

“Weep, O’ People! Weep”: Tracing the Roots of Shia Community’s Weeping,
Devotional Rituals and Religious Institutions in Persia and Pre-Colonial India
(680-1820)

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Abstract

This research paper tries to trace the roots of Shia’s community azadari based weeping through the study of devotional rituals and religious institutions in Persia and pre-colonial India. By starting from the tragedy of Karbala in 680, the devotional rituals and institution such as majlis, tazia, living symbols zuljinah and imambargah evolved through various phases in Persia, Damascus and Madina. This study also explores the impact of Shias migration to India and the dissemination of the religious ritualized weeping in Indian environment. Moreover, it also highlights the role of various dynasties, Sultanates, Shia kingdoms and Mughal empire in evoking the Shia’s community weeping through rituals and religious institutions in pre-colonial India. The culture of weeping has a great significance in Shia community. By using the methodologies of the ‘history of emotions’ this study explores that weeping is one of the fundamental sources to construct and preserve Shia identity.

Key Words

Shia Community, Weeping, Devotional Rituals, Pre-Colonial India, Azadari, Emotions

Introduction

This study comprises on both primary and secondary sources in English and Urdu. Primary sources such as the books, biographies, travelogues and gazetteers of India, Multan and Lahore. *Faqir Khana* Lahore library also have a variety of sources about the Shia’s devotional rituals in pre-colonial India. Secondary sources cover the works of western and indigenous scholars. Some *ulamas’s* interviews also contribute to enlighten the history of weeping in Shia community. Many scholars such as Sayyid Akbar Hayder, Kamran Scot Agahai, Athar Abbas Rizvi, John Norman Hollister, Simon Wolfgang Fuchs and local scholars like Naqi Naqvi Ali and Shahid Naqi, have written largely about the tragedy of Karbala and *azadari*

Weep, O' People! Weep ... rituals.¹ These scholars relatively unexplored emotions such as grief and its expression weeping. This study will be a significant contribution to the emotions-based history of Shia community. Gary Ebersole method of “performative tears” to study weeping of Shia community is a vital source to explore Shia community weeping in Persia and India. Ebersole talked about the performative tears in rituals context which means that through rituals performance tears do “cultural work”.² In ritualized weeping tears represent inner emotion like grief.

Weeping and *Azadari* in Persia

The tragedy of Karbala in 680 was an epoch-making event which not only sparked the rift between Shia and Sunnis, but also gave birth to the culture of weeping in Shia community. After the death of Imam Husain, his family wept, lamented, did breast beating and told other Muslims about the tragedy of Karbala in Damascus.³ Bibi Zainab (b.626) played a significant role to initiate or set the *azadari* rituals. Later, her family members, during their travel to Madina. In Madina, Zain-ul-Abdain (d.712-713) arranged *azadari* through *majlis* (mourning assembly) and thus set a tradition of weeping for up-coming Shia community in Persia and pre-colonial India. Before tracing the evolution of the initial phase of *azadari*, it is important to

¹ Syed Akbar Hyder, *Reliving Karbala: Martyrdom in South Asian Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performances and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shi'1 Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* (Australia: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1986); Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953); Simon Wolfgang Fuchs, *In a pure Muslim land: Shi'ism between Pakistan and the Middle East* (UNC Press Books, 2019); Naqi Naqvi Ali, *Azadari: A Historical Review of Institution of Azadari of Imam Hussan* (Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust, 1974); Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main* (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2002).

² Ebersole, Gary L. “The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse.” *History of Religions*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2000, pp. 211–246. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3176418; Accessed on 20-2-2018; John Corrigan, (ed.). *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.185-222; Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, (ed.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, pp.25-51.

³ Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.4-5
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explain *azadari* meaning and its differences from other relevant terms such as *taziadari*.

The word ‘*Aza*’ in Arabic literally means ‘patience’; ‘*Tazi’at*’ means ‘to console’; ‘to advise patience’. Thus, the word ‘*Tazi’at*’ is used in respect of words used in expressing weeping in grief and condoling expressions. Idiomatically, however, just as certain words have come to retain in their etymological origin to convey specific ideas, limiting their use to peculiar objects and sense, the word ‘*azadaar*’, is to confined in respect of its use to express the sorrowful and mournful feeling that arise with the memory of Imam Hussain (626-680).⁴ The actual modes of ‘*Azadari*’ or commemoration of the Tragedy of *Karbala*, had different and varying from in different ages and different localities of Persia, Damascus, Madina and the pre-colonial India. Its mode was never constant at any period of time; but the spirit of weeping and crying behind it remained the same, whatever in their form.⁵

The roots of weeping in Shia community in India date back to Shia heartland Persia, Damascus and Madina. Lamentation and demonstration of grief invoked weeping in Shia community immediately after the tragic events at Karbala which were not in any manner premeditated. They were spontaneous and natural manifestations of human emotions, a living picture of grief, anguish, sorrow, and weeping. After that, what happened at Damascus was still more astounding. While the *Ahl-e Haram* (woman-folk of Imam Husain’s family) sat hushed in woeful silence in the court-hall of Yazid’s (647-683) palace,⁶ his own women folk were weeping aloud inside the ladies’ apartments.

