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TÍTULO: El papel de los Santuarios en el Movimiento por la Libertad de la India y en Pakistán: una perspectiva histórica.

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RESUMEN: Tres comunidades: hindúes, musulmanes y el gobierno británico, se enfrentaron durante el movimiento de libertad indio. Esta batalla ideológica y realpolítica se libró en todo el subcontinente indio. Es irónico que la comunidad musulmana se dividiera en dos escuelas de pensamiento como su respuesta al nacionalismo. Fue esta vez cuando el liderazgo religioso y político estaban luchando por la protección de los derechos de la comunidad musulmana. Estos derechos eran tanto políticos como religiosos. Esta contribución de Sajjada Nashins se jugó en tres niveles: su atractivo personal, su apoyo institucional sufí y su compromiso con el principal partido político musulmán; es decir, toda la Liga Musulmana de la India. El trabajo analiza los servicios de los Sajjada Nashines de los santuarios, para resaltar su contribución a la comunidad musulmana y la creación de Pakistán. El estudio es exploratorio, descriptivo y analítico.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Movimiento de libertad, comunidades, batalla, nacionalismo indio, personalidades religiosas.

TITLE: Role of Shrines in Indian Freedom Movement and Pakistan: A historical perspective.

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ABSTRACT: Three communities— the Hindus, Muslims and the British Government— were confronted with each other during the Indian freedom movement. This ideological as well as *realpolitik* battle was fought in whole Indian subcontinent. It is ironical that the Muslim community was divided into two schools of thought as far as their response of nationalism was concerned. It was this time when religious and political leadership was struggling for the protection of the rights of Muslim community. These rights were political as well as religious. This contribution of Sajjada Nashins was being played at three levels: their personal appeal, their Sufi institutional support and their engagement with the leading Muslim political party i.e. All India Muslim League. This effort has been made to analyze the services of the Sajjada Nashines of the shrines, to highlight their contribution for Muslim community and the creation of Pakistan. The study is exploratory, descriptive and analytical.

KEY WORDS: Freedom movement, Communities, Battle, Indian Nationalism, Religious personalities.

INTRODUCTION.

This research is the study of the contribution of the shrines and their Sajjada Nashines in Indian freedom and Pakistan movement.

It is said that the Sufis and shrines strengthened the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah that lead to the creation of Pakistan. The study has been done of those shrines who provided their religion-

political services to the Muslim community. They faced the challenges of the non-Muslims against religion and also protected the Muslim community against the dominance of the Hindus and the British Government.

It is alleged that the Sajjada Nashines of the shrines strengthened the British Government through accepting the incentives of the allotment of agriculture lands. David Gilmartin has also taken this issue in his writings, but this research is giving the details of those shrines and their Sajjada Nashines who refused to accept the offers of the British Government and at the same time faced the strict vigilance of the Government agencies. The religio-political services of the shrines of Sial, Sharif, Golra sharif, Jalal Pur in freedom movement has been discussed in detail.

Sial Sharif.

Khwaja Muhammad Shams al-Din Sialwi (1799-1883) was the founder of Sial Sharif Khanqah and was a Khalifa of Khwaja Sulaiman Taunsa (1770-1850). He adopted the policy of non-cooperation with the British government and even refused to meet with the white people. Many British officers tried to approach him but failed. According to him, the service of the British government was not permitted and declared it great loss to the religion.ⁱ

Khwaja Muhammad al-Din Sialwi (1837-1909) was the son and successor of Khwaja Muhammad Shams al-Din Sialwi. He was not as strict towards British rulers as his father was and he did not consider the government service as sin. He also permitted to his followers to attract with the British rulers. During his period, many British officers came to Sial Sharif and addressed the gatherings also.ⁱⁱ

Khwaja Hafiz Muhammad Diy-al Din (1887-1927) was the son of Muhammad Al Din sialvi and the grandson of Khwaja Shams-Arfin. He was also against the cooperation with the British Government and event during the First World War, he disliked those persons who had provided

services for British army and even remarked that people were not ashamed. He declared that these soldiers were fighting on the sight of enemy of Islam. The British Government tried to offer him 20 squares (Muraba) land due to his religious contribution and spirituality. This land was situated in Lyallpur, Sargodha or Rakh Fateh Wali adjacent to Sial Sharif. He refused to accept the offer with these words that “These lands are owned by any of my Muslim brothers. So, these are already mine. I thought that the government wants to allot me land in England. Be off you had come to buy my faith (Iman).”ⁱⁱⁱ

