

# Impact of Sufi Culture on Local Life of Chittagong: Hundred Years of Annual Maijbhandari Urs (1907-2007)

Munmun Nesa Chowdhury

Department of Islamic History and Culture, University of Chittagong, Chittagong-4331, Bangladesh

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.51244/IJRSI.2025.1210000296>

Received: 02 November 2025; Accepted: 09 November 2025; Published: 20 November 2025

## ABSTRACT

Chittagong is the center of Sufism in Bangladesh. Urs festival, originating in 1907 in Chittagong Maijbhandar Darbar, has ornamented into an all-embracing non-communal festival in Bangladesh over the passing of a century. The Urs festival is an integral element of Maijbhandari Sufism. On the birth and death days of Maijbhandari saints, Urs or feasts are celebrated in the shrine with many devotees participating spontaneously. The participants of this festival are not discriminated against by any religious boundaries although it is organized by Muslims. On the occasion when religion, society and culture unite, Urs has created its platform. Over the evolution of long-time tradition, Maijbhandari Urs has taken Chittagonean hospitality culture to another stage. Maijbhandar has set a standard for organizing Urs among the other Shrines of Chittagong. It has significantly influenced ameliorating social lifestyles and traditions. The article educates about how Islamic Sufism met with Maijbhandar Darbari Sufism and created a folk Islamic culture. The Maijbhandar Urs has been impactful in integrating peoples' social and cultural life. This is a descriptive and methodical article about how a religious tradition turned into a massive folk culture called Maijbhandari Urs, its' genesis, gradual development, organization and social influence.)

**Keyword:** Maijbhandar Dorbar, Urs, Chittagong, Mezban, Folk Islam,

## INTRODUCTION

Sufism (*tasawwuf*) is the name given to mysticism in Islam. The term Sufism embraces the philosophy and practices which aim at direct communication between God and man, and those who practice Sufism are called Sufis. (Khanam: 2006: 01) Sufism is an Islamic mysticism felicitated all around the globe. From the twelfth century, following the flourishing of Sufism in the Indian subcontinent, Sufi saints have meticulously glorified Islam with epoch-making success in the Bangla region. 'The spread of Islam in Bengal began in the thirteenth century.' (Khan: 2019: 107) Solitary efforts of Sufis concomitantly aided by Muslim rulers continued spreading Islam. Chittagong had seen the acceptance of Islam in a short amount of time. Abdul Karim said, 'At that time, Chittagong was undoubtedly under a Muslim regime.' (Karim: 1970: 39) Due to Islamic Sufism, Sufi consciousness has existed here since the Middle Ages. Because of the abundance of Sufi saints and shrines, Chittagong is called 'Baro Awliyar Punnobhumi or sacred land of numerous saints. The present tariqas in this region had arrived from the Middle East. But the Maijbhandari tariqa is different in this case. Maijbhandari tariqa, the only tariqa that originated from the land of Bangla, Sufi Ahmad Ullah built his philosophy and unique tariqa in the village of Maijbhandar in Chittagong in the nineteenth century in the course of the historical legacy of the past seven hundred years. *Towhide Adiyar* meaning free-spirited God-gifted philosophy united the races, religions, castes and dignified Maijbhandar Darbari lifestyle among the masses of Chittagong. 'After becoming an Islamic lifestyle, Maijbhandari tariqa teaches people of all backgrounds about morality irrespective of religions and castes.' (Hossain: 2014: 87) Passionate Chittagonian Muslims accepted Maijbhandari philosophy. With the essence of fundamental Islam and local culture, the Maijbhandari tariqa gained widespread popularity rapidly. It has created a resemblance between religion and social culture worth studying. Maijbhandar Darbar always encourages folk culture and traditions. Common people have responded with immense positivity towards the unification of folk culture and Islamic philosophy. There has been some research about this century-old tariqa. The first monograph about Maijbhandar in Bengali called '*Maijbhandari Shandarshan*' was composed by Selim Jahangir and Hans Harder wrote the first English monograph '*Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh: The Maijbhandaries of Chittagong*'. Peter Bertucci's article was 'A Sufi Movement

in Bangladesh: The Maijbhandari Tariqa and its followers'. Although the researches brought up the Maijbhandari cultures but almost none of them discussed Maijbhandari Urs culture. Our article is going to narrate the topic, century-old Maijbhandari *Urs*. *Urs* is the largest function of Maijbhandari Sufi culture. Maijbhandari *Urs* is a huge festival not just only in Maijbhandar village, but also in Chaittagong as well as the whole Bangla. Gausul Azam Maijbhandari's sacred *Urs* Sharif is a great spiritual conference attended by millions of people irrespective of class, caste or religion. In terms of attendees, this is the fifth-largest conference in the world. (Sufian: 2018: 29) This *Urs* organised in a grandly manner is an impactful public event in Chittagong. The article is composed in a historical, descriptive, and analytical method to narrate the origin of Maijbhandari *Urs*, organization, appreciation-criticism, and social influence. Fundamental sources such as Maijbhandar's published book, supplements, leaflets, banners, national newspapers, and Maijbhandari's hagiographies are used for references. In addition, the help of secondary sources has been taken.

Hajj in a safe city the grand congregation on the tenth Magh Ayub Ali (Second decade of the 20th century) composed this line about Maijbhandari *Urs* that commenced in the first half of the 20th century. (Hossen: 2014: 157) As a grand congregation, the writer meant the tenth of Magh month, the *Urs* of Sufi Ahmad Ullah (1826-1906). Originating in the early 20th *Urs* of Sufi Ahmad Ullah is popular among religiously passionate devotees and considered equal to the largest Islamic pilgrimage, Hajj. Every year on January 23, 10th Magh the prime mover of Maijbhandari tariqa Sufi Ahmad Ullah's *Urs* is celebrated. *Urs* is an Arabic word. *Urs*, plural *A'ras*, means marriage or bridal chamber. (Rahman: 2013: 502) Another definition of *Urs*, plural *U'rsat* lexically means marriage or reception celebrated for the union of bride and groom. (Hafiz: 2012: 502) In Encyclopaedia Islam *Urs* means, literal meaning wedding is the death anniversary of a Sufi saint usually held at the saint's dargah. The etymological meaning of *Urs* is union. After demise, the sacred soul meets Allah. It is the union of the human spirit with the Supreme spirit. This unification of a saint's refined soul with the Supreme spirit is everlasting. Universally it is an eternal peaceful spiritual joining. Achieving the Creator's love is the prime purpose of Sufism. (Badrudjoja: 1402: 02) In terms of Sufism, on the day of demise that auspicious eve when a purified man's soul meets the Creator is called *Urs* Despite the mystical union expressed in terms of love and marriage, the union with the world soul is the utmost imaginable bliss for mankind, and the Sufis have a positive passion for losing themselves in the infinity of the Godhead. Oh, let not exist! For non-existence, proclaims in organ, 'To Him we shall return'. (Guillaume: 1954:

