Contents

Qawwālī: Poetry, Performance, and Politics
Guest Editor: Qamar-ul Huda
United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C.

Articles

543 Introduction
Qamar-ul Huda

548 “I transcend myself like a melody”: Khwājah Mir Dard and Music in Eighteenth-century Delhi
Homayra Ziad

571 Qawwālī Between Written Poem and Sung Lyric, Or . . . How a Ghazāl Lives
Scott Kugle

611 The Performance of Perplexity: A Sufi Approach to the Paradoxes of Monotheism
Amer Latif

626 Risky Knowledge in Risky Times: Political Discourses of Qawwālī and Sufiana-kalām in Pakistan-Indian Sufism
Shemeem Burney Abbas

640 Unseen Power: Aesthetic Dimensions of Symbolic Healing in Qawwālī
James R. Newell
Risky Knowledge in Risky Times: Political Discourses of Qawwālī and Sūfīana-kālam in Pakistan-Indian Sufism

Shemeem Burney Abbas
State University of New York/Purchase College
Purchase, New York

In this article, I will examine the discourse of Sufi performance that constitutes “risky knowledge in risky times.” The two major poets that I will discuss and whose poetry is still sung at their shrines are Bulle Shah and Shah Abdul Latif. Both poets lived in risky political times. Both challenged the theocratic forces of their times and questioned the religious establishment. Shah Abdul Latif was also a roving minstrel, although we do not have such information about Bulle Shah; he was born in Uch Gillian near Bahawalpur and his family moved to Kasur, near Lahore.

Bulle Shah and Shah Abdul Latif were contemporaries: Bulle Shah lived from 1680 to 1758, Shah Abdul Latif from 1689 to 1752. I was fortunate enough to visit the shrines of both the poets during the course of my fieldwork in Pakistan from 1992-99. Both poets wrote in their indigenous languages, i.e., Panjabi, Siraiki and Sindhi, and in their own indigenous contexts. Both challenged the theocratic forces of their times and questioned the religious establishment. Shah Abdul Latif was also a roving minstrel, although we do not have such information about Bulle Shah; he was born in Uch Gillian near Bahawalpur and his family moved to Kasur, near Lahore.

Bulle Shah and Shah Abdul Latif were contemporaries: Bulle Shah lived from 1680 to 1758, Shah Abdul Latif from 1689 to 1752. I was fortunate enough to visit the shrines of both the poets during the course of my fieldwork in Pakistan from 1992-99. Both poets wrote in their indigenous languages, i.e., Panjabi, Siraiki and Sindhi, and in their own indigenous contexts. Both challenged the theocratic forces of their times and questioned the religious establishment. Shah Abdul Latif was also a roving minstrel, although we do not have such information about Bulle Shah; he was born in Uch Gillian near Bahawalpur and his family moved to Kasur, near Lahore.

The late Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, Abida Parvin's husband and music director, spoke to me about Shah's role as a roving minstrel and nomad.

In the case of Shah Latif you will find at least fifty places where he used to spend the nights. Audiences would come there and sit with him at night. There would be a parao, they would make a fire and they would have a mehfil and when he sang his narratives there would be faqirs and dervishes with him, so like the Shah these dervishes would also wander around the areas, and when night fell, they set up their camps, burnt the fires, came together to sing mystical texts.

Shah's own poetry in the Risalo is full of references to wandering minstrels. In Sur Ram Kali, he says:

This community of jogis who have their ears slit and lobed
These Lahutis, according to Latif do not alter their goal
Let us go and visit the dwelling place of these ascetics, who
Have consumed their egos completely.

In Shah's Risalo, the jogis or wandering ascetics have several names, such as jajak, manganbar, atai, pan, charan, rogi, barat and rababi. To this day, Shah's faqirs still sing in falsetto, imitating women's voices at his shrine on appointed nights. The women's voices are those of Sassi, Marvi or Sohni, who protest oppressive patriarchal political systems.

