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Beliefs and Practices Associated with Muslim Pirs In Two Cities of India (Delhi and Lucknow)

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Supplementary Investigation	K. P Ittaman, P. N. Saksena and Bishan Behari
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Foreword	Asok Mitra

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
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NEW DELHI-11

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH MUSLIM PIRS IN TWO CITIES OF INDIA :—DELHI AND LUCKNOW

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FOREWORD

In my general Foreword to the Village Survey series of the 1961 Census publications, I have briefly explained how the idea of the Survey unfolded itself and developed between 1959 and 1961. Towards the end of 1961 several distinguished scholars were invited to write special monographs for the Village Survey series. At the same time, the Social Studies Section of the Registrar General's Office, headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, undertook experiments in various types of social study. Dr. Roy Burman stimulated his colleagues and assistants to go into great depth over specific problems of social change. His object was, apart from striking new lines in methodology and designs of schedules, new methods of tabulation and cross-tabulation, new lines of correlating apparently unrelated fields of social phenomenon, to train his colleagues and assistants rigorously in the science of social investigation. He took a wide range of problems and even a wider geographical distribution of them, throughout India.

This study of beliefs and practices associated with muslim pirs in two cities of India—Delhi and Lucknow—is a testimony to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman's abilities in directing research and to the staunchness and probity with which the investigation was conducted, analysed and reported upon by Kumari Tayyaba Khatoon, Shrimati K. A. Gupta, K. P. Ittaman, P. N. Saksena and Bishan Behari. This study has added to our knowledge of certain aspects of the cultural traditions of the Muslims of India and I wish to record my acknowledgements to my colleagues.

New Delhi
November 10, 1966

Asok Mitra
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

In India hardly any sociological study has been made of Muslim society and culture. When we decided to take up a study of Muslim Pirs, we found ourselves handicapped by paucity of background information, on the basis of which we could prepare the research design. We therefore, felt that the study being the first of its kind, would be exploratory in nature; at a later stage if the resources are available a more comprehensive study would be undertaken.

The researeh design was prepared by me mainly on the basis of library research. The types of schedules drawn up in this connection and the number of each type canvassed in Delhi and Lucknow respectively are indicated below:

	Delhi	Lucknow
City Schedule	—	1
Elite Schedule	8	20
Visitors (to pir) Schedule	20	20
Disciple Schedule	4	13
Frame for collection of Biography of Pir	1	1
Frame for collection of information on an institution connected with pir	1	1

Copies of the schedules are furnished at annexure 5.

The schedules in Delhi were canvassed by Shrimati K. A. Gupta and those in Lucknow were canvassed by Kumari Tayyaba Khatoon. Before canvassing the schedules both the Investigators had also to make library studies so that they might have right comprehension of the answers given by the interviewees. Muslim backgrounds of both the Investigators were of additional advantage for the study.

The Schedules were first canvassed in Delhi by Shrimati Gupta. It was planned to study one *pir* in detail, including his biogrophy, disciples and visitors. But Shrimati Gupta found it difficult to contact sufficient number of disciples of any *pir*. As she was leaving this Office shortly after her taking up the project, she canvassed the schedules among the disciples of various *pir*. Thus it was not possible to make intensive study of any one *pir*. Kumari Khatoon joined this Office after Shrimati Gupta left. She canvassed the schedules in Lucknow. She also had her difficulties in contacting sufficient number of disciples of any one *pir*. Perhaps with special efforts it would have been possible to contact sufficient number of disciples of same *pir* in Lucknow, but as under the force of circumstances the pattern was already set in Delhi, it was considered better to complete the project in the same way as in Delhi.

The Urs Nizamuddin Awlia was taken up as a separate pilot project, mainly for developing methodology of research in this field. Three Investigators, viz., S/Sri K. P. Ittaman, P. N. Saksena and Bishan Behari made their independent observations without any interview schedule, On the basis of the notes prepared by them a consolidated draft was prepared by Kumari Khatoon for inclusion in this report. She has mainly drawn from the note of Sri K. P. Ittaman. It is proposed to bring out a more detailed account of the Urs separately in due course.

The first draft on Introductory Chapter and Chapter IV. was prepared by Kumari Khatoon and the first draft on Chapter III was Prepared by Shrimati Gupta. The latter also Prepared a Preliminary note of general nature. This was useful to me in better comprehending the materials collected by her. I have not made substantial modification in the draft on Introductory Chapter. Some additional data furnished

by Shrimati Gupta were however, included in it during editing. First draft on Chapter II and Chapter V was prepared by me originally in respect of Delhi only. The data in respect of Lucknow were incorporated in the draft by Kumari Khatoon. It was then revised by me. The note on Khankha of Pir Nizami, included in appendix was prepared by Shrimati Gupta.

The data collected by Shrimati Gupta were tabulated by S/Shri C. G. Jadhav, K. K. Chawla and S. P. Jain according to a design prepared by me. The data collected by Kumari Khatoon were tabulated by herself according to the same design.

The Index was prepared by Kumari Khatoon.

Sir S. N. Kapoor, who took dictation of the portion drafted by me deserves special mention.

It would not have been possible to carry out this study but for the whole hearted co-operation rendered by Pir Zamin Nizami, Sujjadanashin of the dargah of Nizamuddin Awlia, Delhi; Pir Sanaullah, Pir of dargah of Shah Abdusalam, Delhi; Maulana Abdul Gaffar, Secretary of Sunni Waqf Board, Delhi; Maulana Fakhruddin, Saheb, President of Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Hind, Delhi to Shrimati Gupta in Delhi and by Pir Hamid Ali Mina, Sujjadanashin of the dargah of Shah Mina Lucknow and his son Maulana Qamar Ali Mina, Pir Shahid Ali Mina, Sujjadanashin of the dargah of Shah Mina, Lucknow, Haji Musarat Ali, Pir of the dargah of Shah Mina, Lucknow and Mohammad Ashraf Saheb, Khadim of the dargah of Shah Mina, Lucknow to Kumari Khatoon in Lucknow.

I avail of this opportunity to express my gratitude to all of them I am grateful to Sri K. D. Ballal, Cetnral Tabulation Officer, Office of the Registrar General India, for taking special interest for getting the monograph printed in time. Shri Bani Singh, who ably helped him also deserves my thanks.

I am grateful to Shri A. Chandrashekhar, Officer on special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India, for his keen interest in the studies undertaken by this Unit

Lastly, I am specially grateful to Shri A. Mitra, Registrar General, India, due to whose vision and farsight only, the Handicrafts and Social Study Unit was created as a part of the Census Organisation in 1961, for undertaking studies on various aspects of social and economic life of the population of India.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Some Muslims believe that Prophet Mohammad was recipient of two fold revelations—the one embodied in the contents of *Qoran*, the other in his heart. The former was meant for all and binding on all; the latter was to be transmitted to chosen few, called Sufis.†

It is generally agreed that, the word Sufi is derived from *Safa* (purity) and in its proper sense, means one of the elect who has become purified from all worldly defilements.

According to M. Abdul Ali,* "Sufism is an expansion of the esoteric form of the religion of Islam, with an occult interpretation of *Qoran* and a body of secret knowledge transmitted by prophet Mohammad to a chosen few and particularly Ali; the fourth Caliph."

Some authorities are, however, of the view that though the original source of Sufism is the life of Prophet Mohammad, many new elements grew in Sufi concepts under the impact of various forces.

Nicholson** has suggested nine phases as follows in the development of Sufism.

(1) Sufism, in the sense of 'mysticism' and 'quietism' was a natural development of ascetic tendencies which manifested themselves within Islam during *Umayyad* period.

(2) Asceticism was not independent of Christian influence but on the whole it was a product of Islam; and Sufism which grew out of it, was also essentially based on the tenets of Islam.

(3) Towards the end of the 8th Century A.D. a new current of ideas began to flow into Sufism. These ideas which were non-Islamic and theosophical in character are discernible in the sayings of Marufal-Karkhi (d. 815 A.D.)

(4) During the first half of the 9th century A.D. the new ideas were greatly developed and became the dominating elements in Sufism.

(5) The man who above all others gave to the Sufi doctrine its permanent shape was Dhul-Nun Misri (d. 861 A.D.).

(6) The historical environment in which the doctrine arose points clearly to Greek philosophy as the source from where it was derived.

(7) Its origin must be sought in Neoplatonism and Gnosticism.

(8) As the theosophical element in Sufism is Greek, so the extreme pantheistic ideas, which were first introduced by Abu-Yazid (Bayazid) Bistami (d. 876 A.D.) are Persian or Indian, in origin. The doctrine of *fana* (self-annihilation) is probably derived from the Buddhist concept of *nirvana*.

(9) During the later part of the 9th century A.D. Sufism became an organised system with teachers, pupils and rules of discipline, and continual efforts were made to show that it was based on *Qoran* and the 'traditions' of Prophet.

It is thus evident that the earliest phase of Sufism was a form of asceticism and this was a product of Islam itself. The reason for the adoption of life of asceticism is to be found in the political condition of the period immediately following the reigns of the first four *Khalifas*. There were many pious Muslims who, being disgusted with the tyrannical and impious rule of the *Umayyad Khalifas*, withdrew from the mundane world, to seek, peace of soul in a life of seclusion. Towards the end of the seventh century A.D. there arose a class of people who were not merely ascetics but something more. In them the life of seclusion led on to contemplation and from contemplation to vision and ecstasy. At this stage, renunciation and poverty were regarded by the ascetics not as meritorious works in themselves, but as the expressions of their selfless devotion of God. But to the ascetics of later period, the ideal of poverty meant not merely lack of wealth, but also lack of every desire for it. This ideal bears

*Ali M.A. 'Shykh and his Sufism : P. 12.

**Arberry, An Introduction to the history of Sufism P. 43.

†Subhan, John. A. Sufism, its Saints and Shrines.

close resemblance to the ideas of asceticism in Christianity. A modern writer has described it as follows, "by poverty the mystic means an utter self-stripping, the pasting of immaterial as well as material wealth, a complete detachment from all finite things"*.

The early Sufis, however, were orthodox Muslims in regard to their beliefs and practices. They laid great emphasis on certain points in the teachings of *Qoran* and the traditions. The outstanding figures of the early period were Ibrahim B. Adham (d. 783 A.D.) Fudyl b. 'Iyad (d. 801 A.D.) O. Rabi' a al-Adwiyya (d. 802 A.D.).

Towards the end of eighth century of the Christian era, there appeared in Sufism a new phase of developement. The old asceticism was subordinated to theosophical and gnostic speculations. The great Sufis of this period were Marufal-Karkhi (d. 815 A.D.), Abu Sulayman-ud-Darani (d. 830 A.D.) and Dhul-Nun-Misri (d. 861 A.D.). Somewhat later in the same century appeared Yazid-ul-Bistami or Bayazid (d. 876 A.D.). He propounded the doctrine of *fana* or anniliation and his teachings are considered by many to be very much influenced by pantheism. But the person who came to be held as the greatest among the early Sufis belonging to the pantheistic school was Husayan-b Mansur (d. 922 A.D.) more commonly known by the name Hallaj.

In course of time, Sufism became a mixture of what appeared to the orthodox *ulemas*, pantheistic and theosophical elements. Very frequently the Sufis were stigmatized as heretics if not actual unbelievers (*Kafirs*). It was not till the time of the renowned Imam al-Ghazali (d. 1095 A.D.) that Sufism attained a firm and assured position in Islam. He subordinated the entire fabric of Sufi concepts to the injunctions of *Qoran* and Islamic theology. With Ghazali, another Personality appeared on the scene. He is Ibn-al-Arabi (d. 1240 A.D.) a Spanish Arabic writer who elaborated the speculative elements in the Sufi thought. According to Gibb** his teaching "was out-Spokenly monist and pantheistic". Arabi's pantheistic Sufism was readily adopted in the Zoroastrian background of Iran, by many. Among those who were influenced by his thought, two names stand out as very outstanding. They are Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1230 A.D.) and Jami (d. 1414 A.D.). Other personalities who have significantly influenced the growth of Sufism are Abdul-Qadir-al-Gulam (d. 1535 A.D.) the propounder of Qadiri order of Sufism and Shamsuddin-Hafiz (d. 1389 A.D.).

*Underhill, 'Mysticism' p. 205.

**Subhan Johu. A. Sufism its Saints and Shrines, P. 123

In the Sufi system the spiritual director is called *Shekh* or *pir* or *murshid*. He is considered to have a perfect knowledge—both theoretical and practical of the various stages of mystical life and to be free of fleshy attributes. He has the authority to guide the aspirant (*murid*) on the path of realisation.

The *murid* on the other hand must take vow of obedience (*bait*) to his *pir*. A *pir* is to be followed blindly. To the *murid* the word of his *pir* is absolute law.

For the fulfilment of his spiritual strivings, a Sufi is required to perform certain acts of devotion, which are either of general or special nature. The acts of general nature consist of (a) *namaz*–the ritual prayer or worship, (b) *tilawat*–the recitation of *Qoran*, (c) *awrad*—set frame of prayer. The acts of special nature consist of (a) *mujaheda*–self mortification,, (b) *dhikr*–remembering God, through particular exercises of the breath (c) *muraqba*–contemplation.

Besides the above, *sama* (lit-hearing of music) is specially organised for inducing a state of spiritual ecstasy in the minds of the *pirs* and their disciples.

Many *pirs* of highest reputation lived and died in India. Their tombs lie scattered all over the country and are the objects of deep veneration for all pious Muslims. These *pirs* are credited with extraordinary miraculous powers which were bestowed on them by the Almighty as proof of 'His favour'. It is believed that most of them could cure the ordinary diseases without any use of medicine. Some of them could restore life to the dead; some could cause springs of water to flow in dry places, some could walk on the sea; some could become invisible and fly through the air, some could produce earthquakes and overturn mountains and still others could be at two places at the same time, arrest the Sun in its course, punish opponents by causing pestilences and dreadful catacylsms.

Delhi, Lucknow, Ajmer, Bahraich, Barabanki and Fatehpur Sikri are some of the places in India where famous *pirs* with extraordinary miraculous powers used to live.

Among the numerous Sufi Saints and divines who lived in Delhi, during the different periods of Muslim rule, three were very outstanding and exercised considerable influence over their co-religionists. Chronologically

the first among them was Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiyarkaki. He died in 1236 A.D. and his grave is situated at Mehrauli, near Qutab Minar. The second most prominent Sufi saint was Sultan-ul-Mashak Shekh Nizamuddin Awlia. He never married and died in 1325 A.D. His tomb at Nizamuddin (then Nizampur) attracts thousands of pilgrims even now. The third most important saint was Shekh Nasiruddin Mahmud Roshan Chiragh Delhi. He died in 1356 A.D. and his body was interred in the village named after him.

Lucknow also attracted a number of famous *Pirs*. Among them the most prominent is Pir Shah Mina. He died in 1465 A.D. and his tomb is situated near the Medical College, Lucknow. The *dargah* named after him was established by Shekh Qutubuddin Saheb (one of the great *ulemas* of Lucknow). Shah Mina is regarded to be a *wali* (dear to God) by birth. Another very well known mystic of Lucknow is Khamman Baba. Though there is no established *dargah* for the Saint, pilgrims from far off places visit his grave every year. Both pir Shah Mina and Khamman Baba belonged to the *Chisti* order of Sufism. Among other *pirs* who were laid to rest in Lucknow and its outskirts mention may be made of Haji Hermain Saheb (d. 1465 A.D.), Shah Pir Mohammed Saheb (d. 1715 A.D.), Awlia Shahid Saheb (d. 1265 A.D.), Sheikh Qutubuddin (d. 1415 A.D.), Sandoshi Pir (d. 1665 A.D.) Shekh Basit Ali Minai (d. 1962 A.D.). Haji Hermain Saheb's tomb is situated in front of the Nursing Home Medical College. Shah Pir Mohammad Saheb belonged to the *Qadiri* order and his tomb is near the river Gomti.

The city of Ajmer is associated with the name of one of the most renowned saints of India, Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti (d. 1236 A.D.). During his *urs* thousands of people gather at Ajmer to pay their homage to him. Even pilgrims from outside India come to Ajmer in large number on this occasion.

The small town Faridkot is known to many throughout the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for its association with the famous pir Baba Farid (d. 1365 A.D.).

Another small town which has gained its importance because of its association with a *pir* is Bahraich. Here is situated the *dargah* of saint Hazrat Sayyad Salar Masood Ghazi (d. 1033 A. D.). People believe that lepers and cripples and blind persons get cured by paying their homage to this *dargah*. Every year thousands of persons gather there to obtain the grace of the *Pir*.

Multan is another centre in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where a number of big *Pirs* lived and died. Among them mention may be made of Moosa Pak Shaheed (d. 1592 A. D.), Shah Rukni Alam (d. 1235 A. D.), Shekh Ahmad Mashuq (d. 1320 A. D.), Shah Shams Tabrez (d. 12th century). Every year thousands of pilgrims visit Multan to pay their homage to the tombs of these *Pirs*.

Haji Waris Ali Shah (14th century) the great sufi saint of Dewa, district. Barabanki is known for his extraordinary miraculous power and saintliness. About five lakh pilgrims visit the annual fair of Dewa Sharif at Barabanki.

Shekh Salim Chisti of Fatehpur Sikri, (d. 1568 A. D.) is also another well known *Pir* of India. It is said that Emperor Akbar visited him so that he could be blessed with a son. Among all the *Pirs* of India, two are perhaps most well known in India and outside. These are Khwaja Nizamuddin Awlia of Delhi and Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti of Ajmer, Khwaja Nizamuddin Awlia is regarded by Muslims and non-muslim for high spiritual attainment. Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti holds high position not only in spiritual life but also in other spheres. Even now in all religious gatherings the sujjada from Ajmer is given a distinguished place.

It has already been stated that though Sufism had its origin in Islam, its subsequent developments were greatly affected by extraneous influences. In India, some of the concepts and practices of the sufis nicely fit into the local milieu. Without Committing whether it is the result of culture contact, it may be stated that the resemblances are striking. The devotion of a *murid* (disciple) for his *murshid* (spiritual preceptor) as found among the Sufis, presents a striking resemblance to the devotion of a Hindu *chela* for his *guru*. It is the custom amongst the Hindus since time immemorial that a person desirous of leading a religious life must seek a *guru* for himself. For instance the Hindu scriptures say "the supreme mystery in the Vedanta should be given to one who has the devotion (*bhakti*) for God and for his spiritual teacher (*guru*) even as for God."* "For the sake of this knowledge (of Brahman) let him go, fuel in hand to a spiritual teacher (*guru*) who is learned in the scriptures and established on Brahman."** Similarly among the Sufis, a *murid*

*Svetasvatrara Upanishad, 6, 23.

**Mundaka Upanishad, 1, 2, 12.

must completely surrender to his Pir, for spiritual realisation.

The Sufi concept of *'fana'* may also be compared with the Buddhist doctrine of *nirvana* and the Upanishadic *moksa*. The word *nirvana* or its Pali form *nibbana* literally means blowing out or cooling and is commonly translated as "annihilation". The Sufi concept of *fana wa-baqa* however, not only means annihilation but also subsistence.

On the other hand *moksa* literally means release and is used in the Upanishads to denote the release of the individual soul from bondage of the sensuous, selfish and finite existence. It thus runs almost Parallel to the Sufi doctrine of *fana wa baqa i.e.*, annihilation and subsistence.

Many of the practices of the Sufis of India are local in character and are not commonly found in other Islamic countries. Here mention may be made of the practices of pilgrimage of the shrines of the saints, giving offerings and making vows, burning *chiragh* or oil lamp with a wick over the tomb of a saint and giving food as offerings (*tabarruk*) on tombs and shrines of saints. These practices can hardly be distinguished from the Hindu practices of worshipping their saints.

At present there are four main orders *silsilas* of Sufism in India. They are *Chisti*, *Naqshbandi*, *Suhrawardi* and *Qadiri*. It is considered that among these four *silsilas*, *chisti silsila* is most popular. The four main orders are again divided into a number of sub-orders and are named after their founder *pirs*.

The *pirs* are considered to be of two types *viz.*, *jamali* and *jalali*. *Jamali pirs* have a poise around them and they never do any harm to anybody. *Jalali pirs* on the other hand are hot tempered and if provoked cause harm to people.

The abodes of the *pirs*, from where they carry on their preachings are called *khankhas*. Previously the *khankhas* were mostly situated in forests or lonely places. But now, almost all the *khankhas* are connected with one or the other *dargahs* (tomb of a departed *pir*). In fact, the *dargahs* are now the most important centres of the religious and other activities connected with various *pirs*.

The legal heir of a *pir* is called *Sujjadanashin*. Generally he is the first son of the *pir*. But his spiritual successor is called *khalifa*. He may or may not be his legal heir. In the past rarely *Sujjadanashins* and *khalifas* were the same persons. It is alleged that at present in most of the *dargahs*, there are *sujjadanashins* only and no real *khalifas*. This suggests that the institution connected with *pirs* is facing the problem of replenishment in spiritual aspect.

