



THE JOURNAL OF
**CULTURAL
PERSPECTIVES**

Volume No. 2 Issue No. 1

January 2023 - June 2023

SHAHI MOSQUE, THATTA

Azeem Educational Conference Regd. Islamabad

The Journal of Cultural Perspectives

Biannual Research Journal

ISSN Online: 2789-0341

THE JOURNAL OF **CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES**



AZEEM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Under the Supervision of

Azeem Educational Conference Regd. Islamabad

Editorial Board

Sr. No.	Name	Designation
1.	Dr. Muhammad Azeem Farooqi	Chief Editor , The Journal of Cultural Perspectives
2.	Dr. Issac Land	Professor, Department of History, Indiana University
3.	Dr. Rui piug Ye	Professor, Victoria University of Wellington
4.	Dr. Waqas Saleem	Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Quaid i Azam University
5.	Dr. Umer Hayat	Associate Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, Govt. College University Faisalabad
6.	Dr. Muhayyudin Hashmi	Chairman, Department of Seerat, Allama Iqbal Open University
7.	Dr. Khurram Shehzad	Assistant Professor, Department of English, National University of Modern Languages
8.	Dr. Humayun Abbas Shams	Professor/Chairman, Department of Islamic Thought, History and Culture, Govt. College University Faisalabad
11.	Dr. Muhammad Baqir Khan Khakwani	Chairman, Islamic Jurisprudence, Riphah International University, Islamabad
12.	Dr. Malik Ajmal Gulzar	Chairman, Department of English, AIOU, Islamabad
13.	Dr. Hafiz Muhammad Sajjad	Chairman, Department of Interfaith Studies, AIOU, Islamabad
14.	Dr. Muhammad Safdar Rasheed	Assistant Professor, Department of Urdu, AIOU, Islamabad
15.	Dr. Abdul Hameed Khan Abbasi	Chairman, Department of Islamic Studies, Mohayyudin Islamic University, AJK

Advisory Board

Sr. No.	Name	Designation
1.	Dr. Tanvir Anjum	Chairperson, Department of History, Quaid i Azam University
2.	Dr. Humayun Abbas Shams	Professor/Chairman, Department of Islamic Studies and Arabic, Govt. College University Faisalabad
3.	Dr. Rao Nadeem Alam	Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Quaid i Azam University
4.	Dr. Jamila Aslam	Research Assistant, University of Oxford
5.	Dr. Isaac Land	Professor, Department of History, Indiana State University
6.	Dr. Fahad Ahmad Bishara	Rouhollah Ramazani Chair in Arabian Peninsula and Gulf Studies, University of Virginia

Journal's Description

The Journal of Cultural Perspectives - TJCP is a flagship, biannual, peer-reviewed journal of Azeem Educational Conference - AEC aec.org.pk, which focuses on interdisciplinary, problem-oriented, contextual research of human culture. The editors welcome historical and empirical inquiries of indigenous knowledge, cultural processes grounded in normative attitudes to understand and improve society. The journal encourages critical research of comparative international practices to facilitate an exchange of knowledge and cultural meanings beyond traditional biases. Cultural Perspectives offers articles that investigate and analyze the impact of culture on different institutions of social order; articles that integrate approaches from the social sciences and humanities; articles on cultural sciences in the twenty-first century; review articles on published work, theoretical innovation, and methods; and special issues that examine urgent questions in the field.

From Time to time the Journal has brought out special issues on different themes. The landmark publications have been received well by both scholars and general readers. The contributors to the Journal of Cultural Perspective include some of the most eminent scholars and thinkers of South Asia. Its audience includes scholars, policy makers, social scientists, journalists, and general readers. Intellectually rigorous yet accessible and practical, the Journal of Cultural Perspective provides an influential outlet for original scholarship in the social sciences, culture, and humanities, as well as a lively forum for commentary from cultural perspectives. Research Articles published in this journal are mandatory including end notes and bibliographies of works cited and have undergone initial editorial screening, anonymous peer review and further editorial review. Readers are encouraged to comment on research articles and essays from recent previous issues, in no more than 500 words and If the comments are published, the author of the original

article/essay will be given an opportunity to publish a response.

Aims & Scope

- Cultural Perspectives is committed to the reinterpretation of culture. It publishes original research. Innovative, critical papers are given preference that interrogate old patterns and cultural infrastructures and further new theories. The journal does not publish papers that ignore the broader relevance of their investigation for an international readership.
- The Journal of Cultural Perspective aims to promote and welcomes scholarly research on all branches of Cultural Studies in the widest sense as original contributions of researchers and believe in diversity, tolerance and fruitful scholarly discussions and researches.
- The scope of the Journal is deliberately given as wide a berth as possible; various aspects of Cultural Thought and Civilization, Social and Natural Sciences, and Occidental Studies, Comparative Civilizations as well as contemporary issues that interface with culture in the current geopolitical environment are addressed. Specified fields of social Studies, Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Folklore, Linguistics, Literature, Musicology, Performance Studies, Visual Arts, and Sociology are explained.
- The journal of cultural perspectives (TJCP) welcomes faculty members from various universities nationally & internationally, as well as freelance researchers to publish their manuscripts and research works related to social studies, without any racial or religious discrimination.
- TJCP publishes manuscripts and articles after double blind peer review process, which is carried out by leading scholars; Cultural Studies in order to enhance academic research which has close linkages with the society.

Submissions Guideline

1. Please mention your Article Type of the following:
 - Original Research Article
 - Review Article
 - Case Study
 - Book Review
2. Word Count: All submissions should have a minimum word count of 3000 words.
3. Reference Style: Please adhere to the APA (American Psychological Association) reference style for citations and references.
4. Formatting Requirements: Manuscripts should be submitted in Microsoft Word format. Font: Times New Roman, 12-point size. Double-spaced throughout.
5. Contact Information: Include the full name, affiliation, and contact details of the corresponding author. Provide a brief author biography. Use institutional email address.
6. Abstract: Include a structured abstract of 200 words summarizing the key aspects of the research (for original research articles).
7. Keywords: Include a list of 3-10 keywords that best represent the content of the article.
8. Figures and Tables: Ensure that all figures and tables are clear, labeled, and cited in the text.
9. Acknowledgments: If applicable, include any acknowledgments at the end of the manuscript.
10. Reviewers: Please provide the names, contact numbers, and organizational email IDs of two potential reviewers.
11. Ethical Considerations: Authors must affirm that the research complies with ethical standards and guidelines.
12. Plagiarism Check: Submissions will undergo a plagiarism check. Ensure that the work is original and properly cited.

13. Submission Process: Manuscripts should be submitted electronically through the online submission system.
14. Review Process: The review process will follow a double-blind peer-review system.
15. Acceptance Notification: Authors will be notified of the acceptance status, and feedback will be provided after the review process.
16. Publication Rights: Authors should confirm that the submitted work is original, and they have the right to publish the content.
17. Editorial Office Contact: Email: tjcp@aec.org.pk

Phone: +92 312 5892959

Important Note: Authors are encouraged to carefully review the guidelines before submitting their manuscripts to facilitate a smooth and efficient review process.

Disclaimer

TJCP does not endorse any of the ideas, opinions or thoughts proposed in the published articles. The opinions belong to the authors only.

Contents

Sr. No.	Author(s)	Title	Page
1.	Dr. Altaf Ullah	People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: An Historical Perspective	01
2.	Hassan Ali, Dr. Akhtar Rasool Bodla	Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya: Establishment, Objectives and Early History	16
3.	Aqdas Ali Qureshi Hashmi	Portrayal of Qawwali in Asian Cinema: Comparative Analysis of Bollywood and Lollywood Movies	48
4.	Wajid Bhatti	Historical Sketch of Saint Thomas in Taxila	63
5.	Imran Khan. Dr.Aman ullah Khan	Verse of Rebellion: Unraveling Resistance Themes in Baba Farid, Kabir, and Guru Nanak's Poetry	81

People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: An Historical Perspective

Dr. Altaf Ullah

Senior Research Fellow, National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Email: altaf@nihcr.edu.pk

Abstract

The present paper is thoroughly devoted to the history and origin of the people living in the present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. A comprehensive analysis has been embodied inside it by presenting a variety of arguments that focuses upon the ethnic and tribal structure of the people inhabited in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa since time immemorial. All these arguments have been taken either from primary source materials or from the monumental works of renowned scholars and historians having firm standing in their respective academic fields across the board. It also highlights the significance of Central Asia for the whole South Asian region in general and for the present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in particular. The connection of the people of across the border and their cultural, linguistic and socio-economic relationship cannot be ignored even in this digital era. An impartial and unbiased approach has been adopted to analyse different notions and ideas regarding the human population living the aforesaid province.

Keywords:

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, People, Ethnicity, Tribes, Culture, History

Historical Backdrop

In ancient period there was no other source to identify various races till the Āryans confronted the indigenous people and in such a collision one race in enmity portrayed the other race in bad words. While saturated with self-praise, they despised the natives, their culture and religion. For natives the Āryans used two similar sounding words i.e. *Dasyus* and *Dāsas*. *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* have been defined in many ways by scholars of different aptitudes and options. Singhal says, “if *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* are derived from *Das*, in the sense of “lay waste” as Whitney suggests the original meaning would have been devastator, ravager and thus also equated with enemy. Muslim gypsies of Balkans call Christian gypsies *Das*” (Singhal, 1966, 39). But there are many other connotations of the word *Dasyu*. Meyer and Hillebrandt identified the *Dasyus* with Dahae, a tribe nearly akin to the Iranian in Kirghiz Turkman steppe which extends from Caspian sea beyond Jaxartes now Syr Daryā (Prakash, 1976, 94-116). The *Dāsa* is mentioned alongwith *Dasyu* signifying the same people. Buddha Prakash says this word has entered into Finno-ugrian languages as a result of the contact of their speakers with Indo-Iranian groups. In Vogel’s opinion belonging to this group the word *Dāsa* has become *Tas* meaning ‘stranger’ (Burrow, 1955, 35). Finally we come to the conclusion that the words *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* have been defined as enemy, stranger and alien (Teepu, 2008, 18).