The commemorating festival devotees celebrate occasioning Sufi's unification with the Lord can be recognized as *Urs*. Since middle age, *Urs* is being solemnized in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. It is a widely admired festival in South Asia including Bangladesh. 'As all over South Asia, the most important congregational events in these shrines are the *urus* (pl. of, lit. 'wedding') namely, the death anniversaries of the respective saints' (Harder: 2011: 13)

In 1906, after the decease of Maijbhandar tariqa's originator Sufi Ahmad Ullah, the following year, 1907, was the first time when Maijbhandar Darbar hosted first ever *Urs* in a courtier manner. One of the most influential books of Mazbhandari literature 'Jibnoi O Karamot' describes, Sufi Ahmad Ullah in his days indicatively asked neighbours, 'You make the calculations, to cook and eat hundred and twenty cows, buffaloes (I do not remember how many numbers he mentioned, similarly he determined the number of goats and sheep) how much rice, chilli powder, peas (At those periods in Chittagonian Zeyafots, there was a tradition of cooking black legume) and how many cases of radishes will be needed? (Bhuiyan: 1967: 172) Radish is a winter vegetable. Sufi Ahmad Ullah passed away in winter. The 10th of Magh, his annual *Urs* sharif is the season of winter radishes hence this prophecy is mysterious and significant. (Bhuiyan: 1967: 172) Following Sufi Ahmad Ullah's allusive guidance, the culture of Islamic Sufi order and per the traditional *Urs* of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, the *Urs* Maijbhandar Darbar initiated in 1907 is continuously being observed.

Sufi Ahmad Ullah's *Urs* soon turns into an elaborate festival from its inception. After Sufi's death, devotees have been visiting there on the occasion of vows. With time, the Maijbhandari Sufi family has expanded, splitting into three *Manzils* (the house). Generally, the overall activities of a dargah or shrine are centred surrounding a single spiritual saint. But in this case, Maijbhandar Darbar sharif is different. Here the spiritual succession follows the family line. After the prime person, a similar order of ceremonies is held around the succeeding spiritual

personalities. Namely, independent manzil and shrines, Karamot (miracle). Khosroze (birth occasions) and Urs even independent order of song compositions. (Jahangir: 2014: 22)

Ahmad Ullah Maijbhandari's successor in the lineage of the Sufi saints is his nephew and chief deputy Golamur Rahman, titled Baba Bhandari (1865-1937). As the leader of the Maijbhandari tariqa, he conducts the complete function. Since the death of Sufi Ahmad Ullah, the celebration of birth in the Maijbhandari order began with the celebration of his Khoshroz (Birth anniversary). Golamur Rahman is known as the initiator of celebrating Khoshroz, he himself lead the tariqa in celebrating this occasion. In 1907, the first Urs sharif of Hazrat Aqdas was celebrated at Maijbhandar sharif. Since then, 'Khosroz sharif' is held on 27th Ashwin on the birth anniversary of Hazrat Baba Bhandari Kebla. It had Baba Bhandari Kebla's approval. (Badruddoja: 1427: 86) After the demise of Baba Bhandari in 1937, the celebration of his death anniversary Urs started in 1938. The turnout for the Urs festival was astounding from the very beginning. Nowadays at Maijbhandar sharif, mass gatherings of million people are held on the 10th of Magh, 22nd of Chaitra Urs sharif, and 29th of Ashwin Khoshroz sharif days. These events become the grandest conferences in the world in terms of attendance. (Fazal: 1969: 60)

Ziaul Huq Maijbhandari (1928-1988) is the third powerful Sufi of the Maijbhandar Sufi family. Since 1976, the Khosroz festival of Ziaul Haq started on a large scale in the newly established Haq Manzil, after his demise in 1988, Sufi's Urs was observed in a grand ceremony on the 26th Ashwin of 1989 at Haq Manzil. Although the Maijbhandar Darbar is a religious community, they follow the Bengali calendar in their Darbari activities and observance of *Urs*. The importance given to Bengali language rather than English, Persian or Urdu by this Tariqa, which originated during the British period, is an indication of the self-esteem of the Maijbhandar Darbar. In the 19th century, the tariqa consciously coming out of the traditional Urdu-Persian domain in the realm of Muslim religion and using the Bengali language by Bengalis is a very significant contribution of Maijbhandar Darbar to the flourishing of the Bengali ethnicity. (Jahangir: 2019: 65)

A cultural convention of the popular Maijbhandari tariqa of Bangladesh takes place during the Urs this syncretistic tariqa has blended secular culture with Islamic culture to create a simple revolution. This tariqa with the belief of egalitarianism has built its journey with everyone irrespective of caste, creed, and colour, making the Maijbhandar Darbar a symbol of the faith of the masses.

It seems therefore appropriate to state at the outset of this investigation that Maijbhandar today is a powerful religious institution whose very popularity and influence defy any notions of Marginality. We shall have occasion to show that Maijbhandar and the religious movement connected with it have been able to draw adherents from all sections of society...How to measure the impact and popularity of a religious movement? We could first go by the number of followers and visitors; the death anniversaries (*Urs*) of the major Maijbhandari saints annually draw great masses to the village. (Harder: 2011: 15).

Over time, Maijbhandari *Urs*' structure has subsequently grown bigger. In the early times of Maijbhandari literature, Fayezullah Bhuiyan stated Urs as the fifth largest congregation. Another scholar Jamal Ahmed Shikdar from the third generation in the same manner addressed Urs as the third largest religious festival.