Abida Parvin herself reaffirmed Shaikh Ghulam Hussain's statements. However, what I found interesting in my interview with Parvin was her take on gender in Shah Latif's poetry, in particular, but in Sufi poetry, generally. She said:

Male and female does not even come into it—what you call Allah is one—God is the mehver, the center of everything... it does not matter whether it is male or female, in fact we can really say that in the Sufi's terminology, if someone is not a male he is called a female.

before he died in 2000), these sufferings symbolize the suffering of the land. Alan Faqir claimed to be a faqir or minstrel of Shah's shrine in Bhit Shah. He said about Sind:

It has been looted. It has been plundered. It has been assaulted. But it goes on. It has not died... it has existed for centuries and it shall exist. The Tartars came, the Sassanids came... they all came and went... and yet we sit here... this land stays... God wishes, it will stay. Sain Latif even at that time talked of this land. Marvi is the land. Malir is the land. All these women, Marvi, Sassi, Sohni leave their homes to walk on this soil. Who is this Marvi whose nails are red and her hands have the red henna on them? Latif put a message in his legends, whether it is Marvi or Sassi or Sohni, Shah puts them all in his narratives.

The late Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, Abida Parvin's husband and music director, spoke to me about Shah's role as a roving minstrel and nomad. In the case of Shah Latif you will find at least fifty places where he used to spend the nights. Audiences would come there and sit with him at night. There would be a parao, they would make a fire and they would have a mehfil and when he sang his narratives there would be faqirs and dervishes with him, so like the Shah these dervishes would also wander around the areas, and when night fell, they set up their camps, burnt the fires, came together to sing mystical texts.

Shah's own poetry in the Risalo is full of references to wandering minstrels. In Sur Ram Kali, he says:

This community of jogis who have their ears slit and lobed
These Lahutis, according to Latif do not alter their goal
Let us go and visit the dwelling place of these ascetics, who
Have consumed their egos completely.

In Shah's Risalo, the jogis or wandering ascetics have several names, such as jajak, manganbar, atai, pan, charan, rogi, barat and rababi. To this day, Shah's faqirs still sing in falsetto, imitating women's voices at his shrine on appointed nights. The women's voices are those of Sassi, Marvi or Sohni, who protest oppressive patriarchal political systems.

Abida Parvin herself reaffirmed Shaikh Ghulam Hussain's statements. However, what I found interesting in my interview with Parvin was her take on gender in Shah Latif's poetry, in particular, but in Sufi poetry, generally. She said:

Male and female does not even come into it—what you call Allah is one—God is the mehver, the center of everything... it does not matter whether it is male or female, in fact we can really say that in the Sufi's terminology, if someone is not a male he is called a female.
Global gender theory is only now looking at the nuances of gender from various perspectives; in Sufi poetry, such awareness has existed for centuries.

The figure of the nomad as an outcast, as someone on the margins of the social order, presents itself strongly in the Sufi poetry of Pakistan and India, especially in the _sufiana-kalam_ traditions associated with roving minstrels. Fear of the clergy promoted the _sufiana-kalam_, which shared cross culturally with the _bhakti_. For centuries, grassroots Sufi musicians used mystical poetry to express resistance against the clergy who colluded with the establishment: Mira Bai, Shah Abdul Latif, Sultan Bahu, Baba Ghulam Farid, Bulle Shah, Shah Hussain, Waris Shah and Khavaja Ghulam Farid all wrote mystical poetry with political meaning. Their poetry is sung in the roving minstrel tradition, as well as in the formal settings of _Qawwālī_.

The fact that they wrote and composed in the Hindi, Braj, Sindhi, Sarpik and Punjabi vernaculars brings the spiritual metaphor to their audiences in itself a political act for the Sufis. They challenged elitist claims of reading Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, or Persian, the language of higher intellectual thought. These poets simplified Qur'anic teachings and infused their poetry with spirituality by using alphabetic _zikr_, the repetitive use of a word or phrase such as the _alif_, the first phoneme of the Arabic alphabet, which is an A. Allah or God is said with the _alif_. Thus we have, in the twenty-first century, the Junoon group singing Bulle Shah's _kaifi_ (short devotional verses) about the _alif_. The Junoon consider their music Sufi rock and use steel drums. 

