CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSION

Although the Deccan was in commercial contact with Persia and Arabia from ancient times, it first became a part of the Islamic world in 1296, when the Delhi sultan Alauddin Khilji invaded the Hindu kingdom of the Yadavas, with its capital at Deogiri (now Daulatabad), and made it a vassal state. The succeeding Khalji and Tughluq sultans undertook further expeditions against the Hindu kingdom of the Hoysalas (at Dwarasamudra), the Kakatiyas (at Warangal), and the Pandyans (at Madura). Although at first these expeditions were essentially raids that left the Hindu dynasties intact, gradually a series of local revolts and re-conquests from Delhi led to the incorporation of these realms into the empire.

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq made Deogiri the secondary capital of his realm in 1328, transferring most of the Muslim population of Delhi there the following year; he briefly controlled the entire Deccan, as well as the Tamil and Malabar country in the extreme south. In 1336 a former Hoysala officer who had served the Tughluqs rebelled and founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the far south.
Meanwhile the centurions (Amiran-e saada) in the Deccan also revolted against the Tughluqs in 1345, and in 1347 Alauddin Hasan took the title Bahman shah. The Bahmani dynasty, recognized by the Abbasid pretender in Cairo, ruled the Deccan (first from Gulbarga, then from Bidar,) as an independent kingdom until the early 16th century, when increasingly restive governors effectively divided the realm into five minor kingdoms, ruled respectively by the Nizam Shahi’s in Ahmednagar, the Adil Shahi’s in Bijapur, the Imad Shahi’s in Berar, the Barid Shahi’s in Bidar, and the Qutub Shahi’s in Golconda. To these may be added the minor state of Khandesh, with its capital at Burhanpur in the northern Deccan, ruled by the Faruqis from the late 14th century. Struggles among these small Deccani sultanates led to the conquest of Vijayanagar by a confederation of the princes of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda in 1565; the absorption of Berar by Ahmednagar in 1574; and the conquest of Bidar by Bijapur in 1619.

The Mughals represented a more serious threat, however. Akbar enrolled the Faruqis as tributaries and after 1590 as military allies against Ahmednagar. In their quest for allies the rulers of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda, who had adopted Twelve Shiaism at various times, consistently cultivated relations with the Safavids of Persia, sometimes addressing them in the
manner of vassals to an overlord. Akbar conquered Khandesh in 1601, and Jahangir took Ahmednagar in 1633. Aurangzeb spent the last years of his reign campaigning against the two surviving sultanates, defeating Bijapur in 1686 and Golconda the following year. The Mughals had already begun to lose their hold on the Deccan, however, owing to resistance from the Marathas, who had founded their own kingdom under Shivaji in 1674. Although the Marathas founded an explicitly Hindu state and assumed rights of taxation, they acknowledged theoretical Mughal supremacy and, from their capital in the western hills, functioned as an efficient war machine throughout the Deccan and northern India until they came under British domination in the early 19th century. In 1724 the Mughal viceroy in the Deccan, Nizam-al-Mulk Asaf Jaah, declared himself an independent ruler. The Asaf Jaah dynasty of Nizams ruled (at first from Aurangabad and then from Hyderabad) throughout the period of French and British imperialism up to 1948, when their domain was incorporated into the Indian Union. Presently the region is divided among the Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Maharashtra.

With the transfer of the Muslim population to Deogiri in 1329 the Persian culture that flourished in the Delhi sultanate was transplanted to the Deccan. The leading court poet Amir
Najm-al-Din Hasan Dehlavi was one of those forced to move Tughluqid officials in Deogiri and elsewhere sponsored works in Persian on such subjects as lexicography and Islamic law, and at nearby Rawzua (now Khuldabad) the Sufi circle around the Chishti Shaikh Burhan-al-Din Gharib produced an extensive mystical literature, including recorded oral teachings (*malfuzaat*), hagiographies, and speculative treatises. Legends about Sufis in the Deccan before the Khilji conquest are late hagiographical inventions unsubstantiated by contemporary documents. After the brief period of Tughluq rule the Deccan sultans contributed to a remarkable flourishing of Persian literature. Persian culture always existed in tension with local Indic cultural traditions, however, as it was totally dependent upon court patronage and elite Sufi circles. The different types of Persian literature produced in the Deccan may be categorized as follows.

