#### The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates

In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, courtliness was crucial to the political and cultural life of the Deccan. Divided between six states competing for territory, resources and skills, the medieval and early modern Deccan was a region of striking ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. People used multifaceted transregional networks - mercantile, kinship, friendship and intellectual - to move across the Persianspeaking world and to find employment at the Deccan courts. This movement, Emma J. Flatt argues, was facilitated by the existence of a shared courtly disposition. Engagement in courtly skills such as letter writing, perfume making, astrological divination, performing magic, swordfighting and wrestling thus became a route to both worldly success and ethical refinement. Using a diverse range of treatises, chronicles, poetry and letters, Flatt unpicks the ways this challenged networks of acceptable behaviour and knowledge in the Indo-Islamicate courtly world - and challenges the idea of perpetual hostility between Islam and Hinduism in Indian history.

**Emma J. Flatt** is Associate Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates Emma J. Flatt Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

# The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates

Living Well in the Persian Cosmopolis

### Emma J. Flatt

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill



Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates Emma J. Flatt Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### **CAMBRIDGE** UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108481939 DOI: 10.1017/9781108680530

© Emma J. Flatt 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Flatt, Emma J., author.

Title: The courts of the Deccan sultanates : living well in the Persian cosmopolis / Emma J. Flatt.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019008715 | ISBN 9781108481939 (hardback : alk. paper) Subjects: LCSH: Deccan (India) – Court and courtiers – History. | Sultans – India – Deccan – History. | Cosmopolitanism – India – Deccan – History. | Ethics – India – Deccan – History. | Social networks – India – Deccan – History. | Deccan (India) – Social life and customs. | India – Civilization – Iranian influences. | Iran – Relations – India – Deccan. | Deccan (India) – Relations – Iran. | India – History – 1000–1765. Classification: LCC DS485.D242 F55 2019 | DDC 954/.80245–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019008715

ISBN 978-1-108-48193-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates Emma J. Flatt Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

To

Samir, Aiden and Iqbal, Compagni dei giorni miei, Sostanze dei sogni miei.

### Contents

	List of Figures	page x
	Acknowledgements	xii
	Note on Transliteration	xv
	Chronology of the Deccan Sultanate Rulers	xvi
	List of Abbreviations	xviii
	Introduction: Cosmopolitanism, Courtliness and Ethics	
	in the Deccani Sultanates	1
	Historical Background	3
	The Court, Courtiers and Courtly Societies	10
	Ethics	15
	'The Persianate' and the 'Persian Cosmopolis'	17
	Structure of the Book	24
Part I	Courtly Society	29
1	Courtly Disposition	31
	A 'Cosmopolitan' Education	33
	An Ethical Education	39
	A Courtly Disposition	43
	Knowledge and Action	51
	Courtly Bodies	52
	Bodies and Objects	60
	Conclusion	72
2	Networks, Patrons and Friends	74
	Travel and Knowledge	75
	Immigration to the Bahmani Sultanate	79
	Nimdihi's Network	83
	Immigration to the Successor Sultanates	88
	The Poet as Peripatetic Courtier	91
	Patronage, Family and Friendship	100
	Promoting New Courtiers: Mahmud Gavan	103
	Friendship and Sociability	105
	The Majlis: Performative Sociability	109

vii

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates
Emma J. Flatt
Frontmatter
More Information

