QALANDARĪYYAT: HISTORICAL STATUS OF AN EMERGING POPULIST SUFI BROTHERHOOD IN PUNJAB

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Abstract:
Qalandarīyyat is a recent spiritual manifestation. It claims to be a Sufi expression of spirituality. Punjab witnesses the flourishment of this cult in the recent past. It appeals the audiences by presenting the traditional symbols of spirituality with a popular re-arrangement. It is attracting a considerable number of people from lower and middle classes in Punjab. Present paper argues that this cult still has to accredit itself as a formal tradition. This accreditation demands structural maturity and strength which is based on the socio-economic and political connections of certain cult within a society. This paper explains the expression of Qalandarīyyat which give a popular orientation to the certain traditional concepts regarding spiritual time and space. It also presents the emerging patterns out of Qalandarī practices. The concluding part narrates that although this cult has been successful in creating an alternative spiritual activity yet it still lacks the formal social recognition.
Keywords: Qalandarīyyat, Sufism, Punjab, Pilgrimage

1. Introduction:

Sufism forms a fundamental socio-cultural reality of Punjabi culture and social fabric that existentially influences the individual and collective lives of the people of the region. It is difficult to enumerate the scripts Sufism has offered over a long period of time, since its advent in Punjab. Its manifestations present varied models of Punjabi believe and practice both in individual and collective spheres. Sufism is, normally, blamed to be an ultra-individualistic in its approach to the understanding of universal phenomena, yet, in South Asia, Sufism equally focuses on the holistic human concerns.[1] It encourages and even initiates varied social activities. Sufi institutions, ideas and practices reflect many inclusive trends. The social fabric of Sufism, knitted together by an ideal and devoted followed *Murīdhood* binds people belonging to diverse background into one brotherhood or what it is called Sufi Order (Tariqat).[2]Two

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Major streams of Sufi understanding, Pantheism (*Wahdat al Wajūd)* and Apparentism (*Wahdat al Shahūd)*, both are inclusive in their nature and generate particular social activities. The practices at Sufi Centers such as Free Meals for all (*langar)* and Sufi Music and Dance (*sama')* also involve a sort of social concern and activity. This Sufic-sociality adds to the social fabric ornamenting it with certain spatial, devotional and periodical Sufi symbols. *Chishti* sociality evolved arround*khanqāh*, *langar* and *sama'* since medieval times. Contemporary *Suhrawardis* focus on madrassa, political mediation and existential contribution in social development.[3] Puritan trends in Sufism bring it again in the spatial boundaries of mosques and ritualization of Shariah.[4] This aspect can be observed in the *Naqshbandis* and *Qadris*. Their prime focus on the obligatory practice of Shariah brings them close to the so-called mainstream denominational approach to Islam. One can find detailed synchronized accounts and analyses of the Sufi activity in South Asia in historical and discursive perspectives[5] with its major patterns, yet there are many new emerging which need to be analyzed to understand the social fabric. The emergence of new trends reflects both the evolution of Sufism as well as the socio-cultural structures of the society. Qalandarīyyat is one of the most popular amongst the emerging Sufi trends. This research intends to investigate the historical and discursive aspects of 'Qalandarīyyat' in the Pakistani Punjab.

Qalandariyyahas emerged as a strong Sufi-spiritual trend since nineties of last century. The multidimensional Sufi history itself offers an investigation of Qalandarīyya. An introductory and analytical study of this trend will definitely add to the understanding of Sufi narratives. As mentioned above this research focuses on both historical and discursive aspects of this trend. Historical analysis is done in the light of available Sufi literature and discursive aspect is analyzed on the basis of emergence of popular trends and element of situationality in Qalandarīyya. Popular and situational trends are excavated on the basis of their non-historical availability and current ritualistic observation. The paper argues that the current Sufi-spiritual traditions has fallen a prey to certain popular trends which are not only new but at some instances are repugnant to the sober Sufi structures. Their beliefs and practices are criticized by the puritans who have been against Sufism. These trends need a deep examination as, currently, they have significant socio-cultural

implications. They are breeding in an atmosphere of confusions. These confusions have been created by blurring the context and the text of these cults. 'En-textualisation' of these trends enables them to perform in different context will equal capabilities.[6] This capacity enhances their value on the one hand but confuses their historicity on the other hand. Initial examination of 'Qalandarī' cult qualifies it for a case study with respect to the above arguments. This trend has a significant strength and also possesses the capacities to be entextualised. At second its inclination towards a parallel-Sufism also qualifies it for a detailed study.