These characteristics are further supported by the passages in the *Rigveda*, which clearly defined *Dasyus* as black skinned, lawless, noseless, fiend-voiced and phallus worshippers. In Vedas, *Dāsas* are considered to be less hostile than *Dasyus*. In any case *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* were the aboriginal inhabitants of Pakistan at the time of Āryan

arrival. The actual term Dravidian was first employed by Robert A. Caldwell, who introduced the Sanskrit word *Dravida* (which in a seventh century text obviously implied *Tāmil*) into his fine work, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages (1856)*. Here we must distinguish between Dravidian Language and Dravidian race as some scholars seem to have used them as identical phenomena. Max Muller protested against this unholy alliance of the two sciences of ethnology and philology. It will be wrong to ascertain that, a group of people speaking Dravidian language also belongs to Dravidian race, like *Brāhui* whose language belongs to Dravidian group of languages but they themselves belong to Turko-Iranian origin. To be more specific, H. H. Risley defines Dravidians in these words, “In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark approaching black; hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark; head long; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat.” (Risley, 1908, 33).

Some ethnologists are of the view that Dravidian group of anthropological types came into being due to mixing of the Negro-Australoid type with Europoid in Mesolithic period. Later on we find many sub-types like, *Scytho-Dravidian* and *Āryo-Dravidian* which developed in Pakistan. There is another view about inhabitants of Indus valley which perceives that “the true Mediterranean or European type, taller and fairer than palaeo-Mediterranean occurs in the Panjāb and upper Gangetic valley and is supposed to represent the civilized pre-Āryan Dravidian people of Northern India.” (Chatterji, 1988, 145). However, there is a general consensus among the ethnologists, also supported by

the skeletons found in Harappa and Mohenjodaro that the people of Indus valley were of the Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean races mixed with Alpine and Mongoloids.

The Advent of Āryans

The coming of the Āryans in waves after waves during the second millennium BC changed the history of Pakistan. The Indus valley culture, which was, perhaps, dying its natural death, only needed a big push to be replaced by the Vedic culture. The people who brought it, though less civilised, but more aggressive to possess the vast expanses of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, were the Āryans. As already discussed, the confrontation between indigenous people and the Āryans created a situation where opportunities for the two people for elimination or assimilation ran parallel. The later history tells us that after much bloodshed they learned to live together.

Ethnologists, etymologists and anthropologists are still very active in finding the meaning of the word Ārya alongwith the origin of the Āryan, their homeland and their language. Like *Dasyu* it has many meanings. Every definition seems to be as meaningful as the previous one. It seems that etymologists are engaged in the game of guessing about the origins of this word. For example, Buddha Prakash says, “the word *ārya* is derived from the root, ‘r’ meaning to move. It therefore signifies a nomad or traveller. Some scholars hold that this term denotes a linguistic unit only” (Prakash, 1970, 21).

At another place it is mentioned that it is derived from the Sanskrit root *ri-ar*, to plough, coming quite closer to the Latin word *aratrum*, a plough, and area and open space. On this theory, Will Durant comments, “the word *aryan* originally meant not nobleman but peasant” (Durant, 1954, 227). In Brahmanical literature the word *ārya* is used as a race which came into the Panjāb from beyond the borders of India.

L. M. Joshi and Fauja Singh say, “in old Pali texts the word *arya* or *ariya* (variants are *ayya* and *ayira*) is used at least in three meanings, occasionally in racial sense, an Āryan opposed to non-Āryan, in social sense an Āryan or a noble by birth as distinguished from a *Dāsa* or slave and in moral sense, good, righteous, sublime” (Joshi & Singh, 1977, 11). The Nazis of Germany used the word in notorious ethnological sense, a Nordic or Caucasian of non-Jewish descent.

Margaret and James Stutley say, “Its early significance is retained in the Welsh *ar-glwydd* (lord or overlord), meaning ‘before’, ‘above’, implying precedence; *glwydd* meaning lord especially of land and implicitly of cattle, a significance apparent in the Welsh translation of the Old Testament and in the hereditary title of Welsh nobility” (Margaret & Stutley, 1977, 20). But Russian writers paint a different picture. According to Gankovsky, the most probable is the interpretation suggested by R. Thieme: *Ari* — a stranger, newcomer, foreigner, alien; from *ari* — Ārya — relating to newcomer benevolent to new comers, hospitable; hence *arya* (Āryan) meant originally ‘hospitable’ (Gankovsky, 1971, 46). M. Mayhofer and V. I. Abaev have supported R. Thieme's interpretation and adduced an additional argument based on the data of other Indo-European languages in favour of his conclusions.

Though it is an unending debate, most scholars agree that Āryans were a people who came to Pakistan through North-Western passes sometimes around the 2nd millennium BC; and continued their movement eastward. But now another debate about their original homeland starts and gradually they have reached the same conclusion except those who still think that the original homeland of the Āryans was Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This conclusion is contrary to what the *Rigveda* says about conflict

between the Āryans and *Dasyus* and settlement of the Āryans in the land of Sapta-Sindhu.

Any deviation from such a mood seems to be unrealistic and stretching a wrong argument too far. The Āryan connections with Asia Minor and North Persia has been proved through many evidences. Winckler's notable discovery in 1906 at Boghaz-köi, the old Hittite capital in Asia Minor, of a cuneiform inscription (1400 BC) containing names of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatiya was interpreted as a landmark of the Āryan advance eastward. The names of the same gods we find in the *Rigveda*.

The question of the Āryan homeland did not get any support from archaeological and anthropological evidence. Most of the arguments have been built on the linguistic evidence only. It was in 1890 that Otto Schrader put forward the influential suggestion that the appropriate homeland for the Proto-Indo-European might be the South Russian Steppes from the Carpathians to Central Asia, where nomad pastoralism was known to have been practised.

In my view the best description of the Āryan pastoralism has been presented by Fairservis, “The story has been repeated for millennia, sung in temples, chanted in halls told by word and action of how a warrior people came out of the vastness of minor Asia through the passes of the Northwest to fall upon the fortified cities of India and to conquer; riding horse drawn chariots, driving herds of cattle, sheep and goat worshipping cosmic deities like Indra of the thunder and Agni of the fire, sacrificing, quarrelling, gambling, drinking, singing, dancing — the Rigveda account of the Āryan tribes is one of the oldest epics in the world” (Fairservis, 1975, 345).

There are several opinions, mostly, conjectural, about the original homeland of the Āryans, but the most acceptable, though also based on sound hypothetical ground, is the view which locates them in the steppes of South Russia. This view has been further supported by Marija Gimbutas of the University of California at Los Angeles, who since 1970 has published a series of papers in which she locates the Indo-European homeland in the steppes of South Russia very much as Childe did earlier. Based on archaeological evidence she calls it Kurgān culture (referring to prehistoric burial mounds used in this area).

Ethnologically the Āryan belongs to Europeoid race and are grouped in Nordic type. S. K. Chatterji says, “Nordic elements are strong in parts of N.W.F.P. particularly along the upper reaches of the Indus along its tributaries — the Swāt, the Panjkora, the Kunaṛ (Prakash, 1976, 94-116). and Chitrāl river and in the South of the Hindū Kush range and the Panjāb. The original Nordic type is supposed to have been tall, fair skinned, yellow or golden haired and blue eyed” (Bridget & Alchin, 1982, 187). But he admits that owing to miscegenation and climatic conditions the complexion of the body and colour of the hair and eye have been modified or eliminated by natural selection to light-brown or brown and to black (for the hair and eye). Nesturkh defines Europeoid great race (Āryans) in these words:

“The colour of the skin varies from light to dark, even brown, with reddish or pinkish tones on the face; The hair on the head is soft and wavy (or straight) and varying the colour from light to dark; The tertiary hair on the body shows strong or medium development and that of the face is often highly developed; The forehead is straight or slightly sloping”(Nesturkh, 1966, 23).

People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: An Historical Overview

Like all other nationalities, the origin of the Pukhtūns is shrouded in mystery. The problem of the origin of Pukhtūns or Pushtūns is approached in two ways, i.e., through Pukhtūn folklore and the historical method. The tradition takes them back to the pre-Islamic days and they end up with the Jewish ancestry, though there is a strong hatred in them for the Jews. The tradition as mentioned by Caroe and others is mostly based on two books entitled; *Makhzan-i Afghāni* written by Nematullah and *Khulāsat al-Ansāb*. The Afghān historiographers mention that Saul (or Tālūt) had a son named Irmia (Jeremiah) who again had a son, Afghāna, who was brought up by David. As the tradition goes some of the Afghāns went to Mecca and to Ghūr (Hazārājāt in Afghānistān) and settled there. In Ghur there was a man, Qais, who was invited to Mecca and met Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and was blessed by him. He was renamed as ‘Abd ar-Rashīd. He had three sons named Sarban, Batan and Ghurghusht. From these three sons other tribes are traced. H. W. Bellew gives a detailed account in these words:

The Afghāns Proper — the Bani Israil, as they call themselves in special distinction to all other divisions of the nation — class themselves as the descendants of Saraban through his two sons, Sharjyun and Khrishyun. From Sharjyun there sprung five clans, the principal of which is called Sheorani. From Khrishyun there sprung three clans, namely, Kand, Zamand and Kansi. The Kand was divided into the Khakhi and Ghori and included the Mandanr and Yusufzai clans. They are all now settled in the Peshawar valley (Bellew, 1880, 19)

The above mentioned tradition has no substantial argument to prove the origin of the Pukhtūn in the Jewish tradition. There is no historical evidence to prove this story. It

is all hypothetical and there are many historical errors. Olaf Caroe has refuted the tradition historically while quoting Muslim sources. He says, “Even the story of the early conversion of Qais and his companions can be disproved, we shall see, from reliable Muslim sources, including the traveller al-Bīrūnī and the courtier al-‘Utbī, both writing in the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna early in the eleventh century AD. These accounts establish that, four centuries later than the time of Qais, the province of Kābul had not been Islamized, and this was only achieved under the Ghaznavids. The Hindū (correctly Oḍi) Śahi kingdom of Jayapāla extended almost to Kābul, and Maḥmūd had to fight against infidel Afghāns of the Sulaiman mountains”. Even later than this, in the second battle of Tarāin (AD 1192) between Mu‘iz ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūri bin Sām and Pṛithvirāja, the Hindū ruler, there were Afghāns fighting on both sides (Caroe, 1957, 25).

