

Qawwālī as the Musical Manifestation of Spiritual Ecstasy: The Case of the Indian Subcontinent

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Abstract

Qawwālī, which took shape in the Indian subcontinent in the 13th century particularly within the circles of the Chishtiyya order, was institutionalized under the leadership of Amir Khusrau (d. 725/1325) through the blending of Persian-Islamic elements with local languages and melodic traditions. Its primary function is to direct listeners toward divine love in samā' gatherings, leading them to states of ecstasy (wajd) and annihilation in God (fanā). In this context, qawwālī possesses a poetic structure that begins with praises of God, panegyrics (na't) for the Prophet Muḥammad, and narratives of Sufi saints, and then deepens with ghazals dealing with metaphorical love and the quest for divine truth. The Chishtiyya tradition's close engagement with the public, along with its inclusive mission, has transformed qawwālī into a medium for interfaith dialogue and cultural interaction between Muslims and Hindus. In particular, its discursive similarities with the Bhakti movement have fused it with local mystical understandings. Musically, qawwālī adopts the system of Hindustani classical music and is performed as a collective act accompanied by the harmonium, dholak, rhythmic handclaps, and improvisations, evolving in direct interaction with the audience. Over time, however, qawwālī moved beyond the spiritual framework of shrines and khanqāhs, entering courts, fairs, stages, and the sphere of popular culture. In the 20th century, especially under the leadership of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan (d. 1418/1997), it evolved toward secularization, taking a new shape within Indian cinema and the world music scene. This study addresses the historical origins of qawwālī, its functions within the context of the Sufi order, its spiritual role, its linguistic and musical features, and its transformation in the process of secularization. Presenting a comparative framework with international literature, the research highlights qawwālī's significance for Sufi studies. Furthermore, through an interdisciplinary approach, it reveals qawwālī's position today as a dynamic cultural heritage that represents the balance between spiritual ecstasy and aesthetic pleasure. The findings obtained through an interdisciplinary approach reliably support, from a methodological perspective, the importance of the qawwālī in Sufi studies and its position within the context of contemporary cultural heritage. The fundamental problem of the study is the extent to which spiritual enthusiasm has been preserved or lost in the process of qawwālī evolving into an aesthetic and popular identity, distancing itself from its Sufi origins.

Keywords

Tasawwuf (Sufism), Indian Subcontinent, Chishtiyya, Qawwālī, Spiritual Ecstasy.

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Mânevî Coşkunun Müzikal Tezahürü Olarak Kavvâlî: Hint Alt Kıtası Örneği

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Öz

Kavvâlî, XIII. yüzyılda Hint alt kıtasında özellikle Çiştîyye tarikatı çevresinde şekillenmiş, Emîr Hüsrev'in (öl. 725/1325) öncülüğünde Farsça-İslâmî unsurlar ile yerel dil ve ezgi geleneklerinin harmanlanmasıyla kurumsallaşmış bir tasavvufî müzik formudur. Temel işlevi, semâ meclislerinde dinleyicileri ilâhî aşka yönlendirmek, vecd ve fenâ hallerine taşımaktır. Bu bağlamda kavvâlî, Allah'a hamd, Hz. Peygamber'e na't ve sûfî velîlere menkıbelerle başlayan, ardından mecazî aşk ve ilâhî hakikat arayışını konu alan gazellerle derinleşen şiirsel bir yapıya sahiptir. Çiştîyye geleneğinin halkla iç içe, diğer bir ifadeyle kapsayıcı misyonu, kavvâlîyi Müslümanlar ve Hindular arasında inançlar arası bir diyalog ve kültürel etkileşim aracına dönüştürmüştür. Özellikle bhakti hareketiyle kurduğu söylem benzerlikleri, onu yerel mistik anlayışlarla kaynaştırmıştır. Müzikal açıdan Hint klasik müziğinin sistemini benimseyen kavvâlî, armonyum, dholak, ritmik el çırpma ve doğaçlamalar eşliğinde icra edilen kolektif bir performans olarak dinleyiciyle etkileşim içinde gelişmiştir. Ancak zaman içinde kavvâlî, türbe ve dergâhların mânevî çerçevesinden çıkarak saray, panayır, sahne ve popüler kültür alanlarına taşmış, XX. yüzyılda özellikle Nusret Fatih Ali Han'ın (öl. 1418/1997) öncülüğünde sekülerleşme yönünde evrilmiş, Hint sineması ve dünya müziği sahnesinde yeniden biçimlenmiştir. Bu çalışma, kavvâlînin tarihsel kökenleri, tarikat bağlamındaki işlevleri, mânevî rolü, dilsel ve müzikal özellikleri ile sekülerleşme sürecindeki dönüşümünü ele almaktadır. Literatürdeki uluslararası çalışmalarla karşılaştırmalı bir çerçeve sunan araştırma, kavvâlînin tasavvuf araştırmaları açısından önemini vurgulamaktadır. Öte yandan disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşımla kavvâlînin mânevî coşku ile estetik haz arasındaki dengeyi temsil eden dinamik bir kültürel miras olarak günümüzdeki konumunu ortaya koymaktadır. Disiplinlerarası yaklaşımla elde edilen bulgular, kavvâlînin tasavvuf araştırmalarındaki önemini ve çağdaş kültürel miras bağlamındaki konumunu metodolojik açıdan güvenilir biçimde desteklemektedir. Çalışmanın temel problemi, kavvâlînin tasavvufî kökeninden uzaklaşarak estetik ve popüler bir kimliğe evrilmesi sürecinde mânevî coşkunun ne ölçüde korunabildiği ya da yitirildiğidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Tasavvuf, Hint Alt Kıtası, Çiştîyye, Kavvâlî, Mânevî Coşku.