⁴ It is also important to differentiate between *Azadari* and *Taziadari*. ‘*Azadari*’ is different from a somewhat similar word ‘*Taziadari*’. The later word conveys only one specific manner of mourning; but the former word, ‘*Azadari*’, includes *majlis* (mourning congregations), lamentations with *matam* (beatings of the breast), and all such actions that evoke and express weeping with grief.

⁵ For more details see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.39-45

⁶ Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwīya, commonly known as Yazid I, was the second Caliph of the Umayyad Caliphate. Yazid was the Caliph as appointed by his father Muawiyah I and ruled for three years from 680 CE until his death in 683 Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwīya, commonly known as Yazid I, was the second Caliph of the Umayyad Caliphate. Yazid was the Caliph as appointed by his father Muawiyah I and ruled for three years from 680 CE until his death in 683.

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“we have not wept out our hearts to the extent we wish to”, they told Yazid,” We would ask you to vacate your house so that we can lament, bear our breast and tear out our hearts to the full.”⁷

Imam Hussain's sister, Zainab was the first to do *azadari* right in the centre of the enemy's Capital, Damascus and it continued for a week with non-stop mourning, speeches, *marsiyah*, chest-beating and weeping.⁸ It is reported that when this caravan of the ladies of Imam Husain's household left Damascus to Medina, they passed through *Karbala* which was on their rout, which means that, in a way, the ritual of performing a pilgrimage at the sacred graves of the martyrs was also accomplished. And the historic phenomena that occurred there need not be stressed here. Suffice it to say that the entire blood-soaked field of Karbala echoed with Cries of “*Ya Husain*”.

Weeping and An Early History of Shia Community *Majlis*⁹

Weeping in *majlis* and their significance as viewed in present context have their background in a history of their own. Their conventional origin weeping and *majlis* started right after when Imam Hussain was martyred in the field of Karbala. The first proper *majlis* that was held in 62 A.H. (682 A.D), the time when the household members of Imam Husain returned to Madina after the Tragedy of Karbala. It was Imam Zain-ul-Abideen (659-713) who had sent Noman Bin Bashir in advance to Madina to announce the martyrdom of Imam Husain to the people. Zain-ul-Abideen

⁷ Naqi Naqvi Ali, *Azadari: A Historical Review of Institution of Azadari of Imam Hussain* (Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust, 1974).

⁸ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main* (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2002), p.23

⁹ *Majlis* (plural of *Majalis*), is an Arabic word and means 'place for sitting, a group of persons seated, a meeting, a gathering, a public function. But the usual sense of the word '*majlis*, in Shia parlance, particularly in the idiomatic phraseology of Lucknow school of usage, implies the seated gathering of persons for invoking weeping in a meeting in which greatness and tortures that Imam Hussain and the *Ahl-e Bait* suffered are discussed upon either in a everyday language or in a poetic form of the current language. The words '*Mehfil*' '*Jalsa*' or '*Nishast*' or also used for such meetings. For more details see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.23-38

encamped outside the city. Accordingly, having tears in his eyes Bashir went into the city and proclaimed the news to the population in the localities of Madina announcing:

“O ‘people of Madina. This city has no longer any charm for you. Husain has been martyred. Weep, O’ People! Weep, and Weep as much as you can.”¹⁰

The Muslims of Medina recollected the mourning and weeping of Sayyida Fatemat ul Zahra (605-632) on the day had she lost her father, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 632. The memory of Syeda’s lamentations over her father inside the mourning centre at *Jannat-ul-Baqi*¹¹ flashed back to their minds with a living vitality. The people of Madina were weeping over the shocking news. Men, women and children were flocking to Imam Zain-ul-Abideen camp. They wanted to listen from him the details of the tragedy. Imam Zain-ul-Abideen faced these grief-stricken multitudes in vale of tears. There was one spontaneous tempest of moans and sobs, lamentations and breast-beatings. The entire atmosphere in the vicinity echoed with the heaving of in suppressible sighs and cries of weeping. How long these strains of grief continued, inside the female section and what must have the state of emotions outside among the men can best be imagined than described. It became a regular practice of Imam Zain-ul-Abideen, and all other infallible Imams after him, to revive the memory of the tragedy at the Karbala.¹²

In short, the discussion on the tragedy of Karbala is the pivotal theme of *majlises* (mourning congresses). Quite understandably the tragedy of Karbala where revived in the form of narratives in the beginning, easing gradually into a plain manner of delivery with an admixture of poetry in its prosaic form in the style of Abu Mukhnaf. Only the *ulamas* retained the older scholastic style, as it is evident from the works

¹⁰ *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.23

¹¹ Jannat al-Baqi is a cemetery in Medina, present-day Saudi Arabia, located to the southeast of the Masjid al-Nabawi. The mosque is built where the Islamic Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) used to live and is currently buried.

