

Appendix: Glossary of Foreign Terms

Adi Granth	see Guru Granth Sahib
Akal Takht	seat of religious authority for Khalsa Sikhs
<i>akhand jyoti</i>	continuously burning flame
<i>akhand path</i>	continuous recitation, specifically a forty-eight hour continuous reading of the Guru Granth Sahib
Amil	segment of the Sindhi Hindu community who were professionals, originally in the service of the Muslim rulers of Sindh
<i>ananda</i>	bliss
Ardas	a prayer that invokes the gurus of Sikhism
<i>arti</i>	a song of praise or a ritualized offering of light to images of deities, accompanied by a song of praise
Arya Samaj	a Hindu reform movement founded by Dayananda Saraswati
Asa Di Var	a composition by Nanak and Angad, his successor, frequently recited by followers of Nanak and Sikhism
<i>avatar</i>	a deity taking human form, literally, coming down
Ayodhya	city in Uttar Pradesh, India, where some Hindus want to rebuild a temple to Ram that they claim a Mughal emperor replaced with a mosque
<i>baqa-ba-Allah</i>	merging with god, commonly used by Sufis
<i>barakat</i>	spiritual power of the body or shrine of a sacred figure
<i>bhagat</i>	a devotee, variant of bhakta frequently used in the Guru Granth Sahib
Bhagavad Gita	text detailing Krishna's conversation with Arjuna about duty and Krishna's place as the Supreme Form of the divine Lord, god
<i>bhagavan</i>	
Bhaiband	segment of the Sindhi Hindu community who were typically merchants or moneylenders
<i>bhajan</i>	devotional songs, usually associated with Hindu deities
<i>bhakta</i>	a devotee
<i>bhakti</i>	devotion
<i>bharana</i>	tray of offerings to Jhule Lal, usually consisting of fruits, nuts, and dough formed into oil lamps

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	political party in India associated with Hindu Nationalist ideology
<i>“Dāma Dām Mast Qalandar”</i>	devotional song associated with Lal Shahbaz Qalandar that Sindhi Hindus also relate to Jhule Lal
<i>dargah</i>	Sufi shrine, usually including the grave of a saint, also termed <i>mazar</i>
<i>darshan</i>	exchange of sight between devotee and image of a deity
Dasam Granth	a compilation of Gobind Singh’s poetry
<i>dervish</i>	a mystic, usually associated with Sufism
<i>dharma</i>	way, duty, religion
<i>dharmshala</i>	guesthouse for travelers
<i>divan</i>	platform, similar to a bed, on which musicians sit
<i>diya</i>	small lamps, typically made of clay
<i>fakir</i>	a mystic, usually associated with Sufism
<i>fana-fi-Allah</i>	annihilation of the self by absorption into god, commonly used by Sufis
<i>fana-fi-al-Rasoul</i>	annihilation of the self by absorption into the prophet, commonly used by Sufis
<i>fana-fi-al-Sheikh</i>	annihilation of the self by absorption in the murshid, commonly used by Sufis
<i>ghazal</i>	poem of a certain meter, usually associated with Sufis
Gobind Singh	tenth guru in the Sikh lineage who, according to tradition, established the Khalsa in 1699
<i>granthi</i>	reader of the sacred texts in public gatherings
<i>gurdwara</i>	religious institution housing the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>guru</i>	teacher, usually someone with deep spiritual insight
Guru Granth Sahib	central text in Sikh traditions, which contains the poetry of the first five gurus in the Sikh lineage as well as the poetry of several Hindu and Muslim saints, also known as the Adi Granth
<i>hadith</i>	traditions and sayings of Muhammad
<i>halva</i>	an Indian sweet made from butter, flour, and sugar that is traditionally offered to the Guru Granth Sahib
Harmandir	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. a central shrine for the Sikh community, located in Amritsar, Punjab, also known as the Golden Temple 2. original name that Sindhis in Lucknow gave to their institution housing the Guru Granth Sahib

<i>havan</i>	ritual involving a fire altar and Vedic slokas
<i>iftar</i>	gatherings to break the daily fast of Ramadan
Ik-Om-Kar	an Om and numeral one in Gurmukhi calligraphy, usually associated with Sikhism
<i>jalebi</i>	an Indian sweet
Janmasthami	birthday of Krishna
Japji	opening section of the Guru Granth Sahib, frequently recited by followers of Nanak and Sikhs
<i>jati</i>	subcaste
" <i>Jaya Jagadish Hare</i> "	devotional song commonly sung during arti to praise the Lord of the Universe
Jhule Lal	Sindhi Hindu deity associated with water
<i>kalam</i>	discourse, speech, typically referring to that of a Sufi master
<i>kara prasad</i>	food, usually <i>halva</i> , that has been offered to the Guru Granth Sahib
Khalsa	literally the Pure, Sikhs who have taken initiation according to traditions associated with Gobind Singh
<i>khanda</i>	a double-edged sword with two daggers encircling it, usually associated with Sikh traditions
<i>kirtan</i>	devotional songs
<i>kurta</i>	knee length shirt, traditionally worn by men in South Asia
<i>langar</i>	communal meal, often associated with Sikh traditions of casteless dining
<i>lanvan</i>	wedding ceremony involving circumambulating the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>mahotsav</i>	literally major festival, usually referring to a temple or deity's festival
<i>mandir</i>	temple
<i>mazar</i>	Sufi shrine, usually including the grave of a saint, also termed <i>dargah</i>
<i>mela</i>	festival
Muharram	festival commemorating the martyrdom of Hussein, the grandson of Muhammad
<i>murshid</i>	spiritual teacher
<i>murti</i>	sculpture, usually referring to an image of a deity, literally body
Musa	Arabic rendering of Moses
<i>namaz</i>	Islamic prayers
Nanak	the first guru in the Sikh lineage
Nanakpanthi	followers of Nanak, a subtradition commonly associated with Sikhism that emphasizes the first guru without form, formless
<i>nirakar</i>	formless god
<i>nirakar ishvar</i>	formless god
Nirmalas	a sect associated with Sikhism generally but identified as heterodox by Khalsa Sikhs

<i>panj kakke</i>	five K's, the five outward symbols of Khalsa Sikh identity, uncut hair, comb, steel bracelet, dagger, and a specific style of undergarments
<i>panth</i>	sect, community, way as in the practices of a religious community
<i>path</i>	continuous reading of a sacred text
<i>pir</i>	a Sufi master
<i>pranayama</i>	breath control
<i>prasad</i>	sanctified items that the divine graciously returns to the devotee
<i>puja</i>	ritualized worship, usually related to Hinduism
<i>qalandar</i>	Sufi figure, <i>pir</i>
<i>qāzī</i>	Muslim jurist
Qutab Ali Shah	Sindhi Sufi <i>pir</i> in the Jahaniyan lineage
Ramcharitmanas	Tusli Das's Hindi version of the Ramayana, the story of Ram and Sita
Ramnaumi	birthday of Ram
Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) Rehrasi	Hindu nationalist organization
Sachal Sarmast	set of compositions by gurus in the Sikh lineage, typically recited in the evenings
<i>sakar ishvar</i>	a Sindhi Sufi Muslim famous for his poetry, born as Abd al-Wahab
<i>samadhi</i>	gods with shape
<i>samaj</i>	shrine commemorating the cremation or burial, usually of a holy figure
<i>sanatan dharma</i>	society
<i>sant</i>	eternal religion, usually designating traditional Hinduism in contrast to Hindu reform movements
<i>satguru</i>	pious, virtuous one, often related to North Indian <i>sant</i> movements.
<i>satsang</i>	true guru or teacher
<i>seva</i>	gathering of the true ones (the devotees) for worship and edification
<i>shahnai</i>	service
Shahenshah	traditional double-reed instrument
Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC)	a Sindhi Sufi whose followers have established Sufidar, a center in Chennai, India
	Committee elected by Sikhs to legally manage gurdwaras in certain areas