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Introduction

Sufism has played an important role in the spread of Islam in the Indian subcontinent over the centuries, influencing the religious and cultural fabric of the region. Especially during the period of the Ghurids, an Islamic dynasty, a large part of the local population, who belonged to Hinduism, Buddhism, and various local tribal beliefs, came into contact with Islam. As Islam became more widespread in the region in later periods, the religion began to be embraced by the people, and as a result of this process, a large number of Indians converted to Islam. Thus, Islam gradually became one of the two most influential religious traditions in South Asia.¹ From the 13th century onwards, during the Delhi Sultanate and later the Mughal Empire, many Sufi dervishes settled in India and influenced large masses of people by practising a faith based on the principles of love and respect. During this period, Sufi orders organised in the Islamic world gained an influential position in the Indian geography under the protection of the Delhi Sultanate. Over time, orders such as the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri, Kubrawi and Shattari,² which are considered part of the Sunni tradition, added a unique colour and richness to the mystical world of thought in India. From the early period onwards, Sufis who preached Islam sought to highlight the mystical aspects of Islam using language and symbols that the people could understand, rather than strict teachings. Indeed, the Sufis who came to India adapted to the language and culture of the region and developed a common language and ground, creating an environment of tolerance that embraced different beliefs and cultures. Thus, Sufism became a vehicle for social harmony in the Indian subcontinent.

With the beginning of Islamic rule in North India during the Delhi Sultanate and then the Mughal Empire, a process of cultural interaction began. During this process, the blending of Hindu and Muslim ideas gave rise to new musical syntheses as well as different genres.³ Sufi musical and artistic sensibilities have continued to exist as integral and enduring elements of life, music, and culture in North India. The interaction between Muslim and Hindu musical traditions has had a profound influence on musical forms in North India over a period of a thousand years, blending genres such as dhrupad, qawwālī, khyal, and ghazal with the folk music and popular music forms of Punjab, Rajasthan, and Gujarat. Over the centuries, these musical interactions between Muslims and Hindus have produced generations of musicians, styles, and meanings, laying the groundwork for the emergence of hybrid forms across all musical genres, including classical, traditional, and popular.⁴ During the reign of Akbar Shah, music, like other cultural fields, became an arena where shared tastes were intensely felt, with foreign and local musical forms blending together to form a lasting unity. For example, Miyan Tansen (d. 997/1589),⁵ a member of Akbar Shah's elite

1 John Mcleod, *The History of India* (United States of America: Greenwood, 2015), 48.

2 Marc Gaborieau, "Hint Alt-Kitası'nda İslâm Tarikatları -Etnolojik Bir Yaklaşım-", trans. Osman Türer, *İslâm Dünyasında Tarikatlar (Gelişmeleri ve Aktüel Durumları)* (İstanbul: Sûf Yayınları, 2004), 203.

3 Anuradha Bhattacharjee - Shadab Alam, "The Origin and Journey of Qawwali: From Sacred Ritual to Entertainment?", *Journal of Creative Communications* 7/3 (2012), 217.

4 Natalie Sarrazin, "Devotion or Pleasure? Music and Meaning in the Celluloid Performances of Qawwali in South Asia and the Diaspora", *Music, Culture and Identity in the Muslim World: Performance, Politics and Piety*, ed. Kamal Salhi (London-New York: Routledge, 2014), 179-181.

5 His real name was Ramtanu Pande, but he was known as 'Tansen'. His natural talent was discovered at an early age by Swami Haridas (1480-1575), a famous musician of the time. See Amal Halder, "Miyan

group of artists known as the 'Nine Jewels,' was one of the leading figures of this cultural synthesis.⁶ This approach was also adopted by other local rulers who patronised Indian music, particularly the sultans of Bijapur and Jaunpur and the Mughal rulers, thereby fostering harmony among the diverse segments of the Indian population.⁷

In the Indian subcontinent, Sufism has formed the basis not only for individual spiritual quests but also for social and cultural interactions. In this context, music, especially within the Chishti tradition, has emerged as a tool for deepening spiritual experience. The most prominent manifestation of this spiritual-musical tradition is the "qawwālī", which has been performed in Sufi rituals and folk culture for over seven centuries and has become a living form.⁸ Through the "qawwālī" Sufis have distanced the hearts of local Hindus from worldly desires and directed them towards spiritual values. This was considered an innovation and development in Islamic arts.⁹ Qawwālī, which developed alongside the Sufi tradition, has a long history in the Indian subcontinent and is a well-known musical tradition. Although it shares some similarities with the light classical music forms of North India and Pakistan, qawwālī music has its own unique characteristics in that it is a direct extension of the Sufi tradition. In this respect, qawwālī refers to both this genre of music and the religious and mystical gatherings held within the Islamic Sufi tradition, especially by Sufi groups.¹⁰ Scott Kugle notes that fully exploring or explaining a phenomenon as complex and multi-layered as qawwālī requires not just a single field of study but the close collaboration of researchers from many different disciplines.¹¹

Qawwālī, a religious musical form rooted in the Sufi tradition of Islam, has served as a spiritual bridge between humans and the divine throughout history. This tradition, which emerged in the tombs of the Indian subcontinent, has been appreciated for its ability to inspire spiritual ecstasy in listeners, its emotional power, and its poetic richness. Traditionally performed in sacred spaces, qawwālī has been not only a means of entertainment but also a collective form of expression for worship, remembrance, and divine love. However, in the postmodern world shaped by commercialisation, cultural hybridisation, and a general decline in spiritual consciousness, qawwālī has undergone a significant transformation. Once confined to the courtyards of Sufi saints' tombs, this performance has now moved to global stages, films, and even digital platforms, often presented in a form stripped of its original spiritual intent.¹² This article examines the historical development of the qawwālī

Tansen", *The Modern Review* 115/2 (1964), 130; V. D. Mahajan, *History of Medieval India (Muslim Rule in India)* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 2007), 266.

6 For detailed information, see İsa Yalçın, *Hint Alt Kıtası Sûfîlerinden Muhammed Gavs Gevâliyârî ve Tasavvufî Düşüncesi* (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 2025), 78-79.

7 Gopi Chand Narang, "The Indo-Islamic Cultural Fusion and the Institution of the Qawwali", *Indian Literature* 58/4 (2014), 161-162.

8 Sonia Gaind-Krishnan, "Qawwali Routes: Notes on a Sufi Music's Transformation in Diaspora", *Religions* 11/12 (2020), 3.

9 Muhammad Hassan - Rizwan Ullah Kokab, "Sufis of Chishtia Order and Narration of Qawwali During Sultanate Period", *Kurdish Studies* 12/1 (2024), 5005-5006.

10 Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), xiii.

