Crystallization of Pakistani Popular Culture through the Barelwi Paradigm: An Analytical Study

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Abstract

Hanafī Muslims are mostly divided into Barelwi and Deobandi schools of thought in Pakistan. The Barelwi School spread rapidly and influenced not only in religious and scholarly terms but also established its political footings. The Barelwismostly endorsed and used indigenous culture for the religious mobilization in Pakistan. This doctrinal endorsement has made it more religious, sacred and protected.

The purpose of this article is to highlight the existing nexus of popular Islam with the Barelwi school of thought and challenges it has to face. It is argued that the Barelwis used local and popular facets of Islam in order to disseminate their beliefsto get influenced the state and society of Pakistan.

Introduction

The Barelwi Movement, which emerged during the late 19thCentury in the British India (1858-1947), has its ideological and spiritual centrein Bareilly, India. The intellectual, religious, and spiritual orientation of the Movement is the personality of Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad

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Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ Qādirī Barelwī (1856-1921). By the end of the 19thCentury, the Mawlānā with his disciples, vicegerents and associates had formed a group that claimed itself to be so near to Islam that it identifies itself alone as the *Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jamāʿat*. Presently, the Barelwi Movement has transformed itself into a transnational movement.

During 1897-1947, the Barelwi Movement became active in socio-cultural and religio-political realms. The growth of new *madāris*, *anjumans*, *khānqāhs*, and religio-political organizations occurred during these years, besides publication of the pedagogical literature in different languages.

After the Partition of the British India in August 1947, the topmost leadership of the Movement, especially family members of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ preferred to stay in Hindu-dominated India and did not migrate to Pakistan. This left-over leadership, in principle decided to stand apartfrom the Indian national affairs and thus, the Movement restricted its activities to religious and spiritual matters only. On the other hand, in Pakistan, the Barelwi Movement spread tremendously and swayed not only in religious, spiritual and scholarly terms but also successfully managed to get political and electoral importance. In this article, an attempt has been made to examine the methodology and means of mobilization used by the Barelwi leadership to adopt and adapt the Sunnīpopular cultural traditions across the country, especially in Punjab and Sindh.

In the Barelwi religious hierarchy, Indian Barelwis held the topmost position. On the other hand, the family members of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhān had an authority for the solid majority of the Barelwis in Pakistan. Contrarily, very few Pakistani 'ulamā' and pīrs had such influence on the Indian Barelwis. Muftī Muḥammad Raḍā 'Alī Khān Barelwī (1809-69) grandfather of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khān, established

¹ Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 297.

dārul iftā' at Bareilly in 1831. Later, Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ renamed it as *Riḍwī Dārul iftā'* and appointed his younger son Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad Muṣtafah Raḍā Khāṇ Barelwī (1892-1981)as its *muhtamim*. Presently, Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad Akhtar Raḍā Khāṇ Azharī (b.1943),² great-grandson of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ and venerated figure in the present-day Movement, is the head of this *dārul iftā'*. This *dārul iftā'* commands a final authority in all controversial religious and theological issues arising among the Barelwis.

Although, the *madāris* of these countries did not have any linkage in terms of exchange of teachers or students now, however, till late 1950s, few Indian 'ulamā' graduated from some Pakistani *madāris* and vice-versa. Most of the Pakistani leadership of Barelwi Movement, who was itsleading figure till 1990s, graduatedfrom the *Jāmi'ah Riḍwīyah Manzar-i-Islām*, Bareilly (March 1904) and *Dārul 'Ulūm Jāmi'ah Naʿīmīyah*, Moradabad (1933). 4

Since 2010, he has been included in the top twenty-eight most influential Muslims of the World. The Muslim 500: The World's 500 Most Influential Muslims, 2017 (Amman: The Royal Islamic Strategic Study Centre, 2017), 87.

³ Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad Rīḥān Raḍā Khāṇ Barelwī (1934-85), great-grandson of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ was a graduate of the Jāmi'ah Riḍwīyah Mazhar-i-Islām, Lyallpur. Some leading Indian Barelwi 'ulamā' like Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Raḍā Khāṇ Barelwī, Mawlānā Teḥsīn Raḍā Khāṇ Barelwī (1930-2007)nephew of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ, Mawlānā 'Abdul Muṣtafah A'ṭamī Mujaddadī (1918-86) and Muftī Muḥammad Sharīful Ḥaqq Amjadī (1921-2000) taught at Jāmi'ah Riḍwīyah Mazhar-i-Islām. Prospectus Markzi Dar-ul-UloomJamiaRazviaMazhar-e-Islam (Faisalabad: n.pub., n. d.), 14-15.

⁴ Prominent among them were Muftī Muḥammad 'Umar Naʿīmī (1893-1966), Mawlānā Abū'l Ḥasanāt Sayyīd Muḥammad Aḥmad Qādirī, Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Imāmuddīn Riḍwī (d. 1961), Mawlānā Sardār Aḥmad Lyāllpūrī, Muftī Aḥmad Yār Khāṇ Naʿīmī Gujrātī (1906-71), Mawlānā Abū'l Barakāt Sayyīd Aḥmad Qādirī (1906-78), Muftī Taqaddus 'Alī Khāṇ Riḍwī (1907-88), Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Abdul Ghafūr Hazārwī (1910-70), Muftī I'jāz Walī Khāṇ Riḍwī (1914-73), Mawlānā Muḥammad Nūrullāh Basīrpūrī (1914-83), Muftī Muḥammad Waqāruddīn Qādirī (1915-92), Muftī Zafar 'Alī Nuʿmānī, Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Abdul Muṣtafah al-Azharī (1918-89), Pīr Muḥammad Karam Shāh (1918-98) and Muftī Muḥammad Ḥusaīn Naʿīmī (1923-98).