¹² For the details of *azadari*-based weeping culture in Umayyids and Abbasids periods see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.56-67

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Weeping, Devotional Rituals and Shia Identity

By evoking weeping through popularizing *azadari* based devotional rituals, the Shia rulers such as in Baghdad, Persia, and Egypt, constructed a sense of separate Shia community identity. Weeping was invoked in Baghdad, in 963, by the Buyid ruler of Persia and Iraq, Moghir ud-Daula. He openly organized public mourning processions first time on the 10th of *Muharram*.¹⁴ In order to create an environment of weeping all shopping centers in the city were closed, and thousands of men came out in the streets, beating their breasts and weeping loudly. It was indeed a historic event, the like of which the people of Baghdad had never witnessed. Even those who were dividing of any emotions such as grief and sorrow were noticeably moved at the immensity of this mass mourning with flow of tears. The entire capital was echoing with the sound of anguished lamentation and breast-beating. Men, women and children were all gripped with these spontaneous ventilations of sorrow and pain at Imam Husain's martyrdom.

The early phase of Shia community's weeping and devotional rituals were narrated by historians. One of the famous fourteenth-century Arab historians Ebn al-Kathir (d.1373) states that "on the tenth of Muharram of this year [AH 352], Muizz ad-Dawla Ibn Buwayh, ordered that the markets be closed, and that the women should wear coarse woolen haircloth, and that they should go into the markets with their faces uncovered/unveiled and their hair disheveled, beating their faces and wailing over Hussein Ibn Abi Talib."¹⁵ Another historian Yafa'e in his book, *Marat-ul-Jinan* describing the spread of such mourning, writes: "Shiaism had burst forth in

¹³ For sermon details of *majlis* see, Sayyid Akbar Hayder, *Relieving Karbala: Martyrdom in South Asian Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Toby Howarth, *The Twelver Shia as a Muslim Minority in India: Pulpit of Tears* (London, 2005), pp.3-20

¹⁴ Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.5

¹⁵ Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya wa al-nihaya* (Cairo: Matba ah al-Saada, 1358 AH). For translation see Michel M.Mazzaoui, "Shiism and Ashura in South Lebanon," in *Tazyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p. 231.

Egypt and Baghdad in the year 361 Hijra. Obviously, only something that has been repressed from expressing itself can burst in a violent manner. Since before this time, the devotees had no freedom of expression; their emotions had accumulated to a bursting point. Now, with the freedom they got, their pent-up emotions naturally erupted like a volcano spitting out its lava after ages of suppression.”¹⁶

In 1501, another major development related to weeping, devotion rituals and Shia identity happened with the establishment of the Safavid state in Persia.¹⁷ The founder of the dynasty, Shah Ismail (1487-1524), decreed Twelver Shiism as official state religion in which primary importance was given to weeping based identity through popularization and dissemination of Shia devotional rituals, symbols and religious institutions. During his reign, *azadari* rituals took on new meanings and new forms because of the fact that Safavid used to bolster their legitimacy. Now, through weeping, Shias could publicly express their sense of communal identity.¹⁸ Apart from Bhagdad and Persia, the Fatimid rulers (909-1171) greatly invoked weeping and promoted the institution of *azadari* for Imam Hussain at a mass scale in Egypt. The first ten days of Muharram used to be marked with continuous crying, mourning, and all possible efforts were made to focus the truth that was behind weeping. According to Sayyid Amir Ali, Fatmid constructed first *Imambargah* (a place of weeping) and later during the establishment of Qairo, they constructed various *imambargah* adjacent to royal palaces.¹⁹

***Azadari* Rituals and Weeping of Shia Community in Pre-Colonial India**

The study of Shia community in India attracted a variety of scholars such as Athar Abbas Rizvi, Juan Cole, Jhon Norman, Syed Akbar Hyder, Justin Jones and recently Simon Wolfgang Fuchs.²⁰ The focus of these studies was to explore history of Shia

16 Ali Naqi Naqvi, *Azadari: A Historical Review of Institution of Azadari of Imam Hussan*, p.573

17 In a territory largely encompassing the modern state of Iran.

18 Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performances and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shi'i Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp.5-6

19 For details see, Sayyid Amir Ali, *The History of Saracens* (Kegan Paul, 2004)

20 Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* (Australia: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1986); Juan Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shiism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh 1772-1859*, (Berkeley, ISSN: 2789-1038

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Islam in India such as Shia's religious writings, *madrassa* (religious institutions), rituals, sectarianism and politicization of Shia community especially the Shia dynasties in Awadh (1722-1856) and Lucknow (1347-1856). The study of Shia Islam in India context has added a new perspective in the history of South Asia Islam. Weeping as identity marker of Shia community first set by Imam Husain's family in Persia, was carried by the Shia migrants to India, and patronized and popularized by early Muslim rulers. Shia Islam played an undeniable role in the rise and fall of Muslim rulers in India. Although, Mughal emperors appointed Shias on various administrative positions, but relatively, they did not popularize the culture of weeping through *azadari*. On the other hand, the establishment of Shia dynasties (states) and proclamation of Shi'ism as their state religion changed the political, religious, and socio-cultural outlook of India.

The coming of shiism in India was one of the most interesting phases in the history of South Asian Islam.²¹ It was counter factual that all Muslims conquerors of India were Sunnis²², but, up to the reign of Mughals 1526, mostly the soldiers such as Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Persians, Georgians, Calmucs, and Circassians of emperors and kings in the north India, were Shias.²³ In most cases Shia soldiers participated in military campaigns from Persia and occupied administrative posts and later on they became rulers over some parts of India for centuries in which they laid the foundation of observing *azadari*-based weeping.²⁴ These armies were also deployed in the Southern India for the establishment of Bahmani Kingdom (1347-1526). By a dynasty of Persian origin, Bahmani Kingdom was ruled from Gulbarga and later Bidar.²⁵ As kingdom expanded, the factional strife between Shias and Sunnis became more visible. Consequently, the kingdom was divided into various

1988). Simon Wolfgang Fuchs, *In a pure Muslim land: Shi'ism between Pakistan and the Middle East* (UNC Press Books, 2019).