A study was undertaken in Delhi and Lucknow to find out what the people of different categories know and feel about *pirs* and *pirism*, that is, the mystical beliefs and practices connected with the *pirs*. The study also covered the actual activities of a few *pirs* and their disciples.

This was a rapid study to gain some insight about the institution that has grown around the practice of Islamic mysticism through the ages. It is felt that to gain mere complete knowledge about the institution both intensive and extensive research should be carried out over a length of time.

CHAPTER II

OPINION OF KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS ABOUT DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC MYSTICISM IN INDIA

Altogether twenty eight knowledgeable persons-eight in Delhi and twenty in Lucknow, were asked to give their opinion about different aspects of Islamic mysticism in India. These persons are either reputed Muslim scholars or are connected with different Muslim organisations. Their opinions are noted without any attempt of evaluating the same, except where it is absolutely necessary.

(a) Opinion regarding the Origin of the Institution of *Pir*.

Out of the eight persons interviewed in Delhi, seven were of the view that the institution of *pirism* had its origin in Sufism. Out of these seven persons, five belong to different orders of Sufism and two do not belong to any order of Sufism. Three of them have Islamic education and one is M.A., Ph.D. For three, educational status has not been recorded. One of them is working President of *Jamiatul-ulema*, Delhi and four do not hold any special office. Only one person was, of the view that *pirism* did not have its origin in Sufism. This person has passed M.A., Ph.D. and belongs to Sunni sect and does not belong to any order of Sufism. He is a member of the Education Committee of *waqf* Board, Delhi. According to some, the *pirs* were originally those who devoted their lives to the service of people irrespective of caste and creed, but the institution has now degenerated. Some of the persons who are of the view that *pirism* had its origin in Sufism have further qualified their statement. One of the interviewees has stated that though originally *pirism* originated from Sufism, now barring a few *pirs*, none of the *pirs* is a Sufi. Another interviwee stated that when Islam came to India, it was affected by the surrounding Hindu culture. The present form of *piri-muridi* reflects more the local traditions and the *pirs* of present day cannot be called Sufis according to the true Islamic tradition. According to another interviewee during the Prophet's time a few people used to live in mosques they were called *Ahle-Suffa*. They used to spend their entire time in worship and prayer. The *pirs* were the carriers of this tradition of *tasawwuf* or spiritualism; but many of the *pirs* of the present day do not have the spiritual heritage of those days and they are not *pirs* in true sense. Another interviewee stated that according to the Sufi school of thought Prophet was the guide for both spiritual and ritual life of the people. After prophet, Abubakar was his political successor and Ali was his spiritual heir. That is why all the Sufi *silsilas* (orders) end on Hazrat Ali. The *pirs* are the bearers of the same tradition. Though all the *pirs* belong to Sunni sect, they have special regard for Ali, on the other hand, the Shias do not recognize *pirs*, as according to them, spiritual leadership is confined to prophet Mohammad and his descendants only. According to another interviewee, *pir* means an old man in Arabic. Sometimes he is called *Shekh* or *Mashekh*. Beliefs and practices centering the *pirs*, were associated with Sufism in the beginning. At present, in India there is hardly any *pir* who can be called a true Sufi.

In Lucknow, out of the twenty persons interviewed, ten were of the view that *pirism* had its origin in Sufism, five held the view that *pirism* did not have its origin in Sufism, while the remaining five were of the view that there is nothing called *pirism* outside Sufism. Out of these twenty interviewees, fourteen belong to *Chisti* order of Sufism, three to *Qadri* order, the rest do not belong to any order of Sufism. All the interviewees have good knowledge of Muslim theology and Islamic laws. Two have read up to *Aala Qabliayat* equivalent to M.A., two have got the degree of *Fazil* which is also equivalent to M.A., one is *Adeeb Kamil*, four are *Adeeb Mahir* equivalent to graduation. One is M.B.B.S., one is M.A.,L.T. Three have educational status upto Intermediate level and two are *Maulvis*.

Most of the interviewees were of the opinion that nobody can be a *pir* without being a Sufi; and as the source of Sufism can ultimately be traced back to *Qoran* the *pirs* derive their sanction from *Qoran*. They pointed out that during the Prophet's time, a group of people leading a life of devotion and piety withdrew from worldly cares and anxieties; they were called *Ahle-Suffa*. This group believed in *Tawakkul* (trust in God), and the *pirs* of the later period, carried on the same tradition.

A few however, were of the view that the social base for recognition of *pirs* in Islam, was not wholly provided by Sufism. They pointed out that a Sufi may be an ordinary man whose main concern is to perform the *Ahkame Shariat i.e.*, ritual prayer (*namaz*), fasting

(*roza*), payment of alms tax (*zakat*) and pilgrimage (*haj*) on the other hand the main concern of a *pir* is related to *batin, i.e.*, the internal realisation and spiritual fulfilment. During the discussions with these interviewees it however, appeared that their opinions were based on perception of the situation at two different levels. When they described the characteristics of a Sufi, they had in mind, many persons who formally belonged to different orders of Sufism without practising, what they were required to do under the tenets of Sufism. On the other hand when they described the characteristics of a *pir*, they had in mind what a *pir* should be, and not what many pirs really are. Thus the two phenomena are not comparable.

If examined at the same level, how they would look upon the situation was not however discussed with them.

(b) Opinion regarding the role of *pirs* in effecting synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures.

Almost all the persons interviewed in Delhi and Lucknow were of the opinion that *pirs* had a special role in effecting synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures in India. Only two or three persons in Lucknow said that *pirs* had no special concern in this matter

In Delhi one interviewee stated that *pirs* used to provide spiritual and worldly guidance to all types of people and hence they had to keep themselves well informed about each and every religion. Another one gave his opinion that when the Muslims came to India, they came as conquerors. For stabilizing their position they were in need of winning over the confidence of the local people. The Sufis of the earliest age in India did a lot to attract the local people and win over their confidence. For doing this they had to adopt certain local customs and practices. Recital of *Qawwali*, offering of *Chadar*, and many other ritual activities in the *dargahs* arose out of this need to adjust to the local milieu. One outstanding example of cultural synthesis is *Basantmala Qawwali*, which was encouraged by the *pirs* of *Qadiri* order. One interviewee belonging to the *Chisti* order of Sufism, stated that the *Chisti* mystic saints had the tradition of tolerance and they used to keep constant company of the non-Muslims. They wanted the non-Muslims to be pious and lead holy life according to the tenets of their own religion. Even now there is a non-Muslim *murid* of pir zamin Nizami who is connected with the *dargah* of Nizamuddin Awlia. His name is Bhoj Raj, a businessman by profession. Another interviewee stated that the *pirs* were not interested in culture as such, but they wanted cordial and brotherly relations among all people. They preached oneness of life and oneness of humanity. Their sayings and teachings brought the Hindus and the Muslims together, and as a byproduct of this some amount of cultural synthesis took place. One interviewee pointed out that the *piri-muridi* system as practised in India is itself the outcome of cultural synthesis. When the Muslim *pirs* with their forceful characters arrived in India they became the objects of idolatrous worship, in keeping with the tradition of the local people. Thus the institution took a new turn in India.

In Lucknow, seventeen out of the twenty interviewees stated that *pirs* had a special role in bringing the Hindus and the Muslims nearer to each other. They pointed out that Muslim shrines are open to every body, whether a Hindu, a Christian or a Muslim. When a person goes to a Muslim *pir* for satisfaction of some need or for guidance, the *pir* hardly ever asks about his religion. He always tries to help every body. The popular image about a *pir* as found in a couplet, recited by an interviewee, is.

"Ab Aadmi kuchh aur meri nazar main hai
Jub se suna ke yar libasebasar mein hai"

(As soon as I came under the instructions of *pir*, I found the entire humanity bound together in one.)

Undoubtedly the universal brotherhood of men as taught by many *pirs* helped cultural exchange between the Hindus and the Muslims. Three interviewees in Lucknow and one in Delhi, however, stated that all *pirs* were not liberal in their views. There were a few, who did not allow the *kafirs* (unbelievers) to enter *aastana* and other sacred places. They encouraged orthodoxy and retarded the process of cultural synthesis. Notwithstanding the above view expressed by a few persons the general consensus appears to be that the *pirs* played a positive role in Indian history in promoting unity of Hindus and Muslims.

(c) Opinion about the compatibility of spiritual leadership with absence of priesthood in Islam.

In Delhi, all the interviewees reported that *pirs* are not priests but only guides who show the way to righteous living. Amplifying this position one interviewee stated that *piri* system started with the idea of getting contact of a person who could guide and induce in the hearts of the people, the true love for God. Every one can approach God directly but it is necessary to follow the right path and do good deeds and for this

the example of a devoted and pious life is necessary. The original *piri* system was evolved to meet this need of the people. Another interviewee stated that *pirs* are not the spiritual leaders; they are persons who want to serve the people. The third interviewee was of the view that pirs are only guides and teachers but never the intermediaries between man and God. The fourth interviewee had however a different view. According to him it is written in *Qoran* as follows: "oh people, who have become Muslims fear the God, get into company of good and truthful people in order to follow true and real path." There is prohibition on having intermediary between God and man. It is clearly written in *Qoran* that God had been sending his messengers to the people on the earth. In this way he will continue to send guides for showing the right path from time to time, because a person cannot understand the right way without having the esoteric knowledge. This knowledge is imparted by the *pirs*. The fifth interviewee was of the view that everyone has to look for a teacher to show the way; the *pir* is the teacher. He of course, should be well equipped with the knowledge of the tenets of Islam and the standard ways of living. Even in *Qoran* there is a direction to adopt prophet's way for that is the right path to reach God. Hence in a way the basic concept of intermediary is already there. The prophet himself, is the best proof that there is need of an intermediary; therefore, the *piri* system cannot be incompatible with the principles of Islam. The sixth interviewee stated that *pir* is only a guide to show the way to the right path which consists of (1) love of God, (2) urge to serve humanity, (3) living a good moral life. There is no question of his becoming an intermediary in between man and God. The seventh informant was of the view that *pirimuridi* is absolutely against the principles of Islam, and is not compatible with absence of priests and intermediaries.

In Lucknow also almost all the interviewees were of the view that *pirs* are not priests but only guides to the disciples to show the right and simple way of living Some of them stated that *piri* system started at the time of prophet and since then everybody who is a disciple or *murid*, takes *bait* (oath of obedience) to his *pir*; this means that he has taken oath of obedience of prophet himself. It is considered that the *pir's* hand is as venerable as the Prophet's hand at the time of initiation the *pir* takes the hand of the *murid* in his hand, and says that this is not his own hand but the hand of prophet. *pirs* cannot be considered as priests because prophet himself was the gretaest *pir*, and not a priest. He used to guide the entire humanity towards righteous way of life. Another interviewee amplified his view by saying that the *pirs* are "*rehbar*" (guide), they have the capacity to induce true love in the hearts of *muslemin* for the introduction of basic tenets of Islam. *piri* system was started to enlighten the hearts of those who otherwise might go astray; *pirs* in this sense may be called as intermediaries between God and man because they are neither like ordinary human beings nor like God. Another interviewee also expressed his views more or less in the same tenor.

Summing up, it may be stated that most of the interviewees both in Delhi and Lucknow, are of the view that the *pirs* are spiritual leaders and guides but not priests. If they have special role to draw men towards God, it is because God has ordained so.

(d) Opinion about the doctrine of Bayazid that *pirs* are manifestations of divinity.

Abu yazid Bistami more commonly known as Bayazid (d. 876 A. D.) was one of the most celebrated Islamic mystics. With the exception of short periods, during which he was obliged to live far from his home town owing to the hostility of orthodox theologians, he spent his life in Bistam in the province of Kumis. During the Abbasid regime, Bayazid played an important role in the development of Sufism. For the first time in Islamic mysticism, he employed the word annihilation of the self *fana*, which later became the basis of Sufi theosophy. Ibn-Mansur Al-Hallaj (d. 921 A. D.) a disciple of Junayad of Baghdad (d. 900 A. D.) carried further the doctrine of Bayazid. His attempt to reach absolute unity by a negative process of abstraction (*tadjrid fana bi-I-tawhid*) is pursued relentlessly.

In Delhi, three interviewees agreed with the doctrine of Bayazid that pirs are manifestations of divinity. One of them, however, qualified his statement, considerably. According to him, if the words of Bayazid are practised and preached in its real spirit, only then he agreed otherwise not. Bayazid must have made his statement in order to emphasise the immense possibilities of human development through good deeds. His statement should not be interpreted in the literary sense as is done by some. As against the position taken by three interviewees, four are of the view that *pirs* cannot be considered to be manifestations of divinity in any sense. One of them went to the extent of saying that Bayazid never considered *pirs* as the manifestations of divinity; what actually he said was that God is manifested in everything. The present day *pirs* simply exploit this concept for their own interest. According to another interviewee Bayazid said certain things in his *sukr*

(spiritual absorption) condition, whose meaning was entirely different from what is assigned to it. There is some hidden meaning in what he said and this is wrongly interpreted by the ordinary people and interested parties. The other two interviewees concurred with this view. One interviewee could not give any opinion regarding the matter.

In Lucknow, eight interviewees considered that *pirs* are manifestations of divinity in a special sense. The *pirs* attain the stage of *fana* (annihilation of self) through *ibadat* (devotional rules of worship) and whatever they do, they do in the name of God. Naturally the *pirs* are in a higher position than the ordinary human beings. One interviewee stated that the *pirs* hold the position of '*abd*' (dear to God) in which every person is not included. Another interviewee tried to explain the position by referring to the structure of a kingdom. In a Kingdom there are title holders under the king; similarly God is the king and the *pirs* are his *ohdedars* (title holders). Still another interviewee considered that what Bayazid said that the pirs are the manifestations of divinity he meant that they are the *wasila* (source) to show the way to God.

As against eight persons, who consider that it is correct to state that *pirs* are manifestations of divinity, twelve persons consider that it is wrong to say that *pirs* are manifestation of divinity. As in Delhi, in Lucknow also, some of them thought that Bayazid had been wrongly interpreted, others thought that Bayazid propounded a wrong concept.

(e) Opinion regarding the doctrine of Bayazid that ordinances of law have mystic meanings and that the mystical sense is attainable only by religious exercises and through the instruction of *pir*.

In Delhi two persons agreed that ordinances of law have mystical meanings. One of them belongs to *Naqshbandi* order of Sufism and another does not belong to any order. One has got Islamic education and another is M. A., Ph. D. According to one of these interviewees who himself belongs to *Naqshbandi* order and has got Islamic education, a *pir* can instruct persons for the attainment of spiritual life by leading good life and through various exercises called *mashq*. He thinks that a persons can acquire the power for performing the miracles through his concentration, worship, devotion aud pious life and that he can transmit this power to his disciples. The other interviewee who does not belong to any order of Sufism, thinks that mystic sense of law of nature cannot be attained by rational arguments but may be realised through other than rational means. Hence, it is necessary to undertake mystical excercises. Since these exercises are not the result of logical thinking, these can be learned only from persons who have gone through the same process. The ultimate purpose of these exercises is to realise God.

Four persons different with the above views, out of them two belong to different schools of Sufism and two do not belong to any school of Sufism. According to one, the laws of nature have mystical meaning and this cannot be attained through the instructions of *pirs*. The individual has to make personal efforts through various exercises, though of course the guidance of a *pir* would be necessary. Two interviewees gave the opinion that it is not absolutely necessary to have a *pir* for guidance. People, however, may become disciples of a *pir* for convenience, to get acquainted with the basic tenets of Islam. One interviewee was of the opinion that there is no mysticism in the ordinances of law and *Qoran* is meant for common people and everyone can understand it. At best one can take help of a learned man, due to language difficulty as *Qoran* is written in Arabic and cannot be followed by everybody otherwise it is not at all necessary to have a *pir*.

On this question two persons did not express any clear opinion. The diverse views stated above, were found among the interviewees in Lucknow also. Most of the interviewees agreed that the ordinances of law have mystical meaning and that there is a close relation between a man's spiritual inner self and the realisation of this mysticism. The integration of these two can be attained only through proper exercises and in this, the guidance of *pir* is indispensable.

A smaller number of the interviewees are however of the opinion that the guidance of *pir* is not indispensable for realising the mystic aspects of nature. One interviewee stated that by *riyaz* and *majahedat* (exercise and devotion to religion) one can have the highest realisation; another interviewee stated that observation of *osoole shariat* (rules and regulations of Islam) *nafskushi* (annikilating the self), and *tarke-raoosiayat* (overcoming pride) and not mere devotion for the *pir* were the essential requirements for realising God.

(f) Opinion about the performance of miracles by *pirs* and saints.

A miraculous event (*Kharigul-adat*)* is considered by *ulemas* to belong to one of the following four classes;

1 '*mujiza*' lit. 'miracle' which is the sign of prophethood

*John. A. Subhan, Sufism, its saints and shrines p. 109.

and is a gift bestowed by God on prophets only.

2 *Karamat* lit. "favour" (from God) to work wonders.

3 *"mannat"* lit. "help", a term used for describing wonderful works performed by an ordinary person by mere accident.

4 *istidarj*, lit. "stealth" or "deception" by which is meant the amazing deeds of the magician.

The term *karamat* is only used for a work of wonder, performed by a saint.

In Delhi four persons were of the view that *pirs* and saints can perform miracles. On the other hand four persons were of the view that they cannot perform miracles. Out of the four persons according to whom saints can perform miracles, one interviewee stated that by *mashq and mahat* (exercise and devotion) they reach the stage of spiritualism and only then, they can perform miracles by the grace of God. According to another inverviewee, who does not belong to any order of Sufism, though the teachings of Islam reserve creativeness and mastery over nature to God alone, on special occasions God himself expresses this power over nature through the selected persons. These selected persons are *pirs* or saints. A third interviewee who belongs to *Naqshbandi* order of Sufism was of the view that in the scriptures of Islam there is nothing which rules out miracles. The power of miracles can be acquired through spiritual exercises. Another interviewee who belongs to Chisti order, agreed that according to the principles of Islam all creativeness is reserved to God alone but he felt that this did not mean that God could not bestow the Power on human beings to perform miracles even in *Qoran* there are references of miracles being performed by the messengers of God.

As against the above views, four persons stated that miracles cannot be performed by *pirs*; miracles are at the best, confined to the *paghambars'* (prophets') level. The *pirs* or saints cannot perform the same. Even sometimes prophet expressed his inability to perform miracles when he was asked by the people to perform the same.

In Lucknow also all the interviewees except one considered that the pirs are capable of performing miracles, by the grace of God. One interviewee explained that through meditation (*tawajjeh*) nearness to God (*qurb*), love (*mohabbat*) fear (*khauf*), hope (*rija*), longing (*khwahish*), intimacy (*uns*), tranquility (*itimanan*), and certainty (*yaqin*), their *zamir* (conscience) becomes enlightened but even then they cannot perform miracles (*karamat* or *karashmar*) unless God so wills.

(g) Opinion about the fatwa or ibn-taymia against pilgrimage to the tombs of saints.

Ibn Taymia was a professor of Hanabali law. He was well versed in *Hadith* law and theology. He defended the orthodox traditions of earlier Muslims, with arguments which, although taken form the *Qoran* and *Hadith* were hitherto unknown. The freedom of his polemic made him many enemies among the scholars of the then prevailing schools. He issued a *fatwa* in July 1326 A. D. in which he bitterly attacked the cult of saints. He referred to the following saying of prophet "one should only journey to three mosques; the sacred mosque of Mecca, the mosque of Jeerusalam, and that of mine" and inferred from the same that it was sacrilege to go on pilgrimage to the tombs of saints. Even a journey undertaken solely for visiting the tomb of prophet was according to him, an act of disobedience (*masiya*).

When his enemies came to know of his *fatwa*, they made strong representations and under the Sultan's order he was interned in the citadel of Damascus.

Both in Delhi and Lucknow, the interviewees were asked to comment on the *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia.

In Delhi, five interviewees agreed that pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is against the teachings of Islam. Some of them, however, qualified their statements. One interviewee who himself belongs to *Naqshbandi* order of sufism, agreed in principle that the tombs should not be worshipped. But he felt that *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia should not be applied in dogmatic way; as is done by many. While pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is bad and against the teachings of Islam, mere visit is not. According to another interviewee, the *fatwa* lays down that the visit to *dargah* or paying respect to it in any form, except for reading of *fateha* is sin. This *fatwa* was right and relevant for the period when it was issued, but it should not be applied in a dogmatic manner in all situations. Another interviewee stated that prophet had taken his *bait* in Mecca under one tree and the people started to worship it. *Fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia was given to check this practice; it should not be applied in a general manner. The fifth interviewee stated in a general way that worship of tombs is against the teachings of Islam. As against the above views, three interviewees were of the opinion that pilgrimage to the

tombs of saints is not against the teachings of Islam. According to one of them, prophet himself had said, "A person who comes for *haj* and does not come to my tomb does wrong to me." According to another interviewee the people who follow the Sufi system, do not believe in the *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia. The *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia was wrong; it was simply a political move to curb certain developments. Pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint is not against Islam though worship of a tomb is wrong.