During Khilafat Movement the Indian Muslims and the Ulema had divided whether India should be regarded as Dar-ul-Islam or declared as Dar-ul-Harb. Khwaja Muhammad Diy-al Din Sialvi supported the movement of hijrat to Afghanistan and he even himself was thinking seriously for migration. He played active role during Khilafat Movement and even took an active part in Non Cooperation Movement. He also joined the Jamiat Ulma e Hind in issuing anti British Fatwas. He also contributed through collection of money to send for the help of Turk soldiers. Like Khwaja Shams Ud Din Sialvi, he declared government service Haram (Forbidden). This Fatwa was published with the name of “Amr-i-Maurf.” In the fatwa, he stressed upon the followers of Sial Sharif not to cooperate with the British Government. He directed to the followers to return the titles and honorary post, to separate from the membership of the councils, not to benefit in trade to the enemies of religion, not to accept financial assistance, not to serve in army and not to approach courts for Justice.^{iv} He himself boycotted Great Britain manufactured goods and wore Khaddar.

Khwaja Qamar Al Din Sialvi (1906-81) became the Sajjada Nasheen of Sial Shareef in 1929. He also adopted the policy of non-cooperation with the British Government. In 1929, when the flood tumbled down all the residential buildings, guest rooms and Madrassah of Sial Sharif, the British Government through Malik Feroz Khan Noon (minister for education in the British Government) offered money for rehabilitation but Khwaja Qamar Ud Din Sialvi refused to accept. On 23rd March 1940 Khwaja

Qamar ud Din Sialvi attended the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League in Minto Park where the Pakistan Resolution was passed. He was the president of the Muslim League District Sargodha and protected the rights of the Muslims community and the Muslim League during the difficult period of the 40's (Rasul, 2006:295).

In 1942, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, the Chief Minister of Punjab, tried to promote sectarian differences and attempted to instigate Khwaja Qamar Ud Din Sialvi against Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He wrote a letter against Mr. Jinnah and declared him Shia. He urged him not to help All India Muslim League and Shia Community in the shape of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Khwaja Qamar Ud Din Sialvi replied with a Question Mark whether his leader sir Chottu Ram belonged to Ehl e Sunnat Wal Jammah.^v

In 1942, he also took the charge of the president ship of Muslim League Sargodha and he created unity among the different factions of the Muslim Leagues in Sargodha. These factions were led by Nawab Muhammad Hayat Quraishi and Nawab Allah Bakhsh Tiwana. These Nawabs were considered among the disciples of Sial Sharif. In 1946 he also attended All India Sunni conference in Banarus and agreed that the demand by the Muslim League could be supported. During the civil disobedience movement, he played effective role and fully participated in the movement as the president of the Muslim League District Sargodha. During Pakistan movement he was imprisoned, his eleven and half squares agricultural land was confiscated by the Government (Kasuri,1976: 201). On 17th July 1947 he also wrote a letter to Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to enforce Islamic Law in Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah Replied him "I've noted your suggestions in your letter and the will certainly have my careful consideration."^{vi}

According to Muhammad Sultan Shah, "*The mystics of Sial Sharif as opponents of British rule in India*", "*The mystics of Sial Sharif have a significant role in the freedom movement of India. They not only opposed the British rule tooth and nail but also took an active part in various anti colonel*

movements like tehrik e Khilafat, tehrik e Hijrat, non-cooperation and Pakistan Movements. The contribution of four generations of Pir Sial family deserves to be written in golden words. We can trace three degrees of Jihad among these mystics. According to Hadith Jihad can be waged by sword, tongue and heart...’’vii

It is fact, that the Sajjada Nashins of the shrine of Sial Sharif played effective role during Indian freedom movement and Pakistan movement through their religio-political service. They adopted the policy of non-cooperation with the British Government; declared Government Service Haram (forbidden) saved religion from the attacks of the Christians missionaries, deputed their Khalifas to promote Islamic values among the people, strengthened All India Muslim League in Sargodha (Punjab) and the Muslim national leadership (Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah). It is also fact that the Sajjada Nasheens of Sial Sharif cannot be recognized as national leadership of Muslim Community but emerged as regional Religio-political leadership of Muslim Community.

