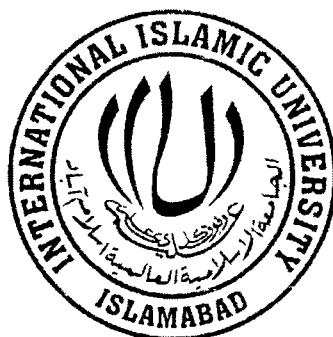


**MS THESIS**

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SHRINES: A CASE STUDY  
OF SOUTH PUNJAB**



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# **POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SHRINES: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH PUNJAB**



By

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**Registration No. 35-FSS/MSPS/S15**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MS Degree in Political Science with Specialization in Political Economy of Shrines: A Case Study of South Punjab the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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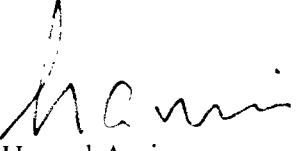
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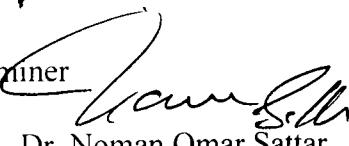
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**Dedication**

To

My late brother Muhammad Hussian

for

his endless love, support and

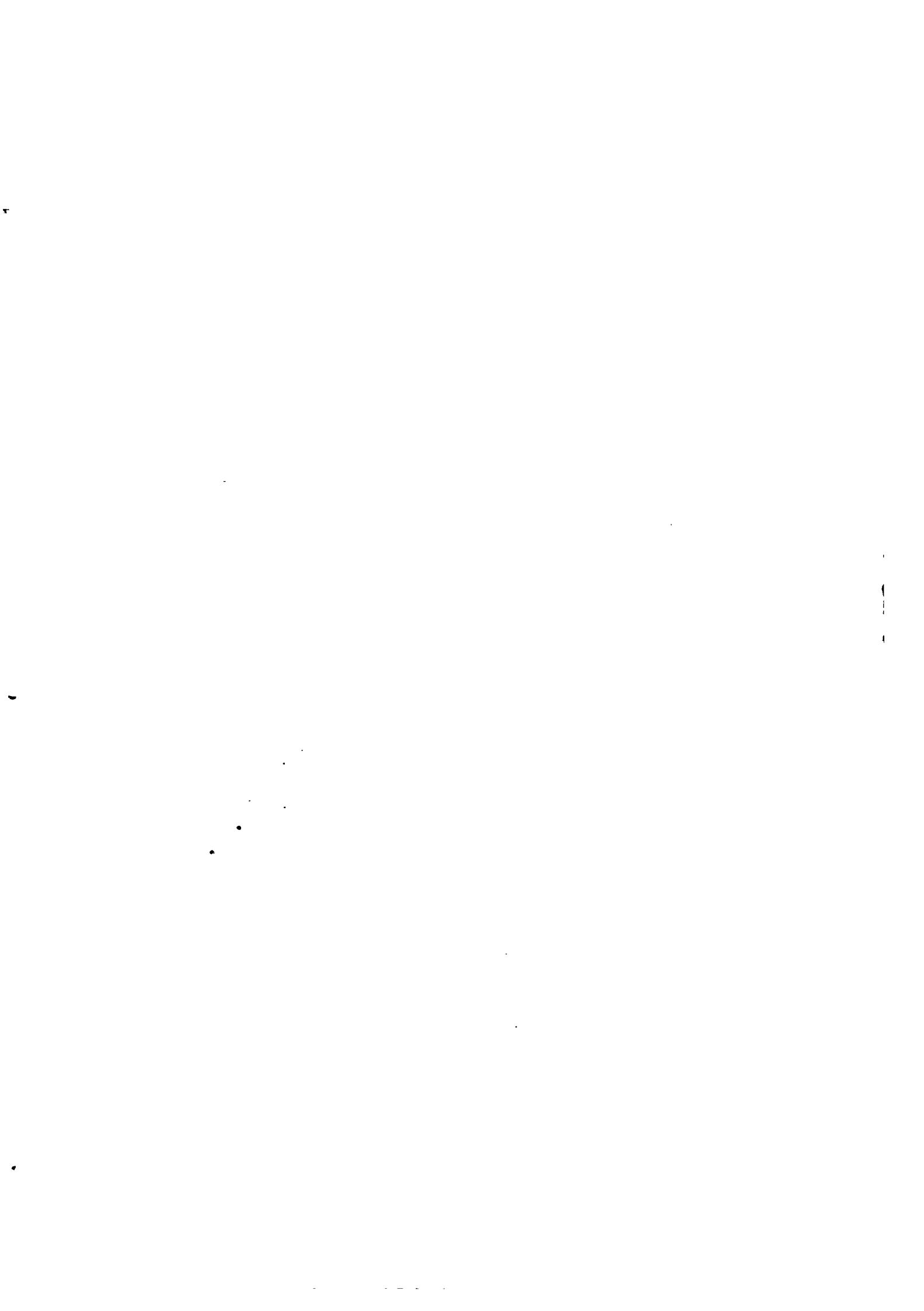
encouragement.

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## Abstract

Pakistan is a region where Islam spread through the preaching and teaching of Sufi saints. These Sufis came from the different Islamic regions like Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan and other adjacent areas of the region. They went all across the subcontinent and illuminated the societies with the teaching of Islam. People of this region mostly embraced Islam at the hands of these Sufi saints. The people of this region are mostly influenced by the Sufi school of thought and later followed the instructions and directions of hereditary *Pirs* (holy saints) or *sajada-e-nasheens* (shrine-custodians)—decedents of Sufis, in terms of their social, political, economic and religious affairs. Every year, followers visit the shrines, pay homage and *nazrana* (charity), in the form of money, grains, livestock and other assets, on shrine or to shrine-custodians. *Nazrana* is one of the most influential sources of shrine economy which is primarily collected for shrine administration. In politics, the *Pirs* use their followers for their strength as vote bank and pressure groups to become the mainstream stakeholders in the local and state politics. In this context it can be said that the followers of the shrines are a strong “murid vote bank” for the *sajada-e-nashins*. It is an attempt to explore the political economy of the shrines in Punjab and study of the *nazrana* economy and its impact on the political choices of the followers of shrines.

## **List of Abbreviations**

BB	Benazir Bhutto
JI	Jamat-e-Islami
JUI	Jamiat-e-Ulma-i-Islam
JUP	Jamiat-e-Ulma-i-Pakistan
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PBUH	Peace be Upon Him
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz
PMLQ	Pakistan Muslim League, Quid-e-Azam
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaf
RPTW	Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop
SIC	Sunni Ittehad Council

WORDE

World Organization for Resources

Development and Education





## Chapter 1

### 1. Introduction

Religiously, shrines are considered as one of the most sacred places in Pakistan at general and Punjab in particular. Pakistan is a region where Sufi saints have always played a vital role in spreading Islam. These Sufis came from different Islamic regions like Persia, Iraq, Central Asia, Afghanistan and other adjacent areas of the region. Intrinsically, four main Sufi orders came into the Subcontinent i.e. Chishti, Qadri, Naqashbandi and Suhrwardi and they established their *khanqahs* (monastery) to preach Islam to local people. From these, the main proponents of Chishti, Qadri and Suhrwardi Sufi orders stationed in Punjab whereas the Naqashbandi order established their first *khanqah* in Delhi, India. They gave birth to the culture of *khanqahs* into the region to preach Islam and also teach Sufism. Some Sufi saints also came with Muslim invaders into the subcontinent and many *khanqahs* were supported by local Muslim rulers to consolidate their own regimes. When a Sufi passed away his successors established his shrine and appointed one of his close relatives or aides as *sajada-e-nashin* (shrine-custodian). Gradually, the legacies of Sufi orders spread into different parts of the subcontinent especially in Punjab.

With the passage of time *mazar* (shrine) culture dominated over the *khanqah* culture. The salient features of the shrine culture which properly adopted the ritual and cultural shapes include *urs* (death anniversary of holy saint) of the saint, *dhikar* (remembrance), *ta'viz* (amulet), *dum* (holy air blow) etc. in which great number of people, devotees and followers participated and made allegiance to their Sufis and shrine-custodians to obey their teachings and orders. In Sufism, it is

also believed that a Sufi does not die but hides himself from the temporal world and always spiritually remains among his devotees, even in the form of shrine-custodian, to guide them.

Usually, a *pir* (holy saint) is a hereditary descendant and *Sajada-e-nashin* of main Sufi and this chain continues after every *pir*'s death. Devotees consider *pirs* as special and sacred creatures of God who would not only make prosperous their temporal world but also help them get intercession at the Day of Judgment. These sacred people also have a special authority to perform *karamaat* or *muajzat* (miracles). The saint who performs more miracles has more number of devotees and followers. By having influence, *pirs* penetrated into the local people's social, political, cultural and religious affairs. In order to please *pirs*, devotees give huge amount of *nazrana* (charity) to *pirs* and their shrines. During the Muslim era of the subcontinent, various rulers realized the power of shrines among people so they also visited shrines and presented *nazrana*, lands, and some honorary official designations to *pirs* and shrine-custodians.

In past, during the rule of the Mughals, Sikhs and even the British, the regimes liberally patronized these saints and shrine-custodians to exert their control in densely populated and remote areas of Punjab. This patronage served the political interests of the rulers in terms of establishing order and maintaining peace within the society. In return, these shrines not only received economic rewards in forms of lands and shrine administration funds under the guise of 'shrine caretaking', but also attained political benefits in the form of honorary *Ziledar* (district administrator), Assistant Commissioner and *Tehseeldar* (Aziz, 2001). The leverage provided by these economic supplements, the ability to override social norms as well as political dominance exponentially increased saints and shrine-custodians' influence over the general population.

Some scholars argue that the shrine-custodians would support any ruler as long as they remained strong, but withdraw their support when they became weak (Adeel Malik, 2015). During the

British rule in the sub-continent, they supported the rulers to the extent that many shrine-custodians were actually against the “*Khilafat Movement*” (an anti-British movement). However, this patronage lasted only until the British Empire became weak, which was around the time the Pakistan Movement started. In a 180° turn, the saints not only extended their full support to the Pakistan Movement under the banner of the Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah but also issued *fatwas* (religious decrees) which categorically declared anyone who did not vote the Muslim League, a non-Muslim and an infidel. Accordingly, the followers of these shrines and the Sufis zealously followed the order (Adeel Malik, 2015). Currently, Punjab is considered a hub of shrines and is in under strong clutches of *Piri-Muridi* (*murid* being a follower and devotee) influence.

In Pakistan shrine is considered a source of “*Murid Vote Bank*” where politicians seek favour of *sajada-e-nashins* for their political victory. While large vote bank of shrines in the form of *murids*, these saints entered into mainstream politics and started enjoying the influential authorities in the government. On one hand, shrine-custodians enjoy mainstream politics and, on the other, their shrines remain a massive source of income in the form of “*nazrana*” (charity) given by their followers.

Shrines are also centers of “*nazrana economy*” where devotees pay, according to the popularity of shrines, in ranges from thousands to billions rupees annually. Every year, a large amount of money, grains, animals, animal hides, clothes, sweets and other kinds of *nazrana* are collected at shrines. Alongside, many shrines have also opened their *madarases* (seminaries) across the country where they collect *Zakat* (charity: *zakat* is obligatory for every Muslim who possesses certain amount of wealth) and other donations for *madares* students. Many shrine-custodians of the region are not only politicians but also businessmen, landlords and factory owners.

Apart from this, shrines are also welfare places where people get free food and shelter. Some shrines also provide some other necessities of life like clothes, shoes, medical treatment and medicines.

All shrines do not enjoy the same status or benefits; in fact, they vary from each other in terms of their political, economic and social influences. In the more popular or better known shrines, the custodians enjoy and gain more influence among its *murids* and state rulers. While on the other hand, the shrines with limited popularity among devotees gain limited influence. These kinds of shrine-custodians mostly stand with local political leaders and instruct their followers to vote their favorite politicians.

### **1.1. Rational of the study**

In Pakistan, *Pirs* have significance level of influence in the country's political affairs, social issues and religious ways of life of people. Their followers are their main source of strengths in every field whether it is political, social, religious and even economic strength. *Pirs* use their followers for their own worldly desires in the name of followers' end life: the life after death. In this way they exploit people for their vested interests, make them their own power and influence in the state matters. In this context South Punjab is a hub of shrines and these shrines have influences on people life to great extent. The rationale of the study is that where shrine-custodians spend *nazrana* and what objectives they achieve from government to using their followers force as their vote bank.

### **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Shrines have significant role in socio, politico and religious affairs of their followers. People consider that shrines and custodian are not only their religious liberators who would liberate them at judgment day but also their best political leaders because their guidance is linked with the

guidance of God and his Prophet (PBUH). Against this backdrop, the shrines custodians exploit people economically and politically. Custodians take money and other precious gifts from their followers in the form of “*nazrana*” and also take vote from their followers which they use for themselves as a political leader or recommend other political leaders and take benefit from them. The problem is that there is no accountability on the economy of the shrines by state, *Pirs* violates the democratic values and bind the people economically, politically and socially for their personal interests. In this regards Shrine-custodians especially the shrines which are not under the *Auqaf* department, does not pay any tax to government on their *nazrana* economy.

### **1.3. Objective of the study**

2. To examine the role of *Piri-Muridi* institution in the country’s politics on the name of spirituality of shrine and what is impact of shrine on followers’ political choices?
3. To explore that what is overall *nazrana* economy, and what are the approaches, tools and methods of shrine-custodians in establishing and improving the *nazrana* economy of a shrine?
4. To investigate that, is shrine a commercial entity of custodians or it is really welfare places for people.
5. To find out that how state keeps check and balance on the shrine’s *nazrana* economy, in term of taxation and its end usage? How state deals with the shrines which are outside the *Auqaf* Department?
6. To observe the relationship between state and shrines.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

1. Does shrine play any significant role in establishing its ‘*Murid Vote Bank*’ in politics for shrine-custodians or their patronage political leader?

2. Is shrine a commercial entity for a shrine-custodian or a social welfare place for needy people?
3. What is overall political economy of a shrine? Does state collect any tax from shrine-custodian on *nazrana* economy of shrines which are outside the *Awqaf* department? What measures have been taken by state to keep check and balance on *nazrana* economy?
4. How state empower *pirs* and pro Sufis religious groups to counter the extremism? And what are its results?

### **1.5.Significance of the study**

In Pakistan shrines are sacred places for their followers and every year millions of people visit these places. Roughly, they offer billion rupees annually on shrines or to shrine-custodians in the form of money and different other assets. Due to significant amount of *nazrana* and influence of shrines, the custodians become politically and economically more influential in people's social issues, religion guidance and state's affairs. The study is an attempt to explore the relationship between *Pirs* and their followers and between *Pirs* and state. The research may help the policy makers, state-run institutions, academicians, researchers and other relevant stakeholders who are interested in political economy and role of shrines in country politics and followers' *behaviours*.

### **1.6. Delimitations of the Study**

There are hundreds of shrines located in Pakistan and it is difficult to conduct survey of every shrine due to time and distance constraints. The research is focused on South Punjab which is also hub of shrines and variety of different sects as well. In this context four shrines would have been taken as a sample to conduct the research and surveys. It is also difficult to conduct direct interviews from shrine-custodians to sensitivity of research subject. In this context normal routine chit chat would have been conducted with custodians of shrines.

### 1.7. Theoretical Framework

In all of the political systems of the world, much of the politics is economics, and most of economics is politics<sup>1</sup> (Lindblom, 1998). Politics and economics are compulsory for each other to a great extent and their behaviours, approaches and tools are interlinked with each other. Intrinsically, the political economy is the study of politics, economics, history and law of countries or specific institutions at international level at large. At the international level, states pursue three approaches of political economy i.e. Mercantilism, Marxism and Liberalism. All these approaches have variant views about political economy of the state.

Like international political economy approaches, institutions have specific approaches, tools and methods of its political economy which are determined by the rules, laws, history, culture and tradition of those institutions. Shrines of Sufi saints are considered sacred places in *Barelvi* sect of Islam. Every year murids visit shrines, pay homage and offer a considerable amount of *nazrana* at shrines or to shrine-custodians. Alongside, followers also feel pleasure in obeying the orders of their *pirs* or shrine-custodians in political, religious, social and economic domains. On one hand, *pirs* and shrine-custodians receive a huge amount of *nazrana* and hold vote bank of their followers in the name of shrines and its spiritual connectivity with God and His Prophet (PBUH), while, on the other, they convert *nazrana* economy and followers' vote bank into a source of their political, economic, religious and social power in society and country as well. On behalf of shrine political economy, they play a significant role in mainstream politics at the local, regional and national levels. Almost every shrine has the same methods, approaches and tools to increase influence among their followers and ordinary people. The political economy of shrines is based on methods,

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<sup>1</sup> Lindblom, C. Political Economy: A Comparative Approach . In B. Clark.

approaches and tools of politicizing shrine spirituality, distributing *taaveez* (amulet), holding of an annual *Urs* of shrine, weekly meetings with followers, and organizing special religious festivals etc.

Role of Sufis, *pirs*, shrines and shrine-custodians are salient in the society of Punjab and different writers have inked on the relations between *pirs*, politics and public. David Gilmartin says that when people of the western Punjab embraced Islam at the hands of Sufis then the leadership of the rural areas also transferred into the hands of the hereditary *pirs*. Later, it stemmed the unity between rural hereditary religious leaders and secular leaders on common political and economic interests. Due to these common interests the British government consolidated their power into urban areas of Punjab. Later, the Unionist Party and the Muslim League succeeded in the 1937 and 1946 elections of Punjab respectively with the support of shrine caretakers. Gilmartin says, “Structurally, the revivalist *sajada-e-nashins* were themselves deeply rooted in rural society” during Pakistan Movement and, as a result, they not only made the Muslim League succeed in the elections but also subsequently found themselves from the local level to the mainstream national politics of Pakistan.

K.K. Aziz says the influence of a person is based on his land. More land means more influence, more money and the political votes. In this context a *pir* has all these three factors: influence from religion, money from income (*nazrana* and lands) and votes through *pirdom* (serfdom). Aziz made his point that without land a *pir* is nothing but an uneducated, rustic, boorish and wastrel. The landlord is like a bird of prey, swooping down on every little bird within his range or sight, hunting mercilessly, and always unable to rise above pillage and plunder. The *pir* landlord is a carrion crow, guzzling the dead putrefying flesh, and feasting on animals which are already dead. The landlord rules over this world while *pir* landlord over this world and the one to come. The authority

of landlord could be toppled through revolution or other means but *pir* landlord has no such kind of fear because according to his followers he possesses high *spiritual* powers and special relationship.

## **2. Literature Review**

K.K. Aziz (Aziz, 2001)book is a fascinating book on the topic. The book explores the history of shrines in Pakistan and their role in country's politics. It also investigates that how shrines custodians collects the money in the form of *nazrana*. K.K. Aziz says that the shrine institution is ruining the country's economy through political corruption, dictating the people rights, reinforcing to military dictators and political blackmailing, despoiling the face of Islam, demoralizing the society and severely damaging the democratic values of the country. He also says that a *Pir* is stronger than a feudal landlord because a landlord only physically clutches the people but a *Pir*-Landlord not only physically but mentally makes the prisoners to his followers.

David Gilmartin (Gilmartin, 1979) work is a classical literature on role of shrine-custodians during Pakistan Movement in the province of Punjab. Writer says that in Western Punjab the Sufi saints and shrine-custodian had considerable influence in local people. During the British the *Pirs* favoured British rule and in return they received many political and economic benefits from Britain such honorary *Ziladar*, and considerable land and money for *charagh* at *mazar*. During Khilafat Movement in India *Pirs* turned against this movement but when Muslim League got strengthen they favoured Muslim League.

Katherine Ewing (Ewing, Feb 1983)says how Pakistani government dealt with saints, *Pirs* and *Sajada-e-Nashin* in the country. She says that President Ayub and Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto tried to decrease the influence of *Pirs* in society but in order to maintaining their own political influence later both compromised with the *Sajada-e-nashins*. Zia started to Islamize the country and during

his regime *Pirs* played fewer roles in country politics. Maulana Maudoodi vehemently opposed the role of *Pirs* in the society and advised to Zia to ban on *Pirs* however General Zia avoided from banning from *Piri-Muridi* institution.