At the time of Partition of British India, many 'ulama', Indian Barelwi who were serving at leading madāris, migratedto Pakistan and established their own madāris or joined the madārisin different parts of Pakistan. Most widespread ideological and scholarly influence of the Movement came to Pakistan mainly through Mawlānā Muḥammad Sardār Aḥmad Lyāllpūrī (1904-62).⁵ Before the Partition, he was sadrul mudarrasīn and shaykhul hadīth at Jāmi'ah Ridwīyah Manzar-i-Islām and Madrisah Mazharul Islām, Bareilly (1937).He established Jāmi'ah Riḍwīyah Mazhar-i-Islām at Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) in January 1950. Mawlānā Lyāllpūrī used to distribute books of Mawlānā Ahmad RadāKhānpublished by the Nūrī Kutab Khānah, founded by Pīr Sayyīd Muḥammad Ma'sūm Shāh Nūrī (1898-1969) at Lahore in 1945. He also encouraged the 'urs celebrations of Mawlānā Ahmad Radā Khān, especially in the Punjab. Whereas, Muftī Muḥammad Zafar 'Alī Nu'mānī (1917-2003) for the first time in Pakistan, celebrated the 'urs of Mawlana Ahmad RadaKhan in December 1948 at Karachi.7

Madarisand other Institutions

The majority of Barelwi *madāris*in Pakistan are working under the organizational umbrella of the *Tanzīmul Madāris* (*Ahl-i-Sunnat*), *Pākistān* (February 1960). Almost 8,000 *madāris*were affiliated with the *Tanzīm* until March 2013.8 Mawlānā Sardār Aḥmad Lyāllpūrī encouraged

⁵ MuḥammadJalāluddīnQādirī, Tadhkirah-i-Muḥaddith-i-ĀʻzamPākistān(Lahore: Dīyā'ul Qur'ān Publications, 2005), 375-376.

⁶ Monthly A'la Ḥaḍrat (Bareilly), April-June 2006, 38-39.

^{7 &#}x27;Allāmah 'Abdul Muştafah al-Azharī: Madhhabī waMillīKhidmāt(Karachi: Bazm-i-Ta'līmāt-i-Akābarīn, 2008), 138. In November 1985, the first-ever delegation of the Pakistani 'ulamā', led by Muftī Taqaddus 'Alī Khāṇ attended the'urs of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ, held in Bareilly. Monthly Ma'ārif-i-Raḍā (Karachi), July-September 2001, 75 (ṢadsālahJashn-i-Dārul'UlūmManzar-i-Islām, BareīlīNambar).

⁸ For details see, Mujeeb Ahmad, "Understanding the Barelwi Madaris of Pakistan: Case Study of the *Tanzim al-Madaris (Ahl-i-Sunnat) Pakistan*", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* (Spring 2017), [forthcoming].

including the suffix or affix of *Riḍwīyah* with the names of these *madāris*. According to the directory of the *dīnī madāris* published by the Federal Ministry of Education in 2003,416 *madāris* had suffix or affix related to Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ, his family, or the other icons of the Barelwi Movement. Furthermore, there are countless *masājid*, *anjumans*, libraries, publishing houses, named after Mawlānā Aḥmad Radā Khān and other leaders of the Movement.

In addition to a largenumber of *madāris*, the Barelwi Movement also has a well-connected network of various *anjumans*, *majālis*, institutes, and academies. Among them, the most important is *Markazī Majlis-i-Raḍā*, Lahore (MMR) founded in 1968 by Ḥakīm Muḥammad Mūsa Amritsarī (1927-99). The MMR, so far has distributed hundreds of thousands of books of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ and other eminent leaders of the Movement, free of cost. These books were published in different regional languages of Pakistan along with Urdu, Persian, Arabic, and English. The celebration of *Yaūm-i-Raḍā* is another paramount feature of the MMR. The MMR celebrated first-ever*Yaūm-i-Raḍā*in Lahore on June 2, 1968.¹⁰

Another important institute is *Idārah-i-Teḥqīqāt-i-Imām Aḥmad Raḍā* which was established by Sayyīd Muḥammad Rīyāsat 'Alī Qādirī (1932-92) in 1980 at Karachi.¹¹ Besides, publishing books of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ, other 'ulamā' and on the leadership of the Movement, the *Idārah* alsoorganizes annual national and international Imām Aḥmad Raḍā Conferences in different metropolitan cities of Pakistan. The *Idārah* also coordinates and co-operates with

⁹ Abū Kalīm Fānī, *Āsmān-i-Riḍwīyyat kēdūDarakhshandahSitārē*(Khanewal: Jamā'at-i-Raḍā-i-Muṣtafah, 2005), 70-71.

¹⁰ Daily Nawa-i-Wagt (Lahore), April 14, 2007.

¹¹ For the introduction of *Idārah* see, Majīdullāh Qādirī, *Idārah-i-Teḥqīqāt-i-ImāmAḥmadRaḍālntarnaīshnal: AīkTaʻāruf*(Karachi: Idārah-i-Teḥqīqāt-i-ImāmAḥmad Raḍā Intarnaīshnal, 2007). In 2004, an institute with the similar name and objectives was founded in Srinagar, Kashmir.

the scholars doing research on the Barelwi Movement, particularly on Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ. 12

By 1996, more than 114 institutions were working on academic and research activities related to the Movement, only in the Pakistani Punjab. ¹³In this connection, Kanzul ImanSociety, Lahore (March 1983), ¹⁴ Raza Academy, Lahore (1986) ¹⁵ and Raza Foundation, Lahore (March 1988) are the most important to mention. ¹⁶

It was mainly due to its encouragement and support that by the end of 2016, forty-eight Ph.Ds. were completed on Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khān, and out of these, thirteen were awarded by some Pakistani universities. Various doctoral research projects are still in progress in different South Asian and Arab universities, including Jāmi'ah al-Azhar (970), Cairo. Several Egyptian, Syrian, Kuwaiti, and Iraqi scholars had done research on Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khān's life and thought. Majallah Imām Aḥmad Raḍā 2013 (Karachi), 50-51; Muḥammad Mas'ūd Aḥmad, Imām Aḥmad Raḍāaūr 'ĀlamīJāmi'āt (Karachi: Idārah-i-Mas'ūdīyah, 1998); Ṣāhibzādah Sayyīd Wajāhat Rasūl Qādirī, ed., Imām Aḥmad RaḍāaūrIntarnaīshnalJāmi'āt (Karachi: Idārah-i-Teḥqīqāt-i-ImāmAḥmad Raḍā Intarnaīshnal, 2003) and Ma'ārif-i-Raḍā, February 2017, 18.

¹³ Monthly Jahān-i-Raḍā (Lahore), November-December 1996, 42-47.

¹⁴ For the introduction of the Kanzul Iman Society see, Muḥammad Naʿīm Ṭāhir Riḍwī, ed., KanzullmānSūsa'itīwaAkhtarRaḍāLā'brīrī: ArbābFikr-o-NazraūrMashāhīrkīNazr Main (Lahore: Kanzullmān Sūsa'itī, 2006).