Despite the above-mentioned two kinds of *Urs*, there are two other types of smaller versions of *Urs*, *Chahram Sharif* & *Kamori Urs*, celebrated in Maijbhandar. On the evening of the fourth day of *Ofat* (Death anniversary) *Urs*, *Chahram Sharif* is held. According to the local custom of Chittagong, *Fateha* (Feast) is arranged on the fourth day of the death of a person to seek forgiveness of the soul. It influenced the tradition of celebrating *Chahram Sharif*. The banquet (Feast on fruits) of *Chahram Sharif* is unlike ordinary. *Chahram Sharif* is arranged in a relatively smaller order than *Ofat* (Death anniversaries), yet the gathering of followers is observed to be innumerable. *Kamori Urs* is organized as part of the essence and mental preparation for the Urs festival. Another name for *Kamori Urs* is the *Chandro Barshik Urs*. *Besal Sharif* (Annual death anniversary) is organized every year on the exact day of the Arabic month on which the saint passed away. Here *Besal Sharif* referred to the demise day of a saint. When general people leave this world for the hereafter, it is called a death anniversary. The death of the Prophets, Messengers, Gaus and Qutubs is called *Besal* (Death of chosen ones). (Badruddoja: 1427: 75) Sufi Ahmad Ullah's *Kamori Urs* is held every year on the 28th of Dhul Qa'dah (the 11th month of the Arabic Calendar). On that day, *Sajjadanshin* (the chosen *Khaleefa* by tariqa) organizes a special *Du'a* with the

devotees and members of Islamic schools who came to Ahmadi Manzil. Tbarruk a (blessing food) is arranged for everyone. The prime focus of Kamori Urs is practising Maijbhandari philosophy, Ofat *Urs* is the extended and larger edition of *Kamori Urs*. (Interview: 5 September 2022)

Saint Golamur Rahman's Komari Urs, the second largest saint of Maijbhandar Sharif, is celebrated every year on the 22nd of Muharram (the first month of the Arabic Calendar). Golamur Rahman's monthly Fateha (feast) is celebrated on the 22nd of every Bengali month. On a relatively small scale, these small Urs arrangements can be said to be the practice of the organizational procedures of several manzils and the preparation of the main Urs. Followers who believe in and cherish the principles of Maijbhandari tariqa are seen attending the sessions on all these Urs occasions. Of the four famous Pirs of Maijbhandar, three are celebrated with Urs. Respecting Sufi Delowar Hossain's directions, no Urs is observed on his demise day, but on his death anniversary, 20th Rabi al-Awwal, a large ceremony is celebrated in Ahmadi Manzil. Focusing on the birth anniversary of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on the 12th Rabi al-Awwal as well as considering the Ofat anniversary of Sufi Delowar Hossain, his family organizes grand Eid-e-Miladunnabi Mahfils on consecutive days at Gausia Ahmadi Manzil. These mahfils (religious gatherings) gain vast exposure and attendance of large numbers of Muslims. The mahfil is conducted following Islamic traditions with tabarruk being offered to all at the end of the milad (Congregational prayer).

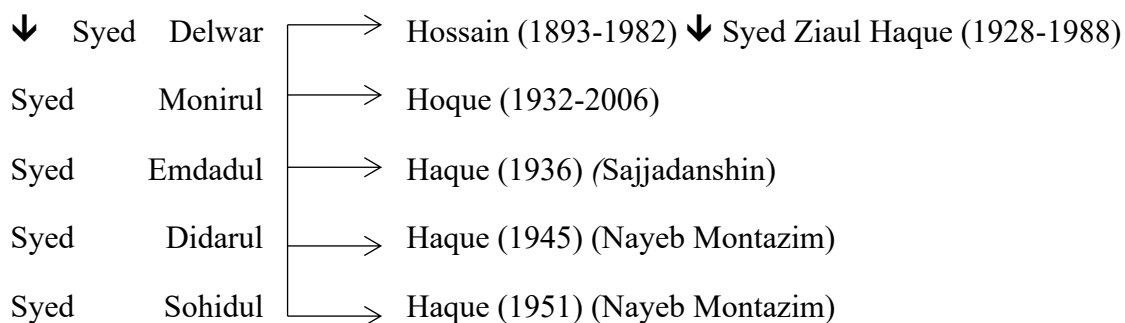
The Maijbhandar Darbar plans their course of celebrating the *Urs* festival to traditions that have been going on for centuries. Before the Covid pandemic, the Urs was three days event. Presently, to make the Urs more organized and disciplined, the Urs of chief Sufi Ahmad Ullah has been enlarged and renovated to ten days of formalities. Preparations for the celebration of Urs are made with the activities of eleven hundred institutional workers of forty-one sub-teams under the central Urs management committee. Urs of the 10th of Magh is organized and conducted under the direction and management of Sajjadanshin Pir (the chosen Khaleefa) Sufi Emdadul Haque of Ahmadi Manzil. In this case, Pir is assisted by Montazim (Superintendent) and Nayeb Montazim (Deputy Superintendent). Sufi Ahmad Ullah's grandson Delwar Hossain's descendants and the organizations play a major role in managing the Urs of Sufi Ahmad Ullah. Among Sufi Delwar Hossain's five sons, the eldest son Syed Ziaul Haque was a prominent Sufi, second son Syed Munirul Haque was Montazim. The third son, Syed Emdadul Haque seated in the pious position of Sajjadanshin Pir declared by his father. Syed Didarul Haque, the fourth son was Nayeb Montazir and the fifth son Syed Sohridul Haque, was placed as Montazim and as his father's associate worked as head of all operations in the Ahmadi Manzil. (Jahangir: 2019: 142)

## Family Tree

The founder of the Maijbhandari Tariqa, Sufi Ahmad Ullah's (1865-1906) descendants.



Syed Fayzul Haque (1865-1902)



**Sources:** Genealogical Data adapted from Jahangir 2019, page- 144.

*Urs* is mainly a religious event. The arrangement of *Urs* became extensive through the observance of social customs and cultural traditions. All the religious rituals organized on the occasion of *Urs* are held around *Rowza* (Sufi's grave). The main purpose of *Urs* is to pray for the sacred soul by visiting the grave, reciting the Qur'an,



and giving charity on the day of the death anniversary. The main reasons for *Urs* are proved by the narrations of *Hadith Pak* and *Fiqh* scholars.’ (Badrudjo: 1427: 30)

At present, as the *Urs* of Sufi Ahmad Ullah is celebrated for ten days, the rituals centered on *Urs* have been

reorganized into different days. A total of ten days *Urs* festival is celebrated from the 1st of Magh to the 10th of Magh. The ten-day event provides health services to the poor and dependent through free medical camps, telemedicine, and blood donation programs. *Tasawuf* sessions and mystics are gathered to extend the Sufi cultures.