Saifur Rahman Sherani (Sherani, 1991) wrote an enriched research article on role of *Pirs* in Pakistani politics. The article covers almost all angles of political economy of shrines in Pakistan. He argues that there is a difference between a Sufi and a *Pir*. Sufis are neither absolute ascetics nor mere mystics and work to train some selected students to carry on Prophet Work. Alongside they do not perform the miracles or claim to access to God. However Pakistani people believe that *Pir* possesses special power to God, inherited from his Sufi ancestors. And it is also believed that *Pir* has ability to perform some special miracles. Author also categorized types of *Pir* into four areas according to their abilities. The first category is *Sajada e Nashin* and last is poor *Pirs* especially from rural areas who practice exorcism to earn their livelihood. *Pirs* also played pivotal role in Pakistani politics and always supported every government in every circumstance. Author also challenges the notion that education can mitigate the effect of *Pir* but he argues that Pakistani newspapers and magazine always talk about the spiritual power and miracles of *Pir* and support the belief in *Pirimuridi* institution. In result highly educated and every class of people firmly believe in *Pirs*.

Dr Mubarak Ali (Ali, 1996) provides a critical view of Sufism, *Pirs* and Shrines in the Subcontinent. He also negates the prominent role of Sufism in spreading Islam in the Subcontinent however he gives credit to Muslim invaders who spread the Islam in Subcontinent through the power of sword. He also challenges the term Sufi for the saints of the Subcontinent according to him Sufis believe in truth and salvation of the humanity and accept people in their fold irrespective of their faith, religion and creed. However, if the Sufis preached Islam in the Subcontinent then

this work is more like with missionaries not Sufism. Mubarak Ali also says that there are lots of people who are doing their business along with the shrines and they intentionally promote the so called *Karamat* and superstitions of the shrines so that many devotees should come and they could sell and earn more profit. If someone tries to remove these superstitions then these stakeholders resist for their economic reasons. Many rulers also visit shrine to attain saints' blessings and their visit also makes prominent to shrine among people and devotees as well.

Adeel Malik and Rinchan Ali Mirza (Adeel Malik, 2015) reveals the relationship of shrines and literacy rate in neighboring areas. In this context authors focus on the shrines of the Punjab and their adjacent areas. He says that the shrines which are close to the river areas, the people of those areas are less educated. While the shrines which are remote from river areas, the people of those areas are more educated. In this context, the authors argue that the areas which were close to river are wealthier and *Pirs* of that areas bounds people in their control for *nazrana* economy. While the people of the areas, which are distant from river are not wealthy due to lack of rich agriculture resources, in result of this they inclined toward to attain the education. Alongside the paper also concluded the shrine which were more influential in politics during colonial era, are still more influential after the partition of sub-continent.

The 1946 Punjab Elections (Talbot, 1980) is a research article published in Modern Asian Studies, examines that how landlords and *pirs* played their role in victory of Muslim League in 1946 elections in Punjab. He argues that during the elections Muslim League concentrated on religious leaders and *pirs* of the Punjab. Later these *pirs* issued *fatwas* in their devotees and followers for supporting Muslim League. Some *pirs* also warned their followers through *fatwas* that if they did not cast their vote in favour of Muslim League they would be out of their *silsilahs*. Initially, many

of these *pirs* who were supporting Unionist Party, at sudden left the Unionist Party and joined the Muslim League and augmented the Muslim League strength.

Alix Philippon (Philippon, 2016) Describes the relationship among different government regimes and Sufi shrines. She says when Pakistan came into being the *Pir Zamindar* played significant role in establishment of the country and still the *Pir Zamindar* are playing important role in Pakistani Politics. Although President Ayub Khan established the *Auwqaf* department to contain the *Pirs* influence in the society however he termed *Pirs* as “social reformers” Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto presented them as the “precursor of Islamic socialism” while *Musharraf* declared them “promoters of peace and tolerance” against extremism and terrorism. She also tries to say that *Musharraf* made Sufi shrines and their ideology as a weapon to fight against extremism and terrorism forces in War on Terror. In this context *Musharraf* regime made its best to institutionalize the Sufi ideology and in this regard American Government also supported Pakistani narrative and attempts. In order to counter *Deobandi* ideology and extremism forces government formed and empowered the *Barelvis* political and religious parties. In return these parties not only staged protests against Taliban terrorist and extremist activities but the *Barelvi* neo-Sufi order also got involved in extremist and terrorist activities like on blasphemy issue and some other political issues. She concluded that *Barelvi* actors are not peaceful and tolerant as they were being pretended before this.

Riaz Hassan (Hassan, May 1987) writes about the concise history of Sufism, its presence in Subcontinent and its early teaching. He elaborates two interrelated areas in the paper, one is spread of popular Islam in the Subcontinent and its impact on social fabric of the society and in second part he discusses about the competition between “popular Islam” and “purist Islam” in the realm of religious and political hegemony of the state. He says the early and basic purpose of Sufism was

to establish cordial relations with public by Sufis purify their inner life and abstained from evil things.

After passing away every Sufi his *Khanqah* was converted into his *Mazar* (Shrine) and shrine-custodian started extend his political, religious and social influence with rulers and public. Weak rulers used the shrine-custodians for their political stability and in return the shrine-custodians were bestowed of wealth and land. While comparing the groups of popular Islam and pure Islam, writer says that popular Islam remained dominant in Pakistani politics due to serving political interest of ruling parties and pure Islamists remained at the periphery.

Kazuo Ohtsuka (Ohtsuka, n.d.) Investigates about the history, norms, tradition and culture of Sufi shrines. He says that Sufi Islam became regarded as a rightful area of orthodox Islam in 12<sup>th</sup> century. Initially Sufis were more inclined towards pure Islam although their followers were illiterate however they established Sufi order. Initially Sufism considered one of the focal points of Islam. Socially, the Sufis had changed the people's ritual beliefs and habits and became the holy saints who predicted foretelling the future, mind reading, treating illness and flying. In this context writer takes two case studies from Egypt. He also describes the structure of the shrines which show different views about shrine's Sufi, like the turban on the grave of the Sufi shows the authority of the Sufi over his order and devotees. Writer also observes different ritual activities at the shrines by the people and their political, social, economic and religious outcomes.

Dr. Mohammad Idris and Dr. Mughees Ahmed (Mohammad Idris, 2011) write in their article on concise history of Sufism in Punjab and its impact on the society. The preaching and teaching of Sufism had impacted and changed the local people's social, political, religious and economic conditions. Even though the Muslim Sufism not only supported in creation of the Sikh Movement in Punjab but also deep impacted on the Sikhs religion practices. For instance, Sufis started the

Langer system at their *Khanqahas* and shrines, later *Gurdwara* also adopted this tradition from Sufism.

Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhri (Chaudhry, 2013) examined the institutions of *Pirs* and their shrines. He also says that shrines play significant role in the social fabric of the society, especially among followers. Shrine is a place where people gather from diverse society and understand each other. In this way the shrine plays significant role in societal integration and harmony. In order to understand the role of shrine in people life, the author took famous shrines i.e. *Golra Sharif* and *Imam Bari*, Islamabad as his samples.

Tanvir Anjum (Anjum, 2011) book covers history of Sufism and its main focus on Chishti Sufis of the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century of India. In first chapter “Sufism and its Political Dimension: A Historical Perspective” writer focuses on the history of Sufism, its origin and its different subgroups. The chapter also provides different perspectives and theories of about the Sufism.

Khaled Ahmad (Ahmed, 2011) has worked on a worth reading book regarding sectarian issues in Pakistan. Although, this book also provides one aspect about activities of *Barelvi* School of thought in the country's politics and relations with other sects. It also reveals that *Barelvi* school of thought is major sect of the country but it has been deprived from the national decision making process and islamization of the country. In this context writer says that after the partition of the subcontinent, *Barelvi* school of thought had not played any significant role in the establishment of the Council of Islamic Ideological (CII).

### **3. Methodology**

This research would focus on exploring the political and spiritual influence of the shrines in the society; study the economic system of the shrine and how shrines keep intact with their followers.

The study would be carried out through observational research method of Political Science. The American writer Lowell said that ‘Politics is an observational and not an experimental science.’ Another writer Lord Bryce says “a political investigator must rely upon first-hand information; he must observe critically his sources of information; he must also avoid superficial resemblances or analogies; the field of observation should be as wide as possible; the enquirer must also distinguish personal or accidental causes from general causes, and examine the relation of one fact to other facts. Lastly, he gives a sound advice.” In order to conduct the research on the topic, informal institution approach would be applied.

The province of Punjab is selected to conduct primary research as it is a hub of Sufi shrines. Qualitative research would be conducted through interviews, surveys, questionnaires and personal observations of shrines, shrine-custodians, followers and devotees, and relevant experts. Whereas the secondary research would be conducted through relevant literature consisting of books, research articles, journals and other available resources.

### **3.1. Research Design**

It is an attempt to examine and evaluate the political economy of shrines in South Punjab. To this end, both qualitative and quantitative data would have been gathered and the analyses that data on the basis of some statistical formulas and political science theories. The data would be gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source is consists on interviews, questioners, surveys, observations from shrine-custodians and shrine followers while the secondary sources is consist on relevant experts, books and research articles. For this purpose, four shrines from South Punjab have been chosen as sample. In this context the interviews, observations, questioners and surveys would have been conducted from the followers and shrine-custodians. While for secondary data, expert opinions would be taking from academic experts,

civil society and other relevant people. The secondary data, in the form of books and research articles, would be sought from National Library Islamabad, Central Library International Islamic University Islamabad, Central Library Quid-i-Azam University Islamabad, Central library National Defence University Islamabad and Library of Higher Education Commission, Islamabad. Alongside some research papers are online available on internet and in this context the assistance would be sought from internet.

### **3.2. Case Study**

In order to observe the political economy of shrine, its dimensions and dynamics, four shrines are selected from South Punjab. Two Shrines are from District Layyah, while one shrine is of Taunsa Sharif, Dera Ghazi Khan and fourth is Musa Pak Shaheed from Multan.

Taunsa Sharif is located in the area of District Dera Ghazi Khan and 100 kilometers away from the D G Khan district. Taunsa Sharif is famous all over Pakistan and especially in South Punjab due to the presence of Khawaja Shah Suleman aka *Pir* Pathan

Musa Pak Shaheed is a famous and influential shrine in Pakistani society and is located in Multan. Syed Wajahat Hussain Gilani, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, is a Sajada-e-Nasheen of the shrine. The late wife of Syed Wajahat Hussain Gilani was the sister of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani and Sajada-e-Nasheen is also a cousin of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani. While Assad Murtaza Gilani, former federal parliamentary secretary for religious affairs, was the son of *Sajada-e-nashin* Syed Wajahat Hussain Gilani. Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani is considered as a prominent figure in Pakistan People's Party and has served as a Speaker of National Assembly and then Prime Minister of Pakistan. In 1985, in Zia Ul Haq period, he was also appointed as the minister for Housing and Works. His two sons, Abdul Qadir Gilani and Ali Musa Gilani, have also been elected as Member of National Assembly on the tickets of Pakistan People's Party. There are thousands of devotees

of the shrines especially in Punjab and Sindh. Every year these devotees visit the shrine and pay a large amount of '*nazrana*' to shrine, shrine-custodian and other descendants of the Musa Pak Shaheed. Alongside the followers of the shrine also feel blessed to vote for their *Pirs*.

District Layyah is located in South Punjab and many shrines exist in the district. Majority of the people are devotees of different shrines and shrine-custodians. *Pir* Baroo Sharif Shrine is located approximately 50 km away from the main city and have thousands of devotees in the area. Shrine-custodians are not directly involved in politics however during election they supported to different political leaders and carry out proper election campaign for them. Moreover, every year devotees participated in the *urs* of shrine and pay huge amount of *nazrana*.

The fourth shrine is of *Pir* Jagi Sharif which is located in 30 Km away from main city. The shrine-custodian is sitting a MNA (2013-2018) on PMLN ticket. Shrine has a very strong *murid* vote in the area. Devotees not only visits and pay *nazrana* at shrine but also visit to shrine-custodian and ask him for their *spiritual* and temporal needs.

### **3.3. Instrumentations**

In order to research on the subject, the questioners, interviews and surveys have been conducted for primary research while the basic and classical knowledge have been attained from research articles and books.

### **3.4. Data Collection**

Primary data is collected from shrines custodians, shrines followers and relevant experts through interviews and surveys. The secondary data is collected from research articles and books from Libraries and Internet.

### **3.5. Data Analysis**

The data has been analyzed into three different stages.

1. Arranged and organized the gathered data
2. Described the data into descriptive form
3. Tested the research questions and hypothesis according to the findings

### **4. Organization of Thesis**

The thesis is consisted on five chapters which explored the different aspects and issues of political economy of shrines.

**Chapter 1:** First chapter is introductory chapter of the thesis in which introduction of the topic, literature review, conceptual framework, methodology and plan of thesis are discussed.

**Chapter 2:** Chapter two is on try to traces the evolution of Sufism, establishment of institutionalization of *Piri-Muridi*, historical background of the shrines and role of the *Pirs* and *Sajada-e-Nashin* in Subcontinent, especially in Punjab's society.

**Chapter 3:** The third chapter explored the nature of relationship between shrine, shrine-custodians and devotees.

**Chapter 4:** The fourth chapter has investigated that why shrine and state are interdependent on each other.

**Chapter 5:** chapter fifth disclose the relationship of shrine and religion and with other sects

**Chapter 6: Conclusion:** Thesis is concluded on the basis of gathered information and data.

## Chapter 2

### Historical Background of Sufis/*Pirs* in the Subcontinent and connection with Punjab

Shrine culture and its origin are old as the history of Sufism in Muslim world. In the early ages of the Sufism, Sufis used to visit one place to other in order to seek *spiritual* knowledge and learn the Sufi practices from other great Sufis. In order to facilitate to these Sufis other Sufis and even some rulers build the *Khanqahas* (monasteries) for the purposes of a specific place where Sufis could be taught; served food and accommodate to them. Every *Khanqah* was attributed with specific Sufi pupil were taught to purify their souls. However, when the specific Sufi of *Khanqah* passed away, his pupil and devotees buried him in his *Khanqah* and that *Khanqah* later called the *Mazar* (shrine) of that Sufi. His pupils, followers and devotees considered Sufi did not die but only disappeared from ostensible world and finally *Visal* (meeting) with Allah; in reality he is also present among his followers to guide them. In this context, the devotees and followers of the Sufi celebrated his *Urs* (commemoration) on the day when he passed away, and considered that at this day their Sufi *Visal* with Allah and achieved the ultimate goal, so the day is happy day not mourn.

When one Sufi passed away, another senior Sufi most probably his son, relative or any favourite pupil took charge as a *Khalifa* (custodian) of the shrine and later he directed to his devotees. By the grace of ancestor Sufi, the custodian was also bestowed with Sufi *spiritual* powers and later he guides followers and devotees of shrines. After every shrine-custodian, new custodian took charge as a new shrine-custodian or what it called *sajada-e-nashin* in the Subcontinent. Then this chain continued, even the system is still continuing in Muslim world.

## 2. Sufism: Origin and Objectives

In today's world there is no universal accepted single definition of Sufism and not all historians are agreed on its history of origin. Mostly authors are agreed that the term Sufi derived from the Arabic word *Suf* which literally meaning is woolen clothes or garments and Sufi mean the person who wear the coarse woolen garments and live very simple life (Trimingham, 1971, p. 1). Keeping in view the preaching and teaching of Sufis doctrine the historian developed the different definitions according to Sufis ways of life. In history the tenth century famous writer on Sufism Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi defines the Sufism in various and comprehensive ways, he says that Sufis are the people of *Safa* (purity) who has pure hearts, *Saff* (rank) the people who stands in first rank in spirituality, *asahab al-Suffah* (companions of the platform, Prophet companions who spent their life for worshiping God and learning spirituality), *Suf* (wool) people who wears wool garments (al-Kalabadhi, English Translation in 1935, pp. 5-11).

The eleventh century prominent Sufi scholar of South Asia Ali Ibn Uthman al Hujwiri aka Data Ganj Bakhsh defines Sufi in his famous book on Sufism "Kashf al Mahjub" that Sufis are those who are in *Saff-e-Awal* (first rank) in front of God. Furthermore, he says Sufis are those who belong to *Asahab-al-Suffah* and has *Safa* (pure) hearts. However, he also says that the actual definition of Sufi is far away from any satisfying requirement of etymology of Sufi (al-Hujwiri, pp. 30-34). Another historian al-Sarraj says about the origin of the Sufi word that the word Sufi was used for the "people of excellence and virtue" in pre-Islamic days however after the addition of word *tasawwuf* (mysticism), this word gained more attraction in the era of *tabain* (the descendants of the Holy Prophet Muhammad's companions) and *taba-tabain* (the descendants of these descendants) (Al-Sarraj, pp. 21-22).

A German professor of Divinity F. A. G. Tholuck first time introduced the term ‘Sufism’ (Tholuck, 1821) in 1821 and explained that it’s meaning are doctrine of Sufis thoughts. Trimingham believes that the person who believes to interact or communicate with God and for this “he is prepared to go out his way to put himself in a state whereby he may be enabled to do this” (Trimingham, 1971, p. 1).

Scholars argue that the Islamic Sufism started in the life of Prophet Muhammad PBUH. In this context they opine that teaching and Sufi practice lies in Muhammad PBUH life, *hadith and Quran* (Hitti, 1958, p. 433). Anyhow the visible signs of Sufism were starting emerge into the era of *Khulfa-e-Rashdin* in which Hazrat Abu Zar Ghafir, Hazrat Salman Farsi and Hazrat Awais Qarni were considered great Sufis. Sufism and Sufis had become popular in early ages of Islam. The prominent Sufi scholar of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are Hasan al-Basri, Malik Ibn Dinar, Ibrahim Ibn Adham, Rabia al-Bassri, Bayzid al-Bastami, Junayd al-Baghdadi, Husain Ibn Mansur al-Halaj.

However, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Sufi Islam made its presence approximately in entire Islamic regions and also transformed into an “institutionalized mass religion” (Hodgson, 1974, p. 210). Famous Sufi scholar of twelfth century Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani had made tremendous progress in spreading Sufism in different parts of the Islamic world and even his descendant Sufis spread Islam in non-Muslim areas.

In the end of the fifteenth century two important but traditionally rivals Islamic institutions *Khanqah and Madarsah* came close to each other’s in terms sharing their broader ideologies. Sufi started to learn *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) while jurist from different *Fiqahs* entered into the Sufism fold (Berkey, 1992, pp. 47-50). In result of that merging, Sufism more popularized into Islamic world.

## 2.1. Institutionalization of Sufism

In early centuries particularly eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are called the formative phase of the Sufism in which Sufi doctrine and practices emerged. While in eleventh and twelfth centuries, Sufism was formally developed into shape of institutions. Before institutionalization, Sufism passed through different phases.

Trimingham categorized Sufism into three phases. First is *Khanqah* phase, second is *Tariqa*: doctrinal evolution and third is *Taifah*: formed a Sufi cult in which *Pir* (saint) class emerged and they exaggerated their values (Trimingham, 1971, pp. 1-104). Another author on Sufism Nizami categorized Sufism into three periods, first period is quietist: in this era Sufi cut themselves from the world started living in isolation, second period is mystical philosophy: in this era Sufi thoughts and doctrines were developed in the form Sufi poetry by great Sufi poets like Rumi and third period is *Silsilah* (order): In this era Sufi orders were developed and spirituality transformed from one generation to other (Nizami, 1969, pp. 55-66).

Fritz Meier divided Sufism into four eras in which Sufi ideology developed. First Pre-Classical Sufism (eighth century): initial era when Sufis used to wear woolen garments and adopted the Sufi practices of *Sama* and *dhikar*. Second is, Classical Sufism (ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries): Sufi ideas popularized in public and started Sufi movements, third is, post classical Sufism (eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries): Sufi orders formed. Fourth is, neo classical Sufism (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries): revival of the classical era of Sufi practices (Meier, 1980, pp. 117-25).