¹⁵ For the introduction of the Raza Academy, Lahore see, Sayyīd Şābir Ḥusaīn Shāh, ed., *Taʻāruf: RaḍāAkīdāmī, Lahore*(Lahore: RaḍāAkīdāmī, 1999).

¹⁶ Likewise, some important institutions, which have engaged themselves in disseminating the influence of Barelwi Movement not only in South Asia but also in some European countries are Raza Academy, Mumbai (1978){www.razaacademy.com},Imām Aḥmad Raḍā Akaīdāmī, Bareilly (November 2004), Reza Islamic Academy Bangladesh, Chittagong (1998), A'la HazratFoundation, Chittagong (March 1998), A'la HazratSunni Academy, Dhaka (1995), *Teḥrīk-i-Fikr-i-Raḍā*, Mumbai (1992), Nuri Mission, Malegaon and Dārul Qalam (1991), New Delhi [Yasīn Akhtar Miṣbāhī, Dārul Qalam: aīkTa'ārufīKhākah(New Delhi: DārulQalam, 2006)], Sunni Ridwi Society, Mauritius (1965) and Raza Mosque, formed by a Pakistani 'ālim Mawlānā Muhammad Ibrāhīm Khushtar (1930-2002) and Raza Academy, Stockport [Muhammad Wasīm Qādirī, Radā Ākīdāmī Intarnaīshnal: ta'ĀrufwaKhidmāt(Lahore: RaḍāAkīdāmī, n. d.)], founded by another Pakistani (Kashmiri) Muḥammad Ilyās Qādirī (1949-2014) in August 1979, are important to mention. Moreover, Pīr Ma'rūf Ḥusaīn Qādirī Noūshāhī (b.1936), in 1963 formed Jam'īyyat Tablīghul Islām at Bradford. He also founded Jāmia' Masjid Radā at Preston in 1968. Monthly Tarjumān-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat (Karachi), June 1976, 57-58.

Tariyqat Chains

Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ left nearly fifty khulāfā', mostly residents of South Asia, 17 besides various murīds and students. The khulāfā', murīds and students of other 'ulamā' belonging to the Movement also had pervasivefollowers. This spiritual bond besides, other traditional chains of tarīyqat, gave inroads to the Qādirīyah Riḍwīyah and Qādirīyah NūrīyahSalāsilin Pakistan.

Furthermore, talismans designed by the Barelwi 'ulamā' are also another important source of spiritual and social nexus among the followers of popular Islam and Barelwi Movement. These talismans, mainly meant for the welfare and prosperity of the home and shop and solutions of day-today problems of health, business, family, security, and bad omen etc., are very popular in Pakistan. A book, Shama'-i-Shabīstān-i-Raḍā consisted of different amulets for specific problems and occasions designed by Mawlana Ahmad RadāKhān and other 'ulamā', compiled in seven parts by an Indian Şūfī Iqbāl Aḥmad Nūrī (d.2004), is in extensive use. 18 Some handwritten and originally drawn amulets of Mawlana RadāKhān Barelwī and Mawlānā Muhammad Ibrāhīm Radā Khān Barelwī (1907-65) grandson of Mawlana Ahmad Rada Khan respectively arealso in wide circulation. The icons of some of these talismans are given in the Appendixes I, II and III. 19

In Pakistan, the Punjab and Sindh provinces are the strong and oldest centres of popular Islam, where to have a $p\bar{r}r$ is a traditional, cultural, and political requirement. In many parts of these regions, to live without a $p\bar{r}r$ is considered as a sin. Some tribes and clans had their own traditional / family $p\bar{r}r$ s, as they believed that their ancestors embraced Islam due to the elders of these $p\bar{r}r$ s. The frequent visit of

¹⁷ Monthly al-Raḍā (Bareilly), January-February 1920, 9-12.

¹⁸ Şūfīlqbāl Aḥmad Nūrī, ed., *Shama'-i-Shabīstān-i-Raḍā* (Lahore: Nūrī Kutab Khānah, 2000).

The templates reproduced in these appendixes are being frequently printed and distributed free of cost. The author got them from Bareilly during his visit in May 2001.

people, especially women to the shrines on daily basis is very significant. Some shrines are famous for alleviating the mundane problems of the devotees. The people visit the shrines and the living pīrs mostly to seek help for health and cure to different physical, psychological, and sexual illnessesor to counter the malevolent influences.²⁰ Here, they not only get spiritual healing for different problems but also enjoy three-time free meal and even permanent or temporary shelter.Thev also attend the ā'rāsandgyārhawīņ, which commemorates the death of Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Gīllānī (1077-1166),²¹ on the eleventh day of each lunar month and other religious ceremonies held at the khāngāhs and shrines. Another aspect of this shrinebased Islam is that it works as a 'covalent bond' among the people hailing from different areas and social background.

Promotional Literature

Theideological and hagiographic literature produced by Mawlānā Ahmad RadāKhān and other leading Barelwi ʻulamā' has been under constant process reprint, annotation and translation in Arabic, English, Hindi, Pashto, Sindhi and Bengali languages. The Urdu translation of the Qur'ān done by Mawlānā Ahmad RadāKhān in 1911 under the title of Kanzul Imān fī Tarjumat al-Qur'ān has been translated into Sindhi, Pashto. Bengali, Brahui, Chitralilanguages besides in Hindi, Creole and some European languages.²² The translation of *Kanzullmān* along with Urdu exegetical notes

Some people also bring their animals to the shrines for treatment of their diseases. P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines and Pakistani Islam* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1985), 37-43 and Richard M. Eaton, "The Profile of Popular Islam in the Pakistani Punjab", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, II, no. 1. (Fall 1978): 75.

²¹ Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Gīllānī is the one and the only *pīr* who is honoured every month by the South Asian Muslims. Katherine Ewing, "The Politics of Sufism: Redefining the Saints of Pakistan", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XLII, no.2. (February 1983): 255.

The first-ever translation of the Kanzul Imān in English was done by Dr Muḥammad Ḥanīf Akhtar Fātimī (d.1995) in 1984 which was published by Raza Academy, Stockport.