Golra Shairf.

According to David Gilmartin Pir Syed Mehr Ali Shah of Golra Sharif Refused to be drawn into direct association with the British Government; however, much it supported a meditational religious style. He maintained his deep reformist concern with the personal instruction of his disciples in the individual obligations of Islam, issuing numerous Fatwas on points of religious law and giving a reputation for religious learning among a section of Ulma.

The British government intended to establish cordial relations with Sufis and offered them different incentives in shape of allotment of agriculture land. Like Khwaja Qamar al Din Sialwi, the government also offered Meher Ali shah four hundred squares of land to upgrade the madrassa of Golra Sharif, but he refused and adopted the policy of non-cooperation with the British government like the policy of his murshidkhana (Sial Sharif). Even, the British government, also invited him on

coronation ceremony which was being celebrated on the occasion of the visit of King George V to India in 1911 but he refused to attend with the justification that it was not suitable for him to attend the darbars of kings and emperors.

Due to non-cooperation, the British government used negative measure like direction to present himself before the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi. It was also alleged that Meher Ali Shah was the Pir (spiritual leader) of the thieves and robbers living in villages. The British Government also decided to deport him from the country. He was kept under observation by the Police Intelligence Department.^{viii} Meher Ali Shah did not feel frightened from the British government and never visited the residences of the officers and Meher Ali Shah was also apprehensive of English literature which he regarded harmful for religious and national cohesion. During 1st World War (1914-18), Meher Ali Shah adopted similar strategy to Sial Sharif regarding recruitment of the Indians for war. Meher Ali Shah was approached by the loyalists of the British government but he refused.

During Khilafat Movement, Meher Ali Shah and some other Ulema ranked it as an un-Islamic movement. He was of the opinion that the real Khilafat remained during the period of Khilafat-i-Rashida and after death of Hadrat Hassan (5th Caliph), the monarchy started. He held that in accordance with an Ahadith of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the righteous Caliphate would remain in existence for only thirty years after passing away the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and thereafter would be changed into a monarchy for which the words “Adudiyat” (Bitterness) and “Jabr” (Coercion) were used in the Ahadith. It was the factor that compelled Meher Ali Shah to issue a fatwa against Khilafat movement. It was the first occasion when Meher Ali Shah deviated from the policy of his Murshidkhana (Sial Sharif).

In 1919, the Hindus and the Muslims launched non-cooperation movement but Meher Ali Shah disliked the interaction of Muslim community with Hindus and their un-Islamic fatwas like a resolution about the abandoning of cow slaughter. He showed his displeasure over the resolution and

declared unlawful for the Muslims to obey the orders of Gandhi. He declared Gandhi's policy of non-cooperation during movement as nefarious designs to use Muslim cooperation only. He rejected all the measures during the Khilafat Movement on the basis of Quran and the Sunnah. On the issue of India as Dar-ul-Harb, Meher Ali Shah made it clear that there was no justification in Quran and Sunnah for such kind of migration.^{ix}

After the incident of Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, the governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer was recalled to England, the local population of Lahore arranged farewell party in his honour. In this party, the British Government invited Meher Ali Shah, but he refused to accept their invitation. It was also fact that the big landlords of the Punjab were in close contact with the Sufis of the Punjab and had their influence over them. On the request of Malik Umer Hayat Khan Tiwana, Meher Ali Shah sent his son Ghulam Muhyud Din in the farewell party, and on this occasion, the sipasnama was presented. The Sajjada Nashines were asked to sign on it. The son of Meher Ali Shah signed it on the request of Umer Hayat Tiwana. Maulana.^x Few disciples of Meher Ali Shah like Atta ullah Shah Bukhari showed reaction over this decision and even Allama Muhammad Iqbal gave space to this decision in his poetry also.