Initially, short after the passing away of Holy Prophet (PBHU), Muslim were fallen into internal turmoil, political instability and social decay. In this scenario, three prominent caliphates Hazrat Omer, Hazrat Usman and Hazrat Ali were assassinated which fueled the anarchy in the Muslim

society. When Umayyads rulers came into power they emphasized on making assets, enjoying luxury life and ignored their subjects. In result, the political instability and social decay emerged in the society and people started to feel deprive. In that scenario some people adopted simple life and cut themselves from the temporal affairs in order to stage silent protest against materialistic rulers (Anjum, 2011, pp. 47-49). In this context the early famous Sufis were Hasn al-Basri, Rabia al-Basri, Ibrahim bin Adham and Abu Hashim.

### **3. Emergence of Sufism in the Subcontinent**

Intrinsically, Sufi ideology and its orders emerged in Arab and its adjacent areas however it gradually spread all over the Islamic world. In eighth century Arab Muslim invaded Subcontinent and conquered the current areas of Sindh and some parts of South Punjab, up to Multan. It has been said that these Muslim invaders introduced the first light of Islam in the Subcontinent. However, some experts believe that the lights of Islam were enlightened before these Arab Muslim invaders by the Muslim merchants in the region who used to come into India for the sake of their business ventures. Along these Muslim merchants few Sufis also visited India, stayed there, preached Islam and converted many local people into Muslim (Mohammad Idris, 2011). In this context Sufi Saint Imam Nasiruddin name is among those who first migrated to India for preaching Islam. Sufism left many changes on Indian social, political and religious fabrics of the society. Local Hindus also used to visit these Sufi saints, pay homage and received amulets for their temporal desires. Later Sikh Movement also stemmed from the Islamic Sufism in India which teaching has great resemblance to Islamic teachings.

Initially, Punjab became the main center of Sufis. Main Sufi came from other areas and stayed into Punjab areas like Lahore, and current areas of South Punjab like Multan, Uch Sharif and Pakpatan. At that time Delhi was considered capital of Hindustan and Sufis also made this city as a Sufi

station for their teachings. In this regards in fourteen century Muslim established approximately 2000 *Khanqahas* in Delhi and its surrounding areas (Hassan, May 1987, p. 554). They started their preaching to local people and rapidly expanded their influence in the society. Alongside they also expand their Sufi *Silsilah* through their devotees and disciples who went to other areas of the region and played significant role in spreading the teaching of Sufism. Alongside some Sufi also wrote books to guide their pupils and devotees that how to learn the Sufism and how can they purify their souls. In this context Ali-al-Hujwairi book *Kashf-ul-Mahjoob* is considered first Persian book on Sufism in the Subcontinent (Metcalf, 2009, p. 5) for the learning of Sufism. As Muslim considered these Sufi saints as preacher of Islam in the subcontinent however the Hindu considered that these Sufis came to India just to strengthen the political authority of Muslim invaders and rulers over the India (Upadhyay, 2004).

### **3.1. Sufi Orders in the Subcontinent**

Sufi *Silsilah* or *Tariqa* (Order) is one of the main developments in Sufism and currently there are many Sufi orders exist across the globe. *Silsilah* or *Tariqa* literally means a path or a way in which followers of that order follow that path. It is also a chain of genealogical authority who served the identity and legitimacy for next generation of great Sufi (Anjum, 2011, pp. 57-58). In twelfth and thirteenth century Sufi orders materialized very rapidly in Muslim world.

Initially, there were four Sufi orders came into the Subcontinent. These four orders are *Chishti*, *Suhrawardi*, *Qadri* and *Naqshbandi*. While *Chishti*, *Suhrawardi* and *Qadri* orders established their *Khanqahas* into Punjab and focused on rural people (Gilmartin, 1979, pp. 485-486). While *Naqshbandi* orders made its first place in Delhi. All proponents of these orders were foreigners and stayed in different areas of Hindustan: *Suhrawardis* in Multan and Uch, *Chishtis* in Ajmair and Pakpatan, *Qadri* at Uch and Lahore while *Naqshbandis* alone stayed in Delhi (Aziz, 2001, pp.

4-6). The real proponent of *Suhrawardi* order was Ziauddin Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi however Jalaluddin Surkhposh (1192-1291) of Bukhara came into Uch and settled there. He also brought Suhrawardi order with himself and he spread this order into the area. Alongside Bahauddin Zakariyya (died 1262) also founded this order into Multan and spread the lights of Islam in Multan and its adjacent areas (Trimingham, 1971, pp. 65-66).

The *Chishti* order was founded by Khawaja Abu Ishaq Shami (death 940) in *Chishta* small village located in nowadays' Afghanistan. Hazrat Khawaja Moin-ud-Din (death 1236) introduced *Chishti* Sufi order into the Subcontinent (Aziz, 2001, p. 5). Alongside Baba Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakr (1173-1265) brought Chishti Sufi order into Punjab later this order put deep impacts on local's social and religious ways of life.

Another important *Silsila* is *Qadri* order. This *Silsila* is originated from Abdul Qadir Jilani (died 1166) of Baghdad, Iraq. After four hundred years of his death, this *Silsila* came into Punjab by Muhammad Ghaus (died 1517). Muhammad Ghus stayed into Uch Sharif where Suhrawardia *Silsila* was already settled. Two more prominent Sufi of this order Mian Mir and Shah Lal Hussain also settled into Lahore and started preaching their orders (Aziz, 2001, p. 5).

Muhammad Bahauddin al-Naqshbandi (died 1389) formally developed the *Naqshbandi Silsila*. Initially, *Naqshbandi Silsila* made its hub in Delhi and its surrounding areas. Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani (1563-1624) and Hazrat Baqi Billah Berang (1563-1603) introduced the *Naqshbandi Silsila* in Subcontinent especially in Delhi. The two main figures of Islamic scholars from Subcontinent Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) and Sayyid Ahmad Barelawi also belonged to *Naqshbandi Silsila* (Aziz, 2001, p. 5).

### 3.2. *Khanqah* (Monastery) and Shrine Culture

Initially, when Sufis saints of different regions shifted into Subcontinent, they established their *Khanqahas* (monasteries) for the teaching of their Sufi practices and spiritual blessing for local people. Every *Khanqaha* put deep impact on the religious, political and social factors of the society. Alongside *Khanqahas* were also used for the training of the pupils who want to attain spirituality through *zikar* (Aziz, 2001). In this context many pupils lived in the *Khanqaha* got training from their master Sufi. *Khanqaha* also served them food and accommodation. Many travelers and merchants were also used to live temporarily into *Khanqahas* during their long journey. In response, these merchants also financially supported to these *Khanqahas* and in returns they got security and blessing for their business (Mohammad Idris, 2011). In the *Khanqaha* master Sufi used to teach Sufism to his pupil, blessed his devotees and prepared new ways to spread his message among masses. This factor led to the relationship of master-disciple or what in today's period called *Piri-Muridi* (Hassan, May 1987, pp. 555-557). They also used to write books and poetry on Sufism and Sufi thoughts.

When one master Sufi passed away his pupil buried him in that *Khanqaha* and then that *Khanqaha* called *Mazar* (shrine) (Hassan, May 1987, p. 557). After his death, *Sajada-e-Nashin* (Shrine-custodian) was selected to continue his master teaching and order. In this way the chain is still continue in the form of hereditary *pirs*. In this context, the initial Sufi saints Hazrat Ali Hujwairi Data Ganj Baksh Lahore, Hazrat Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakr Pakpatan, Hazrat Bahauddin Zakariya Multan, Muhammad Ghaus Uch, Shah Hussain Lahore, Sultan Baho Jhang, Khawaja Ghulam Farid Chachran, Bulleh Shah Qasoor, established their *Khanqahas* in the area of Punjab and later their *Khanqahas* were converted into their shrines. Later these shrines developed a hereditary *Piri*

system which is still active not only on these Sufis shrines but its franchises shrines have also been expanded across the area.

### **3.3. Shrine and Devotees**

Since its inception, shrine has deep religious, political and social impact on his devotees and followers. Shrine culture has been much enriched in the land of Punjab among the followers and devotees since centuries. When one saint passes away, then his descendants, pupils and devotees forged his *Mazar* or shrine on his grave and it is perceived that the saint is not dead just disappear from the world. If their devotees would call him during any obstacle or visit shrine then their saint would reply and support them (O'Brien, Jul. - Dec. 1911, p. 518).

The relationship between a shrine and devotees is on *spiritual* basis that the saints who buried in the shrine and shrine-custodians have the special *spiritual* powers to resolve devotees' issues. Generally, the devotees have two kinds of factors which bond them with shrine i.e. first is temporal factors what we call it social factors and second are religious factors. The social factors are the social obstacles and difficulties which *murids* faced like poverty, illness, conflicts etc. In religious factors *murids* wanted to please their God, his prophet (PBUH) and their *pir* and they wanted to achieve *spirituality* and *mysticism*. In this context the devotees consider that Sufis, saints or *Pirs* have approach through Prophet or direct to God and if these saints may please with them then they can their intercession with God. This intercession is based on worldly desires or social factors and also religious one.

When any wish of *murids* fulfilled they visited the shrine, pay homage, *nazrana* on shrine and to shrine-custodian. The visitors could be divided into different categories in term of their needs. Mainly, the devotees who started visits at shrines were those want to fulfill their worldly desires

i.e. healing from different diseases, barren couple want children, economic improvements, improvement in business, overcome on poverty etc. these kind of people also thought that if they did not visit shrine then *pir* would displeased with them and it would cause trouble for them.

While other people went for their religious needs as they thought that by visiting Sufis shrine they would be blessed the true way of *spirituality*. Because they thought that God is far away from them and it is not easy to meet God directly. For this they considered that Shrine is the places which help them in attaining their mysticism destination. So they went on shrine, live there, performed Sufi practices and after being enlightened they went back to other areas as a saint. After attaining the *spiritual* power from shrine they further continue *Silsilah* of that Sufi. When Sufism started in South Punjab the bond of shrine and his devotees was very strong and stills this culture is continueeven now it has been more enriched. For shrine, the devotees were source of power and popularity and a significant political economy.

### **3.4. Shrine and Politics**

When Sufism formally came into existence Sufi used to avoid intervening in any kind of state affairs (Anjum, 2011, p. 69)and kept themselves away from rulers and courts (Ali, 1996). With the passage of time, shrine started involve into state affairs and started working for state affairs. Shrine and state rulers have been remained very close and had equal significant for each other's for centuries. It has been also said that when foreign Muslim rulers came to Subcontinent they also brought Sufi saints along with them so that local people should embrace Islam and this factor became a cause of consolidation for Muslim rulers in the region. In this way the seeds of politics were sown in shrines of Punjab before establishing formal shrines institutions. In order to fulfill state political interests shrine-custodians remained very close with Muslim rulers and took their

special support. In this context, they also introduced the ways for rulers to interact with common people (Upadhyay, 2004).

In history, state and shrines remained interdependent on each other on various factors. The first and foremost priority of any state is to keep its subjects or people calm, regulate its laws so that it could prevent any form of anarchy and state should remain politically stable. State rulers kept good relations with shrine-custodians as they could provide their devotees as reinforcement at the time of emergency, as they also provided their devotees for the recruitment in army even on short notice (Hassan, May 1987).

In this regards every shrine had considerable numbers of its devotees and followers. These followers and devotees obeyed every order of their shrine and shrine-custodian very happily. At one time one shrine-custodian has its followers and devotees in numbers of thousands. If state does not fulfill the hopes of its people and if it feels threat of anarchic situation in state, then it is very difficult for it control to thousands people. However, a shrine-custodian had *spiritual* relationship with its thousands of devotees to calm down and control them. This compulsion compelled to state to came close with shrine. In order to establish firm control on people through these *Sajada-e-Nashins*, the state rulers also pleased with them by granting land, honour and appointments. In this context, the Mughal rulers also granted a status of local governor to *Sajada-e-Nashin* of the shrine of Musa Pak Shaheed Multan to monitor the local public activities (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 488).

When any state leader visited on any shrine then it becomes cause of more popularity of the shrine among people and more people start to visit the shrine. The popularity of the shrine not only increases the economy of the shrine but also political weight of its *sajada-e-nashin* in state affairs. In India the grave of Hazrat Moinuddin had been remained deserted after his death in 1236 but when in sixteenth century Mughal King Akbar visited his shrine then shrine became more popular

in India (Ali, 1996, p. 202). Khawaja Nizamuddin (died 1325) had maintained good relations with all rulers of his time, even these rulers had great difference against each other's. Makhdoom of Jahniyan was also in favored of every ruler and termed them "chosen creature" of Allah. He also termed that any rebellion against rulers is an unacceptable sin and he also quoted to Holy Prophet by saying that "he who obey the rulers, would be blessed by Allah" (Ali, 1996, p. 178). In this context he openly deterred his followers from any attempt to topple the reign of Sultan. In Mughal era these shrines not only served as religious outposts of Islam but also for increasing political influence of the kingdom (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 489).

Some rulers also killed Sufis on their auspicious involvement in *conspiracy* against them. In this context, Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji (died 1296) ordered to kill a Sufi saint Sayyidi Maula over his involvement in *conspiracy* against Sultan. While the Sufis who remained loyal with Sultans, had been granted different facilities like establishment of *Khanqahas*, lands, *nazrana*, and other gifts. This trend gradually expanded and shrine-custodians became more rich and prosperous (Ali, 1996, p. 179). The prosperity of the shrine also influenced on devotees, raised the numbers of the disciples and devotees on the shrine and later these devotees became the source of popularity among public which increase the numbers of their *muridain* (followers). Some writers also claim that when any Muslim ruler invaded on India they sought prayers from their contemporary saints. Sufi saint not only prayed for their victory but also predicted their victories. In history it is also famous that the victories of Mahmud Ghaznvi, Muizuddin Ghauri and Alaudin Khilji were results of prayers of Khawaja Abu Muhammad Chishti, Moinuddin Chishti and Nizamuddin Auliya respectively (Ali, 1996, p. 182). It is also fact that these shrines could not save to Mughal downfall in the Subcontinent. Nonetheless, after the decline of Mughal, the shrine-custodians became local chiefs and landlords (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 489) and increased their religious, political and social

influence. After sometime, with the changing dynamics of the political scenarios these *Sajada-e-Nashins* converted into feudal landlords by increasing their marital relations with non-*Pirs* landlords and achieved a considerable wealth.

When Britain took control of Central and Western Punjab from Sikhs in 1849, the *Pirs* of the region turned in favour of British government for better protection of their wealth and land (Aziz, 2001). In West Punjab the shrines were stretched in wide spread area where local petty chiefs were controlling the areas. These shrines reflect the structure of political authority in their area especially among their devotees (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 488).

Viewing the *Pirs* influence in the society and its status, British government also granted them not only more lands but also some honorary designation such as Assistant Commissioner, magistrates, *Ziledar*, *Tehseeldar* and other designations. They also received expensive gifts, special chair in the office or *darbar* of commissioners and Governor and also took *afrin-namas* (letters of appreciation) written in gold lettering. The representatives of the British government i.e. deputy commissioners, also took part in *Urs* of influential shrines. *Sajada-e-Nashins* had also been bestowed with special guns and swords by the government (Aziz, 2001, pp. 19-42). Later they hanged these guns and swords into their *khanqahs* to impress their devotees. These political nature relations between state and shrine had put deep impacts on devotees. They considered that shrine and shrine-custodian possessed great access that even government had acknowledged the value and power of shrine. Psychologically, they became more prone to shrine and started follow the order of shrine-custodian with full zeal and zest. Keeping balancing political relation with shrine, British government got succeed in keeping public in their influence and control and politically stable the areas where they granted to *pirs*. In this context the *Pirs* and *Sajada-e-Nashins* of Shrine of Baba Farid of Pakpattan, and shrines of Jhang, Multan and Muzaffargarh districts took

many benefits in the form of land, gifts, and honorary designations from the British Government (Aziz, 2001, pp. 19-42). The political relations were not only existed between shrine and state but these relations were also existed between different tribes and shrines. In this context different tribes made allegiance with different shrines on political basis (Ewing, Feb 1983). The political dimension of shrine not only benefitted to state by controlling people but also increased the status of shrines in the eyes of its devotees (Gilmartin, 1979). The undisputed loyalty of devotees with shrines had opened new avenues for *Sajada-e-Nashins* and their families to enter into politics (Adeel Malik, 2015).

### **3.5. Shrine's *Nazrana* Economy**

Initially, the *Khanqahas* expenditures were based on *Khairat* (Muslim charity). As the shrine had increased its influence in public, state also started to take interest in shrine affairs for its own political interest. Gradually, shrine became a profitable business in which it not only spent money on shrine rituals but shrine-custodians also spent money on their vested interests. In Punjab, the Mughal era was a period when shrine-custodians were bestowed with lands and other gifts in the form of *Nazrana*. The states granted these *Nazrana* to *Sajada-e-Nashin* on the basis of political purposes or that in return shrines fulfilled state's political objectives. Intrinsically, there were two main sources of economy of shrines i.e. first the devotees and followers who paid a considerable amount of *Nazrana* second was the state who granted them lands and other gifts according to the social influence of the shrine. On the occasion of the *Urs* devotees and followers gathered at shrines and paid a significant amount of *nazrana*. Once a person made allegiance with any shrine or *pir* then it was compulsory for him to pay "annual fee" on *urs* and devotees also paid the *nazrana* on other possible occasion like taking amulet etc (O'Brien, Jul. - Dec. 1911, p. 511). Alongside other economic activities had also been conducted at shrine on the occasion of *urs* which generate

a considerable profit for local merchants. In this context, mostly *Urs* celebration had been conducted in the season of crop harvest and *Urs* was considered the main function in which large quantity of *nazrana* had been gathered. According to one estimate the good *urs* was considered which could collect 20 lakh rupees *nazrana* from his devotees. In the history of subcontinent, Sultans of Delhi granted lands to *Khanqahas* and shrines on the name of *Maádad-e-Maásh* (economic assistance), later Mughals and British continued this trend (Hassan, May 1987, p. 558). During British era, 19,752 acres land had been reserved for the shrines of Multan and 99 percent of this land was granted to Muslim shrines. In this context, many other regional shrines such as Sultan Bahoo, Uch Gul Imam Shah from Jhang, Pakpattan, Shergarh, Musa Pak Shaheed, Shah Gardez, Shaikh Kabir Qureshi, Dera Din Panah also received the land grants from Britain government (Adeel Malik, 2015, p. 7). In order to protect *Pirs-Zamindar*, in 1876 British government passed the Encumbered Estates Act, later this act was extended in 1881, 1884 and 1896. According to this new law creditor could file sue against any landowner. Under this law many *Pirs* benefited and further increase their economy. In 1905 government passed another act Court of Ward system in order to extend their support to *Pirs* families. In result of these legal measures *Pirs* became richer and they bought new lands on the special rates.

Some shrine-custodians also received maintenance grants for their shrines and many shrines also took *muafis* (revenue free assignments) from government in which Mohammad Ghaus shrine of Montgomery and Bhai Pheru shrines were included. Some shrines of Punjab had also been granted life time *muafi* like Baghdad Sharif and Ghaunspur from Khanewal. British government had granted many lands to different shrines in which the shrine-custodian of Chachran Sharif were benefitted with a village of Waghuan which produced Rs. 20,000 annually at that time. State had granted a reward of 1.5 wells to *Mutawali* (trustee) of Bhindwala Sahib Shrine, Jetha Bhutta shrine

had been granted 500 bighas for the *tail chragh* (oil lamp) of shrine, shrine-custodian of shrine of Salih Muhammad Ujjan had been granted 500 bighas of land by the state. Although shrine also collected a huge amount of *nazrana* from their devotees however their real source of strength relied on state provisions (Adeel Malik, 2015, pp. 7-8).

### **3.6. Rituals and *karamat* (Wonders)**

There are many rituals which have been observed on different shrines of Punjab and even these rituals are still existed with some advancement. Some authors divided the rituals activities into three categories first is *zikar*, second is *urs* and third is visiting shrines (Ohtsuka, n.d., p. Oxford Islamic Studies Online). Anyhow other experts also included some other rituals like Sufi dances, *sama* or *Qawali*, *mawlid* or *milad* were also performed at the shrines (Trimingham, 1971, pp. 194-217). Among these rituals, *Urs* is the main ritual, considered a mega event of every shrine in which devotees and followers participated and paid homage to shrine. On this occasion it was also perceived that the saint who was buried inside the shrine was not dead but his soul merged *fana* (eternal) leading to *baqa* (permanence) (Aziz, 2001). It is compulsory for devotees to visit the shrine on the occasion of *urs* with considerable amount of *nazrana*. In this context many shrines had fixed the quantity of *nazrana* in the form of wheat or any other grain, animals and liquidity which strengthened the ‘*nazrana* economy’ of the shrine. It has also been observed that on the occasion of the *urs* some other bad activities are also carried out like selling and taking the drugs. Some people think that by taking the drug they can easily make *spiritual* relations with their dead *pir* and through him they attain the *spirituality* (Aziz, 2001, p. 109).