11 Scott Kugle, "Qawwālī Between Written Poem and Sung Lyric, Or... How a Ghazal Lives", *The Muslim World* 97/4 (2007), 571.

12 Muneeb Masoud, "Deconstructing the Divine: Postmodern Shifts in Qawwali and Islam", *Al-Hayat Research*

tradition in the Indian subcontinent, its mystical dimensions and aesthetic characteristics, providing an analysis of this multi-layered musical phenomenon. The aim of this study is to analyze the functions of the qawwālî tradition within the Sufi context, its linguistic and musical characteristics, and the secularization process it underwent in the modern era, thereby revealing the effects of this transformation on spiritual experience. The study is limited to the qawwālî practice that developed around the Chishti order. Other orders in South Asia are only addressed in a comparative context.

Although there are a significant number of academic studies in the international literature on the relationship between qawwālî and Sufism, research in this field is limited in our country. Ismail Gevas's master's thesis, titled "*In the sect of Chistiyyah and Mawlawiyyah to the context of between similarities the examination of religious music genre of Qawwali*", is one of the rare studies that draws attention to this deficiency by examining the ritual and aesthetic dimensions of qawwālî in the context of religious orders using a comparative approach. Regula Qureshi's work, "Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali", examines the historical origins of qawwālî, its performance environments and the unity of lyrics and music from an ethnomusicological perspective, while Taqi Ali Mirza's article, "The Qawwali", focuses on the form, repertoire and social functions of the genre. James Richard Newell's study, "Experiencing Qawwali: Sound as Spiritual Power in Sufi India", examines the place of sound as spiritual power in the Sufi experience from a phenomenological perspective. The scarcity of such comprehensive and multidimensional studies, especially in our country, necessitates an in-depth examination of this musical tradition, which developed in the Indian subcontinent, within a Sufi context. In this context, our study titled "Qawwali as the Musical Manifestation of Spiritual Ecstasy: The Case of the Indian Subcontinent" aims to fill this gap in the literature by revealing the historical development of qawwālî and its role in the construction of mystical experience, to bring the studies conducted to light, and to make an original contribution to academia.

1. Sufi Orders and Qawwālî in the Indian Subcontinent: Musical Interpretations of Spiritual Discourse

The Sufi tradition in India has been shaped by many orders, primarily the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, and Qadiri orders. The use of music in the Indian Sufi tradition varies according to these orders. The Naqshbandiyya did not prefer music, the Suhrawardiyya remained indifferent, while the Qadiriyya displayed a particularly negative attitude toward the use of instruments. In contrast, only the Chishti order has approved the use of music for mystical purposes. In the Chishti tradition, music, especially in its instrumental forms, has been accepted as a tool that enhances the spiritual experience. Among the important Sufi figures who supported this approach were Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 633/1235), who is believed to have died while listening to 'samā', and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325), who encouraged the use of music in religious experience. Similarly, Sayyid Muhammad Gesudaraz (d. 825/1422), known for his tomb in Gulbarga in the Deccan region, is also considered among the Sufis who supported musical worship practices.¹³ Qutbuddin

ch Journal (AHRJ) 2/3 (2025), 158.

13 Taqi Ali Mirza, "The Qawwali", *Journal of Popular Culture* 20/2 (1986), 189.

Bakhtiyar Kaki was a leading Sufi of the Chishti order and had a great interest in qawwālī. It is recorded in his work *Iqtabaasul Al-Anwaar* that he received special permission from his murshid to perform qawwālī. There is information that Kaki entered a state of ecstasy at a qawwālī gathering, remained in this state for four days, and then passed away.¹⁴

The contribution of the Chishti Sufis to spreading the message of love, peace and harmony in the Indian subcontinent, especially through their own sama and qawwālī gatherings, is significant. This tradition, which took shape under the leadership of Moinuddin Hasan al-Chishti (d. 633/1236), attracted the people of India with its qawwālī assemblies, which conveyed the basic teachings of Islam through poetry and prose, and led a spiritual transformation by easing social tensions. During this process, figures such as Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Baba Farid (d. 664/1266), and their leading caliph Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ enriched this tradition with their activities in the fields of qawwālī and poetry. In particular, Amir Khusrau, who was Nizām al-Dīn's disciple and considered the greatest poet of his time, took the art of qawwālī to new heights with his works synthesising Persian and Indian literature, his poems, and his innovations in music, making lasting contributions to the Indian musical tradition by inventing new modes and forms. Thus, qawwālī became not only a genre of music, but also a means of communication that brought the teachings of the Chishti tradition to the people, combining art and spirituality.¹⁵

The term “qawwālī” is derived from the Arabic word “qual” (kavl), meaning word, and has been interpreted as a form of speech expressing the words of Allah, the Prophet Muḥammad or other holy figures. This musical genre was developed by Amir Khusrau, renowned for his extraordinary ability to blend mystical and worldly elements. Khusrau adapted this artistic synthesis to the cultural environment of India by combining poetry praising God, the Prophet, or saints with music. Thus, qawwālī became a unique form of expression that encompasses religious and cultural aspects, enabling the performance of divine messages and spiritual praise in a musical form.¹⁶ Qual, is a form of qawwālī that emphasises the Prophet's relationship with his family, especially Ali, based on love and sharing, and expresses the origin of the spiritual relationship developed by the Chishti Sufis; this origin is the anchor point at one end of the spiritual chain. Qawwālī invites the listener to nourish themselves from the root and turn to the source; here, the origin is the Prophet's family, including Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Hussein; the source is the disciple's own pir; the pir is the person who transmits the blessings and spiritual energy that come from this root. Each of these sacred individuals is part of the chain of spiritual authority, forming a link in a lineage that passes from one spiritual guide to another, and from them to others.¹⁷

Although qawwālī has its historical roots in 8th-century Persian culture, which covered

14 Hassan - Kokab, “Sufis of Chishtia Order and Narration of Qawwali”, 5006; Bhattacharjee - Alam, “The Origin and Journey of Qawwali”, 218.

15 Hassan - Kokab, “Sufis of Chishtia Order and Narration of Qawwali”, 5009.

16 Mirza, “The Qawwali”, 189-190; James R. Newell, “Qawwali”, *Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism*, ed. Zayn R. Kassam et al. (The Netherlands: Springer, 2018), 569.