The historical approach is equally shaky. It does not tell us about the origin of Pukhtūns but only verifies their existence in ancient period. The follow up is not equally convincing and due to the paucity of information we do not come to a sound conclusion. Herodotus also mentions about the people who lived in the north. I quote two passages:

There are other Indians further north round the city of Caspatyrus and in the country of Pactyica, who in their mode of life resemble the Bactrians. (Herodotus: The Histories III. 102)

The greater part of Asia was discovered by Darius. He wanted to find out where the Indus joins the sea — The Indus is the only river other than Nile where crocodiles are found — and for this purpose sent off an expedition down the river a number of men whose word he could trust led by a Caryandian named Scylax.

The expedition sailed from Caspatyrus in the district of Pactyica. (Herodotus: The Histories IV. 44)

The city of Kaspaturus (Caspatyrus) as mentioned by Herodotus was identified with Peshawar by Olaf Caroe. Before proceeding further and locating the origin of Pukhtūn or Pushtun, it seems pertinent to mention Herodotus once again:

The nations above mentioned use cavalry, but for this expedition only the following provided it: first the Persians — armed in the same way as their infantry, except that some of them wore devices of hammered bronze or iron on their heads. Secondly, a nomad tribe called Sagartians, a people who speak Persian and dress in a manner half Persian, half Pactyan; these furnished a contingent of 8000 strong. (Herodotus. 'The Histories' Book 7, 85)

Most of the scholars accept similarity of Paktuikē or Pactyan with modern Pukhtūn but on the contrary as mentioned by Caroe, Professor Bailey of Cambridge and Morgenstierne of Oslo rejected this similarity on purely philological grounds, only depending upon and paying much attention to the pronunciation. Later on, it was proved that their conclusions are not founded on solid grounds. Herodotus also mentioned four nations inhabiting the country of Paktuikē or Gandhāra i.e., Gandari, Aparutai, Sattagudai and Dadicae. The Aparutai are identified even by Grierson and Stein with the Afrīdīs. The Afridis themselves pronounce it as Aparidai. Bellew identified Sattagudai with Khattaks and Dadikae with nearly extinct tribe of Dadi, which dwelt amongst the Kākaṛ. He says that it is curious to find these very nations now, after a lapse of more than two thousand years, retaining the identical names and the same positions as those assigned to

them by the ancient Greek author, who is justly styled the “Father of History” (Bellew, 1880, 33). We close this discussion with the following passage of Bellew:

In Western Afghānistan, the harsh (kh) is changed into the soft (sh) and the Pukhtun becomes Pushtun, Pukhtu becomes Pushtu, and so on. By some Pukhtun tribes — the Afridi notably — Pukhtun, Pukhtu, &c, are pronounced Pakhtūn, Pakhtu, &c, and this brings the words near to the Pakhtues of Herodotus. In short the Pakhtūn or Pukhtu of today, we may take it, is identical in race and position with the Pactiyan of the Greek historian (Nesturkh, 1966, 26).

After Alexander the remnants of the Greek civilization were quickly taken over by Hindū turned Buddhist Mauryan culture which gave birth to the Graeco-Buddhist culture known as Gandhāra. The Macedonian influence on ethnological structure was minimal as compared to the Central Asian, which left deep marks on the population of Pakistan in the 1st millennium BC. The foundation of various ethnic and tribal groups seen today, was laid during that period. As mentioned by Spain, for the next thousand years there is little history beyond the lists of Central Asian tribes —the Sakas, the Parthians, the Yueh-chis and White Huns or Ephthalites who poured down upon the frontiers.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Central Asian Tribal Connection

It is not possible to comprehend the race movement and ethnological structure of NWFP without mentioning the role played by the tribes who came from Central Asia and contributed significantly in shaping the its ethnology, language and culture.

In this context, the most prominent people were the Sakas who intruded not only in the NWFP but in the Panjāb and in other provinces of Pakistan and India. Herodotus again comes to our rescue and locates them in Xerxes army in these words:

The Sacae (a Scythian people) wore trousers and tall pointed hats upright on their heads and were armed with bows of their country, daggers and sagaris or battle axes. “Sacae” is the name the Persians give to all Scythian tribes: these were Amyrgian Scythians (Herodotus, 1972, 64).

It is beyond doubt that during the latter half of the first millennium BC the Persians appointed both the Sakas and the Parthians as governors or *satraps* of their provinces in the areas now included in N.W.F.P. The Achaemenian inscriptions, both of Darius and Xerxes, testify to the existence of Amurgians or Amyrgians who dwelt on Amu Daryā. Risley has given a brief history of the Sakas collected from Chinese annals which tells us how the Sse (Sakas) were originally located in Southern China and occupied Sogdiana and Transoxiana at the time of the establishment of the Graeco-Bactrian rule. Dislodged from these regions by the Yuch-chis who had themselves been put to flight by the Huns, the Sakas invaded Bactria, and after they were driven out of Bactria they finally settled in the country called after them, Sakastān comprising Segistān, Arachosia and Drangiana. A body of the Sakas then immigrated eastward and founded a kingdom in the western portion of Panjāb. It is generally assumed that the Sakas were fair skinned Caucasians. According to some writers, they were nomadic pastoral people who may have originated beyond either the Aral and the Caspian lakes. The Chinese knew them as Se, the Persians as the Sakas and the Greek and Roman as Sacae, but they have also been termed as Scythians. Margaret and Stutley believe that in

the course of their expansion they had acquired Kapiśa in Afghānistān, Taxila in Western Panjāb, Ujjain in Mālwā and Nāsik in upper Deccan over which they ruled for three hundred years. Among the towns they developed was Sākala, modern Sialkot. It was a Saka ruler, Chandravarman, who in 325 AD erected the famous iron pillar regarded as a masterpiece of engineering since re-erected at Mehruī (Delhi). Caroe, following and quoting Morgenstierne reaches the conclusion that the Sakas had not only influenced the ethnological structure or people of NWFP but they also had significant role in determining the language. Olaf Caroe further says that while “Pakhtu and Pashtu” owe much to the Sakas, it has been argued that there may well be earlier East Iranian influence in its rootstock (Caroe, 1957, 67). Przyluski has pointed out that the name of the capital of the Madras, Sākala, and that of the region between the Rāvī and Chenāb, Sākaladvīpa, are based on the word Saka and indicative of the Saka invasion.

The origin of Yueh-chis, Sakas, Kushans, Chionites — Ephthalites or the White Huns is so obscure that sometimes it becomes almost difficult to differentiate among the various tribes hailing from Central Asia. The ethnic mixing is so intricate that except for Ephthalites all other tribes seem to have originated from the same stock.

S. Konow identifies the Yueh-chis with Massagetae, regarding them as the union of East-Iranian tribes. He contends that the ethnic name Ta Yueh-chi (great Yueh-chi) in the Chinese chronicles and Massagetae in the ancient authors descends from a single origin as being the rendering of the ethnic name, Great Sakas (S. Konow, “On the nationalities of the Kushāna”) (Gankovsky, 1971, 51). S. M. Latif in the *History of the Panjāb* discusses the settlement of Scythians in Panjāb. He confirms that a portion of the settlers, the descendants of Massagetae, were called the Getes, from whom sprang the

modern Jats. (Latif, 1997, 57). Olaf Caroe, while contradicting the view that Kushāns had any affinity with Huns or Turks, supports the view of Ghirshman and Mcgovern and holds them to be yet another horde of Scythians and, therefore, akin both to the Sakas and the Parthians. They are known to Chinese records as the Yueh-chi, of whom the Guei-Shang or Kushān were the leading clan. The Kushāns were overthrown by the Ephthalites or Chionites who took over northwestern part of Pakistan in fifth century AD.

Conclusion

In the above discussion, an effort is made to summarise the debate about the origin of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. Pashtun (also spelled Pushtun, Pakhtun, Pashtoon, Pathan) are a people who live in south-eastern Afghanistan and the north-western province of Pakistan. They are one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan. There is no true written history of the Pashtun in their own land. Pashtun are traditionally pastoral nomads (herders who move frequently to find grazing land) with a strong tribal organization. Each tribe is divided into clans, sub-clans, and patriarchal families. Pashtun have lived for centuries between Khurasan and the Indian subcontinent, at the crossroads of great civilizations. However, it is necessary to know about the racial structure and formation of racial groups in the present day Pakistan. Most of the tribes of that era have been identified with the major portions of the population now living in Pakistan.