The main activities of the *Urs* festival begin after the 9th *Magh* *Fazr* prayers, at the end of the *Khatam Qur'an*, after offering a bath to the Sufi’s *dargah* the festival begins with putting *Gilaf* on *dargah*. Bathing and wrapping *Gilaf* over Sufi’s *dargah* is a culture that is quite similar to dressing a bride for a wedding in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. In literal meaning, *Urs* means marriage and in that sense, Sufi’s grave is decorated in a similar manner to the dress of a bride wishing Sufi’s soul to unite with the Creator. On the day of *Urs* rose water and perfume are used in the bath. That mixture of rose water and perfume is conserved. It is sighted in every shrine in Bangladesh, including Maijbhandar, there are pitchers full of water and small copper glasses for drinking water (separate for men and women) on both sides of the Sufi’s grave. Throughout the year, small amounts of water are given in the pitcher mixed with perfume and rose water collected from the lot while bathing the shrine on the day of *Urs*. Zayerin or the tourists arriving at the holy shrine asking for graces drink this water and take home as well.

The bath and *Gilaf* wrapping event is directed by Sajjadanshin Pir. *Gilaf* is an Arabic word meaning to cover up. Sub-continental Banarasi, Katan, velvet fabrics are used as *Gilaf* cloth. (In the Indo-Pak subcontinent, brides wear Banarasi, Katan or velvet as bridal wear.) For zayerin at Sufi’s shrine, a prime spot of worship is the *Gilaf* wrapped grave. Believers and followers of Maijbhandar tariqa offer the *Gilaf*. *Gilafs* are changed at the end of every week. Tourists offer it as part of devotion and grace-seeing. The unused *Gilafs* are humbly graved. After covering the shrine with a new *Gilaf*, old ones are collected. When many covers are piled, they are sacredly and silently graved. Exceptional one or two devotees who have earned immense spirituality are fortunate enough to get a little part of the holy *Gilaf* to be put over their chest after death. (Jahangir: 1999: 157) After the bath and covering by *Gilaf*, the Sufi’s grave is covered with raw flowers.

The practice of local traditions and religious rituals-events make *Urs* more intimate. No other event reflects more arrangement and formation of the mass people like religious ceremonies. The main reason is that we see people from almost all classes and levels of society in the form of real humans in these festivals. Although short-lived, this gathering of people regardless of class and level is necessary to keep the foundation of collective social life strong. (Ghosh: Ashwin, 1386: 141) *Zikir* is the most popular of the religious rituals organized in *Urs*. *Zikr* is an Arabic word and it means remembering the Creator by pronouncing His name. *Zikr* is an essential piece of Sufi

culture. The visitors attending Sufi Ahmad Ullah’s shrine perform *Zikr en masse*. The seniors of Daruttaleem or Islamic schools conduct the *Zikir Mahfil*. *Zikr* consist of many stages. In Maijbhandar Darbar many *Zikr* sessions are seen to be going on in separate shrines at the times. People in groups after groups join these sessions. *Zikr*, Tawallad-e-Gausia, and Milad, standing in *Qiyam* sessions are continues until the closing ceremony of Akheri Munazat or Last Supplication is announced. Devotees participate in these ceremonies with enthusiasm.

Sema Mahfil or presentation of Maijbhandari songs is one of the accessories of *Urs*. Maijbhandari songs are precious treasures of the Chittagong region with their spatial and temporal melody and Maijbhandari quotes. Marginalized and analphabetic people of Bangla have adopted Maijbhandari songs as the essence of life to pursue spiritual excellence. As the secular Maijbhandari tariqa has the acceptance of people of all religions, Maijbhandari songs also create an opportunity to assuring the participation of people of all faiths. The centuriesold Maijbhandari *Urs* has given birth to legendary artists such as Ramesh Sheel, Abdul Gafur Hali, etc. In winter, people gather in a ground covered under a canopy and open paddy fields where artists and writers of Maijbhandari songs sing along. It is where people get to know each other through music. Country folks like rickshaw pullers, shopkeepers, farmers, day workers, blacksmiths, and fishermen gather there.

The interaction of folk music gives singers and songwriters as well as the listeners a new vitality. The Maijbhandari song festival starts with the spontaneous participation of believers-devotees and professional and amateur artists from different parts of the country. This music festival across the vast area infuses new life into Maijbhandari Mela. (Jahangir: 1999: 166) In the process of practice and performance, devotees become passionate about the Maijbhandari song. Artists present their music with utmost devotion and dedication; such a rendition of heart-wrenching love is truly unparalleled. Followers flock to Maijbhandari *Urs* just for the attraction of the music. ‘*Urs* is attended by many people from far and wide. One of its primary focuses is *Sema Mahfil*. I used to enjoy it a lot in my childhood...I attended them and used to memorize the poetries. I liked it a lot. (Mannan: 2016: 132) In addition to the musical presentation on the main *Urs* day in Maijbhandar, an allnight musical event is organized on the night before the *Urs*. The crowd of thousands of lovers fulfills the outstanding festive atmosphere.

In the ten days long Sufi Ahmad Ullah’s *Urs*, every evening sees a musical gathering. But on the *Urs* nights, the Maijbhandari song festival is held on a large scale. On 11th October 2022, a similar music festival was held on the night before Sufi Ziaul Haque’s anniversary *Urs*. Despite a large number of attendees, no women were allowed to attend that evening regarding an embargo. (Writer’s personal experience) Maijbhandari music in the *Urs* satisfies the spiritual craving of folk lives creating its unique genre of music. One thing I followed after observing the Maijbhandar *Urs*, if I put the religious part aside, another essence of Maijbhandar *Urs* is the fusion of East Pakistani folk music. The musical events stand high among other rituals of *Urs*. (Alam: 26 Falgun: 1372)

At Maijbhandar Darbar, Tabaruk or foods are offered after Sajjadanshin Pir’s Akheri Munazat. Sufi Ahmad Ullah directed the food distributions. Hazrat’s directive about the Chittagonian culture of eating is followed while presenting foods. (Hossain: Important Notice: 1381) Tabaruk or foods of the offering are a main centre of attention in Maijbhandari *Urs*. The food cooked for Zayrein (visitors) in the *Urs* is called Tabaruk or Newaz. The centrepiece of Bangladeshi people’s food is fish and rice. Against that tradition Maijbhandar sharif popularised rice with hot meat. The origin of the use of cow and buffalo meat in Maijbhandari *Urs* is an extraordinary history. At the beginning of this composition, Sufi Ahmad Ullah’s words are pointed. Sacrificing buffaloes for the feast is Sufi Ahmad Ullah’s idea and a speciality at Maijbhandari *Urs*. This practice is being followed since the early times of Maijbhandari *Urs*. According to Selim Jahangir ‘ Before that, habit of eating buffalo meat was not so popular. Maijbhandar Darbar popularised the use of hill buffaloes instead of cows and changed the habit of eating cow meat to buffalo meat. It has been an impactful change of habit, both socially and economically it has better advantages for the future’. (Jahangir: 1999: 165) Sacrificing buffaloes in *Urs* is seen as a symbol of purifying souls. ‘ It is easy to see how the literal sacrifice of the powerful buffalo in the Maijbhandari ritual enacts the ‘*murid*’ taming and conquest of the ‘black beast’ within themselves and prepares them to move toward the divine presence.’ (Bertocci: 2006)