Devotees and followers also gathered at shrine and they performed the *zikar* by saying the 101 names of Allah. They glorified God by continuing repeating Allah names (Trimingham, 1971, p. 194). Many shrine-custodians conducted the *sama* activities on their ancestors shrines in which

*Qawal* sung the *qawali* and remembered their Sufis. Shrine-custodian, his family, devotees and followers of the shrine participated in the Qawali. They fainton the voice and verses of Qawal. Qawali activities are regularly performed on the Chishtia order shrines in the Punjab. The milad (birth of Prophet Muhammad PBUH) has also been celebrated at every shrine. In this context, *pirs*, *sajada-e-nashins*, devotees and followers of the shrines gathered at shrine at the night of Milad. During this ceremony, *naat khawans* sings the *naats* to glorify prophet Muhammad, then *khalifa* of the shrine read about the Prophet birth when he reaches on the line that “when Prophet born” all people rise and welcome to Prophet (Trimingham, 1971, p. 210). On this occasion they also prepared a special decorated chair for the Prophet that when Prophetwould come into *Milad* he would sit on that special chair. When Prophet Comes, first *pir* stand, as he only can see Prophet, rest the devotees follows *pir* actions. They stand for a while and read *darood-o-salaam* (blessing and peace) prayers. When Prophet goes back *pir* sit down, as *pir* can see, and all followers also sit. Later they distribute *langar* among devotees. On this occasion it is implied that only *pir* has the *spiritual* power to see and contact with the Prophet (Sherani, 1991, p. 222).

Devotees also used to visit different shrine to pay homage and considered it special prayers worship. In this context people go their kissed the *chadar* (cloth cover at the grave of buried saint) and pray for their temporal and hereafter life desires. They also offered a considerable amount of *nazran* so that *pir* would happy with their *nazrana* and fulfill their desires. In this context they also make pledge that if their prayers accepted and their wish fulfilled then they would bring more *nazrana*. When their wishes fulfilled they come with more *nazrana*, more respect and more popularity for shrine. If their wish not fulfill then they come again and again, or move to some other shrines for blessings. Some shrines are famous for fulfilling some special wishes like

granting children to infertile couples get rid of dangerous diseases, healing from bite of mad dog, get rid of *jins* etc (Sherani, 1991, p. 222).

Some devotees considered that visiting shrines of the holy saint is equal to visit of Mecca and Madinah (Ohtsuka, n.d., p. Oxford Islamic Studies Online). In this context it is said that in Multan there are one lakh and five thousand shrines if the number of shrines increased up to one lakh twenty-five thousand then the *Hajj* (pilgrim to Mecca) would be performed in Multan as well. However alongside this, it is also said that the number of shrine would not increase because *Allah* do not want any other place for Islamic pilgrimage. The purpose of the story is to promote the values of the shrines in the region.

The *karamat* and *Muajzat* (wonders and miracles) of the Punjab's *pirs* are also very famous in the area. The stories of these miracles are popular among people and these stories impacted on people's belief with more intensity of belief. In this context there was a *pir* who rode on the wall as his riding conveyance and used a snake as its whip to run the wall. There was another *pir* who crossed the Indus River with a stone boat. When a *pir* buried in his grave, it is said that his hands often came out of his grave. Another *pir* his head had been cut off but he walked without his head up to his home. It is also famous about Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani who brought out a forty years old sunk boat from river with all alive people who was rod on it. There were many saints who changed the direction of Indus River because the river damaged to crops of local people. There was also a *pir* in Multan, who did not find firewood to broil his fish, so he brought sun near to the city and broil his fish (O'Brien, Jul. - Dec. 1911, p. 518). The stories of these miracles and wonders left deep impact on the people's mind that if these *pirs* performed these unbelievable miracles then they have some special spiritual powers to fulfill people wishes. People, followers, and devotees also considered that *pirs* are liberators of their followers and they liberate common people from

temporal problems. Alongside as they are special men of Allah and Prophet so they would also liberate them from any punishment at the Day of Judgment.

### **3.7. Sufi versus Orthodox Islam**

Sufi Islam also called popular Islam due to its soft image and introducing many new reforms in the society. While on the other hand, Orthodox Islam strictly follows the Islamic teaching of early Islam and not ready to mold the Islamic values according to time and space. In history, Sufism became subject to bone of contention between orthodox and Sufis. Sufis were blamed to introduce new practices in Islam which are contradictions with *Quranic* teaching and Hadith. Orthodox Muslims termed, these new practices as, *bidaat* (innovation). Ibn-e-Taimiyya (1263-1328) was the first theologian who termed the Sufism as a *shirk* (associationism) with God and Sufi teaching are contradiction with the concept of *Tauhid* (Oneness of God) (Philippon, 2016). Sufis are also considered apolitical and inactive part of the society. In this context, Shah Wali Ullah (1702-62) who also belonged to *naqashbandi* Sufi order, try to run Sufism on scriptural ways—Sharia, from deviant way. Other orthodox Muslim thinkers like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624), Syed Ahmad *Barelvi* (1856-1921), Maulana Qasim Nanotvi (1833-1880), Maulan Rasheed Ganghvi (1829-1905), Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi (1863-1943) all these turned against the Sufism and rejected the concept Sufism. While in the leadership of Mualna Ahmad Raza Khan *Barelvi*, the *Barelvi* School of thought came into being in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to defend Sufism and *pirs* while their devotees started to call themselves *Barelvi* (Sherani, 1991, p. 228). In response of orthodox, Maulna Ahmad Raza Khan *Barelvi* declared his contemporary orthodox *ulemas* Maulana Qasim Nanotvi, Maulana Rasheed Ghangvi and Mualna Ashraf Ali Thanvi as *Kafir* (infidels). These *ulemas* and their pupils used to conduct *manazras* (religious debate) against

each other and still this trend is continued. In reaction of *Barelvi* and *Deobandi* movement, today *Barelvi* and *Deobandis* are two main schools of thoughts of Pakistan and Indian Muslims.

#### **4. Shrines and Pakistan Movement**

In 1906 when Muslim League was established, the politics of shrine had been augmented and *sajada-e-nashins* were playing significant role in local and national level politics. When Mughal kingdom demised, the shrine culture had been bolstered to great extent in their regions. Their political, social and so called religious role had been increased up to great extent in local people. Later keeping in view the importance of shrine in local political structure British government granted special provisions to shrines in the form of honorary designations, lands, and legislate some Acts to facilitate *sajada-e-nashins*. In this context, British government introduced the Alienation Land Act in 1900 to ban the non-agricultural people from acquiring land from rural areas (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 493). The purpose of this act was to further bolster the landlord class in rural areas and urban population kept away from rural areas. These policies led to the establishment of Unionist Party in Punjab by the landlords of Punjab. In 1920 provincial election, total 27 Muslim elected and out of these five were leading *pirs* of Punjab. When in 1923 Unionist Party came into being all these five *pirs* joined the Unionist Party. Sir Fazli Hussain, leader of the Unionist Party, did not make special appeal to *sajada-e-nashins* to join the Unionist Party but it were these *sajada-e-nashins* who showed their special interests to join the party to save their interests.

The Chishti *pirs* who emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were not prone to the Unionist policies as they were also anti-British policies. *Pir* Mehar Ali Shah of Golra Sharif, who belonged to Chishti *sisilah*, had halted its relations with British government:

In 1929 Ahrar Party was founded by the *ulemas* in the opposition of Unionist Party especially in the response of rural Muslim political landlords' policies. In this regards Ahrar presented a coherent religious view in comparison of Unionist *pirs* 'views and gave a tough political challenge to the Unionist. The party also focused on urban middle and lower classes and also attracted some rural revivalists *sajada-e-nashins* of Chishti order. The shrine-custodians also faced the resistance from reformist *Ulemas* as the Maulna Zafar Ali Khan *Zamindar* and Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar *Hamard* continuously attacked on role of landlords shrine-custodians policies. On this front many *sajada-e-nashins* also responded to these *ulema* like *Pir Fazl Shah* defended the Sufism and Shrines against the attacks of these reformist *ulemas*.

When the *Khilafat* Movemnt started, initially *sajada-e-nashins* supported this cause to varying degrees. However, when the Movement was on peak many *sajada-e-nashins* distanced themselves from it in order to fulfill their loyalty with British government (Adeel Malik, 2015, p. 7). Apart from Ahrar Party, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's *Majlis Ittihad-i-Millat* also granted tough times to the *sajada-e-nashins* political influence in rural areas. In spite of this *pirs* remained unbreakable for these parties and Unionist Party further boosted due to *pirs* support. In the 1937 elections, Unionist Party swept Punjab and won majority of the seats. Even the main contenders' parties against the Unionist were the religious parties like Ahrar Party and *Majlis Ittihad-i-Millat*. While, lawyers' party Muslim League did not impact on Unionist position in the Punjab. Actually it was the Unionist Political structure which might become cause of its victory. Unionist Party mainly consisted on *sajada-e-nashins* of the Punjab, from whom some influential landlords' shrine-custodians were contesting elections on the tickets of Unionist Party while other *sajada-e-nashins* were supporting to the members of the Party. During election campaign fourteen prominent *pirs* issued decree to their followers for the support of Unionist Party (Sherani, 1991, p. 230). It is also

said that if these *pirs* did not join the Unionist then it made no difference on Unionist victory and however it makes difference if *sajada-e-nashinsit* join rival religious parties (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 504). One of the Party members, Mohammad Bashir from Gurdaspur wrote a letter to the Party headquarter about the *pirs* support to Unionist Party, he writes, “The Ahrar have begun with awfully vigorous propaganda. At least they presume to have captured the towns. Still we don’t fear if they do not begin with villages. Villagers, you know, follow these “*pirs*” blindly. … Take care of these *pirs*. Ask them only to keep silent on the matter of election. We don’t require their help but they should not oppose us” (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 504).

In 1937 elections, Muslim League won only two seats from Punjab. Muslim League considered itself sole party who represent Muslim of the Subcontinent. After 1937 Jinnah made alliance with the Unionist Party, in result of this alliance many rural sympathizers to Muslim league turned against Jinnah decision, including Ahrar Party who was prior to this had sympathies with Muslim League. After this Jinnah shunned its relation with religious leaders even this status quo upheld up to 1944 when Muslim League broke its alliance with Unionist Party (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 507).

In 1945 when Pakistan Movement was on its peak, many *sajada-e-nashin* and other landlords of Punjab joined Muslim League due to its popularity. They also knew Pakistan was going to emerge as separate country and Punjab would be its main part. So it was in their interest to join Muslim League. In 1945 Muslim League leaders appealed for vote in Punjab on the basis of religion Islam. In this context the prominent leader of Muslim League Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, son of Sardar Sikandar Hayat while speaking during a conference at shrine of the Sial Sharif said that being a member of Muslim League he would not deviate from the path of Islam. He also declared that Pakistan would be a “state of Quran” and also said the Muslim League is conducting a Jihad and it is duty of every Muslim from Subcontinent to take part in that Jihad.

As 1946 elections approached the *sajada-e-nashins* who were outside the Muslim League they observed the growing popularity of Muslim League they also joined the Muslim League (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 512). In this scenario on 6 September 1945 The Eastern Times newspaper published a story and said that the main *sajada-e-nashins* of shrines of Sial Sharif, Jalalpur Sharif, Taunsa Sharif, Alipur Saydan Sharif and Golra Sharif has announced the support of Muslim Leagues. All these shrines belonged to Chishti order. *Pir* of Alipur, Sialkot *Pir* Jamat Ali Shah while defending about Jinnah he said whatever you said about Jinnah but I would like to say him a “Wali Allah” (holy saint of God). He also wrote a letter to Jinnah and advised him to perform a Hajj and this message would shut the mouths of enemies of Islam. Alongside the *sajada-e-nashin* of the Musa Pak Shaheed shrine also announced to support Muslim League. However, its political rival *sajada-e-nashin* of Haq Bhawal shrine remained loyal with Unionist Party (Aziz, 2001, p. 47). *Sajada-e-nashins* played pivotal role in the victory of Muslim League of 1946 election. When Pakistan emerged on the map of the world the *sajada-e-nashins* of shrines of Punjab showed themselves as makers of Pakistan and after one year they were also among the rulers of the newly country (Aziz, 2001, p. 52).

## 5. Shrine Role in the Politics of Pakistan

When Pakistan came into being, the *pirs* had had their large majority in two provinces i.e. Sindhh and Punjab, out of four provinces of West Pakistan. Their social, spiritual and political influence made them prominent not only in social structure of the country but also in political structure of the country. Up till 1954 *Pirs* remained patron to Muslim League but when the party broke into factions, the *pirs* also joined different factions and parties according to their benefits. In this context, if one brother of the saint was in one party then other would have in its rival party (Aziz, 2001, pp. 53-54). In this context, *pirs* continued their support, legally or illegally, to every

politician whether it was dictator, secular or any other cunning politician. In 1955 West Pakistan had been declared one unit and the newly assembly were consisted on 310 members. Among these 310 members, there were 200 landlords, 30 refugees' leaders, 30 tribal leaders and 16 were *pirs* (Sherani, 1991, p. 232).

In 1956 when General Ayub Khan seized the power, he also extended his hand of friendship with *pirs* in order to consolidate his power. It is also evident that General Ayub Khan was also a *murid* or devotee of *Pir* of Dewaal Sharif (Ewing, Feb 1983, p. 265). Before the 1964 presidential election *pirs* were divided into two political factions, first was Jamiat Ulemai-e-Pakistan, established by migrated *pirs* from India. While second was *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh* established by local *pirs*. At that time *Pir* of Dewal Sharif was the head of *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh*, a party of *sajada-e-nashins*. Ayub Khan had heavily relied on *pirs* of Dewal Sharif party in 1964 presidential elections against Fatima Jinnah, candidate of Combined Opposition Parties (COP). *Pir* of Dewal Sharif claimed that he had 20,000 members out of 80,000 member electoral college. In this way Ayub directly received 25 percent due to *pirs* help. During this scenario, only one popular *pir* Nizam-ud-Din of Taunsa Sharif supported to Fatima Jinnah (Sherani, 1991, p. 234).

Bhutto came into power with the slogan of "socialism" and taking measures against the landlords. However, when he came into power he also included *pirs* landlords to consolidate his regime. However he termed his alliance with *sajada-e-nashins* the start of "Islamic Socialism". In this context he visited many shrines, called shrine-custodians and also participated in the ceremony of laying *chadar* on the graves of many Sufi saints (Aziz, 2001, p. 56). In 1977 election there were many landlords and *pirs-zamindar* were contesting election on the ticket of socialist Bhutto's Pakistan People Party (Ewing, Feb 1983, p. 257). In his political campaign Bhutto also used the slogan "*Dama Dam Mast Qalandar* (Qalandar will take care, do not despair)". It is also a fact that

after the execution of Bhutto, the Party has also build his splendid mausoleum where party workers and general public pay homage on his grave. They also called him “Shaheed Baba”, “Chairman Badshah Shaheed” and compare him with great saint of Sindhh like Shah Abdul Latif and Laal Shahbaz Qalander (Sherani, 1991, p. 235).

General Zia-ul-Haq came to office with the concept of imposing *sharia* in the country. In his era Zia promoted *Deobandism* in the country and used them as a tool to impose *sharia* in the country. In this context, he also established Federal Sharia Court, and interestingly appointed *Pir* Karam Shah of *sajada-e-nashin* of Bhaira Sharif as Justice of the Court. During his tenure, Zia emphasized on promoting *Deobandism* in the country, however, he also welcomed the *pirs* in the politics with open arms. Zia cabinet had many prominent *sajada-e-nashins* of Multan, Jhang, and other famous shrines of Sindh. In order to tackle Movement of Restoration Democracy (MRD), General Zia also made an alliance with *pirs* in which *Pir* Pagara's Muslim League was leading party of *sajada-e-nashins* who openly defend Zia regime (Sherani, 1991, p. 237). *Pir* Pagaro also called himself and his party “partner of Army Headquarter”. In this context, Zia's Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo was also a *murid* of *Pir* Pagaro. When Junejo appointed as a Prime Minister of the country, *Pir* Pagaro declared that “he had lend Jonejo to the Army to render certain political services. Zia did not contradict him” (Aziz, 2001, pp. 60-61). Makhdoom Sajad Hussain Qureshi, *sajada-e-nashin* of Bahwal Haq Zakriya Multani shrine, nominated in Zia's *majlis-e-shoora* later he had been appointed Governor of Punjab by Zia. However *Pir* Sajad Hussain remained loyal with Zia's rival party Pakistan People's Party before and even after Zia regime.

After Zia-ul-Haq, *pirs* remained the leading political players of both rival parties of 1990s Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Muslim League of Nawaz Sharif (PMLN). During the tenures of PPP and PMLN, both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif frequently visited different shrines of the

country and paid homage. After the Military coup of 1999, once again *pirs* played significant role to consolidate *Musharraf* government. After 2002 elections, Mir Zafar-ullah Khan Jamali appointed as a Prime Minister of the country. Jamali was not a *pir* but an enthusiastic *murid* of a Qadar Shair shrine of Layyah he also visited the shrine, paid homage and performed ritual activities. During *Musharraf* era country started to face worst case of terrorism and extremism in the country, which is emanating from *Deobandi* school of thought. In order to counter these challenges, *Musharraf* government institutionalized Sufism into national ideology. In this regards, when Pervez *Musharraf* visited Sindh and Punjab he encouraged to local people that this is the land of Sufis who promoted tolerance, moderate culture and liberalism against the vicious forces of extremism (Philippon, A Sublime, yet disputed, object of political ideology? Sufism in Pakistan at the Crossroads, 2016). In 2006 *Musharraf* launched National Sufi Council to promote Sufi poetry, culture and shrine culture in order to counter the extremism from the country. In this context, *Musharraf* also empowered Sufi *Barelvis* to fight against radical Islamist and supported Sunni Ittehad Council—a political party of *Barelvis*. Later the Sunni Ittehad Council has also adopted the tough stance on Mumataz Qadri, killer of Punjab Governor Salaman Taseer, execution. In this context many analysts argue that in order to consolidate his military regime, *Musharraf* used Sufism against radical Islamist but on the same time it also radicalized the popular Islam to some extent (Philippon, 2016).

## 6. Sufi, *Darvesh* and *Pir*

Many people are confused with the terms and definitions of Sufi, Darvesh and *Pir* and make no difference between them. In historical context and with respect to duties, ideologies and mysticism these three are different from each other to great extent. Sufi is the person who follows theory about mysticism; try to bring reforms in society through his poetry and messages, while

*darvesh* practically implement Sufis theories on his life. He dedicated his life for mysticism, lives very simple life and wander in search of reality (Trimingham, 1971, p. 264). In this context he visits different shrines and *khanqahas* of different Sufi saints to learn the knowledge of Sufism.

While the descendent of these Sufis and Darvesh are called hereditary *pirs* or *sajada-e-nashins* (Ewing, Feb 1983, p. 255). Many times these hereditary *pirs* and *sajadanashins* do not have any special features of Sufism but they serve in front of people, devotees and *murids* as great saints. Some authors observed that *pirs* have great different than Sufis. Generally, a Sufi works for the society's improvement and for this he dedicates his life. While on contrary, *pir* works for his vested interests rather than society reforms. He takes *nazrana* from the society rather than giving something to society. Even he can perform miracles which a Sufi cannot perform (Sherani, 1991, p. 220). *Pir* has spiritual power to perform unbelievable miracles like fly in the air, walk on the river, to make dead alive, to heal ill people (O'Brien, Jul. - Dec. 1911, p. 512). While on the other hand a Sufi is far away from such kind of superstitions.