It is obvious, that Meher Ali Shah and his son Ghulam Muhyud Din protected Muslim Community from the designs of Congress and its leadership. They denied to cooperate with the British Government and even refused to accept their incentives.

Meher Ali Shah is also considered the custodian of the Khatm-i-Nabvat against Mirza Ghulam Muhammad Qadyani. His son Ghulam Muhyud Din fully participated in the Pakistan Movement along with other Sufis and attended the political gatherings like All India Sunni Conference in Benaras and even he exerted his influence over the Referendum in NWFP. Unlike the shrine of Sial Sharif, the shrine of Golra provided national religious leadership to Muslim Community against Mirza Ghulam Muhammad Qadyani but as far as politics or Pakistan Movement was concerned, it failed to

play its role as national leadership. According to Dr Sikandar Hayat, due to the failure of the Sufis as national leadership, the charisma of Muhammad Ali Jinnah captured that place of political leadership among the Muslim Community.

Shrine of Jalalpur.

Abu al Barkat Pir Syed Muhammad Fazal Shah of Jalalpur was the grandson of Syed Ghulam Haider Ali Shah and Khalifa of Khwaja Shams Ud Din Sialvi. In 1927 he established an organization called Hizbullah. These were the following objectives of the organization:

1. To play as spiritual army.
2. To follow the Pir's leadership.
3. Aimed at restoring the dominance of the spiritual life among the Muslims.
4. To assure the performance of religious duties.
5. To improve economic conditions.
6. To unite the Muslims politically.
7. To provide cultural leadership independent of the colonial state.
8. To give political expression to many religious concerns of the Sufi revival.^{xi}

It is fact, that the organization made efforts to achieve its targets and played important role in uniting, strengthening and reforming the Muslim community under the political and spiritual leadership of Pir Syed Muhammad Fazal Shah. In spite of this the organization also strengthened the cultural leadership of state and provided a political way to many religions with context of Sufism.

During Pakistan movement, Pir Syed Muhammad Fazal Shah gave confidence to the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah with the assurance that he and his followers would stand by him unconditionally. He also pledged that his organization would support the cause of Pakistan and even they were ready to make any kind of sacrifice for the creation of Pakistan.^{xii}

In the annual meeting of Hizbullah on 18-19 May 1945 in Jalalpur Sharif, Syed Muhammad Fazal Shah gave presidential address to the audience and emphasized on the need of a separate state for Indian Muslims. He made it clear on the Hindus and the British government that Pakistan would surely come into being in India at every cost. He also emphasized that so long as the Muslims were alive, they would not accept the slavery of Hindus after the rule of the British government. It was not possible for the Muslims to change their masters and to accept slavery.^{xiii}

Alipur Sayyidan.

Jama'at Ali Shah known as Ameer-e-Millat belonged to the Hassani & Hussaini family of Sadaat. His ancestors came from Iran during the period of Mughal emperor Humayun. Syed Jama'at Ali Shah was born in Alipur Sayyidan, Tehsil Narowal, District Sialkot. His father Karim Shah was the follower of Sufi Order Naqshbandi. In 1901, he founded the Anjuman Khuddamus Sufia, Hind and also started the publication of the monthly Anwarus Sufia from Lahore.

Syed Jama'at Ali Shah patronized the Muslim community and tried to counter those challenges that had become alarming for the unity of the Muslims and for this purpose, he organized various conferences and conventions. He also patronized the Muslim institutions included Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore; Hibul Ahnaf, Lahore; Anjuman Nomania, Lahore; Anjuman Islamia, Amritsar; Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow; Muslim university Aligarh; Anjuman Khuddamus Sufia, Hind; Anjuman Khuddamul Muslimeen, Kasur; Anjuman Ta'limul Quran, Lahore; Madrasa Saulatia; All India Sunni Conference; Anjuman Islamia, Sialkot; Central Muslim Association, Banglore.

