

Asia and Southeast Asia in this process of Islamicisation. In South Asia we find the society mainly integrated under Hinduism and in Southeast Asia society was integrated variously according to different ethnic groups and ecologies. S. Kumar pointed out the close relation of merchants with Sufism in South Asia and this point awaits further studies.

### *In Conclusion*

In this symposium we examined the issues concerning Indianisation of Southeast Asia and Islamicisation of the state and society in South Asia and Southeast Asia and were able to understand better the formation of pre-modern states and societies in both the regions and also the cultural and economic interactions between these two important Asian regions. In the past, studies were focused on the similarity in states and societies between these two regions, which is thought to have been caused by the introduction of Indian culture into Southeast Asia, but in this symposium for the first time discussions were about and able to clarify the differences between the two regions to a certain extent. This is the main achievement of this symposium.

However, many important aspects of the interaction remain yet to be clarified. In Southeast Asia there were the regional differences deriving from diverse ecologies and ethnic groups, which created differences in the state formation and social integration and also in the acceptance of Indian traditional culture as well as Islam, though we can notice the 'convergence' in the early stage of state formation on both sides of the Bengal Bay. However, in Southeast Asia, the non-acceptance of some aspects of Brahmanical ideology and caste system with which Indian society was basically integrated, gave the former state individual features in structure and social integration, thus creating a difference between the two regions.

For further clarification of these points we have to additionally study the formation of various states and the social integration in both the regions and examine their pre-modern development in general from a broader point of view covering various regions in Asia and beyond.

## **Session 1**

### **The State and Society in the Islamicate World (13th–16th Centuries)**

#### **Transitions in the Relationship between Political Elites and Sufis under the Delhi Sultanates**

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My paper draws attention to the teachings of two Sufi saints, Nizam al-Din Auliya from the turn of the thirteenth century and Gesu Daraz from the turn of the fourteenth. These were two sufi saints who belonged to the mystical fraternity described as the Chishtis, arguably one of the more famous schools of mystical instruction in South Asia. One important reason why I chose to study these two preceptors is because of their temporal location; they flourished during critical junctures of the Delhi Sultanate—The late thirteenth century, the years of its greatest glory on the one hand, and on the other, the early fifteenth century, the decades of its political fragmentation.

I have, however, chosen to study these two preceptors not just because they cover a convenient historical time span; there is also an extremely rich textual tradition that surrounds them. The disciples of these two saints produced valuable textual compilations of their teachings that were described as *malfuzat* or 'table-talks'. A

compilation of Nizam al-Din Auliya's teachings was produced by his disciple Amir Hasan Sijzi and titled the *Fawa'id al-Fua'ad* or 'Morals for the Heart'. Similarly, Sayyid Muhammad Akbar Husaini a descendent and disciple of Gesu Daraz produced the *Jawami al-Kalim*, a compilation of his master's dicta.

I have anchored my study around these two texts to provide greater detail and precision in my study of the development of Sufism through the thirteenth and fourteenth century. But this analysis would remain incomplete without a precise grounding of these textual interventions in the life and polity of the Delhi Sultanate. My paper therefore moves chronologically identifying particular themes over the two centuries that highlight the changing contexts of the two texts. I use the materials from the two texts located at different moments in time to enlarge on the political and social transitions in the Sultanate. It is this larger context that explains the shifts in the relationship between Sultans and Sufi Shaykhs and many of the unique characteristics of these *malfuzat*. Unlike much of the historiography on the subject, I do not therefore ascribe changes within Sufism, or the relationships of the preceptors to their milieu, solely to the individual personalities of the various protagonists, or their intellectual and spiritual predilections. This shifts the analysis from the otherwise circumscribed study of 'great(er)' and 'lesser' Sultans or more and less mystically adept Shaykhs.

The first section of my paper reviews the social backgrounds of the political participants in the early Delhi Sultanate and develops a more precise sense of the body of people who were involved in developing the nature and content of the praxis of Islam. It is interested in discovering the debates, the politics and the agents involved in the formation of the Muslim community in the early thirteenth century. As my paper argues there was considerable contestation amidst political elites, even as they relied upon the *shari'a*-minded exponents of Islam, the *'ulama*, to create the semblance of an exclusive, monolithic community of Muslims. This was often a violent, severely contested intervention in the lives of the Muslim population, a disciplining which was often borne by Sufis, particularly those with antinomian inclinations. This coercion lasted through most of the thirteenth century and its coercive intent certainly left many military elites extremely unpopular while discrediting their *'ulama* collaborators.