Rice, meat and curry prepared for *Urs* are different in taste and cooking method. This style of cooking has earned great appreciation and demand throughout Chittagong as well as Bangladesh. Maijbhandar *Urs* popularised the *Mezban* culture in Chittagong by sacrificing cows and buffaloes. *Mezban* is a famous and popular social ritual in present-day Bangladesh. Hosting a grand *Mezban* show hosts economic influence and social cohesion. Religious culture and social customs function simultaneously in *Urs*. Zayerin at the festival pay special attention to Tabaruk, besides eating it they are keen to take Tabaruk home with them, a religious mindset works behind this. Eating Tabaruk is considered as gracious and they believe it removes illness and disease. ‘Maijbhandar Darbar is organised in cooking and serving. Everyone eats to feel content. Many eat it graciously. The number of people who have been cured of serious diseases by eating Tabaruk of this Darbar is also thousands. (Alam: 2018: 51)

On the occasion of *Urs*, many devotees bring cows, buffaloes, gayal, Indian camels, deer, and goats to sacrifice in Sufi’s *Urs*. Besides these, they also bring domestic chickens, pigeons, and farming equipment to offer in Shrine. In the Darbari language, these gifts are called *Hadiya*. *Hadiya* is given in many ways out of respect and fulfillment of wishes.

'Gift to *pirs* may be given in many forms, one of which is any ritually acceptable (halal) food product. The costlier it is, and the larger the quantity provided, presumably the greater the satisfaction of the *pir* and both the spiritual and social standing of the giver. (Bertocci: 2006 :17)

Solvent people offer cash money as a gift. Animals offered *Hadiya* is decorated with paper flowers, laces, and colorful stripes and local young as well as middle-aged people altogether take the animals to the shrines with musical arrangements such as trumpets, and flutes. Followers arriving in a festive atmosphere with high-pitched voice humming with joy touches the surrounding public life. Separate platforms are set to receive the *Hadiya*. For keeping the animals, they create a large fence of bamboo. There remains an option to sell the received animals for the second or third time. In *Maibhandari* manner, it is called *Reversed Hadiya*. A Group of people gets a receipt after giving their *Hadiya* and with that receipt, they get to eat the *Tabaruk*. *Tabaruk* is arranged for all the visitors coming to *Urs*. They prepare different types of food for people of other faith. Instead of cowbuffaloes, they are served chicken and mutton.

The fair organized on the occasion of *Urs* is one of the major attractions of *Maibhandari Urs*. A larger number of people visit fairs for entertainment than for visitors to *Urs*. Mostly, kids, teenagers and women visit the fair. The culture of *Urs* originates from out of Bangla but the fair is completely a local creation. In the past, people learned about their culture from three or four main places such as mosques, madrasas, temples, religious congregations, *Urs*, Islamic seminars, *Kirtan*, *Puja*, *Eid*, etc. These festivals catered to the needs of different religious communities. (Khan: 2017: 17) The need for national festivals is fulfilled by fairs that are held at *Urs*. The word '*Mela*' (Fair) reflects Bengali folklore, traditions, and tastes. *Urs* and fairs have given new forms by combining folk culture with religion. The folk culture of the living population derives from the direct human relations, spiritual connection, and deep sincerity of the region belonging to the group. (Ghosh: Ashwin, 1386: 01)

The products brought for sale in the fair can be said to be a large market for the products produced in the Chittagong region. Locally made sweets, pickles, home craft products, rural household items, and luxury items are the centers of attraction for tourists visiting the fair. '*Dosher mela, Rosher khela*' or 'Fair for ten, a game of juice' is a famous phrase for *Maibhandari* fair. Farmers have a big market for their farming equipment at this fair. A big market for agricultural products needed throughout the year like plows, yokes, weights, baskets, hats, etc. is *Urs* fair of *Maibhandar*. The farmers not only sell their products, but they also get massive motivation in their work from such festivals. The modern civil form of this village fair is the exhibition, the purpose of both is the same, the civil exhibition may not be on the occasion of any religious ceremony this is the difference. (Ghosh: Ashwin, 1836: 01) The *Maibhandari mela* provides daily necessities to the brides in the village, while girls accustomed to domestic life only get a taste of entertainment by participating in the *Urs*.

Geographically *Maibhandar Darbar* is near *Khagrachori* and *Rangamati* hill tracts. As a result, the collection of tribal goods is brought at the fair, which attracts Bengalis customers. Some customers buy from the *Urs* fair as a wish of fulfillment. The most vibrant presence in the fair organized at *Maibhandari Urs* is the children and teenagers, the fair is a major source of children's toys. At the entrance to the fair, large sizes of radishes are seen, which we have seen in *Sufi Ahmad Ullah's* quotes. *Maibhandar Darbar's* products that are put up for sale at the fair are books published by *darbar* publications. A committee of thirty members under the central *Urs* management team of *Ahmadia Manzil* (house) conducts the book-selling activities at various places of the *Darbar* and the designated stalls in the fair. Many female visitors come to see the *Urs* festivals, and *Ahmadia Manzil* arranges accommodations for the women.

*Sufi Ahmad Ullah's* shrine-centric religious rituals (*Quran* recitation, *Ziqr*, *Ibadat*, or Worship) are performed by women. Twenty members under two representatives of the central hospitality committee are engaged in looking after the women. The *Urs* ranges over an area of about three miles. Hundreds of Thousands of people and a huge congregation, naturally, control over the sea of people is difficult for *Maibhandar* authority. *Fatikchari* upazila administration and Chittagong divisional administration cooperate on the occasion of *Maibhandari Urs*. The upazila administration as well as the *Darbar* monitor continuously the visitors' security.

One of the remarkable aspects of *Maibhandar Darbar* is accommodating thousands of pilgrimages, visitors in *Darbar's* arrangement. From *Nazirhat* to *Maibhandar Darbar*, there are no hotels at all. *Ahmadia Manzil*, *Haque*

Manzil, and Rahmania Manzil have big guestrooms. They also arrange temporary places under the canopy for the visitors to stay. The houses of Darbar cooperate with people on pilgrimage.