**kaifi 80-Bulle Shah**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panjabi Transliteration</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilm o bās karen o yar</td>
<td>withhold knowledge, o friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik ho <em>alif</em> tere darker</td>
<td><em>alif</em> is enough, <em>alif</em> is all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilm o bās karen o yar</td>
<td>withhold knowledge, o friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik ho <em>alif</em> tere darkar</td>
<td><em>alif</em> is enough, <em>alif</em> is all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilm na ave vic shumar</td>
<td>knowledge is not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilm na ave vic shumar</td>
<td>knowledge is not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jand <em>umar nahi itbar</em></td>
<td>life passes nothing is certain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilm o bās karen o yar</td>
<td>withhold knowledge, o friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik ho <em>alif</em> tere darkar</td>
<td><em>alif</em> is enough, <em>alif</em> is all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sufi poetry continues to be sung as political protest. Whenever and wherever there is oppression in the Muslim state, Sufi poetry is sung in resistance. This will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

Male protagonists in Sufi poetry sung in the performance traditions of _Qawwālī_ and _sufiana-kalam_ are nomadic, living on the peripheries. Hence, Ranjha is a nomadic cowherd, a _vanjilivala_ (flute-player) in the Siyal territory of the Punjab. His tribe kidnaps Punnu; he is whisked away to Baluchistan. However, his patriarchal Hot tribe cannot give him up to Sassi's matriliny. He is only a nomadic cowherd. The same principle applies to Mahival, who although an Iranian merchant, is only a nomad with no family or state to back him in Sind. Punnu is a royal prince married to Sassi, herself a state ruler. However, his patriarchal Hot tribe cannot give him up to Sassi's matriliny. His tribe kidnaps Punnu; he is whisked away to Baluchistan.

Sufi poetry, especially in the _sufiana-kalam_ traditions, is about wider social movements outside the domain of the state, within anarchist theory and the theory of social movements. The Panjabi ang of _Qawwālī_ may be considered part of such traditions. My research in _Qawwālī_ and _sufiana-kalam_, which began in the 1980's, investigates Sufi poetry and performance within such traditions in the diaspora of the West. Such evolution occurred for a number of reasons, including the emergence of orthodox Islamic states such as that established in Pakistan under General Ziaul Haq in 1978. As state policy became more and more obscurantist, artists, freethinkers and intellectuals, Sufi scholars and musicians found the native soil less receptive to plurality. These were risky times. Musicians such as Ustad Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and the Sabri Brothers explored performance opportunities in Europe and the West. In addition to political factors, there was also the emergence of "world music" and directors like Peter Gabriel. Expatriate South Asian audiences also provided rich opportunities. It was in the Western diaspora that Sufi musicians like Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan transported the original Sufi shrine performances from the 12th century to the modern concert arena. Khan also resurrected a Bulle Shah-like critique of the orthodox state under Ziaul Haq by performing...
Bulle Shah's poetry in the Western concert hall, as well as in Pakistani venues. Khan transformed the traditional Qawwālī of the Sufi shrine by infusing it with a new ang, using innovative linguistics and orchestration. Khan's adaptation of Sufi poetry was indeed so politically provocative and challenging in its appeal to the Pakistani youth that I personally witnessed a large-scale gate crashing of his concert at the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad in August 1992. Most of the gate crashers were young men from the upper class Islamabad schools and colleges. Later, during my personal interview with him, Khan confirmed that he wanted the youth to connect to Islam. He affirmed that he wanted to do this through an intelligent and simple interpretation of the Islamic concepts of humanity and love, the way the Sufis had done. Khan said that like the Sufis, he updated "the message" for his modern audience, today's youth. Many of the Sufi songs that he sang at the concert had significant political and aesthetic dimensions; he used traditional musical instruments as well as innovations from Western music, such as the subtle use of the saxophone. Khan's performance was a political statement about Qawwālī and its emerging structures, especially through its poetry.

