socio-political upheaval. For as well as a path to a transcendent personal salvation, Sufism was also a means of amplifying human volition in an uncertain and often hostile world. This was the Sufism of miracle and wonder that was probably altogether its most familiar public aspect, in past and present. Like their partial equivalents in other milieux – sabios, shamans, cunning men – such Sufi men of power fulfilled an essential social function in providing the hope and possibility of protection against sickness, drought, violence or any of the other manifold insecurities of life. While the promise of mystical gnosis always pervaded Sufi activity to a greater or lesser degree, it was these more mundane capacities that bore the greater responsibility for the extraordinary success that the Sufis and their cults achieved. Nonetheless, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, these miraculous dimensions of Sufism can never be fully separated from the ‘closeness’ (qurbat) of the Sufis to God that rendered both mystical enlightenment (ma’rifat) and miracles (karāmāt) equally possible. While some modern commentators may prefer a Sufism of certain knowledge to one also comprising the working of wonders, the fact remains that the roots of Sufism lie as far beyond the historical limits of modernity as they do beyond the philosophical boundaries of modernism. This conflict between modern and premodern mentalities was manifested in twentieth-century Muslim representations of Sufi history no less than in Western scholarly accounts from the same period. But as we have seen in the various ways in which Awrangabad’s Sufi legacy was passed on, whatever attempts are made to colonize or integrate it, the past truly is another country whose contours can never be clearly mapped in the present.

The miracles of the past nevertheless left a concrete legacy in their wake. For the result of the widespread belief that as God’s special saintly ‘friends’ (awliyā) powerful

CONCLUSIONS
Sufis possessed the ability to work miracles and so change the ordinary course of history was their increasing social status and material wealth. As Shāh Palangpōsh was fond of pointing out, divine intervention came at a price to its recipients, a cost that was expressed as ηυdη, the Islamic articulation of the primordial gift to the gods. If Western scholarship once fought shy of this entanglement of Sufism with the riches of the world, our understanding of it need no longer be formulated in terms of decline or even simple regret. On the contrary, it was only in the meeting of the worlds of the shaykh and the sultan that Sufism was able to gain the patronage necessary to survive and flourish. While this did introduce a spiritualized aristocracy to the world of Islam (in India and elsewhere) in the form of the powerful class of sajjāda nashīns represented in Awrangabad by the successors of its Mughal Sufis, it also provided the shrine institutions that long upheld Sufi traditions of instruction, literary composition and pilgrimage. This interdependence of Sufi and shrine reflected the economic realities of pre-industrial life; we have seen some of the troubles faced by Awrangabad’s shrines as the old feudal structure of Haydarabad disappeared. Like other cultural and religious institutions associated with landownership and other pre-industrial modes of production, these links with an older economic and social system have played a large part in the difficulties which Sufism has experienced in adjusting to the modern world. Other forms of Islam born as the offspring of modernity have been more successful.

A major theme of our study has been an attempt to bring together what has often been seen as a dichotomy of ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ Sufism into an integrated picture of a cultural world that, despite its many discontinuities, was ultimately shared between different social, ethnic and intellectual groups. Despite their many other differences, men of the pen and men of the sword, rulers and peasants, shared a common dependence upon the Sufi saints and their shrines. Shrine and narrative, text and territory, were mutually dependent expressions of a broadly acknowledged Islamic cultural system. Despite more than a century of the intense cultural reformulation of both Islam and Hinduism in South Asia, it was also an enduring one. For from the seventeenth century to the present day, the royal and Sufi figures of Awrangabad’s hagiographical tradition were as persistent in its architecture of the sacred as in the oral and literary traditions that as its narrative genii locii were able to quicken the city’s past to life. The same patterns may be found throughout the Sufi traditions of India, tying together the memory of the region’s Muslim saints, poets and kings for their mutual preservation.

Yet the relationship of the past to the present is never an automatic or unmediated one. As the modern hagiographies of Awrangabad’s saints demonstrate, it is also at times a precarious transmission. Two and a half centuries of literary remembrance of the Awrangabad saints witnessed the process of memory in all its ebb and flow. For despite the perennial themes of saintly power and royal prestige in the Sufi hagiographies of Awrangabad’s saints, the literary tradition that commemorated them was typified by interruptions and renewed departures as much as by simple continuity. Notwithstanding the many ruptures Awrangabad experienced with its past, the memory of the saints – sustained by their grand architectural presence – sought
textual reification time and again. And saintly memory was forever intertwined with the remembrance of Muslim rulers. The built presence of the shrines thus provided an institutionalized aide-mémoire, ensuring that the saints would always from time to time catch the attention of regional antiquarians or literary-minded devotees, as well as that of the ordinary residents of the city. But despite the eventual recognition of Nizám al-dín’s pre-eminence both by Awrangabad’s residents and by saintly memorialists from other parts of India, it was Shāh Nūr who remained closer to the hearts of the city’s pilgrims. As in Sabzawārī’s description from the late eighteenth century, in practice at the end of the twentieth century it was Shāh Nūr’s shrine and annual festival that remained the most popular.

Although subsequently transformed into saints in reflection of the establishment of Awrangabad as the capital city of a new regional power under Nizám al-Mulk, the destiny of the Sufis’ posthumous cults was forever linked with the constituencies that had been established during and shortly after their own lifetimes. The flourishing of a Sufi cult was often a partisan affair and the saints required the constant support of a body of followers over time, the more influential, lettered and wealthy the better. As the differing success of the cults of Nizám al-dín and Shāh Musāfīr shows, connections to prominent and literate Sufi circles in other cities were also of crucial importance in tying local memory into the wider cultural ecumene of Indian Islam. This cultic requirement for recognition and the patronage and validation that came with it was reflected in the associations that were made on both a factual and imaginative level between Awrangabad’s saints and kings. In the end it was only the dual memory of the city’s two ‘Nizāms’ – the sobriquets of both its premier royal and saintly citizens – that would afford Awrangabad any measure of enduring fame beyond its walls, along with the verses of the poets who in the eighteenth century gathered at the rival ‘courts’ (dargāhs) of the city’s Sufis and princes. Given the roles that saints and kings have played as the axes lending structure to the historical memory of Indian Islam, the names of Awrangabad’s two great citizens provide an appropriate insight into the cultural world they inhabited, with the saint bearing the title of ‘order of the faith’ (Nizám al-dín) and the prince that of ‘order of the kingdom’ (Nizám al-Mulk). Supporting both of these pillars of memory, however, were the shrines, books and spoken tales that we have examined in the previous chapters.

As the tangible imprint of the past, the shrines of the Sufi saints formed a means of bridging the gap between past and present time. But whether communicated through pilgrimage manuals and legends or through the more opaque language of architecture and ritual, the past that was transmitted at Awrangabad’s shrines was often a disjointed one, a clamour of different histories: royal and proletarian, local and cosmopolitan, individual and collective, Muslim and Hindu. It was through this entanglement of different pasts that the shrines were able to achieve their role as repositories of history that has contributed in great measure to their sacredness. The collective act of veneration that we know as sainthood may itself be seen as a strategy of cultural memory. Rendered permanent through their transformation from flesh into stone, the Sufis of late Mughal Awrangabad created a new sacred geography in the Deccan. While for a few brief decades there hung the possibility that individually
(as in Gulbarga) or collectively (as in Khuldabad) their shrines might rise to challenge the Deccan’s pre-existing sacred Muslim geography, in the end their ascent was to falter, and as Awrangabad’s own fortunes declined so did their own. To this extent, the change in fortunes of the Awrangabad saints was as much an expression of urban expansion and decline as it was an expression of their own individual spiritual eminence; once again the pattern is typical. But as the fortunes of the shrines were tied to that of their city, so in turn were the fortunes of scores of dervishes, poets and devotees tied to the destiny of the shrines. From hosting friends and lovers in their pleasure gardens or the carnivals that accompanied the saints’ spiritual weddings to blessing the city’s new-born or receiving the bodies of its dead in their cemeteries, the shrines of Awrangabad’s Sufi saints accommodated the full spectrum of human activity. It is here that the traditions of the Sufis find their proper humanity, and their home in the cultural history of Islam.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barakat</td>
<td>‘blessing, abundance’, the sacred power of the saints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhikr</td>
<td>‘remembrance [of God]’, the ritual chanting of the Sufis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqīr</td>
<td>‘poor man’, a mendicant, a Sufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalīfa</td>
<td>‘successor, lieutenant’, one of the deputies appointed by a Sufi master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khānaqāb (also kbānāqāb)</td>
<td>a residence of Sufis, a Sufi lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahfīl-e-samā‘</td>
<td>a Sufi musical gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malfūzāt</td>
<td>‘speeches’, a literary genre claiming to present the spoken words of a saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathnawī</td>
<td>a poem in rhyming couplets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murīd</td>
<td>‘aspirant’, a Sufi disciple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murshid</td>
<td>‘rightful guide’, a Sufi master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadhr</td>
<td>an offering or gift in cash or kind given to a saint or shrine and dedicated to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchakkī</td>
<td>‘water-mill’, name of the shrine of Shāh Musāfir and Shāh Palangpōsh in Awrangabād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qalandar</td>
<td>an antinomian Sufi mendicant; member of the Qalandar Sufi order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razākār</td>
<td>name of a short-lived Muslim paramilitary group in Haydarabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saijīda nashīn</td>
<td>‘one who sits on the prayer rug’, the spiritual (and often also biological) heir of a Sufi saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid</td>
<td>a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silsilā</td>
<td>‘chain, line of succession’, a Sufi lineage or royal dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadbkīra (pl. tadbkīrāt)</td>
<td>‘memory, remembrance’, biographical memoir, hagiography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takiyya</td>
<td>‘pillow, place of repose’, a Sufi lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarīqat (pl. turuq)</td>
<td>‘way, path’, the Sufi path, a particular Sufi order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasawwuf</td>
<td>‘to wear wool’, Sufism, one of the learned sciences of Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ulamā’</td>
<td>‘Learned Ones’, representatives of Shari’a and other normative traditions of Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Urs (pl. ‘arās)</td>
<td>‘wedding’, death anniversary of saint celebrated as his wedding with God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wazīr</td>
<td>‘one who bears the burden [of government]’, a vizier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

PREFACE

1 Khāksār Sabzawārī, Sawānīb (henceforth Saw) (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon Collection, ms 85), f. 37r. The description is of the Awrangbad Sufi, Shāh Nūr.


1 MUSLIM MYSTICS IN AN AGE OF EMPIRE:
THE SUFIS OF AWRANGABAD

1 Saw, f. 26r.


See Shīr ʿAlī (Afsūs), *Araish-i-mahfīl*; or, *The Ornament of the Assembly*, trans. H. Court (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1871), p. 102. Afsūs seems to have copied this description from an earlier historical work by Munshi Sujān Rāī of Patiala, though he may also have visited the city on his way to Haydarabad.

S.H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam’s Dominions*, 2 vols (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1883–4), pp. 312 and 315. By comparison, the population of Delhi a few decades earlier has been estimated at some 375,000–400,000. See S.P. Blake, *Shahjahabanahad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639–1739* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 67.


Das (1959), p. 244.


For example, MN, pp. 22, 24, 35, 41–3. Mughal sources show the levels of continued immigration into the Mughal realm during the reign of Awrangzeb. See Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-ul-Unara 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). As Digby points out, immigration apparently increased during the seventeenth century as the decline of the Uzbek kingdoms was pitched into ever starker contrast with the expanding Mughal imperium to the south. See S. Digby, ‘Before

17 For example, MN, pp. 17, 22, 31, 74.

18 MN, pp. 34–5 and 24 respectively. Such episodes form a large proportion of the text.


20 See Nízám al-dín Awliyá Awrangábádí, Nízám al-quáîl (henceforth Nízám) (Delhi: Mátba’-a-ye-Mujtabá’í, 1309/1891–2) and Sháh Kálím Alláh Jahanábádí, Kashkúl, ms, Sálár Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tás. 130 (henceforth Kashkúl), f. 9v, 27r, 37v.


23 NA, p. 1.

24 NA, p. 6. Both hujra and mosque survive today.

25 Qurtbúrá maintained its association with the administrative and officer classes of the city under Ásaf Jáh rule well into the twentieth century.