17 Scott Kugle, “The Spirituality of Qawwali: Lyrics and Ritual in the Sufi Music of South Asia”, *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Islamic Spirituality*, ed. Vincent J. Cornell - Bruce B. Lawrence (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2023), 465.

the geography of present-day Iran and Afghanistan,¹⁸ it emerged as an important type of devotional music in the South Asian Sufi tradition. The pioneer of this tradition in the 13th century was Amir Khusrau, who is considered the inventor of qawwālī and is known for his devotion to the Chishti sheikh Nizām al-Dīn al-Awliyā in Delhi. Today, qawwālī is widely performed in Pakistan, northern India, and the Hyderabad region of southern India, and has spread from northern India to the southern regions of the Deccan Plateau under the influence of the Chishti order. At the core of this mystical musical practice lies the concept of hearing or samā', which signifies the 'inner hearing of the beloved's message' directed toward Allah, the Prophet, a saint or a spiritual guide.¹⁹

The qawwālī is a type of religious music closely associated with South Asian Sufism, incorporating elements of Indian classical and folk music as well as Persian music. This musical form primarily provides a backdrop for the recitation of religious texts and is usually performed within the confines of South Asian Muslim shrines (dargāhs). Qawwālī is used as the basic musical genre in the samā' tradition, an Islamic ritual practice that aims to direct the listener's attention to God and the sheikh, who is regarded as a spiritual guide. In this context, the texts in samā' are specially composed and performed with the aim of directing the listener towards subjective religious experiences. The term qawwālī refers to both the musical form and the context of performance, while the performers are called "qawwāl".²⁰ Qawwālī is a type of Sufi music consisting of hymns written in languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Punjabi and Sindhi, with themes of prayer and supplication, embellished with verses from the Qur'ān and the words of the Prophet Muḥammad. Originally performed only in Sufi shrines, this music²¹ has gained widespread popularity in the last century, ranging from home celebrations to concerts, commercial recordings to South Asian cinema.²² In other words, qawwālī, which served religious functions, has become a popular form of entertainment in South Asia and around the world, gaining an artistic form that transcends its original religious context.²³

An integral part of Sufi practices in the Indian subcontinent, qawwālī has become a spiritual form of music that helps disciples reach a state of ecstasy through zikr and samā' rituals. Although the primary purpose of qawwālī performances is to achieve a state of

18 Bhattacharjee - Alam, "The Origin and Journey of Qawwali", 211.

19 Sharilee Mehera Johnston, *Poetics of Performance: Narratives, Faith and Disjuncture in Qawwali* (Austin: University of Texas, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2000), 2-3.

20 Newell, "Qawwali", 569.

21 For example, in the traditions of the Chishti tomb, ceremonies commemorating the anniversary of a saint's death ('urs) are usually held in the form of musical gatherings (mahfil-e-samā') organised under the guidance of an experienced Chishti sheikh. At these gatherings, solo performers known as qawwāl and their ensembles, who are experts in their art and are paid for their services, perform qawwālī, a traditional type of Sufi music. In addition, Chishti sheikhs have also taught the use of breath control techniques in zikr practices. In this context, qawwālī is not merely a musical performance, but functions as part of the Sufi experience and spiritual education in the Chishti tradition. See Erik S. Ohlander, "Chishtī Order", *Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism*, ed. Zayn R. Kassam et al. (The Netherlands: Springer, 2018), 177-178.

22 Syed Akbar Hyder - Carla Petievich, "Qawwali: Songs of Praise", *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 93.

23 Newell, "Qawwali", 569.

spiritual ecstasy,²⁴ the methods used to achieve this goal include worldly elements. In this context, poems recited by a group of performers accompanied by stringed and percussion instruments and supported by rhythmic hand clapping play an important role. The poems performed in qawwālī gatherings are generally in the form of praise to Allah, eulogies to the Prophet Muḥammad, and stories dedicated to Ali, and were originally written in Persian and later evolved into Urdu.²⁵ Over time, poems exalting the saints and describing mystical experiences were also added to the repertoire. The secular and mystical dimensions of Persian and Urdu poems are so intertwined that they are almost indistinguishable, which has ensured the widespread acceptance of such verses in qawwālī performances. Historically, two types of qawwālī gatherings can be distinguished: one is closed, open only to initiates, and focused on intense contemplation and meditation; the other is open to the public and allows audience participation. Especially the first type of qawwālī was conducted within strict rules, and participants were expected to be respectful and attentive.²⁶

The second type of qawwālī performance, which developed over time, was embraced by wider audiences and became more popular than the first type. Although this form of performance took on a more open structure that included secular elements, it continued to retain its mystical character. The fundamental purpose of qawwālī performances is to create an experience of mystical unity through love. In line with this purpose, the atmosphere created by the integration of poetry and music leads participants to a state of spiritual ecstasy and rapture. The music, supported by rhythmic hand clapping, can sometimes reach an intense energy level, putting listeners into a trance-like state of mind.²⁷ In other words, the ultimate goal of qawwālī is to provide an experiential awakening to the infinite truths that reveal themselves in their natural form in the heart of each individual. These sparks of light that come from within are countless and boundless; they encompass all qualities, but their essence is one. The listener, reaching a state of external knowledge beyond divine laws, merges with the inner dimension of truth in a state of ecstasy through the rhythmic harmony of music and poetry, and feels a deep respect for the universal message.²⁸

Although the mystical experience in qawwālī performances is more intense in closed gatherings with spiritual leaders such as ‘murshid’ or ‘pir’, this kind of ecstatic state is not completely excluded in more open and popular gatherings. Although participation in qawwālī performances requires cultural knowledge, familiarity with the Persian and Urdu poetic tradition, and a spiritual preparation process, the unique atmosphere created by the music and poetry can offer an impressive experience even for those who lack such knowledge. Over time, the content of qawwālī has taken on a more ‘secular’ character, with ghazals dealing with themes such as love and the transience of the world being included in the repertoire alongside religious poems. Nevertheless, qawwālī has retained its character

24 Shemeem Burney Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices of Pakistan and India* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 10.

25 Mirza, “The Qawwali”, 190; Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, “His Master’s Voice? Exploring Qawwali and ‘Gramophone Culture’ in South Asia”, *Popular Music* 18/1 (1999), 68.