The second section studies developments from the end of the thirteenth century into the mid-fourteenth century when the first mystical fraternities intruded from the frontier tracts into Delhi and the core territories of the Sultanate. Through the 1280s disciples of Sufi preceptors arrived in Delhi from Multan, Ajudhan and Kara. It is in this context that Nizam al-Din Auliya established his Sufi hospice in Delhi. Integral to the success of his fraternity and its organisational framework was the production of a textual manual that could broadcast the teachings of its master. The *Fawa'id al-Fua'ad* achieved this in an exemplary manner. It communicated the teachings of Nizam al-Din Auliya to novitiates who could not attend his discourses or needed a textual guide to which they could continually refer. As I develop in this section, the *malfuzat* was a vital aspect in the creation of the 'Way' of the Sufi master, a method of Sufi instruction, a *tarika* with a unique, authoritative chain [*silsila*] of



Figure A Contemporary Photograph of the Shrine of Nizam al-Din Auliya with the Adjoining Red Sandstone Mosque, Reputedly of Khalaji Provenance. [Source: [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1200\\_1299/nizamuddin/nightphotos/nightphotos.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1200_1299/nizamuddin/nightphotos/nightphotos.html)]

nonpareil preceptors. Such a text was also served to counter the hegemonistic ambitions of Sultanate temporal authority and the challenge of rival Sufi preceptors.

The third section of the paper studies the *malfuzat*, *maktubat* [letters] and *tazkirat* [biographical digests] produced in the mid fourteenth century to bring out the successful organisational strategies that both, consolidated and expanded the Chishti and, to a lesser extent, other *tarikas* as well. The wide dispersal of Sufi influence transpired in this phase and it attracted the hostility of ambitious Sultans of Delhi. The two processes were intertwined—as the bureaucratic abilities of the Sultanate expanded so too did the ambit of influence of the Chishti and other mystical fraternities and the content of their relationship had particular spatial and temporal contingencies.

The fourth section studies Gesu Daraz's *Jawami al-Kalim* produced at the end of the fourteenth century when the Sufi preceptor and the Delhi Sultan were both forced to leave Delhi and search for new patrons in the wake of Timur's invasion and the sack of the Sultanate capital. But what was critical at this time was the impact of the accumulative experience of migration, settlement and history that was reflected in the variant responses of the Sufis and Sultans. Quite in contrast to the Sultans, Sufi preceptors could access robust genealogies—they belonged to lineages of mystical instructors, their spiritual prominence brought them social power and, for some, considerable wealth. Many of them had established hospices and married into distinguished households, and most important of all, they had histories that consolidated their social prestige. In the *Jawami al-Kalim*, an unusual *malfuz* of an old master forced into itinerancy, this loss was transfigured as nostalgia for a glorious world that was lost. Through an assiduous effort to link himself with his past world and an undiminished spiritual charisma, Gesu Daraz broadcast his unequalled genealogy to the parvenu temporal lords of his age. Gesu Daraz mimed his predecessors in underlining that the continued prosperity of the Sultans and the stability of the temporal order were contingent upon the presence of the spiritual charisma of the Sufi masters. But it also led to the formulation of relationships that were very different from those apparent a century earlier.

As I point out in my conclusion, in contrast to the conflict, competition and accommodation that marked relationships between the Sufis and the Sultans over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the following two centuries marked the unambiguous triumph of the Sufi Shaykh. The shifts, however, were not a consequence of a change in the 'balance of power' between discrete protagonists. The transitions were noticeable because Islam, Muslim society and Sultanate polity had altered dramatically in the intervening centuries, a transition that was palpable in the form and content of the two *malfuzat* around which the paper is organised.

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## The Rise of Muslim Coastal States in North Sumatra

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North Sumatra played a significant role in international maritime trade as a production base for precious forest and mineral products from early centuries, and pepper from early modern times. Contacts with the outside world through trade helped to develop coastal entrepôts exporting products from the interior. North Sumatran port cities connecting the Indian Ocean and the Malacca Strait became not only highly cosmopolitan urban areas, but, at the same time, established firm ties with their hinterlands from early on. The linkage between the



Figure 1 Muslim Funerary Monuments at Pasai. Photograph by M. Hirosue.



Figure 2 Rice Cultivation on the Shore of Lake Toba. Photograph by M. Hirosue.