

Folk Music of Pakistan: Socio-Cultural Influence of *Qawwali*

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Abstract

Qawwali known as Samais the religious and classical practice of Music. It is sung in religious as well as social and cultural ceremonies in Muslim society. Qawwali has now become the part of our culture. Among several components of culture, folk songs are considered as an important component and one of the genres of folk songs is Qawwali, which was started earlier as religious practice by Sufis and it was chanted on shrines and in religious ceremonies but with the passage of time it became a cultural activity and nowadays it is chanted in social ceremonies as folk songs. Available literature about Qawwali provides information about its origin and its journey from ritual to entertainment but there is no scholarly work available about the impact of Qawwali on society and culture of Pakistan as a genus of folk music. So the aim of the present paper is to understand the brief history of Qawwali in religious perspective and to highlight its emergence as social and cultural activity as form of folk music and analyze its impact on Pakistani society and culture as a variety of folk music to show that Qawwalias category of folk music has deeply influenced the society and culture of Pakistan and is largely practiced in social and cultural events.

Key words: Qawali, Sama, Zikir, Society, Religious

Introduction

Qawwali is the famous religious practice all over South Asia where there Muslims live. Where there are Muslims; there are Sufis and where there are Sufis, there is *Qawwali*.¹ This is a mystical practice which was started by Sufis. Sufism is the mystical movement in Islam and the Muslim, who dedicates himself to the mystical movement of Sufism, is known as Sufi. The etymology of the word Sufi is *soof* which means “wool.”² The Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) was a Sufi throughout his life.³ ‘Sufism’ with this nomenclature was introduced in 2nd century A.H. Prior to this, word ‘ascetic’ was used for Sufis. Sufism was earlier developed as an individual ascetic movement and later became a legitimate part of Islam in 12th century. Sufi orders developed and spread till fifteenth century. Four Sufi orders become popular in Indian subcontinent *i.e* *Chishti*, *Suharwardi*, *Qadriand Naqashbandi*⁴. The Sufis belonging to these orders formulated several practices among which prominent are *Zikr* and *Sama*. *Zikr* is the form of remembrance in which the Sufi remembers Allah by chanting the names of Allah. Through *Zikr* Sufi wants to get closeness to Allah.⁵ Some Sufis propagated *Zikr* with rhythm which is known as *Sama*. There is diversity within these Sufi practices. For example *Naqashbandi* propagate loud *Zikr* instead of silent *Zikr* of *Suharwardi* order. *Chishti* Sufis favour *Sama* but other Sufi orders criticize it. By the end of the 11th century, there arose the tradition of *Sama*.

Sama

Sama literally means ‘listening’ or ‘music’.⁶ Term ‘*Sama*’ is considered as a form of musical concert which is organized to bring about a state of ecstasy (*wajad*) in Sufis.⁷ Bruce Lawrence defined *Sama* as “hearing chanted verse (with or without accompanying instruments in the company of others, also seeking to participate in the dynamic dialogue between the human lover and Divine beloved”.⁸ *Sama* should not be considered as inner experience only rather it is the form of religious activity in which musical performance is involved and

this takes place under strict conditions. *Chishti* Sufis consider *Sama* as ecstatic hub and in practice of *Sama*, the quest of Sufis is the 'union with Allah' that must be combined with severe discipline of the sensual self.⁹ *Sama* is considered as an occasion in which the purpose of people's gathering is to realize the ideals of Islamic mysticism through the ritual of listening to music or *Sama*.¹⁰ The practice of *Sama* is controversial among certain *Ulama*. They deliberate it contrary to Islamic tradition as it was not practiced during the period of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W).¹¹ According to some theologians, there are four types of *Sama*; 1-*Halal* (lawful) 2-*Mubah* (permitted) 3-*Makrooh* (disapproved) 4-*Haram* (forbidden); If *Sama* is held for the sake of Allah and longing for Allah and not longing for the created it is lawful. If *Sama* is conducted mainly longing for Allah and only little desiring for the created then it is permitted. *Sama* held much desiring for created and little for Allah is disapproved. The fourth type of *Sama* in which there is no yearning for Allah and is all longing for created is forbidden.¹² So, to the Sufi, *Sama/Qawwali* is a method of worship and feast for the soul, to the performer it is the genre of music with its distinctive characteristics of worship and to the observer it is music in context par excellence.¹³