26 NA, pp. 2 and 13–16. An earlier date of 1102/1690 is also given in the same document (p. 30), leading to confusion by Sháh Nür’s later Urdu biographers, though the eighteenth-century memorialist Sábzawárí confirms the later date. See Saw f. 38r.

27 MN, p. 17. The date of Sháh Musáfír’s arrival is based on the chronology established by Digby (1998).

28 Kewal Rám referred to this Diyáñat Kháñ in his Tadbkirat al-Umará (Kewal Ram, 1985, p. 67), while he was also described by the main chronicler of Awrangezibe’s reign, Kháfí Kháñ, and the English ambassador Norris. The history of his family is dealt with at length in MU, pp. 12–14, 475–83.


30 MU, p. 476.

31 MN, p. 164. I am grateful to the biographical notes by Digby (2001, pp. 251–71) for clarifying these identifications.


33 NA, p. 15. The name of this wife was given as Náwábá Bájjí.

34 NA, p. 1. There is a Shí’í air throughout the NA, not least in a number of Shí’í expressions put into the mouth of Sháh Nür himself.


36 MU, p. 476. The same name was given in the MN (p. 91), whose author was a younger contemporary of Sháh Nür and may have known him as a child, as well as the Makhdám al-a’rás (c.1135/1724–3, drawing on an earlier version written in Awrangabad before 1142/1729, p. 59) and Saw (c.1188/1774, f. 37r–38r).

37 Saw, f. 37r.

NOTES
NOTES

40 With regard to the architecture of Mughal sub-imperial palaces, the political symbolism of several prominent hammáms, which were sometimes larger than neighbouring mosques, has been discussed by C.B. Asher, ‘Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India’, Ars Orientalis, 23 (1993), pp. 284–7.
41 NA, pp. 5, 1. This text was written c. 1183–4/1770.
42 MU, p. 476.
43 NA, p. 5. The same text also mentions another initiation in Madina by Sayyid Shiháb al-dín Qiblá (p. 2), though such multiple initiations were common at this time.
45 MU, p. 476. 
46 MU, p. 476.
47 AS, p. 97.
49 The nabh survives today and preserved there are two early miniatures of Sháh Nür and Mānpūrī.
50 RH, pp. 26–7. A wider selection was also published (in Devanagiri script) some years ago in Awrangabad. These bhajans are still regularly performed at Mānpūrī’s nabh at Daulatabad.
52 For earlier studies of Sháh Palangpôsh and Sháh Musáfír to which I am much indebted, see Digby (1990, 1998).
53 The shrine of ‘Abd al-Khaliq (d. 575/1179–80) at Ghijdawan at times rivalled even that of Bahá’ al-dín Naqshband in importance, while the MN (p. 3) adds that the shrine of Bábá Qul Faríd, the murshid of Sháh Palangpôsh, was also located in Ghijdawan and resorted to by the city’s inhabitants.
54 The chronology of their pre-Awrangabad lives has been ingeniously reconstructed by Digby (1998).
55 On other contemporary Central Asian travellers in India and their accounts of their own often picaresque adventures, see R. Foltz, Mughal India and Central Asia (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 106–26.
56 Mawlání Qamar al-dín, Nā‘r al-Karīmatayn (Kanpur: Mathá’a-ye-Nizâmá, 1307/1889) and Hādí Naqshbandí, Rūḥ al-’Insâyat (Burhanpur: Rashíd Búk Dípò, 1417/1996) (Urdu).
60 MN, p. 17. The site of this takiyá, described as ‘near to Qorbpúr’, was certainly close to and may well have been identical with the site of the shrine of Sháh Nür.
61 MN, pp. 21–3. Sháh Musáfír later made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sháh Nür, who had died in 1104/1692 (MN, p. 91).
NOTES


65 For example, *MN*, pp. 8, 25–6, 40–1, 102.

66 *MN*, pp. 15–16. It is also claimed that Shâh Palangpîsh later saved the life of Awrangzeb himself during such a campaign when crossing a river in flood with his army (*MN*, p. 7).

67 *MN*, pp. 35–6.

68 *MN*, p. 28.

69 Such a sartorial pelt was known as a *palangpîsh* or *babr bayân*. An illustration from a *Shâhnâmah* painted at Tabriz around 911/1505 shows the ancient Persian ruler Rustam wearing both a tiger and leopard skin into battle. The animal-skin, preferably the pelt of a big cat, was long to remain the favoured garment of antinomian dervishes, and travellers reported the existence of shops in Persia selling these and other dervish accoutrements to would-be Sufi mendicants well into the nineteenth century.


72 Saqi Must’ad Khan (1990), pp. 196 and 287.

73 *MN*, p. 37.


75 *MN*, p. 37.

76 See also Digby (1990).

77 On Shâh Palangpîsh’s meeting with Khizr and hunting of the leopard (also referred to as a lion), see *MN*, p. 4. DeWeese has noted similar narratives associated in sixteenth and seventeenth-century accounts of the great Central Asian saint Ahmad Yasawî. See D. DeWeese, ‘Sacred Places and “Public” Narratives: The Shrine of Ahmad Yasavî in Hagiographical Traditions of the Yasavî Sufi Order, 16th to 17th Centuries’, *Muslim World*, 90, 3 and 4 (2000). The title *palangpîsh* also possessed a less serious (and doubtless unintended) side as the name of a popular variety of colourful bedding-cloth produced in the Deccan and elsewhere.

78 *MN*, pp. 112, 136.

79 *MN*, pp. 20–1. It is hard not to sense a residue of hard feeling and rivalry in this description of the behaviour of the follower of one master by the successor of another.

80 *MN*, p. 101.

81 For example, *MN*, pp. 35–6.


83 *MN*, pp. 22, 74–5, 114. This seems to prefigure the role of many shrines as centres for the cure of mental illness.

84 *MN*, p. 113. There was competition in this business, however, for Nizâm al-dîn was to grant a similar miraculous request during a drought in the Deccan city of Sholapur (AS, p. 47).

85 *MN*, pp. 68–9.


87 *MN*, pp. 105–6.

88 *MN*, pp. 104–5.

89 For example, *MN*, pp. 22, 62–3, 120. Often these followers held high positions in the state, including apparently the post of sîbadîr of Delhi (*MN*, p. 129), while other
followers may have been involved in the politics of imperial succession after the death of Awrangzeb (MN, pp. 116–17).
91 MN, p. 115.
92 MN, pp. 4, 26, 28.
93 MN, p. 72.
94 MN, p. 105.
95 MN, pp. 86–8. Similar oral traditions regarding the other Awrangabad saints are described in Chapter 5.
97 MN, p. 73.
98 MN, p. 107. This was perhaps small change compared to the broader income of the takiyya, and one of its residents alone is described as being the recipient of an imperial pension of some 7,000 rupees (MN, p. 115).
99 MN, pp. 129 and 81 respectively.
100 For example, MN, pp. 53, 73–4, 89, 107, 117, 121.
101 For example MN, pp. 47, 52–3, 130–1.
102 MN, pp. 43–4, 71–3, 143 and 37 respectively.
103 MN, p. 60.
105 For example, MN, pp. 17, 31, 38–9, 41–2, 46–7.
106 MN, p. 58.
110 Ironically it was Shâh Kalîm Allâh, the master of Nizâm al-dîn, who remarked on the presence of these Sirhindîs in one of his letters to his disciple in Awrangabad (cited in Digby, 2001, p. 37). Kalîm Allâh’s involvement in such sectarian disputes is also seen in his composition of a book against the Shi’a entitled Radd al-rwâfîz.
112 Friedmann (1971), pp. 94–5. The original text of this decree, preserved in the Ma‘ârij al-wilâya (1094/1683) of ‘Abd Allâh Khwêshgî Qasûrî, has been published by Friedmann as Appendix B (p. 118).
113 Ibid., pp. 95–101.
114 Ibid., pp. 7–8.
115 Ibid., p. 8.
117 On dates, see Siddiqui in Elr. The earlier date sometimes quoted of 1060/1650 draws on the late Khâtîm-e-Sulaymânî (1325/1907) of Mawlânâ Allâh Bakhsh.
NOTES

118 For example, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Āthār al-Sanā‘īd (henceforth Āthār) (Delhi: Matba‘a Sayyid al-Akhbār, 1263/1846) and Tadb.
119 On Shāh Kalīm Allāh, see Rizvi (1978–83), vol. 2, pp. 296–304 and M. Umar, Islam in Northern India During the Eighteenth Century (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993), pp. 50–69, and on Yahyā Madanī see Rizvi (1978–83), vol. 2, pp. 296–8 and 345–6. The former, perhaps the most influential Chishtī figure of his day, left several important texts, including a Kasbīkī–e–Kalīmī and a collection of letters (Maktūbāt). Chittick (1992) has described him as one of the most important transmitters of the thought of Ibn ‘Arabī in India.
122 AŠ, p. 70.
123 Maktūbāt, pp. 53, 58.
124 AŠ, p. 59.
125 Sabzawārī (Sauv, f. 35r), writing a few decades after Nizām al-dīn’s death, provided the earliest surviving textual evidence for this association.
126 The book must now be presumed lost, since neither the searches of the present writer nor those of S.A.A. Rizvi and K.A. Nizāmi have succeeded in tracing a copy. No reference is made to it in M. Fatullah Khan, ‘The Nizāms as Men of Letters’, Islamic Culture, 12, 4 (1938). However, when Mawlawī Ṛahīm Bakhsh was writing his Shajārat al-anwār, he reportedly saw the book in the house of Ḥājī Wāsīl, the deputy (khālitā) of Nizām al-dīn’s son, Fakhr al-dīn. See K.A. Nizāmī, Tārīkh-e-Mashā‘īkh-e-Chisht (Delhi: Idāra-ye-Adabiyat-e-Dillī, 1980–5), p.453.
128 ‘Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān, Mathnawī-ye-fakhbīyyat al-nizām, ms, 92–3 and 136–7. I have consulted a copy held at the shrine of Nizām al-dīn in Aurangabad. C.A. Storey, Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey, 2 vols. (London: Luzac & Co., 1927–71), p. 1030 notes that no manuscripts of this work are known in public collections. Awrangzeb also at times interfered in such matters, as when he dismissed the sajjāda masbūn of Ḡūsū Dārāz 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 Tārīkh-i-Dilkhāsa, trans. J. Sarkar (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1972), pp. 115–16.
129 AŠ, pp. 68–9, 76–8, 86.
130 RH, p. 111.
131 Afzal Bég Qāqshāl Awrangābādī, Tuhfat al-Shu’arā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 8 (henceforth Tuhfa), f. 99r–102v. Qāqshāl clearly valued Wāsīl’s poetry highly and preserved a considerable number of his couplets.
132 The relevant sections from these anthologies are found in ‘Abd al-Qādir Sarwarī’s Urdu introduction to his edition of Sirāj’s poems. See Sirāj Awrangābādī, Kulliyāt-e-Sirāj, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Sarwarī (repr. Delhi: Qawm Kalū我知道 (Urdū) Zubān, 1998).
133 See N. Hadi, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature (Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1995), p. 23.
134 Also AŠ, pp. 62, 82, 90 and MN, pp. 73, 124.
p. 48. This text survives, and has been consulted, in its later expanded form as the
Makhzan-e-a’rās.