## **Conclusion**

Sufis played significant role in Muslim history of spreading Islam especially into the Subcontinent and Punjab. Initially, Sufis started *khanqahas* system however later some time the *khanqahas* were converted into shrines. Shrine also started the system of *sajada-e-nashin* and hereditary *pirs*. People used to visit these shrines and *sajada-e-nashins* for the temporal and spiritual desires and through different miracles people's beliefs were augmented on shrines. People started to think that *pirs* possessed power to direct links and connections with Prophet and God. So they came politically, economically, religiously and socially under the influence of *pirs*. When state rulers realized the power of shrine and shrines custodians among the masses they bestowed many grants on shrines. Gradually, *pirs* had been entered into politics and became the stakeholders of state's

affairs since Mughal era to Pakistan. However, in this regards, devotees are valuable assets for shrines and shrine-custodians in the field politics, social and economic landscape.

## Chapter 3

### Shrine and Devotees Relationship: An Enduring Industry of *Piri-Muridi*

#### 1. Introduction

Intrinsically, the relationship between shrine and devotees is based on the popularity of spiritual power of Sufi, *Darvesh*, *Pir* or *Vali* who bury in the grave of shrine or even who is a living *pir*. The political, social and religious influence of every shrine stem from its spiritual influence, while its spiritual influence based on popularity of every shrine. Shrine gets popular when the *pir* of the shrine perform more miracles and wonders among devotees. In this context it could be said that miracle of *pir* is core of any shrines spiritual, religious, social and political influence in the society.

#### 2. Levels of Shrines

The popularity of shrines varies from one shrine to other. On the basis of popularity and political, social, religious influence of shrines among the devotees the shrines could be categorized into four areas.

1. Local level/comprises on adjacent villages
2. District level/adjacent areas
3. Regional level/at least provincial level
4. Country level/international level

##### 2.1. Local Level

Generally, this kind of shrines could be found almost in every village and cemetery in Punjab. The numbers of these level shrines are very high in Punjab. These kinds of shrines build on the graves

of local level *pir*, *Darvesh* or what local people call it *vali*. Its spiritual influence is up to local level or up to some villages. They are famous for his *dum* (spiritual air blow) to heal the people from different diseases and fulfillment of other wishes. After his death, shrine is built on his grave and his son, relative or other take charge as a shrine-custodian and continues his spiritual services. In Punjab's village there are many old shrines whose descendent are unknown and local people are working as a *Mujawar* (caretaker) of shrines. Local people visit these shrines, pray for their wishes and pay *nazrana* on shrines which directly goes to these caretakers.

## **2.2.District Level**

The next level of shrines is district level shrines whose popularity and influence is up to district level and other adjacent areas of that district. Main Sufi, who bury in that shrine, has a specific influence among the devotees through his spiritual teachings and often by showing his miracles. The numbers of their follower are, generally, in thousands and they usually obey and follow their shrines social and religious guidance in their daily life. The numbers of this level of shrines in a district vary from at least five to fifty or more than it. Every year *urs* is celebrated on the shrines in which thousands of devotees participated with a specific *nazrana*. While the shrine-custodian make pledge to his devotees to lead them in their social, religious and even in political issues. Due to the popularity of the shrines among masses, the shrines custodians or his relative take part in politics with very enthusiastically. Generally, these *sajada-e-nashins* take part into local bodies' elections, candidate for provincial and national assembly elections.

## **2.3.Provincial Level**

At provincial level shrines have the popularity among the masses minimum up to province level and even up to other provinces. The Sufis of these shrines are very famous in the province due to their specific adventure i.e. introduction of Sufism in the region, spreading Islamic teaching and

taking part in government affairs. These kinds of shrines are famous all around the province and people from the different part of the province take part into the functions and rituals of the shrines. *Sajada-e-nashins* of these shrines are considered very influential among masses and government as well. Devotees adopt the social and religious guidance of the *pirs* of these shrines keenly. Every year thousands of devotees take part into the *urs* of these shrines and pay huge amount of *nazrana*.

#### **2.4. Country /International Level**

Some shrines are famous across the country and even at international level. Generally, these shrines are those Sufis who introduced Sufism, spread Islam and converted local people into Islam. Their history is very old. However, some new Sufi shrines have also popularity at international levels. People have great adoration with these Sufis and their teaching. Every year people from across the country take part into the rituals of *urs* of these Sufi shrines and also pay a huge amount of *nazrana*. The *sajada-e-nashins* of these Sufi Shrines take part into country level politics. Usually, they win elections with the significant amount of their “murid vote bank” and then played important role of the country at important designation like speaker assembly, federal ministers, state ministers and foreign ministers.

### **3. Case Studies**

There are four shrines have been included as a case studies to analyze the political economy of shrines in South Punjab. In this context, the popularity, spiritual, political, social and religious influences of these shrines vary from each others. Shrines of *Jagi Sharif* and *Baroo Sharif*, located in district Layyah, have its influence up to district and its adjacent areas. *Sajada-e-nashin* of *Jagi Sharif* is currently Member of National Assembly while the *Sajada-e-nashin* of *Baroo Sharif* is a potential supporter of influential political leaders of the area. Now this *sajada-e-nashin* is also an aspirant to contest next election as member of provincial assembly. Third shrine is of Hazrat

Khawaja Muhammad Suleman of Taunsa Sharif district Dera Ghazi Khan. Currently, there are many shrines and graves of Hazrat Suleman's descendants in Tunsa Sharif and have different *sajada-e-nashins* and *mujawars* on these shrines. While Khawaja Atta Ullah Taunsi is a main shrine-custodian of Hazrat Suleman shrine. He has also served as a caretaker minister of religious affairs during 2008 elections. Alongside many descendants of shrines actively take parts in the political affairs of the country and elections. During Pakistan People's Party tenure (2008-2013) Khawaja Shiraz, descendant of Tunsa Sharif shrine, has served as a minister of commerce. The popularity level of shrine is up to provincial and other provinces level. The devotees and followers of these shrines are scattered all around the province and its adjacent areas.

Multan is a hub of shrine and also called *Madina-tul-awliya* (city of Sufis, *valis*, *pir*) and there are well known shrines, shrine-custodians and their descendant have popularity not only at national but are at international level. In this context, Musa Pak Shaheed is a very old and popular shrine in Multan. Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, is also a descendant of this shrine. Before him, his forefathers and family members have been remaining active in regional politics since Mughal era. Yousaf Raza Gilani has served as a speaker of National Assembly and Prime Minister of Pakistan (2008-2012). The shrine *spiritual* influence level is up to national level while its political influence is up to international level.

### **3.1. Baroo Sharif Shrine, Layyah**

Muhammad Abdullah aka Baroo Sharif shrine is one of the famous shrines of *naqashbandi silsilah* and located in Thal Desert, near a town of Fatehpur district Layyah. *Pir* Baroo was the leading *Pir* of the shrine and he attained the *spiritual* power from his *Pir* Khawaja Ghulam Hassan Siwag of Siwag Sharif Layyah, whose shrine is approximately 40 kilometers away from *Pir* Baroo Shrine. Baroo was a shepherd in his childhood then he went to *Pir* Ghulam Hassan Siwag where he served

as a servant of his *pir*. He also used to say if someone wants to attain Sufism then it is better way to serve his master *pir*. He served his master with full devotion and affections. In response *Pir* Ghulam Hassan Siwag granted him spiritual authority and after Ghulam Hassan death *Pir*, Baroo came back to his hometown and started making his own devotees and followers. However, *Pir* Baroo kept strong affiliation with his master *pir* shrines and their descendants, even the next generation of *Pir* Baroo also considered themselves servant of the Siwag Sharif shrines and his all descendants. *Pir* Baroo took actively part in religious, spiritual and political matters of the society and the region. In this context, he used to *dum* his devotees, give them amulets and pray for them. He was a hardcore *Barelvi* and termed non-Muslim to other sects i.e. Shias, *Deobandis* and *Wahabis*. He also took part in politics through Ahmad Shah Noorani's party Jamiat-e-Ulema-i Pakistan and directed his devotees to cast their favour to the Party. He passed away in 1979 and according to his devotees his age was 130 years at the time of his death. His *urs* is celebrated every year at the end October in which a great number of his devotees and followers take part with prayers and *nazrana*. Majority of his devotees and followers are from Layyah while significant numbers of his devotees are from South Punjab. His followers and devotees like to write "Barvi" as their last name which show their affections and devote with the shrine order. Some people also write their house's name as "Baarvi Manzil".

### **3.2. Khawaja Muhammad Suleman Tuansvi Shrine, D. G. Khan**

Hazrat Khawaja Shah Suleman shrine is located in Taunsa Sharif, Dera Ghazi Khan. Khwaja Suleman Taunsvi (1770-1850) was a great Sufi and *pir* of his area, after his death many descendant *Pirs* shrines have been established in Taunsa Sharif. However, two shrines are very famous among masses one is of Khwaja Suleman and second is of Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din. Both are located very close to each other. There are thousands of devotees of Taunsa Sharif shrines and *pirs* across the

country who visit the shrines and pay homages. The shrines belong to Chishti Sufi order. *Pirs* of the shrines have been actively engaging in politics before the partition. In which Khawaj Ghulam Murtaza, Khwaja Nizam-udi-Din, Khwaja Moeen, Khwaja Ghulam Suleman, Khwaja, Kamal, Khwaja Sheeraz are prominent politicians of not only their area but also at state level.

### **3.3. *Pir Jagi Sharif Shrine, Layyah***

*Pir Jagi* sharif shrine is located in a town of Jagi Shairf district Layyah. Prominent *pir* of the shrine was *Pir Khurshid Shah Bukhari*, who had been remained a MNA on the ticket of PMLN party. *Pir Khurshid* forefathers were also Sufi saints of the region and buried at the *Pir Jagi* shrine. The numbers of the devotees of the shrine are in thousands who lives in Layyah and its surrounding areas and districts. Syed Saqlain Shah Bukhari is *Sajada-e-nashin* of the shrine. He is also elected continuously second time MNA in 2013 election on the ticket of PMLN.

### **3.4. *Musa Pak Shaheed, Multan***

*Musa Pak Shaheed* is a famous and influential shrine in Pakistani society and is located in Multan. Syed Wajahat Hussain Gilani, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, is a *Sajada-e-Nasheen* of the shrine. The late wife of Syed Wajahat Hussain Gilani was the sister of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani and *Sajada-e-Nasheen* is also a cousin of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani. There are thousands of devotees of the shrines especially in Punjab and Sindh. Every year these devotees visit the shrine and pay a large amount of ‘*nazrana*’ to shrine, shrine-custodian and other descended of the *Musa Pak Shaheed*. Alongside the followers of the shrine also feel blessed to vote for their *Pirs*.

## **4. Miracles and *Karamat* (Wonders)**

Miracles play significant and imperative role in the political economy of the shrines or in other words political economy of shrines depends on the miracles of the *pir* and shrines. *Pir* has the quality to perform miracles not only in his life but after his death from his shrine. Generally, the

purposes of these miracles are to cure, save and impress the people with different wonders and solve the impossible adventures or difficulties. *Pirs* also foretell about any important event and when that event occurs, the popularity and prestige of the shrine and *pir* suddenly touch the peak among masses. In this context, Major Aubrey O'Brien says that Sadozai Nawab of Dera made prophecy that the fort of Mankera, near Bhakkar, would be demolished by Sikh and then latter this event occurred, upon this his popularity and prestige greatly enhanced among his followers. This prophecy also increased the income of shrine by selling amulets and *dum* on the sick (O'Brien, Jul. - Dec. 1911, p. 515). The stories of miracles of the *pirs* and shrines are very famous among devotees, followers and other people in the region.

In this context, many books have been written by the shrines devotees and even under the supervision of shrine-custodians which describe the *karamat* or miracles of these *Pirs*. Apart from this in local areas social connectivity is very strong among people and devotees passes the stories of miracles from one person to another. It has also been observed that devotees and followers of the shrines blindly believe on these stories of miracles of their *pirs*.

There are very famous and prominent miracles for examples South Punjab's *Pirs* have the *karamats* like increase the 100 people's food to 2000 people and even after that feast remained unfinished, remove the *jins* from devotees and their homes, pray for children of infertile couples and foretell about a specific sign of children and when children born they have specific sign on their body, protect devotees and followers' grain storages and their homes during fire breakout and even other people's grain storage and home set ablaze, granting cure to sick people and incur people is not a big deal, granted cure a children from a long distance, granting son to a couple who previously had daughters, free to devotees from litigation even in murder cases, order someone to become his followers in his dream, make many notorious person their caliphs later they become

sacred persons of their areas, *dum* to their sick followers in their dreams and later they got healthy, *Pir* Baroo sharif took disappearance allegiance from a woman from his hometown Layyah and woman was in Bahawalpur, when people faced famine they requested *Pir* for rain, *Pir* prayed and then rain started even before that there were no signs of clouds, one devotee was paralyzed during sleep; suddenly *Pir* came into his dream and encouraged him for cure when devotee awoken he was paralyzed however according to *pir* prophecy he got healthy, granted vision a blind goat whose children were given to shrine every year as a *nazrana*. Once *Pir* Baroo was doing ablution for prayers suddenly he threw his ablution ewer on wall with anger. When his followers asked him about the matter he remained silent however after sometime another devotee came and he said he was attacked by a snake. When he called *Pir* Baroo for help the snake got killed. When he was asked by the time he told the same time when *Pir* Baroo threw ewer on the wall (Barvi, 2000, p. 238).

Once *Pir* Baroo was travelling on a camel, during the journey suddenly a strange light appeared and his servant scared on the incident. Then *Pir* Baroo waved his hand three times in the air. After inquiring *Pir* told that one of his devotees killed a man without any intention in other city. I solaced him. After few days the murderer devotee came on the residence of the *Pir* and said he was worried and then his *Pir* came to him and solaced him and said don't worry, God will do better and later better happened with me. *Pir* also knows about the secret in the mind and heart.

*Pir* also solves devotees' confusions even after their death. Once a follower of *Pir* Baroo was confused about any religious issue and he thought if *Pir* himself would have solved this issue. One night *Pir* Baroo came to his dream, he saw *Pir* is coming out of his shrine and told him about the issue and resolved the issue. *Pir* also got release his devotee's son from abductors through his spiritual power. Once a blind woman kissed the cloth cover of grave of *Pir* with his eyes, then his

vision restored immediately. *Pir* also visualized themselves in the dreams of their devotees who did not see him before that and even when devotees saw *Pir* with their eyes the *Pir* was same who came into their dreams. When the boat of devotees went to sink into river then devotees cried to their *Pir* and then they listened the voice “don’t worries the boat will reach at bank of the river”. *Pir* saved them from sinking, came into their dreams and congratulated his devotees. *Pir* also knows their devotees even they didn’t meet them before. When some special followers come for allegiance, *pir* calls him with his name which surprised to devotees that how *pir* knows about his name and other information however soon he realized that *pir* has the *spiritual power* and knows the *ilm-e-ghaib* (knowledge of disappearance).

*Pir* also performed the *karamat* and miracles on the day of their funeral. Before the death of *Pir* Baroo, he himself drew a sign on his expected grave and shrine map and ordered his inheritors to make his grave and shrine on that place. However, when he died, the place of grave got less due to other graves, this situation made worry to his successors that it is not possible to ignore the order of their *Pir*. Interestingly, on the next morning other graves went back and created more place for *Pir* Baroo. In this context, devotees and followers of the shrine believe that *Pir* Baroo had followed the way of his master *Pir*, because on the death of his master *pir*, his successors had also faced such difficulties and then saw the *pir* miracle.

A devotee who was performing Hajj in Mecca got sick and was unable to perform the compulsory duties of the Hajj. In this situation he called his dead *Pir* and next morning he was healthy and performed all compulsory activities of the Hajj. One devotee was worry that he did not shake his hand with *pir* in his life. One night he saw the dream that he was at the shrine and suddenly hands of *pir* came outside of the shrine and he immediately shook his hands with *pir* hands and also kissed them. One of devotee was going to shrine for *ziarat* (holly visit) during journey he slept

into bus and when he awoke bus had reached at next stop to the shrine. When he walked back to shrine suddenly he felt sleepiness and went to fall however when he recovered himself, he had been reached at the shrine just in winking.

Once an angry ox was running after a child and wanted to hit him. *Pir* sb said him just “*Oye*” (hey) to ox and as ox heard *pir* voice he halted at that place. An infertile couple visited shrine, according to medical report whose semen level was zero percent and doctor termed them cureless. However, after visiting to *pir*, children were born to them with a sign on his body, as *pir* foretold about that sign. *Pirs* know about the pregnant lady’s child that either is a boy or girl and foretell to their devotees.

*Pir* even knows that how much tenure of the government. On many occasions they made prophecy that when government of specific party would be finished. *Pir* even can listen and see his devotees from a long distance. *Pir* Baroo said to his devotee that even a low rank *wali* (saint) can see up to 300 miles.

In 1977 elections, *Pir* Baroo instructed his followers and devotees to support the National Alliance. In this context, one of his devotee had threat that its rival group and supporter of People Party might kill him. In this scenario he visited to *Pir* Baroo and told him the story. *Pir* Baroo told him PPP supporter are going to face party’s fall and losing of their leader. Later General Zia took over the PPP government and also executed to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

A person who was indulged in at that time cureless disease TB and he swallowed the spit of *Pir* got then got complete cure. Once *Pir* send a message to Indus River to go back on its previous position and do not destroy the crops and houses of people. When message was reached, the river went back on its actual position.

Prophecy of the killing enemies of devotee was given in the dream of devotee and later enemies were killed cow and other animal of the devotees and followers also provide more milk on the order of the *Pir*. Just remembering to *Pir*, the devotee vehicles also ran even without oil or energy source.

A person who disobeyed the *Sharia*'s rule, *Pir* made prophecy about him that the when he would die, dogs licks his blood. Later that person was killed by another person and the dogs were licking his blood. After that *pir* also prayed for murderer on his act. Surprisingly, after few days, murderer was released by the *spiritual power of pir*.

*Pir* also made prophecies about the politics and politicians of the country. In 1975 *Pir Baroo* was supporting National Alliance against PPP. He made prophecy that movement would start and many people would embrace martyrdom. So according to devotees National Alliance boycotted the election and started a movement against PPP government in which many people martyred.

*Pir Baroo* was against Bhutto's party but when his party secured its government then *Pir Baroo* made a prophecy that "Allah has to take an important assignment from Bhutto. The assignment is that Bhutto would term Qadiyani as infidel and non-Muslim. After that Bhutto would leave." Devotees and supporters have also believed that *Pir Baroo*'s prophecy came true.

Like many other prominent *Pir* of Pakistan, *Pir Baroo* also fought 1965 War with India at the border. It is also said that during that war many dead *pirs*, like Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, also fought war against India. Devotees of *Pir* also say that one person who was appointed at Pakistan-India border to protect his homeland. He described that he personally saw *Pir Baroo* on border that he was running from here to there, caught shells fired by Indian forces, threw them into a river and shell got defuse.

## 5. Rituals activities and people beliefs regarding shrines

Rituals activities have been observed on every shrine by devotees, followers and shrine administration with full zeal and zest. Among ritual activities, *urs* is one of the main rituals of the shrine which continue almost two or three days every year on the death anniversary of master *pir*. Devotees and followers must participate in the *urs* and a large number of followers participate at last day of the *urs* which called *khatam* (last prayer of the event). In *urs* many other rituals have also been celebrated like *ghusal* of shrine, *chadarposhi* on grave of master *Pir*, collective prayer, *zikar* etc. Many *murids* actively take part in the work of *urs* preparation and serve to other devotees. Devotees and followers considered great *sawab* to participate in these events and work. They also think that they please to their *Pir* and *pir* would increase not only their social status but also in religious status in the court of Prophet and Allah. Many other rituals like *Qawali*, *naatkawani*, religious gathering speeches and conferences, granting *nazrana* on shrine, participate in *langar* (food), *milaad*, kiss the grave of *pir* and its *chadar* (covering cloth of grave), meeting with *sajada-e-nashin* and kiss his hands and feet have also been celebrated.

Apart from this, some other special activities are also celebrated by devotees to fulfill their wishes. These activities of devotees are also performed throughout the year. Majority of sick devotees and followers perform different ritual to get rid of different diseases or prevent from diseases like bathing with shrines water, *dumb* into sands of shrine, massage their body with the shrine's lamp's oil. Almost all shrines have salt at the shrines devotees taste the salt for treatment, devotees also eat the sand of *pirs'* graves, drink shrine water in which enshrined *pir* put saliva to cure his devotees, some sick but zealous devotees swallow saliva and spit of his *pir* to cure themselves. Shrines also hold some stones on the graves of *pirs* which devotees rub on their body to prevent

the disease and other disasters, knot the thread at shrine's windows and its near trees. On some shrines people walk revolve around the shrine or grave of *pir* and also do *zikar*.