References

Buddha Prakash, (1976) *Political and Social Movement in Ancient Panjab*, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers).

Herodotus, (1972) *Histories* (Penguin Publishers).

Joshi and Fauja Singh, (1977) *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I (Patiala: Panjabi University).

M. Nestrakh. (1966) *The Races of Mankind* (Moscow: Progress Publishers)

Margaret and James Stutley, (1977) *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, (London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul).

Olaf, Caroe. (1962) *The Pathans* (London: Macmillan).

Renfrew. C. (1992) *Archaeology & Language, The Puzzle of Indo-European Origin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

S.K. Chatterji. (1988) *The Vedic Age: The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bombay: Bhartia Vidya Bhawan).

V., Singhal. (1966) *India and World Civilization*, Vol. I. (Michigan: Michigan State University).

W. A. Fairservis. Jr. (1975) *The Roots of Ancient India*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Will Durant, (1954) *Oriental Heritage* (New York: Simon and Schuster).

Yu. V. Gankovsky. (1973) *The People of Pakistan* (Lahore: Peoples Publishing House).

Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya: Establishment, Objectives and Early History

Hassan Ali, Assistant Professor, Govt Graduate College Jamia Muhammdi Sharif,
Chaniot.

Email: hassanravian86@gmail.com

Dr. Akhtar Rasool Bodla, Senior Research Fellow, NIHCR, Islamabad.

Email: arbodla@qau.edu.pk

Abstract

The Anjuman I Khuddam I al-Sufiyya was a popular organization in the early twentieth century Colonial Punjab, aiming to foster unity among diverse Sufi orders. This research article explores the early history, foundation, objectives, activities, branches and structural framework of Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya through meticulous examination of historical documents and primary sources. This abstract examines the proactive stance of the Anjuman against proselytizing movements during colonial times, elucidating its efforts in preserving the essence of Sufism in a changing socio-religious landscape. Furthermore, it explores how the Anjuman bravely confronted ultra-orthodox ideologies of Wahhabism, aiming to safeguard the pluralistic nature of Islamic practice and culture. The Anjuman's response to the Ahmadiyya community is also discussed. By delving into the organizational structure, this research dissects the sophisticated layers that govern the functioning of Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya. By analyzing the Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya's establishment, objectives and early history, this abstract throw

light on its noteworthy contributions to inter-Sufi unity, countering radical influences, and promoting a harmonious coexistence of diverse Islamic beliefs. As a result, this research provides a valuable resource for scholars, historians, and enthusiasts interested in understanding the rich tapestry of Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya journey from its inception to 1951.

Keywords: Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya. Pir Saiyyid Jamā‘at Ali Shah. Islam. Sufism. Wahhabism. Christianity. Hinduism. Ahmadiyya community.

Introduction

In the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, India witnessed complex historical developments affecting almost all spheres of life, particularly on religious and spiritual aspects in Muslim of South Asia. The advent of the British colonial power radically altered the dynamics of state and society. Owing to the colonial takeover in 1857, both the Muslims and the Hindus felt threatened, as power and authority slipped from their hands. The British gradually introduced representative political institutions, which were based on the numerical strength of the two communities. The census further sharpened the religious identities, neatly dividing them into the Muslim and Hindu communities (Stewart, 1951, p. 51). Consequently, the communalization of Indians led to competition among the Muslims and the Hindus to preserve their religious traditions and culture in the face of modernity. It resulted in the emergence of Hindu and later Muslim communal organizations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One such Muslim organization was *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya* established in 1901 in Lahore and later on it was shifted to Alipur Sayyidan, Sialkot, by Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali Shah, who was a religious leader, and a Naqshbandi Sufi Shaykh in British Punjab. The *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya* played a significant role in political, social and religious life of the Muslims of India in general and Muslims of Punjab in particular.

The primary purpose of this study is to explore the establishment, objectives and the early history of *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya* and to analyze the religious, social, and political role-played by this it. This study offers a brief overview of the religious orientation of its founder, as well as religious, educational and social services of the *Anjuman*. Moreover, this study also examines the religious and spiritual role of this

Anjuman for the revival of Islam in its pristine form, as envisioned by its founder, Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali Shah. This study will help in understanding of the efforts of Muslims religious and for the revival of Muslims' religious and spiritual institutions and the uplift of the Muslim community. The study will help how the efforts of Muslims religious leaderships played its role for the revival of Muslim community in South Asia.

As far as the research method is concerned, this research is qualitative mainly relying on historical accounts to frame and shape the policies. It is inter-disciplinary research wherein both educational and historical accounts are the points of consideration. It is qualitative for the reason that it entails non-statistic data to investigate the proposed targets. The historical method opted for this research is 'descriptive' and 'interpretive' as it aims to elucidate factual descriptions to forward potential recommendations. The *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* holds a significant place in history due to its contribution for uplifting the Muslim community. The organization's primary sources, such as "*Sirat i Amir i Millat*" by Syed Akhter Hussain Shah and "*Rudad i Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya's*" by Mawlana Karam Elahi, *Tazkirah i Shah Jama'at* by Syed Haider Hussain Shah, shed light on its origins and early years. These sources reveal the key figures involved, including the founder, and outline the objectives that guided the organization's activities.

The establishment, objectives, and early history of *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* are integral to understanding its importance within the religious and social landscape of the time. By examining primary and secondary sources, we gain a deeper understanding of its role and contributions to the evolving religious narrative in Colonial India.

Historical Background

The presence of mystical traditions in many great religions of the worlds is a well-attested phenomenon. As far as Islam is concerned, its religious, spiritual and mystical tradition is called *Tassawwuf*, which is translated and anglicized as Sufism. However, Sufism is not simply the purification of heart and soul and improvement of individual character, rather it has social dimensions that contribute particularly to societal life. The origin of many doctrines and practices of Sufism can be traced back to the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (PBUH) (Ed-Din, 2008, pp. 223-225). However, historically these doctrines and practices developed further when Muslims and the Sufis came into contact with other religious, social and cultural traditions. In mediaeval times, many Sufi doctrines and practices became controversial, since they were contested by the religious scholars, philosophers and jurists. In particular, the fourteenth century *Hanbali* jurists Taqi al-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Abdul Salam ibn Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) contributed to anti-Sufi discourse. Later during the eighteenth century another *Hanbali* scholar, Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (d. 1792) tried to 'reform' Islam and declared Sufism as an innovation. Under the influence of Ibn Taymiyya he opposed Sufism and the Sufis. Later on many modern Muslim thinkers and 'reformers' were of the opinion that Sufism was not an integral part of Islam. Some blamed Sufism for the decline of Muslim civilization. A modern Muslim reformer and thinker argues that Sufism, as a popular religion, became a religion within a religion, keeping Muslims away from socio-ethical religious practices and becoming a reason for the decline of Muslim civilization (Rahman, 1979, pp. 153-154).

Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab opposed rituals related to the veneration of Muslim Sufis and pilgrimage to their tombs and shrines. This practice of tomb worship was widespread amongst the people of Najd (Mishra, 2019, p. 16). The name Wahhabi was given to the movement mainly by its critics, and was not accepted by the followers of Abd al-Wahhab; they called themselves the *Muwahhidun* (those who believe in the oneness of God) (Mishra, 2019, p. 16).

In 1744, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab formed a pact with a local leader, Muhammad bin Saud (d. 1765), a politico-religious alliance that sustained for the next 150 years, culminating politically in the proclamation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 (Salame, 1987, p. 310). His movement would ultimately arise as one of the most influential eighteenth century anti-colonial reform trends that blowout across the Middle East, South Asia and West Africa; advocating a return to pristine Islamic values based on the Quran and Sunnah for re-generating the social and political prowess of Muslims; and its revolutionary themes influenced numerous Islamic revivalists, scholars, pan-Islamists ideologues and anti-colonial activists (Ahmed, 2020, pp. 29-30).

There is variety of opinions about the advent of Islam in India but majority of the historians are agreed with the opinion that Islam's entrance in south Asia was due to the advent of Arabs' traders in the early phase of Islam. Although in 712 Muhammad bin Qasim brought political Islam in India. But the expansion of Islam happened under the influence of the Sufis, who had started roaming to India from Central Asia, Persia and other parts of the Muslim world, even before the establishment of Turkish rule in north India. The most important Sufi *silsila* in north India during this period was that of the Chishtis, which was popularized in India by the twelfth-century Sufi, Khawaja

Moinuddin Chishti (d. 1234) of Ajmer. Sufism shaped the contours of Islam in India, giving it a more tolerant, peaceful and syncretic form over the course of these early centuries of Muslim presence in the Indian heartland. The other early Sufi *Silsila* was Suhrawardiyya, which was popularized in India during the pre-Mughal era (Anjum, 2011, p. 3). In Mughal India, the Qadri and Naqshbandi Sufi *Silsila* were popularized in north India.

The medieval state in pre-Mughal and Mughal eras did not make any large-scale, organized effort for conversion of the non-Muslims to Islam (Mishra, 2019, p. 16). Most of those who embraced the Islamic faith did so primarily under the influence of the Sufis, who had always formed the backbone of Islam in India. It might even be argued that modern ideas of conversion and of religious identities were largely non-existent for both the Hindus and the Muslims during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only some scholars who believe that Islam spread in South Asia by ‘force’ or ‘sword’ (Perhaps the most widely circulated examples of forced conversion to Islam in history come from South Asia. The American historian Will Durant asserted in 1935 that “the Mohammedan conquest of India is probably the bloodiest story in history,” explaining that “millions of Hindus were converted to Islam by sword during this period” (i.e., 800-1700 CE). (Interestingly, Durant also stated that “most history is guessing, and the rest is prejudice.”) but majority of the historical researchers are agreed that Sufis attracted people to faith by their simple way of life, their stress on equality, fraternity and universal brotherhood. Poetry in vernacular languages to attract the indigenous people in the fold of Islam. The miracle they were said to perform and their ‘syncretic’ management of Hindu and Muslim customs and tradition (Powell, 1997, p. 17).