This study of 'QalandarīCult' mainly deals with their contextualization, presentation and impacts on the discourse of Sufism and spirituality. It will also help in the understanding of overall flow of history in the society. The proceeding part defines the major concepts which are applied to examine the subject. Onward discussion is divided into three part i.e. contextual foundations, symbolism embodied and the emerging trends. The last part describes the conclusion drawn on the basis of the whole discussion.

This research applies multidisciplinary concepts to proceed the discussion, examine the findings and for the elaboration of results. As discussed in the introductory section, the paper initiates debate and discussion with the help of concepts of speculative and analytical trends used for the comprehension of spirituality in Punjab. It helps to understand the different patterns of understanding of human activity over a period of time. In the following parts, discussion follows the theoretical line of the concepts of sacred space, Culture and Language, high and low Culture. This blend can be comprehended in the following conceptual way. It maintains that history is the record of human social activity and it affects and manages the social process as well. Social activity is scripted and encoded in culture which is often challenged by some popular and situational trends.[7]Popular culture can only sustain its 'Cultural' position if it could be 'social' and 'historical'.[8] If it cannot sustain its social practice then it diminishes from the scene. So, by following this conceptual map, the following parts of this article deals with the questions i.e. what exactly is

Qalandrism? It is cultural or popular cultural trend? Does it contain capacity to acquire social and historical status?

2. Manifestations and Public Communique of Qalandarīyyat?

Punjab has long been influenced by Sufism. Sufi spirituality extended itself to influence social, economic and political domains. Socially, it constitutes parallel to the traditional tribes and clans by establishing the Sufi brotherhood (*Pir Bhai*) and Sufi organization (Jama'at).Pirs of Sher Shah of Multan have an extraordinary following in the South Punjab. Their spiritual influence is evident from the number of tribes and clans which follow them. *Sials, Qurayshis, Khawkhers, Sayyads, Chadhrs* from the Districts Jhang, Sragodha, Khanewal and Multan are among the followers of spiritual tradition of *Sher Shah*. *Darbār*also owes a large number of following from the menials castes as well. All their followers' castes are well-knitted in the bond of Pir Bhai. This bond is exhibited through matrimonial alliances, joint businesses and political terms.[9] Same is the case with the followers of *DarbārMajhi Sultan* in Jhang. Pir Syed Muhammad Ali Sherazi narrated that our murids are not only attached with our family and Shrine but also have a strong connection among themselves.[10] It also generated an economy that associates the disciples (*Murids*) with the tradition of annual, bi-annual and quarterly payment of Bestowments (*Nazrana)* to the *Pirs*.[11]Maqsood Khan, a caliph of *pirs* of *Sher Shah* revealed that he collects annual tribute from the murids. He further said that this annual tribute is not only an attendance of the murids but it also confirms their allegiance with the shrine.[12] At special occasions, Sufis are used to use their spiritual influence in political terms.[13] It is observed that the traditional Sufism in Punjab which once exhibited itself in sophisticated and ideology originated *Suhrawardi*, *Chishti* and *Qadri* orders and was presented by powerful Sufi personalities gradually got replaced by the family inheritance and the space.[14] The existential aspect of Sufism got replaced with a departed soul. Departed soul's existence is shared partly by his descendants and partly by the tomb.[15] The respondents at *DarbārAtharāHazarī*in Jhang, *Baba Nau Lakh Hazārī* in Faisalabad and *Darbār Astana La'l Shah* showed a considerable consensus while answering the question of allegiance. The dominant trend of their answers showed that they

are more attached with the shrine as compared to the living custodians of the shrine.[16] They also opined that the spiritual status of the person in shrine is difficult to be achieved by the descendants. It can be argued that this trend dominated the Sufism in the earlier part of 19th century and remained dominant till the recent days. In the recent days, after the mass ethnic, religious, sectarian and socio-cultural transition certain new trends have emerged in Sufism. These new trends exhibit themselves in various ways and some of them are popular among the people as well. This discussion is strictly focused and limited to the study of Qalandarīyyat in this context.