On many shrines people perform different activities to fulfill their wishes and through these activities they have been predicted that either their wish would fulfill or not. In this context on Sultan Bahoo shrine Jhang people lay the clothes beneath a tree and wait for dropping the fruit. This activity is performed generally people who do not have children. If ripe fruit fall down on their cloth, its mean boy would be born, if unripe fruit fall then daughter would born and if cut fruit drop its mean the child would not remain live. If no fruit drop its mean he would ne be granted any children.

On Taunsa Sharif shrine devotees also believes in the shrine's peafowls i.e. if a peafowls display plumage in front of any devotee its mean his or her wish would be fulfilled. If someone receives good *langar* from other devotees or shrine *langarkhana* (dining hall), this sign also considered that his or her wish would be fulfilled.

Devotees and followers also take the *langar* into their home for the cure and *barkat* at home and for their animals. Some influential devotees and followers invite *pir* at their home for *barakah* and *pir* take huge *nazrana* or what he likes. Alongside *Pir* also resolve domestic issues of their devotees like fix marriage dates, participate in marriage ceremony and funeral, invited at child birth and suggested child name, decide about family's internal issues. Many devotees and followers name their children after their *pir* names or *pir* also suggest the name of newly born child of his devotees.

## **6. People wishes and issues**

A number of majority of the devotees visit shrines in order to fulfill their wishes. Majority of these people have social issues which they want to resolve through the *spiritual* power of the shrine.

People's wishes could be categorized into two areas or categories. First are temporals and second are *spirituals*.

### Two types

- **Temporal**

The main temporal wishes are get rid of disease, political support, poverty reduction and seek prosperity, wish of children, resolve domestic conflicts, business prosperity, success in education and exam, marriage issues, marriage of children, counter to enemy's magic influence, elimination of enemies, seek favour in litigation.

- **Religious/Spiritual**

Feeling satisfaction, guide in religious matters, *spiritual* guidance, compensation on Day of Judgment, seek guidance and authority of caliph, *vali, pir* or Sufi

### 7. Prayers or *Barkat* for followers and devotees

There are many methods in which *pir* grants *spiritual* favour to his devotees and try to resolve their issues. Some of them are;

1. Amulet (sink into water and then drink or wear in neck or arm)
2. *Dum*, direct on the person and *dum* on anything like oil or any eatable thing later devotees rub oil on their body or eat the things
3. Pray
4. *Dhaga* (thread)
5. *Pir's* hair
6. Sand of grave of shrine
7. Cloth's piece of *Pir*

8. *Pir*'s leftover food
9. *Langar* leftover food
10. Shrine stone or tree's leaf to deter the cobras and snakes in their homes

## **8. Nazrana Economy of Shrine**

*Nazrana* is an Arabic word which meaning is “charity” or “noble gift for sacred person or cause” which is given to a sacred person, which offered by the devotees to shrine, shrine-custodians and other relative *pirs* of the shrine-custodians. When any devotee visit shrine or to his *pir*, he or she must offer *nazrana* to his *pir*. It has also been observed the *nazrana* quantity depends on the popularity of the shrine; more famous shrine and shrine-custodian collect more *nazrana* than less famous shrine.

Mainly, there are two types of *nazrana*s forms which are granted to shrines.

### **8.1. Assets**

In this form of *nazrana*, devotees give *nazrana* in the form of assets to shrine and *pirs*. They grant vehicles, land, plots in the expensive societies, money for their election campaigns, dresses, money, food, grains, animal, woods, animal skins, dowry for *pir*'s daughter and son and other family member marriages, bear the expense of marriage ceremony at expensive banquets, special *nazrana* at special events.

### **8.2. Labour service**

In this form some devotees serve free of cost on the different occasions and different activities like *urs* activities. These followers called “voluntary labour” of the shrine. In this context, there are three type of labour who works on the shrine which are temporary, permanent, permanent but paid labourers. Temporary voluntary labour work for specific time and on special events like *urs*

festival, people gathering, conferences and other special events. While few people works permanently on the shrine permanently and serve to *pirs* and shrines. They take just food and other necessary items from shrines.

Some other people serve on the shrine but they be paid by the shrine-custodians. However, their primary purpose is to serve to *pir* and shrine while secondary objective is money (Chaudhry, 2013, p. 235). Both women and men feel privilege to work at the shrine. Shrine has separate houses for these voluntary and paid labour at the shrine. In which some devotee labourers live with their families. Women devotee labourer serve to *Bibiyan* (holy women of *pir*'s family) while men devotee labourers serve to *pir* and his holy men family. In this context, some enthusiastic devotees also send their bachelor girls in *pir* house to serve *Bibiyaan*, so that they could gain more *sawab* (merit). In this regards, mostly devotees and followers also assumption that "God loves those who love and serve God's friends, his *awliya* (sacred persons)" (Chaudhry, 2013, p. 233).

## **9. Use of *nazrana***

It is also said that offering *nazrana* to *pir* is an act of respect and accepting the *nazrana* of followers and devotees and his kindness and also granting him honour in the society. Otherwise neither God needs any gift from his creature nor does *pir* need *nazrana* from his devotees. *Pir* is an *insane-e-kamil* (perfect person) while need of anything implies imperfection (Chaudhry, 2013, p. 234). *Pir* take everything from God and he receives *nazrana* for pleasure of his devotee.

Apparently, the usage of *nazrana* is for the welfare purposes of the shrines, shrines custodians and other *pirs*. These welfare works consist on construction and maintenance of shrine, devotees' inn, seminaries, mosque, *langar* (free food), and pays for staff at shrine. Alongside many devotees also offered gifts to shrine-custodians and other *pirs* for their personal usages. *Langar*, shrine

maintenance, establishment of different institutes like *madaress*, book house, inn for visitors, staff expenditure, acquisition of land and other property on the name of shrine, conduct religious and special gathering,

#### **10. *Murid* Vote Bank and Politics of shrine**

History is witnessed that *pirs* have been actively involved in the politics of Punjab in pre and post partition era of subcontinent. They have been participated individually, on the platform of other religious and secular political parties and also made alliances with other parties. They also augmented different governments during their political crises times and played important role in political stability of the regimes. During Mughal and British era, rulers granted special official designations to them so that could consolidate their rule of laws in their kingdom and colony respectively. In response *pirs* had also been benefited with economic resources in the form of lands and money, apparently for the maintenance and administration of their forefather Sufis and *pirs* shrines from these regimes. Moreover, they also made their relations with local landlords by intermarrying with each other's families. This shift strengthened them in becoming *pir*-landlords or religious landlords. With these factors *pirs* became economically stronger. Rulers had already got them indulged into politics by granting different honourary designations to them. Gradually, they started regularly participated in stated affairs and took part in the election process during British rule in subcontinent especially into Punjab.

Almost every shrine of the South Punjab take part into the local and state politics directly or indirectly. Directly shrine-custodian himself or his other relatives' *pir* participates in elections and indirectly shrine-custodian or any of his *pir* relative does not participate but they support any other non-*pir* patronage political candidate. In politics, *murids* are their main strength who extended their support without any question, even their followers and devotees feel proud to support their

*pirs*. In this context we can say that followers of any shrine is a “*murid* vote bank” to whom *pir* can use in favour of any political party, by standing himself as a politician to contest the election, extend his support to any other patronage political leader, forging a political party of *pirs* and using *murids* as a political forces and potential pressure group.

In Punjab, *Barelvis* and Shia sects are main believers of Sufism, shrines and *pirs*. In *shiasm* mainly *pirs* are descendants of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) but in *Barelvism* this condition is not necessary. The believers could be categorized into two main areas, first are those who make special allegiance with any *pir* and called a *murid* (follower) of that special *pir*. The purpose of allegiance is that the *murid* would follow every direction, whether it is religious, social or political, of his or her *pir*. The second category called *aqeedatmand* (devotee), the devotee is a person who makes his allegiance with any *pir* but reverences and believes on all *walis* or *pirs* (Muslim holy saints)

## **11. Political role**

It has been aforementioned that the *pirs'nazrana* economy depends on its popularity and its popularity depends on its miracles. More unique and number of miracles make him more popular among devotees and due to more number of devotees they collect more *nazrana*. Same the political power and influence of a *pir* also depends on his popularity and miracles, forth telling or predictions. Moreover, some *pirs* also issue decrees that he who would be benefited, follow the order of *pir* and support him. Some *pirs* do not need to issue such kind of decree among their followers. For devotees it is enough to hear that their *pir* himself is contesting election or supporting to anyone else and then they follow their *pir*. In order to expand their political influence in the society, shrine-custodians promote different tactics which are explained briefly below.

## 12. Political campaign tactics

Unlike a general political candidate, *pir* political candidate and leader enjoys special privilege in the society due to their already established *murid* vote bank. However, when they face a strong political opponent then they also use more tactics to consolidate their political influence. In this context following are the main tactics which are used to gain more political influence and consolidate their *murid* vote bank.

When a *pir* stand in election, his election campaign is also pursued in very active manners in which many followers and devotees take part. A large number of its pamphlets have been published and pasted on almost every house of the constituency. In these pamphlets it has been declared about political *pir* as an heir of the main shrine. They are also decorated with pictures of main and seniors *pirs* who make pose as to praying for their political *pir* or their patronage political candidate with the praying quotations as well. In quotations the appeal from main and senior *pirs* is made to devotees to support to shrine favourite political leader. Moreover, the pamphlets are also decorated with shrine of their main Sufi which attracts to devotees and incite them to cast their vote to political *pir* or patronage political candidate. In these pamphlets It is also described about the main Sufi role in the society and his important landmarks and miracles are also publicized.

If shrine-custodian or any *pir* who is famous and venerated in society due to his unique miracles pray in favour of any political candidate, his devotees and flowers also cast their vote to that political candidate. Even when they hear that their *pir* prayed for a specific political leader they also shared this news to other devotees and flowers so that all devotees could follow their *pir* order.

During election campaign some wealthy and influential devotees and followers of the shrine also provide financial support to their political *pir*. in this context, they grant money, vehicles arrange

political public gathering, make pamphlet and flags prepared and personally influence on people to vote for *pir*. These devotees are considered elite class of devotees at shrine and also one of the important sources of *nazrana* economy.

In every village and town, shrines have some influential devotees and followers. These influential devotees have influence in their area to great extent. During election days *pirs* extend their influence through these local influence devotees on local people. Influential devotees support their *pirs* through financial aid as well. In return they want to please their *pir* for not only hereafter life but also for temporal needs. In temporal needs *pir* politician can them jobs, business projects and also increase their social status by personally visiting them.

### **Conclusion**

Since the centuries the relationship between shrines and devotees has been further strengthened. People not only venerated their *pirs* and shrines but also prefer to resolve their temporal and religious problem from saints. In this regards, they also obey their every order and pay huge money to please them so that their problem and God's blessing should continue on them. The most important factor which they believe that is that saint is a mediator between God and them because saint guide them not only in this world but also intercession from Prophet and God at the Day of Judgement. Devotees are source of *nazrana economy* and decisive vote bank for their saints in political landscape. When these saints came into politics with huge *murid* vote bank and *nazrana* economy then state and political parties also start to give them importance and finally they also play important roles in state affairs.

## Chapter 4

### Dynamics of Shrines and State Approach

#### 1. Introduction

Throughout the history Sufi shrines in Muslim societies were considered the sacred places for the local people. Still plenty of people venerate to shrine and shrine-custodian for their temporal and religious wishes and issues. In this regard the relationship between state and shrine could not be ignored due to shrine political and social influences. Shrine-custodians are the integral part of the state (Hassan, May 1987, p. 558) of Pakistan political structure in order to maintaining political stability and ensuring writ of the state in the shrine influenced area. Even shrine-custodian of Khawja Moeen-ud-Din Chishti Ajmairi, Syed Bilal Chishti, emphasized on India Pakistan to promote Sufism to defuse India-Pakistan tension. He said “Sufism can develop a bridge to bring harmony among all prevailing dominant Muslim sects and also give out a message to other religious identities to bring interfaith harmony within two nuclear powers.” (Dawn, 2016)

In peace time or stable time when state feel politically and militarily stable then shrine-custodians remain busy in their *spiritual* role but in difficult times when state frail in maintaining political stability in the country then *pirs* come forward and play a powerful political role in bolstering the stability in the country (Hassan, May 1987, p. 559). State and shrine remain in relationship with each other in three interconnected themes first is ‘dependence’ in which both state and devotees remain dependent on their needs, while shrine also depended on both for its influence. Then the dependency stems the second them ‘privilege’ mean material privilege which is further bolstered through politics. The third theme is persistent when a shrine established and get fame and influence then it continues persistency of its power (Adeel Malik, 2015, p. 5).

## 2. Shrine role in State policies and politics

This significant factor of shrine and shrine-custodian attracts state to uphold its legitimacy and rule law over people through the help of shrines. Indeed, shrine institution and state are interdependent over each other. State wants to maintain political stability at every cost and in this regard shrine-custodians can provide them full support by calming down their followers. However, shrine-custodian enjoys more respect and benefits by playing a role of mediator between state and subjects. In this way it could be said that shrine and shrine-custodian prestige is directly proportional between state and followers. A shrine who have more followers it has more value in the eye of state institutions and even in political parties. And a shrine who has more value in the state institutions and honour by state leaders its values also directly increases among general masses and its followers. Due to its increased value between state and subject its political role is also automatically increase in state affairs.

After 1940 when Pakistan Movement was on its peak, the shrine-custodian landlords of especially Punjab and Sindh played a significant role in mobilizing their followers and got Muslim League successful in 1946 elections. However, these developments had occurred in the result of assurance given by Jinnah to *pirs* that their economic and social interest would be protect in newly state (Ansari, 1992) (Shaikh, May 2012, p. 178). No doubt these shrine-custodians had also been played a major role in maintain political stability in the eras of Delhi Sultanates, Mughal Emperors, Sikh regimes and then strengthening to Colonial Power Britain. After the emergence of Pakistan, *pirs* have been played vital role in country's politics. They were not only considered apples of eyes of different political parties but also for different governments and bureaucrats. Local government official also pay visit to their areas influential shrines and meet with the shrine-custodians. The shrine-custodians also make their visits to government offices where they receive special respect

which also increase their status in the society. While government official also achieve their ends by using *pir* as a bridge between state and subject and maintain rule of law. When the powerful officials and politicians visit the shrines and shrine-custodians then shrine turned into important place to negotiate political matters and *pir* become the interlocutor between state officials (Siddiqa, 2009).

Every government try to keep its control on public for this the first priority of every government is that they should maintain law and order over the public without any hurdles and conflict. However, many times they face hurdles and resistant from the different type of people. On these occasions, state seek help from the *pirs*. After separation, *pirs* had two political parties in Pakistan, one was *Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan* (JUP) and the *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh* (Sherani, 1991, p. 233). JUP was headed by Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani and mostly comprises on refugees *pirs* from India. However local *pirs* did not accept their allegiance. Local *pirs* established their own political party *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh*. During 1964 election between General Ayub Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah the *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh* played pivotal role in victory of General Ayub Khan. *Pir* of Dewal Sharif was the head of *Jamiat-e-Mashaikh* and interestingly General Ayuba Khan was a *murid* of *Pir* of Dewal Sharif. In 1961-62 many orthodox *ulema* started confront with Ayub over Muslim Family Laws Ordinance and try to secularize the 1962 constitution. At that occasion Ayub sought help from *pirs* and counterbalanced the opposition of *ulemas*. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto initiated his leftist party on the concept of socialism but his party was also full of landlords and landlord *pirs* and won the election with the slogan of “Islamic Socialism”. During his tenure he visited many shrines and made work on different prominent shrines. Interestingly, in 1977 when his government was toppled *pirs* party played leading role with the slogan of “*Nizam-e-Mustafa*” (rule of Muhammad). Like his predecessors, General Zia did not confront with *pirs* regardless he promoted

orthodox Islam in the country. Later Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif also continued their support with *pirs*. There are many prominent shrine-custodians who are active members of both parties. In order to counter the threat of terrorism and extremism from orthodox Islam, General Pervez Musharraf once again reinforced the Sufi and shrine culture in the social fabric of the society.

These assistance is based on control to two type of people. One who are followers of the shrines. If *pir* order them to no initiate any resistance against government then it is compulsory for followers to obey the *pir* order, otherwise he have to face the *spiritual curse* not only in this world at the Day of Judgement. Followers are also feel proud to obey every order of *pir*.

Second state seek the assistance of *pirs* and popular Islam when then face resistance from other right or left wing parties. Actually, prominent shrines of the country have thousands of its followers who can gather on only one order of their *pir* or shrine-custodian. They have the potential to counterbalance any other party's agitation or procession. Dr Tahir ul Qadri is also prominent Sufi scholar, *pir*, head of his own political party *Pakistan Awami Tehreek* (PAT). The shrine of his father is located in Jhang where his devotees celebrated his *urs* every year. In 2014, Dr Tahir mobilized thousands of his devotees into capital of the country against the PMLN government due to corruption charges. Many experts believe that Qadri had been used against ruling government by military establishment. While some political parties which are not active in the political landscape of the country were also supporting to Qadri openly. During his agitation many locals *pirs* of the Punjab also supported to Qadri and ordered their devotees to stood with Qadri against the ruling government. Interestingly, when Qadri reached at Islamabad along with his thousands of devotees comprises men, women and their children he pledged with devotees he would not give up his agitation until Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif resign. However, after three months he gave up his agitation without any achievement. Currently there are few political parties of *pirs* who are

active in the country but the main influential *pirs* are backbone of countries largest parties like PMLN, PPPP, PTI etc. According to an expert in 2013 General Election, there are 43 shrine-custodians in National Assembly (Adeel Malik, 2015, p. 9) in which many are prominent politicians of the country's major political parties. Currently there are two National Assembly constituencies of District Layyah and in 2013 General election both constituency won by local influential *pirs* i.e. Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan Siwag and Syed *Pir* Saqlain Shah Bukhari.

*Pirs* not only join the secular parties but they also join their rival sectarian political parties for the political interests. In this regards *Pir* Muhammad Asharf of Sahiwal has been working on high command of Jamat-e-Islami. Some scholar says Maualna Abdullah Darkhawsti, former head of Jamiat -e-Ulema-e-Islam, was also a *pir* and during 1970s elections campaign he accept the allegiance of his many devotees (Sherani, 1991, p. 240). Maualna Darkhawsti belonged to Rahim Yar Khan, South Punjab and in 1998 he issued a religious decree that that ruling the country by a woman is *haram* (forbidden) in Islam.

Some Sufi scholars in Pakistan also gave their political thoughts for the country's socio-political matters and they suggested some Sufi practices for this purposes. In this regards, Shaikh Wahid Baksh Rabbani (1910-1995) a famous Sufi scholar also gave idea of "a socially active Sufism as the basis of Pakistan". He also emphasized that piety as the "backbone of power", power military, economy and politics of the country (Shaikh, May 2012, p. 184).

### **3. Shrine and Bureaucracy**

Local bureaucracy and shrine have strong relations with each other for many purposes. Qudaratullah Shahab was a renowned writer of Urdu literature; he was also Secretary of former President General Ayub Khan. He disclosed in his autobiography that shrine-custodians have dual faces. He narrates from his personal experience as a Deputy Commissioner that when *pir* remain

among his devotees he become a pious person but in his private he enjoys the different luxuries and even he does not respect the poor women. He also pointed out that during *urs* the official of the district, elite class people and prominent politicians sit at the stage with shrine-custodian while the poor devotees who even cannot afford the fare for their travel but reach to participate in *urs* are sit at the floor. Moreover, he also writes in his book that at night when Qawali event closed, all the prominent people have been send to special camps where shrine-custodians have arranged special musical dance in which special women dancers perform to enjoy the special guests (Shahabb, 1986, p. 338).

#### **4. Shrine, political parties and their leaders**

Shrine-custodians and state leaders both manipulate each other, while shrine-custodians also manipulate to their devotees and followers for their political and economic benefits. Shrine-custodian build their *murid* vote bank as their political strength and manipulate to state and gain more political and economic benefits. It has also been observed that in order to exert direct control on public, state leaders also manipulate to shrine-custodians. In 1980s, General Zia overthrew the actual shrine-custodian of Bari Imam Shrine of Islamabad and appointed a new shrine-custodian over shrine who was directly under control of dictatorship (Siddiqa, 2009).