136 MN, pp. 72–3.
138 See B.B. Lawrence, 'The Early Chishti approach to Samā’, in M. Israel and N.K. Wagle
(ed), Islamic Society and Culture (Delhi: Munshiram, 1983).
139 AS, pp. 64, 74, 79–81, 84, 93–7, 113–14, 116–18.
140 See Nizām. For a discussion of this text, see C.W. Ernst, ‘Chishti Meditation Practices of
the Later Mughal Period’, in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds), The Heritage of Sufism,
141 Kasbūl, f. 35r and 35v.
142 AS, p. 97.
Library, Hyderabad, T-S. 31, f. 6r.
144 This relies on the usually well-informed late source Makhkāpūrī (Tadhīb, p. 1100), who
detailed all of these marriages. A more recent biography also recounts a tradition that one
of Nizām al-dīn’s sons migrated to Calcutta where his descendants still reside, a detail
summing in all its brevity the poignancy of Indian history in the eighteenth century. See
Sayyid Hasan, Hālāt ‘ū Zindagī-ye-Nizām al-dīn Auliyyā Aurangābādī (henceforth Hasan)
145 Kalīm Allāh’s grandfather Mawlawī Ahmad (known as Nādīr al-‘Aṣr) was one of the
greatest architects of the reign of Shah Jahan, while his father Hajī Nūr Allāh designed
the calligraphy on the front of Shah Jahan’s Friday Mosque in Delhi.
146 The emperor Humayun’s wife Hamīda came from the family of the great Khurasani saint
Ahmad-e-Jām (d. 536/1141), while members of the Safawi royal house of Iran had made
strategic marriages with the Ni’mat Allāhī Sufi family; the family of the Durrani rulers
of Afghanistan similarly intermarried with the Naqshbandi Sufis of Kabūl.
147 Z. Malik, The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719–1748 (Bombay: Asia Publishing House,
1977), p. 393, drawing on the Taknīla of Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī. It is impossible
to resist recounting a Deccani tradition describing how a Sufi might put such knowledge
of the arts of war to good use. For it is said that Fakhr al-dīn, the famous Haydarabadi
saint Husayn Shāh Wali of Golkonda (d. 1068/1658) had also studied the arts of war
and was an expert archer and marksman. Thus it was that one day, in procession with the ruler
of Golkonda, a kite suddenly shot upon the king from a tremendous height, to which lēse
majestē the Sufi promptly replied by instantaneously shooting the bird down from the
high heavens with his musket (Prasad, 1969, p. 16, drawing on oral tradition). A version
in which the saint kills the offensive kite merely through his glance (nazr-e-jalāl) was
recorded in the nineteenth century in Ghulām ‘Ali Qādirī, Misbāhat al-Nabuwwat
(Haydarabad: A’jāz Printing Press, 1982), vol. 6, p. 155.
148 ‘Imād al-Mulk, Manāqib-e-Fakhriyya, f. 7v–10r.
149 Ibid., f. 14v–15r. S.A.A. Rizvi, Shāh Wali Allāb and his Times (Canberra: Ma’rifat
Publishing House, 1980, p. 373) claims that Fakhr al-dīn went to Delhi in order to fill
the gulf in Chishti leadership caused by the death of Kalīm Allāh, while Umar (1993,
p. 137) has argued that the dangers caused by the Marathas in the Deccan were the most
probable reason for his departure. Given the chronology of the departure around
seventeen years after Kalīm Allāh’s death, the deteriorating security of Awrangabad seems
likely to have been the more pressing factor.
150 AS, pp. 47–9, 85, 90 and pp.105–6 respectively.
151 AS, pp. 62, 82, 90. See also Ernst (1992) on the Khuldabad masjīdīt.
152 The date of the composition of the MN seems to have been over a period of years up to around
1162/1750, since a poem by Bilgīrāmī written in praise of the completion of the tank around
this time is included (MN, p. 112). Much of the text, however, seems to have been written
earlier, its first sections not even by the main author Shāh Mahmūd but by an earlier
biographer several decades earlier. It seems likely therefore that the text was composed periodically over an extended period. I am grateful to Simon Digby for helping clarify this chronology. The dating of the *Abhisāl al-shamā’īl* to 1156/1743 is based on the information contained in the colophon, recording its composition by Kāmgār Khān in that year.

153 *MN*, pp. 31–2. On Central Asians and falconry in India, see Foltz (2001), pp. 63 and 86.

154 *MN*, *passim*, especially pp. 22, 40–1, 86–8. The association of the Naqshbandiya and the followers of the Mughals is also attested in a letter to Nizām al-dīn from his master Kalīm Allāh, where the latter writes that the Tūrānīs are exclusively attached to the Naqshbandiya. See *Makhtūḥāt*, pp. 67, 90.

155 *Tuhfa*, f. 110r–110v.


157 The *Manāqib-e-Chishtiyya* is referred to in AS, pp. 47 and 90, while stories of Mu’in al-dīn (e.g. p. 97), Naṣīr al-dīn Mahmūd (e.g. p. 47), Qutb al-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (e.g. pp. 48, 85, 90), Farīd al-dīn Ganj-e-Shakar (e.g. p. 85) and Mīr Sayyid Qanawī (e.g. pp. 65–70, 86, 90), for whom Nizām al-dīn seems to have had a special respect, recur throughout the text.

158 Digby (1990), p. 170. The *Rashbahāt-e-‘ayn al-bayāt* of Kāshīfī (d. 939/1532) on the great Naqšbandī shaykhs of Central Asia, especially Khwājā Ahrār, was completed in 909/1503, while the *Nafahāt al-uns* of Jāmī was completed some time before the author’s death in 898/1492. For a study of the latter, see J. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism: The Tabaqat Genre from al-Salami to Jami* (London: Curzon, 2001), pp. 151–76.


160 On the transformation of the shrine of Mu’in ‘Arif at Dawltabad outside Awrangabad from Shi‘ism to Sunnism, see Ernst (1992), p. 234.


162 For example, *MN*, pp. 22, 40–1, 62–3, 70–1, 76, 78, 86–8, 102, 104–6, 116–17, 120, 122, 128.

163 An example from Akbar’s court shares its generic title of *majālis* with Kāmgār Khān’s account of Kalīm Allāh, though the arrangement of both such Sufi and courtly texts into such *sittings* was a primary structural motif that far outweighed the value of such titular similarities. See D.N. MacLean, ‘Real Men and False Men at the Court of Akbar: The *Majalis* of Shaykh Mustafa Gujarati’, in D. Gilmartin and B.B. Lawrence (eds), *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainsville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2000).

164 This section of Mansārām’s text is translated in Rao (1963), pp. 105–77.

165 *MN*, pp. 72–3. I am grateful for the notes provided in Digby (2001) for confirming the identification of the Shāh Nizām al-dīn Darwīsh of this passage with Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī.

166 On this question of Tūrānī ethnicity, see also Digby (1990) and Foltz (2001), pp. 12–51.

167 On the discourse of travel among the Awrangabad Naqshbandīs and other Indian Sufis, see N.S. Green, ‘Migrant Sufis and Sacred Space in South Asian Islam’, *Contemporary South Asia*, 12, 4 (2003).


NOTES


171 Maktūbāt, pp. 10–12.

172 A5, pp. 65–70, 102–5.

173 A5, pp. 66–70.

174 A5, pp. 62, 82, 90.

175 On the symbolic importance of Delhi to the Chishtīyya, see S. Digby, ‘Early Pilgrimages to the Graves of Mu’in al-Din and other Chishti Shaikhs’, in M. Israel and N.K. Wagle (eds), Islamic Society and Culture (Delhi: Manohar, 1983).


177 Details of his life are found in the Urdu introduction to his Persian divan. See Ghulām Chishtī, Diwān-e-Ghulām Chishtī Ilīchpūrī (Ellichpur: n.p., 1420/1999). A few of the poems mention Nizām al-dīn and his master Khālīm Allāh.


179 On this community, see M. Shafi‘ī, ‘An Afghan Colony at Qusur’, Islamic Culture, 3, 3 (1929).

180 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).

181 The account of the Awrangabad Naqshbandī is found in MK, pp. 171–4.


185 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).


188 Bhimsen (1972), pp. 156–8.


191 Ibid., f. 21v, 130r–130v.

192 Umar (1993), p. 67. Later better known as the Delhi College, this madrasa, in whose learned atmosphere Fīrōz Jang himself lay buried, continued to be of great importance to the Muslims of Delhi throughout the next century.

193 MN, pp. 131–2, 174.

194 Lest obvious contradictions seem to challenge this, it is well to bear in mind the fact that almost all of the great Chishtī shrines outside of Delhi, whether in the Deccan, Punjab or the
Tamil south, viewed themselves as transmissions of the mystical authority of the Delhi masters and were often, as with Nizām al-dīn himself, founded by actual immigrants from Delhi.

195 MN, pp. 112–76.
196 AS, pp. 62, 82, 90–1.
197 AS, p. 82.
198 Kasbkul f. 26v–27r.
199 Maktūbat, pp. 7–8.
200 MN, p. 91.
201 AS pp. 62, 82, 90.
204 AS, pp. 75, 48, 65–9 respectively.
205 See Bhimsen (1972), p. 159 and Sāqi Must‘ad Khan (1990), pp. 175–6 and 188.
207 Maktūbat, pp. 45 and 55.
210 MN, p. 84 and AS, pp. 53, 89, 117.
211 MN, p. 117.
212 AS, p. 60.
213 AS, p. 81.
214 For example, MN, pp. 52, 84, 121.
216 MN, pp. 67 and 118.
217 MN, p. 107.
218 MN, pp. 73–4.
219 MN, pp. 81, 102, 143.
220 This text survives in its later expansion as the Urdu Kitāb-e-a‘rās (Makhzan-e-a‘rās) of Muhammad Najīb Ḍādimīr Nagawrī.
222 AS, pp. 55–6.

2 THE POETRY AND POLITICS OF SAINTHOOD IN A MUGHAL SUCCESSOR STATE

1 Saw, f. 37l. The description is of the death anniversary (‘uri) of Shāh Nūr during the second half of the eighteenth century.
3 On these mathnawīs, see A. Suvorova, Masnavī: A Study of Urdu Romance (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.1–43.
5 Such urban and regional rivalry could lead saintly burials to take interesting forms, although without resorting to European customs of saintly exhumation and body-snatching. While Awrangabad's response was to develop shrines of its own, competition between royal capital and provincial hometown for the possession of the remains of the founder of the North African Rahmāniyya order, Sidi 'Abd al-Rahmān, led in nineteenth-century Algeria to the construction of two rival tombs for the saint and a subsequent tradition of the miraculous duplication of the saint’s cadaver. See J. Clancy-Smith, 'The Man With Two Tombs: Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Al-Rahman, Founder of the Algerian Rahmaniyya, c.1715–1798', in G.M. Smith and C.W. Ernst (eds), Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), pp. 167–8.


7 Āmirā, p. 38.


10 MN, pp. 34–5.


15 MN, p. 71.

16 MN, pp. 60 and 37 respectively.


20 This is also reported in Tadb, p. 1109.

21 Nur, p. 9. Muhammad Ikrām was also a follower of Shāh Nūr himself. He is mentioned as qāzī of Awrangabad in the Ma‘āthir-e-‘Ālamgīrī. See Saqi Must‘ad Khan (1990), pp. 146, 239, 241. The career of Muhammad Ikrām’s sons, who served in North India with the Bārīā Sayyids before entering the service of Nizām al-Mulk, is also described in connection with Malkāpūrī’s account of Shāh Nūr (Tadb, pp. 1105–6).

22 In recent years, many of the original buildings have been demolished to make way for a new mosque, though the small retreat (bujra) of Shāh Nūr remains.
NOTES

30 NA, p. 2. This composite imagery is far from unusual in India and was mirrored in that of a saint from another ‘frontier’ region in the rise of the pre-eminent saint of Bengal, Satyā Pir.

31 For example, Makkzan, p. 59, Saw f. 37r.


33 For example, Makhzan, p. 59, Saw f. 37r.


36 On Shāh Mahmūd’s successors, see Raf’at (n.d.), pp. 24–26. On an early twentieth-century shajarānāna his name is also given as Muhammad Sayyid.

37 Shafiq Awrangābādī, Gul-e-Ra’īnā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 38, f. 209v.

38 The poem is quoted in M. Raf’at, Panbakhkh-i-awrangābād (Haydarabad: Matba’a-ye-Ibrāhīmiyya, n.d.), p. 25.

39 Shafiq Awrangābādī, Gul-e-Ra’īnā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 38, f. 209v.

40 Saw, f. 33l–34r.

41 Saw, f. 33r, 34r.

42 ‘Āmira, p. 455.

43 Saw, f. 34r.


45 ‘Āmira, p. 454.


47 Ramzan (1982), Appendix, documents 13, 15, 53.


50 Panbakhkh Collection, document K.


52 Shafiq Awrangābādī, Gul-e-Ra’īnā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 38, f. 374r–377v.

53 Ibid., f. 163r–65v.

54 Ramzan (1982), p. 263.

55 Saw, f. 33l–34r.

56 Saw, f. 35r–33l.

57 Saw, f. 35r.


59 Cf. the prominent role played in the nineteenth century by the sajjāda nasbīn of the Chishtī shrine at Tawnsa in Punjab in the development of local trade and industry, helping transform Tawnsa from village to town in a remarkably short time. This is described in D.C. Phillot, ‘Note on the Shrine at Taunsa’, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 4, 1 (1908).