21 This paper does not state the religious doctrines of shi'ism rather it will focus on the Shias' religious emotions with reference to their historical settings.

22 Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), p.89

3. For details see, Monsturat Elphinstone, *The History of India 6th*, ed. (London: 1874)

²⁴ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority* (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), p.1

²⁵ Gulbarga and Bidar, both in the present day are in Indian State of Kanataka.

Shia states with devoted Shia rulers who provided a royal patronage to Shia scholars and religious institutions and popularized *azadari* rituals not only in Muslims but also other religious communities such as Hindus and Sikhs. Thus, Shia community gradually penetrated firstly in Deccan and later in the north of India.²⁶

The proclamation of Shi`ism as a state religion brought a significant shift in dissemination of weeping and *azadari* rituals. In pre-colonial India there emerged some independent Shia dynasties. Yusuf Adil Shah (1450-1511), an Ottoman Turk by origin, declared himself an independent Governor of Bijapur district in 1489 and founded a Shia dynasty (1489-1686). After the victory of Safavids in Persia, by following Shah Ismail example, he proclaimed Shi`ism as the state religion in 1502.²⁷ He was the first Indian ruler to declare it. His dynasty lasted till 1686.²⁸ In Deccan, another Shia 'Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar' was established in 1490 and in which Shia rulers unsuccessfully tried to impose Shi`ism on other Muslims. In 1636, this dynasty was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan.²⁹

One of the great longest surviving Shia dynasties in India was Qutab Shai dynasty in Hyderabad. It was founded in 1591 by Sultan Quli Qutab ud Din (1565-1612) who belonged to the Qara Qoyunlu federation of Turkoman tribe.³⁰ Hyderabad remained a centre of Shia weeping material and intellectual culture until its alternation by Lucknow.³¹ In early fifteen century, Mir Shams-ud-Din (d.1526) Iraqi popularized Shi`ism in Kashmir.³² In the central valley of Kashmir, the followers of Muhammad Nurbakhsh (1392-1464) became outright Shia.³³ A Shia tribe of Chaks dominated Kashmir from 1528 to 1586. They were interrupted only for the period of fourteen years by Mirza Haider (d.1551), a Central Asian invader.³⁴ Kashmir

26 For the political history of early Shia kingdoms and states see, Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), pp.89-94.

27 Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority* (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), p.2

28 In 1686, Bijapur was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb.

29 Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953), pp.117-120

30 Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.2

31 Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, pp.120-125

32 Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.I (Australia: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1986), pp.159-170

33 Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.2

34 Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, pp.145-149

Weep, O' People! Weep ... remained an epicenter of Shia-Sunni conflicts in the Mughal (1586-1752), the Afghans (1752-1819), the Sikhs (1819-1845), and the last Dogra Dynasty (1846-1947).³⁵ Shia governors appointed by Mughal ruled over Bengal from 1701 to the British Conquest of 1757. With the help of Persian merchants weeping through *azadari* and *imambargah* culture was promoted in Bengal especially in its towns Murshidabad and Hoogly which later on attracted many Shia *ulamas*.³⁶

For *azadari* based weeping, another famous Shia dynasty in India was Awadh (Oudh) dynasty (1722-1856). It was founded by Mir Muhammad Amin "Burhan-ul-Mulk" (1680-1739).³⁷ In 1722, he was appointed as Governor by the Mughal Empire. After signing a protection treaty with East India Company in 1773, Awadh was declared as an independent Kingdom in 1819 which lasted until its annexation by the British in 1856. From 1722 to 1856, all Shia rulers were devout Shia and they overwhelmingly not only patronized weeping and *azadari* culture, but, spent a huge sum of money over the construction of centres for weeping such as *imambargah* and mosques. There were weeping in every town of Awadh.³⁸ They tried to establish "Shia State" by following the example of Safavid Kingdom of Persia.³⁹ Lucknow remained a hub of cultural and intellectual Shi'ism through the colonial period and beyond.⁴⁰

In medieval India, despite having patronage, weeping culture remained limited and Shia Islam was embraced by the minority of Hindus. Although Bahmani Kingdom attracted Shia Sufis and *ulamas*, adventurers, and merchants from Persia, but its population remained overwhelmingly Hindu. In conquered territories, the preachers were mostly Sufis or Sayyids.⁴¹ They popularized a special devotion to Ali Ibn Abi

³⁵ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*., p.3

³⁶ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.II, pp.45-48, and 117-128

³⁷ He was also known as Sadat Ali Khan

³⁸ *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.35

³⁹ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.3. For more details about Shia Kingdom in Lukhnow see, Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shi`a of India*, (London: Luzac & Co. 1953); Juan Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shiism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh 1772-1859*, (Berkeley, 1988); Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in colonial India: religion, community and sectarianism* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