The sultans of the Deccan were great patrons of Persian poetry, and some were known as poets themselves. Of the many poets who came from Persia and Central Asia to India seeking their fortunes (according to Gulin-e Maani, more than 700 in the Safavid period alone;), a large portion came to the Deccan courts, Muhammad -Qasim Fenishtah reported that the Bahmani Muhammad Shah even tried unsuccessfully to lure Hafez from
Shiraz, but the reliability of this story has been questioned. His successor Ahmed Shah Wali made Gulbarga a center of Persian culture. After the establishment of the minor Deccan sultanates Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah and his descendants eagerly welcomed talented Persian poets at Golconda. At Bijapur Ibrahim Adil Shah employed Zuhuri, who wrote his She not as an introduction in rhyming prose to his patron’s Dakhani Urdu treatise on poetry and music, Kitab-e-Nauras. Many critics regard Zuhuri as a chief exponent of the luxuriant “Indian style” (sabk-e Hindi). Even the Mughal court poet Abu’l-Faiz Faizi was impressed with his “extremely flowery” style.

Stylistically the Persian poetry produced in the Deccan did not differ notably from that produced in northern India or Persia; many poets circulated among all three areas. For example, Muhammad Amin, who produced at Golconda an admired epic quintet (khamsa) in imitation of Nizami’s works, went on to Bijapur and then back to Persia before finally obtaining a satisfactory position from the Mughals. Burhanpur also became an important center of literary patronage under the Mughal viceroy Abdul-Rahim Khan-e Khanan, who surrounded himself with a large circle of Persian poets, mentioned in Abdul-Baqi Nehavandi’s Maasir-i-Rahimi, which is dedicated to him. They included Naw i Khabiyani, author of Suz o godaz, a masnawi on
the Indian theme of a widow (sati) who immolates herself on her husband’s funeral pyre. In the late 18th century, while Delhi court taste was turning toward Urdu poetry, Persian anthologies continued to appear in the Deccan; the prolific Gulam-Ali Azad Bilgrami composed three (Yad-e bayzua, Sarv-e azad, and Khazana-e-amera), his Hindu student Lami Narayan shafiq composed two (Gol-e rana and am-e gariban), and several other scholars compiled their own Tazkiras at Aurangabad. Although in the 19th century Persian literary activity waned in favor of Urdu, Hyderabad continued as a center for Persian studies, and the former court libraries there still have the finest Persian collections in the region.