Challenges to the Muslim Community in Early Twentieth Century

There are many challenges which Muslim community of India was facing in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Present paper will focus on four important issues namely; conversion of Muslims to Christianity, Wahhabism and creation of Ahmadiyya ideology.

Christian Missionaries

The arrival of British empire in India brought about various reforms into social, political and educational culture of India. Britishers discouraged traditional educational, social and civilizational institutions by introducing modern scientific knowledge. The loss of political rule was not so easy for the Muslims of India to digest. Moreover, Christian missionaries began to proselytize the local population of India to Christianity. In 1833 a well-known missionary Wolff under the patronages of the society for stimulating Christianity among the Jews reached Lucknow (It was directed the East India Company through Charter Act of 1813 that missionary efforts be permitted if not actively supported. Missionaries showed untiring patience in engaging receptive minds in the hope of gaining converts. They had enough money for the purpose of setting up institutions. For detail see Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 119-20.). In those days Lord William was sympathetic to Missionary Cause. Due to this reason his lectures were actively learned by the British officials. He was warmly welcomed by the missionaries stayed in the Northern India (The translations of Bible into Urdu, Arabic and Persian by Martyn were circulated among the ulama of Lucknow and Delhi. He reached India in 1805 as a padre of East India Company. He was scholar of linguistics. Martyn also engaged with Shia ulama Sayyid Muhammad and Tasadduq Hussain at Lucknow. See Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 119-20.).

missionaries believed that the route of Indian progress lay in western religion and culture (Robinson, 2011, p. 47). The Presbyterian Church of United States of America set up a mission at Ludhiana on November 5, 1834 under John Lowrie. In 1835 this mission set up a Punjabi Press, the first of its kind in the Punjab. This press became the most active center for the production of literature of missionary character in Punjabi (Talbot, 2000, p. 61).

The count of Protestant 'Native Christians' residing in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab was initially recorded as a mere two thousand in 1852. Over the subsequent decade, by 1862, this figure had only marginally increased to five thousand, despite heightened evangelical efforts in the Punjab following its annexation. It wasn't until the final decade of the nineteenth century that a significant phenomenon known as 'mass conversion' began to take place, primarily among adults, often in rural settings, in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. Consequently, by 1901, the population of 'Native Christians' in the Punjab alone had surged to over forty thousand (Powell, 1997, p. 17). This demographic shift, coupled with various socio-educational transformations, caught the attention of different Muslim groups. Some supported the British in their pursuit of educational advancement and material progress for Muslims, while others were alarmed by these developments and strove to reestablish 'pure' Islamic religious and spiritual institutions and a traditional way of life.

Spread of Wahhabism

Another challenge to the Muslim community was facing was the rising tide of Wahhabism. The Wahhabism became a force in India, it must be noted that the revivalist

ideology, as propagated by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi (d. 1762), found some vehement protagonists in eighteenth and nineteenth-century India. After the death of Shah Waliullah in 1762, his son Abdul Aziz (d.1824) focused on spreading the teachings of his father amongst the faithful, especially the orthodox elite Muslims in India. Sayyed Ismail Shahid was a person who started to refute Sufism by calling them, “*Ahl i Biddat*” on the podium (*member*) of the *Jamia* (main) Mosque of Delhi (Naumani, 2005, p. 61). He spread the philosophy and teachings of Wahhabism as per his maximum capacity and being seated in the center. It challenged the century old Sufi tradition of India which was quite near to the mind and souls of Muslim population.

Sayyed Ahmad Shahid (d.1831) started similar movement in India as Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab led a movement in Arabia almost three-quarters of a century earlier (Ahmed, 2020, p. 30). However, he was the most important figure in the spread of Wahhabism in India, in the early nineteenth century. He was amongst those who inspired by Abdul Aziz to arrest the widely perceived decline of Islam in India with the help of an ideology that promised to revive true Islamic faith from the days when Islam was supposedly pure and uninfluenced by other religions or cultures. Sayyed Ahmad’s reformist teachings were set down in two works that soon achieved wide circulation. The “*Sirat’ul Mustaqim*” (the Straight Path) was compiled by Muhammad Ismail in 1819. The second work, “*Taqwiyatul-Iman*” (Strengthening of the Faith) was written directly in Urdu. The two works stressed above all the centrality of *Tauwhid*, the transcendent unity of God, and denounced all those practices that were held in any way to compromise the most fundamental of Islamic tenets. God alone was held to be omniscient and omnipotent. Sayyed Muhammad Hussain Wilayet Ali, Farhat Husain, Yahaya Ali,

Ahmadullah, Mubarak Ali, Muhammad Hasan, Abdul Rahim, these were the persons on whom the *Khilafat* of Sayyed Ahmad Shahid devolved. “It may be considered to have formed a kind of an executive of the Wahhabi Movement in India” (Aziz, 1992, pp. 204-205). According to the followers of Sayyid Ahmed there were three sources of threat to this belief: false Sufism, *Shiá* doctrines and practices, and popular custom (Metcalf, 1982, pp. 56-57). As a result, Wahhabism rejected all forms of Sufi mysticism as opposed to the doctrine of *Tawhid* (Oneness of God), and opposed all forms of popular religion, which it regarded as *bid’ah* (innovation) and *shirk* (Mishra, 2019, p. 16).

Dar ul Uloom Deoband (established in 1866 by Qasim Nanautvi (d. 1880) and Rasheed Gongohi (d. 1905), in the beginning, was a seminary (*madrasah*) of moderate *ulema* of Islam who followed the path of *shari’a* and *triqa* simultaneously. Inspirational figures of the *Madrasah* like Imdadullah Muhajir Makki (Nizami, 2017, p. 197), (Haji Imdadullah holds a crucial place in the religious history of South Asian Muslims. He established his authority within his immediate community of Islamic scholars and Sufi masters who were drawn together into an inter-woven community. In these turbulent times, these religious scholars and Sufis were struggling to re-assert the relevance of their socio-religious heritage. Haji Imdadullah was remarkably successful in that he was accepted as a respected leader of both Sufis and ulama.) Mawlana Rasheed Gangohi, Muhammad Yaqoob Gangohi, Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanvi (d. 1943), Mawlana Faiz ul Hassan Saharanpuri, Shaikh ul Hind Mawlana Mahmood ul Hassan and Mawlana Hussain Ahmad Madni were equally inclined toward Sufism.

Emergence of Ahmadiyya Ideology

Another big challenge that the Muslim community facing was the creation of Ahmadiyya community. According to majority of the Muslims it challenged the basic tenet of Islam which was finality of the Holy Prophet of Islam. *Ahmadiyya* sect of Islam (later on declared non-Muslim in 1974) also influenced the population of Lahore city, Punjab. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908) established the Community (*Jamā'at*) on 23 March 1889 by formally accepting allegiance (*Bait*) from his supporters (Khalid, 2011, p. 25). Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be the *Mahdī* (a figure expected by some Muslims at the end of the world), (Khalid, 2011, p. 91) the Christian Messiah (Khalid, 2011, p. 12), an incarnation of the Hindu god Krishna, and a reappearance (*Buruz*) of Muhammad SAW. The formulation of doctrine of *Ahmadiyya* movement was against the basic tenets of Islam. It was damaging the religion of Islam more deeply than any other anti-Islam movements because it had been generated under the canopy of Islam and majority of the adherents of Mirza belonged to Muslim community (Maududi, 1998, p. 35).

Hindu Revivalist Movements

Yet another challenge came to Muslim community was from Hindu revivalist movements. *Arya Samaj* was one of the pioneer organizations amongst many others, which started its work in Punjab in 1875. It was established in Mumbai in 1875 by Sawami Dayanand Saraswati (d.1883) and after two years its headquarters had been shifted to Lahore (Barrier, 1967, p. 363). The major objective of this organization was the revival of Hinduism through a reinterpretation of its history and sacred literature. Sawami claimed that the *Vedas* were given to the Aryan at a time when India stood first in

knowledge and cultural achievements (Barrier, 1967, p. 363). “*Arya Samaj* asserted its superiority over all religions and adopted an aggressive programme to put an end to the proselytizing of Islam and Christianity” (Dua, 1970, p. 1767). *Arya Samaj* was commenced with some moderate objectives but with the passage of time it gave birth to *Shuddhi* and *Sangthan* movements. These were militant and aggressive in nature. *Shuddhi* was founded in Punjab and spread all across the India. The main point of contention was the reconversion of Malkana Rajput in Western United Province. The first target of the *Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha* was the Malkana Muslims, a new Muslim community of some 300000 people, living in the western districts of United Provinces. *Shuddhi* work among the Malkana began in 1923, and by 1927, when campaign reached on its apex, some 123000 Malkana were reported to have been brought into the Hindu fold (Sikand, 2003, p. 103). As a result, the movement became controversial and antagonized the Muslims populace.