60 Saw, f. 33l.

61 Saw, f. 34l–51.
NOTES

63 Savē, f. 34l–34r.
66 The court diary is quoted in P. Spear, Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 78.
67 On various aspects of Awrangabad's literary scene during this period, see RH, pp. 50–109.
69 Tadh 2, p. 392.
70 Tadh 2, p. 562.
73 Nizām al-Mulk Masjīd Khān, Wasiyatnāma-ye-ʿĀṣaf Jāb, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Hist. 454. The reference to the arbāb-e-allāb is found on f. 3v. Although supposedly dictated by Nizām al-Mulk himself from his deathbed in 1161/1748, there is some doubt about the authenticity of this document.
74 Muhammad Haydar, Anwār-e-Tajalliyāt, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 18. The dedication to Nizām al-Mulk is on f. 2v.
75 Ibid., f. 10v.
76 Ibid., f. 11v–12r.
77 Ibid., f. 12v–13r, 15v.
78 Ibid., f. 18r.
79 Abūl Hasan ibn Sayyid Muḥyī al-dīn Bukhārī, Risāla-ye-ʿAynak-e-Būqalmūn, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 261. References to Farīd al-dīn Shakar Ganj and Gūsū Darāz are found on f. 9v and f. 24r respectively.
80 Ibid., f. 11v–17v.
81 Ibid., f. 24v–25v.
83 Subhat (1976–80), 1, p. 288. I am grateful to Carl Ernst for this reference.
84 Tadh, vol. 2, pp. 724 and 903.
87 Cf. M.E. Subtelny, 'The Cult of Abdullāh Ansārī under the Timurids', in C. Bürgel and A. Giese (eds), God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty (Festschrift for Annemarie Schimmel) (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994) and C.S. Taylor, In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim saints in Late Medieval Egypt (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999). The creation of urban networks of patron saints and shrines seems also to have been one of the basic means of the settling, Islamization and 'Mughalization' of Bengal. See Eaton (1993).
89 Shafīq Awrangbādī, Untitled (‘A Description of the City of Hyderabad and Aurangabad’), ms, British Library, Add. 26, 263.
NOTES


93 See A’rās and Ernst (1993). The genealogy of such pilgrimage manuals as an elite literary product reached back to Arabian models from earlier centuries. However, as with similar ritual forms, the actual practice involved — here, shrine pilgrimage — cut across barriers of class.

94 NA, p. 15.


96 ‘Amīra, pp. 35–8, 74–6.

97 ‘Amīra, pp. 39–49.

98 ‘Amīra, p. 35.

99 ‘Amīra, p. 38.

100 Storey (1927–71), p. 856.


103 MN, p. 112.

104 Tadh 2, p. 837.

105 Despite this, Bilgrāmi’s account has been shown by S. Digby ‘Before the Bābās came to India: A Reconstruction of the Earlier Lives of Bābā Sa’īd and Bābā Muhammad Musafir in “Wilāyat”’, Iran, 36 (1998) to possess important sections of historical authenticity shedding light on lacunae in the Malfūzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya.


107 RA, pp. 111–12.


109 MN, p. 91.

110 NA, pp. 1, 5.


112 NA, p. 2.

113 NA, p. 2.

114 NA, pp. 11–12. Cf. the appearance of Khizr to Shāh Palangpūsh in MN, p. 4.

115 NA, pp. 2, 5–6.

116 NA, p. 12.

117 NA, p. 5.

118 NA, pp. 6–8.

119 NA, pp. 2, 13–15 and 15 respectively.

120 NA, pp. 9–10 and 3–4 and 16–19 respectively.

121 Saw, f. 10l–11r.

122 Saw, f. 19r–19l.

123 Saw, f. 37r–38r.

3 THE SUFIS IN THE SHADOW OF A NEW EMPIRE

1 Saw, f. 35r. Rangaṭ, ‘colourful’, also suggestive of the metaphorical and transient.


4 J. Grant, 'Political Survey of the Deccan' (1782), British Library (OIOC), Hastings Collection, Add. Mss. 29, 209, 411r.
5 Grant (1782), 441v–442r.
6 Grant (1782), 439r–439v.
10 G. Sydenham (1811), 'Gulbarga', British Library (OIOC), Mackenzie Collection: General, vol. XLIII.
11 Nehri Collection, document 4r.
14 Seely (1824), p. 371.
15 Taylor (1837), n.p. 'Of course', Taylor added dryly, 'no one presumes to interrupt him [the tiger] in his meritorious employment.'
18 Ramzan (1982), Appendix, documents 12, 90, 91, 92.
19 Document Panchakkî L (copy in author’s possession).
21 Anon., 'The Durgahs and Mahomedan Saints of Hindostan', Asiatic Journal, 19 (1836) and Seely (1824).
24 Appropriately, Sir Richard Burton used the same quotation from Milton a few decades later, in the second appendix of his Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah, when describing the interior of the Ka‘ba at Mecca.
25 M. Hamidullah 'Literary Treasures of Aurangabad (Two Important Collections of Rare MSS)', Islamic Culture, 16 (1942).
26 Aḥâr, bk. 4, pp. 34–5.
28 Aḥâr, bk. 4, pp. 34–5.
NOTES

36 Ibid., f. 5v.
37 Ibid., f. 7v, 10r–11v.
39 Ibid., pp. 136–8.
40 Mansârât described the resident faqîrs at the shrine of Qâdir Awliyâ complaining that there was not enough money for celebrating the saint’s death anniversary or for feeding the poor, and that as a result many of the faqîrs had become addicted to smoking the water-pipe. Nizâm al-Mulk subsequently issued a command to appoint one Sayyid Muhammad Mugînî to manage the shrine, but also scolded the faqîrs for appreciating the glow of the tobacco pipe more than the inner fire of devotion. See translation in P.S.M. Rao, Eighteenth Century Deccan (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), p. 81.
41 A comparable mode of tadhkira analysis is found in C.W. Ernst and B.B. Lawrence, Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 47–64.
42 Gul Muhammad Ahmadpûrî, Takmila-ye-Siyar al-Awliyâ (henceforth Takmila) (ms, K.A. Nizami Collection), f. 83r, 88l, 89r.
43 Takmila, f. 88l–90l.
44 Takmila, f. 84l.

4 SAINTS, REBELS AND REVIVALISTS

1 Saw, f. 33r. The description is of the shrine of Shâh Musâfir and Shâh Palangpîsh.
3 S.H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam’s Dominions, 2 vols (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1883–84), pp. 331–2.
9 However, between 1872 and 1874 its chaplain was a Parsi convert from Ahmadnagar, Rattanji Nowrozji (d. 1910). I am grateful to Robert Johnson, James Robert Natkar and Rev. John Shrisunder for showing me the parish records and providing other information on the history of Awrangabad’s colonial churches.
10 P.V. Kate, Marathwada under the Nizams, 1724–1948 (Delhi: Mittal, 1978), pp. 244–6.
15 Ibid., p. 422. Author’s translation.
16 I have been unable to identify this figure with certainty. It seems possible that this was Mirzā Shāh Muhammad, the son of Bahadur Shah, who was known as a Sufi in the lineage of Fakhr al-dīn. See K.A. Nizāmī, *Ṭārīkh-e-Mashā‘īkh-e-Chishti* (Delhi: Idāra-ye-Adabiyyat-e-Dillī, 1980–5), p. 525.
18 Ibid., p. 134.
21 This Nizām al-dīn later returned to Delhi and was eventually buried beside his father Nasīr al-dīn and his ancestor Fakhr al-dīn at the shrine of Qutb al-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Mihrāwli on the outskirts of Delhi. See M. Umar, *Islam in Northern India During the Eighteenth Century* (Manoharalal Munshiram, 1993), pp. 138–9.
23 This account draws on the family history of Mirzā ‘Abd Allāh’s descendants in Haydarabad, as reported in *The Hindu*, 12 September 2002.
24 The dates of the deaths of these figures are all inscribed on their tombs in Nizām al-dīn’s shrine.
25 This *farmān* is referred to in a later legal document from 1967 relating to claims made after Qaysar Miyan’s death (Regular Civil Suit No. 16 of 1966, Aurangabad), a copy of which is in the author’s possession.
27 Phillott (1908), p. 28.
32 Banī Miyan Collection, document A (copy in author’s possession).
33 S.V.R. Nasr, *Matwulī and the Making of Islamic Revivalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 9–12. Investigations have failed to further clarify the identity of Muhīy al-dīn. It is possible that he was the same Chishtī Sufi of this name who authored the Urdu hagiography *Afzal al-karāmāt* on the life of Afzal Shāh Biyābānī (d. 1273/1856). Though mainly a resident of Haydarabad, this Muhīy al-dīn visited Awrangabad on numerous occasions during the period in question. He died in Haydarabad in 1943. (I am grateful to Syed Shujathullah of Warangal for information on this figure.)
34 *Afzhāb*, pp. 16–17.
Aftab, pp. 16–17.
37 Interview with Baba Pir, grandson of Shams al-dīn, Awrangabad, 3.9.2000.
38 Aftab, p. 17.
39 See Zahir’s introduction to his Urdu translation of ‘Urūj. NA (p. i).
40 Ibid. On the claim to Banī Miyan’s British following, see Muhammad Ismā’īl Shāh Qādiri, A’zam al-Karāmāt (henceforth AK) (Awrangabad: Mu’īn Press, c.1340/1921), p. 12.
42 Nehri Collection, document 3 (copy in author’s possession).
43 The date is given in the Fasl al-Jamā’ī, p. 1338. See Aftab, p. 17.
44 Aftab, pp. 16–17.
47 Aftab, pp. 70–1.
48 Raf’at (n.d.), p. 25. Mubiriz al-dīn Raf’at seems to have known Ghulām Mahmūd personally and, writing four decades after the latter’s death, recounted the respect with which his memory was still greeted.
49 M. Hamidullah, ‘Literary Treasures of Aurangabad (Two Important Collections of Rare MSS)’, Islamic Culture, 16 (1942).
50 Raf’at (n.d.), p. 25. Mubiriz al-dīn Raf’at seems to have known Ghulām Mahmūd personally and, writing four decades after the latter’s death, recounted the respect with which his memory was still greeted.
51 In the 1990s many older residents of Awrangabad could remember dervishes resident at the shrine earlier in the century.
52 M. Hamidullah, ‘Literary Treasures of Aurangabad (Two Important Collections of Rare MSS)’, Islamic Culture, 16 (1942).
53 D.G. Qureshi, Tourism Potential in Aurangabad (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan), pp. 60–1.
54 M. Gill and J. Ferguson, One Hundred Stereoscopic Illustrations of Architecture and Natural History in Western India (London: Cundall, Downes and Company, 1864), p. 73.
56 Two of Raja Deen Dayal’s photographs of the shrine are in the photographic collections of the India Office Library (IOIC, photo 430/6/55 & 430/6/56).
58 This sequence of events is described in Raf’at (n.d.), pp. 25–6.
59 This fact is mentioned in ‘Ali al-dīn Ahmad’s brief Urdu foreword to the Persian printed edition of the Malfuzat-e-Naqshbandiya.
61 For Ghālib’s letters to Sayyāh, see Mirzā Ghālib (n.d.), pp. 428–51.
NOTES

69 Barakāt, p. 128.
71 Malkāpūrī also clearly stated this (Ṭadb, p. 1112).
72 Ṭadb, pp. 1101–13.
73 Ṭadb, pp. 1102, 1108, 1111.
74 Ṭadb, pp. 1099–12.
77 Khaz, pp. 496–7.
78 J. Gonnella, Islamische Heiligenverehrung in urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien) (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1995).
80 Barakāt, p. 144. There was in fact an historical dimension to this, for Kalīm Allāh’s stately bequest was made in a letter preserved in his letters. See Maktūbāt, p. 26.
81 Barakāt, p. 144, Ṭadb, pp. 1093–100.
82 For example, Ṭadb (p. 1094) reworks the story of the drought given in AS (p. 48).
83 AS, pp. 97–8.
84 Ṭadb, pp. 1094–6.
85 BK, p. 15, Ṭadb, pp. 1098–9.
87 Ṭadb, pp. 1097–8. Around the same time, in 1915 Muhammad Iqbāl included an allusion to the legend of a similar battlefield meeting between Shah Jahan and the North Indian Sufi Mīyān Mīr Wālī (d. 1045/1635) in his Persian poem Arsār-e-khūbūd (lines 1340–70).
88 Ernst (1992), p. 92. I have been unable to trace a copy of Kishan Parshād’s hagiographical work.
90 Aqtāb, pp. 34–6.
91 Aqtāb, pp. 40–1.
93 Aqtāb, pp. 182–9.