The staying arrangements are divided into districts and sub-districts for hosting the guests. Tokens are used to distribute food. Except for Muslims, separate foods are arranged for people from different faiths. The volunteers follow good discipline and are assigned to work district-wise. They work day and night to make it a success. *Urs* centric enthusiasm of the local youth is quite noticeable. The Maijbhandar Darbar area transforms into a sea of people on the biggest *Urs* of the 10th Magh. There is barely any space left in the area at that time of the year. The houses of Darbar arranged accommodation, hospitality, and food for their guests.

Maijbhandar Darbar is financially stable. Despite being popular in the country, its funding is often questioned. After Sufi Ahmad Ullah's time, Sufi Delowar Hossain reformed every unwanted adversity regarding the organization, finance, and religious structure. In 1381 Bengali year, through Chittagong Islamia Litho and Printing Press, Sufi Delowar Hossain declared a strong statement about Darbari funding. In the statement, he cleared that there is no way of asking for financial favor for *Hazrat's Urs* or the institution. Only the *Hadiya* given out of respect is accepted. For everyone's information, I have published protest letters many times before through the Daily Azadi newspaper, I still want to say that the descendants of *Gausul Azam Maijbhandari* do not go door to door to trade in the shade, which is against the policy of *Gausiyat*. These beggars and deceivers are not the descendants of *Hazrat* or the owners-heirs of the institution named after *Hazrat*. (Hossain: 1974: 7)

Poets have mentioned people visiting the place for hundreds of years. 'Disclosed *Haji* is the companion of *Omra* once. *Maulana* is mine for conducting the *Batena Hajj* conference. (Jahangir: 2019: 168) Saifuddin, an earlytime songwriter of Maijbhandari music composed this line. The humble pilgrimage of devotees to the shrine of Sufi Ahmad Ullah is referred to as Hajj by Maijbhandari writers. Maijbhandari poems and songs have evolved over time but the Maijbhandari philosophy has remained the same to the believers. '*Kamelor mazar jan shorbo dukkho hari, premiker prane dhale shanti sudha bari*' means 'Forget all sorrows and go to master's shrine who is perfect, showers a lover with peace and prosperity.' (Hossain: 1974: 6)

Visiting the Sufi shrine brings mental peace to believers. Musa Alam, who was a lyricist from the second generation of Maijbhandari songs, addressed the arrival in Maijbhandari as Hajj. The wealthy men pilgrimage to Hajj, where Ibrahim's and Khalil's home is, what about the poor brothers of mine... lovers of Khoda (Allah) pilgrimage to Hajj, where Kamel's (Sufi: One with enough knowledge) shrine is and thereby fulfills the thirst. (Alam: 1984: Song no 23) Songwriter Abdul Gafur Hali from the third generation mentioned the same, Hajj. 'My Pir is my holy ground I won't go to Kaaba or Kashi Doing the circumambulation in Maijbhandar is enough for the poor to earn the virtues of going on Haj, (Hali)

A similar culture of referring to Sufi's *Darbar* as Hajj is also seen in India. T. K. Rajalakshmi wrote, The Sufi shrines are well maintained by the people and are visited by persons belonging to all communities, including many people from the majority community. Ayodhya is also called '*Khurd Mecca* 'or the '*Small Mecca* 'because of the presence of several tombs or dargahs of Sufi saints.' (Rajalakshmi: 2003)

In the Sub-Continental traditions, visiting Sufi's Shrine is an expression of humble respect and deep love. Alike Bangladesh and India, Pakistan also has a tradition of pilgrimage to the Sufi's shrine. Regarding this Iqbal and Farid said, 'The major objective of paying visits to Dargahs is the fulfillment of the desires based upon social, political, religious, physical, mental and mystical aspects of the visitor's life. Also, a majority of visitors visit *Dargahs* owing to their devotion and reverence for the Sufis.' (Iqbal and Farid: 951)

With deep love and devotion for the Maijbhandari saint, the devotees rush toward the shrine. Maijbhandari writer Hadi composed, 'O lovers, let's go to the fair love, the fair is set by Maijbhandar shrine, love has filled my heart, the mirror in my heart only reflects my Lord' (Abdul Hadi, Ratna Bhandar, song no 36) *Urs* proves devotee's love for Maijbhandar Darbar. Not only in Bangladesh, lovers, and followers from the whole of South Asia, the Middle East, and Western countries also attend here.

A girl going to naior is a thousand-year-old Bengali tradition. Local girls come to their father's house as *naior* for



Maijbhandari *Urs* and fairs. Men living abroad for economic reasons plan their homecoming holidays around *Urs*. Thus, occasion vibes are observed in every family and society. Common people's beliefs, religious views, festivals of folk life, and social cohesion, all mixed together, *Urs* seems to capture a pure identity of the culture of Chittagong.

*Urs* festival has its acceptance as well as its criticism. Some songs written occasioning the *Urs* have controversies. During the *Urs*, some unpleasant incidents related to cannabis and women take place. *Urs* hosting numerous visitors are attended not only by devotees but also by entertainment seekers, party-goers, and people of different manners. The statement of Maijbhandar Darbar against the misdeeds and accidents of some people is clear and straightforward.

Hajj is one of the essential pillars of Islam. The analogy between the Maijbhandar Darbar and the Hajj has always been a sensitive issue. Maijbhandari *Sajjadanshin* Pir's saying regarding this analogy is clear, "Conduction of Maijbhandar Darbar follows Islamic Sharia. Anything extraneous from Sharia is not welcomed by us. Islam allows free will to all. The literary compositions of poets and writers born out of love are purely their own distinctive concern." (Interview given by Maijbhandari Pir)

A visit to Sufi's Darbar is always a joy for devotees. Maijbhandari *Urs* has been defamed because of cannabis consumption by a few misled people. In Chittagong, there is a common proverb about *Urs*-centric cannabis consumption, '*Khayum ganja maijjum fal, Gausul Azam Maijbhandar*'. This proverb originates from a negative attitude towards them. Saints in disguise, itinerants, and impostors create such a distinct atmosphere for illegal consumption. Such fringe culture is in conflict with Maijbhandari philosophy. 'In the shrines, their presence, the arrangement of illegal consumption, and in particular areas the cannabis infestation corrupts the entire shrine environment. As a result, the religious activities are questioned.' (Jahangir: 1999: 154) Following these criticisms, Maijbhandar Darbar stands against any kind of illegal consumption.