Foundation of the *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya*

Religio-political scenario of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century of the Punjab compelled the moderate Muslim community to form an organization to encounter the threats those were discussed earlier in this paper. These challenges required a collective response from Muslim intelligencia. *Pir Jama‘at* Ali Shah (d. 1951) along with some other Sufis of different orders materialized this dream of the Muslims of Punjab. In 1901, an organization with the name of *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* was established (Elahi, Rudad I Anjuman I Khuddam I Suffiyya, 1924, p. 12). The first session of the Anjuman held in Badshahi mosque Lahore. A big number of Sufis of different orders all across the India participated in this session, few among them were following; *Sahibzada*

M. Siddique of Choorah Sharif, *Sajjadah nashin* Kachhochha Sharif, *Mufti* Deedar Ali Alori, *Mufti* Naeemuddin Muradabadi, Mawlana Syed Ahmad from Lahore, Syed Willa'yt Shah from Gujrat, Dr. Allah Ditta from Gujrat, Mawlvi Muhammad Yar of Bahawalpur, Hafiz Anwar Ali of Rohtak, Mawlana Muhammad Husain of Kasur, Mawlvi Khair Shah of Amritsar, Molvi M. Azeem Gakharvi, Molvi M. Azeem Ferozpuri, Hafiz Zafar Ali Pasruri, Molvi M. Khoob Ahmadabadi, Molvi M. Sharif of Kotli, Molvi Ghulam Ahmad Amritsari, Hakim Khadim Ali Sialkoti, Mawlana Imaduddin Roypuri, Molvi Abdul Majeed Kasuri, Molvi M. Umar Achharvi, Qazi Hafeez ud-din of Rohtak, Molvi Abdul Ghafoor Hazaarwi, etc (Hussain, 2014, p. 353).

Brief Introduction of Pir Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali Shah as Founding Father of the *Anjuman*

Jamā'at Ali Shah was one of the important religious and spiritual personalities who played imperative role in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Punjab's religious, social and political life. He was born in 1834 in Ali Pur Saidan District Narowal. His father Sayyed Karim Ali Shah was a pious and Sufi. Jamā'at Ali Shah belonged to *Naqashbandiyya Silsila* (Shah, 2008, p. 93). He became a disciple of Hazrat Baba Faqir Muhammad Naqashbandi of Chora Sharif in Attock District, (Hussain, 2014, p. 67) and thus joined the *Silsila Naqashbandiyya*.

Taşawwuf (in Arabic) is a religious and spiritual tradition within Islam. It emerged as an ascetic and mystical stream in the very early stages of the development of Islam and “subsequently took a wide variety of devotional, doctrinal, artistic, and institutional forms” (Knysh, 2017, p. 1). Many early Sufis were involved in activities

such as personal austerity, fear of God, much recitation of the Quran and offering of ritual prayers, and personal ethical and moral development (Melchert, 2015, p. 3).

Jamā'at Ali Shah followed the *Naqashbandiya Mujadaiyya Silsila*, a branch of *Naqshbandiyya Silsila*; he insisted the following of the way of Shaykh Ahmad Sirahindi popularly known as Mujaddad Alif Sani (d. 1624). According to him, the spirit of *Tasawwuf* is to follow the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and remembrance of God. Controlling *nafs i amara* (sensuality) is the most difficult task. According to him, to fight against unbeliever is *farz i kifaya* (collective duty) and to fight one's own *nafs* is greater jihad, which is *farz i ain* (strict obligation). Jamā'at Ali Shah said, the real *Naqashbandia Silsila* is to follow *Shariah* and to kill one's *nafs* (Hussain, 2014, p. 227).

According to Pir Jamā'at Ali Shah, the real *Tasawwuf* is to follow *Shariah* with satisfaction of heart. His conception of *Tasawwuf*, was not based on seclusion, rather it was based on engaged Sufism in which the social and worldly interaction was essential part of life. He wore descent dress, ate good food, and tried his best to live his life according to *Shariah* and *Sunnah* of

Jama'at Ali Shah contributed significantly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for the religious, social and educational betterment of the Muslims of south Asia. During the Shahidganj mosque agitation in 1935 he was appointed as the *Amir-e-Millat* (leader of the nation or leader of Muslims of India) and he led the movement from the front (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 510; Malik, n.d., p. 125) ("It is claimed by the Muslims that this mosque was built during the Mughal regime. After Sikh's occupation of Punjab, the mosque was seized and a Gurdwara was built in its compound. The mosque became a bone of contention between the Muslims and the Sikhs when all the claims of Muslims were

rejected by the Courts. The tension reached to its extreme when, in 1935, the Sikhs decided to demolish the mosque”) (Malik, n.d.). His appointment as *Amir-i-Millat* brought support from other *Pirs* such as *Pir* Fazal Shah of Jalalpur and *Pir* Ghulam Mohiuddin of Golra Sharif as well. As *Amir-i-Millat*, he toured Punjab, Ajmer, Bareilly and UP to garner support for this cause (Malik, n.d., pp. 132-153). He worked enthusiastically for the rehabilitation of mosque. He established *Majlis i Ittehad Millat* (organization of united nation) in 1938 (Hussain, 2014, p. 459). After his departure for performing *hajj* and non-cooperative behavior of other Muslim organization like *Tehrik i Eharar* led it to failure but this movement made *Pir* Jamaat Ali Shah a prominent leader of Muslim community of colonial India. He participated in the Pakistan movement and praised Quaid-e-Azam (d. 1948) for his efforts for Muslims’ cause and Muslim league (Gilmartin, 1979, p. 510). He also preached those Muslim students who were studying in modern English schools and were not aware of Islamic way of life because they were not trained well in their homes. He concentrated on reforming those young people. He travelled widely for this purpose and visited schools and colleges and advised and taught young students. Once he was at a college at Lahore, he gave ten-rupee *wazifa* (scholarship) to someone who never trimmed his beard (Hussain, 2014, p. 232). He encouraged students to follow Islamic rituals and practices.

He was awarded the epithet of *Sanusi i Hind* because of his determination and courage, against the Hindus and their Shuddhi movements, and his role against the *Ahmadiyyat* (Hussain, 2014, p. 414).

Objectives of *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya*:

The primary aim of the Anjuman was to promote Islam and showcase its true essence in response to those who posed a challenge to it, whether they were from different religions such as Christianity and Hinduism or from within Islam, such as the Ahmadiyya community and the Wahhabi movement. The most effective part of Islam by which Islam spread in the world especially in South Asia was Sufism and *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya* had been formed to serve Islam and Sufism more systematically and articulately. Four major objectives of the Anjuman were following:

Coordination amongst Sufi Silsilas

Practices of all Sufi orders could be different but determination was same to attain the love of Beloved (Allah). *Anjuman-i-Khuddam al-Suffiya* worked toward establishing a sense of cohesion among all the Sufi *Silsilas*. The endeavors of the Anjuman included inter-order dialogues, joint gatherings, and collaborative projects that promoted community welfare. It created a united front against the anti-Islam forces and focused on charity, education amongst the Muslims. It also promoted preaching of Islam and Sufism to counter various ideologies. This unity not only helped safeguard Sufi traditions from external dangers but also provided a united front against Christian missionaries' projects and Hindu proselytizing movements. The Anjuman aimed to take all Sufi orders under single canopy, the canopy of love and respect for each other so that all these Sufi orders could operate according to their particular disciplines without criticizing each other (Elahi, 1924, p. 12).

Preaching of Islam and Sufism

The primacy of this organization was to make the people acquainted with the spiritual Islam and enlightened their conscience esoterically rather than exoterically. It was not appreciating non-conformist Sufis. The Anjuman emphasized direct Sufi experience and sought to bridge the gap between Islamic teachings and Sufi practices. Through its teachings and spiritual practices, the Anjuman made efforts to spread the message of Islam and Sufism across various regions of colonial India, fostering a deeper understanding of Sufism and connecting people to the core principles of Islam (Elahi, 1924, p. 12).

Countering the Propaganda against Islam and Sufism

After establishing a strong political rule by British, many missionary groups moved to the next stage in which they started a proselytizing movement in India, which shook the local population of India. This gave an impetus to the revivalist movement of Hinduism, which started to attack on Christianity and Islam simultaneously. And on the other hand some orthodox Muslim ulema and their followers started to attack on Sufism as an innovation. The Anjuman's third objective was to answer to the fabricated accused on Islam made by Hindu revival movements and draw a pragmatic line in the defense of Sufism against rigid approach of some Islamic scholars (Elahi, 1924, p. 12).

Rejection of Religious Ideologies like *Ahmadiyya* in India.

The relationship between the *Ahmadiyya* community and mainstream Islam in colonial India had been complex and contentious. The *Ahmadiyya* community held

beliefs that were considered outside the mainstream Islamic doctrines. However, their unique beliefs regarding the finality of prophethood was the main concern for the Muslim community of India. The center of this community was Qadyan, Punjab and it was extending its roots with every passing day. It was challenging the core of Islam that was the finality of Muhammad (PBUH). To challenge the fabricated propagation of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Anjuman led the Muslim community from front and challenged the *Ahmadiyya* community to come to the arena and debate with them on the matter of last prophethood (Hussain, 2014, p. 353). Therefore, the *Anjuman* effectively challenged Ahmadiyya ideology with full force.

Organizational Structure of *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya*

In the inception of the organization, its body was consisted of three main offices; the office of the president, the office of general secretary and the office of finance secretary. On some occasions, according to work load of the annual processions the post of joint secretary has been generated but it did not look permanent part of the body (Hussain, 2014, p. 353). *Yaran i Treeqat* (companions of *Treeqat*) was last part of this organization. Pir Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali Shah occupied the office of the president till his death and later on it was occupied by his son named Muhammad Hussain (Shah, 2008, p. 93).