<i>shishya</i>	disciple
Sindhu River	major river running through Sindh that is also the namesake for the region, now called the Indus River
<i>sloka</i>	verse
Sukhmani Sahib	collection of hymns from the Guru Granth Sahib, frequently recited by followers of Nanak and Sikhs
Tijri	a festival when wives fast to request health for their husbands
<i>tikana</i>	Sindhi term for a temple that includes the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>tilak</i>	sectarian mark placed on the forehead of a devotee
<i>upanayan</i>	ceremonial investiture of the sacred thread
Upanishads	philosophical texts, considered the concluding components of the Vedic corpus
<i>urs</i>	death anniversary of a spiritual figure, usually a Sufi master
Vachan Sahib	recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib
<i>vahana</i>	animal mount
“ <i>vāhiguru</i> ”	phrase commonly used among Sikhs to refer to the divine, lit., splendid guru; commonly transliterated as “Waheguru” also
<i>varsbi</i>	death anniversary
Vedas	ancient texts, especially referring to collections of Sanskrit hymns that many define as the basis for Hinduism
Vidhan Sabha	provincial legislature
<i>Wahdat-al-Wujud</i>	Unity of Being, a concept within some understandings of Islam
<i>zamindar</i>	landholder who often served as local governing official

Notes

Introduction: Differing Understandings

1. Several scholars have suggested revised understandings of syncretism that include the contrast between syncretism as a strategy of blending and anti-syncretism as a strategy of boundary maintenance (Shaw and Stewart 1994; Kraft 2002, 149).

1 Placing Sindhis

1. Lari 1994, 30, 41. See also Bosworth 1963; Maclean 1989.
2. See, for example, Knott 1998, 110–114.
3. For example, *Times of India* 2001a, 1.

2 Debating Institutions

1. This account combines my own understanding of this discourse with the explanations that two interviewees gave me. Out of the various interviewees whom I asked to assist me in translating this Sindhi portion of the satsang, only two, H. G. Daswani and Lila Advani, were particularly helpful in translating the Sindhi.
2. For the convenience of analysis, I focus in this chapter on Sindhi institutions, variously called temples, gurdwaras, and prayer halls, that Sindhis have organized as a community. I distinguish these institutions from centers that relate to specific guru movements because they have a different structure of authority. I will address guru movements and their centers in the following chapter.
3. My analysis of the ritualized activities draws especially on the theoretical work of Richard Schechner's conception of the restoration of behaviors and Catherine Bell's discussion of ritual inscription and resistance (Schechner 1985, 35–55; Bell 1992).

4. I am indebted to the insights of Catherine Asher for this connection.
5. For the Hari Om Mandir version, Dada Chelaram Ashram n.d., 81–82. For Khalsa Sikh versions, Nikky Guninder Singh, trans. 1995, 139–141; Sangat Singh, trans. 1987, 122–125; Sidhu 2000.
6. For a fuller discussion of this tension, see O’Flaherty 1987.
7. For a fuller discussion of the complex dynamics of identifications in South Asia, see Gottschalk 2000.

3 Defining Movements

1. While Sindhis variously referred to these leaders as Sufis, gurus, *murshids*, *sants*, and so on, for simplicity and consistency, I will use the term guru for these figures generally, inserting other terms when they reflect a specific statement in a particular context.
2. Punshi 1985, 67, capitalization in original, bracketed definition added.
3. Punshi 1985, 2–3, 5, italics added.
4. For example, my Hindu neighbors in Lucknow strongly rejected any association of those terms with Hindu deities.
5. For details of the life story of T. L. Vaswani, consult H. P. Vaswani 1975.
6. For more about J. P. Vaswani’s life, see Kumari, Sampath, and Gidwani 1998.

4 Presenting Sacred Figures

1. For an interesting discussion of the significations of the tunic in India, see Wagoner 1996, 851–880.

6 Personalizing Traditions

Another version of the first portion of this chapter appeared as “Challenging Definitions: Human Agency, Diverse Religious Practices and the Problems of Boundaries.” *Numen* 54:1 (2007): 1–27, published by Brill. Their permission to use this material is appreciated.

1. My analysis draws on the theoretical assertions of ritual inscription in the work of Catherine Bell (1992, 94–98, 104–107) and Gavin Flood (2004, 213–215).
2. Juergensmeyer discusses the debate within Radhasoami communities over their identification as Hindu, Sikh, or a separate religion (1991, 6). However, the devotion of Shankar’s mother to the movement that has Hindu ties was an important component of his description of her.

Conclusion: Understanding Differences

1. See, for example, Marriott 1992.
2. Events in Punjab in May 2007 related to the conflict between the Dera Saucha Sauda and the Akali Sikhs are a prime example of this rejection of alternative forms. Mudgal 2007.
3. See Brian K. Smith (2000) and Jacob Neusner (1995) for examples of this issue concerning post-modern discussions of religion.

References

Primary Sources

Books, Articles, and Pamphlets

- Ajwani, L. H. 1970. *History of Sindhi Literature*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Bhagchandani, Karan. [pseud.] n.d. “*Sindh ke avatāri puruṣa vīr shrī jhūle lāl* (The Divinely Descended Human Warrior of Sindh Shri Jhule Lal).” Lucknow: Sukkur Sindh Panchayat.
- Dada Chelaram Ashram. n.d. *Gurbānī (Words of the Guru)*. Delhi: Dada Chelaram Ashram.
- Daswani, H. G. [pseud.] n.d. “Sindhis and Religion.” Unpublished manuscript.
- Gajwani, S. L. 2000. *A Sufi Galaxy: Sufi Qalandar Hazrat Qutab Ali Shah, His Spiritual Successors and Select Disciples—Sufi Saints of the Present Times*. Ulhas Nagar, Maharashtra: H. M. Damodar.
- Hari, R. M. 1982. *Shrimad Bhagwad Gita (Ilim Ludani-Va-Tohid): The Knowledge That Draws towards Spirituality—the Oneness*. Ulhas Nagar, Maharashtra: H. M. Damodar.
- . 1992. *Sri Yoga Vasishtha: The Spiritual Dialogue between Sri Ramachandra and Sri Vasishtha, Abridged and Presented in Questions and Answers*. Translated by a devotee. Ulhas Nagar, Maharashtra: H. M. Damodar.
- , ed. 1995. *Some Moments with the Master: Spiritual Dialogues with the Sufi Saint Sai Rochaldas Sahib*. Translated by a devotee. Ulhas Nagar, Maharashtra: H. M. Damodar.
- Kumari, Krishna, Prabha Sampath, and Gulshan Gidwani. 1998. *Love Is Never Blind: Life and Message of Dada J. P. Vaswani*. Pune: Gita Publishing House.
- Malkani, K. R. 1984. *The Sindh Story*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
- Nadwi, Abdul Hasan Ali. 1980. *Muslims in India*. Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications.
- Punshi, S. K. 1985. *A Biography of Saint Kanwarram*. Amravati: S. K. Punshi on behalf of Amar Shahid Saint Kanwarram Birth Centenary Celebration Committee.