5 THE AWRANGABAD SAINTS IN THE NEW INDIA

1 Saw, f. 35r. The description is of the now forgotten Sufi of Mughal Awrangabad, Sayyid Abū’l Qāsim.
5 Ibid., p. 106.

183
NOTES


10 Aftab, p. 17. Written by an influential member of Shāh Nūr’s management committee, this document supports the role of the committee itself at the shrine after Shams al-dīn’s death and does not make any mention of Shams al-dīn’s spiritual heirs.


12 Aftab, p. 26. This section is also based on interviews with Mohammed Sharafuddin Siddiqui, head of the shrine committee, during 1999 and 2000.


14 He is not to be confused with the contemporary local saint, Muhammad A’zam Khan Banē Miyān (d. 1339/1921).

15 Interviews with Bābā Pīr, son of Banē Miyān, and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Bēg, disciple of Banē Miyān, September 2000.

16 Sae, f. 37r.


18 Much of this information draws on interviews with Ghulām Mahmūd’s relative, Rizwana Maghrebi, and older residents of Awrangabad.

19 Ra’fat (n.d.).


23 The local historian Mubâriz al-dīn Ra’fat (Ra’fat, n.d., p. 22) also discussed the legends of Shāh Musâfir’s association with Awrangzeb in his Urdu history of Panchakkī, similarly concluding that had any such connection really existed it would surely have received mention in the Mafṣūzāt-e-Naqbbandiya.

24 M. Hamidullah ‘Literary Treasures of Aurangabad (Two Important Collections of Rare Mss)’, Islamic Culture, 16 (1942).

25 A diagram and description of this object appears in Hamidullah (1942), p. 451. This is based on conversations with Syed Yaqub Ali, Qaysar Miyān’s last surviving disciple, during 1999 and 2000.

27 Details of this are found in an official letter pertaining to Regular Civil Suit No. 16 (1966), Aurangabad. A copy is in the author’s possession.


NOTES


32 Ibid., pp. 315–17.

33 Anon. (1836), Seely (1824).


35 Raf'aat (n.d.).

36 Internal evidence in the text suggests an original composition date during the 1950s, with details of recent building activities at the shrine added for a second edition published during the 1980s.

37 *Afzâl*, pp. 4–5.

38 *Afzâl*, pp. 7–8.

41 *Afzâl*, pp. 8–10.

42 *Afzâl*, pp. 18–21. It is in fact fairly common for Urdu pamphlet biographies of the saints to maintain the memory of notables and royalty. In the shrine of Zayn al-din Shirazi at Khuldabad, biographies of the saint and the adjacently interred Awrangzeb are sold side by side.

43 *Afzâl*, pp. 17 and 24.


45 Hasan, p. 8.

46 Hasan, pp. 15–16 and 2 respectively.

47 Cf. AS, pp. 58 and 97–8 on meetings with yogis and pp. 64, 79–81, 84, 86, 94–6, 113–14, 116–18 on discussions of *samā’*.

48 Hasan, pp. 20–4.

49 Hasan, pp. 23–4.

50 *Aurangabad Times Urdu Daily* (15 February 2000).

51 This mirroring of narrative and architecture was present at the shrines of many other Muslim saints and Devin DeWeese has described a similar process with regard to the Central Asian shrine of Ahmad Yasawi. See D. DeWeese, ‘Sacred Places and “Public” Narratives: The Shrine of Ahmed Yasavi in Hagiographical Traditions of the Yasawi Sufi Order, 16th to 17th Centuries’, *Muslim World*, 90, 3 and 4 (2000).

52 Abdul Hamid Khan, interview, 20.2.00.


54 According to the *sajjada nasin* of the shrine, in earlier times permission was given by state officials for the shrine to be painted in the official yellow colour of the Asaf Jâh state. However, this would appear to be a classic case of the invention of tradition, since prior to the relatively recent availability of oil-based paints, shrines were invariably only whitewashed. Many other Sufi shrines in India have also adopted bright-coloured paint in recent years, similarly adapting particular colours to elements of local or more widespread saintly traditions; after whitewash green and yellow are in fact the most widespread paints.


56 On these legends, see N.S. Green, ‘Stories of Saints and Sultans: Re-membering History at the Sufi Shrines of Aurangabad’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 38, 2 (2004).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources in Islamic languages


Afzal Bagh Qomshīl Awrangzmīl, Tuhfat al-Shuʿarā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 8. (Persian)


Altīf Husayn Hālī, Yādgār-e-Ghālib, 2 vols, Delhi, Maktaba Jāmiʿat al-Mutlīd, 1971. (Urdu, Persian)

Amjad Husayn, Tūḥfat al-Shuʿarā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 49. (Urdu)


Ghulām Imām Khān, Tūrīkh-e-Khūshād Jābī wa Tūrīkh-e-Khujista Bunyād, Awrangābād, n.p., c.1318/1900. (Urdu/Persian)


Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī, Takmīla-ye-Sīyar al-Awliyā, ms, K.A. Nizami Collection. (Persian)

Hābīb ʿAlī Shāh, Yār Khān Bahādūr, Hābīb al-Barāzīkh, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 49. (Persian)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Habīb ‘Alī Shāh, Yār Khān Bahādur, Habīb al-Tālibīn, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 50. (Persian)
Kāmgār Khān, Malfūzāt-e-Shāh Nizām al-dīn Awa‘lyā Awrangābādī, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 156/2. (Persian)
Khāksār Sabzāwārī, Sāvānīh, ms, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Curzon Collection, ms 85. (Persian)
Mahmūd Bahārī, ‘Arūs-e-‘Irfa‘n, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 114. (Persian)
Mawlānā Qamar al-dīn (Awrangābādī), Nūr al-Karīmatayn, Kanpur, Matba‘a-ye-Nizāmī, 1307/1889. (Persian)
Mīrzā Muhammad Akhtar Dihlwā, Tadbīkāra-ye-Awa‘lyā-ye-Hind, 3 vols, Delhi, Miwār Prēs, 1906. (Urdu)
Muhammad Haydar, Aṃū‘r-e-Ta‘jallīyāt, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 18. (Persian)
Muhammad Ismā‘īl Shāh Qādirī, A‘zam al-Karīmāt, Aurangabad, Mu‘īn Press, c.1340/1921. (Urdu)
Muhammad Kāzm ibn-i Muhammad Aṃīn Munshī, ‘Ālamgīr-nāma, Mawlī Khādīm Husayn and Mawlāwī ‘Abd al-Hay (eds), Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868. (Persian)
Muhammad Najīb Qādirī Nagawrī, Kitāb-e-A‘rās (Makhzān-e-arās), Agra, n.p., 1300/1883. (Urdu)
Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Āṣār al-Sanā‘īdī, Delhi, Matba‘a-ye-Sayyid al-Akhbār, 1263/1846. (Urdu)
Shafiq Awrangābādī (Lakhmī Narā‘īn), Untitled (‘A Description of the City of Hyderabad and Awrangabad’), ms, British Library, Add. 26, 263. (Persian)
Shafiq Awrangābādī (Lakhmī Narā‘īn), Gul-e-Ra‘nā, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tad. 38. (Persian)
Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī, Kashkūl, ms, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, Tas. 130. (Persian)
Shah Kalim Allah Jahannedi, Maktubat-e-Kalim, Delhi, Matba‘a‘ye-Yusufi, 1301/1884. (Persian)


Tara Sahib Qureshi, Aftab-e-Dakan, Aurangabad, n.p., c. 1985. (Urdu)

Zahur Khan, Naur al-Anwar, an Urdu translation of the parts of Khizan al-Bahar of Bahá’ al-din Hasan ‘Urüj related to Sháh Núr, ms, Collection of Mohammad Abd al-Hayy, Aurangabad. (Urdu)

Translations of primary sources into European languages


Bhimsen, 1972, Tarikh-i-dilkasha (Memoirs of Bhimsen Relating to Aurangzib’s Deccan Campaigns), trans. J. Sarkar, Bombay, Dept. of Archives, Govt. of Maharashtra.

Kalimullah Jahanabadi, 1909, Tasnim ul Touheed, or Unity of God, Madras, Hue & Co.


Kewal Ram, 1985, Tasviratul-Umara of Kewal Ram, trans. S.M. Azizuddin Husain, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal.


Archival documents and official publications


Anonymous, 1798, ‘Anecdotes of the Southern Courts of Hindostan or the Dekan by a Musulman in 1781–2, Communicated by the Resident at Hyderabad [sic] 1798’, British Library (OIOC), Mackenzie Collection: General, vol. XLIII.

Lane-Smith, H., 1901–38, Papers of Rev. Henry Lane-Smith, CMS Collection, Unofficial Papers, Acc. 33, Special Collections Department, Birmingham University Library.
Sydenham, G., 1811, ‘Gulbarga’, British Library (OIOC), Mackenzie Collection: General, vol. XLIII.

Secondary sources

Anonymous, 1883, *H.H. the Nizam’s Tour in the Aurangabad District by the Special Correspondent of The Times of India*, Bombay, Times of India Steam Press.


Bilgrami, S.H. and Willmott, C., 1883–4, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 2 vols, Bombay, Times of India Steam Press.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Cornell, V., 1999, The Dominion of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Mysticism, Austin, TX, University of Texas Press.

Crooke, W., 1926, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, Oxford, Oxford University Press.


DeWeese, D., 2000, Sacred Places and “Public” Narratives: The Shrine of Ahmad Yasavi in Hagiographical Traditions of the Yasavi Sufi Order, 16th to 17th Centuries, Muslim World, 90, 3 and 4.


Digby, S., 1983, ‘Early Pilgrimages to the Graves of Mu’in al-Din and other Chishti Shaikhs’, in M. Israel and N.K. Wagle (eds), Islamic Society and Culture, Delhi, Manohar.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ernst, C.W., 1993, 'India as a Sacred Islamic Land', in D.S. Lopez (ed.), Religions of India in Practice, Princeton, NJ, University of Princeton Press.


Faruqi, S.R., 2001, Early Urdu Literary History and Culture, Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Fathulla Khan, M., 1938, 'The Nizams as Men of Letters', Islamic Culture, 12, 4.

Foltz, R., 2001, Mughal India and Central Asia, Karachi, Oxford University Press.
Friedmann, Y., 1971, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
Gonnella, J., 1995, Islamische Heiligenverehrung im urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien), Berlin, Klaus Schwarz.
Gordon, S., 2000, 'Maratha Patronage of Muslim Institutions in Burhanpur and Khandesh', in Gilmartin and Lawrence.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hadi, N., 1995, Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
Hamidullah, M., 1942, ‘Literary Treasures of Aurangabad (Two Important Collections of Rare MSS)’, Islamic Culture, 16.

194
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Khan, K., 1928, *'Sufi Orders of the Deccan',* *Muslim World*, 18.


Lawrence, B.B., 1983, *'The Early Chishtī approach to Šamā‘*, in M. Israel and N.K. Wagle (eds), *Islamic Society and Culture*, Delhi, Munshiram.


Mayaram, S., 1997, *Resisting Regimes: Myth, Memory and the Shaping of a Muslim Identity*, Delhi, Oxford University Press.


Muhammad, K.K., 1986, ‘The Houses of the Nobility in Mughal India’, *Islamic Culture*, 60.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Phillott, D.C., 1908, ‘Note on the Shrine at Taunsa’, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 4, 1.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Sardesai, G.S., 1933 (1932), Handbook to the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona (Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, No. 25), Bombay, Government Central Press.