Hafiz Zafar Ali Pasruri occupied the office of general secretary on the time of the establishment of the *Anjuman*, and he served this office until his death. All the arrangements of processions, define the agenda of processions, sending invitation letters to the participants, accommodations of *Mashyaikh* and Sufis those arrived from far furlong areas, all the assignments were entrusted to the general secretary. After the death of Hafiz Zafar Pasruri, Mawlana Karam Elahi filled his vacant post. Next general

secretary of the Anjuman was Hafiz Noor Ahmad Qasoori and to lessen his burden, Professor Manshad Ali had been appointed first joint secretary of the *Anjuman* (Shah, 2008, p. 353). Mawlana Muhammad Husain (Elahi, 1924, p. 12) Alipuri worked as the finance secretary of the Anjuman. He kept the account of the Anjuman maintained and performed this duty without charging a single penny.

Activities of Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya

Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya played a significant role in promoting various activities that encompass religious, educational, social and charitable causes. The Anjuman, driven by the principle of Islam, engaged in a wide array of initiatives that not only strengthen the bonds within Muslim community but also contribute energetically to society at large.

Annual Meetings

The Anjuman's most important activity was to hold annual processions, which used to be held on 10th and 11th of May every year. In its inception this procession was held in Badshahi mosque Lahore but after three years it was shifted to Alipur Saiydan, district Narowal, Punjab. It was responsibility of the committee to invite different Sufis and ulema across the colonial India for addressing to the processions. All the preparations from the selection of venue to dining and accommodation of the guest speakers and audience were the responsibility of the Anjuman (Hussain, 2014, p. 350).

Preaching of Islam

This organization, as it is clear by its name, was founded to serve Islam and Sufism. Pir Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali shah was the founder of the *Anjuman* and it was his

routine to travel across the different regions of colonial India for the sake of preaching of Islam and wherever he realized the further need of preaching, he sent a deputation of Muslims scholars those were working under his supervision. By adopting a holistic approach that combined education, community involvement, and cultural outreach, the *Anjuman* effectively promoted the message of Islam in colonial India.

Countering Anti-Islam Propaganda

During the late nineteenth century many Hindu revival movement launched false propaganda against Islam. They portrayed Islam as the religion of barbarian that spread by sword. They criticized the concepts of female slaves, cow slaughtering, etc. in Islam. *Tableeghi jamaat* (preaching organization) of the Anjuman always remained in standing by position to foster replication to this false propagation of Islam.

Debate with the Ahmadiyya Movement

As discussed earlier Ahmadiyya movement was one of the greatest challenges for the Muslim of India. As Ghulam Ahmad initiated his movement in Punjab, he had to face severe response from the Anjuman. Every time a delegation of the Anjuman was ready to challenge the Ahmadiyya movement, wherever the preaching of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was reported, this delegation would reach the spot and invite him for discussion and instruct people to stay away from him (Hussain, 2014, p. 253).

Countering Proselytizing Activities of the Hindus

The Hindu revival movements like Shuddhi and Sangthan were very active in colonial India in the second decade of twentieth century. The new Muslims of Malkana of Agra were their soft targets. Anjuman I Khuddam al-Sufiyya sent first delegation to

Agra on May 21, 1923 to counter the proselytization Hindu organizations. The delegation of the Anjuman was led by the founder of it Pir Saiyyid Jamā'at Ali Shah, this delegation stayed in Agra until the abolition of the Shuddhi movement which ended with the murder of the Saraswati Shardhanand on 23 December 1926 (Hussain, 2014, p. 429).

Scholarships for Students

The Anjuman started a massive program to finance needy students. By offering educational scholarships, the Anjuman view it as a way to invest in the future of their community and beyond, endorsing social and intellectual growth. As a result, Muslim students who benefit from these scholarships not only receive monetary aid but also gain a sense of belonging and love for their religious community. The Anjuman visited the remote areas and convince the Muslim community to send their children to schools. in case of financial problems, they were advised to contact the *Anjuman* for financial support. Those who could not afford anything then those were brought to Alipur Saiyyedan, the head office of the Anjuman where a madrassah had been established in 1916 in which the facilities of residence and dining had been offered (Hussain, 2014, p. 361).

Statement of Income and Expenditures

There was no formal source to get calculated income. The followers of *Pir Jama'at* Ali Shah used to contribute as per their will. Nobody was asked to deposit single penny. He never demanded for fund for any good deed but it did not mean that people never supported him. Besides that, there is not exact estimate of expenditures of the processions of the *Anjuman*. Once a devotee asked how much money were spent on the

procession this time. *Pir* Jamā‘at Ali Shah replied; I did not spend calculatedly but excluding the crops of rice and wheat belonged to my home, there was twenty-five hundred rupee, which I had to pay to the shopkeeper of rice (Hussain, 2014, pp. 353-354). Elder son of *Pir* Jamā‘at Ali Shah named Muhammad Hussain was finance secretary of the Anjuman and he performed this duty honestly without taking any financial benefit from the Anjuman. The following is the list of the annual expenditure of the *madrasah* under Anjuman from 1916 to 1922 (Elahi, 1924, p. 12):

Year	Pay of Head-Teacher for one year	Pay of vice-head teacher for one year	Pay of Hafiz for one year	Pay of cook for one year	Per Student pocket money for four months	Total
1916	360		120	36	105	621
1917	360		120	36	105	621
1918	360	240	120	36	120	876
1919	360	240	120	36	108	864
1920	360	240	120	36	126	882
1921	360	240	120	36	120	900
1922	360	240	120	36	123	903

Madrassas

Various branches of Anjuman were established across the colonial India. As *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* came to know about any anti- Islam activity in any part of India, it spotted it and established branch of the Anjuman to encounter it. It is not possible to mention the names and areas of all branches but some prominent branches were following;

Pir Sayyed Wilayat Ali Shah was the first president of Gujrat branch. He was *khalifa* of *Pir* Jama'at Ali Shah. He laid the foundation of a *Naqshbandiyya Madrasah* in which he used to taught Quran and Islamic education. His son Ahmad shah also joined his father for this pious assignment. The responsibility of the arrangements of processions of this branch was assigned to Zia Ullah Nomani, *Khalifa* of elder son of *Pir* Jamaat Ali shah, who performed it very efficiently. Ferozabad town was specified for holding the processions of the Anjuman. Kunjah branch was formed by Dr. Allah Ditta, *khalifa* of *Pir* Jama'at Ali Shah. The annual meeting of the Branch used to be organized in a grand manner. After the death of Dr Allah Ditta, it was run by Captain Muhammad Amin.

The Kohat branch of the Anjuman had been started under the supervision of Sardar Khan and Syed Saeed Shah. Every Friday, *Yaran i Tareeqat* (the spiritual followers of *Pir* Jamaat Ali shah) used to arrange a meeting of *dhikr* (remembering the name of Allah collectively) at the house of Babu Ghulam Hussain. The Peshawar branch had been established by Hafiz Sultan Ahmed, *khalifa* (spiritually successor) of *Pir* Jamaat Ali Shah.

After the establishment of Rawalpindi branch of the Anjuman, Muhammad Shafi had been appointed the president of it. After the death of Muhammad Shafi, *Shaykh* Zain ul Aabidain and Dr. Muhammad Yaseen had been appointed president and vice-president of the branch respectively. After the death of *Sheikh* Zain ul Abidain, vice-president had been promoted on the office president. The weekly meeting of the branch used to be held at house of *Sheikh* Farhat Ali Shoq Saddiqi. The remarkable achievement of this branch was the republication of “*Barkaat Ali puri*” (Hussain, 2014, p. 358).

Mawlvi Qutabuddin, AbdulRehman and Haji Luqman used to run this branch collectively. An annual procession used to be held in which *Yaran i Tareeqat* across the country. *Pir* Jama’at Ali Shah along with his other family members used to participate in this procession. The services of residence and meal to the participants of processions were provided in best way as per existing resources (Hussain, 2014, p. 358). Atta Muhammad and Haji Allah Wadhaya had run the branch of Loyalpur (Faisalabad). The meeting for *dhikr* was not fix at single house but followers of *Pir* Jama’at Ali Shah made a turn system and every Friday it was arranged by different followers at their houses. Sheikh Hussain Bakhsh, Ghulam Nabi Khan and Hafiz Abdul Latif, held the office of president of Sialkot respectively.

The branch of the Ajuman of Karachi was managed by Noor Muhammad, after his demise *Bakhshi* Mustafa Ali Muhajir Madni *khalifa* of *Pir* Jama’at Ali Shah held the office of president. Later on, Mawlana Haji Hamid Hassan Qadri ran it and Zakir Ali was working as president of the branch of the Anjuman nowadays. The remarkable achievement of this branch is, its meeting of *dhikr* on daily basis.

Lahore was the capital of Punjab and center of all religions--- Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Sikhism, therefore dozen of the branches of the Anjuman was established in it to accomplish the necessity of circumstances. *Hakim* Mubarak Ahmad (khalifa of *Pir Jama'at* Ali Shah), *Haji* Ghulam Jilani and Sufi Mushtaq were grand guardians of all the branches of Lahore. Timetable of all processions in Lahore used to be issued by this body of the branches of Lahore (Hussain, 2014, p. 359).

The branches of Multan had been presided by *Hafiz* Saddique Anwar and Wali Muhammad. Both were *khalifa* of *Pir Jama,at* Ali Shah. The Branches of Anjuman I Khuddam I Sufiyya of Amritsar, Jalandhar, Banglore, Maysore, Hyderabad, Ahmadabad, Muradabad were presided by Ahmad shah, Munshi Behlol, Bakhshi Mustafa Ali Khan, Mehbub Peer'an, *Qari* Shahabuddin, Mawlvi Muhammad Khoob and *Haji* Muhammad Tahir respectively (Hussain, 2014, p. 362).