Many political parties have significant numbers of *pirs* in their parties to gain the more political constituencies due to a huge *murid* vote bank of the shrines. In this regards Sind and South Punjab region is full of these *pirs* who manipulate local followers and devotees for their political ends and come into assemblies. Pakistan People's Party and PMLN are two larger parties of the countries and both are full of *Pirs* in their parties. PPP enjoys the patronage of Sindh and South Punjab *pirs* and interestingly these regions of the country have the potential to make any change in the political landscape of the country. Many prominent shrine-custodians of Sindh and South Punjab are the

part of country main political parties. They are not only members of the core committees of their parties but when their parties come into power they also hold main positions in the governments and also gain interests for their vested interests.

##### **5. Descendants of Moosa Pak Shaheed Shrine in politics**

Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani is a prominent figure of the PPP and belonged to a family of Moosa Pak Shaheed when he was Prime Minister of Pakistan, the US government gave priority for allocating funds to protection of Moosa Pak Shahid shrine in 2010 (Shaikh, May 2012, p. 188). The family members of shrine-custodian of the Moosa Pak Shaheed have been contesting the election for decades even before the partition of the subcontinent. Syed Raza Shah Gilani remained members of assembly in 1921, 1924 and 1936 respectively. In 1951 Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani (father of former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani) elected as a member of legislative assembly. Syed Hamid Raza Gilani (uncle of former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani) was elected member of assembly in 1962, 1965, 1977 and 1985, served as a Senator on PMLN ticket and also Federal Minister. Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani entered into politics in 1980s and won the elections of 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 2008. Yousaf Raza Gilani has great respect not only in his followers and devotees but also in PPPP. He has elected as a Speaker of National Assembly from 1993 to 1997. He was also elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2008. Syed Asad Murtaza Gilani (son of shrine-custodian of Moosa Pak Shaheed shrine and nephew of former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani) elected member of National Assembly in 2002 he remained Parliamentary Secretary for Religious Affairs. In 2015 he died during his pilgrim visit to Saudi Arabia in a disaster. Yousaf Raza Gilani's has four sons and three of them are actively involved in politics. Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani, elder son of Gilani, had won his seat in 2008 election while Syed Moosa Gilani entered into politics in 2012 and secured his seat at National Assembly. Yousaf Raza Gilani's daughter

Fiza Gilani has been served as a Goodwill Ambassador for Women Empowerment in PPPP government 2008-2013. In 2008-2013 era of Pakistan People Party, the Gilani family enjoyed the political and economic benefits at state level. Intrinsically, they got mandate from their *murid* vote bank however after achieving powerful authorities of state they enjoy both political and economic gains.

#### **6. Taunsa Sharif Shrine role in politics**

The Custodians and their relatives of the Taunsa Sharif Gaddi (*spiritual dynasty*) have been participating in election before the partition of the country. In 1945 Khawaj Ghulam Murtaza contested the election and secured his seat. They supported Muslim League and cause for Pakistan Movement. After partition, Khawaja Nizam ud Din was the only *pir* who openly supported Miss Fatima Jinnah against General Ayub Khan in 1964 election. In 1985 Khawaja Ghulam Moeenuddin contested election of non-party system and secured his seat. In 1972 Khawaja Ghulam Suleman won the election from his constituency NW-88 on the constituency of Jamat e Islami. In 1988 Khaja Kamal-ud-Din secured his seat from his area on the seat of IJI while Khawaja Attaullah (current shrine-custodian of Khwaja Suleman shrine) was also candidate on the same seat but received very less vote than Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Anwar. After Khwaja Kamal his son Khwaja Sheraz Mahmood took part in election in secured his seat in 2002 election on PMLQ seat and then in 2008 on PMLQ seat. Khwaja Sheraz has served as a Minister for State Production. In 2013 he contested election on PPPP seat but lost now he has joined Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. In 2008 election on NA-171 constituency, there were ten candidates and out of these there were four candidates were belonged to Tunsa Sharif shrine and were relative to each other. In 2013 election Khwaja Muhammad Nizam-ul-Mehmood has been elected MPA from PP-241 on PPPP seat.

Another Khwaja Ghulam Abbas also contested the election on same seat but he secured only 299 votes as an independent candidate.

### **7. Benazir Bhutto and her veneration with *Pirs***

Benazir Bhutto was also keen to visit to *Pir* shrines and seek blessings. She was also a devotee of *Pir* Sain Ghulam Hussain Shah of Qamber-Shahdatkot and often visited him for receiving his blessing and used to sit in his feet for his respect. Moreover, BB also used to visit different shrines of the Sindh province and across the country, including Dulha Sabzwari Bukhari Shah in Kharadar (Karachi), Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (Sehwan Sharif) and Bari Imam to seek the blessing of enshrined *pirs*.

### **8. *Pir* in President House of Pakistan**

As it has been observed during research work the *pir* who can make more prophecies and later they come true, the *pir* who can show more *karamat*, gain more popularity, respect and more numbers followers and devotees. This logic is not only true for general public but also for statesmen and prominent political figures who pursue their *pirs* instructions. When BB's husband Asif Ali Zardari entered into President House, he also brought his *pir* Pir Ijaz Shah along with him to seek his blessings and to deter all evils who can threat his life and his authority. The Pakistani media says about Pir Ijaz is a person who governs Pakistani rulers. There are also rumors that often *Pir* Ijaz Shah got black goats sacrificed for President Zardari so that all evils should stay away from him. It is famous that *Pir* Ijaz shah made many prophecies about future and later these prophecies came true. In 1990s he made a prophecy that in near future India and Pakistan are going to war against each other and then Kargil War happened, then he made prophecy that soon the Nawaz government would be toppled and General Musharraf demised Nawaz government. In the initial years of 2000s he met to Asif Ali Zardari and he made prophecy that one day Zardari would

become the *Badshah* (king, president) and in 2008 Asif Ali Zardari became the President of Pakistan and Zardari also brought *Pir* Ijaz shah with him in President House. Even when President Zardari completed his six years of tenure as a President of Pakistan then at his departure from President House, *Pir* Ijaz Shah did *Dum* Asif Zardari's car and kissed Pakistan's flag which was flattery on president's car. In May 2016 *Pir* Ijaz Shah also witnessed the National Assembly session and according to Pakistani media he came to parliament on the special request of PPPP.

## **9. Government policy of *Waqf* and shrines' authority**

*Waqf* (Islamic endowment) is a property of shrine, mosque or any religious institution which is inalienable and cannot be transferred to other and the department which deals these issues called *Awqaf*. Profit of the property (if that asset is producing any profit) also goes to its affiliated religious institute. In Subcontinent its history of legalization of *Waqf* by state started from British Rule. In 1894 the Privy Council of British India ordered that Islamic foundations are charitable and that should be come under government control and public rather than as private ownership. On this issue Muhammad Ali Jinnah criticized on this order and said,

“If a man cannot make a *wakf alalawald* (a *waqf* in the name of his children), as it is laid down in our law, then it comes to this, that he cannot make any provision for his family and children at all and the consequences are that it has been breaking up *Mussalman* families” (Malik, 1990, p. 65).

In 1909 Jinnah presented a bill as a “private member's bill” in Imperial Legislative Council regarding *waqf*. After two years Jinnah succeeded in passing the bill later called *Musalman Wakf Validating Act* in 1913. In this way at the initial stage Jinnah won the hearts and minds of *pirs* the subcontinent by saving their *waqf* property from the government. After the partition, General Ayub Khan took measure to institutionalize the shrines and other religious buildings in 1959 by introducing the *Awqaf* department in the country. General Ayub was took this step in result of Dr

Javed Iqbal book “Ideology of Pakistan” which were originally published in 1959 and was send to General Ayub Khan. The book strongly recommended that in order to bring prosperity in the country, the role of the *pirs*, shrine-custodians and *ulema* should be decreased. It also suggested that a separate department should be established to look after the administrative measures of all shrines of the country so that poor people should be unshackled from landlord shrine-custodians.

He concluded that:

“The establishment of such a Ministry on the lines suggested above is the only remedy for the paralyzing influence of the Mullah and the *Pir* over the rural and urban masses of Islam. Unless and until the Mullah and the *Pir* are excluded from our religious life, there is no likelihood of the successful dissemination of enlightenment, liberalism and a meaningful and vital Faith among the people of Pakistan.” (Ewing, Feb 1983, p. 259)

General Ayub Khan was very impressed from the book and also send a thankful letter to Dr Javed Iqbal and reiterated in the letter that he was also thinking on the same lines. In result, in same year General Ayub Khan made the *Awqaf* ordinance passed. Ayub strategy was to educate the urban and rural masses, especially youth, so that could choose progressive leadership which can play its role in the development of the country. He wanted to get rid of traditional politicians which were mainly landlords, shrine-custodians and *ulema*. For this purposes, he initiated many program and took control of many shrines. Traditionally, people think that a *pir* is a person who has the magical powers however *Awqaf* Department spread the Javed Iqbal points in the form of pamphlets that originally *pir*, saint or Sufi is a person who is spiritual poet and social reformer. Moreover, under Ayub Khan’s guidance, *Awqaf* Department also established hospitals, schools and other social welfare centers to mold the people from shrine-custodians to government reforms. It was a direct competition with shrine-custodians’ business as they give amulets, *dum* and blessings to their

devotees and followers. Department also started to arranged agricultural, cattle show and industrial activities at the occasions of *urs* at different shrines. Department also established some libraries at prominent shrines, published books, pamphlets over the positive role of Sufis and their ideology in society. In South Punjab, the Department has also established a library on the shrine of Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid, Mithan Kot, and Rajanpur.

Department also concentrated on repairing and maintenance of shrines in this regards some shrines had been beautifully decorated and guest houses had also been built for pilgrims. General Ayub participated in *Urs* ceremony of different shrines however he avoided to greater involvement in ritual activities of shrines. In 1959 he Ayub participated in *urs* of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai but did not take part in *chadar* laying ceremony. Although Ayub wanted to change the shrine culture and decrease shrine-custodians role in political landscape of the country and social fabric of the society however when in 1964 he contested the election against Miss Fatima Jinnah, he was supported by majority of the *pirs* of the country. He was also a *murid* of *Pir* of Dewal Sharif who fully supported him along with majority of the *pirs* of the country. Due to this act of Ayub many Army officers, personnel and prominent politicians and bureaucrats also made their allegiance with different *pirs* of the country.

Bhutto was against the feudalism however he came into office with landlords and powerful *pirs* of the country. He raised the slogan of Islamic Socialism in the country and under his regime *Awqaf* Act of 1976 was passed which further extend the *Awqaf* authority. He knew the power of the *pir* in the society and politics. He personally participated in *urs* of different shrines. Many bureaucrats also participated in *urs* of prominent shrines and represented state. In General Zia era, the shrine culture could not attain attention of government due to Zia's pro *Deobandi* and *Wahabi* policies because these two sects fulfilled his political and military needs. Second *Deobandi* and *Wahabi*

are against the shrine culture and Zia did not want to annoy his strategic assets who were not only strengthening his regime but also providing *Jehadi* manpower for Afghan War against Soviets. However, General somehow or others tried to bring the *pirs* in main religious streamline and connect the shrine and *pirs* with central government. For this purposes *Awqaf* Department had also established an institution *markiz-e-tahqiq-e-awliya* to conduct the study on Sufi thinking (Malik, 1990, p. 88). The *Awqaf* Department continued policies of predecessors' rulers in which the department has focused on social welfare issues of the shrines. Nonetheless, the *Awqaf* Department gave under the provincial governments (Malik, 1990, p. 77) according to *Awqaf* Ordinance 1979.

The control of *Awqaf* department on shrines and intervention in its economic matters also led to conflict among shrines custodians and the Department. At the end of 1985, there had been 12 petitions were filed in Supreme Court against the Department interventions in shrines matters in which 9 petition were rejected only 3 were taken up (Malik, 1990, p. 82). The main responsibility of the Department is to look after the administrative responsibilities of the shrines. In this context, the officials are the responsible to collect *nazrana* in the form of revenue and then spend the money on shrine maintenance and other necessary works and issues.

It is also worth mentioning that not all shrines of come under the control of *Awqaf* Department, only those shrines fall under the control of the Department which are old and has no hereditary shrine-custodian or those shrine which is disputed by the posterity of the enshrined *pir* over the authority of the shrine. In 2012, there were 320 shrines under the control of *Awqaf* Department and the Department was collecting RS 800 million annually from these shrines (Khalid, 2012).

## Conclusion

In the Subcontinent, state and shrines have been remained interdependence on each other for their own interests. Shrines have its influence in the society especially in its followers and devotees to great extent. The shrine-custodians and *pirs* can play their role in agitating or calming the society.

In order to maintain the stability in the country, state seek the help of shrine-custodians and these *pirs*. While in order to increase the respect and value in the society, *pirs* also want to maintain relations with state. When any ruler visits any shrine then this visit also increase the value of shrine in the eyes of devotees. After the partition of the Subcontinent, first time General Ayub attempted to contain the influence of *pir* in the society by establishing the *awqaf* department and introduced his idea of modernized the country. However, soon he realized the importance of *pirs* in election with Fatima Jinnah. Even Bhutto, symbol of socialism in Pakistan, also welcomed to *pir* landlords in his party. It has been observed that whenever state face any challenge, they seek help from *pirs*. Mostly, this help has been sought mainly for state leaders' vested interests rather than national interests. After war on terror, pro Sufis groups have been empowered in the country to deracialize the society however this policy also left dents on the de-radicalization initiatives.

## Chapter 5

### Role of Sufism in War on Terror and institutionalization of Shrines

#### 1. Introduction

Before the 9/11 incident, many Pakistani orthodox religious organizations, mainly Deobandi and Wahabis, were openly supporting and sponsoring to Taliban regime of Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the incident brought many changes in global and regional shifts. Pakistan which was epicenter of different orthodox religious parties and was also influenced from these organizations also took U-turn from supporting Afghan Taliban. The region was already into violent extremist activities later the US War on terror further fueled the radicalization, extremism and terrorism in the area. In which not only Afghanistan has been victimized but Pakistan also faced huge loss in this war as compare to any other country. General Musharraf decided to support the USA at international level to combat against terrorists while at domestic level he took different hard and soft counter measure to tackle the threat of extremism from the country. Musharraf also politicized to popular Islam to suppress the extremism because it was viewed that popular Islam is more soft and resilient than orthodox Islam. In this context, Musharraf Government projected the ideology of Sufism as the gentle face of Islam and also promoted it as indigenous and natural to culture of Pakistan (Shaikh, May 2012, p. 175). Not only Musharraf government but the USA was also interested in promoting the popular Islam to tackle the threat of Islamic extremism through popular Islam. In this context, some prominent think tanks of the USA also conducted the studies on Sufi Islam and termed the Sufi culture is fit for Pakistan to counter the growing militancy in the country. In 2003 the Rand Corporation concluded that Sufi Islam is helpful for America to build modern democratic Islam in the world. In 2007, Rand Corporation re-examined its report and termed that Sufi Islam is a “natural ally” for the West in countering the threat of radical Islamists. However,

the report also warned that due to some phenomenon there is a room for radical and extremist tendencies (Angel Rabasa, 2007, pp. 73-74). Another American think tank World Organization for Resources Development and Education (WORDE), a Washington based institute, published a report 2010 in which it emphasized that in order to defeat the radical Islam and projecting the US foreign policy in the region, the mainstream *Barelvi* politico religious parties, which promote the Sufis and *pirs* (Hedieh Mirahmadi, 2010, p. 7) should be bolstered to counter the radicalized Islamists. In order to promote Sufi Islam in the Pakistan, Musharraf government adopted pronged strategy by supporting *Barelvi* groups, who considered themselves as the custodians, devotees and followers of shrine-custodians, Sufis, *pirs* and Sufi Islam. In this context, on one front *Musharraf* government strived to promote the Sufi culture in the country by arranging Sufi music nights and *urs* of different shrines. While on the other hand he bolstered politically to different *Barelvi* groups which were active in the country. These *Barelvi* political parties openly condemned Taliban and Al Qaeda type groups and their ideologies and activities.

## **2. Assimilation of Sufism into national ideology**

After American and NATO attack on Afghanistan the militancy exponentially increased in the region of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Many violent groups of Pakistan, got actively involved in militancy against foreign forces. These groups also turned against Government of Pakistan polices of supporting American troops in Afghanistan. In order to tackle this emerging menace, like his predecessors *Musharraf* regime also sought help from *pirs* of the country. This time state used the Sufism as a symbol against extremism. Many state officials and political leaders made their statements that Sufi Islam is an actual version of Islam while *Deobandi* and *Wahabi* Islam is an imported version which spoiled our society. While Sufi Islam has great relevancy with local culture which is based on coexistence and promote the tolerance and peace in the society. One way or

other, Musharraf government started politicization of Sufi Islam to achieve the state goal of stability in the country. For this purpose, state instrumentalized *pirs* for its political objectives. In this regards two facet strategy was adopted by the government. One was on social front and second on political front to promote the Sufis, *pirs* and shrine culture in order to tackle the orthodox religious groups. On Social front the Sufi ideology was promoted through celebrations of *urs*, arrange Sufi culture and poetry and music shows on different shrines and arts councils to attract the people so they could not incline toward extremism. Secondly, some pro Sufi religious political parties were promoted to and strengthened to counter the religious extremist political parties and terrorist groups. These pro Sufi religious political parties arranged many processions in country and openly condemned the Talibanization in the country. Even these groups also termed Taliban as *khawarji* and terrorists. However, later these pro Sufi religious political parties were also led to extremist activities.

In 2004, *Musharraf* promoted his doctrine of “enlightened moderation” and in order to achieve this objective he emphasized on his fellow countrymen that “shun militancy and extremism” and “promote Islam... as the flag-bearer of just, lawful, tolerant and value oriented society” (Musharraf, 2004). In 2006, when extremism and terrorism were culminating in Pakistan, Allama Iqbal’s grandson Yousaf Salahudin suggested to General Pervez Musharraf that Sufism is the best weapon to counter the threat of extremism in the country because Sufism is the ideology which is liberal, secular and tolerate in nature. General Musharraf picked the idea of Yousaf and established the National Council for the Promotion of Sufism in 2006. The main motive of the council was to promote the Sufis philosophy and culture which has common values of the society, especially tolerance and pluralism so that the soft power of the country should be projected to outer world. General Musharraf was appointed Patron in Chief of the Council, While Chaudhri Shujat Hussain

Chairman, Mushahid Hussain Syed represented Islamabad, Yousaf Salahudin from Punjab, Jam Muhammad Yousaf from Baluchistan, Hameed Haroon from Sindh and Abbas Sarfraz from KP represented their regions. In first meeting Chaudhri Shujat said that the message of Sufism is “peace, love and brotherhood” and steps must be taken to this end (Sufism to be promoted, says Shujaat, 2006).

The turban was wired to Chaudhri Shujat Hussain by the Shrine-custodian of famous Indian Shrine of Khwaja Moeen ud Din of Ajmair Sharif, *Pir Sarwar Chishti*. He also blessed him the authority of a Sufi to Shujat and authorized him to promote the values of Sufism in the country (Philippon, Sufism in Pakistan at the ideological crossroads, 2009). In the same year, Musharraf inaugurated the ceremony of National Council for Promoting Sufism on the birthday of Allama Iqbal at Lahore. The Chief Minister of the Punjab, Chaudhri Pervez Elahi also arranged an International Sufi Conference in Lahore and during the conference Punjab Home Secretary said it is necessary to promote the Sufi philosophy of peace, love and tolerance in order to counter the “Mullah Islam”.

American Government also taken great interest in Pakistan’s new policy of incorporating the Sufi ideology in national ideology. In this context calendars have been distributed among officials in which pictures of different Sufi Shrines were pasted and these pictures were taken by an American photographer.