From *Sama* to *Qawwali*: Contextual History

The origin of *Sama* probably can be traced back to the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Several scholars¹⁴ discussed the diverse spiritual effects of music but Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1059-1111) a great theologian and *Sufi*, in *Kitab Adab al-Samawa al-Wajd*, the (Book of the Right Usages of Audition and Trance) refined and codified the principles of *Sama*.¹⁵ Three things and rules are necessary for *Sama* gatherings; time, place and people. It is necessary that *Samas* should not be held during prayer or at the time of worship. It should neither be held on streets where people usually travel and pass through nor in dark places. It should be held in the company of people who are aware of the good conduct and value of *Sama*. Imam Ghazzali (1058-1111) formulated ten rules of etiquette to attend *Sama* gathering.¹⁶

Sama originated in eighth century Iraq and Iran (Persia) and was widely mentioned in *Sufi* manuals of 10th century. A dance form of whirling *Dervashon Daff* beat was developed by Maulana Jallaludin Rumi (1207-1273, founder of *Malviya* Sufi order) with the help of Saadi Sherazi (1200-1292, Persian poet).¹⁷ This is known as *Sama*. There are similarities between the early practice of *Sama* by Jalaluddin Rumi and the Chishti approach to music.¹⁸

The *Chishti* Sufi order was developed in 940 A.D. This order traces their lineage to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) through Hazrat Ali (R.A). The order was started by Abu Isahaq Chishti (died 940) in Chishti but introduced in Indian subcontinent by Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti (1141-1236)¹⁹ in thirteenth century. *Sama* is chiefly celebrated by the Sufis belonging to the *Chishti* Order.²⁰ Chishti practice of *Sama* was started by Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti. He institutionalized *Sama* because he wanted to preach Islam to Hindus who were music lovers and he used *Sama* as a mean to attract them together.²¹

Then Shaikh Syed Muhammad Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325) known with the title of *Sultan-ul-Mushaikh, Mehboob-e-Illahi* in Indian subcontinent, continued the practice of *Chishti Sama*. He preached Islam through the Sufi musical form of *Qawwali* in India. Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) was a Sufi saint and disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya.²² He was associated to the court of the sultan Ala'ul-Din Khilji (1296-1316) at Delhi and he had the sagacity and command over the Indian and Persian classical music. The latest form of *Qawwali* was invented by Amir Khusrau in the subcontinent.²³ It is related that Amir Khusrau brought *Qawwali* from Persia but in Persian literature no reference is found related to *Qawwali*. So, it is assumed that it was *Sama* which was later recognized as *Qawwali* in Indian Sufi literature.²⁴ The history of *Qawwali* is closely associated to the pre-thirteenth century Sufi practice of *Sama*.²⁵ Early practice of *Sama* is popularly known as *Qawwali* in India, and the singers, as *Qawwal*.²⁶

Qawwalias Religious Practice

Term *Qawwali* is derived from the Arabic verb ‘Qala’, which mean ‘to say’. The term *Qawwali* is a concept related to the religious musical form and is connected to recitation of holy text rather than to music. It is different from the verb referring to singing(*gana*). Expression ‘*Qawwali parhna*’(to recite *Qawwali*) is used for *Qawwali* performance rather than using ‘*Qawwali gana*’ (to sing *Qawwali*). Poems are referred to as *kalam* instead of *shair*²⁷. *Qawwali* is the religious form of the music. To the early Sufis of Islam *Qawwali* performance has a religious function.²⁸ Early Sufis of Islam started to recite Quranic verses accompanied by music to fill their heart with mystical love and arouse their emotions.²⁹ To the Sufis, music provides rhythm to *Zikr*.