Second half of nineties of the twentieth century witnessed an unprecedented attention of people towards Shahbāz' Qalandar.[17] Although Shahbāz' Qalandar has been popular in Punjab but this time it won an extraordinary attendance. Gradually the annual visitors have grown in numbers and it has got developed into a new tradition. The first decade of twenty first century witness some personalities from the Punjab, visiting and observing saintly rituals at sanctified spaces.[18]The brotherhood has evolved itself by announcing the new personifications and strengthened the ritualistic aspects through the addition of spatial element. This trend again revitalizes the existentialist personification in spiritual realms. The Qalandarīyyat has expanded itself in the social fabric through three ways:

1. Creation of a Popular Sacred Space
2. Neo-Concept of Pilgrimage
3. Establishment of extra-territorial and extra-cultural Affiliations

2.1 Creation of a Popular Sacred Space:

The concept of sacred space is theorized with different definitions and tones. The sacred space in Qalandarīyyat rationalizes itself by what Smith endorses as the human efforts working behind the creation of sacrality of a space.[19] It does not require a particular place to perform sacred ritual but it require more a combination of certain social components which create sacrality, anywhere in the streets, at road-sides, or at any empty space. These components, substantially, are profane in both puritan religious traditions and the so-called structured Sufism. Red flags and dress along with *dhamal*,

music and singings ornament the situational sacrality.[20] These rituals are performed to please Qalander to win his favors. Qalandar'sfavors encompass almost all the worldly aspects of human life and become functional beyond the spatial and temporal barriers. It allows the woman and marginalized transgender to become the part of creating a 'sacred' space to live in. transgender not only become the part of this spatial sacrality in Punjab but also travel with the caravans.[21]One can find various examples of such situational sacrality in the case of Qalandarīs,[22]for example *NūrīBūrīWālī*Sarkār[23] can be a most suitable example of construction of Qalandarī special and situational personification and creation of sacred space. The video records available at social media represent a number of situations. How new sacred spaces are being created to perform Qalandari rituals. A space is being sacralised with music, dance, male-female combined gathering and above all sufi-cusses. He is constructing 'sacred' with so-called profane acts and symbols. He excommunicates the dissidents by calling them illegitimate and by cursing them.[24]More or less, similar aspects came be observed in the other videos as well. *Jashan e Sham e Qalandar*in Faisalabad is being observed in a space whose sacrality is 'situational'. Women are also part of the main scene. Dhamaāl and music are the sacred ornaments through which the participants are beautifying their souls. In another video from Gujrat a female singer is singing the 'sacred rhymes' *'Talū e sahar hay shām e Qalandar'* (the evening at Qalandar's space is the dawn of humanity). This program is also taking place at a '*Dayrā'*. Hundreds of examples can be found to berepresenting and explaining the construction of sacred space by the Qalandarīs. Most of these spaces emerge in the month of Sha'ban during the Urs festival of Shahbaz' Qalandar and vanish afterwards. One can infer that Qalandarīs have come out of the yoke of spatial essentiality. '*Kalwars'*, a caste group, for example celebrate *Sham e Qalandar* annually in a street of Jhang adjacent to their homes. They are used to observe this event for the last ten years. None have to take extra care of streets sacrality for the whole year but it appears as a sacred space only on fourteenth day of Sha'ban.

2.2 Neo-Conception of Pilgrimage:

Sham e Qalander follows an initiation of a sacred journey. This is a mini pilgrimage to the tomb of Shahbāz' Qalander. Numbers of caravans proceed towards *Sehwan* with thousands of people organized in various groups on the basis of sharing travelling, food and residential costs.[25] Still a reasonable number of caravans are managed by single party sponsors. The caravans are organized for a thanksgiving prayers on the fulfillment of desire by the special attention on behalf of the Qalandar (*Mannat)*. This purpose also includes a series of pilgrimages (*ziarat)* at the shrines of Sufis which come along the road towards *Sehwan*. The visitors of *Sehwan* visit shrines at Jhang, Pakpattan, Multan, Bahawalpur,Sukker and Haiderabad before the *ziarat* of *Shahbāz' Qalander*. These include the shrines of *PirAbdurRehman*, *Sultan Bahu*, *BahauddinZakariya*, *Shah Rukn e Alam*, *Musa Pak Shahīd*, tombs of *Bokharis* at Uch Sharif, Sadr ud Din Arif and *Qadamgah*Mola Ali in Haiderabad.[26] These shrines are combined in this pilgrimage irrespective of the fact that many of them bear gross ideological differences among themselves. These differences are ignored in the construction of this neo-sacrality and it works in a situational manner. Many visitors are not concerned with the internal differences among sufis but they respect their respective spiritual status that distinguishes them from the ordinary and profane.[27]This journey ends at Sehwan, where the pilgrims become the part of *Urs* celebrations for two to three days. Most of these caravans start their journey back to home after the end of *Urs* leaving only a few numbers of people to perform a higher step of this spiritual journey or pilgrimage '*Maqam e Lahut'*. '*Maqam e Lahut'*is the next higher and supreme part of this pilgrimage which needs more devotion than the previous one.[28] It is very difficult place of pilgrimage and it is difficult to complete journey to this place as one has to do it on foot rather than on vehicles.