I quote here a text transcribed from a live performance of a Bulle Shah text that Khan sang:

**Panjabi Transliteration**

Makke gaya gal mukdi nahi
Panve sau sau june parb aye
Ganga gaya gal mukdi nahi
Panve sau sau gbote khaye

Bulle Shah gal tanve mukdi
Jadun mai nun gate lagaiye
Parb parb alim fazil hoya
Kadi apne aap nun parbha nahi
Parbh namaz na riyaz na sikhya
Teri kis kaam parbalian namazan

Rat jagi soyen, shaiakh sadavein
Par rat nun jage kute tenti ute
Yar da boha na chade parve
marv jute

**Translation**

Going to Makkah will not resolve this
Even if you say a hundred Juma prayers
Going to the Ganges will not resolve this
Even if you take a hundred baths

Bulle Shah the matter is only resolved
When you hold the beloved to the heart
Many books you read, became an Alim-Fazil
Never you read your own self
You learnt to pray, never you learnt riyaz
What good have your prayers done?

At night, you sleep, you wake
The shaikh's call wakes you up
At night, the dogs are awake
The dogs are one up on you
They do not leave the beloved's threshold
Even when you throw shoes at them

The references in this Qawwālī are obvious: the humor targets the textual interpreters of scripture.

During the same period of General Ziaul Haq's 1980s orthodoxy, Abida Parvin did something courageous: she sang Shah Latif and Bulle Shah's poetry to large audiences in Islamabad's Lok Virsa and at the Open University. She sang to Ziaul Haq's bureaucracy, officials in the federal government, and the individuals who implemented his theocratic agenda. I quote here a text from an original transcription of a concert performance; this is in the sūfiana-kalām tradition of the roving minstrels. Parvin improvised verses that challenged the theocracy in the same way as did Ali Khan. The political references in the song, a Siraiki composition of Sultan Bahu, are evident,

**Translation**

They read books, thousands of them
They think they are scholars
Not a word of love they know
Poor, lost souls
Thousands of scholars, the eye has seen
No one carried them on the shoulder
One lover, the eye has seen
A thousand stars that lover has been

Both Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's and Abida Parvin's (in the 1980's) performances and their references to theocracy and politicized orthodoxy have interesting connections to the apostasy trials of Mahmoud Taha that took place in the Sudan in 1985, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd's trial in Egypt started around the same time and culminated in early 2000, with Nasr Hamid and his wife seeking political asylum in Belgium. It was the state and the religious establishment that used orthodox, textual arguments against intellectuals to remove them for political purposes. Throughout history, the textual "scholars" have sided with the state to remove political opposition. Sufi poetry in the Qawwālī and sūfiana kalām traditions is a statement of political resistance or the reaffirmation of political altruism. The qaul in the Qawwālī traditions, "Mun kunto maula fa Alian mauha," is a prime example of a political statement. The qaul is derived from a badthī mainly upheld by Shi'i Muslims and followed in the Chistiyya tradition of the qawwāl bacche musicians. As such, Sufi poetry and performance are viewed with ambiguity by Muslim imams and mullahs.
Many consider Sufi mysticism dangerous to existing power structures, as its epistemology threatens ruling hierarchies. While the ruling hierarchies exclude the general population from knowledge, thereby ensuring their disenfranchisement, Sufi poets reiterated that the \textit{alif} is enough to establish contact with the divine. Much of the existing Sufi scholarship in English, which includes the work of Lajwanti Rama Krishna, Annemarie Schimmel, Margaret Smith and myself, looks at the feminine voices in Sufi poetry mainly from an aesthetic point of view: there is much encoding in the myths that are sung in public contexts.\textsuperscript{19} As a result of the “coding” and “female myths,” the performances become disguises and musicians are sometimes able to escape being persecuted by the clergy, who throughout the ages have validated the hegemony of the ruling classes.