At a later stage, recitations of Sufi poetry with musical compositions were also included in *Sama* and this tradition was attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) and his companions.³⁰ By listening Sufi poetry, a Sufi wants to activate his link with his mentor and with saints departed and then ultimately to Almighty Allah.³¹ The music and poetry take regional forms according to the different local traditions. Sufi literature was created by Sufi poets in several genres like quatrain (*Rubai*), (*Ghazal*) rhythmic couplets, poems, (*Qasida*) praise, (*Masnavi*) epic couplet. This form of music combined with Sufi poetry was used to communicate Sufi teachings.³² At some later stage, *Sama* or music was adopted to bring about ecstasy *Wajad*. Spiritually advanced Sufis individually or collectively fall in state of ecstasy and rise up to dance *Raqs*. According to Nizamud-Din Auliya, “in a state of ecstasy, When a Sufi claps his hands, all the sins of his hands are removed, and when he shouts all his evil desires are destroyed.”³³

Sama was chiefly practiced on *Urs*³⁴ occasion to celebrate the death of a saint. But now the practice of *Sama* has been reduced into a secular type of musical festival indeed, and in these festivals dancing-girls perform their dance in honour of the saint.³⁵

Emergence of *Qawwali* as Social and Cultural Practice

What is culture and music?

The term 'culture' is an English word which is derived from Latin word 'cult' which means tilling or refining or worship.³⁶ Geertz defines culture as a "framework of beliefs, expressive symbols and values in terms of which individuals define their feelings and make their judgments."³⁷ Culture is simply defined as a way of the life of the people. Different aspects of the culture include Art, music, literature, architecture, science, philosophy, religion, customs, traditions, festivals, ways of living etc. Culture is developed through historical process and it is passed forward from one generation to next generation. So the culture which is inherited from predecessor is known as cultural heritage.³⁸

Music as a part of culture has significant value in Pakistani society and culture too. Thomas fuller defined music that "it is nothing else but wild sounds civilized into time and tune."³⁹ William Shakespeare demarcated it as "the food of soul"⁴⁰ music related to rhythm to express the sounds. Actually music is a combination of sounds, instruments and human activity.⁴¹

Musicologists have classified music into several genres like art music, traditional music, popular music and folk music etc. Folk music, as an important genre of music, is essential part of culture. Several definitions are narrated to define folk music. It is related that music which is collectively accepted and is essentially popular is known as folk music. For some it is composed by the people and not for the people. The most authentic definition of folk music is described as the process of oral transmission, the product of evolution and is dependent on the circumstances of continuity, variation and selection".⁴² Folk music includes different ideas, culture, values, norms as well as the cultural traditions and literature. Folk songs are usually sung by people at working in fields, in ceremonies like marriages, fairs, festivals and on shrines. These songs are different from region to region but central themes are almost same.⁴³ Folk music is considered as an important part of culture of any region of the world.

History of Music in Indian Subcontinent and Pakistan

History of Music in Pakistan can be traced back from over 5000 years. Development and history of the music in the Pakistan is linked with Indus Valley Civilization and invasion of the Aryans. Pakistani music was evolved as a result of Hindu-Muslim cultural interaction. Hindus were music lovers. They have rich musical heritage but its history is obscure. Indian music began with the beginning of religious life of the Aryans. They chanted *Ashloks* verses and *Mantars* which were known as *Dhurpad*. Only high caste Brahman had the monopoly over the *Dhurpad*. Low caste Hindus were not allowed to listen this religious music. The Muslims and low caste Hindus shaped folk music. This music influenced Muslim Sufis. They learned local language and melodies to spread the message of Islam to Hindu music lovers. They composed mystical songs by using local tunes. These Sufis were aware of the Persian and Arabic music. So, with the fusion of local language and melodies, new forms of music such as *Tarana*, *Khayal*, *Thumri*, *Dadra*, etc evolved.⁴⁴ Music was patronized by Muslim rulers and in Muslim rule, Indian Persian and Arabic modes of music were combined.⁴⁵ In thirteenth century Amir Khusrau, a renowned Muslim musician and poet engaged the musical possibilities⁴⁶ and introduced *Qawwali*, *Tarana*, *Saazgiri* and *Saparda* in Indian music. He invented so many musical instruments including *Tabla*, *Harmonium* and *Sitar*.⁴⁷ With reference to Abdul Alim Jaa`far Khan (1931-1975) it is related that the composition of many *Ragas* like *Kafi* and *Shahnai*, are attributed to Khusrau⁴⁸ which are still performed in *Qawwali* and he is considered as the founder of this art form.⁴⁹