2.3 Extra-territorial and extra-Cultural affiliations (Punjab to Sind)
Qalandarī trend is also unique in the construction of new spiritual directions in geographical terms. Spirituality in Punjab, traditionally has been confined to both geographical and cultural boundaries of Punjab.[29] 'Punjabi' itself owes a considerable contribution of the Sufis in Punjab.[30] Sikh and Muslim spirituality enhanced the

capacities of Punjabi language and also added to the genres of Punjabi literature. Tej K. Bhatia writes, "Punjabi is most commonly written in the Gurmukhi script. It should be stressed, however, that Gurmukhi, meaning proceeding from the mouth of the Guru, is not the true indigenous alphabet of Punjab."[31]People bear respect for *Guru Nanak, Bulhay Shah,Sultan Baho*, *Baba Farīd*, *Waris Shah* and *Shah Hussain*. All of them were literary personalities. They used poetry to spread their message through the use of local language. Their popularity is based on the simplicity and comprehensibility of the language they used while addressing the common people. Most of indigenous Sufism in upper Punjab follows*Chishti*, *Qadri* and *Naqshbandi* traditions.[32] Most of the spiritual pilgrimages as described above are limited to the geographical and spiritual boundaries of Punjab. *Qalandarī*caravans have changed these geographical and spiritual directions to Sind and (later) *suhrawardis*.[33] It is certainly a new trend which has challenged the traditional sufi geographical manifestation in Punjab.[34]It seems to be an alternate spirituality which wants to challenge and established a parallel to the so called sophisticated sufi traditions. The southward inclination of this trend reflects the sub-continental religio-spiritual behavior. Indian religions, for example, contain refined alternate trends as they move southward.[35] The northern marginalized woman when enters South, acquires divine status i.e. *Kali, Lakshmi*. South also represents the traditions of resistance as well. From medieval times South has always been perceived as inferior by the cultured North but this inferior has never accepted the Northern supremacy in all the walks of life.[36] Punjabi audience for a shrine in Sind represents both the colors of 'alternative' and resistance. These audiences, if analyzed on socio-cultural standards show remarkable difference to the well-structured Northern traditions.

The third aspect which creates certain questions is the cultural difference between the visitors and to be visited. These differences can be divided into two periods of time. The first part is the past and the second phase starts with the currents times. Going back in the Sufi traditions of the late 12th and 13th century, one finds certain concrete symbols and icons that define the Sufism of that age. Sufism in that age can be articulated by the particle understanding of languages i.e. Persian, Cross Cultural travelling, scholarly education

and spiritual enunciations.[37]Languages create relative epistemological and ontological impact with the variance of time and space. Persian enjoyed a glory in the medieval India under the patronage of royal courts and Sufi *khanqahs*.[38] It worked as a metalanguage as well which, at least, connected various parts of South Asia together. The cross-cultural travelling is also a distinction of that age. The titles of '*Shahbāz*' ' and '*Jahan gasht*' are the embodiments of different concepts of travelling based on time and place.[39] '*Jahan Gasht*' refers to a traveler who has travelled the various parts of the world for the sake of knowledge and spiritual uplift. On the other hand '*shahbāz*' crosses the limits of time and space. He can travel beyond the limits of time and visit the places from different dimensions which are not visible to the rest of visitors. His '*parwāz*' codifies his extraordinary power of travelling. The spiritual currents in Punjab were running on different lines in the medieval period.

As far as, the trends of current times are concerned, still there exist concrete cultural differences between the visitors and the shrine. A *SindīWalī* is being revered by the people for whom *Sindī* language and culture is unintelligible. Visitors belong to highly sectarianized space and the shrine is encapsulated in an ethnic discourse which is in a continuous struggle of survival. This ethnic division is evident from the fact that *Sindī* celebrate the *Urs* and festival after the *Urs* of Punjabis is over.[40] They do not mix their celebration with the outsiders.

2.4 Denominational Confusions:

Sectarian denominations helped Qalandarīs' existence with well-defined structures and definite boundaries. They never allow re-conciliations that blur the sectarian margins. They have particular mechanism that maintains the sectarian boundaries and one of those is 'excommunication', popularly known as '*Takfīr*'.[41] Excommunication is a diverse phenomenon and it exhibits itself through various ways in which someone is excluded from the main stream sect. This is institutionalized by the construction of definite structures of '*Takfīr*'.[42] The followers of this Qalandarīyyatalso fall in the communes who are either excluded or have stepped out of parent sects. This cult owes its existence by attracting following