MawlānāSayyīdMuḥammadNaʻīmuddīnMurādābādī (1883-1948) entitled, *Khazāʾinul-ʻIrfānfīTafsīral-Qurʾān*,is the most popular selling title in Pakistan. Muftī Zafar 'Alī Nuʻmānīpublished *Kanzul Imān* first of all in Pakistan.²³

The 'Islamic' chromolithographs representing devotional and imaginative images of some famous \$\sigma t \textit{T}\$ saints and their shrines, especially of Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Gīllānī, Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn ChishtīAjmaīrī (1133-1237), Khwājah Sayyīd Muḥammad Nizāmuddīn Aūlīyā'(1236-1325), Muḥammad 'Uthmān Marwandī better known as \$Lāl Shāhbāz Qālandar (1177-1274/75), Bābā Farīduddīn Mas'ūd Ganj Shakar (1173/74-1265) and Shaykh 'Alī bin 'Uthmān Hajwaīrī (1009-72) commonly known as \$Dātā Ganj Bakhsh and some Pakistani pīr sand other 'Islamic relics' like incense sticks, rose petals, tinsel garlands and embroidered velvet cloth to offer at the shrine are also available for sale, especially in the suburb of a shrine. The 'popular Islam' is also instrumental in producing lot of literaturein both poetry and prose, the most important are the \$malfūzāt, maktūbāt and tadhkirah collections of the different \$\sigma t tilde{tile} tiles tiles the said tadhkirah collections of the different \$\sigma tiles tiles

Furthermore, al-'Aṭṭāīyyah al-Nabawīyyah fī al-Fatāwā al-Riḍwīyah a 12-volume²⁵ fatāwā collection of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ and other fatāwā collections of various Barelwi 'ulamā' is a source of final reference for the Barelwison various issues. The Maktabah Riḍwīyah,Karachi once was the main publisher of the al-Fatāwā al-Riḍwīyah in Pakistan. The na'tīyah poetry of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ compiled under the name of Ḥadā'aīq-i-Bakhshish, especially his rhetorical salām, Muṣtafah jān-i-raḥmat pah

²³ Nāsiruddīn Şiddīqī Qādirī, *Bazurgān-i-Karāchī* (Karachi: Markaz Faīḍ-i-Qādirīyah Aḥmad Rashīdīyah, 2004), 201.

²⁴ For details see, Jamal J. Elias, "Islam and the Devotional Image in Pakistan" in Barbara D. Metcalf, ed., *Islam in South Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 120-132; Jurgen Wasim Frembgen, *The Friends Of God: Sufi Saints in Islam: Popular Poster Art From Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁵ New annotated and edited edition of *al-Fatāwā al-Riḍwīyah* published by the Raza Foundation, Lahorehas thirty-two volumes.

lākhūṇsalām²⁶ gave him popularity and respect, as his salām became a mark of identity for the Barelwi Movement not only in Pakistan but also all over the world.²⁷Likewise, he made the exclamation, Yā Rasūl Allāh a distinctive sign of the Barelwis world-wide.²⁸

New Technological Approaches

The Barelwis also utilize print, electronic, and social media networking and mobilization.There religious numerous weeklies, fortnightlies, and monthlies, mostly available online, which directly or indirectly disseminates the message of the Barelwi Movement through their regular issues or publishing special issues on Mawlānā Ahmad Raḍā Khān and the Movement. 29 Among them, monthlies Jahān-i-Radā (Lahore) was started by Pīrzādah Igbāl Ahmad Fārūqī (1928-2013) in May 1991 whereas, Lahore-based Kanzul Imān started its publication in March 1991 with some articles in English. On April 15, 1957, Radā-i-Mustafah started its publication from Gujranwala as a weekly, later it used to be published as fortnightly and currently as a monthly. Ma'ārif-i-Radā (Karachi), from 1980-99 was being published annually containing articlesmostly in Urdu. Since January 2000, it became monthly. Some issues were also published in Arabic and English. The quarterly Anwār-i-Raḍā (Joharabad) since 2007 is also disseminating the aims and objectives of the Movement by publishing some special issues about the Movement and its leadership.30

²⁶ Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ Barelwī, Ḥadā'aīq-i-Bakhshish(Lahore: Shabbīr Baradarz, 1988), 23-30.

²⁷ Ḥusaīn Mujīb Miṣrī (d.2004), an Egyptian scholar translated his famous salām into Arabic. Ma'ārif-i-Raḍā, February-April 2007, 155. Ghiyāthuddīn Qureshī (d.1996) also translated this salām into English. Majallah dū rūzah Imām AḥmadRaḍāIntarnaīshnalSilwarJūbalīKānfarans/ Saimīnār, 2005 (Karachi: Idārah Teḥqīqāt-i-Imām Aḥmad RaḍāIntarnaīshnal, 2005), 58.

²⁸Usha Sanyal, "Generational Changes in the Leadership of the Ahl-e Sunnat Movement in North India during the Twentieth Century", Modern Asian Studies, 32, no. 3. (July 1998): 642.

²⁹ For details see, Jahān-i-Raḍā, August-September 2013, 12-42.

³⁰ The monthlies A'la Ḥaḍrat (Bareilly)in November-December 1960, Ashrafīyah (Mubarakpur) in February 1976 and Kanzul Imān (Delhi) in

The private television channels like Noor, 92 News, ARY and the Madani Channel are also telecasting programmes mostly related to the beliefs and rituals of the Barelwi Movement. There are various websites, which besides disseminating the aims and objectives of the Movement, also provide services for on-line *fatwa*, to take amulet, to become a *murīd*, to get *istikhārah*, free downloading of books and journals, and watch the live coverage of some religious ceremonies organized by the different *khānqāh*s and *anjumans*.

Among all these rituals, face to face contact or 'listening' is also considered as one of the most vital method of preaching. Due to the usage of modern technology,the CDs and audio-video cassettes having books, speeches, sermons and salutations for the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) and other Muslim celebrities and ṣūfī folk songs are also in wide circulation in Pakistan, 31 besides almost all over the World. Thus, in the Barelwis' religious market, especially in Pakistan a new class of na't khwāṇ has been emerged, which became more popular as compared to the 'ulamā'. The first-ever na'tīyah monthly, Nawā-i-Na'tstarted its publication from Karachi in January 1984 and after eight years' regular publication, it ceased publishing

November 1998 started in Urdu and later in Hindi and *Tarjumān-i-Ahli-Sunnat* (Dhaka) was launched in 1977 by a Pakistani Sayyīd Muḥammad Taīyyab Shāh Qādirī (1916-92). Quarterly*Afkār-i-Raḍā* (Mumbai) also contributed its due share in the religious mobilization of the Barelwi Movement. The magazineafter publishing fifty issues from September 1995-December 2007 ceased its publication with a special number on the life and thought of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ. *Afkār-i-Raḍā* (Mumbai), October-December 2007 and*Aʿla Ḥaḍrat*, October-December 2010-January 2011, 208-222 (*Jashan-i-zirrīn nambar*).