My argument is that whenever rulers exercised extreme political-ideological repression in Pakistan and India, Sufi poetry and other mystical poetries emerged, giving a voice to oppression. These voices were disseminated through performance and the encoding of the female myths, the rulers and the oppressed, the male and the female. Though I look primarily at the Pakistani situation between 1980 and the present, I have also seen the resurrection of Sufi poetry in performance in international settings in Europe, particularly in England and in the Middle East, from 1980 until now. The fact that the singing of Sufi poetry in public contexts (especially in concerts) was resurrected and the performances adjusted to the instrumentation and electrification of “world music” has much to do with the establishment of an orthodox, fundamentalist regime under General Ziaul Haq in the 1980s. In order for the military ruler to validate his authority, his establishment sought the support of the clergy.\textsuperscript{20} It is exactly during this time that Abida Parvin resurrected the work of Shah Abdul Latif, Sacchal Sarmast, Bulle Shah, Sultan Bahu and other Sufi poets who wrote in indigenous languages. It was precisely in the 1980’s that Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan made a place for himself in Europe, particularly in France and England among the diasporic South Asian and Middle Eastern populations in these countries, as did the Rai musicians.\textsuperscript{21}

It was thus performers like Abida Parvin and Ustad Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan who became the mentors for the young Pakistani musicians who adapted the themes of Sufi poetry in electronic environments and integrated their performances within the genre of “world music.” We speak here of postcolonial contexts, of course. Whereas in Pakistan, the obscurantist regimes upheld the mirror of orthodox Islam, younger musicians followed Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Abida Parvin and Alan Faqir, who coded their ideological and epistemological objections through the myths and metaphors of Sufi poetry. The young musicians within the country and those who grew up in the diasporas of England sought an alternative identity. Seen from the perspective of the Twin Towers disaster and the Madrid bombings, the 1980s seems a crucial period in the search for identity among Muslim youth, both in the diasporas of the West and within Pakistan. One can see both trends: a trend toward orthodoxy in Bradford and also a trend toward a secular identity rooted in the cultural myths and metaphors of the homeland in the musical productions in Birmingham and Southall.\textsuperscript{22}

“World music” provided a creative, encouraging forum for musicians trained in the classical traditions, such as Ustad Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who was able to influence the Junoon group. One of them was Salman Ahmed, who grew up in New York and performed with Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. In his personal interview with me in August 1992, Khan said that it is the duty of musicians to create music for the people and the times. He also said that it was his aim to bring the youth of the country within the fold of Islam, and that he intended to do this through his music. He said that this was why he had modified his traditional \textit{Qawwali} style to newer forms of instrumentation and experiment.\textsuperscript{23} It is precisely because of this that young Pakistani musicians felt confident enough to imbibe Khan’s Sufi kafis of the Panjabi poets, such as Bulle Shah and Shah Hussain. It was Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan’s influence that made the Junoon group explore the texts of these two poets to create their lyrics. In his conversation with Jacques Dupont in Paris in March of 1988, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan said:

\begin{quote}
When we sing in Pakistan the public is very varied, with diverse motivations. Some come for the music, some to hear the message, and others to find a solution to their problems. Those able to understand the message and its depth will react to the message and to the music, but for those others, the exact effect sought by the master’s words will be created by the music alone. A recited text will not have the same effect as the same thing sung. Depending on the public I have and the message I wish to convey, I choose a raga, a particular melody and the musical backing will give the text all its majesty. If the poem is not sung, it remains in the book and cannot get out. It can only really reach the people if it is sung.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

Khan told Dupont that this is something he learned from his ancestors and passed on to the Junoon group. Junoon used the Sufi kafis to bring out the messages coded in the \textit{caruki-namas}, \textit{cakki-namas} and in the feminine mythologies of Sufism.\textsuperscript{25}

Junoon’s music has defied the politically motivated orthodoxy and corruption of the Pakistani state; its members criticized Pakistan’s building of a nuclear bomb. Their album \textit{Ebtaasab} (accountability) was a bold political message. According to Junoon, at that time everyone was confused, scared.
"Our people have always lived under somebody's rule or other. They lived under the rajas, then the Britishers came and when they left, they gave it to the zamindars (landowners). These people never left their slave mentality." They compose their lyrics to ethnic folk tunes and strings, and are a mixture of sitar and the guitar: rock and resistance. A *New York Times* review says of their performance, 27

...the rhythms meshed a rock 4/4 with the cross rhythms of *bhanga* and other Eastern styles; the guitar parts moved between hard-rock cords and sustained sitar-like phrases. Mr Azmat's lines were often as succinct as rock choruses, swelling with the vibrato of a rock lead singer but gave way to airborne melismatic flourishes out of a South Asian and pop and Sufi songs called *Qawwālī*. At times, with Mr Ahmed's guitar lines wailing over speedy percussion, Junoon could have been an Asian answer to Santana.