***Qawwali* as Genre of Art and Folk Music**

Qawwali is recognized as musical genre in Indian subcontinent. As a genre of music it is the song of devotion and supplication throughout South Asia especially in India and Pakistan. These songs are written in Urdu, Hindi, Persian Punjabi and Sindhi. These songs are sung by *Qawwals* in *Qawwal* group. One or two persons lead the *Qawwali* song. To induce trance passages

are repeated. *Harmonium* and *Dholak* are used as musical instruments and hand clapping adds vigor to the drum beat. *Qawwali* is started with prelude on harmonium and then introductory verses are sung without drum and main song started with drum beat and rhythmic hand clapping and then it is joined by the whole group of *Qawwals*. *Tablais* now used in modern professional *Qawwali* while traditional *Qawwals* are still stuck to *Dholak* only.

Qawwali is mostly the mixture of different languages.⁵⁰ Earlier Sufi literature was in Persian language later, Amir Khusrau introduced Purbi and Braj Bhasha in Sufi literature. A traditional *Qawwal* starts *Qawwali* in Persian language then moves to Punjabi or Urdu and then eastern languages *i.e.* Hindi and Purbi. This transition from west to east makes a bridge between languages and cultural regions. When language became a barrier to connect the audience then *Qawwals* focused on musical form and rhythm to induce trance. Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, a legend *Qawwal* from Pakistan, is the best example of it. He induced trance in western audience who were unaware of the content of *Qawwali*. If the audience could not understand the content and lyrics of *Qawwali*, then use of rhythm is the basic medium through which mystical experience is created by the use of voice and vocal musical experience.⁵¹

Pakistani band *Junoona* created the Sufi rock genre by combining the modern hard rock and traditional folk with Sufi poetry.⁵² Coke Studio's first session was launched in the Pakistan in 2008 and it got high esteem in musical world. Coke Studio infused music of new age in *Qawwali* because this new folk *Qawwali* is connected to our roots. Various artists are combining western and eastern melodies in folk *Qawwali* and making it the part of folk music of Pakistan⁵³ such as Atif Aslam sang the '*Qawwali*, '*Taj Dare Hram*' earlier sung by the Sabri brothers. This version is totally different from the previous version in respect of music and musical instruments.⁵⁴

Forms of *Qawwali*

In the light of above discussion, to analyze the practice of *Qawwali* as social and cultural activity and its impact on

Pakistan's society and culture, it can be categorized into three forms: 1. Sama *Qawwali*, 2. Popular *Qawwali* of recording industry 3. Concert *Qawwali*

Sama:Qawwali

It is also called *Khanqahi Qawwali* because it is related to the Sufi lodges. It is also like the concert *Qawwali* but the purpose and focus of performance is different. In this type of *Qawwali*, meditative and ecstatic technique is used to induce spiritual state. This form of *Qawwali* is performed on shrines, *Dargahs* and in their surroundings. Apart from performing on common days (especially on Thursday) and especial occasions (*Urs* festivals) this form of *Qawwali* is sung during the performance of different kind of rituals. Poetry of the *Qawwali* is varied but in the theme of the *Qawwali*, mystical love is dominant. Focus in *Sama Qawwali* is *Mir-e-Mehfil* rather than that of *Qawwal*.⁵⁵