³¹ However, in May 1942, 'The Music in Muslim Shrines Act' was enacted for the British Punjab (1849-1947). Under this Act, if any female sings or dances with or without the accompaniment of a musical instrument in a recognized Muslim saint's shrine or in its premises, she was liable on conviction to be punished with a fine or imprisonment for not more than six months or both. This Act was adapted and enacted in the Pakistani Punjab in 1954. http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/56.html. Retrieved on November 17, 2015.

due to the financial constraints.³² There are many other journals and magazines which are being published focusing on the topics related to *na't*. Among them, monthly *Na't* (Lahore) is most important to mention which is being published regularly since January 1988.

Public Demonstrations

The Birth Day of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) is being celebrated almost all over the world by most of the Muslims. The Day became a transnational festival mainly in western countries, due to the South Asian Barelwi immigrants.³³ In many Muslim countries, like Pakistan,³⁴ Libya, 35 Iraq, Moroccoand Egypt, the Day enjoys state recognition and it is celebrated as a public festival. The most popular and grass-root level of nexus of popular culture with the Barelwis, being used since 20th century in South Asia, is the celebration of this day better known as 'īd-i-Mīlādul Nabī. The public meetings held in connection with *Mīlādul Nabī*, a'rāsand other religious ceremonies are largely attended by the masses, which keep them in contact with the Movement and its leadership.³⁶ The weekly, monthly and annual tablight andtraining meetings of some organizations, especially of Karachi-based*Da'wat-i-Islāmī* (September isenhancing the interaction of the popular culture with the Barelwis.37

33 In 1982, the first-ever Mīlādul Nabī procession in United Kingdom was arranged in London. For celebrating the Mīlādul Nabī in an organized manner, Markazī Mīlād Committeewas formed in 1988. Monthly Ma'ārif-i-Ḥāfizul Millat (Bharchundi Sharif), October-December 2015, 21.

³² Monthly Na't Rang (Karachi), July 2014, 109.

³⁴ The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, on April 3, 1950 adopted a resolution in order to celebrate 'īd-i-Mīlādul Nabī as a 'state function' throughout Pakistan. Ministry of Interior, File No. 284/CF/50, 3 B, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad.

³⁵ A delegation of the Barelwi *'ulamā'* for the first time, attended the *Mīlād* festival held in 1989 in Libya. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 25, 2007.

³⁶ For details see, Amānullāh Khān Sarḥaddī, 'ursaūr maīle (Lahore: Kitāb Manzil, 1959).

³⁷ For details see, Mujeeb Ahmad, "Conservative in Belief, Modern in Techniques Da'wat-i-Islami: A Revivalist Movement of the Barelwis", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, XXXIV, no. 2.(Winter 2011):68-

Da'wah Oriented Social-Welfare Activities

The religious mobilization is also associated with the social development programs mainly by providing quality education, health care, and disaster management assistance of some organizations having Barelwi background. As far as Pakistan is concerned, al-Mustafah Welfare Society (September 1983) is very active for the social welfare, mainly in education and health sectors for the low-income groups of the society. Whereas, some other charity organizations like, the Muslim Hands International (March 1993) and the Islamic Help (2003) are also active almost all over the World. 39

The Markazī Jamāʻat-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Pākistān(1956), 40 Sunnī Teḥrīk(April 1990), 41 Anjuman-i-Ṭalābā'-i-Islām(January1968), 42 Mustafai Foundation (September 1999), 43 Ahl-i-Sunnat Welfare Society Trust (September 1981), AnjumanṬalābā'-i-Madāris-i-ʿArabīyah(February 1978), Anjuman-i-Asatādhah Pākistān(April 1980), Muṣtafaī' TeḥrīkPākistān(July 1991), 44 Barakati Foundation Trust, Transnational World Islamic

⁸⁶ and idem, "Da'wah Trends in the Pakistani Barelwis: The Case of Da'wat-i-Islami" [forthcoming *Insights* (Da'wah Special Issue)].

³⁸ For details see, al-Mustafah nīūz barāē sāl 2012, Karachi.

³⁹ For the introduction of the Muslim Hands International see, *Annual Report* 2013 (Islamabad: Muslim Hands, 2013) and monthly 'Arafāt (Lahore), September 1999, 37-39.

⁴⁰ For the introduction of the Markazī Jamā'at-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Pākistānsee, Sayyīd Shabbīr Aḥmad Hāshimī, *Ta'āruf: Jamā'at-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat (Pākistān)* (Lahore:Jamā'at-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat,Pākistān, Panjāb, n. d.) and Muḥammad 'Abdul Ḥakīm Sharf Qādirī and Yasīn Akhtar Miṣbāhī, *Jamā'at-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Pākistān* (Lahore: Raḍā Akīdāmī, n. d.).

For details see, Mujeeb Ahmad, "The Rise of Militancy among the Barelwis: The Case of the Sunni Tehrik"in Roger D. Long, et. al. eds., State and Nation-building in Pakistan: Beyond Islam and Security (London: Routledge, 2016), 166-179.

⁴² For the introduction of the Anjuman see, Muʻīnuddīn Nūrī, *Anjuman-i-Talābā'-i-Islām, Naẓrīayāt, Jidd-o-juhad, Ātharāt: 1968-2013* (Lahore: D̄īya'ul Qur'ān Publications, 2014).

⁴³ For details see, monthly *Muṣtāfaī' nīūz* (Karachi), September 2008, 9-12.

⁴⁴ For details see, *Muṣtāfai' nīūz*,June-July 2016, 4-9 and October-November 2016(*Khasūsi ishā'at*).

Mission (January 1973), ⁴⁵Karachi-based Khawātīn Islāmī Mishan(1959) ⁴⁶and other socio-religious organizations are also working in making Barelwi network broader in an attempt to mobilize the Pakistani Muslimsin their favour.