viii	Contents	
	Sociable Stimulants and Bodily Anxieties Conclusion	114 119
3	Courts, Merchants and Commodities Trade in Sultanate Deccan Elite Involvement in Trade Horse Trader, Kingmaker and Governor: Khalaf Hasan Basri 'Prince of Merchants', Vizier and Scholar: Mahmud Gavan Bijapuri Kingmaker, Portuguese Banker: Asad Khan Lari Courtly Traders Conspicuous Courtly Consumption Trade, Titles and Courtly Rhetoric 'Mercantilisation' and 'Courtisation' Exchange and Ethics Conclusion	120 120 127 130 133 139 145 148 150 160 162 164
Part II	Courtly Skills	165
4	Scribal Skills Letter Writing as a Courtly Skill Epistolographic Networks The Development of <i>Insha</i> Defining <i>Insha</i> in the Bahmani Sultanate: The <i>Manāzīr al-Inshā</i> <sup>*</sup> The Transformative Powers of Speech <i>Insha</i> and the Science of Letters Transforming the Social World Language Choices in the Persian Cosmopolis The 'True <i>Munshi</i> ' Bodily Transformations Conclusion	167 169 171 173 175 178 180 183 188 197 204 209
5	Esoteric Skills Defining the Esoteric Sciences Powerful and Effective Forces 'Necessary Medicine for their Lives' Triangular Gardens Planetary Associations Reading <i>Chakram</i> : Practical Courtly Tools Enchantment, Submission and Control: Invocations and Talismans The Esoteric Sciences as Ethical Training Esoteric Bodily Practices Olfactory Transformations Esoteric Sciences in Bijapur Commensurable Cosmologies A Deccani Courtly Culture Vernacularisation, Cosmopolitanism and the Cosmos Conclusion	210 212 215 217 220 222 224 229 233 235 242 245 250 259 264 266

Contents		ix
6 Martial Skills		268
The Ambiguity of Youth		269
Javanmardi and Futuvat		271
An Ethical Ideal		273
Javanmardi in the Deccan		276
Consolidating Martial Knowledg	e	281
Wrestling and Javanmardi		289
A Courtly Wrestler: Yusuf Adil S	bhah	292
Critiquing the Ethical Ideal		298
Conclusion		302
Concluding Remarks		303
Select Bibliography of Prima	ry Sources	308
Index		311

## Figures

I.1	Map of the Deccan in the Fifteenth Century,	
	© Gabriel Moss.	page 5
I.2	Map of the Deccan before 1565, © Gabriel Moss.	8
1.1	Brass peacock incense burner, © The Trustees of the British	
	Museum.	66
1.2	'The Lion Throne Chakram', Nujūm al- 'Ulūm,	
	© The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL	
	In. 02, f. 191r.	67
1.3a	'Royal Elephant Procession', © Ashmolean Museum,	
	University of Oxford.	68
1.3b	'Royal Elephant Procession' (detail), © Ashmolean Museum	,
	University of Oxford.	69
1.4	Peacocks on the Mehtar Mahal, © Dipti Khera.	70
1.5	'The Peacock as Note Sa', © The British Library Board,	
	Javāhir al-Mūsīqāt-i Muḥammadī, OR. 12857, f. 39r.	71
2.1	Map of the Persian Cosmopolis c. 1400–1600, © Gabriel	
	Moss.	76
2.2	'The Domestic Use of Perfume', © The British Library	
	Board, 'Niʿmat nāmah', I.O. Islamic 149, f. 121v.	115
3.1	'The Bazaar', © The British Library Board, 'Saqi nāmah',	
	MS no. Or. 338 f. 79.	159
5.1	'The Palanquin Chakram', Nujūm al- 'Ulūm, © The Trustees	;
	of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 176v.	227
5.2	'Conjuring the Moon', Nujūm al-'Ulūm, © The Trustees of	
	the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 114v.	231
5.3	'Conjuring the Angels', Nujūm al- 'Ulūm, © The Trustees of	
	the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 116r.	232
5.4	'Talisman for Bringing the Rain', Nujūm al-'Ulūm,	
	© The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL	
	In. 02, f. 99v.	239
5.5	'The Degrees of Pisces', Nujūm al-'Ulūm, © The Trustees of	2
	the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 40v.	241

List of Figures	xi
5.6 'Making Perfume', from the Ni mat nāmah, © The British	
Library Board Ni mat nāmah, I.O. Islamic 149, f. 124v.	246
5.7 'Venus', Nujūm al- 'Ulūm, © The Trustees of the Chester	
Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 43r.	262
6.1 Map of Bidar, © Gabriel Moss.	278
6.2 'The Khardu', Nujūm al- 'Ulūm, © The Trustees of the	
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL In. 02, f. 341v.	288