Recorded *Qawwali* of Recording Industry

Qawwali become the part of recording industry in 1920-1930 in south Asia. Earlier in twentieth century, *Tabla* and harmonium were used as musical instruments, later more instruments were added in 1930s. An important change occurred in *Sama Qawwali* was that related to the textual content of *Qawwali*. Urdu got important place in recorded *Qawwali* in 19th century. Urdu language which was used in recording was simpler than language of Urdu poetry. Not only the language but the content of the poem also got change. Most of the recorded poems were in praise of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Recorded *Qawwali* is easily available in the form of CDs at the shops near the *Dargahs* and shrines nowadays. Narrative poems, with didactic content technique, were used in which verses from different sources were inserted in the main poem⁵⁶ due to which whole song sometimes lost its original structure. After the partition of India recorded *Qawwali* was used to promote the national ideologies of new states. *Qawwali* become famous as music in Pakistan. Since 1950s, film music influenced the recorded *Qawwali*. Although its idiom is like the non-religious musical form of popular recorded *Qawwali* but major difference is that of lyrics.

Concert *Qawwali*

From 1940, *Qawwali* become the part of non-religious festivals and concerts. Concert *Qawwali* evolved with religious character since 1960s. Innovators of this tradition were Ghulam Farid Sabri and Maqbool Farid Sabri who got popularity nationally and internationally. Qureshi called this form of *Qawwali* as serious popular religious *Qawwali*. They mixed the features of traditional *Qawwali* with popular *Qawwali* and Hindustani *Qawwali*. They always kept balance between textual message and unrehearsed passages.⁵⁷ Since 1980s stage *Qawwali* was dominated by Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. He approached even to that audience who was unaware of the poetry of the *Qawwali*. His *Qawwali* has lack of balance between textual message and musical improvisation.⁵⁸ This is not possible in *Sama Qawwali* as it disturbs the attention and concentration of the audience. The primary concern of concert *Qawwali* is to get pleasure and enjoyment rather than mystical states. The qualities of an artist *Qawwal* are different from the qualities of *Sama Qawwal*. In concert *Qawwali* the focus is on singer who is characterized as an artist and the concentration is on the musical traits like quality of voice and artistry of the singer etc.⁵⁹

Social and Cultural Influence of *Qawwali*

The impact of a phenomenon is analyzed through understanding the aim and purposes of that phenomenon. So the impact of *Qawwali* on society and culture is related to the aim and purpose of *Qawwali*. The earlier religious aim of *Sama* was to get closeness to Allah. Through the practice of *Sama*, Sufi experienced the spiritual states and fell in ecstasy. *Zikr* was done with rhythm. Earlier Quranic verses and poetry in praise of Allah and Muhammad were the content of *Sama*. Later *Sufi Kalam* was also incorporated in the content of *Sama*. It had religious function to induce trance and it was conducted on shrines and Sufi lodges and in *Mahafil*.

Qawwali's impact on society and culture can be analyzed through the aims of present day status of *Qawwali*. The aim of

the present day *Qawwali* is to get pleasure and enjoyment and as a genre of music it is considered as source of entertainment. From the last fifty years *Qawwali* as a genre of music, has separated itself from its religious context. In non-religious context it is used in two ways; as an art form and as a dialogue. The mystical imagery of *Qawwali* was used for secular purposes such as Sabri brothers used concept of 'wine' in their *Qawwali* for secular purpose. By realizing the potential of *Qawwali*, Indian and Pakistani film industries used *Qawwali* as entertainment form. Moving forward from secularization *Qawwali* emerged as dialogue in stage shows. In stage or concert *Qawwali*, opposing male and female groups used this form of *Qawwali* for humorous exchange. Dialogue *Qawwali* has now become the part of entertainment programs and functions of schools and colleges. By realizing the therapeutic effect of *Qawwali*, doctors now advise the mentally disturbed patients to attend *Qawwali* functions.⁶⁰

Presently, *Qawwali* has not the religious function only rather it is rapidly growing popular in domestic festivities, functions, musical concerts, commercial recordings and films. The emergence of broadcasting and recording industry has transformed *Qawwali* from religious form to popular entertaining art form.⁶¹ People now consider *Qawwali* as source of entertainment rather than devotional music. Several *Qawwali* events are conducted every year which are attended and enjoyed by all and sundry. Traditional *Qawwali* was just for selective audience and *Qawwal* also followed a format. Eye contact with audience, explanation and spiritual stories were considered essential for devotional *Qawwali* but now this communication is missing in *Qawwali*. In present days, with the emergence of Coke Studio young generation is becoming aware to the past value of the *Qawwali* by listening the new versions of *Qawwali*. This rejuvenation has made *Qawwali* as an essential part of entertainment and social-cultural activity.⁶²