Barelwi Art and Architecture

The manifestation of the Barelwi religious art and architecture can be witnessed in the external and internal structures of their masājid, shrines and even in some residential and commercial buildings. Paralinguistic modes of communication are also in use by the Barelwis in order to enhance the scope and influence of the popular and suffi Islam. The name boards of the *masājid* and shrines clearly indicate its Barelwi and şūfī affiliations. YāAllāh and Yā Rasūl Allāh! Yā Muhammadand dūrūdare written on the top right-hand and left-hand corners respectively of everysuch building. This exclamation is so popular in Pakistan that a solid majority of public and private means of transportation has inscribed it on the front screens of the vehicles. The small and huge billboards bearing prayers of benediction for the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) has been installed on all important roads almost in every city and town of Pakistan.

Some other interesting and novelmethods are also in use for enhancing the impact of the movementon the cultural realm of Pakistan. For example, the domes of shrines of Mawlānā Muḥammad Maḥbūb RaḍāKhāṇ Barelwī (1916-91), Mawlānā Muḥammad Muṣlahuddīn Ṣiddīqī (1919-83) and Mawlānā Sayyīd Shāh Turābul Ḥaqq Qādirī (1944-2016) situated in Karachi and Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Abdul Qādir (1922-64) founder of the Jāmi'ah Qādirīyah Riḍwīyah,

⁴⁵ For the introduction of the Mishan see, UmairMahmood Siddiqui, comp., *The Beacon Light* (Karachi: Islamic Research and Publications Bureau, 2015), 392-394, 416-18 and monthly *Aḥwāl-o-Āthār* (Lahore), December 1997, 6-19.

⁴⁶ For the introduction of the Mishansee, Muḥammad Yūnas Qādirī, "Dāktar Farīdah Aḥmad ṢiddīqīkīKhidmātkāaīkAjmālīJā'izah," in 'AzīmMubalīgh-i-Islām(Karachi: Khawātīn Islāmī Mishan, 2003), 124-132; monthly Faīḍān (Faisalabad), February 1978, 18-19 and weekly Aḥwāl (Karachi), June 4-16, 1989, 26, 34.

Faisalabad (August 1963), Mawlānā Muḥammad Muʻīnuddīn Shāfʻī(1938-97) and Ṣāhibzādah 'Atāul Muṣtafah Nūrī (1955-2016) situated in Faisalabad are the replica of the dome of the shrine of Mawlānā Ahmad Radā Khān.

Likewise, to name a newly born baby-boy as Aḥmad Raḍā, Ḥāmid Raḍā (Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad Ḥāmid RaḍāKhāṇ Barelwī (1875-1943), elder son of MawlānāAḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ) or Muṣtafah Raḍā is a common custom in the Pakistani Barelwi families.

Governmental Patronage

Most of the South Asiansūfīvā' received the state patronage and honour in return for their support to the throne. The profound cultural and social sway that the sūfīyā' exerted on their disciples attracted the attention of the ruling class which, for political reasons, sought their cooperation in maintaining political stability in their domain.47The All-India Muslim League (December 1906) called the followers of the popular and sūfī-oriented Islam to help itsdemand for Pakistan, mainly after the adoption of the historic 'Lahore Resolution' in March 1940. Thus, majority of the Barelwis took active part in the last and final phase of the Pakistan Movement under the banner of the All-India Sunni Conference (March 1925) and in their individual capacities. It was during the Ayub Regime (October 1958-March 1969) that this attitude changed. General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1907-74) in spite of his 'modernity' and progressive ideas, most probably, as a counterattack to the reformist movements, 'ulama' and parties of his time, 'supported' the popular Islam. Some Barelwi 'ulamā' and pīrs were very closely associated with him⁴⁸ as he used to visit the famous shrines and gave donations for their renovation and expansion.

⁴⁷ Riaz Hassan, "Religion, Society, andthe State in Pakistan: *Pirs and Politics*," *Asian Survey*, XXVII, no.5. (May 1987): 558.

⁴⁸ He was murīd of Pīr Muḥammad 'Abdul Majīd Aḥmad Qādirī of Dewal Sharīf (1922-95). Interview with Pīr of Dewal Sharīf, Faizabad, Rawalpindi, May 29, 1990.

It was also true about the Bhutto Government (December 1971-July 1977). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-79) again for his political motives not only used to visit the famous shrines of the Punjab and Sindh but also gave huge grants for their revamping and extension.⁴⁹ During his government, the shrines' rituals were made some sort of a national affairs and local holiday used to declare on the eve of famous local saint's 'urs. Government officials including judges of the apex courts used to follow rituals.50 However, this government's support was minimized during the Zia Regime (July 1977-August 1988). Although. General Muhammad Ziaul Hag (1924-88)'encouraged'celebratingthe popular Islamic rituals and used to preside-over the 'ulama' and masha' ikh conventions, yet he was inclined towards the 'puritan' and 'reformist' Islamic parties, and tried to Islamize the state and society of Pakistan according to theirpolicies.

During the Musharraf Regime (October 1999-August 2008), a National Sufi Councilwas formed in November 2006 whose Patron-in Chief was President General Pervez Musharraf (b.1943). In spite of his 'enlightened moderation', Musharraf used to visit some famous South Asian shrines. He visited the shrines of *Dātā Ganj Bakhsh*on July 5, 2001and Khwājah Muʻīnuddīn ChishtīAjmaīrī on April 16, 2005 and as a mark of respect, presented wreaths and offered prayers.⁵¹ Likewise, former President Asif Ali Zardari (b. 1955), also visited shrine of Khwājah Muʻīnuddīn

⁴⁹ In 1975, Bhutto as a Prime Minister of Pakistan donated golden doors to the shrines of Lāl Shāhbāz Qālandar and Dātā Ganj Bakhsh. Lewis, Pirs, Shrines and Pakistani Islam, 45.

⁵⁰ Katherine, "The Politics of Sufism: Redefining the Saints of Pakistan," 261-264.

Monthly Nidā-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat (Lahore), June 2001, 61-63 and monthly Fateh (Karachi), June 2001, 17 and http://www.dawn.com/news/389542/mushrarrf-prays-for-peace-visit-. Retrieved on February 18, 2016.