26 Mirza, “The Qawwali”, 190.

27 Mirza, “The Qawwali”, 190.

28 Shaheer Ellahi Khan et al., “Reviewing Qawwali: Origin, Evolution and Its Dimensions”, *Science International (Lahore)* 27/2 (2015), 1704.

as a ritual with spiritual intensity, rather than ordinary entertainment, requiring religious respect and inner orientation from participants. Despite some critical attitudes towards music in Islamic tradition, qawwālî has gained legitimacy and continued to exist within a religious framework, particularly when performed at the tombs of saints, on death anniversaries ('urs), or in the presence of a spiritual guide.²⁹

Just as it is difficult to identify the author of the qawwālî lyrics, it is also difficult to grasp their true meaning, as the lyrics are selected and arranged with the aim of transforming the listener and are performed melodically. Understanding the spiritual relationship that the qawwālî aims to establish requires the listener to be knowledgeable about the ideals, practices and methods of Sufism. However, today's listeners lack this understanding, especially with the increasing popularity of qawwālî in new environments outside of tombs or Sufi centres (khangāh). In this context, it is not only the melodies in the music or the musicians who perform it that make qawwālî 'mystical music'. The true mystical meaning emerges in the inner world of those who listen to this music.³⁰ The most impressive expression of the spiritual development of Sufis is found in Sufi poetry. These poems are the source of the most captivating works, especially in 'urs ceremonies held in Sufi tombs and in qawwālî gatherings held from time to time in special venues. Sufi poetry is a product of the multidimensional spiritual states of Sufis and is imbued with a deep state of ecstasy. When performed by master qawwālîs who have mastered the technique of Sufism, these works produce the same state of ecstasy in listeners and elevate them to a mystical enthusiasm. In qawwālî, being carried away by this state is an invitation to detach oneself from worldly things and ascend to a spiritual level; the more one resists, the stronger this ascension becomes.³¹

2. The Historical Development of Qawwālî and Amir Khusrau

The emergence of the qawwālî tradition is generally dated to the 13th century, during the Delhi Sultanate, and its founder is widely believed to be the great poet-musician of the period, Amir Khusrau. Khusrau, a court composer and poet known for his mystical personality, is an important figure in the cultural history of India. Noted for his skill in synthesising different cultures and musical traditions, Khusrau sought to create a unique art form by bringing together elements of the Turkic-Iranian heritage and Indian local elements. A disciple and close friend of Nizām al-Dīn al-Awliyā, Khusrau revealed the potential of music to offer a mystical experience within the spiritual circle of this Sufi sheikh, combining his identities as a poet and musician to develop a new type of music that would inspire spiritual ecstasy.³² One of Khusrau's greatest contributions was the creation of the qawwālî style by blending the melodic and rhythmic elements of Persian music with the local music forms of the Indian subcontinent. According to legend, Amir Khusrau adapted Persian melodies to the classical Indian dhrupad structure, creating an early form of qawwālî. It is even said that he invented instruments such as the sitar and tabla and introduced them into the musical tradition. This new style, which took shape around him, was initially a select art form

29 Mirza, "The Qawwali", 190-191.

30 Kugle, "The Spirituality of Qawwali", 473.

31 As cited in. Khan et al., "Reviewing Qawwali", 1702.

32 Mirza, "The Qawwali", 189; Johnston, *Poetics of Performance*, 6.

in court and Sufi circles, but over time it gained acceptance and spread among the general public.³³

However, historical data indicates that the qaul and qawwālī forms may have existed in Arab and Persian geography at least two centuries before Khusrau. Indeed, al-Hujwiri, who was buried in Lahore in the 11th century, mentioned qawwālīs who recited poetry in the samā' assemblies of Sufis in Arabia, Central Asia and India. In later periods, especially between the 12th and 14th centuries, musical forms, instruments and styles that came from Central Asia to India were synthesised with local Indian music, contributing to the development of new forms, a process that progressed under the patronage of various rulers. In this context, Amir Khusrau composed ghazals and performed them under the patronage of the Delhi sultans, blending elements of Central Asian and Indian music. Today, qawwālī works such as "Man Kunto Maula" and "Chhaap Tilak Sab Cheeni" are among the fundamental works attributed to Khusrau and performed throughout South Asia.³⁴

Another of Amir Khusrau's greatest contributions to the tradition of qawwāl was his writing of works expressing Sufi thought through poetry and music. Khusrau added depth to samā' gatherings with his lyrical ghazals written in Persian and Hindi; over time, these poems became the main texts of qawwālī performances. His ghazals, which can be said to have been 'written to be sung' due to their rhythmic and rhyming structure, have become classic pieces in the qawwālī repertoire. Although some accounts claim that he invented the khayāl style, one of the basic forms of modern Indian classical music, and some of the instruments mentioned above, from a historical perspective, it is accepted that he shaped and developed these forms rather than inventing them from scratch. Khusrau laid the literary and musical foundations of the qawwālī tradition and gave it meaning in the context of the Chishti order. Even today, in the qawwālī gatherings held every Thursday night at Nizām al-dīn Awliyā's dervish lodge in Delhi, Khusrau's poems, which have been passed down from generation to generation for centuries, continue to be recited with enthusiasm.³⁵

3. The Tradition of Qawwālī and Samā'

The qawwālī is considered to be the South Asian variant of the samā' tradition, which has a long history in the Islamic world.³⁶ Samā' technically refers to a communal gathering aimed at creating a state of spiritual ecstasy through the performance of qawwālī. Although there are differences of opinion among Sufis and traditional ulema regarding the legitimacy of samā', many treatises have been written for and against this practice. Some scholars consider samā' to be legitimate, while others disagree with this view.³⁷ Sufis have agreed that it is permissible to listen to music consisting of beautiful sounds and pleasant

33 Bhattacharjee - Alam, "The Origin and Journey of Qawwali", 217.

34 Yousuf Saeed, "Qawwālī (Qavvālī)", *Keywords for India: A Conceptual Lexicon for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Rukmini Bhaya Nair - Peter Ronald deSouza (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 95.

35 Michael Bednar, "Amir Khusrau", *Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism*, ed. Zayn R. Kassam et al. (The Netherlands: Springer, 2018), 69-70.