⁴⁰ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.3

⁴¹ A descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) via the Imam

Talib and *Ahl al-bait* in mass conversion of Hindu to Islam and thus, paved a way for an expansion of Shia mission at a later stage.⁴² Moreover, despite the due patronage, it was embraced only by a minority of Muslims in India.⁴³

***Azadari* Rituals, Weeping and Migration of Persian's Shia to India**

The inception of *azadari* based weeping in the Indian subcontinent is synchronous with the arrival the migrants from Persia who had fled from their country in various guises. These migrants were mostly Shia sayyids (a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) via the Imam) who migrated from Persia to India because of the Mongol invasions in thirteenth and fifteen centuries.⁴⁴ Juan Cole is of the view that Shi'ism spread in south Asia through the migration of Persian elites such as merchants, artisans, poets, and scholars who paved the way for Persian-influenced culture.⁴⁵ These Shia migrants not established fully in foreign surroundings initiated *azadari* based weeping in India with all the pathos that were inherited in it. One can visualize a small community of men, women and children struggling disparately for their existence in a land far away from their own, congregating to mourn and weeping for Imam Husain after themselves being the targets of brutalities at the hands of unscrupulous mend in their own homeland. The effect their weeping must had produced on the Indian natives must indeed had stirred their conscience with the impelling appeal that *azadari* innately possessed.⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that Safavi supremacy over Persia coincided with Mughal rule over India, Shah Abbas (1571-1629) being the king in Persia and Akbar (1542-1605) the Emperor in India.

Tazia remained an important devotional symbol to evoke weeping in Shia community. '*Tazia*' means, a model of the tomb of Imam Husain which Shia

⁴² Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.1, pp.153-162

⁴³ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.1

⁴⁴ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:I, pp.153-159

⁴⁵ Juan R. I. Cole, *The Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq*, pp.22-27; Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.7; Sayyed Ali Naqial Naqvi, *A Historical Review of the Institution of Azadari for Imam Husain* (Karachi: Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust,1974)

⁴⁶ *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.45

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community carried along in processions on the 9th and 10th Muharram.⁴⁷ It is difficult to say anything in respect of the authentic reasons or circumstances that led to devising *tazia* as a devotional symbol in India. One thing, however, can be surmised that the means of transport being inadequate at that time, it was very difficult for intending Shia to go all the way to Karbala for weeping to pay their homage at the shrine of Imam Husain. Hence, in order to satisfy their urge for weeping, Shia must devise this substitute method of homage by modelling out miniatures of the Imam's tomb, so that those unable to undertake the long and arduous journey to Karbala could contend themselves with *tazias* as replicas of the original. As far as history indicates, Indian culture was blended with Persian cultural strains. That being so, if this practice of carrying *tazias* was current in Persian in any period of its history, it could be said that the Indian's Shia community had followed such a precedent established by the Persians.⁴⁸

The history of *azadari* based weeping and expression of weeping took a new turn with the emergence of King Amir Taimur (1336-1405) on the political horizon of India.⁴⁹ He was an admirer of the *ahl-e Bait*, therefore, ensured the safety and

47 *Tazias*, are made of ordinary paperboards, tinsels and bamboo-stick chopping is irrelevant to the point. Obviously, these materials are not what gratify them. If that was the case, uncut paperboards and unshaped bamboos could have as well succeeded; it is only when these materials are meticulously laboured into finished forms of *tazias*, representing the Imam's shrines, that they assume a sacred significance. Thus, it is their manipulated resemblances that stir and create mental associations with the originals in distant lands. *Tazia* is different from Persian, "*ta'ziyeh* which was an elaborate ritual drama or theatrical performance of the Karbala story based on the narratives used in the *roza khwani*. The *ta'ziyeh* involved a large cast of professional and amateur actors, a director, a staging area, elaborate costumes, and props. This ritual reached its greatest level of popularity during the late Qajar period". See, Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performances and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shi'i Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), p.8

48 But this is not the case. One does not see *tazia* processions in Arab countries. There is no need, actually, for, Imam Husain's sacred Shrine happens to be light in their mind-set. In Present Iran, too, where *azadari* is observed in numerous manners, there is no such thing such as *tazias* there. This is something that one sees only in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent; and the fact that this is a speciality of this is part of the world indicates that there must have been some extraordinary circumstances that led to this practice.

49 He belonged to the Mongolian dynasty, emerged as the conqueror like a tempest and overran the Muslim regions.

maintenance of the shrines of the members of Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) family.⁵⁰ He was the first Indian king to make such a model (*tazia*) of Imam Husain's tomb. Shia soldiers used this devotional symbols for weeping.⁵¹ There is a diversity of arguments among scholars regarding the origin of *tazia* in India.⁵² Shahid Naqvi is of the view that Timur (1336-1405) established the tradition of *taziadri* in 1400.⁵³ According to a well know biography of Timur, "it was the month of Muharram 1398, when Timur finally attacked the fort of Meerth at Delhi in India."⁵⁴ After the winning of battle, some of Timur soldiers requested him to allow them to go to perform pilgrimage at Karbala. It was not possible for Timur at that time, but, he found a solution. He ordered to build a *zarib* a model of Imam Hussain's mausoleum.⁵⁵ Another opinion about Timur and the origin of *tazia* is that because of his affection with Imam Hussain, occasionally, he used to go to perform pilgrimage at the shrine of Imam Hussain. But, once he could not go, so he made a replica of *tazia* and performed *azadari*.⁵⁶