from Shias and Barelwis and to some extent from Deobandis as well.[43] They do not have any follower fromAhl e Hadith sect. Here is an important point which questions this particularism and creates further discourse to verify the 'spaces' within Shias and Sunnis, congenial to the growth of Qalandarīyyat. This question can only be answered with the division of both sects into two i.e. 'Puritan and socio-cultural'. The puritans construct their approach on the bases of jurisprudence and legal discourses within a particular sect while the socio-cultural sectarian tendencies revolve round the traditions of near past's sectarian and personal behaviors, traditions and experience.[44] This intra sectarian division is evident from the course of current sectarian discourse. Qalandarīs are not only providing a shared space to bothShias and Sunnis but at the same time also exhibit the sectarian trends itself. This research only deals with them in their capacity of 'sharing' and leaves the sectarian trends among them for any further piece of inquiry. So currently this trend has confused the sectarian boundaries and has also stirred up the new religious excercise on this issue. This excercise is also passing through a discourse and will take time to conclude for the codification and scripting.

3. Resultant Patterns:

Th e nature of Qalandarīyyat has contributed in the emergence of three conclusive patterns in current Sufism on the basis of historical and cultural significance:

1.   Emergence of New Popular Rituals/ Mystical-Realities
2.   Resistance to Traditional Spiritual Order
3.   A power Discourse for Future existence

3.1 Emergence of New Popular Rituals/ Mystical-Realities

Discussion in the above section dealt with the 'presentation and appearance' of Qalandarī Cult points out certain new trends which are real in the sense that they involve social activities. This does not mean that these new realities and rituals are altogether new entities in the society with an alien outlook but already existing religious, spiritual and social symbols are just rearranged and represented in new sense. In this way the new emerging reality is basically, a social rearrangement. The concept of pilgrimage is a traditional concept in

Islam as well as other religions.[45] Traditionally, pilgrimage in Islam is identified with Hajj and *Ziyarāt*. As far as Sufism is concerned, they also have created a certain type of conception of travel which develops *Ziyarat'*sanalogies with the traditional pilgrimage and in this way equates it with the mainstream religious belief.[46]*Qalandarīs* have reconstructed the pilgrimage or holy journey with their own concept of synthesis of spirituality and the indigenous tradition. They have liberally joined various traditions without bothering respective contexts of the traditions. Similarly, the ages old concept of sacred space is part and parcel to the religious and spiritual activities. *Qalandarīs* concept of space is both movable and immovable. Immovability is enshrined in the destination of shrine on the other hand movability in space is evident from their individual celebrations throughout the year at different places. So the emerging realities in this regard are the new conceptual and virtual rearrangements of time, space, mobilization and movement. Discussion in the following part discusses the nature and role of these new arrangements.

3.2 Resistance to Traditional Spiritual Order

Social activity reflects human understanding which is based on both historical continuity of culture and emerging popular culture. In this way Qalandarīyyat reflects both tradition and recent trends. The new arrangements of Qalandarī cult are based on the popular, as described in the above section, conceptions of time, space and mobility. They either differ or confront the tradition. This difference and confrontation, at one end shows their annoyance or disregard for the tradition. This kind of behavior shows that they have certain fears regarding survival in the tradition so they have devised their own mechanism and this mechanism is resilient to the tradition. Resistance is an extraordinary term. Its complexity confuses the patterns of identity it creates. It will be true to say that to gauge and comprehend resistance in a particular society one needs to be well versed in multidisciplinary knowledge discourses. The current knowledge discourse has created some concepts which have helped the researchers to define the phenomenon like resistance. Resistance always needs a space to exhibit itself. It is not a linear phenomenon and gives multiple results. Resistance to

religion can be appeared at political horizons and similarly political resistance can disguise itself into spiritual practices.

The qalandarī cult offers a transitional resistance pattern which helps masses to shift their identity from lower to the middle strata of society.[47] It is providing the upper classes a space to step down to the middle classes and helps them in the management of their decline in a gradual manner. It is noted in some cases that leaving the tradition and seeking some 'transitional' spaces have helped the upper classes to avoid the ruthlessness of history. It also provides upper classes a space to re-step in their old ranks. In this context, it is a 'historical' and 'social' necessity.