Historiography in the Deccan was modeled on the epics and chronicles of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, which had formed the basis for the court culture of the Delhi sultanate. The first great historical work produced in the Deccan was Abdul-Malik Isami’s Futuhat- al-salatin, which celebrated the triumph of the Bahmanis over the Tughluqs in epic masnawi’s modeled on those of Ferdowsi’s Ahad-nama. Adhari Tusi wrote Bahman-nama for Ahamad Shah Wali, modeling it on the prose history Tohafat al-salatain by Mulla Dawud Bidari. In fact, the close literary relationship between Persia and the Deccan is particularly exemplified by Adhari’s career; he was initially a
poet at the courts of the Timurid Shah Rukh and Ulug Beg, then
courts of the Timurid Shah Rukhand Ulug Beg, then a disciple of
the Sufi Shah Nemat-Allah Wali before going to India; after he
completed his service with Ahmed Shah Bahmani he returned to
Khurasan. The Sufi Shaikh Ayn-al-Din Bijapuri wrote a
continuation of the 13th-century chronicle *Tabaqat-e naseeri* of
*Menhaj-e Seraj Juzjani*. The latter and the *Tohafat al-salatin* of
Bidari are lost, but they were used as sources by historians of
the Bahmanis successor states, like Ferishtah and Sayyed Ali
Tabataba; some excerpts can also be found in the modern Undu
history of the Deccan by M. A. Malkapuri, whose library of
unique manuscripts of Bahmani texts was unfortunately
destroyed in the Hyderabad flood of 1908. Tabataba’s *Burhan-i-
Maasir*, written in 1596 for Burhan Nizam Shah-II, is a history of
the Bahmanis and Nizam Shahi dynasties. The most famous
Deccan history, however, is Ferishta’s *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi*,
written for Ibrahim Adil Shah between 1606-67 and 1623-24; it
is a general history of Indian dynasties focused on Bijapur, with
an important appendix on Sufi shaikhs. The work attracted the
attention of the British in the late 18th century, and most of it
was translated into English. Important Bijapur chronicles
include the *Tadhkirat-ul-mulk* of Rafiuddin Ibrahim shirazi and
the *Tarikh-e-Adil Shahi* of Nur-Allah. The transition from the
Mughals to the Aasaf Jaahi Nizam’s in the Deccan can best be measured from the voluminous biographical dictionary *Maasir-ul-Umara*, compiled by Samshu-al-Dawla Sahnavaz Khan and completed by Azad Belgrami; almost every important political figure of the 17th and 18th centuries is included. Numerous other significant monographic histories in Persian, most unpublished, were devoted to the reigns of individual sultans of the different Deccan kingdoms. (including the Marathas) down to the end of the 19th century. The able Bahmani minister Imad-al-Din Mahamud Gawan wrote a memorable collection of state letters, *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, which includes correspondence with eminent Sufis and authors like Abdul-Rahaman Jami, Khwaja Aharar, and Saraf-al-Din Yazdi. The Persian Shiaite scholar Shah Taher, adviser to Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, also left a collection of official letters (*Munsha-i-Tahir*) that is of some historical importance. In addition, a treatise on political theory, written in 1576 by Abdul-Latif and entitled *Nafa es al-kalam wa ara es al-aqlam*, was dedicated to Raja Ali Khan Faruqi, the last independent ruler of Khandesh; the unique manuscript is in the Khuda-Bakhsh collection in the Oriental Public Library at Patna.

Sufi literature was initiated under the Bahmanids, when the Chishti Sufis at *Rawzua*, led by Burhanuddin Gharib’s successor, Zayn-al-Din Sirazi, began to compile *malfuzat*. Zayn-
al-Din had no successors in Rawzua, but later Sufis of Burhanpur, like Baha-al-Din Bajan, claimed to have inherited the authority of Burhanuddin. In the meantime leadership of the Chishti passed to Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz, who had left Delhi for Gulbarga in 1398 and become attached to the Bahmani court. A prolific author, he was a major force in transmitting the heritage of Persian Sufism in the Deccan. He wrote many mystical treatises in Persian, including \textit{Hazaer al-qods}, \textit{Asmar al-asrar} commentaries on classical works on Islamic law, theology, and Sufism; letters; and poetry. His descendants also made literary contributions to Sufism. The writings by members of other Sufi orders (\textit{Silsila}) prominent in the early Bahmani period, particularly the Junaydi’s, are now known only through later references. The Bahmani rulers encouraged the immigration of Sufi masters from Persia and Iraq as part of a policy of favoring foreigners (\textit{afaqi}) over Indians. The Nemat-Allahi order became established at Bidar when its founder, Shah Ne mat-Allah Wali, sent one of his grandsons to act as a guide for the prince who later became Ahmed II Bahmani; the order thrived in the Deccan until its leaders decided to return to Persia in the late 17th century. The Qadri order arrived at Bidar from Baghdad, also in the 15th century, and later spread to Bijapur and Golconda.
At Golconda the Qutub Shahi’s, who continued to favor Shiaism, concentrated their patronage on Dakhani Urdu and Telegu poetry in honor of the imams and on scholarship and poetry in Arabic. There is little evidence of Sufi activity at Ahmednagar, and in Bijapur the Adil Shahi’s seem not to have become patrons of Sufism until the late 16th century, when Sunni Islam replaced Shiaism there under Ibrahim Adil Shah. At that time many Chishti and Qadri Sufis settled in the city, and the Shattari order from northern India also established centers at Bijapur and Burhanpur. An exceptionally strong literary tradition was initiated by Chishti authors like Shamsuddin Miranji, Burhanuddin Janam, and Amin-al-Din Ala, who wrote poetry in Dakhani Urdu addressed to a wide readership. Their Persian works (often translations or commentaries on the Dakhani texts), on the other hand, were aimed at a more specialized Sufi audience.