- Pursvani, Gul A. n.d. *Jivan-darśan: Param sant bābā āsūdā rām sahib (View of Life: Perfect Sant Baba Asuda Ram Sahib)*. Lucknow: Shiv Shanti Sant Asudaram Ashram.
- Rajaram, N. S. 1998. *A Hindu View of the World: Essays in the Intellectual Kshatriya Traditions*. New Delhi: Voice of India.
- Sadhu Vaswani Centre, Singapore. 1990. "Foreword." In *Hurrah!!! I'm a Hindu!* By J. P. Vaswani. Singapore: Sadhu Vaswani Centre.
- Sajandas, Gangaram. n.d. "Publisher's Note." In *Guru Nanak: Prophet of Peace*. By T. L. Vaswani, 7–8. Pune: Meera Publications.
- Shiv Shanti Ashram. n.d. "*Śiv śānti āshram lakhnaū* (Shiv Shanti Ashram, Lucknow)." Lucknow: Shiv Shanti Ashram.
- Sidhu, H. 2000. "Ardaas." *Welcome to Sikhism*. <http://gurudwara.faithweb.com> (accessed January 13, 2003).
- Sindhi Sahiti Panchayat. [1998]. *Smārikā evan dūrabhash nirdēśikā (Commemorative Volume and Telephone Directory)*. Lucknow: Sindhi Sahiti Panchayat.
- Singh, Nikky Guninder, trans. 1995. *The Name of My Beloved: Verses of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Singh, Ranbir. 1965. *Glimpses of the Divine Master (Guru Nanak—Guru Gobind Singh) 1469–1708*. New Delhi: International Traders Corporation.
- Singh, Sangat, trans. 1987. *Jappi: The Divine Prayer of Guru Nanak Giving the Quintessence of the Sikh Faith*. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books.
- Soomro, Khadim Hussain, compiler. 1997. *Seth Vishandas: A Great Philanthropist*. Translated by Zafar Iqbal Mirza. Sehwan Sharif: Sain Publishers.
- Vaswani, H. P. 1975. *A Saint of Modern India*. Pune: Meera Union.
- Vaswani, J. P. 1990. *Hurrah!!! I'm a Hindu!* Singapore: Sadhu Vaswani Centre.
- . 1992. *Burn Anger before Anger Burns You*. Pune: Gita Publishing House.
- . 2000. *Snack for the Soul: An Inspiring Story for Every Day of the Year (January–June)*. Edited by Prabha Sampath and Krishna Kumari. New Delhi: New Dawn.
- . 2001. *Dada Answers: Questions You Have Always Wished to Ask*. Edited by Prabha Sampath and Krishna Kumari. New Delhi: Sterling Paperbacks.
- Vaswani, T. L. n.d.a *Guru Nanak: Prophet of Peace*. Pune: Meera Publications.
- . n.d.b *Lights from Many Lanterns*. Pune: Gita Publishing House.
- . 2000. *The Bhagavad Gita: The Song of the Supreme*. 2nd ed. Edited by J. P. Vaswani. Pune: Gita Publishing House.
- Young Sindhi Adults (YSA). 2006. "Jhulelal, The Sindhi God." <http://www.youngsindhiadults.org> (accessed August 18, 2006).

Newspaper and Magazine Articles

- Dawn*. 2005. "Goods Taken Away from Disputed Temple," *Dawn*, online edition, <http://www.dawn.com>, June 29 (accessed August 25, 2006).

- Eastern News*. 2005. "Sikh Gurdwara in Hindu Possession," <http://www.sikhsangat.org>, September 15 (accessed August 25, 2006).
- Hemnani, A. C. [pseud.] n.d. "An Evil Minister and a Holy Child." Photocopy of newspaper article, publication information unknown.
- Hindustān*. 2001. "*Hradaya se upajī bhāvanā hī param satya* (Feelings from the Heart are the Highest Truth)." Lucknow edition, September 9, 6.
- . 2002a. "*Julūs ke kāraṇa ālambāg me jāṃ rabā* (Because of Procession a Jam in Alambagh)." Lucknow edition, April 14, 6.
- . 2002b. "*Dhoklā nṛtya ke sāth manāī gayī jhūle lāl jayantī* (With Dhokla Dance Jhule Lal Jayanti Was Celebrated)." Lucknow edition, April 14, 6.
- . 2002c. "*Apāne lāl ke liye āśish māṅgā bhagvān jhūle lāl se* (They Requested Blessings for Their Own Children from Jhule Lal)." Lucknow edition, April 15, 6.
- Hindustan Times*. 2001a. "Around Town." Lucknow Live section, November 24, 3.
- . 2001b. "What's On." Lucknow Live section, November 29, 3.
- . 2001c. "What's On." Lucknow Live section, November 30, 3.
- . 2001d. "Ifar and Politics Don't Mix, Says CM." Lucknow edition, December 11, 2.
- . 2001e. "Sindoor: The Marketing of Indian Tradition." Lucknow edition, December 16, 10.
- . 2002a. "Buddha Idols Worshipped in Hindu Temples." Lucknow edition, January 18, 8.
- . 2002b. "Secular Colours of Holi." Lucknow Live section, March 29, 1.
- . 2002c. "Jhoole Lal." Lucknow Live section, April 5, 3.
- . 2002d. "Photo with Caption." Lucknow Live section, April 16, 6.
- Indian Express*. 2002a. "Jhule Lal: The Unifying Force of the Sindhi Community." Lucknow edition, Newline, April 14, 4.
- . 2002b. Advertisements. Lucknow edition, Newline, April 14, 1,4.
- Kamath, M. V. 2002. "Secularists Be Warned." *Hindustan Times*, Lucknow edition, March 15, 6.
- Malkani, K. R. 2001. "Know Your Values." *Hindustan Times*, Lucknow edition, November 29, 6.
- Mathur, Siddhartha. 2001. "Meat: To Eat or Not to Eat..." *Hindustan Times*, Lucknow Live section, November 25, 1.
- Menon, Nivedita. 2002. "Rage Against Dying of the Light." *Hindustan Times*, Lucknow edition, April 16, 6.
- Mudgal, Vipul. 2007. "Dera Apology Won't Do, Say Sikh Hardliners." *Hindustan Times*, online edition, <http://hindustantimes.com>, May 24 (accessed June 13, 2007).
- Mukul, Akshaya. 2001. "Ram Raj Leads Dalits into Buddhism." *Times of India*, Lucknow edition, November 5, 6.
- Rajpal, Surjit Singh. 2001. "*Yuga pravartak guru nānak deva jī* (Epoch Making Guru Nanak Dev Ji)." *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 30, 13.
- Sindhī gulšan* (Sindhi Rose). 2001. Back cover. Vol. 136 (January–March).

- Sindhi Samāj* (Sindhi Society). 2001a. “*Hari om mandir sabhī sampradāyon kī āsthā kā kendra* (Hari Om Mandir Is a Center of Respect for All Religious Communities).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, September 22, 6.
- . 2001b. “*Prabhu hasta ke padma se padpurāṇa kī racanā* (Creating Padpurana by Magic of God’s Hands).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, September 24, 6.
- . 2001c. “*Hari om mandir mē bhajanon kī prastuti se jhūm uthe bhakta* (Devotees Became Ecstatic by the Devotional Songs in the Hari Om Mandir).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 19, 6.
- . 2001d. “*Hari om mandir mē guru nānak jayantī mahotsav kā śubhārambha* (Auspicious Beginning of Guru Nanak Jayanti Festival in the Hari Om Mandir).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 24, 6.
- . 2001e. “*Dādā vāsvānī kā janmotsav shraddhbābhāv se manāyā* (Dada Vaswani’s Birth Festival Celebrated With Feelings of Reverence).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 26, 6.
- . 2001f. “*Māhilāon ne sunī kārtik tulsī kī kathā* (Ladies Heard the Story of Karthik Tulsī).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 27, 6.
- . 2001g. “*Sant vādhvani ne gītā ke dasavē adhyāya kī vyakhayā kī* (Sant Vadhvani Explained the Tenth Chapter of the Gita).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 28, 6.
- . 2001h. “*Baccon ne pare śloka* (Children Read Slokas).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, November 30, 4.
- . 2002a. “*Cheṭī chanda melā abkī lakshmaṇ pārk mē lagegā* (Now Cheti Chand Will Be in Lakshman Park).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, February 5, 4.
- . 2002b. “*Jhūle lāl jayantī kī taiyārī joron par* (Intense Preparations for Jhule Lal Jayanti).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, April 6, 6.
- . 2002c. “*Jhūle lāl jayantī par hoṅge muṇdan va janeū samskār* (On Jhule Lal Jayanti Will Be Head Shaving and Sacred Thread Ceremonies).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, April 10, 7.
- . 2002d. “*Padmā gidvānī ke naye kaiseṭ kā lokārpaṇ kal* (Padma Gidvani’s New Cassette Released Tomorrow).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, April 12, 4.
- . 2002e. “*Jhūle lāl jayantī par āj lagegā cheṭī chanda melā* (Today on Jhule Lal Jayanti will Occur Cheti Chand Mela).” *Hindustān*, Lucknow edition, April 13, 6.
- Times of India*. 2001a. “America Attacked.” Lucknow edition, September 12, 1.
- . 2001b. “*Ravan Dahan* on Lakshman Mela Ground.” Lucknow edition, October 25, 2.
- . 2001c. “Devotion Transcends Religious Boundaries.” Lucknow edition, November 5, 5.