3.3 A Power Discourse for Future Existence

Historically, the existence and maintenance of any tradition has been subject to a power structure. The tradition develops a mechanism which forces its elements to operate in a particular structure in defined ways. Going a step ahead, a tradition enhances its life by generating power itself. As far as the Qalandarī Cult is concerned it is argued that it cannot be able to survive for long as it lacks the potential of 'power generation'. It is getting life from finance of newly emerging middle classes and from the transitional patterns of current social structures. It is not following the way in which its creators are moving ahead towards maturity. Even though its popularity is increasing yet it is unable to create certain cultural, economic and most significantly political resonance. The traditional Sufism is remarkably strong than this cult in its capacity to translate its impacts in the above mentioned, socio-cultural, economic and political forms. Contrarily, Qalandarīyyat is still unable to create an economic activity like donation (*ugari)* and equally are unable to generate a sober political activity. Same is the case with the political resonance of this cult. Their political contributions cannot be denied but at the same time they lack the institutionalization of their political role as compared to the established sufi traditions. The *Pirs* of *Gūlrā* and *Sial Sharīf* cast their significant influence on the electoral process in the area. Same is the case of *Pirs of Hāla, Pirs* of *Rani Pur*, *Pir of Pagarū* and other *Pirs* in Sindh Their established institution of '*pīrī-murīdī*' helps them to create an efficient political network during elections and their support helps political parties in

real sense. They send their 'caliphs' to their murids with the orders of casting their votes in favor of any particular candidates or party. The Qalandarīs lack this institutionalized capacity to create and manage economic and political influences. Their potential disappears in the 'mass smokes' as they claim certain alternatives to identify themselves. This lack of structural identity potential keeps these kinds of cults in dark and only serve the purpose of transitional phases.

Conclusion:

Qalandarīyyat is a fast-growing spiritual phenomenon in Punjab beyond the defined space of sacrality. It is self-defined by masses without a centrality and beyond the space. The brotherhood has defined itself as a mass-liberty to express and masses have adopted new methods of the expressions for spiritual and psychic problems. It is expressed through the creation of 'sacred spaces' throughout the Punjab with cusses and *Dhamal* in the name of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. These spaces celebrate *Sham-i-Qalandar* with spiritual zeal and zest. The Qalandarīs has developed a new conception of *Ziarat* and *Mannat* with processions from all Parts of Punjab to *Sehwan* and similarly has attached an extra-territorial and extra-cultural spiritual value to Lal Shahbāz Qalandar, trying to convert it into a universal spiritual deity. In that sense, other than introducing new rituals, the Qalandarīyyat has resisted the traditional methods of mysticism. One major weakness of this rising cult is the lack of central organization.

In its present form, Qalandarīyyat may have too many challenges from the other cults as well as from the other emerging patterns. It is still in a phase of struggling for acquiring a particular structure. It is historical in the sense that it owes its existence to the existing religious, spiritual and cultural structures, yet it is discursive as it is still struggling for the agency to accredit its new aspects from the people. Agency to compensate the historical uniformity as a cultural reality is a major requisite to survive. Although Qalandarīyyat, has been successful in devising some new and different trends but at the same time has not been able to structure these trends with rest of the social, political and economic patterns of the day. It has, for example, less to attract the educated class. Similarly, it has equally

offended the people with traditional religious mindset and education. Most of its following and audiences are from the social classes which are in transitional phase. The people living in transitional phase are very much flexible with the adoption and extinction of traditions. New patterns require a web to connect themselves with the rest of their contemporary patterns. So, Qalandarīs can only survive if it could create certain political and economic influences. It will help this cult to raise itself from the ritualistic to traditional level. It will also enhance its operational sobriety which will attract audience from the rest of social strata i.e. elite and upper middle classes. At this point it is popular but still it has to struggle for its sociability.

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[1]Tanvir Anjum, Mediational role of Sufis in IslamicateSouth Asia: A conceptual and empirical study in *J.R.S.P*, 51, NO. 1, (2014): 157-177

[2]Hasan, Bushra, Kamal, Anila, Development and Validation of the *Piri-Muridi* Scale, *Pakistan Journal of Psychological Research*, 25 (2010): 79-97

[3]Zafar Mohyuddin, Sufis, state and society in pre-modern India: the place of saiyid Jalal al –Din Jahania Jahan gasht in *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*. Vol, xxxvii, no. 2 (2016):

[4]https://www.economist.com/christmas-specials/2008/12/18/of-saints-and-sinners. Dec 18, 2008

[5]It is historical in the presence of historically verified evidence of its different forms, ideas and practices. On the other hand, it is discursive, as many of its aspects are still attempting for a contemporary discursive validity.

[6]Entextualisation is basically an attribute denoted to certain 'texts' which possess the capacity to be detached of their immediate contexts. This concept is analogized here for the spiritual practices which once happen (become text) can be understood in various ways (applying different contexts). See for detail

[7]Jones, G.S, *Working class culture and working class politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the remaking of working class* in Cultural theory and popular culture, edited by John Storey,(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998): 61-66

[8]Macdonald, Dwight, *A theory of mass culture* in Cultural theory and popular culture, edited by John Storey, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998): 22-37

[9]Interview with Makhdum Hamid Raza Mashhadi, a descendant of *Hazrat Sher Shah* of Multan. Shrine of *Sher Shah Kazmi* is situated in the South

Western part of Multan. *Sher Shah's* lineage links him to Imam Musa Kazim (seventh Imam in Twelver Shia).