#### Acknowledgements

This book emerged out of my doctoral work at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, a place whose stimulating intellectual vibrancy I took for granted at the time and have missed ever since. I owe an enormous intellectual debt first and foremost to Daud Ali, thesis supervisor and dear friend. For his boundless generosity, both as an academic and as a friend, and for his stimulating engagement with my work, an engagement that has lasted long after the thesis was complete. For his constant ability to see the wider implications of my inarticulate arguments and for the always thought-provoking discussions on every subject, I remain grateful – for his culinary abilities, even more so. Heartfelt thanks are also due to Avril Powell for her unshakeable faith in my abilities, her warm concern and for the solid intellectual foundation her teaching imparted.

For teaching me Persian and acquiring copies of rare manuscripts from Iran, for the delicious cups of daily tea and the lavish (if undeserved) praise, and for his unshakeable faith in my ability to read even the most obscure passages of Indo-Persian, I will never cease to be grateful to my dearest teacher Dr Yunus Jaffery of Delhi College. Without Dr Jaffery, who dedicated so much of his time and energy, through the worst of a foggy Delhi winter and the blistering heat of a Delhi summer, to me and my arcane manuscripts, with only the occasional raised eyebrow, this book would not exist. The joy of finally finishing this book is tempered by the sadness that he died before it was finished.

Other teachers and mentors have emerged from unexpected angles: I have been overwhelmed by the friendship and generosity of Deborah Hutton, Dick Eaton and Phil Wagoner who welcomed me as an equal even whilst I was still a doctoral student, read and commented on my work, shared their own works in progress and thoughtfully answered emails filled with Deccan-related questions. Their encouragement, interest and faith in my work has been a constant source of reassurance through periodic moments of self-doubt, and the high quality of their own work, a source of inspiration.

xii

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates Emma J. Flatt Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### Acknowledgements

Many friends and colleagues have provided encouragement, advice and support in bringing this book to completion. Iqbal Sevea, Urmila Patil and Samira Sheikh have generously read and commented on various versions of these chapters. I, and this book, have also benefitted immensely from discussions with many people, including Abhishek Amar, Catherine Asher, Guy Attewell, Evrim Binbas, Chris Chekuri, Carl Ernst, Finbarr Flood, Rich Freeman, Sandy Freitag, David Gilmartin, Stewart Gordon, Najaf Haider, Charlie Hallissey, Juliane Hammer, Ron Inden, Katherine Kasdorf, Dipti Khera, Mana Kia, Avinash Kumar, Sunil Kumar, James McHugh, Rosalind O'Hanlon, Francesca Orsini, Eva Orthmann, Sebastian Prange, Helmut Puff, Bhavani Raman, Sumathi Ramaswamy, Ajay Rao, Yael Rice, Francis Robinson, Kazuyo Sakaki, Nilanjan Sarkar, Katherine Butler Schofield, Martha Selby, Sunil Sharma, Kavita Singh, Fabrizio Speziale and Pushkar Sohoni. Many more people have commented on earlier versions of these ideas at various conferences and workshops, and I remain equally indebted to them. It goes without saying that all mistakes are my responsibility alone.

I have been immensely grateful for the luxury of two research fellowships, without which this book would have taken even longer to write than it already has. Thanks are due to the staff, particularly the wonderfully efficient James Lees, at the Institute of Historical Research in London, where I held a postdoctoral fellowship from 2008 to 2009. My year at the Institute for Historical Studies at the University of Texas at Austin in 2014–15 allowed me the mental space to entirely reframe my project and I thank Seth Garfield for inviting me, and Courtney Meador for making my stay so pleasant and productive. Conversations I had at the IHS with Indrani Chatterjee, Sumit Guha, Mark Metzler and Cynthia Talbot, and with the other fellows: Mitch Aso, Mary Gayne and Kristin Wintersteen, clarified my ideas and improved my work immeasurably.