36 Newell, "Qawwali", 569.

37 Narang, "The Indo-Islamic Cultural Fusion and the Institution of the Qawwali", 162-163, 168-169; Hiromi Lorraine Sakata, "The Sacred and the Profane: 'Qawwālī' Represented in the Performances of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan", *The World of Music* 36/3 (1994), 87.

melodies that do not drive people to carnal and sensual desires, but rather nourish the soul. They have argued that there are spiritual benefits in listening to samā', citing the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions' listening to music of this nature as evidence.³⁸

The early Sufis preferred to use the term samā' rather than ghinā, taghannī, or mūsīqī. Their reasons were to avoid association with nafsānī desires, to shield themselves from charges of bid'a by the ulamā al-zāhir, and to regard samā' as a divine act of listening. For them, samā' was not play or amusement, but an expression of turning toward Allah amid silence and unmeasured sounds.³⁹ For these reasons, the preferred concept of samā' became a term used to describe Sufi zikr gatherings devoted to listening to rhythmic and harmonious sounds and musical melodies in later periods and these gatherings were called 'samā' gatherings'.⁴⁰

The official name for qawwālī sessions is mahfil-e-samā', and this tradition shares a spiritual connection with samā', which is practised in Central Asia and Türkiye.⁴¹ Mahfil-e-samā' represents the most formal and ritualised form of qawwālī performance in South Asia and is usually performed in religious contexts, such as the anniversary of a saint's death ('urs), or in other structured worship ceremonies. These gatherings are central to the meaning, purpose, and function of qawwālī; they are held in dargāhs, where the shaykh emerges as the representative of the chain of saints to which he belongs. However, qawwālī is not limited to these formal ritual contexts; it is widely accepted in South Asia as a source of consolation and devotion for some, and as a form of cross-cultural entertainment appealing to the masses for others.⁴² Over time, samā' gatherings took on a formal character, became localised with elements specific to India and came to be known as qawwālī.⁴³

Although the Mawlawī ceremony and the Chishti and qawwālī practices developed in different cultural and geographical contexts, they exhibit striking similarities in the relationship between worship and music. In both traditions, music plays an important role in conveying spiritual ecstasy in rituals that begin with the recitation of the Qur'ān and continue with zikr, prayer, and spiritual poems. In Mawlawī, samā' is performed with the recitation of the Masnawī, four salams, and the use of instruments such as the ney and kudüm, while in the Chishti and qawwālī traditions, music based on zikr, hymns sung in various local languages, percussion instruments such as the tabla, and improvisational elements come to the fore. The concept of wahdat al-wujūd (unity of existence) is an important Sufi reference point in both traditions, and the clothing of the members of the orders is interpreted as a sign of spiritual poverty and closeness to Allah. In addition, the transmission of the stories and moral teachings of the sheikhs and elders of the orders is an important ritual element in both traditions. In terms of differences, while the Mawlawī ceremony is based on the distinct maqām transitions and measured, symbolic movements of the classical Turkish music tradition, qawwālī has a freer and more improvisational form of perfor-

38 Semih Ceyhan, "Semâ", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2009), 36/455.

39 Süleyman Uludağ, *İslâm Açısından Mûsiki ve Semâ'* (İstanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1999), 219-225.

40 Ceyhan, "Semâ", 36/455.

41 Bhattacharjee - Alam, "The Origin and Journey of Qawwali", 211.

42 Newell, "Qawwali", 570.

43 Johnston, *Poetics of Performance*, 9.

mance that blends the classical music form of the Indian subcontinent with religious content. Mawlawî ceremonies last approximately 40-45 minutes, while qawwâlî performances can last between 15 and 30 minutes, although some special works can last up to two hours. There are also differences in the use of instruments: while the ney, kudüm, rebab and classical Turkish musical instruments are prominent in Mawlawî, Indian musical instruments such as tabla, dholak and sitar are preferred in qawwâlî. However, in both traditions, music serves as an expression of devotion to Allah, a means of spiritual purification, and a catalyst for emotional unity within the community.⁴⁴

Qawwâlî is a type of music that developed in the context of samâ', or the practice of listening for the purpose of meditation. Adopted by Sufis belonging to various orders in South Asia, this practice uses music and poetry as powerful tools to direct the attention of disciples towards divine truth. In this process, the metaphorical language of poetry plays an important role, as it is conceived as a bridge between visible and human reality and the hidden and divine.⁴⁵

4. The Role and Structural Characteristics of Qawwâlî in Ritual Practices

Qawwâlî is defined by its Sufi and Indian identities as a form of music that encompasses cultural, social, spiritual and physical dimensions, known for its power to transport listeners into a state of ecstasy.⁴⁶ It is accepted that qawwâlî gives disciples a sense of liberation from the constant worries of daily life and transports them to another world that is often foreign to them. In this sense, it is considered to be more than just a type of music, providing a spiritual and emotional connection with the divine.⁴⁷

The samâ' assembly stands out as a ritual that reinforces the traditional order of social roles within the shrine and focuses on the performance of qawwâlî. In this structure, qawwâlî performers act under the guidance of servants whose instructions are left to the pîrs, while the pîrs refer to the sajjadah nashins for direction. When the sajjadah nashins themselves lead the samâ' assembly, they sit in the most visible position, to the left of the qawwâlî performers and in front of the groups facing the tomb. The second most important position in this ritual belongs to the spiritual guides serving at the Nizam al-Dîn tomb; they also sit in the front row, to the left of the qawwâlîs and next to the saccade-nîşins. The pîrs position themselves in the context of the Sufi spiritual hierarchy and age hierarchy. Women are not allowed to participate in this structure and take on silent roles, such as sitting in the back, away from the ceremony.⁴⁸ In other words, qawwâlî is not a mandatory worship for Muslims, but a traditional and voluntary practice that goes beyond normal religious ob-

44 For detailed information, see İsmail Gevaş, *Çiştî Tarikatı ile Mevlevî Tarikatı Arasındaki Benzerlikler Bağlamında Kavvâlî Dînî Mûsikî Tûrünün İncelenmesi* (Ankara: Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Master's Thesis, 2019), 109-114.