As the Mughals expanded into the Deccan, so did Sufi orders that were well established in their domain. Disciples of Ahmed Sirhindi, leader of the Mujaddid Naqashbandi’s, settled in Burhanpur, and separate Naqashbandi lineages were established at the convents (Khanquas) of Shah Mosafer Gojdovani at Aurangabad and Shah Inayat Allah at Balapur in Berar. The Shattari master Muhammad Ghouse had flourished
under the Mughals, and his disciples from Gujarat developed a major center in Burhanpur, a city to which many Sufis from Sind were also attracted. The successive leaders of this Shattari lineage were *lashkar* Muhammad Arif, Isa Jond-Allah, and Burhan-al-Din *Raz-e Ilahi*; Isa in particular was a prolific writer on mystical topics (e.g., *Ayn al-maani*) and a commentator on Islamic law and theology. Among other significant works produced by this school were Ibrahim Shattari Jannatabadi’s *Aina-ye haaqaeq noma*, a commentary on Muhammad-sirin Magrebi’s *Jam-e jahan noma* based on the metaphysics of Ibn al-Arabi. At the end of the Mughal period there was also a renaissance of the Chishti order in the Deccan under the leadership of Nizam-al-Din Aurangabadi, who followed the instructions of his teacher in Delhi, Shah Kalim-Allah Jahanabadi. Nizam-al-Din’s relationship with Nizam-al-Mulk Asaaf-jaah was so close that the latter wrote a biography of him. A good survey of Sufism under the later Nizam’s has yet to be written.

As many important Persian Sufi writings from the Deccan remain in manuscript or have not survived, biographical works that include excerpts from them are extremely valuable. Among the most important is the pan-Indian hagiography *Akhbar al-akhiyar* by Abdul-Haq Dehlavi. Also of great value for the
Deccan is Muhammad Ghouse’s *Golzaar-e abrar*, which is devoted especially to the saints of Gujarat and western India. Other significant Persian hagiographies for the Deccan are the anonymous *Fatha al-awlia* on the saints of Rawzua and Burhanpur, composed for Abdul-Rahim Khan-e Khanan; *Rawzuat al-awlia* by Azad Belgrami on the saints of Khuldabad and Aurangabad; *Mishkat-e- nabuwat* by Ali Musawi on saints of the Deccan, including Hyderabad; and *Rawzuat al-awlia*. *Tadhkira-ye awlia–e-Bijapur* by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi. Most of these collections were either produced under royal patronage or include traditions of political origin, so that their accounts must often be measured against the traditions found in *malfuzaat* texts and other Sufi writings. As use of the Persian language declined during the 19th century, the history of Sufism in Hyderabad and the rest of the Deccan must be supplemented with works written in Dakhani Urdu and other local languages for the benefit of devotees.

Various minor Persian works were written on the subjects of music, Islamic law, astronomy, and the like, and some translations from Arabic (generally on religious topics) and Sanskrit (on veterinary science and music) were produced. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these works is the well-known Persian dictionary *Burhan-e gate*, composed by Muhammad-
Hussain Burhan Tabrizi for Abdullah Qutub shah in 1652. It was the target of caustic criticism by the 19th-century poet Mirza Asad-Allah Galib in his *Qate-e Burhan*. 
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