Schimmel, A., 2000, Im Reich der Grossmoguln, Munich, Beck.


Ser, S.N. (ed.), 1949, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: being the third part of the travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the third part of a voyage round the world by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, Delhi, National Archives of India.


Sherwani, H.K and Joshi, P.M. (eds), 1973–4, History of Medieval Deccan (1295–1724), 2 vols, Hyderabad, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

Sherwani, H.K., 1974, History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty, Delhi, Munshiram.


Siddiqui, M.H., 1979, The Memoirs of Sufis Written in India, Baroda, University of Baroda Publications.

198


Taylor, C.S., 1990, ‘Sacred History and the Cult of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt’, *Muslim World*, 80, 2.


Umar, M., 1993, *Islam in Northern India During the Eighteenth Century*, Delhi, Manoharlal Munshiram.


INDEX

'Abd Allah Khwāshgī Qasūrī 19, 32, 70, 71, 169 n.112
'Abd al-Hakīm Lāhwī 66
'Abd al-Hamīd Ma‘ṣūm ʿAlī Shāh 74
'Abd al-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī
  see Malikpūrī
'Abd al-Latīf Shushtārī in his Tuhfat al-ʿilm 83
'Abd al-Qādir Jālānī 87, 127
'Abd al-Qādir Sarwārī 170 n.132
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbd al-Rahīm 21
'Abd al-Rahman Jālānī 29
'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī 53
Abū ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī 115
Abūl Fazl Sayyid Muhammad Qādir 180 n.34
Abūl Hasan ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Qādirī
  Bukhārī 69, 177 nn.79–81
Abū Saʿīd Mirzā 106
Afghan/s: defeat of Marathas at Panipat 49;
saints of Qasur in Punjab, lives of 32
Afghanistan 104
Afšāb-e-dakān 151, 152, 153, 154; Afšāb
  181 n.34, 182 nn.35, 37, 39, 45–6, 185
  nn.37–44, 194 nn.10–12
Afsal Bēq Qāqshāl Awrangābādī 21,
  25, 66, 170 n.131; anthology of 24
Ahmad Khāttū in Ahmadābād 73
Ahmad Shāh Abdālī’s occupation of Delhi 49
Ahmad Sirhindī see Sirhindī
Ahmad Yāsawī 185 n.51
Ahrrār, Khwāja 11, 53
Ahsan al-shamālī of Kāmgār Khān 19, 20,
  22, 24, 29, 32, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44,
  72, 153, 154, 166 n.19, 167 n.47,
  170 nn.122, 124, 129, 134, 171 nn.139,
  142, 150, 151, 152, 173 nn.172–4,182,
  174 nn.196–7, 201, 204, 212–213, 222,
  183 n.83, 185 n.47; audience of 44–5;
circumstances of composition of 43;
glimpses of Sufi life revealed in 42;
group reading sessions in 39; warnings
  against converse with kings 38; see also
  Kāmgār Khān
Akbar Shah II 64
Akbār al-Awliyā’ 32
ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Ahmad Khān 109
ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Khiljī (Khaljī) 16, 51,
  75, 150
Allāh Bakhsh, Khwāja 95, 113
Allāh kē Hukam 138, 139
Altāf Husayn Ḥālī 94, 179 n.30
Amīn Allāh 89
Amjad Husayn 122, 182 n.64
anti-British propagandizing 104–5
antinomian dervishes see qālandār
Anwār-e-tajalliyāt of Muhammad Haydar
  68–70
Arabic scholarship 122; in Awrangābād 71;
  and Islamic scholarship, promotion of 121
Arberry, A.J. 164 n.2
architecture/architectural: and narrative of
  sainthood, mirrored worlds of 156–7;
presence of a shrine 155; of sainthood,
  creation of specialized 51
ʿĀrif al-dīn Balkhī 61
ʿĀrif-e-ʿirfān 33
Asad ʿAlī Khān Tamānnā 66
Āṣaf Jāh dynasty 26; administration under
  Sālār Jang, reform of 107; autonomy in
  Deccan under Nizām al-Mulk 21;
  Awrangābād, literary scene in early 64–8;
domains 49; governing class 59;
  Haydarābād, mulkī (‘local’) versus
  ghayr-mulkī (‘immigrant’) controversy 87;
Chishtī (Continued)

shrine of Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga 30, 154; shrine of Qutb al-dīn in Delhi 30; shrines of Aurangabad 47; shrines, location of major 113; Sufism 22;
Sufism, relocation of tradition of 50; tradition at Khuldabad 30; tradition of Sufism 147
Chishtiyya 5, 34; history of 29
Christian Armenian traders 2
commendatory texts (tadhkīrāt) 7, 74
‘concentration’ (tawajjuh), practice of 18
contraction (qabz) and expansion (bast), contrasting mystical states of 18
Court, H. 165 n.7
Crooke, W. 185 n.53
cult rivalries 154
Dakhani literature 123
Dakhani poetry 33, 46
Dārā Shikakh 10, 30; safīnāt al-Awliyā’ 28
Dargāh Qul Khān Sālār Jang 34, 59, 65, 66
Das, H. 166 nn.4, 10
Daulatabad 50, 118
Deccan: Chishtīs 23; multi-layered Islamic tradition 104; kingdoms at Bijapur or Golkonda 47; Mughal colonists and their Āsaf Jāh successors 47; Muslim culture 50; Muslim sultanate of Golkonda 20; pre-existing sacred Muslim geography 161
Delhi: as centre of literary patronage and production 4, 32–3, 64; center of northern authority over the Deccan 154; Chishtīs see Chishtīs; Khānum Bāzār 53
dervish/es 143, 161; antinomian or qalandar 14, 168 n.70; Central Asian and Hindustani 3; texts read by 41; sheltering and feeding of 118; warrior 12, 13
Dhakā 68
Dhikr 162
dhikr-e-jahr 59
Diyānāt Khān 8, 54, 55, 80, 98, 152, 154
Fakhr al-dīn 20, 22, 23, 34, 43, 62, 63, 64, 92, 94, 96, 98, 111, 181 nn.17–18
Fakhr al-hāsan 64
Fakhr al-tālīkhīn 64, 97
Fakhriyyat al-nizām 20, 64, 97, 170 n.128
Faqīr 162
Farīd al-dīn Ganj-e-shankar 172 n.157
Fatūwā-ye-Ālamgīrī 32, 65
Fatehpur Sikri 9
Fazīlat Jang 136
Fazl al-dīn 60
Fazlī 67
Fergusson, J. 182 n.54
Forster, E.M. 106, 120
French, armies of 48
George, V., King-Emperor 108
Gēsū Darāz of Gulbarga 22, 23, 53, 91, 150; book by 32; Chishtī shrine of 13, 51
Ghālib 109, 110, 111, 112, 181 nn.14, 15, 182 n.61; relationship with Nasīr al-dīn 95
Ghatūth al-samānī 66
al-Ghazālī 26
Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Firōz, Jang 5, 12, 15, 24, 26, 46, 73
Ghidawan, Naqshbandī shrine-centre of 11
Ghulām Ahmad Kambal Posh 54
Ghulām ‘Ali Qidrī 96, 97, 131, 171 n.147, 173 n.177, 180 n.34
Ghulām Chishtī 31
Ghulām Hasan 73
Ghulām Husayn Khān Jawhar 82
Ghulām Imām Khān 122, 182 n.64, 185 n.34
Ghulām Mahmūd 120, 141, 146
Ghulām Nasīr al-dīn 94, 109, 110
Ghulām Nūr 56
Ghulām Qutb al-dīn 92, 93, 94
Ghulām Rasūl Mehr 181 nn.14,15
Ghulām Sarwar Lāhwārī 129, 183 n.76; account of Nizām al-dīn 129; Khāzīnāt al-asfiyā’ 125
Gill, Robert, Major 120; on Panchakki 120
Golkonda 50; escape of king Abū’l Hasan 165 n.4; Husayn Shāh Walī of 171 n.147; Mughal conquest of 20, 38, 47, 82; Qutb Shāh rulers of 82, 123
Gommans, J.J.L. 177 n.71
Gonnella, J. 173 n.179, 176 n.32, 183 n.78
Gordon, S. 176 n.49
Grant, James, Captain 83, 179 nn.4–6
Great Revolt of 1273/1857 84, 94, 96, 103, 104, 109, 112; effect on Bahadur

INDEX
INDEX

Shah II and Nizām al-dīn’s descendants in Delhi 110
Gulbarga 50; shrines of earlier Chishtī saints 16
Gul-e-Ajāib 66
Gul-e-Ra’īnā 59, 66
Gulistan-e-Khuldābād 149
Gul Muhammad Ahmadpūrī 98, 100, 101, 171 n.147, 180 n.42; account of Nizām al-dīn 98, 100; Takmila 99, 101
Gulshan-e-Ajāib 66
Gurg, Khwāja 16
Gwalior 48

Hābīb al-Barā‘izkh 114
Hābīb ‘Alī Shāh Yār Khān
Bahādur 114, 181 n.28
Hābīb al-Tāliḥīn 114
Hāḍī Naqshbandī 167 n.56
Hadrāmatwāt 104
Hadrāmī Arabs 135
Hāfiz ‘Alī Shāh 114
Hāfiz Shāh Muhammad Ibrāhīm 69
hagiographies: collective, of Deccan’s saints 123; modern, of Awrangabād’s saints 159
Al-Hāj Muhammad ‘Abd al-Hayy
185 n.31–2
Hālāt-e-Hazrat Bābā Shāh Muṣāfir Šābīb,
M.V. 165 n.15
Hallāj’s utterances 40
Hamīd Allāh 89
Hammāmī, bathhouse 9, 56
Hasan Abdal 11
Haydarabād/State 2, 49; administration 105; anti-British sentiments 104; coinage 108; council for Muslim Unity (Maqlīsi-Ittihād al-Muslinīn) 135;
Dakhani Urdu 123; Department of Religious Affairs 116; Department of Religious Endowments 141; dissolution in 1367/1948 134; fall of 153; famine in 107; feudal system 134, 159; Hindus 134; history of 73; independence 134; independence from direct British rule 103; Islamic character of 106; literary
primacy of 4; Muslim notables 105; Muslims 135; nationalists, mulkī sentiments of 130; North Indian administrators 108; surrender to rule by united and independent India 135; transfer of Asaf Jāh capital to 67, 73, 82
Haydar ‘Alī, rise of 83

Hārāt 25, 29
Hidāyat al-rāmī 144
Hindu/s: domination of Haydarabād’s trade 134; festivals of spring 157; kingdom of the Marathas 48; and Muslim devotees 140; revivalist organizations 135
Holland, John 83
Humayun’s wife Hamīda 171 n.146
Husayn Shāh Wālī of Golkonda 171 n.147
Ibn ‘Arabī 10, 57, 68; doctrines of 69
Ibn Maymūn 57
Ibrāhīm bin Adham 79
‘Imād al-dīn Nehrī 86
‘Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Fīrōz
Jang III 20, 64, 97, 98, 129, 170 n.128, 171 nn.143, 148, 149 176 n.62, 179 nn.35–9; account of Nizām al-dīn
98; in Fakhriyyat al-nizām 101
Imām al-dīn Naqawī 125
Imāmibābī Chotā Khān 117
imperial geographies 27–35
‘Ināyat Allāh, Naqshbandī 11, 12, 31, 54, 70, 89; shrine of 145; lineage of 54
‘Ināyat Allāh Khān Awrangabādī 10, 14
‘Ināyat Darwīsh 8
India as sacred Islamic land 46
Indian Sufism: network 89; and precocolial social order 110; see also Sufism
India’s independence 134, 135
Indo-Muslim societies: court life 108; cultural life, centres of 87; ethnicity in 129; history 100
Indore 48
Inshā-e-jur’at 66
Iran 104; revival of Sufism in 74
Islamic Culture 122
Islamic revival 130
Islamic Western Asia 31
Islam, K. 179 nn.31–2
Islam, localization of 46
Jabbar, M.A. 150, 182 n.57, 184 n.21
Ja’far Sharīf (‘Jaffur Shurheef’) 87, 179 n.12
Jahānārā, princess 33, 65; burial of 57
Jahangīr 35
Jalalabad 12
Jalāl Khān Dāūdzāī 32
INDEX