Azadari rituals and weeping relatively remained intact in Mughal period. Like his father Zaheer-ud-Din Babar (1483-1530,⁵⁷ Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad, popularly known as Hamayun (1508-1556) also through the Persian Emperor's help re-

⁵⁰ *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.32, 70-76

⁵¹ See, Vernon James Schubel, *Religious Performance in Contemporary Islam: Shi'i Devotional Rituals in South Asia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), p.110; In Indian context, for the British opinions and more details of *tazia* see, Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafti Manzar Namin Main*, pp.59-67.

⁵² *Tazia* is also called *taboot* in other part of the Islamic world and it is accompanied by groups of black shirted, self-flagellating, and breast-beating mourners. See, Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, pp.164-180

⁵³ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafti Manzar Namin Main*, pp. 57.104

⁵⁴ Marcel Breaven, *Main Houn Taimor, Khawaja Hamid Yazdani, trans.* (Lahore: Sayyrah Digest, 2000), p. 352.

⁵⁵ For details see, Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafti Manzar Namin Main* (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2002), p. 52

⁵⁶ Sabah-ud-Din, *Hindustan Main Muslaman Hukamrano ke Tamadni Jalway* (Azamgarh: Ma`arif Press), Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafti Manzar Namin Main*, p.45; Ali Hussian Rizvi, *Tarikh-I Shian-I Ali* (Karachi: Imamia Academy, 1992)

⁵⁷ Babar was the founder of Mughal dynasty in India.

Weep, O' People! Weep ... established his lost rule in India.⁵⁸ When Sher Shah Suri (1486-1545) defeated Humayun, Humayun went to Shah Tamasap (1514-1576), king of Persia for help.⁵⁹ With the support of king's talented sister, he agreed to help Humayun after setting some conditions such as Humayun will declare himself Shia, he will patronage Shi'ism in India and if he succeed he will surrender Kabul to Persia.⁶⁰ After his success in India, the adoption of Shi'ism by Humayun not only proved to be one of the strong pillars in re-establishing Mughal Empire in India, but also paved the way for *azadari* based weeping.⁶¹

Whatever the origin of *taziadari* is, whether the credit goes to Taimur or to anyone else, the fact is that *azadari* rituals did not have any particular position in the social set-up under the Moghuls. The reason for this coolness was that the Mughal Emperors in India were not as deeply attached to the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) and *Ahl-e Bait* like King Taimur.⁶² Although they appointed Shias on administrative positions but did not popularize *azadari* rituals. Humayun's son, Akbar (1542-1605) grew up under the influence of Shia, Bayram Khan (1501-1561). He appointed some Shias to the highest administrative positions.⁶³ For instance, Akbar appointed

⁵⁸ Babar was the founder of Mughal dynasty in India (1526). During the early campaign of *Samarqand*, he needed military support from Shah Ismail Safvi (1487-1524). Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953), p.127, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, Vol:I, pp.189-190

⁵⁹ Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953), pp.192-195; Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), p.92

⁶⁰ Sultana Begum, the sister of Shah Tamsap (1514-1576) composed a poem in the praise of Hazrat Ali (RA) and at the end inserted Humayun name as the author of the ode. Then she placed its copy in front of King, who seeing the devotion and love of Humayun for Hazrat Ali (RA), was pleased and got ready to help Humayun to restore his rule in India. He furnished Humayun with 10,000 cavalries under the command of his youngest son, Murad Mirza. For more details see, Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab: From The Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House, 1964), pp.131-132

⁶¹ Muhammad Wasi Khan, *Tashkeel-e-Pakistan Min Shian-e-Ali Ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Onset Press, 1983), p.38; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.76. It is pertinent to note that the fall of Shia princely states in Awadh (1722-1856), Daccan (1490-1685), Bijapur, (1489-1686), Golkanda (1518-1617), and Ahmadnagar (1496-1636) was also a reason of the decline of Mughal power in India. For detail see, Muhammad Wasi Khan, *Tashkeel-e-Pakistan Min Shian-e-Ali Ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Onset Press, 1983), p.38

⁶² *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.76

⁶³ Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, pp.220-229, 347-350

Nurullah Shustari (1549-1610), a veteran Shia *alim* (religious scholar), Qazi of Lahore in 1586.⁶⁴ In Lahore, he wrote one of his well-known treatises on Shiism “*Majalis-ul-Muminin*” in 1604, and Baqir Khan Najam, the Governor of Multan.⁶⁵ Anthoni Manstreet, a Jesuit, while visiting Gawaliyar in 1580, describes that in this area most of the population was Hindus, people fasted for first nine days of Muharram and arranged mourning assemblies. By sitting on a higher place, the *marsiya* readers read *marsiya* related to Imam Hassan and Hussain with such a grief that the whole assembly started weeping.⁶⁶