ChishtīAjmaīrī on April 8,2012 and offered one million US Dollar as adonation.⁵²

In fact, in 1990s, due to international politics, the popular and \$\bar{\sigma}u\bar{fi}\$-oriented Islam got world recognition, support and is being used as a tool for propagation against the obscurantism. Likewise, thesuccessivegovernmentsbacked the popular Islam in order to pursue their political agendas. The secular and leftist elements of Pakistan are also supportive of the popular Islam due to its public entertainment and humanistic teachings of the \$\bar{\sigma}u\bar{t}\bar{y}\bar{a}'\$.

Faith-oriented Politics

The Jam'īyyat-i-'Ulamā'-i-Pākistān (JUP) is the leading religio-political party of the Barelwis and for the fulfilment of its political agenda, it had to join hands with other religiopolitical and 'secular' parties. During the 1953 anti-Ahmedī Movement, the Markazī Majlis-i-'Amal, a united front of different religio-political parties, was headed by Mawlānā Abū'l Ḥasanāt Sayyīd Muḥammad Aḥmad Qādirī (1896-1961), the then president of the JUP. In March 1973, the seven opposition parties including the JUP and some independent members of the National Assembly of Pakistan decided to form United Democratic Front against the Bhutto Government.53 In January 1977, the JUP joined another opposition alliance, Pākistān Qaūmī Ittihād, for contesting the 1977 elections against the Bhutto Government. The former president of the JUP Mawlana Shah Ahmad Nurani Siddīgī (1926-2003) led *Islāmī Jamhūrī Mahādh*formed with

⁵² Daily *Dawn* (Islamabad), April 9, 2012. The Indian politicians and government officials used to visit theshrines, especially of Khwājah Muʻīnuddīn ChishtīAjmaīrī and Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aūlīyā' and pay their respect. The Indian Prime Minister NarendraModi (b. 1950) on August 27, 2015 received a delegation of prominent Indian Barelwi 'ulamā' and said that the ideology propounded by ṣūfīyā'is integral to Indian ethos and the ṣūfī culture and music should be suitably promoted in each Indian state. http://www.oneindia.com/feature/why-prime-minister-s-meeting-with-. Retrieved on February 11, 2016. He also inaugurated the four-day International Sufi Conference held in March 2016 at New Delhi. For details see, monthly Jām-i-Nūr (Delhi), March 2016, 21-28.

⁵³ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan: 1948-1979* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 102.

the Deobandis' Jam'īyyat-i-'Ulamā'-i-Islām (October 1945) (Faḍlul Raḥman Group) inApril1992, Millī Yakjahtī Koūnsal(March 1995)⁵⁴ and Mutaḥiddah Majlis-i-'Amal(June 2001), alliances dominated by the non-Barelwi religious groups.

Mawlānā Shāh Aḥmad Nūrānī, son of Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad 'Abdul 'Alīm Ṣiddīqī (1892-1954), *khālīfah* of Mawlānā Aḥmad RaḍāKhāṇ, while defending his party's alliances with the non-Barelwi religious groups, always argued that unity with these groups had been forged only for the sake of restoration of democracy and civil liberties in Pakistan and in spite of this, the party maintained its religious identity.⁵⁵

Conclusion

In Pakistan, although, there is no systematic measure of religious identification, however, it is believed that Barelwis are in a majority, mostly livingin rural areas. Yet,the Barelwis have a considerable number of devoted followers in the urban areas as well. The Barelwi 'ulamā' used their legal scholarship to justify the nexus of 'popular' and 'ṣūfī-oriented Islam' with the Barelwi Movement. According to nationwide surveys conducted in 2007 on the Pakistani public's perceptions of religion and its various aspects by the Gilani Poll, 50 percent peoplebelieved in the effectiveness of the talismans. Whereas, 63 percent believed in gyārhawīṇ, almost 47 percent believed in 'urs and qawwālī and placing chādār on a saint's grave. 56

Although, Barelwis arehomogenized religious group, which prohibit them to follow the dictates of acculturation, however, even then, the Barelwi Movement, so far failed to mobilize majority of its followers, in its endeavour to electoral

⁵⁴ Dr Şāḥibzādah Abū'l Khaīr Muḥammad Zubaīr (b.1954), president of his own faction of the JUP is the current head of the *Koūnsal*.

⁵⁵ Daily Jang (Rawalpindi), March 3, 2002.

⁵⁶ Ijaz Shafi Gilani, ed., *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion in Pakistan* 2007-2009 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169-170.

politics and its due share in the state and society of Pakistan.

As most of the Pakistani Barelwis are 'culturally Barelwis', soit is the need of the hour to develop effective and faith-based education system and complete reorganization of their socio-religious structure. To win the support of youth, there is a need to revisit Barelwi 'ilmul kalām' in order to prove that their faith and believes are the real norm of Islam, and not a source of mass amusement. Thus, the prevailing popular culture, being supported by the Movement in Pakistan is not a real reflection of the teachings of Mawlānā Aḥmad Raḍā Khāṇ and other ideologues of the Movement.

The inculturation *i.e.*, an attempt to make a religious message accessible in and through a local culture has become an objectionable and controversial issue in Pakistan, due to the rise of 'puritan Islam'. Among some major religious objections, *inter alia*, it also used to be blamed having some resemblance with the *Shī'ah*s and even with the Hindus. The changing status and role of the *'ulamā'* and *pīr*s as a landed-aristocracy and economic giants is also under discussion.

Some important PakistaniPublishing Houses associated with the Barelwi Movement

Name of Publishing House	Location	Foundation Year
Maktabah Riḍā-i-Muṣtafah	Gujranwala	April 1957
Maktabah Nabawīyyah	Lahore	1968
Nūrīyah Riḍwīyah	Sukkur / Lahore	?
Publications		
Dīyā'ul Qur'ān Publications	Lahore / Karachi	?
Maktabah Riḍwīyah	Karachi	1957
Maktabah Riḍwīyah	Lahore	1960
Maktabah Qādirīyah	Lahore	1973
Riḍā Dārul Ishā'at	Lahore	January 1995
Farid Book Stall	Lahore	?
Shabbīr Baradarz	Lahore	?