Secondary Sources

- Alam, Muzaffar. 1997. “The Awadh Regime, the Mughals and the Countryside.” In *Lucknow: Memories of a City*. Edited by Violette Graff, 16–31. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Albayrak, Ismail. 2003. "The Classical Exegetes' Analysis of the Qur'anic Narrative 18:60–82." *Islamic Studies* 42/2:289–315.
- Ansari, Sarah F. D. 2005. *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh: 1947–1962*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Asad, Talal. 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Beckerlegge, Gwilym. 2000. "Swami Akhandananda's *Sevavrata* (Vow of Service) and the Earliest Expressions of Service to Humanity in the Ramakrishna Math and Mission." In *Gurus and Their Followers: New Religious Reform Movements in Colonial India*. Edited by Antony Copley, 59–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. 1963. *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Burnes, James. [1831]. *A Visit to the Court of Sindh*. Reprint, Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Burton, Richard F. [1851]. *Sindh and the Races That Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. Reprint, London; Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1994. "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity." In *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Edited by Craig Calhoun, 9–36. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1992. "A Religion of Urban Domesticity: Sri Ramakrishna and the Calcutta Middle Class." In *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History*. Edited by Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, 40–68. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Abner. 1971. "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas." In *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Tenth International African Seminar at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, December 1969*. Edited by Claude Meillassoux, 266–281. Published for the International African Institute by Glasgow, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cook, Matthew. n.d. "Of Origins and Migrations: History and Caste among the Lohana in Pre-British Sindh." Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 1989. "Khwaja Khadir and the Fountain of Life in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art." In *"What Is Civilisation" and Other Essays*, 157–167. Cambridge: Golgosova Press.
- Currie, P. M. 1989. *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer*. Oxford University South Asian Studies Series. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dawani, Murlidhar. 2002. "Shrines of Udero Lal: An Architectural and Symbolic Expression of Sindhi Past." *NIPA Karachi: The Journal* 7/1 (March): 63–71.
- Dogra, Ramesh Chander, and Gobind Singh Mansukhani. 1995. *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Religion and Culture*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

- Ernst, Carl. 1997. *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism*. Boston and London: Shambhala.
- Ernst, Carl, and Tony Stewart. 2003. "Syncretism." In *South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Margaret R. Mills, Peter J. Claus, and Sarah Diamond, 586–588. New York: Routledge.
- Ewing, Katherine Pratt. 1997. *Arguing Sainthood: Modernity, Psychoanalysis and Islam*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fisher, Michael H. 1997. "Awadh and the English East India Company." In *Lucknow: Memories of a City*. Edited by Violette Graff, 32–48. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Fleuckiger, Joyce. 2006. *In Amma's Healing Room: Gender and Vernacular Islam in South India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Flood, Gavin. 2004. *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Freitag, Sandria B. 1989. *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gottschalk, Peter. 2000. *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Graff, Violette. 1997. "A View from Lucknow: National, Communal and Caste Politics in Uttar Pradesh (1977–1991)." In *Lucknow: Memories of a City*. Edited by Violette Graff, 227–272. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Graff, Violette, Narayani Gupta, and Mushirul Hasan. 1997. "Introduction." In *Lucknow: Memories of a City*. Edited by Violette Graff, 1–15. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- Gulraj, Jethmal Parsram. 1979. *Sind and its Sufi*. Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?" In *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 1–17. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hansen, Thomas Blom. 1999. *Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jones, Allen Keith. 2002. *Politics in Sindh, 1907–1940: Muslim Identity and the Demand for Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Kenneth W. 1981. "Religious Identity and the Indian Census." In *The Census in British India: New Perspectives*. Edited by Norman Barrier, 73–101. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Jotwani, Motilal. 1996. *Sufis of Sindh*. Revised ed. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- . 2000. *A Dictionary of Sindhi Literature*. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Sampark Prakashan.
- Jurgensmeyer, Mark. 1991. *Radhasoami Reality: The Logic of a Modern Faith*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Kaur, Madanjit. 1998. "Guru Nanak and Indian Religious Traditions." In *Guru Nanak Ideals and Institutions*. Edited by H. S. Soch and Madanjit Kaur, 26–46. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University.
- Knott, Kim. 1998. *Hinduism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kraft, Siv-Ellen. 2002. "To Mix or Not to Mix: Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism in the History of Theosophy" *Numen* 49/2: 142–177.
- Lari, Suhail Zaheer. 1994. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Levi, Scott C. 2002. *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and Its Trade, 1550–1900*. Brill's Inner Asian Library Vol. 3. Leiden, Boston, and Koln: E. J. Brill.
- Lorenzen, David N. 1999. "Who Invented Hinduism?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41/4 (October): 630–659.
- Maclean, Derryl N. 1989. *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*. Leiden, NY: E. J. Brill.
- Malcolm, Sir John. [1815]. *The History of Persia, from the Most Early Period to the Present Time: Containing an Account of the Religions, Government, Usages, and Character of the Inhabitants of That Kingdom*. 2 vols. Reprint, The Pahlavi Commemorative Reprint Series. Tehran: Imperial Organization for Social Sciences, 1976.
- Mann, Jasbir Singh, Surinder Singh Sodhi, and Gurbaksh Gill. 1995. *Invasion of Religious Boundaries: A Critique of Harjot Oberoi's Work*. Vancouver: Canadian Sikh Study and Teaching Society.
- Markovits, Claude. 2000. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society no. 6. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marriott, McKim. 1992. "Alternative Social Sciences." In *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections*. Edited by John MacAloon, 262–278. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Masuzawa, Tomoko. 2005. *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Memon, Muhammad Siddique G. 2000. *Sukkur: Then and Now*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merani, H. V. and H. L. van der Laan. 1979. "The Indian Traders in Sierra Leone." *African Affairs* 78, /311 (April): 240–250.
- Mukhi, Sunita S. 2000. *Doing the Desi Thing: Performing Indianness in New York City*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Neusner, Jacob. 1995. "Is There a Theology of Rabbinic Judaism?" *Temenos* 31:239–251.
- Oberoi, Harjot. 1994. *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. (Reprint, Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks, 1997).
- O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. 1987. "The Interaction of Saguna and Nirguna Images of Deity." In *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*. Edited by Karine Schomer and W. H. McLeod, 47–52. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.
- Omar, Irfan. 1993. "Khidir in the Islamic Tradition." *The Muslim World* 83/3–4 (July–October): 279–294.

- Pandey, Gyanendra. 1992. *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, Francis. 1997a. "The Re-emergence of Lucknow as a Major Political Centre, 1899–early 1920's." In *Lucknow: Memories of a City*. Edited by Violette Graff, 196–212. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997b. *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860–1923*. Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Schechner, Richard. 1985. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sharma, Arvind. 2002. "On Hindu, Hindustān, Hinduism and Hindutva." *Numen* 49/1: 1–36.
- Shaw, Rosalind, and Charles Stewart. 1994. "Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism." In *Syncretism / Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. Edited by Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, 1–26. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sikand, Yoginder. 2003. *Sacred Spaces: Exploring Traditions of Shared Faith in India*. New Delhi: Penguin India.
- Singh, Kashmir. 1991. *Sikh Gurdwaras Legislation (All India Perspective)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers.
- Sipe, Keith Raymond. 1976. *Karachi's Refugee Crisis: The Political, Economic and Social Consequences of Partition-Related Migration*. PhD diss., Department of History, Duke University.
- Smith, Brian K. 2000. "Who Does, Can, and Should Speak for Hinduism?" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 68/4: 741–749.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. 1972. *The Faith of Other Men*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Thakur, U. T. [1959]. *Sindhi Culture*. University of Bombay Publications Sociology Series no. 9. Bombay: University of Bombay.
- Thapan, Anita Raina. 2002. *Sindhi Diaspora in Manila, Hong Kong, and Jakarta*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Wagoner, Philip B. 1996. "'Sultan among Hindu Kings': Dress Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagar." *Journal of Asian Studies* 55/4 (November): 851–880.
- Williams, Raymond Brady. 1988. *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, James Andrew. 2005. "Jai Jhule Lal! A Sindhi Cultural Savior Finds a New Home in North Carolina." Research paper, Department of Philosophy and Religion, University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

Index

* designates pseudonyms assigned to individuals who shared personal information.
Page numbers in **bold** refer to the figures in the text.