In Lucknow 15 out of the 20 persons interviewed insisted that pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is not against the teachings of Islam. As in Delhi some of the interviewees in Lucknow also stated that Ibn-Taymia issued his *fatwa* because people were at that time worshipping the tree under which prophet had taken his *bait* at Mecca. In this connection, one of the interviewees pointed out that the Muslims are required to utter the words *Assalam ale-kum-ya-Ahle-Qaboor* when they pass by the tomb of anyone, to show respect to the dead. Visiting the tombs of the pirs is just an extension of the same practice. It cannot, therefore, be considered as un-Islamic. One of the interviewees was slightly critical of Ibn-Taymia for his *fatwa*. He considered that the *fatwa* paved the way for rise of the Wahabis who not only denounce supplications to the departed souls but also forbid prayers in the name of prophet Mohammad and refuse to accept his divine attributes. He felt that these extremist developments are inherent in the *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia; hence as a good Muslim he was not bound to follow the *fatwa*.

Five interviewees in Lucknow however considered that the *fatwa* of Ibn-Taymia is basically sound and should be followed even today. According to them people, who visit the tombs of *pirs*, keep their heads on the *mazars*, prostrate before the same and take vows practically indulge in idolatory and un-Islamic practices.

(h) Opinion whether all the *Pirs* can be called sufis.

Only one person in Delhi, who belongs to *Chisti* order, expressed his opinion that every *pir* must be a Sufi first. He can become a *pir* only if he is associated with one or the other order of Sufism. Four interviewees were of the view that all the *pirs* cannot be called Sufis; there are some pirs who are Sufis but in India there are many, who are not. It is a custom among the *pirs* to call themselves Sufis, but actually many of them do not have the *tasawwuf* or spiritual power to be called Sufis. The remaining three interviewees in Delhi did not express their opinion in this matter.

In Lucknow majority of the interviewees were of the opinion that all *pirs* are Sufis. According to one interviewee there are seven steps through which an individual reaches spiritual fullness. These seven steps are repentance (*taubah*), abstinence (*wara*), renunciation (*zuhd*), poverty (*fuqr*), patience (*sabr*) trust (*tawakkul*), and satisfaction (*raza*).

A person has to become a disciple (*murid*) first and cross all the seven steps, then he becomes a Sufi; later on when he attains complete harmony of inner and outer self he becomes a *pir* or *Jan-nashin*. There is a stage higher than *pir* even; it is called *kalipha*.

As in Delhi, in Lucknow also several interviewees (actually six in number) considered that all *pirs* do not deserve to be called Sufis. At present *pirism* has become an occupation, which provides an opportunity to collect money and articles in the form of offerings. Many of the *pirs* are *pirs* only in name; but they do not have spiritual qualities.

On analysis of the opinion expressed by the different interviewees both in Delhi and Lucknow it appears that the word *pir* is used in two different senses, one as a stage of spiritual development, the other as a sacerdotal position. When the people say that all *pirs* are Sufis, they mean that all persons who have attained the spiritual level of a *pir*, must have gone through the level of a Sufi; on the other hand when some other people say that all *pirs* are not Sufis, they refer to the persons who are holding the sacerdotal office of *pirs*, without attaining the spiritual level of a *pir*. It seems that if these semantic differences are straightened out there is identity of opinion among all the interviewees both in Delhi and Lucknow.

(i) Opinion about the salient points of similarities and differences among the different orders of sufism.

Chisti, *Qadiri*, *Suhrawardi* and *Naqshbandi* are the four main orders of Sufism which exist in India.

In Delhi, four interviewees stated that there is no basic difference among the different orders of Sufism, although differences may be found in the practices and methods of training. One interviewee who is a *Naqshbandi* stated that *Naqshbandi* order of Sufism does not allow *Qawwali* or *sama* to be sung. Another interviewee who belongs to *Chisti Sabria* order of Sufism stated that *Qawwali* is not performed by the *Qadiri* order also. A third interviewee stated that the different orders are mainly associated with the names of important Sufis. Originally these were loose brotherhoods; with the

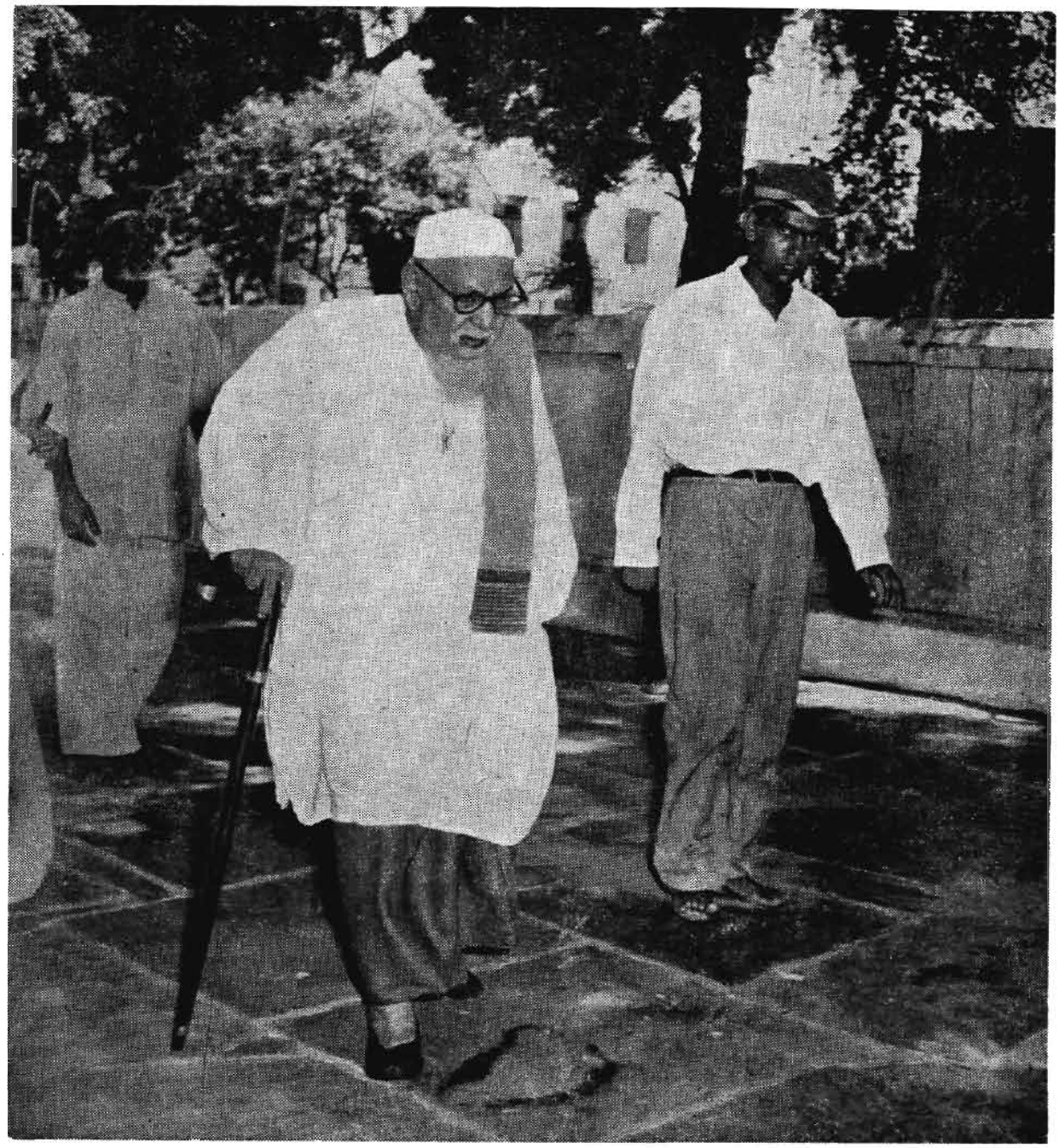

Plate I—Pir Shah Sanaullah, the present pir of the dargah of Shah Abdusalam, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

passage of time these people formed separate orders and invented many new points to justify their differences with other orders, but such differences are not really significant. According to another interviewee, there are some basic conceptual differences, but these cannot be explained.

In Lucknow all the interviewees stated that the basic tenets of all the orders are more or less the same.

There are, however, slight differences in the methods of training of the disciples. In the *Naqshbandi* order, the disciple (*murid*) closes his eyes, shuts his mouth, holds his breath and recites *kalma* in his heart in such a manner that '*la*' goes upward and *illaha* to the right. In other words the method of training is different; but none of the interviewees could furnish the details.

(j) Opinion about the origin of sufism from Interaction of Buddhism and Vedanta philosophy on the one hand and Islam on the other.

Three interviewees in Delhi considered that it is partly true that Sufism grew through the interaction of Buddhism and Vedanta philosophy on the one hand and Islam on the other. Two were of the view that the interaction with Buddhism took place not in India but outside India. One interviewee was of the view that though Sufism was influenced by local Indian philosophy all the orders of Sufism were not influenced to the same extent. It was stated by one of them that Mansoor a great Sufi, who claimed himself to be God and who was killed, had come to India before his famous announcement. Three interviewees were of the view that it is wrong to say that Sufism arose out of interaction of Buddhism and Vedanta philosophy and Islam. Sufism already existed in the Prophet's time. It is however, possible that after coming to India, many new ideas and practices were adopted by the Sufis. Two interviewees in Delhi did not express any clear opinion on this matter.

The same diversities of opinion were found in Lucknow also. One interviewee, stated that though the original source of Sufism is *Qoran*, it attained its fullest development only in India and undoubtedly Buddhism and Vedanta philosophy contributed much towards it. Another interviewee stated that even if the influence of Buddhism and Vedanta philosophy can be traced in Sufism, such influence was exercised even before Sufism spread to India. Iran, Iraq, and Egypt, where Sufism was practised from before, were also acquainted with the above two Indian schools of thought.

One interviewee thought that Sufism had no connection with other philosophies. Prophet taught the people to surrender to God and Sufis surrender to the preacher who is the representative of God on the earth. All the concepts and practices which have grown around Sufism, have grown out of this basic principle of surrender. If there are some similarities with other religions and philosophies, it is a phenomenon of convergence and not of interaction of religions and philosophies.

(k) Opinion about the hypothesis that sufism arose in response to crisis in Islam as a result of Mongol conquest of Baghdad.

In Delhi, four interviewees agreed with the above hypothesis. One of them stated that after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Sufism took an organised form, though it existed from before. It appeared to be the only consolation for the people in their utter frustration. At this time Muslims became more interested in political power than religious matters. When they were defeated by the invaders, they became frustrated and Sufism appealed to them as the symbol of unity and hope for future. Three other interviewees also gave more or less the same opinion; on the other hand four interiewees did not agree that rise of Sufism had anything to do with the Mongol conquest. One of them stated that Prophet himself was a Sufi, and initiated Hazrat Ali in the line. It is possible that after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, the Sufis, were in a better position to organise their movement. One interviewee pointed out that Abu-Qadir Jilani, the great Sufi died in 922 A.D., whereas Changez Khan who conquered Baghdad, came into power in 970 A.D. and died 1025 A.D. These factors disprove the hypothesis of rise of Sufism as a result of frustration consequent upon the conquest of Baghdad.

In Lucknow twelve interviewee considered that the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols indirectly contributed to the growth of Sufism. One of them stated that Sufism gave *faroq* (shelter) to the persons who were depressed due to their defeat; on the other hand, five interviewees considered that rise of Sufism had nothing to do with the conquest of Baghdad. Chronologically it came into existence much earlier. It was a profound philosophy of life and defeat of the Muslims in Baghdad was too ephemeral an event to significantly affect this profound philosophy. Three interviewees did not indicate their opinion in this matter.

CHAPTER III

PARTICULARS OF A *PIR* FAMILY IN DELHI AND OF THE DARGAH ASSOCIATED WITH THE FAMILY

The *dargah* of Abdusalam is situated at Cannaught Circus of New Delhi. It faces Hotel Marina and covers an area of about 25 square mile. Shah Abdusalam was a founder *Pir* and he was *jamali* by nature. The present *dargah* under study is named after him.

Hazrat Khwaja Mohammad Abdusalam Chisti. Faridi was born in 1816 A. D. at Fatehpur Sikri and died in 1896 A.D. He was a descendant of Baba Farid Ganj Shekar and took *bait* from his father. He married the third daughter of Nasiruddin alias Kale Mian who used to be patronised by the Mughal Badshahs of Delhi. In his father's life time he lived at Fatehpur Sikri and after his father's death due to discard with his brothers moved to Delhi in 1860 A.D. He was a healthy, broad shouldered and fair complexioned person and even in his old age used to walk a lot. He used to wear big *Pajamas* (lower garment), loose *Kurta* (shirt) and *Salim Shahi Juti* (chappal). He always had *tasbeh* (rosary) in his hand. The only ornament he used to wear was a ring with a stone called *firoza*. It is believed that this stone had the quality of saving persons from accidental death. He mainly concentrated his attention on the service of humanity. According to him, the complete man is one who participates in worldly affairs but is not entangled into the evils; self control is the essence of all religions. In his old age he himself selected the place where the present Dargah Abdusalam is situated for his burial. After his death he was buried here by his son Shah Abdussamad.

At the beginning only the grave was constructed and a boundary wall was built; gradually other structural elements like *Majlis Khana* Hujra mosque and other rooms were constructed by his son. Some of the well-to-do *murids* also contributed towards some of the cost, and the final shape of the *dargah* was given in 1898 A.D.

At the main entrance of the *dargah*, there is a mosque with a big courtyard and a covered corridor. In the corridor there are a few small rooms, which are used by the employees of the mosque. Crossing the courtyard there is a very big double verandah with a small raised platform called *mimber* at its one side. There is an adjacent room and having sanitary fittings. Adjoining this, is a well-furnished cottage which faces the *majlis khana*. It appears to be a guest-*cum*-office room. Adjacent to the second room facing the *majlis khana*, there is a small terrace with a fountain at its centre. On the other side of the terrace there are a few small rooms which are used by the pilgrims during the *urs* of *pir*. The actual entrance to the *dargah* is from the backside of the courtyard. For directly entering the *dargah* one has to cross a small lane. At the very entrance there is a small covered place meant for keeping the shoes before entering the main courtyard. The main courtyard covers an area of about 300 square yards. There are four marble graves with a marble canopy on the central and main grave, that is, the grave of Shah Abdusalam. The open courtyard is called *baradari* and the covered grave yard is called *hujra*. The flooring of the *baradari* consists of red stone and the entire *hujra* is built of marble. At the end of *baradari* there is a big verandah with two small attached rooms on its two extreme ends. This verandah is called *majlis khana* and is used by the present *pir* for the daily sitting. During the *urs* it is used for *Qawwali* and other ritual performances. There are a few big shady trees in the *baradari* giving it a very cool atmosphere. The main *hujra* contains four main graves, one of which is of Shah Abdusalam; one side there are graves of eldest son and wife and on the other side there is the grave of Shah Abdussamad's third son and his Khalifa.

The main ritual of the *dargah* are *urses*, one in the name of Shah Abdusalam and the second in the name of his son Shekh Abdussamad. Both the *urses* are celebrated on one night and next morning and take place on 10th and 11th *Safar*. The activities consist of *Qawwali*, recitation of *Qoran*, *Qul* and *Fateha* etc. The *urs* starts at 9 p.m. and then *Qawwali* starts and continues throughout the night. At 10 a.m. next morning it is followed by *Qawwali*. In the night food is distributed to the poor. The disciples and devotees of both the *pirs* participate in the *urs*. Mostly outsiders come from Jaipur, Hyderabad and other places. Shah Abdusalam had some outstanding disciples; late Sir Akbar Haidri, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, is claimed to be one among them.

Activities of a living *Pir*

Shah Sanaullah (Plate No. I) is the present *Pir* of

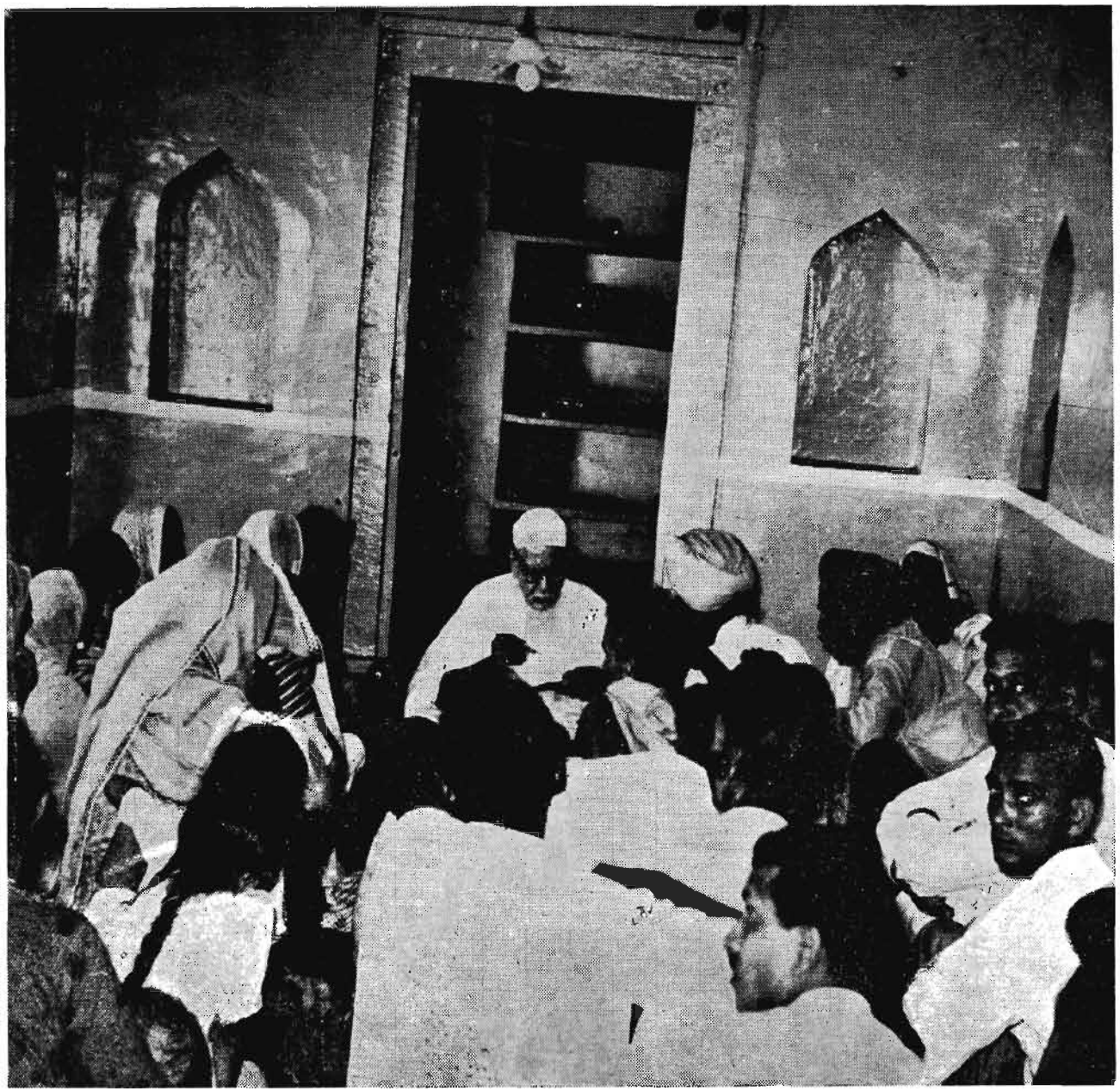

Plate II—Visitors belonging to all castes and communities to the dargah of Abdusalam and narrating to Pir Sanaullah one after another their individual problems.