Conclusion

Early ascetic movement of Islam became legitimate part of Islam and with the emergence of Sufi orders in Islam in 11th

and 12th centuries Sufis formulated different mystical practices of *Zikr* and *Sama*. *Zikr* is the remembrance of Allah by chanting His names and *Sama* is also a kind of *Zikr* which is done with rhythm. *Sama* was started as religious practice by early Sufis to get closeness to Allah. Through *Sama*, a Sufi fell in state of ecstasy by listening rhythmic *Zikr*. The content of *Sama* was Quranic verses, rhymes in praise of Allah, in applause of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), *Sufi Kalam* etc. several rules were followed to conduct *Sama* and it was usually conducted on *Dargahs* and shrines. It was totally a religious activity. Focus of Sufis for listening *Sama* was on text rather than music. This tradition of *Sama* was introduced in Indian subcontinent by Moinuddin Chishti; a Sufi belonged to Chishti order. He used this tradition to spread Islam to music loving Hindus and Amir Khusrau transformed *Sama* into *Qawwali*, made it a part of music by introducing many *Rags*, compositions and instruments. In later period, focus of *Qawwali* shifted from textual content to music and transition from religious to irreligious convention also occurred in theme and function of *Qawwali*. This shift made *Qawwali* as popular genre of music and as genre of music and art it became the part of culture. As part of culture, it is serving as religious as well as non-religious functions. In non-religious context, realizing the potential of *Qawwali* it is used in film industry and in concerts as musical entertainment to get pleasure and enjoyment. Pioneers of this art form of *Qawwali* are Sabri Brothers and Nusrat Fateh Ali. As popular form of music and with secular text, now *Qawwali* is sung in different social and cultural activities *i.e.* domestic festivities, marriage ceremonies, festivals, and in college functions as an entertainment. It is also used as therapy to cure mentally sick patients. Fused with rock and pop music and with the emergence of Coke Studio, *Qawwali* is being developed and progressed as musical genre and it is being transformed according to the musical rhythmic taste of new generation. This rejuvenation of present and past in *Qawwali* music has also largely influenced the social and cultural contours of Pakistani society.

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- ¹³ RegulaQureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan*: p. xiii
- ¹⁴ Arab musicologists such as al-Kindi (d.873) and al-Farabi (b.872) wrote on the effects of music, but the first to take into account the relation between music and trance were the Brothers of Purity (Ikhwan al-Safa), "a group of philosophers, scientists, mathematicians, and litterateurs who flourished at AI-Sasra during the second half of the eleventh century".
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- AS, PhD Thesis (Gulbarga University: Department of History, 2014), Pp. 233-235; 1. Sit in a seriously attentive manner by keeping the head down. 2. Do not look at each other. 3. Everyone should concentrate and occupy himself fully in the Sama. 4. Should have no conversation during Sama. 5. Do not do distracting things – do not even drink water. 6. Do not look, gaze or stare hither and thither. 7. Do not move your arms or legs unnecessarily and do not make any movement with a show. 8. Sit in a position which is presented for *Qaida/Tashhadudinsalat*. 9. Occupy the heart and mind fully with the thought and remembrance of Allah. 10. Keep yourself under control so that you do not stand up or move about in a voluntary manner, of your own accord. However, if anybody does so under the condition that he has no control over himself and involuntarily (that is, not of his own accord or volition) then, others should also stand up and help him in order to prevent him from losing his balance and hurting himself.
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- ²⁶ Subhān, *Sufism: Its Saints And Shrines*, P.112
- ²⁷ Viitamäki, *Text and Intensification of Its Impact in Chishti Sama*,p. 22; *Kalamis* a word that literally means ‘talk, utterance’ but it carries heavily religious connotations unlike the word *shī`r*, which refers specifically to the poetry of more profane kind.