In order to promote the Sufi ideology and shrine culture in the country, Musharraf himself visited many shrines of Punjab and Sindh. During his visits, he advised and implied to people of Pakistan that Sufism is the real face not only Islam but also the country. He also termed that Punjab and Sindh are the land of Sufis and these Sufis have been emphasized on peace, tolerance, liberal and moderate values and these values have the potential to eradicate the vicious powers of extremism and terrorism. He also sought prayers at different shrines to protect the country from religious

fanatics who are against the existence of the country (Philippon, 2016, p. 5). Government officials, leaders and politicians started actively take part in the *urs* of different shrines, where they used to lay *chadar* on the grave of enshrined *pir*, offered prayers and even addressed to people over the importance of shrines and Sufism in the country and Islam. Former Governor Punjab Khalid Maqbool also supported the idea of government to countering extremism through soft approach of Popular Islam he also met with different shrine-custodians and gave them instructions to create unity among Muslims. Governor Khalid inaugurated difference *urs* in the province and in 2007 he praised the Dawat-e-Islami, a pro Sufi and *pirs* religious party, agenda of promoting peace and harmony in the society. Sheikh Rasheed Ahmad, former Railway Minister, praised the importance of Sufism in the country and said evil powers want to disrupt Pakistan but it is the Sufi saints blessing on Pakistan that no one dare to spoil it (Philippon, 2016, p. 6). Musharraf also first time appointed a Shrine-custodian, Saahibzada Saeedul Hassan Shah, as a Minister of *Awqaf* Department. Prior to him, there were all non-*pirs* who made criticism on the role of *pirs* (Philippon, 2009). Later governments of PPP and PMLN also appointed shrine-custodians as *Awqaf* Ministers and Ministers of Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony. Different Sufi Music nights have been arranged in which prominent singer of the country who sung the Sufi poetry in the shows. The famous singers Abida Perveen and Rahat Fate Ali Khan contributed their performances. Yousaf Sallahudin had opined that western countries are mystic hungry and Pakistan has the potential to export its Sufi Music or can sell the Sufi Music to the West (Philippon, 2016, p. 9). In order to promote the Sufi culture and Music, Musharraf also approached to Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop (RPTW) to bring out the soft image of Pakistan at domestic level and in front of international audiences.

PPP government also continued the legacy of Musharraf of promoting the Sufism in the country. Actually there are number of shrine-custodians are active members of the PPP and in this context it is also said that shrine-custodians are natural allies of PPPP. In 2009, PPPP government established a new Sufi Advisory Council which was consisted on seven members, dominated by a cleric of *Barelvi* political party Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP). PPPP government also appointed a descendant of Moosa Pak Shaheed, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, as a Prime Minister of Pakistan. Intrinsically, this appointment was not on the basis of to counter the extremism in the country through giving the authority to a relative of a shrine-custodian but it was on the political basis. However, the appointment of Hamid Saeed Kazmi, shrine-custodian of Ahmad Saeed Kazmi shrine of Multan, was appointed as a Federal Minister for Religious Affairs to handle the religious affairs, *Awqaf* and interfaith harmony issues. he was very vocal against Taliban and also survived in an attack. Later Kazmi found in corruption in pilgrimage issues and sentenced for five years in jail.

In PMLN government the role of National Sufi Council has been disappeared even still country is facing the threat of extremism and terrorism in the country. Even the party of the PMLN is also pro Sufi, and there are many shrine-custodians who are active members of the PMLN. However, *Pir* Muhammad Amin ul Hasnat Shah has been appointed as a state Minister for Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony. *Pir* Amin is a shrine-custodian of Bhera Sharif and has a large number of devotees and *madaris* in the country.

### **3. Popular Islam versus Orthodox Islam**

Popular Islam which represents the Sufi Islam has the vast majority in Pakistan, even in Punjab. According to different estimates *Barelvi* school of thought constitutes more than fifty percent population of Pakistan. While *Deobandi* 25 percent and five percent are Ahl-e-Hadith in the

country and also called the orthodox version of Islam. The *Deobandis* and *Barelvi* Schools belong to Fiqqah-e-Hanfia and Sunni however the schism between both schools started in Britain colonial rule over Subcontinent. *Barelvi* mostly venerated to Sufis and *pirs* and also term Prophet Muhammad as a *Noor* (light of Allah), while *Deobandi* do not believe in shrines, Sufis and *Pirs* also consider that Prophet Muhammad is a human being not *noor*. *Deobandi* term the *Barelvis'* beliefs as *bidaat* (innovation), which is prohibited in Islam. They also said terming prophet as *noor* of Allah is a *shirk* (association with Allah). In Islam, *shirk* has been badly prohibited. In this way many of *Deobandi ulema* term *Barelvi* out of Islamic circle or non-Muslim.

While *Barelvi* term *Deobandi* as *gustakh* (blasphemers) of Prophet because *Barelvi* think *Deobandi* and *Wahabi* decrease the value of Prophet by calling him a human being not *noor*. They also said that Prophet Muhammad is the most venerated and respected person of the world, he is above from all human beings, and he is a *noor* of Allah. By terming him a human being is against his veneration. Whoever terms him a human being is a *gustakh* (Blasphemer). The main proponent of *Barelvi* school of thought, Ahmad Raza Khan *Barelvi* (1856-1921), issued a decree in his famous book *Husamul Harmain ala Munhir Al Kufar wa al Moeen* (The sword of respectable at the throat of nonbelievers and falsehood) that leading *Deobandi ulemas* like Mualana Rashid Ahmad Ghanghoi (1829-1905), Maulana Qasim Nanwotwvi (1832-1880) and Mualna Ashraf Ali Thanwi (1863-1943) are *gustakh* and infidel. In response, the *Deobandi* Ulema also brought decree, *ulema-e-Hijaz*, and countered the *Barelvi* fatwa by terming them non-Muslim (Ahmad, 2015, p. 167).

After the start of War on Terror schism is still continued and further deepen between both sides. Both sides are empowering their groups on each front i.e. religious, political, social and economic to counter each other influence. Many *Barelvi* groups like Sunni Tehreek, Dawat-e-Islami,

Minahaj-ul-Quran, Pakistani Awami Tehreek, Ahle-e-Sunnat wal Jamat (*Barelvi* group), newly established Labaik Ya Rasool Allah, Sunni Itehad Council etc are struggling to dominate the country politics and social fabric of the society. As mostly *Barelvi ulema* claim that they are in majority in the country so it is important for them to take more part in the country's power share. They totally reject the *Deobandi* and *Wahabi* ideology and even they do not take part in their social gathering like marriages and funeral prayers ceremonies. They also term them responsible of terrorism and declared them as *khwarzis*, supporters of Taliban and terrorism not only in the country but in entire world. On the other hand, *Deobandi* call them dormant as *Barelvi* have no active role with religion and also spoil the face of religion by introducing new innovation in the religion. Even both parties try to snatch each other mosques especially in Karachi and established their own control by appointing their own school of thought clerics. These contrasts led to a dreadful armed clashes between both schools in which many precious lives have been lost.

Sunni Tehreek, an armed wing of Dawat-e-Islamai, was established by Salim Qadri in Karachi in 1990. The main motive of the organization was to release the *Barelvi* mosques, and defend other mosques, shrines and other interests of the *Barelvis* against the rival groups especially from *Deobandis* (Nasr, 2000). Saleem Qadri was famous as a *Gernail-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat* (General of Sunnis) among his followers and party workers. The party was also against the appointment of *Deobandi* clerics on official posts in the country. The group also expressed their deep concerns over appointment of a *Deobandi* cleric in Badshahi Mosque in Lahore. Under Saleem Qadri leadership, *Barelvi* took back the control of many mosques in Karachi forcefully from *Deobandis*. After these incidents, Qadri was on hit-list on his rival groups (Ahmad, 2015, p. 166). In 2001 he was killed in Karachi along with other five persons. In 2006, the next president of Sunni Tehreek

was also killed in Karachi along with other 70 people. Currently, Sarwat Ijaz Qadri is a President of Sunni Tehreek and a vocal supporter of blasphemy law.

Like this many other *Barelvi* clerics issues fatwas against the terrorists and *Deobandis*. PAT head Dr Tahir ul Qadri write a book and terms Taliban and Al Qaeda as *khawarji* and terrorists and also exhorted to Muslim fellows to not follow the path of Osama Bin Laden and Taliban. In response Taliban also hit many shrines across the country, in 2009 Taliban destroyed the shrine of great Pushto poet Rahman Baba near Peshawar. Terrorist also destroyed many other shrines of KP province in which shrine of Bahadur Baba, Nowshera, closure of *Pir* Baba in Buner and destruction of Shaikh Baba in Landi Kotal.

*Pir* Saif ur Rahman, was a prominent *pir* Saifi Subsect of Sufism, from Khyber Agency had been forcefully dispelled from his area and later he migrated to Lahore (Shaikh, May 2012, p. 187). His opponent a Pro Taliban *Deobandi* Leader Mufti Munir Shakir had prepared his armed group against the *Pir* Saif ur Rahma. In response *Pir* Saif followers also established their militant wing, Ansar-ul-Islam, to defend themselves against Mufti Munir group. Later Pakistani government banned the Ansar-ul-Islam. In Punjab, Taliban also conducted horrific bomb explosions on different shrines, in which Data Ganj Baksh shrine, Lahore, Sakhi Sarwar Shrine, D G Khan, Baba Farid Ganjshakr, Pakpattan, Abdullah Shah Ghazi shrine, Karachi, Shah Noorani Shrine, Khusdar. In results of these horrific blasts hundreds of innocent devotees lost their lives. The schism between also deepen by empowering the religious parties of Pakistan and it may still continue.

#### **4. Emergence of pro Sufi Political Parties and Extremism**

There are different *Barelvi* political parties which are active in the country's political landscape, however their main agenda is to promote *Barelvi* ideology and also impose their own type of ideology in Pakistan. However, they are not so active and popular among masses to attract voters

to get their votes and they can come into mainstream politics of the country. The main pro-Sufi political parties which are active in the countries are, Sunni Tehreek, Pakistan Awami Tehreek, Sunni Itehad Council, Jamiat Ulema e Pakistan (JUP).

In 2009 Sunni Itehad Council (SIC) was established with coalition of eight *Barelvi* political religious organizations. The main goal of the party was to create awareness against the extremism and terrorism and support the military operation with the assistance of their natural ally party PPPP, which was at that time in power, against *Deobandi* militants. In the same year, the USA also provided \$ 36607 to the SIC for organizing rallies against Taliban and terrorism in the country. However, the SIC could maintain its stance only a year, but in 2010 SIC turned against PPP government over blasphemy law issues. PPPP government started to rethink over Blasphemy Law in which some people were in jailed and waiting for death penalty. Asia Bibi, a Christen Women who was allegedly involved in blasphemy law, had been sentenced for death. PPPP government, as secular and left wing, was reluctant to hang her. On this issue Salman Taseer, Governor of Punjab, started openly support to Asia Bibi and removal of the Blasphemy Law from the country. During a TV interview, Salman Taseer termed the Blasphemy Law as a “*Kala Qanoon*” (Black Code). On this *Barelvi* religious groups strongly condemned him over his statement and also some clerics termed him a *gustakh*. Many rallies were being staged in which slogans were chanted as “*gustakh-e-Rasool ki aik saza, sar tan say juda*” (there is only one punishment of blasphemer of Prophet, that his head should be cut from his body). In January 2011, Salman Taseer was killed by police personnel, Mumtaz Qadri who was an enthusiastic member of Dawat-e-Islami. Later Mumtaz confessed his act in the court and expressed that it is an honour for him that he killed a blasphemer. The party which was initially anti extremism and terrorism soon indulged into that violent extremist activities. In January 2012, American Government also revealed that in 2009

their government allocated funds to SIC for organizing anti-Taliban rallies while SIC members denied this claim. American government also retreated from supporting the SIC over new challenge. In February 2016, government of Pakistan had hanged Mumtaz Qadri in Rawalpindi jail. After this incident SIC groups arranged a huge funeral prayer in which thousands of people participated. After that SIC has also staged a sit-in in front of parliament house. Recently SIC has been divided into different groups and often staging the rallies against blasphemers. Sahibzada Hamid Raza who was the head of SIC has been separated from rallies while other members like *Pir Afzal Qadri Bodla*, Dr Asif Ashraf Jalali, Sarwat Ijaz Qadri and Mualana Khadim Hussain Rizvi are spearheading in favour of blasphemy law.

Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) is another potential political party of *Barelvi* school of thought which was established in 1980s by the Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri. Qadri has significant vote bank in his area however other Party members have not any decisive vote bank in the country. After 2000 Qadri left the politics and country and shifted into Canada for his Islamic teaching and research work. However, in 2014 he came back into the country and declared PMLN government is an illegitimate. For this purposes he arranged a mass protest in Lahore in result of clash between police and PAT workers, 11 PAT workers were killed which further sparked the PAT and they announced to stage a sit-in in Islamabad until Nawaz government and Punjab government get topple. Many politicians and experts believe that military establishment was behind these processions for “soft coup” in the country (Ghuman, 2014). However, later few months Dr Qadri had given up his struggle against ruling party apparently without any deal. Nonetheless, PAT has showed his power by mobilizing thousands of people from the country and blocked the Capital of the country but it is still far away from taking any decisive role in the political landscape of the country. Some experts praise Dr Qadri for successfully managing his political network by

expanding the social projects like establishing schools, colleges, universities, TV channel, charity organization and of course religious organization Minhaj ul Quran. Experts also believe that in 2014 procession, the majority of the protestors were beneficiaries of his social works organizations (Rana, 2014). Dr Qadri is also against the killing of Salman Taseer and term the act of Mumtaz Qadri as a “terrorist act”. On this, other Pro Sufi parties like SIC factions are obnoxious with the PAT head and its workers. SIC leaders declared Dr Qadri as “*Tahir ul Padri*”(Pope Tahir) and infidel.

In past the Jamiat-e-Ulma-i-Pakistan (JUP) was very strong party of *Barelvi* and *pirs* however after the death of its head Shah Ahmad Noorani, the party has been divided into different factions and currently the party is just active in literature while on ground its factions are dormant. There are some other political parties of the *Barelvis* and *pirs* they are exploiting to their sect-fellows over the basis of religion and *hurmat-e-Rasool* (Veneration of Prophet Muhammad), in this context they successfully get support the people at local level but not on national level.

The policy of politicization of Sufi Islam has been slow down due to different reasons. One is Sufi Islam did not produce required results after politicization. Its main goal was to counter the extremism and terrorism from the society however many people from the pro Sufi groups indulged into extremism rather than countering to extremism. Second, these parties (except few) are not very well organized and just enjoy the local politics (Rana, 2014) because they do not have their influence at the country level so they concentrate on their tactical interest.

## **Conclusion**

After embarking upon of War on terror, the radicalization also exponentially increased among the people of Pakistan. This was very critical situation not only for Pakistan but also for the entire world. General Musharraf and his government started to launch many initiatives to tackle the

militancy from the country, in which promotion of Sufism and Sufi culture was leading strategy to defuse the extremism in the mind of people. However, it seemed that this policy was launched in hurriedly and did not conduct proper research on the Sufis and pro Sufis mindset. Then PPP government which has a natural alliance with Pro Sufis politicians, *pirs* and *ulemas*, continued this policy but soon government realized that pro Sufi religious group could be converted into extremism. In which Killing of Salman Taseer by a Pro Sufi person and strongly opposition on some state laws proof the reality. However, currently it looks government is once again retreating by supporting these pro Sufi religious groups in countering the extremism from the country.

## Conclusion

In history, shrine played very important role in the socio-economic, religious and political lives of the people. Initially, the Sufis used to live simple life in which they wore simple clothes, no house for living and ate simple food. They also started teaching to people to live simple life and not indulged into materialistic life. They taught about the way of Allah and give messages of peace, love and tolerance. People started to visit them and Sufis also prayed for needy people. Soon people started to realize that if they want to meet with God then a Sufi can guide them. Sufis also established their *khanqahas* (monastery) where they used to teach the lessons of Sufism to people and also prayed for needy people. When people started to receiving blessings from Sufis then in response they not only venerated them but also obey them. This factor also compelled to state rulers to visit them to seek their blessings and give them *nazranas* (gifts). Many rulers also established monasteries in their dynasties to help the Sufis. When one Sufi passed away his disciples and devotees buries him in his shrine and after his death they considered that he is still among them and guide them. So they as venerated shrine of Sufi as they venerated him in his life.

Gradually, Sufism spread into almost entire part of the world especially in Muslim world. It was the Sufis who brought Islam in the Subcontinent and thousands of people had embraced Islam on the hands of Sufis. In the subcontinent, Sufis main destination and stronghold were Delhi, Punjab and Sindh. Initially, they also used to live simple lives however when main Sufis passed away and their descendants took the control of authority as shrine-custodians they indulged into materialistic life. People also started to celebrate the *urs* of these Sufis every year, where a plenty of people visits shrine, prayed, sought his blessings and also pay huge amount of *nazrana* on the shrines.

In the history of subcontinent, people used to respect their saints as they consider that saint is a mediator between God and man and without the assistance of *pir*, one cannot meet with God. If

someone wants to meet with God, then he or she has to become the follower of saint. Moreover, *pirs* has spiritual powers to give reward or curse on anyone who annoying him. This psyche compelled to people to please the *pir* in every circumstances. So they started to not only obey every order of *pir* but also give him precious gifts so that could please to *pir*.

This kind of relation between shrine, shrine-custodians and devotees also attract all rulers of the subcontinent. Sultanates of Delhi, Mughal Emperors, Sikh Rulers, Hindu Rulers and even British colonial also sought help from the shrines custodians of the regions to strengthen their rules. In this way shrine also consolidated its relations with state and state rulers as well. In order to maintain stability and control over the people, state rulers contact with *pirs* who have direct controlled over people without any question or accountability, so the state could have tight control over through people. For this purposes, all abovementioned rulers of subcontinent, gifted lands, honorary designations in their state to *pirs* who have considerable influence on people.

For a devotee, *pir* is a mediator between God and a common man, while for a state, *pir* is mediator between state and a common man. As a mediator between God and man he receives *nazrana* from devotees while as a mediator between state and devotees he receives *nazrana* in the form of shrine maintenance, sometimes this *nazrana* consisted on thousands acre of land. However, the state *nazrana* vary from one shrine to other and depend on shrine influence. The more the popularity of shrine the more they receive rewards from the state. This importance of shrine and shrine-custodians, made them *pir* landlord.

The popularity of the shrine also depends on the miracles and *karamat* of the *pir*, shrine-custodian which he or she perform in public. In Pakistan Movement, they were the *pirs* who played decisive role to strengthened Muslim League and made the strong case for independent country. In 1937, elections of India *pirs* were the part of Unionist Party, however in 1946 they stood with Muslim

League and Muslim League won the election with a huge majority in Punjab. During election campaign, *pirs* issued different decree among the masses that Quid-e-Azam was a *wali Allah* and he who did not cast his vote to Muslim League he would not be a Muslim anymore.

After the partition, once again *pirs* played decisive role in the country's politics even they had become potential landlords of the country. Even General Ayub made attempt to contain the *pirs* and shrine role in the society by establishing *Awqaf* Department but soon Ayub faced the election against Fatima Jinnah. In order to defeat the strong candidate Fatima Jinnah, Ayub sought help from *pirs* and they also fully supported to Ayub and finally Ayub won the election. Bhutto who was against the feudalism and supporter of socialism also included the *pirs* landlords in his party and then he raised the slogan of "Islamic Socialism". In the era of General Zia in which extremism have been promoted, *pir* remained at sideline but effective.

The War on Terror has left drastic effect on the society of Pakistan and country have been facing enormous loss in the form of people killings and economic loss. At this moment, Sufism was considered as a counter narrative against extremism and terrorism. For this purposes, culturally and politically pro Sufis religious groups have been promoted in the country. But soon these religious groups itself indulged into extremist activities which was the alarming bell for the state. So state retreated to support these groups.

Indeed, in Pakistan Sufism or *pirs* and pro Sufis religious groups on two opposite extreme poles. One pole led toward violence, which is mostly led by Pro Sufi *ulemas* in which they issue different *fatwas* and want to impose their strict Islamic Sharia in country and also not allowed anyone to amend any bill or law. If anyone make an attempt to do so they respond with violent activities. Second are those who are traditionalist *pirs* who do not want any change any society and want to maintain their status quo. They are not so active to embark upon any modern changes in the society

and want preserve the stereotype tradition and culture in the society because the political economy of their forefather shrines fall in between these factors. While the actual Sufis are totally disappeared from the surface of the state matters.

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