Jalwa-e-didār of Hazwar Muhammad 81
Kishan Parsh 116
Kirkpatrick, James Achilles 83
Khuldabad 5, 47, 50; Chishtī
Khujista Bunyādī 122
Khurki 1, 8
Khazān al-ismā‘ 91, 172 n.158; Najabāt al-uns 91
Jamil Beg Khān 66, 143
Jān Allāh Shāh 116
Jayaram, R. 180 nn.6, 7
Jayasinghputra 4
Jur‘at Khān Mu‘iz al-Dawla 66

Kabul 11
Kalim Allāh Jahānābādī, Chishti shaykh 6, 19, 20, 22, 25, 30, 38, 42, 53, 64, 109, 166 n.20, 169 n.110, 170 nn.119, 120, 171 n.143; khanaqah 109; work 22; see also Kābkīl-e-Kalimī
Kāmil al-dīn 112
Kāmīr Khān 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 32, 36, 38, 40, 43, 54, 63, 65, 66, 113, 130, 166 n.19, 184 n.28; account of Nizām al-dīn 30, 42, 100, 147; close connection with Mughal state 25; journey to Delhi 25–6; literary efforts 42; see also Ahsan al-shamī’īl
Kashfi 11
Kābkīl-e-kalimī 22, 42
Kedar 82
Kewal Rām 166 n.28
Khāfī Khān 29, 166 n.28, 173 n.170; early history of Awrangzeb 152; Muntakhab al-Lahāb 27
Khāksar-e-Sabzawārī see Sabzawārī
khanaqāh (khānagāh) 8, 52, 162; complexes 51; details of life in 39; foundation of 52; reliance on aristocratic patronage 52
Khān-e-Khānān ‘Abd al-Rahīm 9
Khātim-e-Sulaymānī of Mawlānā Allāh Bakhsh 169 n.117
Khāzāna-ye-amira 51, 60, 75, 175 n.7, 176 nn.42, 45, 178 nn.86–9
Khāzināt al-asfiyā 129, 183 n.77
Khirkī 1, 8
Khizān ‘u bāhār 56, 77
Khujista Bunyādī 1
Khuldabad 5, 47, 50; Chishti tradition at 30; shrine of Burhān al-dīn Gharīb at 61; shrines at 16, 37, 54
Kirmān-ye-sa’adat of al-Ghazālī 26, 42
Kirkpatrick, James Achilles 83
Kishan Parshād 116, 183 n.88

Kitāb bikhmat al-ismā‘ of Shihāb al-dīn
Suhrāwūrī 70
Kubrāwīyya 12
Kurnul (Kurnool) 48

Lakshmi Nara‘in Shafi‘i Awrangbādī 59, 66, 73, 82, 176 nn.37, 52–3, 177 nn.85, 89; Gul-e-Ra‘nā 71
Lālā Mansārām 28, 66, 68; account of Nizām al-Mulk 98
Lane-Smith, Henry, Rev. 108, 118, 181 n.12

Light of Muhammad (nūr-e-muhammadī) 151
literary tradition: in age of empire 23–45; in early Āṣaf Jāh Awrangabad 64–81; in new empire 96–102; in nineteenth century 121–33; in twentieth century Awrangabad 148–57
text/literary: activity in Awrangabad, nineteenth century 121; commemorations of saints of Awrangabad 73; circles of Delhi 96; commemorations of Awrangabad’s saints by Bilgrāmī Sabzawārī and ‘Urūj 125; discrete traces of Deccan’s political history 34; means of disseminating traditions of Muslim laity 148; scene in Awrangabad 34; separation of religious and political 27

Lucknow, literary primacy of 4

Mā’āthir al-ṣīra 32, 76, 78, 167 n.58, 60–2, 173 n.181, 178 n.102
Mā’āthir al-Umarī of Shāh Nawāz Khān 7, 9, 10, 34, 66, 166 nn.21, 29, 30, 36, 167 n.4. 42, 45, 46, 175 n.29, 176 n.108
Mā’āthir-e-Āṣafī 82
Mā’āthir-e-Ālamgīrī 13, 27, 166 n.32
Mā’āthir-e-Nizāmī 28, 68
Mackenzie, Colin, Major 85; survey of Deccan 85
madrasa 34, 118, 138
Maharashtra 136; formation of state of 155
Mahbūb ‘Alī Khān 94, 106
Mahfil-e-samā’ 162
Māmūd Bahri 173 nn.190, 191
Māmūd ibn Amīr Wali 173 n.183
Mārmān 67

204
Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barzanjī 19
Muhammad ʿIkrām 8, 55, 166 n.32, 175 n.21
Muhammad Iqbāl 149
Muhammad İsmail Shāh Qādri, Aʿzām al-Karāmāt 182 nn.41, 49
Muhammad Kambakshī 16
Muhammad Māʿṣūm Naqshbandī 73
Muhammad Miyaṅ 147, 148
Muhammad Najīb Qādīrī Nagawrī 167 n.44, 174 n.220
Muhammad Nūr al-dīn Husaynī 25
Muhammad Sulaymān 95; ‘House of Learning’ (dār al-ʿulūm) 95
Muḥyī al-dīn 140
Muḥyī al-dīn Shamsī, of Ḥaydarābād 139
Muʿīn al-dīn Chishtī 28, 30, 172 n.157; at Ajmer 136
Muʿīz al-dawla Jurʿat 61
Muʿnis al-Arwāḥ 28
Mukarram Jah 148
Makhtasar maʿārīj al-wilāyā 19, 70, 169 n.112
Muminabad, revolt in 84
Munisī Rām Singh 66
Munshi Sujān Rāi of Patiala 165 n.7
Muntajīb al-dīn Zār Bakhsh 36
Marāggaʾ-e-Dīhī 59
Marūd wa muṣrīdī 21
Murshid 162
Muslims/Muslim: anti-colonial movement 122; architecture in Deccan 46; architecture of memory 102; aristocracy of Delhi 64; authors in political service of Nizām al-Mulk 66; businessmen, local 138; citizens, relative impoverishment of 136; dependence on state 134; genesis of history in Deccan 50; Hindu groups competed for religious loyalties of people of state 130; of India and Islamic credentials of Indian homeland 46; literary rate 123; local pantheon of saints 155; massacres of 135; official character of state 106; population, overall proportion of 104; profession of faith 146; reformist movements 136; rulers in India, courts of 28; saints in other parts of world 129; territory, creation of new 157; upper classes of Awrangābād 43; Waqf Board 137
Mustʿād Khān 13
Muzaffar Jang 48, 49
Nafṣabāt al-uns 29, 41, 75; see also Jāmī
Najīb Qādīrī Nagawrī Ajmērī 74
Naqshbandī, Khwāja 24
Naqshbandī’s: centre at Panchakkī 53; and Chishtī Sufis and Mughals, connections between 31; in Herat and Central Asia 39; khanqāh in Balapur 70; masters of Rai Bareli 14; meditation (khāṭm) 16; meditational chants (dhikr) 6; Naqshbandīyya 5, saints of 28; practices, Central Asian character 18; saints 23; saints of Bukhara 39; Shāh Palangpōsh and Shāh Musāfir 5; shaykhs 7; Sufis 11–19; Sufism in Deccan, spread of 11; Sufism, vocabulary and practices of 18; tradition of loud chanting (dhikr-e-ḥīl-jahr) 146
Naqshbandī-ṣhāhīdī Ṣufīs 145
Naqūṣī 126, 129; on Nizām al-dīn 130; Urdū Barakzāt al-awliyāʾ 125
Nāṣīr al-Dawla ʿĀṣaf Jāh IV 84
Nāṣīr al-dīn Chitrāgh-e-Dīhī 98
Nāṣīr al-dīn Hāshimī 173 n.189
Nāṣīr al-dīn Mahmūd 172 n.157
Nāṣīr al-dīn Nehrī 86
Nāṣīr Jang 23, 48, 71, 133, 149; death of 49
Nawāba Baṭīrī 166 n.33
Nawkhandā palace 17, 108
Nawwāb Mīr Ghulām Bābā Khān 121
Nehru’s new national army in 1367/1948 135
Niʿmat Allāḥi brotherhood 5, 38, 74
Nizām al-aqāʾīd 64
Nizām ‘Aṭī Khān ʿĀṣaf Jāh 49, 54, 57, 60, 72, 82, 153, 171 n.140; treaty with the East India Company 84
Nizām al-dīn Awrangābādī 7, 19, 22, 23, 36, 37, 38, 46, 92–6, 98, 146, 147, 150, 166 n.20; architectural legacy of 54; biographer Kāṁgār Khān 22, 59; Chishtī heritage 37; connections with Delhi-centred tradition 97; in Delhi 30, 50; discourses on subject of mabhīla-e-samāḥ 22; dual heritage mabhīla-e-samāḥ 23; fame and spiritual power of 102; filial connections with Delhi 124; heirs 92; khalīfās 23; khanqāh 20–1; and lingering image of Nizāms 153–5; local preeminence 63; mabhīla-e-samāḥ 24; musical sessions 40; as patron saint of Nizāms 148; origins in Awadh 30;
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, William</td>
<td>84, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchakkī</td>
<td>24, 36, 149–51, 162; building of 156; eighteenth-century 62; eponymous watermill 62; government claims to 142; income or ‘gifts’ (nadhrāna) to 61; landholdings, scale of 121; library 91, 144; saints of 58–62, 89, 119–21, 141–6; sajjāda nasbīn of of 92, 119; shaykhs 26; spiritual legacy of saints 146; wealth of 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan-Islamism</td>
<td>122; ideology 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan rulers of Kurnul</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian: in Absān al-shamā’il 26; historians of Deccan 83; historiographical tradition in India 27; immigrants 6; learning 122; literature 27, 123; Sufi works 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickthall, Marmaduke, translation of the Quran 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage guide to shrines of Aurangabad region 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Survey of the Deccan 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage guide to shrines of Aurangabad region 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage guide to shrines of Aurangabad region 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qadī al-zand 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qādir Khān Munshi Bīdārī 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qalandar 14, 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qamar al-dīn 70, 71, 72, 167 n.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qānūn-e-Islam 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qāṣīda Burda Shārīf 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaysar Mīyān 113, 153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qāzī Mahmūd Bahārī 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qāzī Muhammad Masʿūd 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qāzī Tāqī Naqshbandī 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiļič Khān see Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qīrāt-e-sharīf of Kishan Parshād 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rābihā Dawrānī, Awrangzeb’s wife 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhri 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Musāwir Jang 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rastbāt-e-‘ayn al-hayāt of Kāshīfī 172 n.158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawnaq ‘Āli, Rawzat al-‘aṭībā 132, 133, 149, 183 nn.89–93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawzat al-Auíyā of Āzād Bilgrāmī 37, 75, 76, 178 n.107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawza-ye-bārir of Kishan Parshād 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond, Michel 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasākārs or ‘volunteers’ 135, 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious nationalism among Hindus 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident in Haydarabad 103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolt of 1273/1857 see Great Revolt Revolt in 1268/1852 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oral hagiography and historical memory 155–7
Oriental Biographical Dictionary 94, 128
Ouseley, William, Sir 165 n.5

Pathan rulers of Kurnul 48

Persian: in Absān al-shamā’il 26; historians of Deccan 83; historiographical tradition in India 27; immigrants 6; learning 122; literature 27, 123; Sufi works 68
Pickthall, Marmaduke, translation of the Quran 122
Pilgrimage guide to shrines of Aurangabad region 56
Political Survey of the Deccan 83
politics and patronage of praise 74–7
Poona 48
Prophetic Being (swj–e-nb) 69
Punjabis 136