Dargah Abdusalam. He is the grandson of Shah Abdusalam and son of Abdussamad. It is the tradition of the *pirs* of this *dargah* to develop spiritual power to cure diseases and solve other problems of the needy people. They do not take any payment for the service rendered by them. Like his ancestors, Shah Sanaullah is well known for his spiritual attainments and daily hundreds of people come to him to seek his intervention for solving numerous social, physical and psychological problems. His *dargah* has become venue for the treatment of thousands of people without distinction of caste or creed. Pir Shah Sanaullah is about 80 years old. He is of fair complexion and sturdy built. He has bald head and white long beard. In the middle of his forehead there is a big brownish spot which is considered by his devotees as a sign of his piety and devotion. Ordinarily his dress consists of a very long loose *kurta*, bright blue *lungi* or *tahmad* (a long piece of cloth used as a lower garment) a typical round shaped small cap covering only the top of the head. While working, he bends and jerks and somebody has to support him, though he very often does not like it. Sometimes he holds a stick in his hand. He wears a flat and loose chappal. At about 3 O'clock in the morning he gets up and after taking *wazu* starts his prayer. Exactly at 5 O'clock in the morning in all the seasons he starts from his house for the place where he has his morning session. His original residence was occupied by the refugees during the riot of 1947 when he was away in Hyderabad. He has been given an alternative accommodation in a nearby place by the Government. That place is rather small and he has been given one room by *Anjumane Taraqi-e-Urdu* to hold his morning session. The *pir* is very punctual in his activities. The devotees start coming from early mornig. There are not only the local devotees but also people from outside come and sometimes spend the night at the place. The devotees who come to see him in the morning session are mostly Muslims. The devotees sit in a queue without making any noise. Turn by turn, they come near the *pir* and relate their stories of woe. The visitors are rather secretive about their problems and nobody asks the other about the purpose of visit. Nobody even tries to hear, while the others are relating their tales. The mode of solving problem or treating the patient consists of incanting some holy words and blowing air from mouth on the specific part of the body where the patient is complaining to have trouble or giving *tawiz* with instruction to the patient to sink it in water and drink th e water or bury it in the earth, or keep it at a particular part of the body. The blowing of the holy words is called *jharna*. Sometimes people bring water and the *pir* utters holy incantations and blows air from mouth on this water. It is called *pani dam karna*. In the morning session the people are admitted into the room of the *pir* upto 9 O'clock; after that the room is closed. It takes another 2-3 hours before the *pir* can finish seeing the people already in the room. At about 12 in the noon the pir goes to his house and takes his meal which consists of only two *rotis* with small quantity of grain. At exact quarter to 2 p.m. he leaves his house for the *dargah* at Cannaught Circus. Here, the devotees belong to all the castes and creeds. Here also the people sit patiently and wait for their turn. They make a sort of queue and the *pir* calls the people individually. The male members sit in one row and the females in another. There is no discrimination in sitting arrangement. Upto 6 p.m. the people are permitted to enter the *majliskhana* after that nobody is allowed. One striking feature of the evening session is that the number of Muslims and non-Muslims is almost equal. The Pir Saheb sits on a *gadda* as he is very old and cannot sit on hard floor. For the visitors one big *dari* (drugget) is spread and all of them sit together surrounding the *Pir*. They take out their shoes at the entrance of the main courtyard of the *dargah*. When the number of visitors exceeds the capacity of the *majlis khana* a temporary rain cloth is put up, so that the people can sit outside the *Majlis khana*.

The general mode of treatment is to give *tawiz* (amulet) with the instruction to keep it in one empty tin. Before putting this *tawiz* some ash of charcoal should be spread on the bottom of the tin and the *tawiz* should be kept on it against the ash coating for sixteen days. If the fire burns the *tawiz*, the person has to come to the *pir* to procure another one; otherwise after sixteen days the problem will be solved. This is the general prescription for solving all the social problems. There are also other methods of use of the *tawiz*. In one method the *tawiz* is kept at a particular place or is tied on the arm. In another method the *tawiz* is put in water and then the water is taken by the person concerned. In some cases the *pir* prescribes medicines. There is a flat rate of Re. 1/- for all medicines given by him. When the ailing person comes personally, Pir Saheb after some holy incantation, touches the ailing part of the body and slowly spreads his hand over it. The person concerned is asked to come twice or thrice. It is said that as soon as the Pir Saheb touches a part of the body, the pain goes out of that. There is no regular or compulsory payment for the various treatments made by the Pir Saheb but the people voluntarily put some coins in the small box placed before him. As the *pir* remains very busy in treating the patients, he does not get much time to

practise *piri muridi* of the traditional type. He has however, got many disciples; but most of them live outside Delhi. According to him the service of humanity has become the part of his life and he does not have much time to practise other religious exercises or to give regular *talim* to his disciples or devotees.

As the *pir* under study did not give regular *talim* to his disciples and devotees, the same was observed in the *Khankha* of another *Pir*, viz., Pir Zamin Nizami. The particulars are furnished at annexure 1.

Actual observation of the activities of a *Pir* in a *dargah*.

The Investigator visited the *dargah* of Shah Abdusalam at about 1.30 p.m. one day in July 1964. The entire place gave a very neat and fresh look. The investigator crossed the courtyard and entered the *majliskhana*. There she saw a congregation of about twenty five to thirty people. The males and females were sitting in separate rows. They belonged to different classes and communities but there was no Muslim *parda nashin* woman. A cotton mat or *dari* was spread over the floor. At one extreme end, just outside one of the small rooms, a small cushion was placed. The *pir* had not yet arrived and all the visitors were sitting in complete silence. Exactly at 2.10 p.m. Pir Saheb entered the *dargah* gate led by an old man who helped him to take off his shoes. The *pir* was wearing a long and loose shirt called *kurta* and a dark blue lower garment called *tehmad* or *lungi*. There was a white cap to cover his clean shaved head. He was holding a rosary in his right hand. The *Pir* crossed the courtyard and entered the small room and finally came to the verandah and sat at the appointed place. He did not look at the crowd. The visitors were already in queue and one by one pushed near the *pir* and started narrating their trouble in whisper (plate no. II). The Investigator was sitting at the extreme end of the *pir* and could not hear anything. But she observed Pir Saheb touching and rubbing legs, backs and heads of the persons concerned and at the same time incanting something. She also saw a woman rubbing the *pir*'s hand on her back hand and head. The *pir* asked one of the ladies to take his *tawiz* and place it under her pillow. He asked another woman to put the *tawiz* in a small dalda tin and cover it with ashes and then with burning charcoal. The tin was to be opened after sixteen days and if the *tawiz* was burnt she could come to him again for procuring another one ; otherwise her problem would be solved during this period. By the time Pir Saheb started his session, it was raining heavily. One of the persons associated with the *dargah* put an additional water proof covering at the side verandah with the support of bamboo sticks to prevent the entry of rainy water to the main verandah. Despite the heavy rains, good number of males and females continued to come in. In less than one hour the verandah was full. There were more than sixty persons. At about 6 p.m. some body came and told *Pir Saheb* that prayer time was due and Pir Saheb got up from his seat. Somebody held an umbrella over his head and he was helped to put on the rubber covering, over his feet as the floor had become wet. He was led away to the mosque for his prayers. He took half an hour for his prayers but nobody talked or became impatient. They sat quietly and waited for his return. At about 8.30 p.m. the session was over.

Next day again the Investigator visited the *dargah* at about 3.30 p.m. Pir Saheb had already arrived and the session was on. This day the Investigator was allowed to sit very near the *pir* for closer observation. It was a sultry day. Many ladies were cooling themselves with fans provided by an old man associated with the *dargah*. All the ladies had covered their heads. Most of the men also covered their heads with handkerchiefs. This is a sign of respect in Islam. A man was sittiting very close to the *pir*. He was having very wild eyes. It appeared to the Investigator that he was mentally derailed. After every ten to fifteen minutes he was crying and making ugly faces. Sometimes he raised his hands upwards and showed his tongue, or showed as if he would strangulate himself. Pir Saheb while taking and giving *tawizes* to other visitors looked at him and put his hand over his head incanting some thing to quieten him. This day the gathering was larger than that on the previous day. The place was packed to capacity and the people were taking their seats outside the verandah. Though the visitors were coming in and going out, still the place remained crowded. The people were consulting the *Pir* for various purposes. A lady had come to get her son back who had run away from the house. A Sikh had come with the complaint that his wife had gone away to her parents with four children and he wanted her back. Another lady who had lost her job came for the help of Pir Saheb. She had lost her job once before. At that time Pir Saheb helped her in getting re-installed. Another lady came who was maltreated by her husband. She brought her blood stained clothes to show to the *pir*. One lady came with her daughter. Her husband was a medical practioner. In the day time he used to practise and was quite normal but in the evening he saw some shadows and heard voices. This lady was visiting Pir Saheb for the cure of her husband for

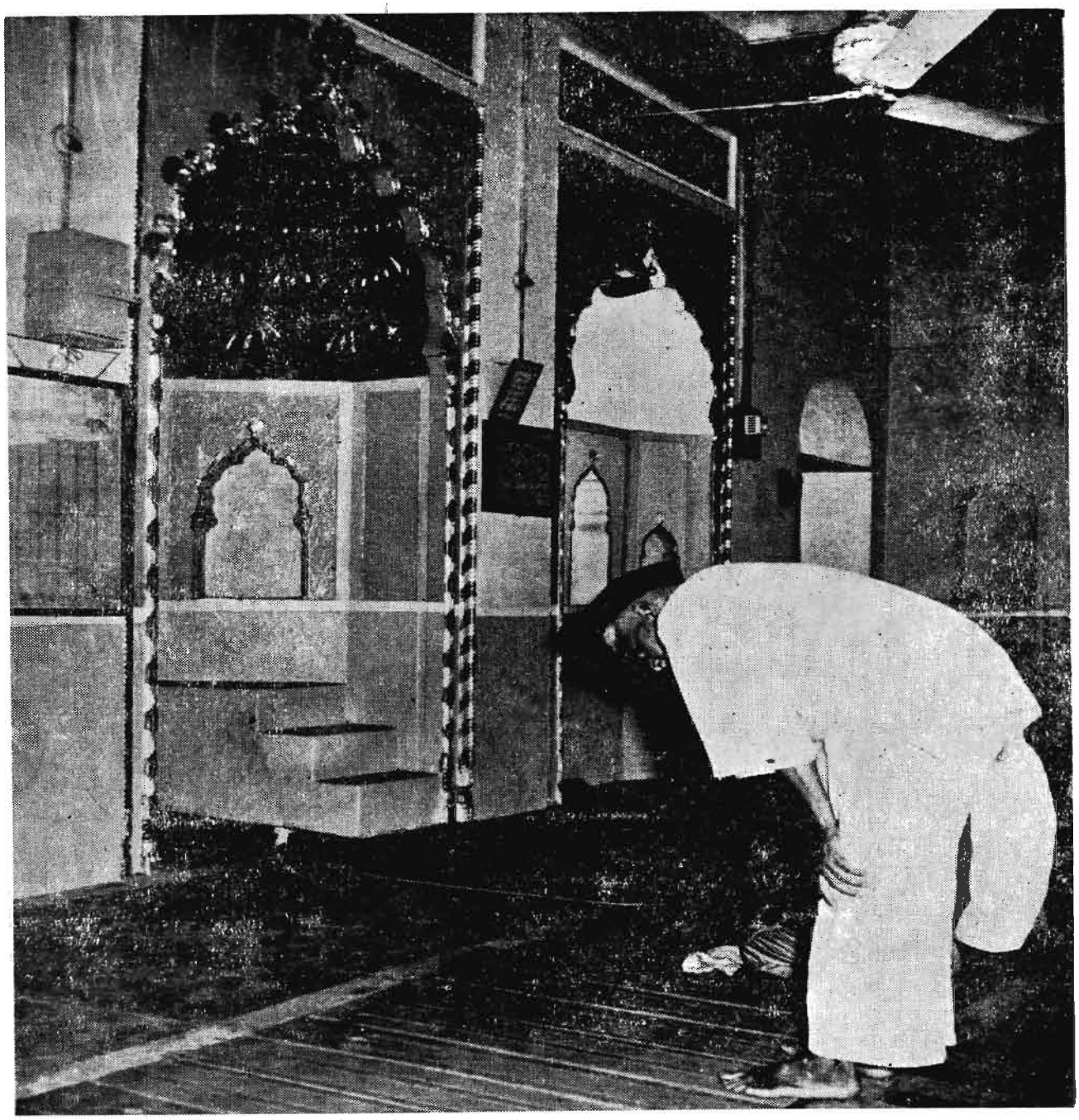

Plate III—A Visitor to pir Sanaullah is performing namaz in the dargah. He waited for Seven hours before he could meet the pir.

sometime. Previously Pir Saheb gave her a *tawiz* which worked well and the husband was better ; the wife had come now to take more *tawiz*. Pir Saheb gave all these persons *tawizes* to be tied round their arms. To some persons the *pir* gave some *tawiz* with the instruction to put the *tawiz* in water and then drink the water. He asked these people to come again after four or five days and inform the affect. To some of these people he also gave a *tawiz* to be kept in dalda tin which was to be filled with ash. The tin was then to be tightly closed and kept under burning charcoal constantly for sixteen days, after which the lid was to be opened. In case the *tawiz* was burnt the person concerned was asked to come again and obtained another *tawiz*. In case the *tawiz* was not burnt it would imply that the problem would be solved. Though Pir Saheb did not ask anyone to make payment, everybody paid something in the box kept before him. Some persons also came for physical ailment like fever, cough, swelling of body, paralysis of parts of body *etc.* To some of them Pir Saheb prescribed *Unani* medicines. For this he took fee not exceeding Rs. 1·50 per patient. To some of them he did not give any medicine. He asked them, where the pain was, he touched that part and rubbed it slowly and asked them whether they felt better by the treatment. One boy who was to appear in an examination came with the complaint that he was suffering from headache. He was asked to bring some incense pieces from the person sitting under the tin-shed in front of *dargah*. He brought the incense pieces and then Pir Saheb incanted some holy words and blew air on the same. He advised the boy to breath the air after burning the incense pieces. One lady came with the complaint that her son was suffering from acute cough and was getting thinner. She herself was a health visitor in one of the corporation dispensaries. She had consulted many doctors of repute and had spent a lot of money but the son was not cured. She, therefore, came to Pir Saheb for help. She was attracted to him because one of her colleagues told her that her son was kidnapped sometime back and was recovered within three days after taking a *tawiz* from Pir Saheb. This lady brought her ailing child's clothing to show the *pir*, but Pir Saheb asked her to bring the child personally and promised to do something after seeing him. There was a well dressed gentleman in the crowd. He was a high official of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. He came to get mental peace for himself and also to get a *tawiz* for the daughter of his boss who wanted to appear in the test for admission in a medical college, though she had failed to secure the requisite marks to sit in the test. Pir Saheb asked him to come with the name of the girl as well as the names of would be examiners.

This day the Investigator did not wait till the last, but even when she left there was a large crowd waiting for consolation of their miseries and woes with the help of this man of God.

The Investigator had interviewed twenty visitors to the *Pir*. Only one of them was a Sunni Muslim and the rest were Hindus. Twelve of the visitors who were interviewed were male and eight were females. Two of the visitors who were interviewed were aged below twenty and the rest were above twenty. Ten out of the twenty visitors were refugees from Pakistan. The rest came from Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi.

The religious educational and occupational backgrounds of the visitors have been furnished in the statement at annexure 2. Out of the twenty visitors, one male visitor and three female visitors were illiterate. The rest were literate. Three of them were in Government service. One was a research scholar and the rest were in various other occupations. One of the female visitors was a doctor, one was a health visitor, one was a teacher and two were housewives, the rest were in other occupations.

Fourteen out of twenty visitors came for the treatment of physical ailment. Three came for solution of economic problems, two came for other purposes and one did not state the purpose. The physical old ailments for which the different visitors came are as follows :—

1 Fever.
2 Allergy of some food.
3 Ailment of wife.
4 Ailment of child.
5 Wife's pregnancy.
6 Paralysis of one side.
7 Ache in arm.
8 Headache.
9 Fear complex.
10 Infant death.

The economic problems are trouble in service and consultation about business. The other purposes include desertion of wife and children by the husband.

One visitor who had come to consult about his service problem was waiting in the place of the *pir* for three hours ; one who had come to get back her lost husband waited for seven hours (Plate No. III). The

third person who had come for treatment of his ailing wife was sitting for six hours. Most of the visitors waited from two to three and half hours before they could see the *pir*.

Twelve out of the twenty visitors came alone and the rest came with their husband, sister, mother, mother-in-law child *etc*.

The nature of the treatment by the *pir* for different types of ailments is furnished at annexure 3. It is found that in twelve out of the twenty cases the *pir* gave *tawiz*. In one case, the *pir* prescribed oil massage and chanting of verses, in addition to *tawiz*. In one case there was *tawiz* and blowing of wind from mouth on the aching part. In one case there was chanting of verses, taking of *tawiz* and putting hand on the back. In two cases nothing was done by the *pir*. In the case of a Muslim visitor the *fateha* was read by the *pir*.

The visitors were asked about the sailent feature of the biography of the *pir*. Twelve out of the twenty visitors stated that they did not know the biography of the pir. Seven visitors stated that the *pir* was known for his miraculous powers. According to one visitor he is a reformer and a teacher as well as a great *pir*.

All the twenty visitors stated that they did know the sailent features of the teachings of the *pir*. They came to the *dargah* not for satisfaction of spiritual needs, but for satisfaction of physical and material needs.

CHAPTER IV

PARTICULARS OF A *PIR* FAMILY IN LUCKNOW AND OF THE *DARGAH* ASSOCIATED WITH THE FAMILY

Pir Shah Mina was a founder *pir;* the *dargah* is also established in his name. He was born in 1385 A.D. and died in 1465 A.D. He was *jamali* by nature and had tall stature, light brown complexion, long hairs on head (*kakulein*), long beard coming up to the chest, very bright face, and very large and shining eyes. He used to wear a long shirt (*kurta*) and dhoti (*tehmad*), of green colour and also a plain cap (*dupalli topi*).

Pir Shah Mina's family originally belonged to Arabia. His father's elder brother Shekh Qayamuddin was the first to come to India. He settled down in Lakhanpur or Lucknow. After sometime his younger brother Sheikh Qutub Saheb (father of Shah Mina) also came to India. At that time Shekh Qutub Saheb was not married as he wanted to devote his whole time to religious pursuits under the instructions of his pir Shekh Sarang Saheb. But it is stated that Shekh Qayamuddin insisted that he should marry as he possessed *wali-e-madarzat* (a sign that his sons will be a *wali*), on his back. At the insistence of his brother, Qutub Saheb married.

One year after the marriage, a son was born. There is a legend connected with his birth. It is stated that the month of *Ramazanul-Mubarak* was to start the next day, but due to cloudy weather nobody could see the moon. The people could not therefore decide whether they were to fast on the next day or not. They approached Hazrat Qayamuddin Saheb to determine the actual position. He asked them to go to his younger brother's place and find out whether a son was born to him or not. If his wife had given delivery to a son, the moon was sure to rise.

The people approached Sheikh Qutub Saheb for information. Shekh Saheb informed that a son was born and that at the time of his *aalam-e-zahoor* (appearance in the world) a fragrance (*muattar hona*) pervaded the whole atmosphere, and the clouds in the sky were turned into bright light. Soon after hearing this news the people could see the moon and they knew that *Ramazanul-Mubarak* was there.

It is because of this incident that the people regarded him as *wali-Allah* even from the date of his birth.

There are a few legends connected with his infancy. It is said that a few hours after his birth, waking up from sleep, his mother found him making *sijda* towards *kaba* which means that he was performing *namaz*. After a few minutes he started reciting the verses of *Qoran*. The bewildered mother could know that her son was not an ordinary human being, but she was afraid for her son. As the birth of the child coincide with starting of *Ramzan*, the child awoke and sucked the mother's breast at the time of *sehar* (in the morning). Thereafter the whole day he did not take any thing. Only at the time of *iftar* (the time when the fast is broken) he sucked the mother's breast again.

All these confirmed the forecast of Shekh Qayamuddin that his nephew would be born *wali*.

Shah Mina received his religious education under Hazrat Shekh Qayamuddin. After finishing his religious education he went to Majganwa Sharif in district Barabanki. There he rendered his services to Shekh Sarang who was the *pir* of his father also. In course of time he became *Kalipha* of Shekh Sarang. After his *pir's* death he came back to Lucknow. Here he resided for forty years and died in 1465 A.D. His tomb is near the Medical College of Lucknow.

Particulars of the *dargah* of *Pir* Shah Mina

The road on which the *dargah* of Shah Mina is situated is also named after the *pir*.

The dargah was established in 1471 A.D. The initiative for establishing the *dargah* was taken by Maqdoom Shekh Qutubuddin, a nephew of Shah Mina; later on others joined in the effort. It is interesting to note that Lala Khunkrunj a very rich Hindu seth of Lucknow made substantial contribution for the construction of the *dargah*.

The *dargah* is square in shape and is about 150 ft. x 150 ft. in size. It is enclosed by an about 10 ft. high brick wall. The wall is coloured yellow from outside and white from inside. The main entrance to the *dargah* is to the south-west. There is an arched door at the main entrance. Its walls and the two side *gumbads* (tombs) are green in colour. The choice of green is of some signifi-

cance as the tomb of Prophet Mohammad in Medina is also green. By the side of the main gate is the office of one of the *sujjada-nashins* (successor of the *pir*). As one enters the *dargah* through the main gate, one can see another enclosed area within the *dargah*. This enclosure is made of brick-wall. At the centre of this enclosed area is the tomb (*mazar*) of Shah Mina on a platform like structure, which is protected by iron rods on all sides. The platform is made of bricks and cement and is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height. The tomb of Shah Mina is at the centre of the platform. It is made of green, black and silver coloured marble slabs. To the south of the tomb of Shah Mina, there are two other tombs on the platform. one is that of his brother and the other is that of his nephew.

The other important elements in the *dargah* are as follows. There is a mosque within the second enclosure on the western side. There are two small rooms at the two corners of the mosque. One room is assigned to *Imam* of the *dargah*, another room is meant for the visitors from outside. To the east of the mosque, there is a big room facing the *mazar* of Shah Mina. Adjoining it, there is a tin-shed which is the office of the Chief *Sujjada-nashin* Hamid Ali Mina. By the side of the tin-shed is a small room where lives Haji Mian, a very old pir and uncle of Hamid Ali Mina. On the north east corner of the inner enclosure there are three small rooms. In one room lives the Chief *Sujjada-nashin*, Hamid Ali Mina; one room was previously the office of his father late Basit Ali Mina. At present it is not used and the third room is used as lodging of pilgrims. On the eastern side of the *dargah* inside the inner enclosure, there are two tombs of two *sujjada-nashins*.

There are a few institutions closely connected with *dargah* of Shah Mina, such as *dargah* of Haji Hermain, tomb of Shekh Qutub Mian both situated within the campus of the Medical College; *mazars* of Shekh Najabat Ali (Khal ki Bazar, Lucknow) Shekh Basit Ali (Maulvi Anwar ki Bagh, Lucknow) Shekh Faridu (within the campus of Queen Merry Hospital).

All the above saints belong to the same order as Shah Mina and also most of them were related to him. Though a sort of brotherhood is recognised among these *dargahs* each is autonomous in its management and control.

The control of the *dargah* of Shah Mina, vests with two *sujjada-nashins* viz. Hamid Ali Mina and Shahid Ali Mina. They are cousins and claim to be direct descendants to Shah Mina. They look after the maintenance and repair of the *dargah*. All offerings, either in cash of kind, are shared by these two cousins.

Among the other office bearers, mention is to be made of the *Imam* of the *dargah*. His function is to lead the prayer, he gets remuneration of Rs. 40/- per month, in addition to food at the place of the Chief *Sujjada-nashin*.

Full information could not be obtained about the financial aspects of the *dargah*. It is understood that some grant is received from Sunni Central *Waqf* Board. Some money is also obtained from the sale of *rangeen chunris* (very rough, long sheets of cloth dyed in green blue, yellow and other colours) which are received as offerings from the devotees on every Thursday.

The money obtained as sale proceeds of the *rangeen chunries*, is however, generally taken by the two *Sujjada-nashins*. It is reported that conflict between the two *Sujjada-nashins* sometimes lead to unseemly scenes, much to the embarrassment of the devotees. But the people generally consider one of the *Sujjada-nashins* responsible for this unhappy situation; they consider the other one to be a really good man.

The day to day activities in the *dargah* consist of maintaining the shrine, performing *fateha* and issuing *tawiz* to the visitors. Every Thursday and the day of *urs* however have different programmes.

The gate of *dargah* opens very early in the morning. The *namaz* of *fajir* is performed in the mosque of the *dargah* at about 5.30 a.m., and the people of the adjoining areas prefer to perform *namaz* here. Hence visitors start coming from early in the morning, and till late in the night, they are there.

On every Thursday (*Jumerat*) there is a special programme. It starts at 9 a.m. First of all *fateha Khani* (recitation of *Qul*) is done by the members of the *dargah*; they recite the verses of *Qoran* and do *fateha* in the name of *walis* of God or the *sahabe-mazar* (persons who belong to the shrine). Generally on this day there is unusual rush of visitors, disciples and devotees. They are expected to bring something or the other to offer to the tomb. A special market of *chunries* and *shirini* takes place on every Thursday.

In the evening from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. there is *majlise-sama* (programme of *Qawwali*), and participants come from various places, like Kakori, Barabanki, Malihabad, Sandila *etc.* They are bound together by a sense of unity of purpose and spiritual brotherhood. These musicians are never given cash payment, but they are given food on the days of their visit. The cost is borne by various people, who do it in *Fi-Sabi-Allah*,

(faith in God). The programme starts at 8 p. m., it includes *kalam* of *Busargane-Din i.e.*, laments for the dead *pirs*.

The *sujjada-nashins* preside over the various activities. They are assisted by the other inmates of the *dargah*, such as *Imam* of the mosque, and a few resident disciples.

Special rites are performed in the *dargah* on the occasion of *urs* every year. It is performed for four days from 22nd to 25th *Safar*.

On the first day of *urs* i.e., 22nd *Safar*, the rituals start at about 9 a. m. with *Qoran Khani* (recitation of *Qoranic* verses by different persons). It is followed by *gusl* (washing of the tomb of pir Shah Mina with fragrant water). This washing is done by two *sujjadas*. At about 10.30 a.m. *fateha* is performed on rice mixed with sugar and milk.

At 4. p. m. starts *Qawwali* or music programme. Musicians belonging to different places participate in the programme. Some of these musicians are disciples or devotees of different *pirs* including the *pirs* associated with the *dargah* of Shah Mina.

The last rite of the day consists of smearing of tomb of *pir* shah Mina with sandal paste. At this time also songs are sung by musicians who are specially invited for the occasion.

More or less similar rites are performed the next three days. In addition, baked loaves and grams pulses are distributed free on these days.

The expenses connected with *urs* are met by public contribution. It is considered that there are several lakh Muslim disciples and devotees of the *dargah*; Hindu disciples are also more than a thousand in number. Hence the money raised by public contribution is likely to be considerable.

Activities of a living *pir* at the *dargah*

Shekh Hamid Ali Mina, the chief *sujjada-nashin* of the *dargah* is recognised as a *pir*. He is tall in stature, has a charming and attractive face with a long white beard. As mentioned earlier, he and his family live inside the *dargah*. He sits in the morning and evening in his office to the west of the tomb of Shah Mina. The timings of these sessions are 7 a. m. to 1 p.m. in the first shift and 4 p.m. to 9 p.m. in the second shift.

The *pir* sits on a huge plank in his room. The visitors sit in queue and one after another approach him and tell him their problems. In case somebody is suffering from some ailment, the *pir* incants some holy words and blows air from his mouth on the affected parts of the body.

Sometimes the pir gives *tawiz* (amulet) for being taken with water or being buried in earth, or being kept at some particular place according to the instruction of the *pir*. The *tawizes* are given not only for curing diseases but also for solving other problems, for instance, success in business, service *etc*. Sometimes people bring some water with them and request the *pir* to make it holy. The *pir* keeps the water vessel in front of him and blows some holy words on it. This process is called *pani dam karna*. The people believe that whoever takes this water never gets any disease.

For the services rendered by him, the *pir* does not receive any cash payment. People bring sweets, fruits, fresh flowers *etc*., as their offerings to him. So metimes they bring valuable objects. They are offered to the tomb and not to the *pir*. The sale proceeds of these objects are deposited to the fund of the *dargah*.

Particulars of the visitors to the *dargah*

The Investigator observed that, though most of the visitors to the *dargah* are Muslims, quite a considerable number are Hindus.

The Muslim visitors are all sunnis. The Shias do not recognise *pirs* and hence they do not visit the *dargah*. It is reported that they do not accept any *wali* after Hasan and Hussain. Among the sunnis also the wahabis do not visit *dargahs*, as they consider it to be un-Islamic.

Most of the visitors to the *dargah* are males; only about 25% are females. The reason for small proportion of females among the visitors is, that many orthodox Muslims think it wrong on the part of females to visit shrines, mosques, graveyards *etc*. As stated by one interviewee, if females visit the tomb, the dead persons under the earth would see their private parts and this would be shameful.

20 visitors to the *dargah* of shah Mina were interviewed by the Investigator; 12 of them are sunni Muslims and 8 are Hindus. Among the 12 Muslims 8 are males and 4 are females. Among the 8 Hindus 7 are males and 1 is female. 4 of the visitors are aged 21-30; 5 are aged 31-40; 1 is aged 41-50 and 6 are aged above 50.

12 of the visitors at present live in Lucknow and 8 live in such places as Khairabad, Sandila, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and Rafigarh.

The religious educational and occupational background of the visitors are indicated in the statement at annexure 4. It shows that among the 8 male Muslim visitors 3 are illiterate,, 4 are matric and above and 1 is graduate, and that all the 4 Muslim female visitors are illiterate. Among the 7 Hindu male visitors 2 are illiterate, 4 are literate below matric and 1 is educated above matric; the only Hindu female visitor is illiterate.

The Muslim and the Hindu males belong to different occupations, like Government service, teaching business, farming *etc.*

The purpose of visit of these different persons is indicated in the statement below.

	Male					Female					
	Aged 16–40 visited for					Aged 16–40				Above 40	
Religion	Paying respect	Success in profession	Success in examination	Matrimonial	Others not disclosed	Paying respect	First hair cutting of Child	Cure of disease	Others not disclosed	Paying respect	Matrimonial
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Muslim	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	..	1
Hindu	1	..	2	..	1	3	..	..	..	1	..

The statement shows that 2 Muslims—1 male and 1 female, and 1 Hindu male did not disclose the purposes of visit. They stated that if they disclosed their purpose, the *dua* of *pir* will not have any effect. 8 persons visited the *pir* only to pay their respects. As the Muslims stated, they came for *didar* and as the Hindus stated they came for *darsan*. Out of these 8 visitors 3 are Muslim males, 4 are Hindu males and 1 is Hindu female. 2 Muslim males aged below 40, visited the *pir* in connection with their occupational problem. One was wrongly involved in some theft case in the office, he came to the *dargah* and prayed for long time so that he could be absolved of the charge. One Muslim and 2 Hindu males, all aged below 40 came to solicit the blessings of the *pir* for success in examination. One Muslim male aged below 40 came in connection with some matrimonial affairs. One Muslim female aged below 40 visited the *dargah* in connection with the first hair cutting of her child. She stated that whenever a ritual is to be performed for her children she visits the *dargah*. Another Muslim female aged below 40, came to the *pir* for cure of her disease, she was having stomach-ache. *Pir saheb* gave her a *tawiz* which she tied on her belly; One very old lady came to the *pir*; she wanted a suitable match for her grand-daughter.

12 of the 20 visitors came alone; others came with their relations.

The duration of stay of the visitors varied from 10 minutes to 3 days. A statement showing duration of stay with reference to purpose of visit and religion is placed below:

	Purpose of Visit									
	Muslim							Hindu		
Duration of stay	Paying respect	Success in profession	Success in examination	Matrimonial	Not disclosed	First hair cutting	Cure of disease	Paying respect	Success in examination	Not disclosed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10–20 minutes	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	1	..
1/2 hour	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	2	1	..
1 hour	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
2 hours	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
2 Days	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
3 Days	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	5	2	1

Out of the five Muslims who came to pay respect one stayed for 10-20 minutes, one for 2 days and one for 3 days. The last two are *murid* of the pir. Out of the five Hindus who came to pay respect three stayed for 10--20 minutes and two stayed for 30 minutes. It appears that there is significant difference between the Hindus and the Muslims in the duration of stay, when they come for paying respect.

Out of the two Muslims who came for success in profession one stayed for 1 hour and another stayed for 2 hours. One Muslim who came for success in examination, stayed for 10-20 minutes. Out of the two Hindus who came for the same reason, one stayed for 10-20 minutes, the other stayed for 30 minutes.

The two Muslims who came in connection with matrimonial matters stayed for 30 minutes each.

One Muslim female who came for first hair cutting of her child stayed for 2 hours.

One Muslim who came for cure of disease stayed for 2 hours.

Out of the two Muslims who did not disclose their purpose, one stayed for 30 minutes and the other for 1 hour. The single Hindu who did not disclose his purpose, stayed for 2 hours.

The visitors were asked whether they were acquainted with the details of the life and the teachings of the *pir*. Except one Muslim, others stated that they practically knew nothing; they only knew that he had some extra-ordinary powers.

CHAPTER V

DISCIPLES OF *PIR*

In all, seventeen *murids* (disciples), thirteen in Lucknow and four in Delhi were interviewed in order to have an idea of what the disciples know of their masters, how they are initiated, what sort of religious practices they follow and so on.

(a) Occupational Background of *Murids*

In Delhi four persons who were *murids* of different *pirs* were interviewed. They all belong to *Chisti* order of Sufism. One of them is Manager, *Madarasa-e-Main-al-Islam*, Nuh, Gurgaon, another is Vice President of Jamait Sufism, District Nagaur, the third is Convenor of All-India *Jamait-e-Sufia* and the fourth is associated with *dargah* Abdusalam. One of them has *piri-muridi* as the main occupation, the others are in agriculture or in business.

In Lucknow thirteen *murids* of different *pirs* were interviewed; they belong to the different orders of Sufism. Six out of the thirteen interviewees belong to *Qadiri* order of Sufism, four belong to the *Chisti* order the remaining three are also *Chisti* but belong to *Chisti Nizami* order of Sufism. None of the interviewees is aged below twenty five; mostly they are aged fifty five and above. Six of the interviewees have read up to middle standard one has passed intermediate; the remaining six did not tell their educational qualification. Two of the interviewees are government servants, five are agricul- two are two are *Khadims* of *dargah*, and the remaining turists, *Sujjada-nashins* of *dargah*.

Salient Points of the teachings of various *Pirs* as Stated by their *murids*

The *murids* were asked about the salient points of teachings of their *pirs*. In Delhi, one of the *murids* reported about the teachings of his Pir Maulana Mohd. Ilyas, the following salient points—(i) knowledge of *kalma* and full belief in it from heart, (ii) regular observance of *namaz* at fixed hours with full concentration and devotion, (iii) regular incantation of *duasikr* as prescribed by the *pir* at fixed hours,—mostly after morning and evening *namaz*, (iv) fulfilment of all obligations bestowed upon men as human beings *i.e.*, to earn bread to feed the family, to treat the neighbours kindly, to perform the duties in various capacities with honesty and devotion. The intention should always be pure and honest, (vi) to find out sometime to preach the aforesaid principles to fellow human beings. This is called *tabliqh* or preaching. According to another interviewee whose occupation is business and who has passed B.A., the salient features of the teaching of his Pir Jamaluddin of Maharashtra consist of love of God and observance of *namaz*, *roza* and *zakat*. According to the third interviewee, his pir Zamin teaches his disciples to have good morals, devotion to God and urge to serve humanity. The fourth person who is a *murid* of Haji Mian (Pir Sanaullah) stated that the salient points of teachings of his *pir* are :—a person who wants to become *murid*, must believe in the basic principles of Islam. He should perform *namaz*, *roza* and *zakat* regularly. For the concentration of mind Pir Saheb prescribes particular *dua* or incantation after seeing the temperament of the person concerned. He is kept under constant watch for a few months and for every single person there is a separate *dua* which is to kept secret or else its effect would be lost.

The teachings of various *pirs* as reported by the *murids* in Lucknow are almost the same. One of the interviewees stated that the salient points of the teachings of his *pir* are (a) to believe in one God who cannot be compared with any other power, (b) to recognize Mohammad as the *Rasul* or apostle of God, (c) to have full belief in *Kalma* (d) to perform *namaz* or ritual prayer at fixed hours, (e) to observe fast during *Ramzan*, (f) to abstain from tobacco, drink, and perfume, (g) to have a regulated sex life, (h) to incant *zikr* as prescribed by *pir* at regular hours mostly after morning and evening *namaz*, and lastly to fulfil all the obligations bestowed upon men as human beings.

Continuity of relationship with a particular *Pir* in the family

In Delhi, one of the intervieewes reported that his father, mother, sister and one of the brothers are *murids* of Pir Ilyas who died in 1945. At present son of *pir* Ilyas Mohammad Yusuf Saheb has become *pir*. Another interviewee reported that his father and younger brother are also *murids* of his *pir*. His father became a *murid* in 1960. The third interviewee reported that because his maternal grandfather was *murid* of Pir Zamin Nizami's paternal grand father, he became acquainted with the family of the present *pir*. He has become *murid* because of his family connection.

Another interviewee stated about the *pir* that his mother is also *murid* of the *pir*. He, therefore, knows the *pir* for sometime and he was very much impressed by his spiritual power. He wanted some consolation of his mind because he was very much disturbed in his life ; five or six years ago he became the *murid* of the *pir*.

In Lucknow, one of the persons who is *murid* of Pir Haji Amin Saheb, was converted to Islam from Hinduism. He, has no family tie with his *pir*. All the other interviewees stated that their ancestors were *murids* of the ancestors of their respective *pirs*. One of them stated that he had taken *bait* from his own grand father.

Difference between disciple and devotee

In Delhi, all the four interviewees who were *murids* of one or the other *pir*, were of the view that there is a lot of difference between a disciple and a devotee. According to one interviewee, a disciple or a *murid* is obliged by his sacred contract to be truthful to himself and communicate to his *pir* every thing regarding social as well as spiritual life. But a devotee is not under obligation to do any such thing. *Murid* is bound by his *bait* or oath of allegiance, to obey his *pir* and not to keep anything secret from him. *Muridi* can be terminated if the *murid* does not obey his *pir*. According to another interviewee, while devotee is a casual visitor to pir and comes for a specific purpose, *murid* enters into a sacred contract with the *pir* of obeying and accepting his guidance in return for *safa* (noble) conduct to God. According to the third interviewee *murid* is a person who has faith in *pir* and has accepted him as a spiritual guide for his entire life. He enters into a sacred promise with the *pir* to follow the various stages under his supervision and to obey his command without any condition. On the other hand the devotee is a person who becomes interested in a *pir* for some temporary benefit. He holds *pir* in high reverence for his devoted and holy life and believes in his miraculous power to do something which ordinary people cannot do and he fully believes that due to *pir's* intervention he is sure to get his desire fullfilled. According to the fourth interviewee, as soon as a person becomes *murid*; he sells himself out to his *pir*. He completely resigns himself to the will of his master from his heart and soul. He has to obey the order of the *pir* and in return the *pir* takes him to the various stages of spiritual realisation through his own and his disciple's efforts. It depends on the *pir* to decide whom he would take to what stages.

In Lucknow also, all the interviewees, who are *murids* of some of the other *pir*, expressed their views more or less on the same lines as those expressed by the interviewees in Delhi. Three interviewees tried to bring out the difference through the following simile. According to them the *pir* is like a king and his disciples are like his offsprings ; on the other hand the devotees are like his subjects.

Method of Initiation of disciple

In Delhi, according to one interviewee, the candidate for becoming *murid* is asked to perform *wazu* and sit in front of the *pir*, who takes both the hands of the candidate and asks him to repent for his past sins and to recite *kalma*. He has also to promise to refrain from idolatary, theft, adultery, wine, unwanted shedding of blood, dishonest gain, gambling and acquiring anything by undesirable means. According to another interviewee, *pir* prefixes the date and time for making *murid*. On the fixed day the candidate is required to be ceremonially cleaned by *wazu*. It is always preferable for the candidate to take bath, put on clean clothes and cover the head. The candidate is asked to sit in the posture of *namaz* before the *pir* and recite *kalma*. Then the *pir* takes both the hand of the candidate in his hands and asks him to repent for the past sins and promise in the name of God not to commit any sin in future. After this, the *pir* recites some *dua* and puts his hand on the candidate's head. According to the third interviewee the disciple is required to take an oath of allegiance to the *pir* and in return the *pir* has to promise to make the disciple an experienced man. If the candidate comes to a *pir* with intension to become *murid* without reference from any other *murid* he has to stay with the *pir* for sometime. In this period the *pir* would observe his activities.

If at the time of initiation the candidate brings some sweet, *fateha* is performed over the sweet and then the same is distributed among those present. Then the *pir* prescribes some secret *dua* to the *murid* which is to be recited at fixed time and not to be disclosed to any one else.

In Lucknow one interviewee stated that he remained ceremonially clean on the day he took *bait* from his *pir*. He came to the *pir* and performed *namaz* of *tauba astag-far* (repentance for the misdeeds of the past). In the *namaz*, selected verses of *Qoran* were recited and then the *pir* took his hands in his own hands and said "ye beholdeth prophet's hand". The disciple was then handed over *shijra* of the *pir*, (genealogical chart of the family of *pir*).

Another person stated that during his initiation he first observed the *namaz* of *taubatun-nasu* (same as

namaz of *tauba astagfar* with difference of only a few verses of *Qoran*). Then he held the *daman* (corner of *kurta*) of the *pir* and took an oath of observing all the rules of Islam under his guidance.

A person who was converted from Hinduism described his method of initiation. First he was asked to take *wazu* ; then he recited *kalma* in order to become a Muslim. Then he performed *namaz* under the guidance of the *pir*. The *pir* was reciting the words and doing the actions and he was doing exactly what the *pir* did. After namaz, the *pir* took the hands of the *murid* and asked him to repent for his sins. As he was a new Muslim he was repeatedly asked by the *pir* to have full belief in *kalma*, prophet Mohammad and God. He had brought some sweet with him ; the *pir* made *fateha* over it and gave half the portion to the *murid*, one-fourth to the attendants and kept the remaining one-fourth for himself.

A female *murid* stated that during her initiation, the *pir* did not hold her hands. She held the *daman* (corner of *kurta*) of the pir and then the *pir* recited the *Qoranic* verses. The rest of the procedure was the same as in case of initiation of the male *murids*.

One interviewee described how spiritual power is transmitted by a *pir* to his *murid*. This is done by the exercise of *tawajjeh* (concentration). The *pir* sits near the *murid*, and proceeds, in imagination; to picture his own heart in close proximity to that of his *murid*, at the same time he concentrates his mind on the idea that his power is being transmitted from his heart to that of the *murid*. The *murid* is also required to concentrate his mind on the idea that he is receiving spiritual power from his *pir*. After this, the *murid* always keeps the *murshid* or *pir* in mind and becomes mentally absorbed in him, through constant meditation and contemplation.

Religious performances of the disciple of a *Pir* as distinct from those of ordinary Muslims

In Delhi, according to one interviewee soon after becoming disciple of a *pir*, a *murid* is required to perform special exercises. He is to forsake the world for forty days. During this period he has to imbibe the six basic principles of Islam, repeat the name of the God in the form prescribed by the *pir* and recite special *dua* for cleanliness of his soul. For this he is attached to one party of experienced persons for training. The party travels from one place to another with defined limit, usually halting at mosques or buildings of other religious institution. During their stay they call meetings of the local Muslims and preach their ideals by explaining and arguing with them. The interviewee further stated that some *murids* perform other religious exercises as well. For instance, some perform *chilla* i.e., prayer by remaining stated at a particular place for forty days. During these forty days, he leaves his seat only for meeting calls of nature or similar urgencies.

In Lucknow also the various interviewees referred to the performance of *chilla*. One interviewee stated that in addition to *chilla*, *nafils* are also performed by *murids*. Here it is to be noted that *nafil* is a special type of *namaz*, which is performed by the person concerned remaining in sitting position. In this type of *namaz* two *rakat* are performed at a time. Another interviewee stated that the *murids* are required to have *zikre-aftabi* and *zikre-mahtabi* (discussion about the procedure of being ordained and finding out the better way of having mystical realisations). The interviewee however was reluctant to disclose the details of these discussions, because such discussions are treated as *batin* (which should be kept to oneself). Another interviewee stated that to be a *murid* means to become free of lust (*nufs*). For this, one must control the physical faculties through various exercises, for instance, in *naqshbandi* order, a *murid* is required to close his eyes, shut his mouth, hold his breath and recite in his mind *la-illaha*.

Differences in life and thought on being ordained as a disciple

In Delhi, one interviewee stated that after he became disciple of a *pir*, his attitude towards life has changed. Now he does and thinks everything in the name of God. He is trying to become selfless. Another interviewee stated that before he became *murid* of a *pir* his sole concern was for worldly gains. He never used to perform regular *namaz*. Now gradually he is getting contented in his life. The taste for worldly goods is also diminishing. According to the third, interviwee acceptance of discipleship brought a revolution in his life; now he feels himself a changed man and a true Muslim. The fourth interviewee stated that after becoming *murid* of a *pir* he feels that he has got some body to guide him in his difficulty through his prayer.

In Lucknow, all the above sentiments were reflected in the statements of the various interviewees. As stated by one interviewee, after a person is initiated into mysticism, by a *pir*, he cannot forget even for a moment that the world is not everlasting. Everything will go; only the name of God and *Kalma* of Mohammad will remain. So, whatever is done, should be done in the name of God and Mohammad.

Offerings to *Pir*

In Delhi one interviewee who belongs to *Chisti* order of Sufism, stated that in his order they do not believe in giving offerings to the *pir*, after fulfilment of desire. But whenever he gets an opportunity, he makes small contribution in cash or kind to continue the work of preaching and teaching. One interviewee who belongs to *Chisti Nizamia* order of Sufism, once gave *nazar* and dinner to his *pir* and other near associates, after success in litigation. The other interviewees stated that they do not regularly offer any thing to their *pirs*.

In Lucknow, one interviewee stated that he offered *shirni* (sweets) to his *pir* on the day he was accepted as *murid* by the *pir*. After that he frequently offers *shirni* and other eatables to the *pir*. Three interviewees stated that they frequently offer *shirni* (sweet) and *chadars* to the *pir* on Thursdays (*Jumerat*). One interviewee stated that his *pir* has advised him to give him such portion of his income as he can easily spare. Besides, when he has excess, money, the *pir* asked him to spend the same for various religious purposes like construction of mosque, shrine *etc.*, or giving financial assistance to *madrasas* (centres of religious learning).

Frequency of visit to the place of *Pir*

In Delhi one interviewee belonging to *Chisti* order stated that he stays with his *pir* about nine months in a year. Another interviewee stated that he lived with his *pir* for sometime only once, but he frequently meets him whenever he comes to Delhi. Another interviewee reported that he visits the *pir* after every two or three months. The fourth one stated that he visits the *pir* almost daily morning and evening.

In Lucknow four interviewees stated that they generally visit their *pirs*, once in a year at the time of the *urs* of the founder *pir* of the *dargah*. Two interviwees stated that almost every week they visit their *pirs* on *Jumerat* (Thursday). Others stated that they visit their *pirs* according to their convenience.

Bond among disciples of the same *Pir*

In Delhi, all the interviewees stated that there is close bond among the disciples of the same *pir*. Three interviewees stated that this bond is consolidated through annual gathering, during the *urs* of *pir*. Another interviewee stated that in case of need they help each other as brothers and sisters. They are called *pir bhai pir bahan*. On all important occasions they are invited and share the sorrows and joys of each other. In lucknow three interviewees reported that there is no special bond among the *murids* of the same *pir* but the remaining interviewees stated that there is a sense of brotherhood among the *murids* of the same *pir* which is consolidated through participation in the annual *urs* ceremony in the *dargah* of the *pir*.

Relic of *Pir* in the family

In Delhi, one interviewee stated that generally the *pir* gives his relics to be preserved to his *khalifa* and not to other *murids*. But another interviewee who is not a *khalifa* stated that the headgear of his *pir* is kept in his house and is displayed during *urs*. At that time people gather in his house to show respect to it by kissing and bowing to it. Other interviewees in Delhi stated that they do not keep relics of their *pirs* in their homes.

In Lucknow ten interviewees stated that they have got the *shijra* (genaecological chart) of their respective *pirs*. Two interviewees who are also descendants of their pirs stated that they have preserved the books which were read by their *pirs*. Four interviewees stated that they have preserved the headgears by their respective *pirs* and five interviewees stated that they do not have any relic.

Miraculous Power of the *Pir*

In Delhi one interviewee who is disciple of Pir Mohd. Ilyas stated that his *pir* does not believe in miracles. He recites verses of *Qoran* on plain water and gives the same to the persons intending to be cured of diseases. He considers that, it is due to grace of God, and not due to any miracle affected by him, that people get relief in ailment. Another person who is a disciple of Pir Jamaluddin of Maharashtra said that his *Pir* is known for his powers of causing miracles. According to him a *pir* without *karamat* or power to cause miracle is no *pir*. He narrated an event to illustrate the miraculous power of his *pir*. In 1963, Pir Jamaluddin visited Ajmer and wanted to purchase something. The shopkeeper wanted to cheat him by charging fantastic prices. The *pir* rebuked him and did not purchase anything. Next morning the shopkeeper got paralytic attack; he immediately approached the *pir* for his pardon and after that he was cured. A disciple of Pir Zamin Nizami who was interviewed cited a miracle by the *pir*. Last year there was a demonstration by the sweepers against the *pir*. The interviewee and the *pir* were getting late for *namaz*; but due to the miraculous power of the *pir*, both of them could pass the crowd unseen and could attend the *namaz* in time. On another occasion a rich childless

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man got a child due to the *pir's* intervention and blessing. Another interviewee who is a disciple of Pir Sanaullah stated that once he was miraculously cured of headache by the *pir*. He was suffering from headache for sometime; when the *pir* came to know about it, he asked him to go to sleep. Immediately he fell asleep and when he awoke, he was alright.

In Lucknow, seven persons who are *murids* of different *pirs* stated that the *pirs* do not have any miraculous power of their own. They are human beings; they can give relief to others only by the grace of God. The remaining interviewees stated that they believed in the miraculous powers of *pirs*. One person who is disciple of Pir Maulana Shah Habib Saheb Qalander gave an illustration of the miraculous power of his *pir*. Once his uncle was seriously ill. In the night when the interviewee was fast asleep, he saw in the dream that he had gone to the *pir* for some religious discussion but the *pir* asked him not to approach him at that moment as he was busy in performing the last rites of his uncle. As he was dreaming he was awakened by the members of his family and was told that his uncle had expired. A female interviewee who is a disciple of Pir Waris Ali Saheb, reported that once when she was going to the place of her *pir* with her son, the son fell into a pit and died. Bitterly weeping, she took the dead son to the *pir*. The *pir* consoled her and recited *dua* on the dead body; after a few minutes the dead child came to life and opened his eyes. Another person, who is a disciple of late Hazarat Shah Hafiz Safi, stated that the miraculous powers of *pirs* persist even after their death. Hazarat Shah Hafiz Safi was *Jamali* by nature. His tomb is within the boundary of Medical College. Adjoining this tomb, there is tomb of another *pir* who was *Jalali* by nature. If a flower is kept on the tomb of Shah Hafiz Safi, its petals become brighter and it remains fresh; on the other hand if a flower is placed on the tomb of the other *pir*, it dries up quickly. This difference is due to the difference in the nature of the two *pirs*.

Summing up the positions taken by the *murids* of ths various *pirs* both in Delhi and Lucknow, it can be stated that while most of them believe in the miraculous powers of their *pirs*, there are some who do not think that there is anything mircaculous in what their respective *pirs* do. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that the persons of the second category are drawn towards their *pirs*, not because they are dazzled by any so-called miracle but because of real spiritual needs.

Extent of dependence on *Pir*

All the interviewees in Delhi stated that they consult their *pirs* in all important matters. One interviewee stated that even when getting married he would consult his *pir*. If the *pir* forbids him to marry any particular girl, he would not marry her. Another interviewee stated that while entering into litigation with outsiders he consulted his *pir* and it was with the *tawiz* given by *pir* that he could win the litigation.

In Luknow also, all the *murids* of different *pirs*, stated that they consult their *pirs* in matters relating to faimily dispute, professional matrimonial affairs, physical ailment *etc*.

Significance of the pilgrimage to the Tomb of *Pir*

In Delhi, one *murid* of a *pir* stated that he did not believe in pilgrimage to the tomb of a *pir* but at the same time he thought that visit to the tomb of a *pir* is good if it is to offer *fateha* and to be reminded of the ultimate end of one's life. Such a visit gives incentive to lead a devoted, honest and purposeful life when there is still time to do so. Another interviewee stated that visit to the tomb of *pir* is necessary for showing respect to the *pir* and for having a sense of proximity to God through the *pir*. Two interviewees stated that visit to the tomb of a *pir* is necessary for satisfaction of *qulb* (heart) and for fulfilment of wishes.

In Lucknow ten *murids* of various *pirs* stated that pilgrimage to the tomb of a *pir* is good and necessary while three *murids* of different *pirs* considered pilgrimage to be an act of *shirk* (not mentioned in *hadith*). The latter however, were not opposed to visit to the tomb of a *pir*, provided, that such visit is for the purpose of offering *fateha* in the names of the *pir*. They considered that such visits could confer feat spiritual satisfaction because a *pir* rests in eternal grace of God; he is never dead.

Breaking of relationship, after being *murid* of any *Pir*

In Delhi no case of discontinuation of relation between a *murid* and his *pir* came to notice. In Lucknow on the other hand several such cases were reported. One interviewee reported that sometimes, a person becomes *murid* of a *pir*, to serve some temporary interest and as soon as it is fulfilled, he ceases to keep contact with the *pir*. Thus their relation is automatically broken. One interviewee, Md. Wahid Ali, who was once, *Murid* of a *pir*, stated that he had broken relation with the *pir*, as he was not a true *pir*,

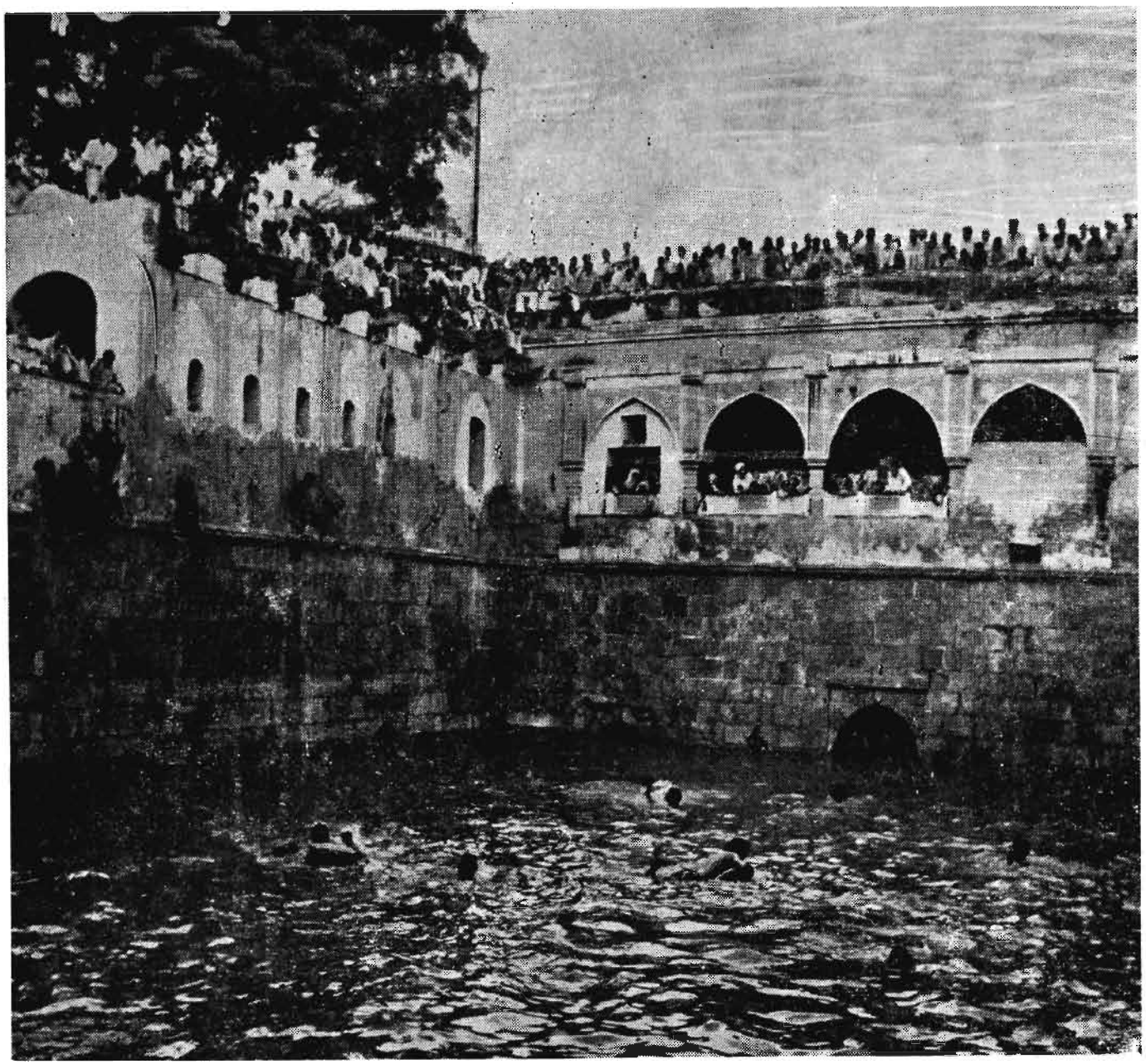

Plate IV—A holy tank 'Chashmae-dilkashnuma' in the dargah of Nizamuddin Awlia.

he always expected offerings and money from his *murids*. Once the *pir* wanted him to give false evidence on behalf of his son in the court and Wahid Ali refused to do so; at this the *pir* became infuriated and asked Wahid Ali not to come to his place any more. Wahid Ali considered it a good riddance; he broke off relation with the false *pir* and became *murid* of another *pir*.

CHAPTER VI

URS OF NIZAMUDDIN AWLIA

Significance of *urs*

In Delhi a study of the *Urs* of Nizamuddin Awlia was undertaken.

Urs is an Arabic word which means the tryst between the bride and the bridegroom. There is a message of Prophet Mohammad *"num Kanaumatiluroos."* It is an address to the dead, to sleep as the bride sleeps in the love of God. In Islamic concept death symbolises the return of the soul to his 'supreme creator'. Sufis consider this return as the merger of the lover with his beloved. Hence the word *urs* is associated with the death anniversary of the saints who after a fruitful existence in the world go back into the embrace of their beloved God. The *urs* of Nizamuddin Awlia as performed in the *dargah* named after him is one of the most important performances of its kind, in India.

Hazrat Khwaja Nizamuddin Awalia

It is said that Hazrat Khwaja Nizamuddin Awlia was a direct descendant of Prophet Mohammad. His paternal grand father and maternal grand father came to India from Bukhara in 12th Century. His father Khwaja Syyed Ahmed Bin Ali was appointed as Chief Justice by the King of Oudh, and was held in great esteem. Nizamuddin was born at Badaun, a town in Uttar Pradesh on 19th December, 1238 A.D. When he grew up, he became a disciple of Baba Farid of Pakpatan (now in Pakistan). His spiritual endownments attracted the the attention of many people of his time and earned him the title of *Mahboob-e-Ilahi* (God's most Beloved). Baba Farid appointed him as his *khalifa*. He conducted his preachings in a room in Delhi, near which, the tomb of emperor Humayun was constructed at later period.

The *dargah*

The *dargah* of Nizamuddin is situated on Lodhi Road in New Delhi. The locality where it is situated is also called Nizamuddin after the name of the saint.

There are two important mausoleums in the same campus; one is of Nizamuddin Awlia, the other is of Amir Khusro.

The *dargah* is built in the form of a tomb after the Mughal Style. Even though while marble stones are used for the construction, the work is not so much fascinating in its effect. There are long pillared verandahs on all four sides protruding like arms in the courtyard. In the courtyard, graves of many people are seen. Outside the courtyard, on the eastern side there is the *dargah* of Amir Khusro which is also built in the same pattern as that of Nizamuddin's *dargah* but is smaller in size. This is also surrounded by a courtyard. Floorings of both the courtyards consists of rectangular blocks of white and red marbles. On the western side of the *dargah* of Nizamuddin, there is a mosque which has got a spacious central hall and two wings, which are slightly smaller in size than the central hall. There are three main entrances into the courtyard of Nizamuddin, one from the west, one from the north and a third one from the east. The last one leads to the *dargah* of Amir Khusro, which in turn has got only one entrance from the north. Another important mausoleum which deserves mention is the *beesdari* (twenty gates) or *chausath khamba* (sixty-four pillars). This place lies on the north eastern side of Amir Khusro's *dargah* and one can reach here after going through some winding paths and narrow lanes. It is rectangular in shape and built with white marble. The walls on the four sides are made of exquisitely carved white marble and many visitors consider this grave to be one of the most impressive structures. Another building called *urs mahal* which has been constructed recently lies on the north of *beesdari*. The annual performance of *urs*, is held here. There is one ancient holy tank named *chashma-e-dilkashnuma*, which lies on the northern side of the *dargah* of Nizamuddin Awlia and there is a legend about the holiness of the water of this tank (Plate No. IV). It is said, that once there was scarcity of Kerosene oil, and the people approached Nizamuddin for relief. He distributed the water of this tank to them which lit like Kerosene and when the crisis was over, the water lost its speciality. Therefore, everybody having faith in Nizamuddin's spiritual power takes at one gulp of water from this tank.

Office bearers

It is reported that the *dargah* does not have any immovable property attached to it. Before his death, Nizamuddin gave the right of service of the *dargah* to

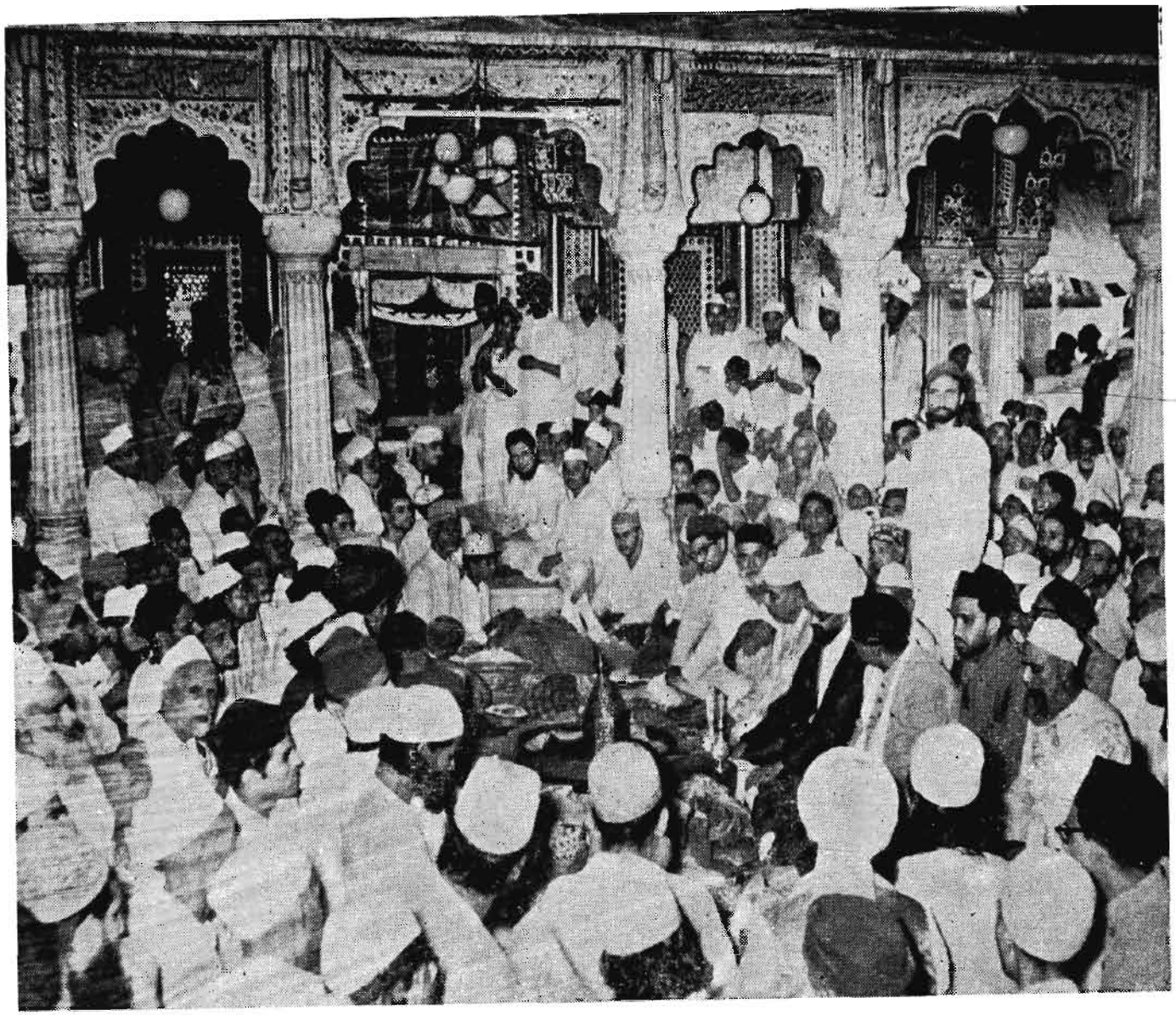

Plate V—The head-priest of the dargah of Nizamuddin Awlia alongwith others is getting ready for the main fateha ceremony. The tabarruk offered by the devotees is seen covered in the Centre, facing the main entrance to the tomb of the saint.

four persons. These four persons are the founders of four lines of descent. At present only three lines exist, while the fourth one has become extinct. In the beginning each of the four founder families was given right to serve in the *dargah* for one week by rotation; later on when the families multiplied the right to serve on the different days of a week were sub-divided among the constituent families of each line.

Now-a-days, all the families do not excercise their rights directly. Many of them have sold out their rights of service to other *Khadim* families. They however, cannot sell the service right to outsiders as all the *Khadim* families have the right of pre-emption.

As a result of transfer and fragmentation of rights sometimes two or three families together serve in the *dargah* on the same day; on the other hand, there is a family which may have the right to serve the *dargah* for sixty eight days in a year.

On the day, on which a particular family is to serve in the *dargah*, it takes charge of the *dargah* and no activity can take place in the *dargah* without the consent of that family. Even the *Qul* on the occasion of *urs* is performed by the *sujjada-nashin* in consultation with the family in-charge of the *dargah* on that particular day. The keys of the cash boxes also remain under care of the family which has the service right on a particular day. There are two cash boxes. One is placed near the *mazar* of Nizamuddin, and the other is placed near the *mazar* of Amir Khusro. The money offered by different visitors is collected by the family concerned, in the evening. If two or three families serve on the same day, the money is divided among them according to their respective shares.

The chief office bearer of the *dargah* is called *sujjada-nashin* (successor of the saint). At present two persons claim to be the *sujjada-nashins*, one is pir Zamin Nizami, the other is Qazi Safdar Ali. However, Pir Zamin Nizami has been recognised as *sujjada-nashin* by th Government and he receives Rs. 3,000/- per year from Government for the maintenance of the *dargah*, Besides, he has been authorised to collect rent from the persons who open temporary stalls in front of the *dargah* during ceremonial occasions. He charges Rs. 5/- per square yard for a day from the stall-owners but pays altogether Rs. 300/- to the Government. He is allowed to keep the remaining amount for himself. Durig the study, he appeared to have full control over all the activities in the *dargah*.

Celebration of *urs*

As mentioned earlier, there are two mausoleums within the same campus, *viz.*, mausoleum of Nizamuddin and that of Amir Khusro Their *urs* take place on two different dates. The *urs* of Amir Khusro takes place in the month of January-February according to Gregorian calendar. On the other hand the *urs* of Nizamuddin Awlia, is celebrated according to Arabic calendar. He died on 17th Rabiussani and his *visal* (union with good) is celebrated every year from 16th to 20th Rabiussani. The dates of 658th *urs* of Nizamuddin coincided with 7th to 11th September, 1963, according to Gregorian Calendar.

Muslims from outside India even, participate in the *urs* of Nizamuddin. In 1963, 103 persons from Pakistan headed by the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery participated in the *urs*. Besides the office bearers of various *dargahs* in India, thousands of people from different parts of the country attended the *Urs*. Those who wanted to stay in the *dargah*, were provided with accommodation in the different parts of *dargah*, viz., *beesdari* mosque *etc.*

The *urs* started on 7th September, (16th day of Rabiussani) with *fateha* at the *mazar* of Nizamuddin Awlia at about 5.30 p.m. (Plate No. V). This *fateha*[1] (*chota Qul*) was attended by Pir zamin Nizami the *sujjadan-ashin* of the *dargah* and members of only a few *Khadim* families. The *fateha* was recited by Pir Nizami, while others joined him in begging the mercy (*dua*) of Nizamuddin Awlia. The whole ritual was completed in about seven minutes. Immediately after that *Sujjada-nashin* and other *Khadims* left the place and then, the *Qawwal* party of the *dargah* sitting just outside the *mazar* started reciting *Qawwali* in praise of Nizamuddin Awlia. Recitation of *Qawwali* attracted a few persons squatting in different parts of the *dargah* but the audience was quite thin, as very few visitors had arrived by that time and it appeared that performance itself was not very attractive. Only one man from the audience offered one rupee note, which he kept on the stairs of the tomb (*mazar*); the leader of the *Qawwal* party picked it up with a bow. There was not any other performance this day. In the congregation the greatest number was that of beggars. There was the function of the *langar* (food distribution to the poor) in the evening. It was directed and managed by Pir Nizami in co-operation with those who contributed for feeding the poor on this day.

The next day *i. e.*, on 8th of September (17th of Rabiussani), the ritual activities started at about 9

1. Fateha is the recitation of a particular *Qoranic* verse *(chota Qul)*

a. m. when the *fateha* was performed at Amir Khusro's grave, by pir Nizami, five other persons who were present at the tomb joined him in begging *dua*. After *fateha* the *Qawwlas* started reciting *Qawwlis* which attracted to the spot a large number of people; most of them had come from outside Delhi and were staying within the campus of the *dargah*. At the same time when recitation of *Qawwalis* was going on in front of the tomb of Amir Khusro, *Qul* was performed in the courtyard before the tomb of Nizamuddin. Pir Nizami conducted the performance. Members of the different *Khadim* families associated with the *dargah*, joined him. Altogether about forty persons were present. During the performance *fateha* was recited by a few persons, after which *duo* (mercy) of *Allah* was solicited by the eldest person among the *Khadims*. After the performance, Pir Nizami, followed, by a few persons made a round of the tomb, and recited a few couplets from *Qaran*. Then they left the place. The performance was over within half an hour. After that the *chowki* (*Qawwal* party) of the *dargah* started reciting *Qawwalis* where in the blessings of Awlia were sought and the great veneration of the people for him was described. About sixty persons assembled round the *Qawwals* by this time. Some of them offered money to Q*walas* in appreciation of the recitation; but they did not offer the money directly to the Q*awwals*, mostly they gave it to one of the elderly men present in the gathering. The latter handed it over to the leader of the *Qawwal* party. The leader of the party in his turn kept the money on the steps of the tomb, bowed his head and then put the same in his pocket. The idea behind this practice is that the man who offers money wants to show his humbleness by not giving it directly to the *Qawwals*. Sometimes the people themselves put the money at the steps of the tomb and prostrated in front of the tomb and kissed it, as if they had kept the money on the *Awlia's* feet. In such cases also the leader of the *Qawwal* party bowed in front of the tomb and collected the money.

After recitation of *Qawwali*, distribution of *langar* to the poor took place.

On the third day of *urs fateha* was recited at the north east corner of *beesdari* at 7.45 a.m. Then at 11 a.m.. the function of *Qul* was held. On this occasion also *fateha* and *Qoran-Khani* (recitation of *Qoran*) were performed. Again at 5.30 p.m. *fateha* and *Qorankhani* were performed near the main gate of the mosque situated within the campus of the *dargah*. (plate No.VI). After that *Qawwali* and *mushaira* were held till quite late in the night.

On the 4th day, which is the last day of the festival, *fateha* and *Qoran* were recited at 11 a.m. in the courtyard of the *dargah*. *Qawwalis* were recited by various parties at different places within the campus of the *dargah* throughout the day. These continued till quite late hours in the night.

Though *urs* festival as such ended on the fourth day, distributio n of food to the poor continued for about ten days more (plate No. VII). There is no fixed period for distribution of food to the poor. The time over which it is carried on, depends upon the contribution received from the visitors.

One of the important aspects of the *urs* festiyal is that people can make their offerings to the *dargah* at any time. There is no fixed time for it. The *Khadims* who take part in the rituals or assist the pilgrims do not get any remuneration directly for their service. On the other hand whatever money is received by the *Khadims* and other office bearers during this occasion is expected to be given to the *Qawwals*. It is said that the saint used to give as much as he could present to the *Qawwals*. Hence, the office bearers of the *dargah* do not directly receive anything for themselves during the *urs*; they give everything to the *Qawwals* and they consider that by doing this they earn the same merit as they would have earned, had they made their offerings to the saint himself.

SOCIAL INTERACTION DURING *URS*

Visitors

It is to be noted that though all the persons who came from outside and stayed within the precincts of the *dargah* during *urs* were Muslims, majority of local visitors who came to see the performance and left after sometime, were Hindus. Delhi Transport Undertaking made special arrangements on this occasion. Every few minutes, buses from the different parts of the city and outskirts of the city were depositing fresh visitors and taking off those who were returning after their visit. In addition to the D.T.U. buses, there was heavy rush of other means of transport as well like private cars, taxies, scooters, horse-drawn carts and bullock carts *etc.*

A few of the visitors were asked why they were attending the festival. Some stated that they took vows during illness or other mishaps in their respective families, to visit the *dargah* during *urs*; some others stated that, they considered it an act of piety to attend the *urs* of such a great saint as Nizamuddin Awlia. Again there were a few persons, who stated that they had come just to see the fesitval and the splendours associated

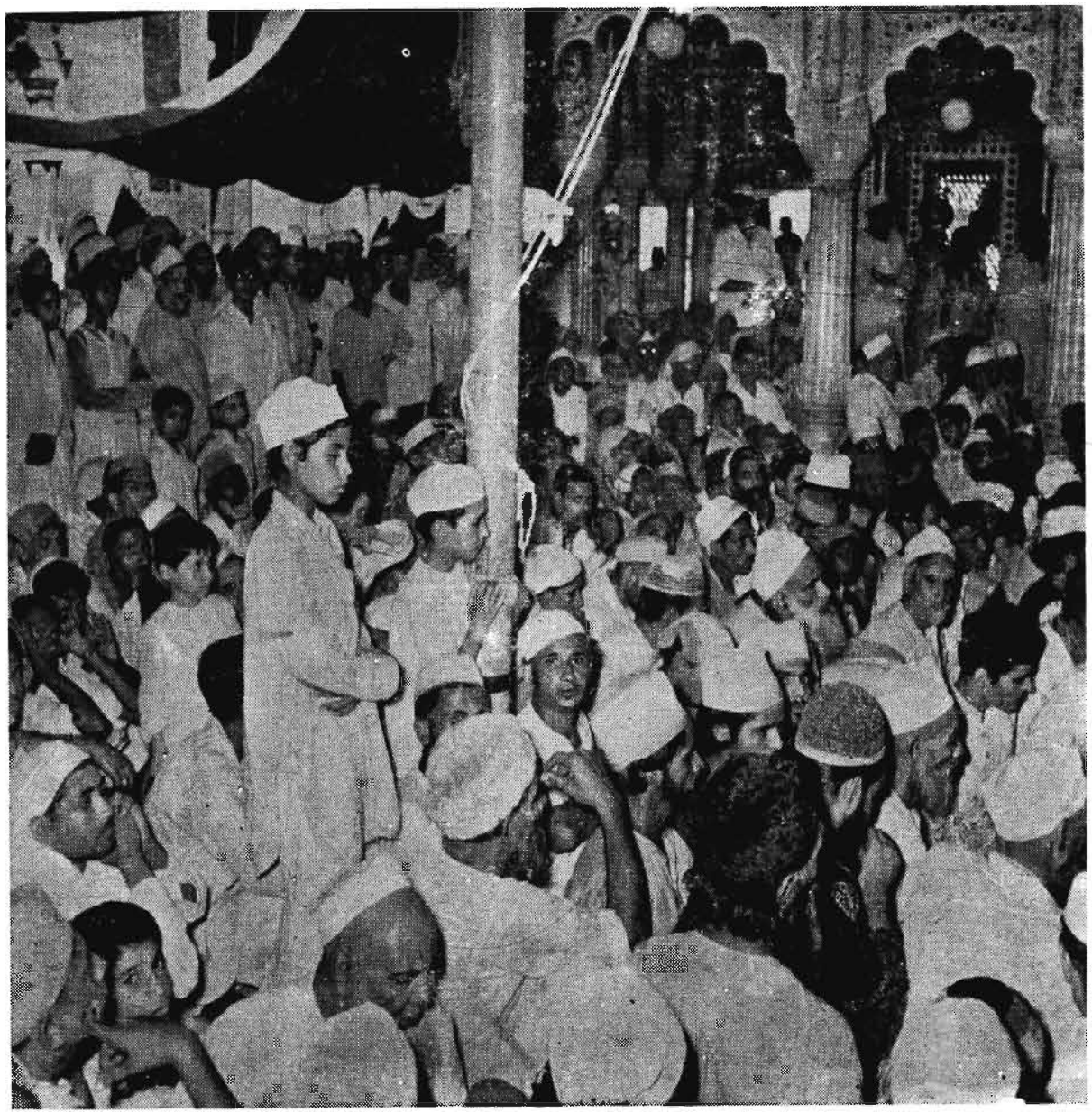

Plate VI—A child is reciting Qoran in the dargah of Nizamuddin Awlia, while others are hearing with great reverence, during the urs of Saint-Qoran-Khani is not restricted to a particular priest or person.



Plate VII—Distribution of food to the poor during the urs of Nizamuddin Awlia.

with it. They did not know much about the religious significance of the festival.

Fair

In connection with the festival a temporary bazar had sprung up near *dargah* marg, along the road to Lodhi Colony. Traditional eatables like '*halwa*', *zarda*, *shirmal*, and *seekh kabab* etc., were prominently on view at the restaurants and stalls. On the main road half a dozen try the target-gun-shooting stalls were set up. In these stalls people were allowed to shot at a baloon as the target on payment of 5 paisa per shot. A miniature zoo, a circus, a motor cycle death well, giant wheel and merry-go-round provided the children's fare.

Most of the shopkeepers were local people but a considerable number had also come from distant places like Meerut, Aligarh, and other areas of Uttar Pradesh.

The Stalls in the fair were almost always humming with people. But if one is to give a general impression of the festival, one will have to say that the fair did not constitute the main attraction of the festival. Overwhelming majority of the people, visited the *dargah* during the *urs* mainly to hear the recitations of the *Qawwalis*. Devotional *qawwali* songs invariably led the Muslim audience to extreme ecstacy and a sense of communion with something mystical; something sublime. Their Hindu brothers also did not fail to sense it. It is this common realisation, that lifted the entire gathering to a new level—the level of "man first".

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

What has been attempted in the foregoing chapters, is, to present the ranges of beliefs and practices connected with certain aspects of the institution of Islamic mysticism, without indicating the emergent pattern. It is not possible to indicate the emergent pattern in the present monograph because of the following limitations of the study ; (a) all the aspects of the institution have not been covered ; (b) the samples covered for studying the different aspects are too small and are not always representative; (c) the sources of information have not been adequately socially located ; (d) the information collected from the various sources have not always been verified and evaluated.

It follows from the above that the ranges of beliefs and practices as furnished in the present report are also not always complete. This is only an exploratory study and it has more revealed the gaps of sociological knowledge in this field, than filled up the known gaps.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, this study has certain positive contributions which should be taken notice of. As already indicated, one of the weaknesses of the present study is that the facts collected from the various sources have not always been verified and evaluated. But this is a weakness if the purpose is to construct a synthetic picture of the institution or to indicate the emergent pattern ; on the other hand this is not a weakness, if the purpose is to gain insight about the short range social and psychological processes which may or may not crystalize into a stable pattern. By design, more emphasis was given in the present phase of the study on recording what the different persons, who were interviewed, believed to be "facts" or wanted the Investigators to believe to be "facts" than on finding out what the actual facts were. For determining the dynamic processes in a society, "believed facts" or "wished facts" are as important as the facts of history. By presenting a record of "believed facts",—and may be in some cases "wished facts"—this study has brought into focus an important dimension of the institution of *pirism*.

It is proposed further to examine in this concluding chapter, the structures of some of the beliefs and their wider implications.

A. Beliefs about the time and process of growth of the institution of *pirism*

Four different types of beliefs are associated with four different types of orientation towards the institution. The orientations can broadly be categorised as (a) traditional, (b) intellectual, (c) historical and (d) societal.

According to traditional orientation *pirs* are the carriers of the traditions of Sufism and Sufism grew out of certain aspects of the teaching of Prophet Mohammad himself. According to intellectual orientation, Sufism gained in momentum during the period of political frustration of the Muslims under the *umayyads*. According to historical orientation the beliefs and practices connected with the *pirs* reflect the impact of Hindu culture on Islam. Lastly according to societal orientation, though originally *pirs* were invariably those who attained high levels of spiritual realisation through following the tenets of Sufism, now *pirism* has been divorced from its spiritual content and has degenerated into a profession, though it is sacerdotal in character.

While formulating the research design, separate questions were asked to bring out these four strands of thoughts and purposively, they were not put consecutively. As a result, it was found that all the four strands of thoughts were sometimes entertained by the same persons. It, therefore, becomes a moot question, whether there is a unified structure of belief among the people in this matter ; and in case there is such a structure, what is the nexus among the different strands of beliefs. In the alternative it is also to be examined whether the readiness with which the people pick-up the different strands of thought, is a symptom of anomie of the institution. As already indicated it is not within the scope of the present study to answer these questions. The purpose of the study will be served if it can raise the right questions.

B. Beliefs about the spiritual status of *pirs*

The most important pronouncement on the spiritual status of the *pirs* is that of Bayazid. It has already been stated that Bayazid enunciated the doctrine that *pirs* are

manifestations of divinity. Opinions expressed by different interviewees show that there are at least four different ways in which the Muslims respond to the doctrine at present. These are (a) accommodation after re-interpretation, (b) rationalisation, (c) suspension and (d) rejection.

When the people say that Bayazid made his statement in order to emphasise the immense possibility of human development through good deeds it is a case of accommodation after reinterpretation. When some persons say that Bayazid made his statement in a very general sense to indicate that all phenomena are manifestations of God, it is clearly a case of rationalization. When some others say that Bayazid made his statement in his *Sukr* condition and that his statement has some hidden meaning, it is a case of suspension of decision as to what attitude one should take about the doctrine. There are again persons who outright reject the doctrine itself.

It is significant that nobody indicate unconditional acceptance of the doctrine. On the other hand the three types of responses indicated above, in addition to the one of outright rejection, practically show a negative orientation towards the doctrine. One is tempted to believe that the wind of change brought about by the 20th century humanism has something to do with it. But it would be wrong to arrive at any conclusion unless the whole gamut of ideological fermentation taking place among the Muslim intelligentsia of India is thoroughly examined.

C. Significance of *Pirs* in the lives of the disciples

In the present study much insight could not be gained about the significance of *pirs* in the lives of their disciples because it was not possible to contact adequate number of disciples of any particular *pir*. Even the total number of disciples of various *Pirs* who were interviewed, is not enough.

It is, however, possible to make some tentative observations on the basis of the available data. It appears that frequently people become disciples of *pirs*, not out of personal spiritual craving, but out of respect for family tradition. Often *piri-muridi* relation goes by succession between a *pir's* family and a *murid's* family. In such cases it would be a case of deviation from the family norm for a person not to become *murid* of the person who is expected to be his *pir*.

The different interviewees have stated that they perform religious exercises under guidance of their *pirs* and they depend on the *pirs*, in all personal matters. It was not verified whether they actually perform the religious exercises and whether they actually depend on *pirs* in all personal matters. In some cases the investigators felt that the interviewees were not telling the truth. But it is clear from their statements that it is the expected pattern that *murids* should undertake religious exercises under guidance of *pirs* and that they should depend on their respective *pirs* in all matters.