45 Mikko Viitamäki, "New Wine from Medina: Aesthetics of Popular Qawwali lyrics", *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 111 (2011), 393.

46 Johnston, *Poetics of Performance*, 17.

47 İram Amjad, "A Multimodal Analysis of Qawwali: From Ecstasy to Exotic Trance", *Linguistics and Literature Review* 3/1 (2017), 14.

48 Christopher Paul Holland, *Rethinking Qawwali: Perspectives of Sufism, Music, and Devotion in North India* (Austin: The University of Texas, Master of Arts, 2010), 4-5.

ligations. These performances are usually held at night so as not to interfere with daytime prayers, and men wear skullcaps (kufi) as a sign of respect when participating in qawwālî at the shrine; special arrangements can also be made for women to participate.⁴⁹

Qawwālî, a unique musical genre with distinct structural characteristics, is usually performed by a group of four to eight people. Early qawwālî melodies were traditionally accompanied by a stringed instrument called the sarangi, but modern qawwālî groups often prefer the harmonium, an instrument of European origin, as it does not require constant tuning. The harmonium is usually played by the lead performer, and the rhythm is provided by a double-sided drum called a dholak, accompanied by hand clapping. Some groups also use different percussion instruments such as tabla or electronic drums. It usually progresses with an instrumental introduction, followed by improvisational sections that determine the rhythm and mode of the song, and the main vocal lines. The pieces develop with improvisational verses sung by the lead performer and response sections accompanied by the ensemble, built on an intense rhythmic structure accompanied by dholak and hand clapping. The song progresses with repeated refrains, reaching a climax with increasing tempo and volume, and then slowing down towards the end. This makes qawwālî a mystical experience and an impressive musical form that draws the listener in.⁵⁰

Qawwālî works are arranged in a specific order to enable the listener to progress on a spiritual journey, which aims to pass through different stages with the support of music and lyrics. It begins with the praise of Allah, the Prophet, and the saint being commemorated. Then, works with a general theme of love are performed, awakening the listener's heart with the excitement of love. This emotional intensity serves as a powerful tool that transports the listener into the realm of divine closeness. Then, verses about fanā fillah are recited, encouraging the listener to close their eyes and quietly turn towards divine annihilation. This state is maintained for a while so that the listener can deepen their connection with the Essence (the absolute essence). In the final stage of the spiritual journey, works that lead to baqābillah are performed, and at the end of the gathering, these types of works bring the listener out of their state of ecstasy (sekr) and return them to sobriety (sahv).⁵¹ Thus, the aim is to guide the listener towards a spiritual journey that ascends ever higher in the infinite horizons of divine proximity.

Traditional qawwālî performances can last all night, with only very short breaks for the musicians. In Sufi gatherings, a piece can last from 15 minutes to an hour, depending on the mood of the audience, and then move on to the next piece without interruption. The chief qawwāl has complete authority over the sections to be repeated and the musical arrangement of these repetitions; he observes the atmosphere of the gathering, evaluates the reactions of the participants, and aims to lead the listeners to a deeper understanding of the text. Although qawwālî performances generally begin with praise and continue with na't about the Prophet Muḥammad, followed by manqābāt about the saints, the choice of repertoire and form of performance is left to the performer. Qawwālî builds a musical atmosphere that reaches its climax through the use of tempo, melodic structures and texts.

49 Newell, "Qawwālî", 570.

50 Newell, "Qawwālî", 570; Saeed, "Qawwālî (Qavvālî)", 95-96; Johnston, *Poetics of Performance*, 2.

51 As cited in. Khan et al., "Reviewing Qawwālî", 1701.

In secular qawwālî performances, rules based on religious motivations give way to artistic concerns; strict song sequences are not maintained, each piece is presented as a distinct musical piece with a clear beginning and end, and interesting musical transitions are added more frequently. The fundamental feature of qawwālî is the interaction between the performer and the audience; although this is also true of secular performances, the level of knowledge and diversity of the audience is different. For this reason, the qawwāl adds more musical passages to entertain the audience, and the language of the poems used is also determined according to the audience. Especially when dealing with a foreign audience, the elements of rhythm and musical skill come to the fore even more.⁵²

Although there are written collections belonging to the qawwālî, performers often change the content of the poems according to their own abilities and memories. This situation manifests itself not in the entirety of the works, but often in the performance of couplets or verses taken from one poem and intertwined with verses from another poem. Although most researchers and performers agree that the basic repertoire of qawwālî was established by Amir Khusrau, the question of which works can be definitively attributed to him remains a matter of debate.⁵³ The poets included in the qawwālî repertoire are evaluated under the broad umbrella of Hindavi. In addition to Mawlānā (d. 672/1273), Hāfiz al-Shīrāzī (d. 792/1390) and Amir Khusrau, who are representatives of classical Persian literature, important figures in classical Urdu literature such as Mirzā Ghālīb (d. 1285/1869), as well as contemporary Sufi poets such as Bedam Shah Varishi (d. 1355/1936) and Kāmīl Shattārī Haydarābādī (d. 1397/1976).⁵⁴

5. The Layered Structure of Language in Qawwālî

Since the establishment of Sufi institutions in the Indian subcontinent in the 13th century, qawwālî has maintained its continuity and vitality as a community-based musical practice with local roots that transcends the region's linguistic, caste, class, and religious boundaries.⁵⁵ Qawwālî is not merely a musical performance but a multilingual and multi-layered field of verbal expression. A typical qawwālî performance usually begins with an Arabic qaul (word) or hadith, thus reinforcing the authenticity and spirituality of the texts. These introductory sections sometimes include Persian verses, after which the performance shifts to the languages spoken by the people. These languages include Urdu, Hindi, Purbi, Braj Bhāshā, Sindhi, Siraiki, Punjabi, Hindko, Balochi, and other dialects and local languages spoken in different regions of South Asia.⁵⁶ Performers make flexible transitions between these languages depending on the audience and the social-cultural context of the gathering. In this way, they both convey the message of the text to a wide audience and establish a strong emotional connection with the audience. Performers aim to establish effective communication with the audience by switching between different language codes

52 Sakata, "The Sacred and the Profane: 'Qawwālî'", 90.

53 Kugle, "The Spirituality of Qawwālî", 456.

54 Viitamäki, "New Wine from Medina", 396.

55 Irfan Zuberi - Natalie Sarrazin, "Evolution of a Ritual Musical Genre: The Adaptation of Qawwālî in Contemporary Hindi Film", *Music in Contemporary Indian Film: Memory, Voice, Identity*, ed. Jayson Beaster-Jones - Natalie Sarrazin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 162.