Thanks are also due to the staff at the British Library, the SOAS library, the Wellcome Library (particularly to Nicolaj Serikoff for his interest and encouragement), the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (especially the kind doorman who gave me his spare copy of the unaffordably expensive manuscript catalogue), the Asafiya Library in Hyderabad and the libraries of University of Texas, Austin and University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill for their help in finding obscure manuscripts, articles and out-of-print editions.

The encouragement of my colleagues in the history department at the University of North Carolina has been a crucial oasis of moral and intellectual sustenance, particularly amidst the madness of this current age of unreason. My wonderful writing group must take full credit for this book ever seeing the light of day. The friendship and advice of Flora

#### xiv Acknowledgements

Cassen, Michelle King, Karen Auerbach, Sarah Shields, Kathryn Burns and Melissa Bullard has been a lifeline as I struggled to navigate the challenges of finishing this book whilst juggling the demands of teaching, research, departmental responsibilities and the mundane complexities of motherhood.

My biggest thanks are due to my family: to my parents for their constant love and faith in me, and for always remembering to ask how the book was going; to Iqbal for his unconditional emotional and intellectual support, and for all the proof-reading, and to Samir and Aiden who will be only too happy to know that I finally have time to play. Women on the tenure track are often warned against having children – it'll slow down your book, they tell you. And, in my case they were right: it did. But the intensely corporeal experience of pregnancy and childbirth also contributed to this book in an unexpectedly intellectual way: it forced me to take seriously the role that the body can play in the understanding of the self and, as a result, to reconceptualise the understanding of ethics as a bodily activity. So, it is to Samir and Aiden – sources of surprising intellectual inspiration and of unexpected daily joy – and to Iqbal, that I dedicate this book.

### Note on Transliteration

In this book I follow the transliteration system used by the Library of Congress. Diacritical marks have not been used for names and titles of persons, placenames or technical terms, and only appear in titles of literary works and short phrases and passages quoted from the original language. Technical terms are marked in italics and are explained on first occurrence.

## Chronology of the Deccan Sultanate Rulers<sup>1</sup>

Bahmani Sultans	Reigned
Ala al-Din Hasan Bahmani	1347–58
Muhammad	1358-75
Ala al-Din Mujahid	1375-8
Daud	1378
Muhammad II	1378–97
Ghiyas al-Din Tahmatan	1397
Shams al-Din Daud II	1397
Taj al-Din Firuz	1397-1422
Shihab al-Din Ahmad	1422-36
Ala al-Din Ahmad II	1436–58
Ala al-Din Humayun	1458-61
Nizam al-Din Ahmad III	1461–3
Shams al-Din Muhammad III	1463-82
Shihab al-Din Mahmud	1482-1518
Ahmad IV	1518-20
Ala al-Din	1520-3
Wali Allah	1523–6
Kalim Allah	1526–38
Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur	Reigned
Yusuf Adil	1489-1510
Ismail	1510-34
Ibrahim	1535–58
Ali	1558-80
Ibrahim II	1580-1627
Muhammad	1627-56
Ali II	1656-72
Sikandar	1672-86
Nizam Shahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar	Reigned
Ahmad Nizam	1496-1510
Burhan	1510-53

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan*, 1295–1724, 2 volumes, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1974.