[10]Interview with Syed Muhammad Ali Sherazi. He is son of Syed SajjadHussaynSherazi. He mentioned that his forefathers belonged to town Shah Pur situated in District Sargodha. They are descendants of Syed Muhammad Sherazi, whose shrine is at Shah Pur.

[11]Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society*, (Karachi: Oxford Univery Press, 2002), 385

[12]Interview with Maqsood Khan.Maqsood khan belongs to Baluch caste and is the resident of Dhabi Baluchan. He is agriculturist and owns a considerable tract of land for cultivation. He is appointed as caliph by pirs of Sher Shah. A caliph, according to Maqsood Khan, maintains a connection between the pirs and murids.

[13]Ibid, 234-325

[14]It is evident from the case of leading Sufis in Punjab. In case of Sultan Bahu (1630-1691), for example, none equaled him from his predecessors. And his name and fame is survived either through his poetry or through the space of his tomb. Tradition of Bulhay shah has also survived due to the space and his liberal message.

[15] Death of Sufi is compensated by the idea of his post-death existence. This post-death existence is analogized with the existence of "Shaheed" (martyred).

Holy Quran Chapter 2 Surah Baqarah verse 154: And say not of those who are slain in the way of Allah: "They are dead." Nay they are living though ye perceive (it) not.

[16] Authors held field works in Jhang, Faisalabad and Multan and asked similar question to the people visiting the above mentioned shrines. Most of respondents were of the opinion that the actual Sufi is lying in the tomb and they can seek his spiritual pleasure by paying visits to his tomb and by appeasing his living descendants.

[17]It is based on the writer's personal observance being a 'cultural insider' and on the basis of field work in Lahore, Faisalabad, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh and Multan.

[18] It is an unusual elevation that is observed in the case of Qalandarīs. BāwāSadāHussaynShah, Pīr Irfan Shah, BāwāAzmat are among the prominent examples. Besides personalities, the slogans like '*BūlūbūlūSakhīLālQalander Mast*' entered into the Punjabi domain in first half of the previous decade.

[19]Martin Smith, *Religion, Culture and Sacred Space*, (New York: Palgrave, 2008)

[20]PaninaWerbner, *Langar: Pilgrimage, Sacred Exchange, and Perpetual Sacrifice in a Sufi Saint's lodgein Pakistan: Anthropological Perspective*, (Karachi: oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 177-201

[21]Interview with Zeeshan Raza, journalist and representative of G TV in District Jhang.Zeeshan Raza narrated that trans gender's participation in Sham e Qalander and carvans is significant in Jhang, Toba Tek Singh and Faisalabad. He also mentioned that an honor of poultry shop in Jhang Saddar arranges a bus only for transgender for the sacred travel.

[22]The Qalandariaudience contain a considerable number of trans-gender. This marginalized group, dominantly, is attached with the shrine of ShahbāzQalandar. Many of them pay compulsory annual visit to shrine.

[23]interview nooriboori, 26 October 2011/ Naveed352, You Tube Video, Posted 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1o2RN6_pdcQ

[24] NORI BORI SARKAR DHAMAL AT SHAHDRA, 06 June, 2010, 4306261, You Tube Video, Posted 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=67Th0cDgLpY

[25] Ghulam Sarwar from Multan, Habib Raza from Rasheedpur and Chand Shah from Faisalabad narrated the different modes of sharings. According to Ghulam Sarwar,caravan usually consists of his own clan fellows and strangers are not allowed to be the part of group. They share the bus fare but as far as food is concerned, it is provided only by three members to the whole caravan during the journey. Habib Raza mentioned that they advertise their caravan a month before the commencement of the Urs. They divide the expected cost among the number of participants equally. He blamed that, now a days, caravans have become a business and people earn money from sacred journey.

[26]PirAbdurRehman' status as a Sufi saint is controversial. He is said to be the part of *Alvī* resistance movement during the Ummayed period. He was man of sword and this aspect is also accommodated in the local traditions which silence his role against Ummayeds and present him as a savior against the Hindus.

See

Muhammad Aslam, *Muhammad Bin Qāsimawrunkájānashīn*, (Lahore: Riaz Brothers, 1996), 29

SultānBahū is a famous sufi saint in Punjab. He belongs to Qadri Sufi order and is famous for his poetry and strict following of Shariah.