- Abd al-Wahab, *see* Sachal Sarmast
Abu Hassan, 99
Adi Granth, 85, 195, *see also* Guru Granth Sahib
Advani, Lila,* 90, 94, 145–7, 201
Advani, V. L.,* 58, 92–4, 103, 120
Afghanistan, 19, 38
Agra, Uttar Pradesh, 11
Ahmedabad, Gujarat, 163
Ahuja, N.,* 85, 86–7, 102, 120
Akal Takht, 51, 55, 195
akhand jyoti, 47, 195
akhand path, 54, 55, 73, 81, 144, 146–7, 161, 176, 195
Alambagh, Lucknow, 36, 37
Ali (Sunni Imam 656–61), 88
Allah, 15, 31, 41, 86, 89, 90–1, 105, 108
All India Gurdwara Legislation, 2, 5, 40, 56, 59
All India Muslim League, *see* Muslim League
Amar Lal, 108, *see also* Jhule Lal
Amil, 13, 17, 18, 20, 167, 170, 195, *see also* Bhaiband
Aminabad, Lucknow, 36, 37, 125–6, 165
Amritsar, Punjab, 1, 55, 58
Anand, Krishna,* 42–4
Arabic (language), 19, 32, 84–5, 86–7, 89, 93, 100, 104, 169, 185, 188
Ardas, 42, 51, 60, 64, 68, 69, 78–80, 137, 139, 145, 147, 154, 159, 160, 162, 190, 195
Arjuna, 97
arti, 42, 50–1, 53, 68, 69, 78, 96, 137, 143, 145, 147, 195
Arya Samaj, 26, 63, 176, 195
Asa Di Var, 50, 53, 60, 195
Asharam Bapu, 37, 163–4
Ashoka (Mauryan emperor 273–232 BCE), 100
Asuda Ram, 41, 73, 76, 77, 78–9, 82–4, 90, 100, 134–6, 144, 147, *see also* Chandu Ram; Shiv Shanti
Ashram
Atlanta, Georgia, 69–70, 96, 98, 100, 142–3, 149–51, 156, 176–81, 182–3, 192
Aurangzeb (Mughal emperor 1658–1707), 110, 114, 118
Avasthi, Nina,* 166–70, 182
avatar, 66, 106, 109–10, 113, 121, 124, 145, 195
Awadh, 33–5
Ayodhya, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39–40, 195
Baha'i, 97
Balani, Anand,* 170–1, 173, 182
Balani, B. S.,* 58, 114–15, 170–6, 182, 188

- Balani, Shankar,* 170–4, 176, 182, 188
 Balani, Shankar's mother, 170–1,
 174, 183
baqa-ba-Allah, 89, 91, 195
 Baqr 'Id, 31
 Bedil, 89
 Bhagavad Gita, 2, 42, 48–9, 50, 51–3,
 55, 56, 64, 79, 80, 83, 84, 88–9,
 91–2, 95, 97, 99, 101–2, 104, 106,
 137, 145, 154, 174, 185, 190, 195
 Bhagchandani, Karan,* 121
 Bhaiband, 13, 18, 20, 167, 170, 195,
see also Amil
bhakti, 27, 65, 74, 195
 Bhambhwani, Jaya,* 16, 40, 141, 142,
 182
bharana, 125, 131–2, 136, 139, 140,
 195
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 27–8,
 35, 39, 196
 Bible, 173–4
 Bombay, Maharashtra, *see* Mumbai
 Brahma, 55, 119
 Brahmo Samaj, 26, 95
 Buddha, 28, 89, 100, 121
 Buddhism, 26–9, 121, 122
 Bukhari, Jalal Surkh, 88
 Bulle Shah, 84
- Calcutta, West Bengal, 95, 141, 142
 Chaitanya, 100
 Chandani, Aju,* 164–5, 182
 Chandani, Mukesh,* 165
 Chandani, Sunil,* 165
 Chandu Ram, 39, 41, 48, 52,
 73–87, 77, 94, 95–8, 103, 104,
 125, 171
 biography, 79
 practices, 78–81, 97–8, 134–6
 representations by, 86–7, 100
see also Asuda Ram; Shiv Shanti
 Ashram
 Charlotte, North Carolina, 70, 118, 143
 Chela Ram, 51, 77
 Chennai (Madras), Tamil Nadu,
 66–8, 103, 107, 110, 120, 157
 Cheti Chand, 36, 54, 70, 81, 107, 116,
 118, 125–44, 149–50, 163,
 179–80, 186, 188, 192
 Chicago, Illinois, 96
 Chishti, Muin al-Din, *see* Muin al-Din
 Chishti
 Chishti, Nizam ad-Din, *see* Nizam
 ad-Din Chishti
 Chowk, Lucknow, 35, 37, 168
 Christianity, 27, 93, 100, 123, 126,
 169, 172, 174
 cows, care for, 76, 84
- "Dāma Dām Mast Qalandar"*, 114,
 126, 130, 137, 143, 146, 196
dargah, 12, 31–2, 37, 104, 114, 153–4,
 156–8, 173–4, 196, *see also*
mazar
 Darya Sahib, 108, *see also* Jhule Lal
 Dasam Granth of Gobind Singh, 49,
 50, 196
 Dastagir, 104
 Daswani, G. H.,* 4, 11–15, 21–3,
 24–5, 32, 38, 171, 183, 192, 201
 Delhi, India, 11, 153
 diaspora, 2–3, 4, 11, 22–5, 40, 44, 56,
 58–9, 64, 66, 71–2, 80, 81, 85,
 87, 89–90, 93–4, 101, 103–4,
 122–4, 132, 141–2, 150–1,
 155–6, 159, 160–2, 171, 175, 188
 Diwali, 31, 151, 173, 179
 Durga, 43, 46, 48–9, 62, 80,
 125, 131
 Durga Puja, 49, 54, 131, 133, 139, 164
 Durga Temple, Fairfax Station,
 Virginia, 70, 107
 Dushra, 130
- English (language), 14, 17, 25, 34, 44,
 47, 48, 53, 58, 60, 61, 71, 88,
 95–7, 99, 109, 110, 138–9, 148,
 167, 169