As compared to his predecessor, Emperor Jahangir (1569-1627) was not pluralistic in his religious policies and devotional rituals. This is evident from the fact that Nurullah Shustari an eminent Shia religious scholar in the history of sub-continent was put to death for no reason other than that he was a devout Shia and wrote eloquent books in defence of Shia doctrines.⁶⁷ These books earned him many enemies during the reign of Jahangir. This luminary is famous in Indian history as “*Shaheed Salis*”, literally meaning “the third martyred.”. Nurullah Shustari was a very cautious person and led a quiet life. He never had the change to preach his religious beliefs. His only achievement that has survived him is *Ehqaq-al-Haq* a literary exposition of ‘Divine Truth’ that he wrote in 1605 but remained concealed up to the last days of his life.⁶⁸ Despite the death of Nurullah, the tradition of *azadari* based weeping remained visible in India especially in Shia sates. Francis Plessreet, a Dutch who stayed in Agara from 1620 to 1647 discussed about *azadari* during

⁶⁴ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.311; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.105-106

⁶⁵ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, Vol:I, pp.343-348, and Humaira Faiz Dasti, *Multan: A Province of Mughal Empire (1525-1751)* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998), p.264

⁶⁶ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.94

⁶⁷ Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), p.95

⁶⁸ For more details about Noorullah Shoshtary see, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* (Australia: Ma’rifat Publishing House, 1986)

Weep, O' People! Weep ...

Jahangir's reign in details.⁶⁹ The Shia occupied top military and administrative positions under Jahangir and his successor Shah Jahan (1592-1666) too.⁷⁰

Emperor Aurangzaib Alamgir, (1618-1707) took various oppressive measures to suppress the emotions of Shia community.⁷¹ He expelled Shia to Kashmir and said "they are united to us by Quran, but they have separated themselves by errors regarding the succession to the *Khilaphat*, so they must be separated from us altogether."⁷² Through issuing an edict, he prohibited Shia from wearing long moustaches. Moreover, he appointed some officers to measure their moustaches and clips them if they crossed the orthodox standards.⁷³ Moreover, during his reign (1658-1707), *Azadari* rituals remained banned.⁷⁴ However, he tried to abolish Shia princely states, but, on the same time he gave top ranks to Shia in his court. The title of 'Khan-e-Khana' was also originated in his time. In his letters, he always used the term 'brother *bay-shikwa*' for the Shia *alim* (pl. *ulamas*) who translated Quran in Sinsikrat language.⁷⁵ His successor, Bahadur Shah (r.1707-1712) showed pro-Shia inclination which gave birth to Shia-Sunni conflict in Lahore.⁷⁶ Shia influence continued to honeycomb the Muslim community till 1853.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafi Manzar Namin Main*, p.94

⁷⁰ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:II, pp.4-33

⁷¹ Despite of the fact that his brother Prince Shuja was Shia, Aurangzaib detested Shia as he did the Hindus. Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), p.93

⁷² Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab: From The Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House, 1964), p.176

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.176

⁷⁴ Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:II, pp.10-14, 18-20,33-36, Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Ulma in Politics: A Study Relating to the Political Activities of the Ulema in the South-Asian Subcontinent from 1556 to 1947* (Renaissance Pub House, 1998) , p.102

⁷⁵ Muhammad Wasi Khan, *Tashkeel-e-Pakistan Min Shian-e-Ali Ka Kirdar*, p.43; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.76-79

⁷⁶ Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Ulma in Politics*, p.107, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:II, pp.39-41; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.79

⁷⁷ Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, , p.93

In the Southern India such as in Deccan, *Qutub Shahi* dynasty (1512-1687) was a great devotee of the *Ahl-e Bait* and *azadari* based weeping. This dynasty was followed by the *Burhan Shahi* dynasty (1490-1636). Weeping and *azadari* rituals, therefore, flourished with all its glory in this part of Southern India.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it was this unimpeded progress of *azadari*, coupled with wholesale conversion of *Burhan Shahis* to Shiaism that irritated Emperor Aurangzeb most in the North. So choleric was this Mughal Emperor against this development that he sent his armed forces out to quell what he termed as the ‘Shia menace’ in the South.⁷⁹ In consequence of this armed action, *azadari* once again suffered set back. It, however, did continue in India, but its development was curbed at the moment.

This stalemate in the progress of *azadari* based weeping then unclosed itself a bang when Sayyid Didlar Ali (1753-1820) rose into prominence as a distinguishable Shia religious scholar in Lucknow, the capital of the State of Oudh. A proper centre was established at Lucknow, which started functioning as a publishing organization for the promotion of Shiaism and establishment of religious institutions (*imambargah*) in India. Consequently, it was in the month of Rajab, 1200 (A.H, 1785), that for the first time ever in Indian history, the Shias offered their prayers in a congregational form.⁸⁰ Dildar Ali contributed greatly to the propagation of *azadari* based weeping and helped in the promotion of this institution to rehabilitate itself into a state of development. In fact, it was Dildar Ali who, by instilling love for Imam Husain in the heart of the late Nawab Asfi-ud-Doula (1748-1797), inspired him to lay the foundation of *Husainia Asifi*, the biggest Shia religious institution ‘*imambargah*’,

⁷⁸ For more details of *azadari*-based culture of weeping in Deccan see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.33, 67-69.