Role of Pir Jama'at Ali shah during Masjid Shaheed Gunj Movement was very important because he injected new spirit in a dead movement. Masjid Shaheed Gunj was a site that had become disputed between Muslims and Sikhs from 1850 to 1936. The Gurdwara was situated in the Landa Bazar Lahore City. It occupied a considerable area of which the greater part was covered by a number of

buildings built by the Sikhs. On the eastern side of the site, there was an old building, originally built as a Mosque by a Mughal Governor of Lahore about 250 years ago. It was this building which the Sikhs were then trying to demolish. Syed Alam Shah, extra Assistant Commissioner, reported in 1883 to his senior officers after inspecting the Gurdwara, that one third of the Masjid was used as a Dharamsala; one third, as a *Langar* and one third, as shed for storage of Bhoosa.

The judicial decree against the Muslim's stance was issued by the Sikh Gurdwara Tribunal in 1930 and the Viceroy of India also dismissed the Muslims' claim when a delegation of the Anjuman-i-Islamia met him regarding the Masjid Shaheed Ganj issue. Viceroy told them that the mosque had since long ceased to serve as a sacred place and the Masjid was being used for private purpose since 1852. All the judicial decisions went in favour of the Sikh community.

The Governor of the Punjab asked the Sikh community to demolish the mosque, but they could not dare to do so. The Governor instigated the non-Muslims to demolish the mosque and even assured them that he would provide them support through armed forces. The Commander-in-Chief warned the Governor for his irresponsible remarks and said that his incompetency for the job could flare up mutiny against the government, but his attitude became harsher towards the Muslims. Next day, he ordered to open fire on unarmed Muslims. This irresponsible behavior of the Governor ignited the smoldering embers of the two communities and four Sikh were attacked, two being killed, but the communal riots were soon stopped, and the matter changed into an anti-government movement.

At the time, when the Masjid was being demolished, the Muslim leaders were in a very difficult position. For face saving, they blamed the government for the demolition of the Masjid. During this period, lies were told to the Muslim masses which instigated them to agitate against the government. The Muslim organizations and individual agitators were committing themselves wholeheartedly during this agitation to two demands:

1. The possession of the mosque should be restored to the Muslims.
2. Wherever in the country, if such a situation arises where the law of the country comes in conflict with the Shariah, the latter should prevail.^{xiv}

The British government tried to divide the Muslim community through the efforts of men like Malik Feroz Khan Noon, a minister in the government and attempted to rally the traditional community leaders associated with the British administration like Municipal commissioners and Rais. They also demonstrated their confidence on Anjuman Islamia as a community representative and announced transfer of another mosque, The Shah Chiragh mosque, into the Anjuman Islamia's hand as a gift. In this way the Anjuman Islamia lost the confidence of people and the Lahori Muslims instituted their own case not in the name of Anjuman or any other Muslim organization but in the name of the Shaheed Ganj mosque itself.

The Urdu press Zimindar and the Siyasat fully criticized the Ulma of the Jamiat Ulma e Hind and at the Ulma associated with the Ahrar party. This strategic political alliance then refuses to support the agitation. The local Ulma did not publish any statement in favor of Shaheed Ganj mosque movement from the religious point of view. In the first week of September 1935, a special conference was held at Rawalpindi in which the command of the leadership was handed over to one of the most prominent of Punjab's rural Peers: Syed Jamat Ali Shah of Ali pur Sayyidan and was given the title of Amir i Millat.

The Pirs were the dominant religious figures in the rural Punjab. Due to local Sufi shrines they have religious as well as political authority over the majority of the population. They had even influence over the rural landlords and tribal intermediaries who formed the backbone of British administration. The urban supporters of the movement also made compromises on the selection of Pir Jamat Ali Shah as leader in the movement due to the contradictions among the Muslims regarding the movement. The political influence of Pir Jamat Ali Shah was far wider than that of any single Alim due to the

presence of large number of his Murids and the influence over the powerful Muslim administrative intermediaries in the countryside. In Rawalpindi conference, the movement of civil disobedience was proposed to regain the mosque's site and a movement to be initiated at Pir Jamat Ali Shah discretion. The Pir was easily accessible to influence and prone to listen to the last person who talked to him. The charisma of Pir Jamat Ali Shah as a Syed and a Pir injected a new spirit in the movement. This charisma led to pledges of support from many of the influential Pirs like Pir of Golra and Jalalpur Sharif. He announced to recruit volunteers for the Majlis Itehad e Millat and to raise money for the establishment of a community Bait-al-mal.