Qādir Khān Munshi Bīdārī 73
Qalandar 14, 162
Qāmir al-dīn 70, 71, 72, 167 n.56
Qānūn-e-Islam 87
Qāṣīda Burda Shārīf 151
Qaysar Mīyān 113, 153
Qāzī Mahmūd Bahārī 33
Qāzī Muhammad Masʿūd 8
Qāzī Tāqī Naqshbandī 144
Qiļič Khān see Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb
Qīrāt-e-sharīf of Kishan Parshād 132
Rābihā Dawrānī, Awrangzeb’s wife 90
Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhri 64
Rājā Musāwir Jang 120
Rastbāt-e-‘ayn al-hayāt of Kāshīfī 172 n.158
Rawnaq ‘Āli, Rawzat al-‘aṭībā 132, 133, 149, 183 nn.89–93
Rawzat al-Auíyā of Āzād Bilgrāmī 37, 75, 76, 178 n.107
Rawza-ye-bārir of Kishan Parshād 132
Raymond, Michel 83
rasākārs or ‘volunteers’ 135, 162
religious nationalism among Hindus 135
Resident in Haydarabad 103
Revolt of 1273/1857 see Great Revolt Revolt in 1268/1852 95
INDEX

Riāla-e-wālidiyya 11
Riāla-e-aynāk-e-Bāqīmīn 69
Riāla-e-Salār Jang (Muraqqā'-e-Dilḥī) 34, 65
Rohila Afghans 104

Sabzawārī, Khāksār 37, 54, 56, 60, 74, 77, 78, 139, 143, 164 n.1, 166 n.26, 169 n.125; account of Nizām al-dīn 63; accounts of Chishti saints of Khuldabād 81; account of Shāh Nūr 81
Sa’d Allāh 55, 89, 91
Sādiq Isfahānī 1, 165 n.5
Sān Bābah of Shirdī 117
saintly geographies 35–9
saint/s: of Awrangabād, texts praising 72; in Indian nation 136–48; and kings in Urdu hagiographies 129; of Naqshbandiyya 25; new form of patronage of 138; of Panchakkārī 58–62, 89, 119–21, 141–6
sajjāda nasīhīn 52, 53, 89, 119, 162; lineages 51, 54; role as professional mystics 59
Salābat Jang 48, 49, 69, 72
Sālār Jang 84, 134; family 57; reforms of 105
Safīm Chishti in Fatehpur Sikri 73
Samarqand 32
Sambhājī, capture of 13
Sāqī Must‘ad Khān 13, 27, 30, 166 n.32, 168 n.72–3, 174 n.205
Sawānīb of Sabzawārī 37, 54, 78, 81, 166 n.36, 165 n.37, 170 n.125, 174 n.11, 175 n.26, 28, 31, 176 nn.40–4, 43, 55–7, 60–1, 177 n.63, 178 nn.1, 121–3, 180 n.1, 183 n.1, 184 n.16
Sayf al-dīn 112, 138
Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abū ‘Alā Hāmadānī 9, 79
Sayyid ‘Abd al-Qādir Mihrbānī 61
Sayyid Abū’l Hasan ‘Àli Nadvī 183 n.68
Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Sir 93, 101, 132, 170 n.118; and Aligar Movement 122; Ābtār al-sanā‘īdī 125
Sayyid ‘Ali Sulṭān 12
Sayyid Husain 147, 154, 171 n.144, 184 n.29, 185 nn.45–6, 48–9
Sayyid Imām al-dīn Naqī Hānafī
Gulshanabādī 183 nn.67, 69, 79–81
Sayyid Mīr ‘Alawī 144
Sayyid Sharaf al-dīn Khān 66
Sayyid Shihāb al-dīn Qibla 167 n.43
Sayyid Wāsīl 139
Seely, J.B. 85, 90, 179 nn.9, 14, 21, 23; on Panchakkārī 90, 91
sepoys’ revolt see Great Revolt
Shafi’, M. 173 n.180
Shaftiq Awrangbādī see Lakshmī Narā’īn
Shāh ‘Abd al-Azīz 64
Shāhān-e-bē-tāj 149
Shāh ‘Alam 3, 64
Shāh ‘Alī Nehrī 66, 118
Shāh Dawla 96
Shāh Gānji Markār 20
Shāh Gulhām ‘Alī Chishti 77
Shāh Gulhām Husayn 67, 71; Naqshbandī lineage of 54
Shāh Hāfīz Allāh 91
Shāh Hamīd Allāh 119
Shāhid Mullā Bāqīr 32, 61
Shāh Imām al-dīn 118
Shāh Ismā’īl 31, 77
Shah Jahan 1; Friday Mosque in Delhi 171 n.145; reaffirming status of Khuldabād shrines 57
Shāh Khākī 34
Shāh Mahmūd Awrangbādī 17, 25, 27, 32, 35, 36, 38, 43, 54, 58, 59, 66, 165 n.15; author of Malīfīzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya 24; hagiography of Shāh Musāfīr and Shāh Pālangpōsh 19; see also Malīfīzāt-e-Naqshbandiyya
Shāh Munib Allāh 70
Shāh Musāfīr 6, 7, 11–19, 23, 24, 39, 46, 58, 121, 156; barakat of 59; education of 41; first sajjāda nasīhīn Shāh Mahmūd 141; mausoleum 60; pilgrimages 37; popularity of 144; relics of 143; as reliever of illness and misery 15; reputation 143; shrine of Panchakkārī 126; see also Shāh Pālangpōsh
Shāh Nawāz Khān 7, 57, 66, 74, 124, 166 n.21
Shāh Nūr 7–11, 19, 37, 55–8, 136–41; change and renewal in life of 151; cult of 115; emergence into saintly tadbīkārī tradition 78; as ‘banāmām saint’ 56; identity, notions of 139; kin-name (nīha) 9; life by Bahā’ī al-dīn Hasan ‘Urūj 7; literary silence in tadbīkārī tradition of 127; miracles 80; primary source of prestige 79; saint 115–18; shrine 54,
INDEX

88, 136, 156; tradition of friendship between Sufi and Sadhu, 140; twentieth century 139
Shāh Palangpūsh 7, 11–19, 23, 27, 39, 58, 73; education of 41; grave of 53; name as ‘the wearer of leopard-skin’ 13, 14; pilgrimages 37; and Shāh Musāfīr, cult of 120; and Shāh Musāfīr, embeddedness in social affairs of clientele 16; Shāh Musāfīr’s principal spiritual director (murshid) 12; see also Shāh Musāfīr, Shāh Qutb al-dīn Qutb Hamawī 9
Shāh Sharīf al-dīn Qādirī 20, 63
Shāh Shidā 34
Shāh Sulaymān Tawsawī 94
Shāh Tajallī ‘Alī 82
Shāh Wālī Allāh 64, 87
Shāh Yūsf al-dīn Qādirī 20
Shabat al-anwar 64
Shakar Khera, battle at 131
Shams al-dīn Chishtī 115, 116, 152; death 137; family connections in Haydarabad 116; reputation 117; working in service of Shāh Nūr 116
Shams al-dīn Rafīʿ al-Darajāt 91
Shattārī 5
Shawq 57
Shihāb al-dīn Suhrāwardī 55, 70, 102, 128, 129
Shih Kālim Allāh 30
Shī‘ism/Shī‘ite: clerics rise of 53; decline of official 27; in Persia 29
Shir ‘Alī Afṣūs 3
Shivāji and his antagonism towards Awrangzēb 155
Shrine/s: of ‘Abd al-Khaliq 167 n.53; of Bābā Qul Farid 167 n.53; of Gēsū Darāz 135; income provided by land grants 51; of Khuldabad 21; of local importance in India and Pakistan 148; of Multānī Badshāh 49; in Multan and Uchch in Pakistan 157; and pilgrimage in texts 35–9; of Qādir Awliyāy 99; of Shāh Khūkār 78; of Shāh Nūr 55, 72, 104, 153; Sirāj al-dīn Husaynī 67; of Sirāj Junaydī 51; as store-houses of historical memory 87
Sikandar ‘Alī Shāh 33
Sikandar Jāh 8
Sikandar Khān 33
Sirāj Awrangzābādī 21, 65, 67, 169 n.132; biography 21
Sirhindī, Ahmad 11, 69, 70, 89, 91; banning of letters in Mughal domains 18; collected letters (makthīhāt) 18; doctrines, disavowal of 19; opponents 18
Society for the Promotion of Urdu (Anjoman-e-taraqqī-ye-urdu) 123
Subbat al-maṣāq 46, 177 n.83
Sufis: of Awrangzābād 1, 51; of Delhi 98; of Khurasan 68; of late Mughal Awrangzābād 6, 158, 160; of the north, spiritual conquests of 32
Sufism: in age of empire 4–7; biographical writing 100; and their books 39; and changing cultural landscape of the Deccan 49–53; circles of Delhi 95, 111; in Delhi 34; dichotomy of ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ 159; formulation on knowledge 40; foundations for new royal city 46–64; groups in Mughal Awrangzābād 31; hagiographical tradition 38; hagiographies of Awrangzābād’s saints 159; holy men migrant from other regions of Islamic world 50; ideal of personal poverty (fauq) 16; initiations, multiple 6; initiate (murīd) 5; Khwānd Shāh Mu‘īn al-dīn 42; lineage (silṣīla) 5; meditation (dhikr, murāgaba) 59; migrants in Awrangzābād 31; milieux, textual authority 40; ‘orders’ (tāruq) 5, 27; posthumous cults 160; reading circles in two Awrangzābād mālfūzāt 74; relationship with life in the world 158; rusūl of theory 41; saints of Khuldabad 131; in shadow of a new empire 82; in social role 14; structures of hierarchy 40; tawawwuf 5; teaching, function of written material in premodern 39; teaching institutions across North India 95; texts in Urdu, composition of 124; tradition at work in Awrangzābād 19; traditions of Haydarabad Deccan 117; travellers 65; works 91; writers of eighteenth century 68–74
Sydenham, G. 85, 179 n.10; report on shrine of Gēsū Darāz 85
Tabaqat al-ṣāliḥya of Sulamī 74
Tablīghī Jamā‘at, Sufi-inspired missionary organization 126
Tabdżīr-ye-Riyāz Husaynī 167 nn.48, 50, 170 n.130, 177 n.67

209
underground irrigation channels (nehr) of Awrangabad 142
Unification of Being (wabdat al-wujūd), doctrine of the 68
Unity of Witnessing (wabdat al-shabūd) 69, 70
Urdu 34; hagiography in changing environment 124–8; in Delhi and Lucknow, historic centres of 122;

literary history 65; literature, foundation of 65; loss of influence to Marathi 136;
rise in status of rākha 65; tadbirāt 124, 125; transformation into sacred language of Muslims of South Asia 149
Urdu-e-mu‘alla or ‘Red Fort’ 109
‘Urs (pl. ‘arās) 15, 21, 28, 37, 46, 56, 60, 81, 138, 139, 145, 148, 163, 174 n.1
‘Urūj 9, 55, 56, 74, 75, 77, 153, 165 n.22; Babār u Khizān 78; emphasis on Shāh Nūr, arrival in Awrangabad 79;
hagiography 80; tadbirkāt of Shāh Nūr 79
Urūj-e-naghmat-e-‘Ajāfī of Ghulām Razā Khān 82
‘Uthmān ‘Alī Khān, Nizam 108, 113
Valmiki 139
Wahābī Muslim propagandists in the state 105
Wahīda Naṣīm 149, 185 n.30
Wā‘iz Kāshīfī 29
Wali Awrangābādī 4, 33, 65
warrior dervishes 12
Willmott, C. 165 n.8, 169 n.104, 180 nn.3–5
Yā Fatāb 121
Yahyā Madānī 19, 170 n.119
Yoga (bāyṭhak-e-jīg), benefits of postures of 22
Zahūr Khān Zahūr 166 n.22, 182 nn.40–1
Zakā Allāh 181 n.19
Zayn al-dīn Shīrāzī 28; shrine of 22
Zindaqī ū Ḥālāt-e-Nizām al-dīn Awliyā Awrangābādī 153, 154
A library at your fingertips!

eBooks are electronic versions of printed books. You can store them on your PC/laptop or browse them online.

They have advantages for anyone needing rapid access to a wide variety of published, copyright information.

eBooks can help your research by enabling you to bookmark chapters, annotate text and use instant searches to find specific words or phrases. Several eBook files would fit on even a small laptop or PDA.

NEW: Save money by eSubscribing: cheap, online access to any eBook for as long as you need it.

Annual subscription packages

We now offer special low-cost bulk subscriptions to packages of eBooks in certain subject areas. These are available to libraries or to individuals.

For more information please contact
webmaster.ebooks@tandf.co.uk

We’re continually developing the eBook concept, so keep up to date by visiting the website.

www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk