

Institutionalization and popularization of Sufism in India

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Abstract

Sufism which originated after the death of the Prophet in 7th century continued to grow with individual mystics and their followers without any institutional framework. As its popularity waxed and its prestige in the eyes of the legalists waned, a code of conduct was developed for its adherents. From 10th century onwards various orders were developed in the Middle East. In India, the process of consolidation was fast. However, its relationship with the Hindu society was paradoxical. The paper is an attempt to briefly examine its progress, expansion and interaction with the Indian mysticism and its subsequent indigenization.

Keywords: Sufism, ecumenism, indigenization, Hindwi, Silsila

Introduction

Esoteric elements in all religions and their scriptures are not to be recited only but experienced to verify the truth revealed in it. What we call birth is separation from the Ultimate and the summum bonum of life lies in its return to and union with its root. This is the driving philosophy behind the genesis of Sufism. "The spirit of Quranic piety had flowed into the lives and modes of expression, as in the form of 'recollection' dhikr of the early devotees (Zuhhad) and ascetics (Mussak). Sufism was a natural development out of those tendencies manifest in early Islam, and it continued to stress them as an essential aspect of the way. These seekers after direct experience of communion with God ensured that Islam was not confined within a legalistic directive" ^[1]. This is how Trimmingham explains the origin of Sufism. Thereafter he discusses four stages through which Islamic mysticism passed, namely Khanaqah Stage, tariqa stage, taifa stage and renewalist tariqa stage through which it consolidated itself attuning to new ethos of the emerging age ^[3]. Although many scholars disagree with his theory of evolution and consolidation of orders, ^[2] its merit lies in providing a framework of institutionalisation of Sufism taking into consideration various major historical events and subsequent changes in nature of orders. Reasons for development of Sufi order in Islam and its subsequent popularisation has invited various opinions from such scholars as Annemerie Schimmel, Soyed Hossein Nasr and Paul Nwyia. But one factor that has been overlooked by scholars in history of development of Sufi orders is the socio-political consequences of gibbeting of Hallaj Mansur and his follower Ibn Ata for his ecstatic effusion of Ana'l-Haq' (I am [God] the Truth) which generated suspicion and anxiety in many parts of the Islamic world and also among the Sufis. If the truth experienced and unveiled was uttered, it would create an obstreperous society giving license to every member of the community to declare himself as the truth knower. Hence, it necessitated formation of Sufi orders with a defined code of conduct.

Historical events were also favourable not only to foundation of Khanquahs but also their strengthening. Eleventh century was catastrophic for Shiism. Turks were now in control of most part of Egypt and Africa and both Abbasid and Shia followers

were forced to be marginalised. Henceforth, madarsas were also instituted in Iraq, Syria and Egypt to balance Khanquahs as Sufis were perceived with suspicion. But for continuation of an institution, held in high esteem, Khanquahs were also developed. And endowments from various sources provided them financial strength and social security. Besides, Sunni orthodoxy was not encouraged to perceive Sufism as quizzical and inimical to Islam. However, some reconciliation between dogma and mysticism was also the demand of the day. This was possible only through institutionalization of Sufism. The first Sufi order was founded by Abu Said in the 11th century developing a code of conduct for the Sufis through salubrious confluence of mysticism and orthodoxy. After Abu Said, it was Ahmad Ghazzali, the younger brother of Al Ghazzali who wrote a book '*Adab-al-Muridin*' that dealt with the codes of conduct to be followed by the Sufis. Abdul Qadir Jilani, a legendary personality in Sufism, is also said to have founded a Sufi order in Baghdad although Julian Baldick relying on Jacqueline Chabbi does not find any substantial proof of his role in founding any Sufi order ^[4]. By the middle of the 13th century 'systematization' of orders was complete and from 14th century onwards Sufi orders were established in Egypt expanding to North Africa and the East.

Sufism in India

The accurate period of arrival of Sufism in India has not been ascertained in history, but certainly, it was after the arrival of Islam in South India through the trading community of Arab. Cultural influences on each other were accepted and reciprocated in practice as well as through oral transmission in both the regions. From the survey of literature, we find that the first Sufi to reach India was a Shaykh of Kaziruniyyal order founded by Shaykh Shahriyar in the beginning of 11th century. Ordered by his uncle to mount a camel for travel and to settle at the place where the camel halted, he settled in Upper Sind, and founded his Khanquah in the first quarter of the eleventh century ^[5]. The second Sufi who continued to obtain the same reverence in both scholarly and saintly circles was Abdul Hassan Hujwiri, the author of *Kashf-al-Mahjub*. He died in Lahore in the year 1072-73 and his tomb there has the same socio-spiritual significance as that of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti

in Ajmer in India. Another Sufi with immense popularity among the people in North India was Gazi Miyan whose shrine is located in district Bahraich in U.P. He is said to have arrived in the year 1032 AD in Bahraich but authentic records on him are not available in the annals of history Prof. Farooqui's essay reveals many mythical aura around him which is not authenticated by historical evidence [6]. Replica of his grave can be found at many places in North India where on every Thursday people offer prayers.

However, it was the arrival of Muinuddin Chisti that marked a major event in Sufism in India. Not only he popularized Sufism here but also his disciples carried his message and philosophy throughout India, from North to South-West of the country that made his shrine most popular among people of North and South India. In Bengal, it was the Suharwardia Silsila that was popularized with the efforts of Shykh Tabrizi and its centres were founded and developed in Gujrat also. The Quadiriya Silsila came to exercise its influence in Sind and at a later stage a khanquah was developed here. Founded by Shaikh Muhammad of Jilani, its influence grew in Sindh, Punjab, Kashmir, Gujarat, Malwa, Delhi and Agra regions. With ebbs and flows which defy historical profiling, following orders acquired stable social and spiritual base in India:

1. Chistiyya
2. Qadiriya
3. Shattariya
4. Naqsbandiya
5. Suharwardiya; and
6. Firdausia

During the Mughal period all these orders were flourishing in India and received huge endowments from successive king. In Akbar's reign there were fourteen orders as mentioned by Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari and fifty-two eminent Sufi saints [7]. Chisti and Qadri silsilas were opened to Yogis and other sects also Baba Farid's Khanquah at Ajodhan in Panipat was known for its ecumenism. The shrine of Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer had become a popular centre of pilgrimage for members of both the communities. The third silsila to retain its popularity till 18th Century was the Naqsbandiya order, an order that chose to remain close to the political power, and with the arrival of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, it started dreaming of instituting an Islamic State based on Shariat. It was found to be repugnant to social harmony and subsequently he was arrested and imprisoned by Jahangir [8]. Of no less significance was the Shattriya order which claimed to draw its inspiration from Imam Jafar al- Sadiq and an eminent Sufi Abu Yazid Bistami. This silsila spread in Gujrat and Bengal by the end of the 16th century. It spread in Kashmir and Delhi also in 17th and 18th century and then in Uttar Pradesh where it came to wield tremendous influence. Important centers of Naqshbandi silsila were established in Panipat, Lahore, Bengal, Jaunpur, Saharanpur and Bahraich. Below given is a list of prominent Sufi places related with two orders namely Quadaria and Chistiya:

S. No.	Place	Quadriyas	Chistiya
1.	Deccan	Mir Nurullah	-
2.	Multan	Shiekh Muhammad	-
3.	Punjab	Sayyed Mubarak	Baba Farid
4.	Gujrat	Sayyed Jamal	Sheikh Hasan Muhammad Chisti
5.	Delhi & Agra	Sheikh Abdul Makki	-
6.	Bengal	Shah Quaris	-
7.	Lucknow	Shah Razzaq	Sheikh Junaid
8.	Haryana	Mir Sayyed Quadiri	-
9.	Delhi	Miyan Mir	Nizamuddin Aulia
10.	Kashmir	Mullah Shah (Dara Shikoh and Jahan Ara were the two most prominent disciples of Mullah Shah)	-
11.	Sikri	-	Sheikh Salem Chisti
12.	Jaunpur	-	Sheikh Abdul Aziz
13.	Badau	-	Sheikh Abdul Ghani
14.	Gwalior and Narnaul	-	Khwaja Khana
15.	Burhanpur	-	Sheikh Azizullah
16.	Allahabad	-	Sayyed Sikander Ali

Compiled From S.A.A. Rizvi, A History of Sufism in India, Vols. I and II.

The other two silsilas, namely, Suhrawardiya and Firdausia did not gain much prominence and acceptance as the other orders had. From Bengal to Deccan, Sufism had gained wider acceptance. Only in Kerala Islamic mysticism did not flourish a place from where Islam had its initial momentum. The Mecca of Arab refused the human heart as the Kaba and so probably Kerala in India. However, a book authored by Kunhali, V and published by the University of Calicut refutes Schimmel and Eaton's views of absence of Sufism in Kerala [9]. S.A. A. Rizvi mentions two Kaziruni Khanquahs in Calicut which, to him, finds place Ibn Batuta's Travels in Asia and Africa [10], but does not detail either its form or substance.

From Institutionalization to Popularization

In 16th and 17th century Christianity arrived in India with twin weapons namely science and religion to subserve the needs of both namely Industrial revolution and Christian Civilization. New political culture sprouted and developed and subsequently new social equations started creating axiological topsyturvydom. It helped in creation of more space for aesthetic expression and cultural refurbishment. But it was also the period that without diminution and dulling of Sufi spirituality, adopted and promoted poetry and music to popularize it among masses.

Among the Sufi orders, Chistiya and Quadiriya produced many saints who popularized Sufism among the common people. They narrated nuances of various streams of mysticism popular in India during that period. Their language, ecumenism and narrations captured human imagination to its greatest depth. One of the most prominent among these was Nizamuddin Aulia, who lived in Delhi. Nizamuddin Aulia occupies a pious space not only among Sufis of North India but also among masses. His *Fawa'id al-Fuad* compiled by Amir Hasan Dehlvi gives an admirable depiction of his personality that was full of versatilities. His views on religious prosletysation can be

judged from an anecdote about Bayazid Bistami, which he cited on religious conversion.

'A Jew was the neighbour of Khwaja Bayazid Bistami (may his soul be hallowed). When Khwajah Bayazid Bistami died, people asked the Jew as to why he had not accepted Islam? He replied: "Which Islam? If Islam was that which Bayazid believed in and practised, then it was beyond my reach, and if it was what you people practice, then I am ashamed of that Islam.' ^[11]

A disciple of Baba Farid (death 1552) who wrote *shlokas* in Punjab and whose selected writings constitute a part of Guru Granth Sahib, allowed his khanquah to be developed not only as a rest house for people of other sects but also a centre of discourse among people of various sects. Nizammuddin was fond of sama, (music). Never succumbing to the pressure of kings, he remained unruffled amidst threats by them. Known by many titles such as *Mehboob-e-Elahi* (Beloved of God), Qutub-e-delhi (The Pole of Delhi), Jag Ujiyara (The Light of the World), etc. Nizammuddin had many eminent disciples such as Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, Amir Khusro, Aqi Seraj, Burhanuddin Gharib, Jalaluddin Bhandari, Syed Mahmood Kashkinakar, Ajan Fakir and Syed Ahmed Badepaa, who popularised the Chisti order in different parts of India. But the most popular among them was Amir Khusro, known as parrot of India. He through his poems and music enthralled the world with the concept of pure love and its role in spirituality.

Indianization of Sufism through Indigenization

Amir Khusro (1253-1325) was the first to write poems both in Persian and Hindwi. A prolific writer he has written Ghazal, Masanawi, Rubais, etc. He is said to be the father of qawwali, a contribution that reverberates in enrapturing the soul of those visiting Sufi tombs especially during their urs. The imagery of love, nature, beauty and devotion in his works touches the lapel of the skies. He sculpted a mode of literature that propelled love to move in a way that seven skies stood dissolved in human heart obliterating difference between ascendant and descendant drawing God to his nearest point of feeling and experiencing.

Shah Hussain (1538-1599) was another personality who bereaved by separation yearned for union which to him was possible through love only. He used metaphors and imageries the land of Punjab. He used a number of symbols from the tale of love between Heer and Ranjha. Like Kabir, he repeatedly talks of love. All world is on fire save he who is devoted to Him. Shah Hussain carried forward the tradition of Baba Farid albeit in a different manner and mode but he was a major architect of indigenization or rather Indianization of Sufism ^[12]. In Indigenization of Sufism, the role of the Bhakas specially Kabir (1398-1518) can not be overlooked. It was not only his language but also philosophy that was amazingly elevated and it elated hearts of many including the Sufis. No personality in India except Gautam Buddha shook the consciousness of people of India so much as Kabir. The region which produced the Light of Asia now produced the Lion of Esoterism. He founded religious scriptures and its laws as weapons of charlatanism and sophistry, empty of metaphysical truths and encrusted with repetitive ritualism, a handmaid in the hands of the clerics, and passionate speakers haranguing groups of their religion full of diatribes against other religious groups oblivious of unity of God. Stultifying and claustrophobic were

rituals to him as these were insufficient and incompetent to unveil the veiled which nowhere existed nowhere but in the heart of man.

To Kabir, human heart also was the abode of God and the path to follow him was Prem (Love) which in Hindi consists of two and a half letters. It is interesting to note that the term 'Ishq' in Persian, so popular in Sufi parlance, also contains two and a half letters only and so the word 'qalb' (heart). If heart was the place of God and all revelations are concealed therein, he found scriptures redundant for attainment of the Ultimate Bliss. The human heart is the container of all truths and secrets. Man's end is to fathom his heart instead of going for pilgrimage. God does not reside in Kashi or Kaba but in human only. Heart is also the theatre of divine musical play, a music that has neither beginning nor end (Anhad). From the heart arises the fountain of gnosis to quench the thirst for love. Kabir invited more criticism than predilection from the orthodoxy of both the religions. But the fearless lion moved from one place to another disseminating his metaphysics of love in most simple forms crumbling all distinction between caste, creed and religion. He was a perfect demolisher of boundaries and so every religion attempted to appropriate him forgetting that he would never prefer to be frittered by any religion. The Bhakti heralded by Kabir provided new lakes to flow with a different language, commitment, context and devotion. This also forwarded the greatest challenge to dogma and its repercussions are visible in centuries that followed. But it taught Sufism the Strength of the folk and folk literature.

Another popular Sufi was Bulleh Shah (1680-1757 AD) of Quadariya order, a disciple of Inayat Shah, Religious orthodoxy was against him but he buffeted the Ulema of his time in a way few would have dared. Writes he ^[13]:

*If the divine is found through ablutions
Surely frogs and fish would find him first
If the divine is hidden in jungles
The cattle would have discovered him by now
O Bulleh, the divine is found by those
With pure and true heart*

Pierced by the arrow of love, he found himself nowhere but in the quiver itself ^[14];

*I have got lost in the city of love,
I am being cleared withdrawing myself from my head,
hands and feet,
I have got rid of my ego, and have attained my goal
Thus it has all ended well
O Bulleh, the Lord pervades both the world
None now appears a stranger to me.*

It is said that one day Bulleh Shah saw a young woman eagerly waiting for her husband to return home. Seeing how, in her anticipation, she braided her hair, Bulleh Shah deeply identified the devoted way she prepared herself for her beloved. So Bulleh Shah dressed himself as a woman and braided his own hair before rushing to see his teacher, Inayat Shah. Was Kabir anticipating Bulleh Shah, when he addressed God as his Husband?

Bulleh Shah ridiculed the tradition of pilgrimage to Mecca by those who lack self-control and cast aqualine glance at the site of their sensual pleasures. In his own House (i.e. Heart) he discovered a hundred Mecca ^[15]. The saint did not find any difference between Ram, Krishna and Mohammad ^[16]. They

were manifestations of the same divinity. All these annoyed the Muftis of Pandoke (now in Pakistan) but he, as usual, didn't succumb to the pressures of theologians and legalists and saw no difference between a temple or a mosque or rather found both useless in the elevation of human spirit as crusade against the carnal self alone elevates the self.

A contemporary of Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah (1722-1798 AD) renowned for his epic work Heer Ranjha, echoes love of Bulleh in their love story. Whether Waris Shah was a Sufi or not remains a question of averment but the two irrigated the land of Punjab with the same message of love to the extent that Amrita Preetam remembered none but Waris Shah when Punjab got drowned in pool of blood in the violence of 1947 partition ^[17].

*I call Waris Shah today
 'Speak up from your grave
 From your Book of Love Unfurl
 A new and different page.
 One daughter of the Punjab did scream
 You covered out wall with your laments.
 Millions of daughters weep today
 And call out to Waris Shah:
 'Arise you chronicler of our inner pain
 And look now at your Punjab,
 And blood flows down the Chenab*

Critical Period of Sufism: Power Vs Spirituality

It was the 17th century that proved to be challenging to Sufism as both dogma and love were proceeding towards head-on-collision. The internal quibbling in Shahjahan's family over future kingship was growing. His eldest son, Dara Shikoh, a man of oceanic quest for metaphysics became a disciple of Sufi Saint Miya Mir of the Quadriyya order. His yearning for 'Unity of Being' prompted him to contact not only Sufis but saints of the Bhakti movement also besides his arduous immersion in study of various texts of all religions. The study of Upanishads pulled him to plunge into its sublimity and subtleties of the self and he found in it most precious esoteric treasures and so got it translated into Persian which translated in other languages reached the West and found acceptance in philosophers like Schopenhauer and Schelegel.

Dara's love for other religious texts especially Upanishads and his book 'The Confluence of oceans' infuriated his younger brother who got the much desired pretext to remove him. He was executed along with his son at the insistence of Aurangzeb. This 'Puritanism' now turned against another personality whom Dara Shikoh revered and addressed as his pir and murshid. This personality was none other than Muhammad Said Sarmad who had predicted 'sovereignty' for Dara without disclosing its essential meaning. From now onwards Sufism in North India began to move towards smaller places and among communities that were spatially and culturally at the margin. This was the period of decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of regional powers besides foreign invasions notably by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. The virtual collapse of central authority necessitated shifting of Sufis to the corner of Indian Society where its soul rested. It was the society marked by social and economic exclusion but still contented and receptive to ideas. The sites of the Muslim shrines reveal that the saints stayed in these areas that were densely populated by the out castes and thus these 'Khanquahs became the spearhead of Islamic spirituality'. It is on this account that Professor Gibb

was prompted to write, 'Sufism increasingly attracted the social and intellectual energies within the community to become the bearer of a social and cultural revolution'.

Sufism and Hindu Mysticism

From 16th century onwards language remained no barrier to understand India and its spirituality by the Sufis. *Amritknda* a text of the yogis was translated into both Persian and Arabic languages. Shaikh Abdul Quddus's *Rushdnama* contains commentary on the philosophy of Gorakhnath and his terminologies are used to explain Sufi theosophy. Another text that discussed the philosophy of the Nath Sect was *Bahr al-Hayat* which is a Persian translation of *Amritrkunda*. Besides literature, Sama gatherings were also influenced by Hindawi songs and indigenous music. Most of the musicians were convert Muslims. *Chandain* of Mulla Daud. Mrigavati of Shaikh Qutb Ali Qutban, *Padmavati* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. *Madu-Malti* of Shah Manjhan Shattari were some of the major works in Hindwi were completed by the Sufis in the 16th Century. As regards regional language, Bengali and Punjabi were also adopted by the sufis to express the ideas of love and unity with God. Baba Farid, Sultan Bahu, Bulhe Shab and Waris Shah are known for their writings in Punjabi. *Adya Parichaya*. *Goraksha-Bijay*, Hargauri Sangbad. *Yoga Qulandar*, *Nur Vama* were major works written/translated in Bengali from the end of the fifteenth century to the half of seventeenth century. *Chakkiriamas*, Charkhnamas, Iorinama. Shahidanama and Shuhagam-nama were other forms of literature through which Sufism was popularized and institutionalized in India. But to what extent?

Sufism and Indian Society

Were the expanding wings of Sufism successful in assimilating the Indian society to its full extent or was it asphyxiating to many, thus allowing it a partial success? The tempestuous torrent of spirituality and humanism in the poetry of the Bhaktas appears to have yielded greater influence than the Sufi theosophy. May be that Maghar in not as important as Ajmer but Kabir throbs the heart of millions of people cutting a cross caste and creed. However, without comparing the Bhakti movement and the Sufi Saints, the point of pertinence is to investigate the kind of relationship between the Sufi Saints and the Hindu Society, a theme well attempted by Razinddin Aquil in his edited book Sufism and Society in Medieval India.

There are scholars such as Muhammad Habib, S.S.A. Rizvi K.A. Nizami in India who find Sufi Saints building a strong relationship of cultural and social reciprocity among Hindus and Muslims, cementing a permanent bond between them ^[18]. Such ideas have been entertained and subjected to exposition by foreign scholars also like Bruce Lawrence and Richard Eaton ^[19]. The Sufis of Bijapur authored by the later states of no conversion by the Sufis in his study area. Sufis from 1300-1700 A.D. continued to be an integral part of Indian Society and no incident of attritional relationship was there. Prof. Nizami in his essay Muslim Mystic Ideology and Contribution to Indian Culture endorses Professor Gibb's opinion that 'Sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within the community to become the bearer or instrument of a social and cultural revolution' ^[20]. What kind of Cultural Revolution was this? Prof. Nizami writes, "Thus, demonstrating the Islamic idea of *tauhid* as a working principle in social life, the medieval Khanquahs

became the spearhead of Muslim Culture (emphasis mine)" [21]. If Sufis were the bearers of Muslim Culture, how could Hindu Culture accept to be encapsulated or socialized in it?