- fakir*, 82, 84, 99–100, 122, *see also* *murshid*; *pir*; *qalandar*
- fana-fi-Allah*, 89, 196
- fana-fi-al-Rasoul*, 89, 196
- fana-fi-al-Sheikh*, 89, 196
- Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, 34, 35
- Farid, 82
- Gandhi, Indira (prime minister of India 1966–77, 1980–4), 30
- Gandhi, Mohandas K. (1869–1948), 11, 26, 35
- Gandhi, Rajiv (prime minister of India, 1984–9), 2, 56
- Ganesh, 12, 46, 49, 56, 62, 65, 67, 69, 104, 131, 160
- Ganesh Chaturthi, 139
- Ganges River, 82–3, 121, 131
- Gautama, Siddharta, *see* Buddha
- Gayatri Mantra, 96
- gender, 42–4, 54, 67, 68, 94, 145–7, 169–70, 172–3, 182
- Gidwani, Krishan,* 141, 165–6, 182–3
- Gita, *see* Bhagavad Gita
- Gobind Singh, 43, 48, 49, 50, 67, 118, 175, 196
- Gobind Singh Jayanti, 59
- Gomti River, Lucknow, 36, 126–7, 130–3, 140
- Gujarat, India, 176
- gurdwara*, 1, 37, 45, 51–2, 69–70, 80, 98, 102, 122, 137, 143, 149–50, 151, 153–4, 157, 160, 161, 167, 169, 177–81, 182, 196
- contested definitions of, 54, 57–9, 66, 153, 158–9, 175–6
- legal control of, 2–3, 5, 29, 30–1, 49, 56
- Gurmukhi script, 42, 48, 53, 61, 76, 78–80, 90, 146, 172
- Gurnani, R. D.,* 56, 57, 120, 153–4, 155–64, 165, 176, 180, 181–3
- Gurnani, Sonā,* 42–4, 49–50, 136, 146–7
- Gurnani, W. H.,* 15–16, 32, 42, 50, 52, 56, 58, 60, 64–6, 145, 148, 150
- Guru Granth Sahib, 4, 43, 46, 77, 119, 120, 143–4, 159–60, 174, 196
- contested identification of, 3, 33, 55–7, 85, 88, 153–4, 175–6
- in homes, 102, 157, 159, 168, 172, 177, 182
- limited presence in public festivals, 127, 128–9, 131
- in non-Sindhi institutions, 30–1, 158, 169, 177–8, 180
- in Sindhi guru movements, 83–5, 87–90, 92–4, 95–7, 100–1, 103–4
- in Sindhi institutions, 1–2, 42–4, 46, 48–50, 51–4, 59–60, 64–5, 67–71, 73–4, 76–81, 90, 133–6, 137, 144–8, 158, 179, 185, 190
- Guru Nanak Shewa Mandli, Karachi, 56
- gurus, 24, 48, 57, 72, 75, 94, 196, 202, *see also individual gurus listed by name*
- hajj*, 31, 112
- Hanuman, 36, 37, 46, 47, 67, 71, 76, 126, 138, 153, 161, 162–4, 165, 173, 177, 190–1
- Hardwar, Uttarakhand, 121
- Hari, R. M., 88, 91–2, *see also* Rochal Das
- Hari Om Mandir, Lucknow, 36, 41–66, 43, 46, 104, 116, 161–6, 172, 185, 188, 192
- changes in, 5, 45–7, 49, 54–7, 72, 122, 190
- compared to other institutions, 51–2, 67–71, 74–5, 76, 78, 177, 180
- debates over classification of, 44–5, 54–5, 57–9, 61–6, 70–1, 159, 175–6, 189

- Hari Om Mandir, Lucknow—
continued
 festivals at, 53–4, 125, 127, 132,
 133–4, 136–9, 144–51, 153,
 157
 leaders of, 15, 17, 55–8, 61–6, 94,
 108, 109, 125, 141, 142, 153,
 182–3
 origin story, 1–2, 90
 physical layout, 45–50, 120
 relations between elements, 45–7,
 49–50, 51–4
 rituals at, 41–4, 50–4, 129, 156,
 157–8
 social services, 57, 59–60, 63–4, 172
see also Harmandir, Lucknow
- Harmandir, Amritsar, Punjab, 1, 30,
 55, 58, 83, 196
- Harmandir, Lucknow, 1–2, 5, 36, 37,
 55, 168, 186, 196, *see also* Hari
 Om Mandir
- Harnam Das, 48, 67
- Hassan (625–670), 82
- havan*, 66, 135, 138–9, 154, 156,
 158–9, 160–1, 176, 197, *compare*
to lanvan
- Hazratganj, Lucknow, 35–7, 162, 165,
 167, 170
- Hemnani, A. C.,* 58, 59, 62–4, 66,
 109–11, 117
- Hindi (language), 23, 28, 31, 36, 42,
 44, 47, 53, 56, 58, 61, 64, 69, 71,
 76, 79–80, 82, 83–5, 88, 95–7,
 109–11, 121, 125, 128, 138–9,
 148, 154, 164, 185, 190–1
- Hindu Center, Charlotte, North
 Carolina, 70, 143
- Hinduism, 15–16, 25–32, 89, 90–1,
 92–3, 95, 117–19, 123
 non-Sindhi definitions of, 2–3, 8–9,
 26–32, 33, 56, 121, 158–9,
 187, 191
 origin of term, 16, 26
 Sindhi definitions of, 4, 12, 17, 51,
 53, 55–7, 62–3, 66, 82, 85,
 93–4, 110, 144, 158–9, 187
see also deities, rituals, and texts listed
by name
- Hindu Nationalism, 6, 26–8, 31–3,
 35, 39–40, 110–11, 118, 187
- Holi, 164
- homeopathic medicine, 88, 92
- Hong Kong, 70, 122
- Hussein (626–80), 82, 89, 130, 131
- Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, 123
- Hyderabad, Sindh, 11, 20, 24, 88,
 92, 95
- iftar*, 31, 197
- Ik-Om-Kar, 61, 148, 197
- Indus River, 15–16, 17, 26, 83, 105,
 109, 111–12, 117, 118, 131–2, *see*
also Sindhu River
- International Meatless Day,
 98, 179
- Islam, 16, 18–19, 26, 33–4, 89, 92–3,
 94, 95, 105, 113
 debates surrounding Sufism, 15,
 31–2, 86–7, 93, 102
 definitions of, 2–4, 8–9, 12, 31–3,
 83, 130, 158–9
 elements associated with, 3–4,
 31–2, 45, 85, 87, 91, 100,
 114–15, 117–19, 129, 189
 representations of, 3, 5, 15, 27, 38,
 62, 110, 111, 129–30
see also rituals, texts, and figures
listed by name
- Jahaniyan silsila, 88
- Jainism, 26, 27, 28–9, 95
- James, William (1842–1910), 97
- Janmasthami, 66, 89, 197
- Japji, 88, 197
- Jashnani, P.,* 101–2, 103
- jati*, 13, 197, *see also* Amil; Bhaiband

- "*Jaya Jagadish Hare*", 42, 50, 73, 78,
96, 137, 146, 197
- Jesus, 89, 104
- Jhule Lal, 18, 36, 45, 46, 62, 105–24,
116, 125–44, 146, 149–51, 156,
173, 175, 187, 188, 197
analysis of iconography of,
115–19
Hindu story of, 105–6, 108–11
Muslim story of, 112–13
shrines for, 36, 46–50, 55, 61,
67–70, 80, 104, 113–15, 116,
130–3, 143, 177, 185
veneration of, 44, 52, 54, 81, 125–7,
131–3, 136–7, 140–1, 142–4,
163, 190
see also Cheti Chand
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali (governor
general, Pakistan, 1947–8), 21
- Kabir, 48, 65, 82
kalam, 87, 88, 89, 93, 197
Kali, 46, 49
Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, 58, 171–2,
175–6
Kanwar Ram, 14, 16, 21, 48, 61, 76,
77, 79, 82–4, 122, 129, 134
Karachi, Sindh, 15, 19, 20, 22, 56,
167–8, 171
kara prasad, 44, 68, 69, 96, 129, 167,
197
Karbala, battle of, 83, 130
karma, 99, 101
Kartik Purnima, 145, 150
Kasturbai Nari Shala, Lucknow, 1, 23,
36–7, 57, 61–2, 168
Keshav, 163
Khalsa, 28–30, 41–2, 49–52, 55, 70,
74, 78, 80, 85, 121, 123, 129–30,
175, 180, 197
khandā, 30–1, 197
Khizr, Khwaja, 112–14, 117–18
kirtan, 41, 98, 139, 167, 197
Krishna, 12, 42, 43, 46, 48–9, 55, 56,
62, 65, 80, 82, 89, 91, 97, 109,
117, 160
Krishna Janmasthmi, *see*
Janmasthmi
Lagos, Nigeria, 156, 164
Lakshman, 33, 76
Lakshman Mela Park, Lucknow, 127,
130–2, 138
Lakshmi, 44, 52–3, 62, 65, 104, 143,
145
Lakshmi-Narayan, 46, 49, 67, 177
Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, 19, 89–90,
115, 173–4, 183
Lalwani, Lakshman,* 41
langar, 30, 69, 70, 127, 137, 143, 145,
147, 172, 177, 178, 179, 197
language, limitations of, 75, 84–5, 93,
103, 159, 176, 183, 187–9
lanvan, 65–6, 197, *compare to havan*
Larkana, Sindh, 21
Lilashah, 48
Lilu Didi, 37, 39
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865), 99
Lohana, 19, 20
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, 32, 39, 96–7,
107, 157
areas of, 35–7, 125–7, 130–1, 165
history of, 33–5
interreligious relations in, 33–5,
129, 158, 169
*see also areas and institutions listed by
name*
Madhya Pradesh, 11
Madras, Tamil Nadu, *see* Chennai
Mahashivaratri, 60, 65
Mahesh, 55, *see also* Shiva
Malkani, K. R., 16, 28
Malkani, Lakshman,* 166–70, 182
Manglani, Dinesh,* 162–4
Manila, Philippines, 69, 70