⁷⁹ N. Jayaplan, *History of India: From 1206 to 1773*, Vol II (New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher, 2001), p.198

⁸⁰ Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in colonial India: religion, community and sectarianism* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Weep, O' People! Weep ...
not only in India but the whole Muslim world.⁸¹ Thus the politics of patronage of weeping started in India.⁸²

Conclusion

The tragedy of Karbala has a central place in evoking the religious emotions of Shia community. By studying Shia community's *azadari* based rituals, through this study it appears that weeping played a significant role in the construction and preservation of Shia community's distinct identity in Persia and pre-colonial India. The rulers of various Shia dynasties and kingdoms played a pivotal role not only in the expanding the commemoration of the tragedy of Karbala, they also made Shia Islam as an official religion. Taking leads from the culture of weeping in Persia, Shia community in pre-colonial India also used weeping to distinguish its identity not only from other Muslim (Sunnis) communities, but also from non-Muslim communities such as Hindus and Sikh. Moreover, at some places such as Hyderabad, Multan and Lahore religious change through devotional rituals of

⁸¹ He also built another *imambargah* at Naseerabad, his native place in the United Province. This building still also exists today, though not very well maintained. This *imambargah* was not only a fine specimen of architectural art, but it was also a literary centre where learned scholars from Muslim world congregated for exchange of ideas and scholastic discourses. There is another *imambargah* in Lucknow which is also famous by the name of Husainia Ghufuran. This was built by Sayyid Dildar Ali independently. Though not very remarkable for its structural grace, this *imambargah* is spiritually one of the most sacred places in India. The Nawabs of Oudh did everything possible in the preservation and promotion of *azadari* rituals in India. With staunch efforts of the *ulamas* on one front, and financial encouragement coming readily from the Nawabs of Oudh on the other, both these two potent sources combined into one great force to ensure that *azadari* was propagated in a progressive manner. *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.84-96

⁸²India was multi-religious where numerous religious communities lived such as Hindu Community, Muslim community, Sikh community. It was, therefore, Shia religious *ulamas* felt that methods adopted for promotion of *azadari* should be such that all those other community groups who were hitherto unaware of its true significance should be apprised of it, thereby drawing all diverse groups into an orbit of sympathetic understanding. For more details about *azadari*-based culture of weeping in Awadh see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.84-96

azadari-based weeping injected a new spirit of inter-communal religious observations and celebrations.

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Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.4-5

Rizakar, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.23

Jannat al-Baqi is a cemetery in Medina, present-day Saudi Arabia, located to the southeast of the Masjid al-Nabawi. The mosque is built where the Islamic Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) used to live and is currently buried.

For the details of *azadari*-based weeping culture in Umayyids and Abbasids periods see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, pp.56-67

For sermon details of *majlis* see, Sayyid Akbar Hayder, *Relieving Karbala: Martyrdom in South Asian Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Toby Howarth, *The Twelver Shia as a Muslim Minority in India: Pulpit of Tears* (London, 2005), pp.3-20

Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.5

Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya wa al-nihaya* (Cairo: Matba ah al-Saada, 1358 AH). For translation see Michel M.Mazzaoui, "Shiism and Ashura in South Lebanon," in *Tazyiyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p. 231.

Ali Naqi Naqvi, *Azadari: A Historical Review of Institution of Azadari of Imam Hussan*, p.573

In a territory largely encompassing the modern state of Iran.

Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performances and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shi'i Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp.5-6

For details see, Sayyid Amir Ali, *The History of Saracens* (Kegan Paul, 2004)

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This paper does not state the religious doctrines of shi`ism rather it will focus on the Shias' religious emotions with reference to their historical settings.

Murray T.Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book

Company,1990), p.89

For details see, Monsturat Elphinstone, *The History of India 6th*, ed. (London:1874)

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority* (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), p.1

Gulbarga and Bidar, both in the present day are in Indian State of Kanataka.

For the political history of early Shia kingdoms and states see, Murray T.Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company,1990), pp.89-94.

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority* (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), p.2

In 1686, Bijapur was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Auranzaib.

Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953), pp.117-120

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.2

Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, pp.120-125

Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.I (Australia: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1986),pp.159-170

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.2

Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, pp.145-149

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*: , p.3

Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.II,pp.45-48, and 117-128

He was also known as Sadat Ali Khan

Rizakar, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.35

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.3. For more details about Shia Kingdom in Lukhnow see, Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shi`a of India*, (London: Luzac & Co. 1953); Juan Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shiism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh 1772-1859*, (Berkeley, 1988); Justin Jones, *Shi`a Islam in colonial India: religion, community and sectarianism* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.3

A descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) via the Imam

Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India*, vol.1, pp.153-162

Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.1

Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:I, pp.153-159

Juan R. I. Cole, *The Roots of North Indian Shi`ism in Iran and Iraq*, pp.22–27;

Kamran Scot Agahai, (ed.). *The Women of Karbala*, p.7; Sayyed Ali Naqial Naqvi, *A Historical Review of the Institution of Azadari for Imam Husain* (Karachi: Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust,1974)

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Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Ulma in Politics*, p.107, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:II, pp.39-41; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.79

Murray T.Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, , p.93

For more details of *azadari*-based culture of weeping in Deccan see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.33, 67-69.

N. Jayaplan, *History of India: From 1206 to 1773*, Vol II (New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher, 2001), p.198

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