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- ³²Hassan ali, "Sufi Influence on Pakistani Politics and Culture", p.
- ³³Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (Urdu translation) *History of Chishti Silsila* trans. Ghulam Ahmed Biryan, (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, n.d) p. 463.
- ³⁴The word 'Urs, literally means "wedding-festivity", so that, as applied to the anniversary of a saint's death, it probably has a subtle reference to the sophisticated stage attained by him in his life time and consummated at the time of his death. i.e. the anniversary of the death of a saint.
- ³⁵Subhān, *Sufism: Its Saints And Shrines*, P.114.
- ³⁶Swami Harshananda, "The Meaning of Samskriti or Culture, The Vedanta Kesari" p. 464 December 2012, found on <http://www.esamskriti.com/essays/pdf/15-3-The-Meaning-of-Samskriti-3.pdf>
- ³⁷Clifford Geertz, "Ritual And Social Change: A Javanese Example" *American Anthropologist*, 1957:32-54
- ³⁸"Culture: An Introduction" article found on <http://www.nios.ac.in/media/documents/SecICHCour/English/CH.01.pdf>
- ³⁹Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: Printed by J. G. W. L. and W. G. for Thomas Williams, 1662), p
- ⁴⁰Nargis Naheed, *The Musical Heritage of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Syed Zakir Shah, 1987), p 06.
- ⁴¹Ibid.
- ⁴²Maud Karpeles And Sir Stuart Wilson, "The Role Of Folk Music In Education", *International Conference on The Role And Place Of Music In The Education Of Youth And Adults*, Unesco/Cua/ Me /13 Paris, 26 June 1953
- ⁴³Ali Ahmad K. Brohi, *Folk Music of Mehran Valley*, (Lahore: The Directorate of Press Cell, Information Department, 1970.), p 08.
- ⁴⁴"History of Music in Pakistan" [.http://www.travel-culture.com/pakistan/music/history.shtml](http://www.travel-culture.com/pakistan/music/history.shtml), (accessed on 6th March 2017).
- ⁴⁵Syed Gafoor, "Sufis Monuments of Gulbarga and Bidar: "A Cultural Study From 14th Century AD to 17th Century AD", PhD Thesis (Gulbarga University: Department of History, 2014), P. 222.
- ⁴⁶Coeli Fitzpatrick, *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture*: p. 410.
- ⁴⁷Gafoor, *Sufis Monuments of Gulbarga and Bidar*: P. 222.

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- ⁴⁸Viitamäki, *Text and Intensification of Its Impact in Chishti Sama`* P. 21.
- ⁴⁹Coeli Fitzpatrick , *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture:* p. 410.
- ⁵⁰Ibid. Pp409-410.
- ⁵¹Bhattacharjee, “*The Origin and Journey of Qawwali*”Pp. 218-219.
- ⁵²Ibid., p. 221.
- ⁵³“Pakistani ObsessionWith *Qawwalis*”
,<http://www.fm91.com.pk/pakistani-obsession-with-qawwalis/>(accessed on ,6th march, 2017).
- ⁵⁴“Coke Studio (Pakistan)”,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coke_Studio_\(Pakistan\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coke_Studio_(Pakistan)) (accessed on 6th march 2017).
- ⁵⁵Mikko Viitamäki, *Text and Intensification of Its Impact in Chishti Sama`* P p. 80-82.
- ⁵⁶Ibid.,P. 77.
- ⁵⁷Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan*, p. 118.
- ⁵⁸Mikko Viitamäki, *Text and Intensification of Its Impact in Chishti Sama, P.* 79;(Cf. e.g. Nusrat1997track 1).
where he introduces a long improvisatory passage after the half line
‘khudayara_m kun bar man’.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Adam Nayyar, *Origin and History of the Qawwali*, (Islamabad: LokVirsa Research Centre, 1988), p
- ⁶¹Coeli Fitzpatrick , *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture:* p. 410
- ⁶²“Pakistani ObsessionWith*Qawwalis*”,<http://www.fm91.com.pk/pakistani-obsession-with-qawwalis/>(accessedon, 6th March, 2017).