- Markovits, Claude, 6–7, 19–20, 24, 80
- Matthew, Gospel of, 83
- mazar*, 82, 197, *see also dargah*
- Meera, 84, 95, 100
- migration, 1–2, 4, 11–14, 18–19, 20, 22–5, 35–6, 73, 76, 81, 88–9, 94–5, 101–2, 120, 141, 150–1, 155–6, 164, 166–7, 171
- Mirkhshah, 105–6, 108, 111, 113, 118
- Mirs, 18
- Mohenjo Daro, 16, 109
- mosque, 21, 27, 32, 35, 100, 114
- Mughal emperors, 18, 27, 33–4, 110, 114, 118, *see also Aurangzeb; Shah Jahan*
- Muhammad (570–632), 31, 83, 88, 89, 93, 97, 99
- Muharram, 128, 130, 131, 197
- Multan, Punjab, 19
- Mumbai, Maharashtra, 61, 89, 157, 170–1, 176, 178, 179
- murshid*, 91, 92, 197, *see also fakir; pir; qalandar*
- murti*, 2, 3, 12, 30, 36, 42, 46, 47–50, 53, 57, 67, 68, 70, 78, 86, 116, 120, 125–6, 128, 131, 132, 135, 136, 145, 147, 158, 176, 177, 197
- Murugan, 67
- Musa (Moses), 112, 197
- Muslim League, 21, 35
- Muslims
 representations of, 14–15, 16, 24, 105–6, 108–11, 122, 123, 126, 169, 173, 174, 185
 in Sindh, 12, 14–15, 18, 20, 24, 83, 87, 94, 105–8, 192
see also Islam
- Nadwat ul-Ulama, Lucknow, 32, 33
- Naka Hindola Gurdwara, Lucknow, 37, 102
- namaz*, 100–1, 197
- Nanak, 43, 46, 77, 61, 175, 197
 analysis of iconography of, 118–19
 compositions of, 50, 82, 88, 90, 154
 identification of, 29, 49–50, 62, 100, 106, 120–4, 144–5, 150–1, 187, 191
 images of, 1, 12, 47, 48–50, 61, 67–9, 76–7, 80, 146, 149, 163, 176–7
 stories of, 120–1, 156–7
 teachings of, 52, 54, 65, 100, 101, 120, 137
 veneration of, 4, 12, 41–2, 51, 52, 57, 60, 89, 95, 98, 101, 106, 127–9, 131, 141, 143–51, 160, 166, 177–8
- Nanak Jayanti, 53–4, 57–8, 60, 61, 66, 76, 81, 104, 127–8, 144–51, 153, 160–1, 163, 172, 186, 187
- Nanakpanthi, 6–7, 197
- Navratri, 172, 173
- Nawab Dynasty of Awadh, 33–5
- New Jersey, 178
- nirākār*, 65, 197
- Nirmalas, 19, 197
- Nizam ad-Din Chishti, 153, 157–8
- Nuri Granth, 78, 80, 96–8, 102
- Om
 in ritual, 42, 50
 as a symbol, 2, 43, 45, 48–50, 53, 61, 69, 80, 148
- Pakistan, 1, 2, 4, 11–12, 13, 14, 17, 21–2, 23, 25, 38–9, 56, 64, 73, 81, 141, 170–4, 192
- panj kakke*, 41, 85, 198
- Panjwani, Ram, 107
- Panno Akil, Sindh, 76
- Parsi, 95
- Parsram Dadalani Prayer Hall, Singapore, 68–9, 70–1

- Partition of Indian subcontinent, 2,
106, 162, 170, 172, 181–2
effects of 15, 20–5, 35–6, 61, 76,
95, 103, 107, 163, 168–9, 173,
192
experiences of, 4, 11–14, 89
interreligious relations and, 75, 83,
85, 183
- Parvati, 47, 67
- path*, 154, 156, 159, 160, 169, 178–9,
198, *see also akhand path*
- Persia, 4, 16, 18, 20, 33, 95, 117
- Persian (language), 88
- pir*, 1, 3, 4, 21, 24, 31, 48, 57, 82–3,
89, 94, 95, 104, 112, 115, 157,
185, 189, 191, 198, *see also fakir*;
murshid; *qalandar*
- pranayama*, 88, 198
- prasad*, 31, 44, 47, 52–3, 68, 96, 126,
128–9, 133, 134, 136, 145, 198,
see also kara prasad
- Prem Prakash Bhavan,
Lucknow, 37
- Prem Prakash Granth, 134, *see also*
Teonram
- Pune, Maharashtra, 95–6, 101, 166
- Punjab, 4, 16, 17, 19, 29–30, 69–70,
98, 121, 129, 150–1, 156, 173,
177
- Punjabi (language), 41, 44, 53,
177, 178
- Punjabi, D. M.,* 17, 140–1, 144
- Punshi, S. K., 14, 16, 21, 79,
82–4, 87
- Pursvani, Gul A., 79, 83–5, 90, 91, 100
- qalandar*, 115, 130, 198, *see also*
Lal Shahbaz Qalandar; *fakir*;
murshid; *pir*
- Qasim, Muhammad bin (695–715),
18, 83
- Quetta, Balochistan, 64
- Qur'an, 31–2, 89, 93, 100, 105, 108,
110, 111, 112, 119, 171, 174
- Qutab Ali Shah, 1, 88–9, 92, 94, 198,
see also Rochal Das
- Rabia, 100
- Radha-Krishna, 46, 49, 65, 67, 68, 76,
77, 125, 177
- Radhasoami, 37, 174, 202
- Rajasthan, 11, 67
- Ram, 27, 31, 33, 39, 41, 43, 47–9, 52,
55–6, 62, 65, 69, 73, 76, 80, 82,
89, 110, 160
- Ramadan, 89
- Ramakrishna Mission, 26, 37
- Ramakrishna Paramahansa
(1836–86), 99
- Ramayana, 84
- Ramcharitmanas, 79–80, 198
- Ram Darbar, 46, 49, 67–8, 77
- Ramnaumi, 66, 69, 76, 81, 198
- Rangoon, Burma, 24
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS),
23, 198
- Ravidas, 82
- Rehrasi, 78, 198
- ritualization and identity, 44–5, 51,
156, 180, 183, 187
- Rochal Das, 1, 2, 48–9, 57, 58, 60,
74–5, 81, 87–94, 95, 102,
103, 115, 120, 173, *see also*
Advani, V. L.; Hari, R. M.;
Qutab Ali Shah
- Rohal, 82
- Rohri, Sindh, 92
- Rumi, 100
- Rupani, Ram,* 176–81, 183
- Rupani, Satya,* 176–81, 183
- Sa'adat Khan (Nawab of Awadh
1719–37), 33, *see also* Nawab
dynasty of Awadh
- Sachal Sarmast, 19, 41, 82, 84, 89,
100, 198
- Sadh Bela, Sindh, 117, 132
- Sadh Ram, 73–4