The British administration forced Pir Jamat Ali Shah to back away from the call issued at Rawalpindi for the launching of civil disobedience. In spite of such kind of pressures he decided to tour the Punjab and other parts of North India in order to consult with political leaders and leading Ulma. After meetings with Pirs and leading Ulma in Ajmair, Budaun and Bareilly in the united provinces, Pir Jamat Ali Shah took few concrete steps to organize the agitation. But the influence of the British administration upon the wealthy rural Murids, advisors and some Sajada Nasheens created hurdles in the implementation of the concrete steps of Pir Jamat Ali Shah.

The reformist Ulma among the Muslims involved religious discussions or promoted sectarian differences among the Muslims like "the question as to whether the Prophet PBUH was to be considered as something more than just a human being", a theological controversy between the reformist Ulma and many of the Sufi Pirs. Pir Jamat Ali Shah was quick to label those who opposed his leadership as outside the pale of Islam. *"I request the Muslims to arrive at the definite decision," he declared, "that they will not say any funeral prayers of anyone who does not participate in this auspicious movement, nor will they allow his dead body to be buried in their graveyard."*^{xv}

In spite of all these things, it is fact, that the divisions within the community both the sectarian and political pressures moved the movement toward a state of complete collapse but this movement pointed the way toward the emergence in the 1940's of another symbol of the Muslim community: the concept of the Islamic state of Pakistan. The Jamiat Ulma e Hind and the Ahrar who had earlier opposed the shaheed Gang mosque agitation also opposed the creation of Pakistan.^{xvi}

He played very important role in Pakistan movement and fully provided support to Pakistan Resolution 1940 to arouse the Muslims of the sub-continent in order to make the Pakistan Movement successful. He adopted multipronged strategy for Pakistan movement that:

1. He expanded huge amounts of money.
2. He made extensive tours of the country for the support of the movement.
3. He published relevant literature.
4. He addressed various Muslim League meetings and gatherings.
5. He told his followers that he would not lead the funeral service of anyone who had not participated in the Pakistan Movement.

All India Sunni Conference was held on 30th April 1946 at Benaras and passed the following resolution: *“The session of All India Sunni Conference fully supports the demand for Pakistan and declares that Ulema and Mashaikhs belong to Ehl-Sunat-Wal-Jamat will make every possible sacrifices for the establishment of an Islamic government. They take it as their responsibility to establish a government according to the Islamic jurisprudence based on the Holy Quran and Sunna.”*

It is said that some nationalist Ulema criticized Quaid-i-Azam in this conference but Pir Jamaat Ali Shah fully defended Muhammad Ali Jinnah in these words: *“Think of Jinnah Sahib whatever you like, but I say that Jinnah Sahib is Waliullah”*^{xvii}

On 1947, Pir Jamaat Ali shah presided over the session of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam Punjab and said that “Both the Government and the Congress should carefully note that the Muslims have shaken off their lethargy now stand awakened they have determined their goal of Pakistan, and no power on earth could fail the Pakistan movement” (Raees, 1966).

CONCLUSIONS.

There is no blinking fact that the religion in the shape of Sufis and their shrines contributed politically in the creation of Pakistan. The khanqahi and Dargahi system organized their followers against the British rule and Hindu dominance in the subcontinent.

It is common perception in Pakistan that the Sufis strengthened the British rule during colonial period and provided them shelter under the shadow of religion. But the role above mentioned shrines refute the concept of that school of thought who considers the Sufis only as the beneficiaries of the British govt in the shape of allotment of agriculture lands.

It can be said that only one religious section was in the favour of the creation of Pakistan that were the Sufis and their shrines like Sial Sharif, Golra Sharif, Jalalpur Sayyadan. They provided religion-political services to the people of sub-continent. It is also recognized fact that the Sajjada Nashins of the Sufis also followed their footprints after their death and politically used their shrine for particular purpose.

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