Contrary to Nizami's idea, Aziz Ahmad finds Sufism's role as a bridge between Hinduism and Islam rather 'over-estimated and over-idealized'. Naqsbandi Sufism was in uncompromising opposition to Hinduism, Sufism of Punjab and Chistis played a major role in conversion of Hindus into Islam. Even to Nizamuddin Aulia. Hindus were excluded from the grace of God; hence, their aversion to conversion to Islam to Aziz Ahmad Bhakti movement rose as a "popular Hindu Counter-challenge to the proselytizing pull of Sufi humanism". Further, "all the major Sufi orders, the Chisti, the Quadiri and the Naqsbandi show a similar approach to Hinduism, which begins with hostility. Passes through a phase of co-existence and culminates in tolerance and understanding". Thus one finds by 17th and 18th century Mirza Mazhar regarded Vedas as divine revelation and later even idolatry was tolerated. The fact is that neither Sufism nor the Bhakti movement could obliterate the line of distinction between different communities and here Muzaffar Alam's depiction of scenario in representative the social fact although his comments are confined to the Awadh region:

The Sufi's insistence on his own experimentation with truth (tariqa) threatened a clash with the theologian's codified shari'at; they rarely matched with each other without obvious compromises. Shari'at and tariqa, and for that matter Islam, thus acquired a variety of forms and meanings. To a Mujaddidi Sufi in Delhi, a shi'a appeared a renegade; a Qadiri Sufi in Banasa in Awadh could experience divinity in a Hindu ensemble with Hindu bairagis. Along the multiple religious traditions, there existed diverse and variegated manifestations of medieval political culture. If one tradition tended to encourage distance or conflict across religious or sectarian lines, another induced amity. There was no single dominant tradition. Separate religious identities remained, with no single serious or comprehensive effort to provide an alternative basis for social existence. [22]

Conclusion

Till the British rule was established in India firmly, it is difficult to find proper assimilation of either Hindus into the Sufi fold or Sufis into the Hindu fold. As we know, many Sufi Orders in India encouraged and motivated the rulers to impose taxes on Hindus and convert them to Islam, notable these being the Suharawardi Order. The final collapse of the Muslim rule and the process of colonization changed not only the mechanism of power but also of economy and also the fabric of society which prompted and persuade both to come together. Sufis also moved to smaller places popularly known as qusbah, 'something between a village and a town'. Muzaffar Ali's book the Sufis of Awadh gives a list of fifty three Sufi tombs in Awadh region alone [23]. Urs of twenty six saints is celebrated every year. Thus, it are the dargah & sufi shrines that provide real platform of popularization of Sufism - a place where the prayers of the needy are answered, a place where sama reverberates the atmosphere not only during the Urs but also on Thursdays. What the Sufis could not accomplish, their tomb and urs is accomplishing. Be it history or sociology, none has the competence to deliver

the final truth. Metaphysics being a science of beyonds only symbolises the truth. Human beings are not only enchained by their destiny as individuals but also by history and civilization when in collective forms. Islam had a history of continuous triumph of one hundred years and fabulous achievements during Abbasid Caliphate. Hinduism on the other hand with all its social morbidity of caste system had tremendous resilience in it which produced pessimism in many Muslims to win it culturally and spiritually and this is obvious in Hali [24]. The truth that brought and brings both the communities today around Shrines is a philosophy which we find in Euripedes when he says [25]:

*O Vain in man,
While to and fro the chances if the years
Dance like an idiot in the wind! And none
By any strength hath his fortune won*

Sufi shrine by providing sacred space for prayer offer human beings strength if not to win their fortune at least to live with it, irrespective of caste, and creed and religion. Sama provides man a psychological space for triumph over his immediacy transporting him away from the weariness of the present. It is a moment of surcease from the cacophony created by tales of the idiot.

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