- Sadhu Vaswani Mission, 37, 94–104,
122, 149, 178–80
social services, 95, 103
see also Vaswani, J. P.;
Vaswani, T. L.
- Safdarjang (Nawab of Awadh
1737–53), 33, *see also* Nawab
dynasty of Awadh
- Sahiti, Sindh, 154
sākār, 65, 198
samadhi, 76, 94, 114, 198
- Sami, 78, 82, 84
- sanatan dharma, 26, 62, 86–7,
99, 198
- Sanatan Sikhism, 30
- Sanskrit (language), 44, 53, 65, 84,
88, 91, 93, 109, 120, 126, 135,
158, 185
- Satram Das, 76, 77, 84
- Satya Narayan, 177, 179
- Satya Sai Baba, 60, 98, 146
- secularism in India, 6, 12, 26–8, 40
- Sehwan, Sindh, 89
- Sen, Keshub Chandra, 95
- Sen, Promothalal, 95
- Sepoy Mutiny (1857), 34–5
- Sermon on the Mount, 97
- Shah Abdul Latif, 15, 19, 41, 82, 84,
95, 100, 157
- Shahenshah, 12, 25, 103–4, 198
- Shah Jahan (Mughal emperor
1628–58), 114
- Shah Mina, Lucknow, 37
- Shani Dev, 36
- Shankar, 56, 160, *see also* Shiva
- Shi'a, 34, 35, 128, 130
- Shikarpur, Sindh, 19–20, 24
- Shirdi, Maharashtra, 172
- Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak
Committee (SGPC), 23, 29, 56,
198
- Shiva, 37, 42, 46, 47, 49, 55, 67, 80,
125, 131, 153, 177
- Shivaratri, *see* Mahashivaratri
- Shiv Shanti Ashram, 36, 39, 41, 64,
73–4, 76–87, 77, 89, 94, 96–8,
102, 116, 120, 180, 183
festivals at, 73–4, 125–6, 127–8,
133–6, 138, 144, 147
physical layout, 76–8, 80
rituals at, 73–4, 78–81
social services at, 76, 135
see also Asuda Ram; Chandu Ram
- Sierra Leone, 25
- Sikhism, 26, 27, 28–31, 74, 92–3, 95,
129
elements associated with, 30–1, 45,
90–1, 118–19, 120, 129–30
non-Sindhi definitions of, 2–3, 8–9,
12, 29–30, 33, 42, 121,
123–4, 146, 149, 158–9, 177
Sindhi definitions of, 4, 55–6, 85,
88, 123–4, 144, 149, 154,
158–9
see also Shiromani Gurdwara
Prabandhak Committee; *gurus*,
rituals, and texts listed by name
- Sikhs
non-Sindhi, 22, 85, 98, 107, 147,
149, 154, 174
Sindhis as, 154, 159–60
- Sindh
caste in, 20
communal violence in, 21, 22, 82–3
harmony of, 5–6, 14–15, 20–1, 24,
88, 106, 108, 113, 129
history of, 18–22, 83
regions in, 24
representations of, 14–17, 21, 28,
75–6, 82–3, 85, 110, 126, 151,
169, 173, 185
*see also cities and districts listed by
name*
- Sindhi (language), 6, 17, 23, 25, 36,
41, 44, 47, 48, 53, 61, 64, 69, 71,
76, 79–80, 81, 88, 95–7, 104,
115, 140, 148, 164–6, 167, 185,
189, 201

- Sindhi Ghat, Lucknow, 36, 47, 116, 127, 132–3, 139, 185
- Sindhi Hindu Dharmshala, Chennai, 66–7, 70–1
- Sindhi Hindus
 attitudes towards Muslims, 12, 24, 28, 62–3, 75–6, 85–7, 106, 108, 110–11, 151, 173–4, 185
 dependence on non-Sindhīs, 69–70
 diversity among, 24, 44–5, 55, 61–6, 71–2, 75, 140–1, 154, 155
 generational differences, 13, 15, 58–9, 153–5, 159–62, 181–2,
 identifications of, 2, 4–5, 84, 111, 122–4
 representations of, 6–7, 12, 17, 33, 80, 85, 94, 110
 self-representations of, 7, 12, 16–17, 55–6, 61–6, 71–2, 85–7, 92–4, 122–4, 129–30
- Sindhi Merchant Association of Singapore, 68
- Sindhi Sabha of Georgia, 142–3, 149, 151, 177, 179–80, 183
 “*Sindhi Samāj*” articles, *Hindustan Times*, Lucknow, 28, 59–60, 138, 148–9
- Sindhu Bhavan, Lucknow, 37
- Sindhu House, Singapore, 68–9, 120
- Sindhu River, 15–16, 17, 64, 83, 109, 199
- Sindhu Sadan, Chennai, 67–8, 70–1, 120
- Singapore, 68–9, 96, 99, 102, 107, 120
- Singh, Rajnath, chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, 57, 148
- Sita, 47, 65, 76
- Sufidar, Chennai, 103–4
- Sufis, 1, 31, 53, 82, 84, 95, 103–4, 156–8, 183
 historical Sufis in Sindh, 18–19, 82, 84, 89–90
 in Lucknow, 31, 37, 94, 157–8
- Sindhi Hindu identification as, 2, 5, 48, 50, 57, 62–3, 74, 86–94, 95, 100, 103, 183, 189, 192
 in twentieth century Sindh, 12, 15, 24, 41, 88–9, 101
see also individual Sufis listed by name
- Sufism
 elements associated with, 3, 32, 34, 57, 59–60, 62–3, 75, 89, 90–1, 103, 112–15, 170, 173–4
 non-Sindhi definitions of, 3, 8–9, 12, 20, 31–3
 Sindhi definitions of, 4, 12, 14, 15, 32, 61–3, 66, 74, 86–7, 88, 93–4, 100
see also terms and individuals listed by name
- Suhrawardi silsila, 19
- Sukhmani Sahib, 88, 90, 199
- Sukkur, Sindh, 21
- Sukkur Sindh Panchayat House, Lucknow, 37
- Sunni Islam, 34, 35
- syncretism, 7, 16, 161–2, 189–91, 201
- Talpurs, 18
- Teonram, 37, 48–9, 77, 129, 134
- terrorist attacks (reputed)
 Godra train attack, 27 February 2002, 39–40
 Gujarati anti-Muslim riots, February – May 2002, 39–40
 Indian Parliament, 13 December 2001, 38
 United States, 11 September 2001, 15, 37–8, 62
- Thadani, B. K.,* 17, 61–4, 66, 141, 162
- Thanksgiving (American holiday), 179
- Tijri, 175, 199
- tikana*, 71, 181, 199

- tilak*, 117, 126, 199
 Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, 172
 Trans-Gomti area, Lucknow, 36–7,
 153, 164
 Trident, 30, 45
 Tulsi, 54, 60, 136, 145–7, 148–9, 150
 Tulsidas, 84
 Tulsi Katha, 54, 60, 145–6, 148–50,
 187
 Twain, Mark (1835–1910), 97

 Udero Lal, 108, *see also* Jhule Lal
 Udero Lal, Sindh, 114–15
 Ulhasnagar, Maharashtra, 89–91, 94,
 157
 United Nations, 96
upanayana, 81, 82, 127, 135–6, 138,
 199
 Upanishads, 65, 79, 92, 199
 Urdu (language), 17, 31, 34, 171, 185
urs, 89–90, 115, 173, 199
 Uttar Pradesh Sindhi Sabha, 140

 Vachan Sahib, 60, 199
vahana, 117, 199
“vabīguru”, 51, 52, 78, 199
 Vaishnavism, 63
 Vajpayee, Atal Behari (prime minister
 of India, 1998–2004), 35, 39
varshi, 73, 76, 81, 199
 Varuna, 109–10, 112, 116, *see also*
 water god

 Vaswani, J. P., 81, 95–102, 104, 166,
 178, *see also* Sadhu Vaswani
 Mission
 Vaswani, T. L., 48, 74–5, 77, 78,
 95–6, 99–101, 122, 125, 129,
 149, 151, 166, 172, 179, *see also*
 Sadhu Vaswani Mission
 Vedanta, 27, 65, 89, 91–2, 170
 Vedanta Mission, Lucknow,
 60, 64
 Vedas, 16, 65, 82–3, 86–7, 96,
 109–10, 119, 120, 199
 Veeral Bhagwan, 177
 Venkateswara, 67, 179, 180
 Vishandas, 170
 Vishnu, 12, 42, 45, 49–50, 62, 66, 67,
 106, 109–10, 112–13, 116–17,
 121, 124, 125, 131, 145, 150, 177,
 187, 191
 Visvakarman, 117
 Vivekananda, 26, 99

 Wadhvani, Gobind,* 55–6, 58, 61,
 66, 108, 110, 141, 142, 190–1
 water god, 65, 114

 yoga, 88, 99
 Young Sindhi Adults, 109, 115

 Zinda Pir, 108, 114–15, *see also* Jhule
 Lal
 Zoroastrianism, 100, *see also* Parsi