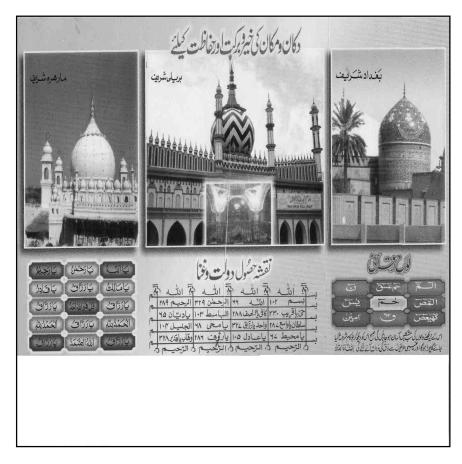
Maktabah ul-Madīnah	Karachi	1986
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Some important Barelwi *Madaris* (male) affiliated with the Barelwi Movement

Name	Location	Foundation Date
JāmiʻahRiḍwīyah Maẓhar-i- Islām	Faisalabad	January 1950
Dārul'UlūmMakhzan	Karachi	October 1951
'Arabīyyah Baḥrul 'Ulūm		
Jāmi'ahRāshidīyyah	Pir-Jo Goth	May 1952
Dārul'UlūmAḥsanul Barakāt	Hyderabad	July 1952
Jāmi'ahNaqshbandīyyah	Sangla Hill	1952
Riḍwīyah		
Jāmi'ahGhoūthīyahNa'īmīyah	Gujrat	1953
Jāmi'ahNa'īmīyah	Lahore	1953
Dārul'UlūmḤanfīyyah Ashraful	Okara	1954
Mādaris		
Dārul'UlūmAḥsanul Mādaris	Rawalpindi	March 1954
Dārul'UlūmJāmi'ahḤanfīyyah	Gujranwala	June 1955
Riḍwīyah Sirājul 'Ulūm		
Jāmi'ahNiẓamīyyah Riḍwīyah	Lahore	May 1956
Ruknul	Hyderabad	1956
IslāmJāmi'ahMujaddīyyah		
Jāmi'ah'Abdul Ḥakīm	Sialkot	1956
Dārul 'UlūmMazharīyah	Karachi	1956
Jāmi'ahGanj Bakhsh	Lahore	1956
Madrisah	Sukkur	1958
Jāmi'ahGhoūthīyahRiḍwīyah		
Dārul'UlūmChishtīyah	Khanqah Dogaran	1958
Riḍwīyah		
al-Jāmiʻahal-Ḥanfīyyah Dū	Sialkot	December 1960
Darwazāh		
Dārul'UlūmMujaddīyyah	Karachi	1961
Naʻīmīyah		40.00
Madrisah	Hyderabad	1962
GhoūthīyahRiḍwīyah		
Saʻidīyyah	Dobowalawa	4000
Dārul'UlūmJāmi'ahOwaisīyya	Bahawalpur	1963
h Riḍwīyah	Fairelahad	A
Jāmi'ahQādirīyahRiḍwīyah	Faisalabad	August 1963
Jāmi'ahFarīdīyyah	Sahiwal	September 1963
Jāmi'ahRiḍwīyahDīyā'ul'Ulūm	Rawalpindi	January 1964

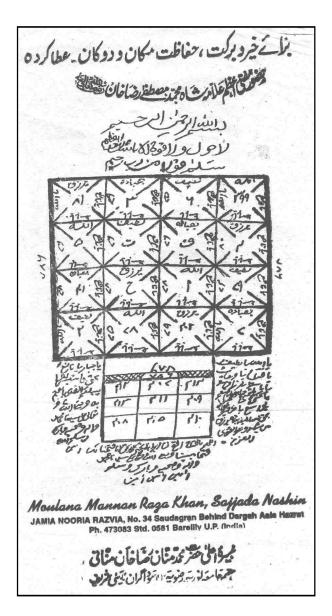
Dārul'UlūmQamarul Islām	Karachi	January 1964
Sulīamanīyyah		
JāmiʻahTaʻlīmat-i-Islāmiyyah	Karachi	1965
JāmiʻahḤanfīyyah Ghoūthīyah	Lahore	1966
Dārul'UlūmIslāmiyyah	Sangla Hill	1967
Barakātul Qur'ān		
Madrisah Mujaddīyyah	Rawalpindi	1967
Dārul'UlūmSultānīyah	Ghakkar Mandi	August 1968
Riḍwīyah		
Dārul'UlūmQādirīyah	Mardan	January 1969
Baghdādīyyah		-
Markazi	Quetta	June 1970
Dārul'UlūmJāmi'ahGhouthīya		
h Riḍwīyah Anwār-i-Bāhū		
Jāmi'ahlslāmiyyah	Chakwal	1970
Ghoūthīyah		
Jāmi'ahḤaīderīyah Faḍlul	Jalalpur Sharif	1970
'Ulūm	·	
Jāmi'ahGhoūthīyah	Attock	1971
Muʻīnnīyah Riḍwīyah Rīāḍul		
Islām		
Madrisah Jamā'atīyyah	Lahore	1972
Ḥayātul Qur'ān		
Madrisah	Kamoke	January 1974
IslāmiyyahJāmi'ahMasjid		
Ḥaīderī		
Dārul'UlūmNa'īmīyah	Karachi	November 1975

Appendix 1



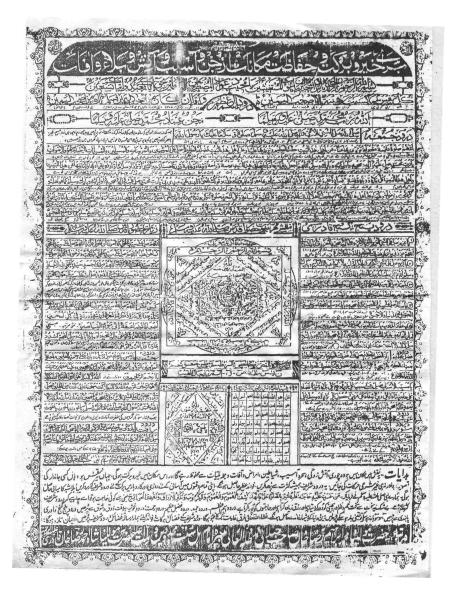
Designed by Imam Ahmad Raza Library, Bareilly (© Mujeeb Ahmad, May 2001)

Appendix2



Designed by Mawlānā Muştafah RaḍāKhāṇ (© Mujeeb Ahmad, May 2001)

Appendix 3



Designed by Mawlānā Ibrāhīm RaḍāKhāṇ (© Mujeeb Ahmad, May 2001)