56 Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual*, 10-11; Saeed, "Qawwālî (Qavvālî)", 95.

and using various linguistic and musical improvisations.⁵⁷

The verbal content of qawwālî has undergone transformations in terms of language and style throughout history. Qawwālî texts, which were predominantly in Persian during the classical period, have increasingly given way to texts predominantly in Hindi and Urdu in the modern period. In terms of poetic forms, the ghazal, with its couplet structure and common rhyme scheme, stands out as the most widely used form.⁵⁸ In addition, *mankabat* (praises of saints), *na't* (praises of the Prophet Muḥammad), and poems on the theme of *tawhid* (monotheism) also form the basis of the repertoire. This diversity shows that qawwālî is not only a genre of music, but also a multi-layered means of expression that reflects Sufi thought, collective memory, and aesthetic accumulation. Thus, qawwālî continues to exist as a unique oral cultural tradition in the Indian subcontinent thanks to its religious-mystical content and the linguistic bridges it builds between different social groups.

6. The Secularization Process of Qawwālî

Qawwālî emerged historically in the Indian subcontinent around the Chishti order as a spiritual practice that expressed divine love and the search for Sufi truth through music, as an indispensable element of *zikr* and *sema* gatherings. However, especially since the 18th century, this genre of music has evolved beyond its internal spiritual functions to become a form of popular music performed in secular contexts. This transformation has manifested itself in a series of changes observed in the spatial, functional, and aesthetic dimensions of qawwālî;

i) *Spatial and Social Transformation*: Initially performed in Sufi spaces such as *khangāhs* and tombs for a select and limited audience, qawwālî gradually moved out of these spaces and into public spaces.⁵⁹ Especially after the 18th century, qawwālî moved away from being a form of worship among Sufis and became a form of musical expression that appealed to broader social classes. During this process, the inclusion of privileged groups in qawwālî assemblies led to a significant diversification in the audience profile. In this process, popular qawwālî took on a completely different character, primarily losing its connection to Sufi rituals.⁶⁰

ii) *Aesthetic and Content Transformation*: During the secularization process, the poetic and thematic content of qawwālî also underwent a transformation. In popular qawwālî, metaphors such as wine and beloved, which are found in traditional texts, have been largely eliminated; instead, simpler, more direct themes that appeal to the audience have come to the fore. Thus, the spiritual dimension of Sufi metaphors, which was reached through interpretation, has weakened, and qawwālî has been reproduced with layers of meaning that are sometimes romantic, political, or entertainment-oriented. This transformation has led

57 Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual*, 10-11.

58 Newell, "Qawwali", 572.

59 Mirza, "The Qawwali", 191-192; Regula Qureshi, "'Muslim Devotional': Popular Religious Music and Muslim Identity under British, Indian and Pakistani Hegemony", *Asian Music* 24/1 (1993 1992), 117; Viitamäki, "New Wine from Medina", 393, 401; Saeed, "Qawwālî (Qavvālî)", 96.

60 Viitamäki, "New Wine from Medina", 401.

to a significant loss of the spiritual depth of Sufi poetry.⁶¹

iii) *Changes in Performance and Execution*: The style of qawwālî performance has moved away from the structured, inward-focused format of traditional samā' gatherings and has become more flexible, shaped by entertainment and audience expectations. Especially in cinema and concert stages, qawwālî began to be performed enriched with electronic instruments, Western musical elements, and large orchestrations. This has led to qawwālî moving away from its Sufi depth.⁶²

iv) *Mediatization and Commercialization*: From the beginning of the 20th century, the development of gramophone technology enabled the recording of qawwālî, turning it into an object of mass production and consumption. This process, which began with the first recordings made by the British Gramophone Company in Calcutta in 1902, gained momentum in the 1930s, and qawwālî became an indispensable part of the commercial music industry and the Indian film industry. Thus, qawwālî moved away from being a spiritual ritual and evolved into a form of entertainment in popular culture. With the development of television broadcasting, performers such as Ghulam Farid Sabri, Aziz Mian, and especially Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who gained worldwide fame through the "World Music" movement, came to the forefront. In addition, Pakistani female artist Abida Parveen, although not technically a qawwālî singer, has increased her international recognition by adding qawwālî works to her repertoire and has become one of the important representatives of Sufi music.⁶³ Internationally, the name that has had the most lasting impact on this music genre is Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who brought qawwālî to the global stage and pioneered new developments in diasporic listening culture.⁶⁴

Conclusion

Qawwālî developed in the 13th century in the Indian subcontinent around the Chishti order and took root as a form of Sufi and cultural expression, becoming a multi-layered art form that integrates music, poetry and ritual. The inclusive and tolerant nature of this tradition has made qawwālî a vehicle for spiritual interaction and dialogue not only among Muslim communities but also among Hindus and members of other faiths. Enriched by Amir Khusrau's literary and musical contributions, the tradition has served for centuries in both the transmission of divine love in samā' assemblies and the consolidation of social peace. However, the secularisation process that began in the 18th century led to radical changes in the spatial, thematic and performance dimensions of qawwālî, which moved away from its identity as tomb-centred ritual music and entered the fields of stage, cinema and popular culture. This transformation led to a partial loss of the depth of Sufi metaphors and a simplification of aesthetics and content. Qawwālî has continued to exist on the local and global music scene thanks to its unique structure, multilingualism and strong interaction with the audience, and it continues to live on as a dynamic cultural heritage that redefines the balance between spiritual enthusiasm and aesthetic pleasure.

61 Viitamäki, "New Wine from Medina", 401, 404-405.

62 Mirza, "The Qawwali", 191-192; Qureshi, "His Master's Voice?", 68-69; Newell, "Qawwali", 572-573.

63 Newell, "Qawwali", 572-573.

64 Gaiind-Krishnan, "Qawwali Routes", 1; Sarrazin, "Devotion or Pleasure?", 193.

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