Some mishaps regarding the presence of women in fairs have always raised questions about Maijbhandari *Urs*. About this problem and solution, Darbar simply says, "The appropriate Sufism is for the betterment of humankind. For the female visitors, we have set a particular date and time, Darbari rituals which are finished before noon so women can return their home safely." (Interview given by Maijbhandari Pir) An observation of the unwanted occurrence reveals that these events take place outside the Maijbhandari premise. As a result, before the festivals, the authority bans any sort of illegal products and the presence of disciplinary forces like police, female police, and magistrates is ensured by Maijbhandari *Urs* organizers. Yet, there are some misleading seen to occur. Among millions of devotees, not all are here for the good cause but rather for only entertainment purposes.

Over time, the *Urs* has grown larger, organizations have extended, and more people have connected. Disregarding those who value religious views and Maijbhandari ideology, there are miscreants who make the events face setbacks in mass media. Yet, Maijbhandar Darbar is compelled to take responsibility and defend the purity of the ideology. Overcoming these obstacles, the organization and management of Maijbhandar Darbar have created *Urs* as a festival tradition in Chittagong and the entire Bangladesh adding a new dimension to the folk culture.

A mixed form of religion with socio-culture is revealed in Maijbhandari *Urs*. The presence of numerous devotees defines the acceptance of *Urs*. Sufi Ahmad Ullah was born in The British colonial period when the country was declared *DARUL HARAB* for Muslims. Islamic festivals were not patronized then, on the contrary, the tide of a renaissance in Hindu society. The British divide policy created tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. Sepoy Mutiny, even more, cornered the Muslims. In Sufi Ahmad Ullah's lifetime, he had a sense of resistance toward the British. The *Sannyasi* rebellion or monk rebellion, Shipahi rebellion, and peacefulness of Sufism inspired Sufi Ahmad Ullah. 'From modern times, in the Indo-Pak sub-continent, the resistance against any foreign power was defined by Sufism.' (Ernest: 2006)

In the latter half of the 19th century, the young Sufi Ahmed Ullah returned to Calcutta to rise above the British divisive entity politics creating a new style of syncretism, combining spatial and temporal elements. He combines a thousand years of Indian spiritual culture with Islamic ideals in an ethnocentric political consciousness. In the

way he introduced it, he proceeded with conviction and with the hope of building a society with moral purity and free of caste hatred.

Sufi Ahmad Ullah was able to bring everyone to a single platform and after his demise, his absence directed everyone to unite. (Indication of *Urs* mentioned above) Following his directed path, Maijbhandar Darbar started organizing *Urs* in 1907. The subcontinental egalitarianism and liberal humanist Maijbhandari Sufi ethos have demonstrated success in building a non-sectarian society by organizing the *Urs* festival and inviting followers of other religions to embrace it.

‘A broad and integrated form of this syncretistic culture is observed in the annual *Urs sharifs*. An unprecedented scene is created around the Maijbhandar Darbar sharif at this time as a wonderful gathering place of hundreds of thousands of devotees irrespective of caste and religion. Spontaneous gathering and mutual exchange of music composers and artists of Maijbhandari songs including folk singers of Bengal from different districts and upazilas of the country as well as remote areas around *Urs* creates a lively atmosphere in the overall environment.’ (Jahangir: 1999: 30) The influence of various folk traditions of celebrating festivals in the predominance of devotion can be seen in *Urs*.

‘The gathering of large numbers of people from faraway places creates an ocean of people. Entire Bangladesh arrives in the village of Maijbhandar. Maijbhandar sharif becomes a great congregation center for the masses of Bangladesh. A symbol of the cultural and spiritual unity of the whole country.’ (Alam: 2108: 50) The dreaded effect of the deadly grip of Corona on public life was felt in Maijbhandari *Urs*. As a result, in 2022, followers were seen to break down at Ahmadia, Haque, and Rahmania *Manzil*. ‘This day’s religious festival is a festival to forget the pain and failure of a large society, a festival to establish each person from the sense of loneliness to a sense of collective society.’ (Ghosh: Ashwin, 1386: 142) Centuries of tradition have made *Urs* of Maijbhandar Darbar a popular culture. According to Sur, culture refers to the overall form of human life behavior. It includes human society, religion, manners, customs, sports, pastimes, arts, fairs, festivals, literary practices, music, etc. In short, culture is what people follow to make their way of life meaningful. (Sur: 2104: 264).

Maijbhandari *Urs* originated in Maijbhandar Darbar and has been able to build a wider and more colorful tradition of organization in the public life of Chittagong which brings everyone under the same flag regardless of caste, creed, and color. Maijbhandar *Urs* is a paramount example of forming an inter-communal harmony as Maijbhandar Darbar combined local culture with mainstream Islamic traditions. This *Urs* is a landmark folk festival famous for the combination of Sufism alongside local Chattogrami culture. The *Urs* organized by Maijbhandar Darbar has significantly more acceptance and involvement than any other *Urs* held across Chittagong as well the country. Many shrines consider it as a standard for arranging the *Urs* festival. The vast shrines of Chittagong conduct their *Urs*, considering Maijbhandari *Urs* as the standard. The Maijbhandari *Urs* celebrations are the greatest of their kind in the present Chittagong. As such, they have become models for similar celebrations at other, smaller shrines in rural Chittagong. (Harder: 2011: 64).

In spite of harsh criticism, Maijbhandari Sufism has kept walking with its philosophy alongside the followers of the tariqa. The followers have risen in numbers over the time. Conservative Islamic groups and followers of other tariqas in Bangla often differ and, in some cases, oppose with Maijbhandar tariqa. While questions were raised about following the folk tradition of visiting shrines with songs and music, the representatives of different *manzils* of the Darbar gave timely and appropriate answers. From its origin, the Sufi’s of this view simultaneously spoke about discovering a sense of morality. Recently, *Sajjadanshin Pir* of Gausia Haque *manzil* has said, ‘the core of Islam is spiritual principles. (Maijbhandar Sharif: Bishwo Sufibad Kendro, 17-01-23 Facebook) From its inception to the present, Maijbhandar Darbar’s activities included an aim to establish a healthy society by inculcating morality in people. In the early times of Maijbhandari, when Buddhist Dhananjay Barua came to Sufi Ahmad Ullah to convert to Islam, Sufi Ahmad Ullah replied, ‘Mia, remain in your religion; I have already converted you as a Muslim.’ (Bhuiyan: 2008 :137) Over the course of, there are followers of different religions seen to have arrived at various *manzils* on Fridays to convert to Islam. In addition to advancing secular culture, the Maijbhandari tariqa has tremendously contributed to the flourishing of basic Islam. Maijbhandar *Urs* has developed folk culture and strengthened communal harmony despite being a religious festival.