BahauddinZakariya and Shah Rukane Alam both belong to *Suhrawardi*sufi order. *Suhrawardies* were strict followers of Shariah and were also famous for their friendly relations with the *Salatin e Dehli*.

See also

ShujaAlhaq, *A Forgotten Vision,* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1996), 347-55

Musa Pak Shaheed also has a mix identity. According to one tradition he was a *Qadri* Sufi but on the other hand his stature as a warrior can also be not ignored.

see

The tombs of *Bokhari's* at *UchSharī*f exhibit the later *Suhrawardi* tradition and in many respects are different from their Multani predecessors.

See

Zafar Mohyuddin, Sufis, state and society in pre-modern India: the place of saiyid Jalal al –Din Jahania Jahan gasht

[27] Junaid Abbas Sial, a participant from Shorkot narrated that common man should have no concern regarding the internal differences of the Sufis but they must respect all of them. He was of the view that too much pondering leads one to none but to the destruction of faith and believes in spirituality. This approach is common in rural Punjab and is verified as well during the field work.

[28]Interview with Imran Rajbana.Rajbana did the journey of *Maqam e Lahut*in 2013.

[29]Fawad Hasan, *Revisiting Punjab's spirituality, village life*, Express Tribune, February 13, 2016

[30]Saeed Bhutta, Kafi: A Genre of Punjabi Poetry, *South Asian Studies 23 (2)* 223-229

[31]Tej K. Bhatia, *Punjabi*, (London: Routledge, 2000): xxv

[32]Muhammad A. Chaudhary, Religious practices at Sufi shrines in Punjab in *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXI, No.1, 2010s

[33] Later *Suhrawardis* established their center in Uch Sharif and extended its influence in the Sind as well. See

ShujaAlhaq, *A Forgotten Vision,*

[34] Punjab province has diverse phenomenon of spiritual pilgrimage and in most of the cases the destination is located inside the province. Sikh pilgrims and the pilgrims of SakhiSarwar are among the prominent examples of the leading historical spiritual pilgrimages in the province. Qalandari caravan not only extended theselves in deep South but also crossed the geographical boundaries of Punjab province.

See

Punjab Tourism for Economic Growth: Final Report

[35] A.K. Ramanujan, Where mirrors are windows: Towards an anthology of Reflections, *History of Religions* (1989), 28 (3): 187-216

[36]Ibid

[37]See details in, Jamal Malik, *Islam in South Asia: A Short History,* (Boston: Brill, 2008)

Seyyed Hossein *Nasr, Persian Sufi Literature: Its Spiritual and Cultural Significance* in The Heritage of Sufism Volume II, The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500),, Leonard Lewisohn(ed), (Oxford:One Word, 1999): 1-11

[38]*Jahan Gasht* can be established as a structural term as compared to the 'Shahbāz' ' with an attribute of *parwāz'* .

[39]*Shahbāz'*refers to the ability of a sufi to fly. In this way he is free from the human limitations of living inside the boundaries of time and space. He is exceptional in this regard. On the other hand *Jahan Gasht* refers to a careful human meaning of a sufi strength of travel. It manifests a Sufis own eagerness to travel the earth for learning but within the human limits.

[40]Interview with Ghulam SarwarQalandarī.

[41]Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro and Sabine Schmidtke (ed), *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfīr,* (Boston: Brill, 2015): 1-29

[42]Zahid Gishkori, *Govt mulls criminalisation of Muslims declaring one another 'kafir*, Express Tribune, September 10, 2015

[43]This statement is based on the findings of the fields works done during the course of this research.

[44]It is verified from the fact that a number of respondents showed some Patterns deviancy from the belief and practice structure of their parent sect. Zahid Abbas, for example, believed in the righteousness and infallibility of Shiite Imams. When he was told by the experts that in doing so he is deviating from the original Barelwi belief, he got converted to Shia. The

important thing is that he remained intact to this belief for years in capacity of a Barelwi.

[45]PninaWerbner, *Langar: Pilgrimage, Sacred Exchange, and Perpetual Sacrifice in a Sufi Saint's Lodge* in Pakistan, 177-201

[46]This pilgrimage is not the part of early sufi teachings but became a ritual with the consolidation of shrine culture. Shrines of Sufis attract a large number of attendees in the annual gatherings. Some people prefer to walk instead of using vehicles for travelling. The foremost example is the gathering of Sindhi followers of BhahauddinZakariya in Multan at the time of Urs. Their presence is based on an obligation towards the sufi and shrine.

[47]Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste, and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002): 231