Sufism in the Junoon performances came much later, after Salman Ahmed had performed with Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. Ali Azmat, a Junoon member, says,28

Actually, that energy which is there in the *qawwālī* is very similar to that of rock music. The movements were very similar, mesmerizing. So, we got into it, recorded a song and it turned out to be so powerful with the *tablās* and we were amazed...we started going after Sufism and studied them. ...Bulle Shah was an amazing man who recited his poetry in Panjabi. He basically translated from Shah Hussain and Rumi who wrote in Persian and sang in Panjabi with a sitar. He was this musician with soul and people just came to listen to his words. It was so pure and peaceful.

In the course of my work with political signification in Sufi poetry, I find many fascinating elements. For example, the play on gender issues is interesting in Sufi poetry in the indigenous Pakistani languages. Bulle Shah's poetry is quite explicit in this: he uses the image of the "kanjri" or the dancing girl. I have heard the word *kanjri* used with no taboo whatsoever when Abida Parvin, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan or the Qawwals at the Bulle Shah shrine sing. The defining incident goes back to Bulle Shah's mentor, Shah Inayat, who banished his rebellious pupil from his company for his outspoken political views against the religious establishment of the time. Bulle Shah then went and lived among the dancing girls for twelve years, where he learned to dance. He returned after this period to dance for Shah Inayat to win back his favor, for Bulle Shah knew that his *mursābid* loved the dance. I quote here from a Panjabi *Qawwālī* that I recorded at the Bulle Shah shrine,
Endnotes

1. The arguments in this article crystallize from the following public talks that I gave:


"Islamic State, Heresy and Freedom of Speech." Public talk for SUNY/ Purchase College and Scholars at Risk, March 27, 2006.


"Musical responses in Islam: law, culture and humanities." Presentation for the faculty colloquium at SUNY/ Purchase College, September 21, 2005.

"Whose Islam is It? The clerics or the Majority?" Public talk at Queen's University, Canada, October 26, 2005.


"Interfaces of literacy and orality: aesthetics of resistance in the mystical poetry of Pakistan and India." Paper presented at the South Asian Language Association, University of Texas at Austin, October 10–12, 2003.


22. According to one account, conservative working class South Asian Muslim communities in Bradford raised the heresy charges against Salman Rushdie in 1988 leading to a fatwa from Iran. At the same time in 1988 when I did fieldwork in Birmingham, U.K., Oriental Star Agencies promoted qawwals such as Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, the Sabri Brothers, the Faridi Qawwals and others in secular concerts for South Asian diasporic audiences; majority among these audiences were professionals such as physicians, educators, accountants and investors. These patrons were from diverse cultural and religious background who were not necessarily Muslims. These groups were as diverse as Sikhs, Hindus, Christians and Parsis including native English patrons. The Sikh diaspora has patronized both Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and Abida Parvin for singing the Panjabi poetry of Baba Ghulam Farid and Gori Nanak. My claim here is backed up in a personal interview with Mr. Muhammad Ayub, proprietor of Oriental Star Agency who I met in December, 2006 in Birmingham.

28. Ali Azmat. Junoon website. http://junoon.com/details.asp?id=62(26 September, 2002). On his role as musician and the band's version of rock, Salman Ahmed says, "it's a different kind of rebellion. In the west the music is seen as a force of rebellion, our music is seen as a force of unity in Pakistan. It has really played a role for national reconstruction." Salman Ahmed further says, "The great Sufi saints Bulle Shah and Rumi inspire our words. We are great admirers of Led Zeppelin, Jimi Hendrix, Robert Plant, Jeff Beck, Santana and Queen . . . our message is not about Islam alone, we hope it transcends religious and cultural differences. . . . it is for all of humanity."
30. Female Voice in Sufi Ritual, 57.