One interviewee referred to the brotherhood the disciples of the same *pir*. The intensity and functioning of this brotherhood was not studied; but it is beyond doubt that some sort of social relationship exists among the disciples of the same *pir*. It is quite likely that the social relationship among the disciples of the same *pir*, sometimes serve as the more important binding force than the personality of the *pir's* himself. This however required to be examined through case study method.

D. Belief about the role of *Pirs* in bringing about synthesis of Hindu and Muslim Cultures.

As stated in chapter II, most of the interviewees both in Delhi and Lucknow considered that *pirs* in different periods had positive roles in bringing about synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures.

Sociologically speaking such belief may be considered as dimensions (a) religious tolerance of a considerable number, of Muslim in India and (b) their acceptance of the desirablity of synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures. But it is to be noted that the actual illustrations of synthesis, as given by them related to incorporation of a few material symbols (*e.g.*, offering of *Chadars*) or peripheral practices (*e.g.*, encouragement of *Basantmala Qawwali*) in the ritual structure associated with pirism. It seems that it is not generally known that synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures took place at deeper levels also. For instance *Bhakti* cults of the middle ages, bear strong imprint of Sufism.

At operational level absence of adequate awareness among the people connected with the various *pirs* about the roles actually played by outstanding *pirs* in the past, in bringing about synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures, would undoubtedly limit the scope of their playing similar roles at present or in the near future.

(E) Source of influence of *Pirs*.

Both in Delhi and Lucknow, it was found that most of the people who visit *pirs*, know practically nothing about the biography and religious teachings of the *pirs* concerned. They are attracted towards *pirs* because they want solace in their distresses from some institutionalised source. It is irrelevant whether *pirs* have miraculous powers or not; what is more relevant is that some people have the need to believe that *pirs* have miraculous powers. So long as they have this belief, certainly they will feel relief in the company of *pirs*. The activities of living *pirs* as described in chapters III and IV, show that though sometimes *pirs* use material equipment, their real *modus operandi* is to give shelter to battered minds. Perhaps it is not very much off the mark to think that with spread of the facilities of modern psychotherapy, there will be a slump in the attraction of the *pirs*; but it is difficult to say, which would contribute more to human happiness :—traditional faith cure of *pirs* or modern psychotherapy.

ANNEXURE I

OBSERVATION OF *TALIM* AT THE *KHANKHA* OF PIR ZAMIN NIZAMI, AT THE *DARGAH* OF NIZAMUDDIN AWLIA ON 20th AUGUST 1964

It was 9 O'Clock in the night, when the Investigator reached the *dargah*. It was a special day, as on this day the death anniversary of Shekh Abdul-Qadir Gilani, founder of *Qadiri* order of Sufism was celebrated.

The congregation had already collected in the corridor of the main *dargah* of Nizamuddin Awlia. Pir Nizami had taken a central place at one end. One big coloured sheet was spread over the floor for sitting purpose. In front of Pir Saheb two baskets covered with green and red silken sheets were placed. Some rose leaves were kept in the basket. Near the basket incense was kept in a big silver container and the place was full of sweet fragrance.

As the Investigator entered the place by the corridor and wanted to take her seat alongwith other people, she was asked by the Pir Saheb to sit separately. Afterwards the Investigator could know that in such public gatherings women were not expected to sit alongwith men. During the entire shows he did not see any woman coming and participating in the funtion. Only two teenaged girls were sitting beside her. Some women observing *pardah* came later on, but they took their seats outside the corridor in one corner of the courtyard. Throughout the function they sat secluded and did not participate in any recitation *etc*. Only at the time of distribution of *tabarruk* they came forward and took their share.

In the beginning there were about 15 to 20 persons belonging to different age-groups. They were all Muslims. Their heads were covered. The actual function started with the recitation of *Qoran* by the Pir Saheb. As soon as he finished, the recitation was taken up by the individual participants in a competitive spirit. This continued for about half an hour. About 8 to 9 persons participated in it. Some people carried on their recitation twice.

After the recitation, *naat* (prayer song in Urdu) was started by two young persons in duet. It was carried on for sometime. In the meantime about 40 persons collected at the place. After that Pir Nizami started his lecture. It mainly consisted of quotations from *Qoran* to stress the need of cleanliness of soul and contentment of heart. He also spoke about the teachings of Nizamuddin Awlia. Whenever Pir Saheb was reciting verses from *Qoran*, the entire crowd joined him to repeat the same.

After this, Pir Saheb started *zikr*. He uttered *Illal-Lah* in a very curt and hoarse voice. While uttering this, he moved his head from one side to the other, as if in frenzy. The entire crowd repeated the same with similar jesture and voice. Perhaps the main purpose of this exercise was to make the people concentrate their mind on the name of God. This phase of the ritual is called *mashque*. After *mashque* Pir Saheb and the entire crowd got up and started *salam* (paying homage to Prophet Mohammad). While Pir Saheb was reciting, the main stanza was being repeated by the crowd. Whenever the name of Prophet Mohammad came, all the elderly people put the thumbs and fore-fingers of both the hands, first on their lips then on their eyes. It is a way to pay respect to the name of Prophet. After Pir Saheb, two young boys, 12 to 14 years old, started *salam* in Urdu. When the boys finished their recitation, Pir Saheb recited the genealogy of Nizamuddin Awlia. With this main function appeared to be finished. But some young people came forward with poems written by them and one by one they recited the same. There were two *Qawwals* in the gathering; they sang two songs in the praise of God and Prophet Mohammad. After these Pir Saheb recited *fateha*. Then mutton *pullao* and sweet *pullao* were distributed among the participants as *tabarruk*. At this time, the size of the crowd swelled up. It appeared that *tabarruk* was not being distributed in equal quantity and there was some scramble among the participants about it. The Investigator was informed that the cost for *tabarruk* distributed on this day was borne by Pir Saheb. After distribution of *tabarruk*, the red and green sheets and the rose petals were placed on the grave of Nizamuddin Awlia as offerings.

Pir Zamin Nizami informed that on every Thursday

he holds a similar meeting of his disciples and devotees and gives religious training called *talim* or *tabliqh*;

One important feature of this function was that there was not a single non-Muslim participant. When the function was going on, a non-Muslim couple came with some offerings covered by cloth on a brass tray. But they stood outside and waited till the function was over.

The Investigator had the impression that most of the participants belonged to lower middle class. They were mostly wearing dirty unwashed clothes. It also seemed to her that, but for the few youngmen who recited poems, most of the others were un-educated. It did not appear to her that though they had gathered for an avowedly religious purpose, they were much troubled by spiritual questions. But who knows ?

ANNEXURE 2

VISITORS TO PIR

Religion, Education and Occupation in Delhi

Religion	Education							
	Male				Female			
		Literate				Literate		
	Illiterate	Below Matric	Matric and above	Graduate and equivalent	Illiterate	Below Matric	Matric and above	Graduate and equivalent
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Hindu	1	6	3	1	3	1	2	2
Muslim	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	**1**	**6**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**

Occupations																		
Male									Female									
Govt. Service	Private Service	Chowkidar	Private concern	Brick making	Vegetable seller	Halwai	Tailoring	Research scholar	Teacher	Overseer	Health visitor	Doctor	Tonga driver	Mason	Carpenter	Tailor and knitter	Remarks
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	1†	1	1	1†	1	1	1	†Occupation of husband
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
3	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**Total**

ANNEXURE 3

VISITORS TO THE *PIR*

Nature of treatment with reference to purpose of visit in Delhi

	Number of visitors making various performances							
	Hindu						Muslim	
Purpose of Visit	Performance 1 taking *tawiz*	Performance 2 Oil meassage, Chanting verses and taking *tawiz*	Performance 3 chanting verses and putting hand on head	Performance 4 *Tawiz* Jhar and Jhar on paining part	Performance 5 chanting verses, taking *tawiz* and putting hand on the back	Performance 6 no Performing	Performance 1 performing *fateha*	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Fever	..	..	..	..	..	1		..
Treatment of allergy to some food	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	Alongwith *tawiz* indigenous medicines consisting of Kaii mirch, saunf, manuka and small ilayachi were given for grinding and eating later on.
Ailment of wife	1*	..	..	1	..	..	..	*Two charms were given one to be wrapped in white cloth and tied on arm and another to be taken in water.
Ailment of child/son	1*	..	..	1	..	1	..	**Tawiz* to be tied on arm and asked to bring the son to the *Pir*
Consult regarding wife's delivery	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Tawiz* to be tied on a arm was given last time.
Treatment of daughter in-law's arm	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Tawiz* to be taken with water.
Treatment of fever and paralysis of one side	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	
Cure of Headache	..	..	1	..	..	—	..	
Treatment for being afraid	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	Alongwith *tawiz*, she was also blessed on head and back.
Taking *tawiz* for ailing father	1	..	..	..	—	..	..	One *tawiz* to be kept under pillow cover and another to be taken with water.
Daughter in-law's children do not survive	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	
Consult regarding business	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Tawiz* to be tied on arm.

ANNEXURE 3—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Consult regarding service as suspended	1						..	*Tawiz* to be tied on arm.
Trouble in service	1						..	*Tawiz* to be tied on arm.
Getting back lost husband	1						..	*Tawiz* to be kept in a tin box.
Desertion of son leaving wife and children	1						..	
Purpose not stated	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Total	**12**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	

ANNEXURE 4

VISITORS TO THE *PIRS*

Religion, Education and Occupation of Visitors at Lucknow

	Education					Occupation											
	Male				Female	Male									Female		
Religion	Illiterate	Below Matric	Matric and above	Graduate and equavilent degree	Illiterate	Govt. service	School Teacher	Farmer	Painter	Student	Labourer	Peon	Business man	Supervision in mill	Housewife	Labourer	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Muslim	3	..	4	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	4	..	..
Hindu	2	4	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	1	..	..	1	..
Total	**5**	**4**	**5**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**5**	..

ANNEXURE 5

SCHEDULE 1

City Schedule

1 Name of city.
2 Population.
3 Muslim population.
4 Particulars of shrines of famous pirs or Muslim saints :

Name of the Shrine	Location	Name of the pir	What was the period of the pir	When and by whom was the shrine established	Main ritual elements	Day-to-day activities	Dates of special religious activities	Nature of special religious activities	Approximate visitors: Daily	Approximate visitors: On special occasion	Special reputation by miraculous power, if any, of the shrine (*e.g.*, capacity to cure some disease	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

5 Particulars of famous pir or Muslim saints in the City :

Name of pir	Date of birth	Date of death	Order to which belonged	Salient teachings	Special miraculous power if any	Other details	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

SCHEDULE 2

Elite Schedule

Name
Age
Sex
Place of Origin
Occupation
Education (a) General
(b) Religious
Religion
Sect
Order
Special Office, if any, held in any religious institution.

1 Some authors are of the view that the institutions of *pir* had its origin in Sufism ? Do you subscribe to this view ? if not, what is your view ?

2 Some people are of the view that the *pirs* had a special role in effecting synthesis of Hindu and Muslim culture in India ? Are you of the same view ? If so, according to you how did they effect such synthesis ?

3 How according to you, the concept of spiritual leadership of the *pir*, is compatible with the rule that there is no priesthood in Islam ?

4 Do you agree with the following salient points in the doctrine of Bayazid :

(a) *Pirs* are manifestations of divinity.

Yes-No. If yes, do you think that it is incompatible with the basic tenets of Islam that there is no intermediary between man and God

(b) Ordinances of Law have a mystical meaning and the mystic sense of law is attainable only by religious exercises and through instruction of *pir*.
Yes/No.

(c) If yes, what according to you is the source and purpose of this mystecisim ? If not, why not ?

5 Islamic message reserves creativeness and mastery over nature to God alone. How therefore the miracles performed by the *pirs* or Saints can be accounted for ?

6 Fatwa of Ibn Taymia (14th Century) has condemned pilgrimage to the tombs of saints.
Do you agree that pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is against the teaching of Islam ?

7 Some people think that Sufism arose in India due to interaction of Buddhism and Vedanta Philosophy on the one hand and Islam on the other. Do you subscribe to the same view ? If not, why not'

8 Some people are of the view that Sufism arose in a response to crisis in Islam as a result of Monghol conquest of Baghdad.
Do you agree with this view ? if not, what are your views in this matter ?

SCHEDULE 3

Schedule for Visitors to the Place of Pir

1 Name

2 Age

3 Sex

4 (a) Place of origin
(b) Address from where has come to the place of the *pir* and distance

5 Occupation

6 Education

7 (a) Religion
(b) Sect
(c) Order

8 (a) Purpose of visit
(b) Duration of stay
(c) Transport
(d) Accompanied by whom

9 Nature of performances made

10 Salient features of the biography of the pir

11 Salient points of his teachings.

12 Any other point of interest.

SCHEDULE 4

Schedule for the Disciples of the Pirs

Name

Age

Sex

Place of origin

Occupation

Education (a) General
(b) Religious

(a) Religion
(b) Sect
(c) Order
(d) Name and particular of the *pir* whose disciple.

Special office, if any, held in any religious institution.

1 Salient features of the biography of the *Pir*.

2 Salient points of the teachings of the *Pir*.

3 Relation, if any, with *pir* or any of his different disciples.

4 When and why he or any member of the family became disciple of the *Pir* ?

5 Are all the members disciple of the *Pir* ?

6 (a) Is there any difference between disciple and devotee ?
(b) How a disciple is ordained or initiated ?

7 Are there some religious performances which he performs as disciple of the Pir which other Muslims do not perform ?

8 After he became ordained, what difference did he bring to his life and thought ?

9 Did he refer any matter of spiritual quest to the pir of the order of the Pir ? If so, what is that

10 Has he made offerings to the place of the Pir for fulfilment of needs in matters belonging to :
(a) Success in any profession.
(b) Cure of disease
(c) Any other matter

11 How frequently and on what occasions did he visit the place of the pir during last one year ?

12 Is there any special bond among the disciple of the same pir ? If so, is there any organisation through which this special bond is consolidated ? If not, how is it consolidated and how and on what occasion it is manifested ?

13 (a) Is there any relic or member of the Pir in the family ?
(b) If so, (i) Where is it kept ?
(ii) Is any special relic shown to it ?

14 (a) Is the Pir known for any power of miracles ?
(b) How does he explain these miracles ?

15 Does he depend on the pir or any other person in matters relating to :
(a) Dispute in the family
(b) Litigation with outsiders
(c) Matrimonial affairs
(d) Professional matters
(e) Social matters
(f) Others

16 What is the significance of pilgrimage to the tomb of pir ?

17 (a) Does he know of anybody who after being murid of one pir broke relation with his master ?
(b) If so, give particulars of the murid as well as of the pir.
(c) Why the relation was broken ?
(d) How the breach was effected ?

18 (a) Does he know of anybody who lost faith in the pir because the forecaste of the pir did not come ture.
(b) If so, give particulars.

19 Any other matter connected with the institution of pir.

SCHEDULE 5

Schedule for the Biography of Pirs

1 (a) Name of the Pir
(b) Whether founder Pir
or
Sujjada Pir
(c) Whether Jamali or Jalali
(d) Belong to which order
(Chisti, Naqshrbandi, Suhrawardi, Qaditi, etc.)

2 Date of birth

3 Date of death

4 (a) Physical appearance of the pir
(b) Dress, ornaments and other paraphernalia worn by the pir and the ritual significance of the same.

5 Particulars about parents

6 Particulars about brothers and sisters

7 Particulars about marriage and children

8 Important events of life:
(a) Childhood
(b) Adolscence
(c) Adulthood
(d) Old Age

9 Education including religious training.

10 Particulars of how, when and by whom was initiated into special religious role.

11 When and by whom recognised as Pir.

12 Salient features of his teachings on :
(a) Religious matters
(b) Secular matters
(c) Other matters

13 History of the spread of his influence.

14 Source of his influence.

15 Number of disciples during life-time

	Muslim	Hindu
(a) Rich / Poor		
(b) Educated / Uneducated		
(c) Particular occupation		

16 Particulars of important disciples.

17 (a) Special categories of persons if any, as devotees.
(b) Special occasions on which his help is solicited.

18 Any other important aspect.

SCHEDULE 6

Schedule for the Institution connected with a Pir

(a) Name of the Institution
(b) Location
(c) When established
(d) By whom established
(e) (i) Rough sketch showing different elements of the physical structure of the institution
(ii) Particulars of the various elements :

Name of the Elements	Location in the structure	Material	When constructed	By whom constructed	Functions	Associated myth, legend, etc.	Association with any ceremony	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1 (a) Name of the pir with whom the institution is associated.
(b) Nature and history of the association.
(c) Factors determining the location of the Institution.

2 History of the institution from the beginning upto now :
(a) Patronage and support received from different quarters.
(b) Antagonism faced from different quarters.
(c) Events leading to spread of influence.
(d) Events leading to decrease of influence
(e) Factionalism and schism, if any.
(f) Particulars of the outstanding personalities connected with the Institution.
(g) Other aspects.

3 Management and control :

Name of the office bearer	Office	How related to the pir (descendent, of disciple, others)	Nature of duty	Remuneration	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

4 (a) Source of finance.
(b) Annual income by sources
(c) Expenditure.

5 Particulars of listed disciples, devotees, etc.

Place	No. of disciples who are		No. of disciples who belong to particular interest group (to be defined)	Remarks
	Hindu	Muslim		
1	2	3	4	5

6 Particulars of sister institutions with which there is connection and nature cf connection.

7 Day-to-day activities :

Details of activities	Time	Who officiates	Participants	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

(a) Religions

8. Activities on special occasion:

Particulars of Special Occasion	Nature of activity	Details of activity	Time	Who Officiates	Participants	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. (a) Visitors—normally

Category of visitor	Areas from where they come	Approximate No.		Purpose of visit	Nature of activities	Remarks
		Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(b) Visitors on special occasions :

Occasion	Category of visitors	Area from where they come	Approximate No.		Purpose of visit	Nature of activities	Remarks
			Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9

GLOSSARY

	Urdu Phrases Used	English Equivalents
1	Ahle-suffa	Group of people-pure of heart.
2	Abd	Dear to God
3	Awlia	Dear to God
4	Alam-e-zahoor	(Appearance in the world (birth)
5	Ahad	Promise
6	Bait	Promise
7	Batin	Internal and spiritual
8	Buzargane-din	Religious men
9	Daste-Bait	To take promise by shaking the hands.
10	Daman	A corner of the Pir's long shirt.
11	Dua	Blessing
12	Faqeeri	Poverty saintliness
13	Fatwa	Doctrine
14	Faroq	shelter
15	Fateha	Recitation of 'Qul' (verse of Qoran).
16	Fi-sabi-Allah	In the faith of God.
17	Fana	Absorption, annihilation.
18	Hujra	Small place of worship, which is meant only for the Pir.
19	Halwa	Sweet dish made of sugar flour and ghee.
20	Istidraj	Stealth, deception
21	Itminan	Tranquility
22	Imam	Leader in Namaz
23	Jan-nashin	Spiritual heir of the saint
24	Karamat	Favour
25	Khauf	Fear
26	Khadim	Servant
27	Khanhha	Room for preaching
28	Khwahish	Longing
29	Langar	poor feeding
30	Murid	disciple
31	Muslemin	Mohammadans
32	Mujahadat	Acts of self-mortification
33	Mujiza	Miracle
34	Maunat	Help
35	Mashque	Exercise
36	Mahat	Labour
37	Mohabbat	Love
38	Muttaqi	Honest
39	Majlis khana	Place for religious gathering
40	Nek	Pious
41	Namaz	Ritual prayer
42	Osoole-shariat	Rules and regulations of Islam.
43	Pir, Murshid	Spiritual director.
44	Paghambar	Prophet.
45	Parhezgar	Free of worldly attributes

GLOSSARY—*contd.*

46	Purda-nashin	In veil
47	Qawwali, Sama	Songs of appreciation
48	Qoran Khani	Recitation of Qoran
49	Qulb	heart
50	Qul	A verse of Qoran
51	Rehbar	Guide
52	Riyaz	Practice
53	Rija	Hope
54	Raoosiayat	Prosperity
55	Silsilas	Orders
56	Shariat	External Laws of Islam
57	Shirk	Act which is not permissible by Hadith and Shariat.
58	Sujjadanashin	Descendant of a saint
59	Sahabe-mazar	Persons who belong to the shrine.
60	Shirmal	Leaves of flour, sugar and ghee.
61	Seekh-kabab	Mince-sticks
62	Shijra	Geneological chart
63	Tasawwuf	Mysticism
64	Tawakkul	Trust in God
65	Tariqat	Mystic way of Islam
66	Tilawat	Recitation of Qoran.
67	Tawajjah	Concentration
68	Talib-ul-bait	Desirous for taking promise
69	Tawiz	A piece of paper written by the Pir for the cure of disease or for some other purpose.
70	Uns	Intimacy
71	Ulema	Religious teachers
72	Urs	Death anniversary
73	Visal	Meeting with God
74	Wasila	Source
75	Wazu	Ritual washing of hand and feet
76	Wali	Dear to God
77	Wasal	Union with God
78	Yaqin	Certainty
79	Zahir	External or physical
80	Zarda	Coloured sweet rice.

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