xvi

Chronology of the Deccan Sultanate Rulers		
Nizam Shahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar	Reigned	
Husain	1553-65	
Murtaza	1565-88	
Miran Husain	1588–9	
Ismail	1589–91	
Burhan II	1591–5	
Ibrahim	1595	
Ahmad II	1595	
Bahadur	1595-1600	
Murtaza II	1600-10	
Burhan III	1610-31	
Husain III	1631–3	
Murtaza III	1633–6	
Qutb Shahi Sultans of Golkonda	Reigned	
Sultan Quli Qutb	c. 1518–43	
Jamshid	1543-50	
Subhan	1550	
Ibrahim	1550-80	
Muhammad Quli	1580-1611	
Muhammad	1611-26	
Abdullah	1626-72	
Abu al-Hasan	1672-87	
Imad Shahi Sultans of Berar	Reigned	
Fath Allah Imad	c. 1490–1510	
Ala al-Din	1510-30	
Darya	1530-61	
Burhan	1562-74	
Barid Shahi Sultans of Bidar	Reigned	
Qasim Barid	c. 1489–1504	
Amir	1504–43	
Ali	1543-80	
Ibrahim	1580–7	
Amir	1591–1600	
Mirza Ali	1600–9	
Amir II	1609–19	

## Abbreviations

Further bibliographic details can be found in the Select Bibliography.

AA:	Abu al-Fazl Allami, <i>ʿAīn-i Akbarī</i>
ARIE:	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (New Delhi:
	Archaeological Survey of India, 1968–9)
BM:	Sayyid Ali Tabatabai, <i>Burhān-i Maʿāsir</i>
CM:	Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi, The Chahār Maqālah
DH:	Hajji Abarquhi, 'Dīvān-i Hajjī'
DT:	Firishta, 'Dastūr al-ațibbā''
DU:	John T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and
	English. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1884), available
	online at https://dsalsrv04.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/
	platts/
<i>EI2</i> :	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn, P. J. Bearman, T.
	Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), (Leiden: E. J. Brill,
	1960–2005).
<i>EI3</i> :	Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three, ed. K. Fleet, G. Krämer,
	D. Matringe, J. Nawas and E. Rowson, available online at
	https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopae
	dia-of-islam-3
EIM:	Archaeological Survey of India. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,
	(Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Govt. Printing,
	1907–40, 1948–50)
FB:	Ruh al-Amin, 'Falak al-Burūj'
FS:	'Iṣāmī, <i>Futū<u>h</u>u's Salātīn</i>
FNS:	Husain Vaiz Kashifi, Futūwat nāmah-yi sulṭānī
IA(H):	T. W. Haig, 'The History of the Nizam Shahi Kings of
	Ahmadnagar', Indian Antiquary
IA(K):	J. S. King, 'The History of the Bahmani Dynasty:
	The Burhan ul Ma'asir and the Tazkarat-ul Muluk',
	Indian Antiquary
INS:	Nizam al-Din Mahmud, ''Itr-i Nauras Shāhī'
vuiii	

xviii

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48193-9 — The Courts of the Deccan Sultanates Emma J. Flatt Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

List of Abbreviations

xix

KM:	Nimdihi, Kanz al-maʿānī
MI:	Mahmud Gavan, 'Manāzīr al-Inshā''
NE:	Nasir al-Din Tusi, The Nasirean Ethics
NU:	Ali Adil Shah, Nujūm al-'Ulūm, MS IN2, Chester Beatty
	Library
NU(W):	Ali Adil Shah, Nujūm al- Ulūm, Wellcome Library
OED:	Oxford English Dictionary, online edition
PED:	F. Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary
QN:	Kaikaus, The Qābūsnāmah
RI:	Mahmud Gawan, Riyāz al-Inshā'
RI(H):	Riyāz al-Inshā', Habibganj Library
RMP:	John Briggs, History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in
	India
SS(R):	Muhammad Sadiq, 'Shahīd-i Ṣādiq', British Library, Rieu
	MS
SS(E):	Muhammad Sadiq, 'Shahīd-i Ṣādiq', British Library,
	Ethé MS
TF:	Firishta, Tārīkh-e Fereshte, ed. Mohammad Rezā Nasīrī
TF(NK):	Firishta, Tārīkh-i Firishtah, Naval Kishore edition
TM(BL):	Rafi al-Din Shirazi, 'Tazkirat al-Mulūk', British Library
TM(E):	Rafi al-din Shirazi, 'Tazkirat al-Mulūk: History of the
	Kings', ed. Carl Ernst