Finally, it can be said that The Sufi culture of Chittagong, the center of Sufism in Bangladesh, has been able to present the tradition of Majjbhandari *Urs* as a universal cultural festival. The Majjbhandar Dorbar created a harmonious culture through the fusion of Religion, society and culture. By creating a positive momentum in social and public life, Majjbhandari *Urs* made the folk culture of Chittagong rich and traditional.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Research for this article was made possible by DIRI assistance. I am grateful to all of the members of DIRI. I have benefited greatly from discussions of the Majjbhandari Sufi culture with Professor Dr. Hasina Akhter of the University of Chittagong of Bangladesh and Dr. Selim Jahangir who shared his own impression of Majjbhandari Philosophy. I myself responsible for all statements of fact and interpretation, none of these colleagues are associated with any mistake some might find herein.

## ANNOTATION AND REFERENCES

1. Tabaruk (Derived from the word 'barakah'. Eating food that gives blessing. Food served at 'Urs or Mahfil' in the Indian subcontinent)
2. Mezban (The tradition of the Chittagong region is a multi-dimensional feast. Organized on religious, social, and cultural occasions. Usually, hosts are organized with neighbors, neighboring areas, and relatives.)
3. Hadiya (Hadiya is an Arabic word, it means gift. In Sufi terminology, a gift given with the purpose of showing respect to the pir and seeking the blessing of the pir is called Hadiya.)
4. \*\*\*Daruttwalim (A group managing the regulations of the Tariqa of Ahmadi Manzil)
5. \*\*\*Sajjadanshin Pir, literally means sitting on a praying mat. (The one chosen to become the Sufi)
6. \*\*Naior, the occasion of women in Bangladesh visiting their father's home for a few days.
7. Alom, Mahbub-ul. (2018). Majjbhandari jibonbodh o kormobad( ekta somaj tattik prokhepon), Alokdhara Books, Chittagong.
8. Alom, Moinul. (1372, Phalgun 26). Lok Songite Majjbhandarer Obodan, Purbani, Bangladesh.
9. Alom, Mucha. (1984). Moina Jogot, Chittagong, Anjuman-e-Muttabeine Gause Majjbhandar, Song no 23.
10. Balyabi, Abdul Hafiz, (2012). Misbahul Lugat, (translation: Ahmed korim siddik) Dhaka, Islamia Kutubkhana.
11. Bertocci, Peter J. (2006) "A Sufi Movement in Bangladesh: The Majjbhandari Tariqa and its Followers" Contribution to Indian Sociology, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/006996670504000101>.
12. Bhuiya, Phaijullah. (2008). Jiboni O Karamat. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Majjbhandar Darbar Sharif, Chittagong.
13. Badruddoja, Saiyad. (1402). Allahor Onugroher Shondhane, (1<sup>st</sup> ed), Gauchiya Rahman Manjel; Chittagong.
14. Badruddoja, Saiyad. (1427). Baba Bhandari, (5<sup>th</sup> ed) Chittagong, Prokasonar Suborno joyontee sonskoron, Baitul iktan, Majjbhandar sharif.
15. Ernst, Carl, W, (2006). Sufism, Islam, and Globalization in the Contemporary World: Methodological Reflections on a Changing field of Study. Paper prepared for the Fourth Victor Danner Memorial Lecture, Indiana University, April 15, 2006
16. Fazaal, Abul. (1969). Lekhoker Roznamcha. Dhaka: Naoroj Kitabistan.
17. Ghos, Binoy. (1386). Banglar Lok Songskritir Somajtottho, Kolkata, Aruna Prokasoni.
18. Guillaume, Alfred. (1954). Islam, Penguin Books.
19. Harder, Hans. (2011). Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh: The Majjbhandaries of Chittagong, London, Routledge.
20. Hossain, Syed Delwar. (2014). Belayot-e- Motlaqa. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Anjuman-e-Muttabeeyen-Gause-Majjbhandari, Chittagong.
21. Hossain, Syed Delwar. Manob Shovhota. (1974). Majjbhandari Prokashoni, Chittagong.
22. Hali, Abdul Gafoor. [ Recorded song but unpublished in printed form, Translated by Sajed Kamal. (Jahangir: 1999: 385)]
23. Iqbal, Tahmina, and Mazhar Farid. "Sufi practices as the cause of spiritual, mental and physical healing at Chisthi shrines in Pakistan." Mental Health, Religion, and Culture, vol. 20. No. 10, 2017, pp 943-953. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2017.1372736>.
24. Jahangir, Selim. (1999) Majjbhandari Sondorshon. (1<sup>st</sup> ed), Dhaka, Bangladesh, Bangla Academi.
25. Jahangir, Selim. (2019) Gausulazam Majjbhandari: Shotoborsher Aloke. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Majjbhandar Darbar Shorif, Chittagong.

26. Jahangir, Selim. (2014) Maijbhandari Sharif porichiti. Maijbhandar Darbar Shorif, Chittagong.
27. Kanchanpuri, Abdul Hadi (1974.). Rotno Vandar, vol-1, Chittagong: Maijbhandar Dorbar Shorif,
28. Karim, Abdul. (1970) Chottograme Islam. Islamic cultural center, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, Dhaka
29. Khan, Akbor Ali, (2019). Banglay Islam Prochare Safollo: Ekti Oitihashik Bishleshon. Prothoma, Dhaka
30. Khan, Shamsuzzaman. (2017) Samprotik Folklore Vabna, Dhaka, Anindayprokash.
31. Khanam, Farida, (2006) Sufism an Introduction. [www.goodreadersbooks.com](http://www.goodreadersbooks.com)
32. Mannan, Abdul. (2016). Sufibad, Maijbhandari Sufi Dorshon ebong Bisow Shanti, Dhaka, Student Ways.
33. Maijbhandari Pir (05 september, 2022). Interview with author.
34. Maijbhandari Pir (24 November, 2022). Interview with author.
35. Rahman, Fajlur. (2013) Al Kamsul Wajij, (16<sup>th</sup> ed). Dhaka, Ryad prokashoni.
36. Rajalakshmi, T, K (2003, Novmmember 7). ``Ayodhya, a picture of Diversity,’’ Frontline. Retrieved from
37. Sur, Atul. (2018). Bangla o Bangalir Somaj o songskriti, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed), Kolkata, Sahittolok.
38. Sufian, Saleh (2018) Tajkeratul Maijbhandarya., vol -1 Gausia haque Monjil, Chittagong