The Mouthpiece of the *Anjuman*—The Magazine “*Anwar al-Sufiyya*”

Central *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* launched a magazine in 1904 with the title of, “*Anwar al-Sufiyya*” (Elahi, 1924, p. 6). The first editor of the magazine was Mawlvi Hassam ud-Din of Qila Sobha Singh; Mawlvi Muhammad Azeem Lahori followed him. The third editor of the magazine was Mawlvi Imam ud-Din Roypuri, *khalifa* of *Pir Jama'at* Ali Shah. *Haji* Karam Elahi performed the duties of editor and general secretary of the Anjuman simultaneously. He was first general secretary of the Anjuman and fourth editor of the Magazine. Mawlvi Ghulam Rasool was fifth editor as per information of written history (Hussain, 2014, p. 360).

In the commencement of the publication of the Magazine, office was established in Lohari Mundi Lahore. But later on, its office had been shifted to Kashmiri Mohalla, Sialkot, at the house of Master Karam Elahi, fourth editor of the Magazine and general secretary of the Anjuman. After the death of Master Karam Elahi, once again its office had been shifted to Kot Usman Khan, Qasur (Hussain, 2014, p. 360).

Pir Jama'at Ali Shah offered to pay all the expenditures of the first edition of the Magazine voluntarily and asked *Yaran i tareeqat* (companions of sufism) to pay every one of them for the single edition so that in the initial year it could be published and distributed free of cost. All the companions responded positively and in the first year of the publication of this magazine it was distributed without any charges (Hussain, 2014, p. 359).

The major themes of *Risalah*, “*Anwar al-Sufiyya*” were; Islam, Sufism, lives of the Sufis, services of the Sufis regarding Islam, essays of *ulema* on Islam and *malfuzat* of Pir Jama'at Ali. The main objective of the publication of this magazine was to make people aware with the current scenario of that time and invoked the spirit of Islam to counter Christianity, Hinduism and Ahmadiyya movement. Therefore, this magazine used to be especially distributed in such areas where above mention anti Islam activities had been taking place effectively (Hussain, 2014, pp. 360-361). This magazine played a crucial role in countering the propaganda of Christianity, Wahhabism, Hinduism and Ahmadiyya ideology and highlighted the true spirit of Islam.

Some other magazines were published from different braches of the Anjuman but could not survive for a long time. “*Risalah i Muballigh*” a monthly magazine had been

started by Mawlvi Ghulam Rasul Gohar from Qasur branch of the Anjuman but after couple of years it could not carry on (Hussain, 2014, p. 359). Sialkot branch launched a magazine with the title of, “*Risalah I Lamhat ul-Sufiyya*” another monthly magazine, under the supervision of Abdul Aziz and it was closed with the death of Abdul Aziz. A weekly magazine named, “*Al-fiqqiyya*” was launched by Amritsar branch of the Anjuman under the presidency of *Hakim* Miraj ud Din and it got closed with death of *Hakim*. Another magazine was published on the name of *Pir* Jama’at Ali Shah, “*Jama’at*” from Amritsar but after few months it could not survive further (Hussain, 2014, p. 360). Two more magazines were published on the special recommendation of *Pir* Jama’at Ali Shah; these magazines exhibited his love and respect for his elders in the *Naqshbandiyya* order. First magazine was published to pay tribute to Hazrat Bahauddin Naqshband with the title of “*Al-takshaf un Mohimmat al-tassawwuf Aneea al-talibeen*” (saying of Hazrat Bahauddin Naqshband) and second was “*Rafiq al-salikeen*” (saying of Hazrat Mir Kalal) (Hussain, 2014, pp. 360-361).

Conclusion

In India, the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, Muslims of India were in dire need of leadership for their revival of religious and spiritual tradition and betterment of social and political conditions. The Muslim community of Punjab was hijacked not only socially, politically but religiously as well. The Christian missionaries started to proselytizing the Hindu and Muslims communities to Christianity. This action generated a reaction in the form of revival movements in India especially in Punjab. *Arya Samaj* which was formed in the response of Christin missionaries flourished more rapidly in

Punjab than any other place, created more fears for the Muslim community of Punjab. At the same time, Ahmadiyya ideology posed a new challenge for the Muslims of Punjab.

Pir Jamā'at Ali Shah was one of the towering figures of this period who played a significant role in this respect of reviving Islamic religious and spiritual traditions and working for the political, social betterment of the Muslims. His *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya*, was a unique organization in that period of Muslims in India that contributed greatly for the educational, social and political good of the Muslims. This organization challenged Ahmadiyya movement that professed threat to Muslim identity and threat to the religious understanding and practices of Islam. Also, the Hindu through their *Arya Samaj*, *Shuddi* and *Sanghatan* movement tried to corrupt Muslim religion and tried to wipe out Islam from India. *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* established religious and educational institutions in India especially in Punjab for clear and better understanding for Muslims and to counter the propaganda of Hindus. The purpose of establishing branches of *Anjuman i Khuddam al-Sufiyya* in many cities was to propagate spiritual vision of Islam which gave solace and help to the Muslims during those very difficult times for the Muslim community in India.

References;

- Stewart, N. (1951). Divide and Rule: British Policy in Indian History. *Science and Society*, 15 (1).
- Ed-Din, A. B. (2008). *The Nature and Origin of Sufism*”, in *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*. (S. H. Nasr, Ed.) London: Routledge.
- Rahman, F. (1979). *Islam* . Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mishra, R. K. (2019). Islam in India and the Rise of Wahhabism. *India International Center Quarterly*, 46 (2).
- Salame, G. (1987). Islam and Politics in Saudi Arabia. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 9(3).
- Ahmed, Q. (2020). *The Wahhabi Movement in India* . Abingdon: Routledge.
- Anjum, T. (2011). *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, A. A. (1997). Process of Conversion to Christianity in Nineteenth Century North-Western India. In G. A. Oddie , *Religious Conversion Movements in South Asia*. Cornwall: Curzon.
- Robinson, R. (2011). Modes of Conversion to Islam. In R. Clarke, *Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivations, and Meanings*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Talbot, I. (2000). *India and Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press .
- Naumani, M. A. (2005). *Hazrat Shah Ismail Shahid aur Ahl I Biddat kay Ilzam*. Lucknow: Kagori Office Press.
- Aziz, K. (1992). *Public Life in Muslim India 1850-1947*. Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd.

- Metcalf, B. D. (1982). *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Nizami, M. A. (2017). *Reform and Renewal in South Asian Islam*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Khalid, M. A. (2011). *Jama'at ka Taaruf*. Rabwa: Zia ul Islam Press.
- Maududi, S. A. (1998). *Qadyani Masla aur Is Kay Mazhabbi, Syasi aur Moa'sharti Pehlu*. Lahore: Islamic Publications.
- Barrier, N. G. (1967, May). The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 26(3).
- Dua, V. (1970, October 24). Arya Samaj and Punjab Politics. *Economics and Politics Weekly*, 5(43/44), 1787.
- Sikand, Y. (2003). Arya, Shuddhi and Muslim Tabligh. In R. Robinson, *Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivation and Meanings*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Elahi, M. M. (1924). *Rudad I Anjuman I Khuddam I Suffiya*. Lahore: Gulzar I Hind Steam Press.
- Hussain, S. A. (2014). *Sirat i Amir i Millat*. Karachi: Maktaba Faridi.
- Shah, S. H. (2008). *Tazkirah i Shah Jama'at*. Lahore: Jama'atiyya Haidariyya Publishers.
- Knysh, A. (2017). *Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Melchert, C. (2015). *Origins and Early Sufism*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*. (L. Ridgeon, Ed.) New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gilmartin, D. (1979). Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab.

Modern Asian Studies, 13(3), 510.

Malik, M. K. (n.d.). Shahidganj Mosque Issue and the Muslims Response: 1935-1936.

Pakistan Vision, 12(1).

Elahi, M. M. (1924). *Rudad i Anjuman i Khuddam i Suffiyya*. Lahore: Gulzar I Hind

Steam Press.

Portrayal of Qawwali in Asian Cinema: Comparative Analysis of Bollywood and Lollywood Movies

Aqdas Ali Qureshi Hashmi, Ph.D. Scholar

Department of Media and Communication Studies,

International Islamic University Islamabad

Email: aqdas.phdmc47@student.iiu.edu.pk

Abstract

This research consists of examining Qawwali in Bollywood and Lollywood movies. Research studies the evolutionary journey of Qawwali in Bollywood and Lollywood and examines the similarities and differences in the presentation of Qawwali in these two cinemas. For this purpose, Qawwalis have been taken from both the cinemas. The formed frames and their sub-indicators have been analyzed by the method of content analysis and it has been observed since then what changes have taken place at the level of presentation, poetry and musical instruments in Qawwali. Meaning theory of media portrayal is integrated with the research. After examining the frames and their respective indicators from the Qawwalis of the both cinema, the research concludes that Indian movies continue to inculcate the music genre Qawwali, while Pakistani movies do not, due to a lack of priorities, cultural reluctance and innovation in the industry.

Keywords:

Qawwali, Performing Arts, Media and Meanings, Bollywood, Lollywood

Introduction

In the Indian subcontinent as well as all over the world, *Qawwali* art is extremely valuable. Originating from the Arabic word "Qaul," which means "to speak" or "to narrate," is the word *Qawwali* (Kugle, 2007). *Qawwali* thus alludes to a phrase that is repeated constantly. But in India and the subcontinent, the word "*Qawwali*" started to refer to a particular kind of music. The following was pointed out by Gaiind-Krishnan (2020) in his paper "*Qawwali* Routes: Notes on Sufi Music's Transformation in Diaspora":

Songs of a particular style known as Qawwalis are recited in praise of Allah, the Prophet (SAWW), Sufism, and the Saints' Manqabat. Music is required for this; without musical instruments, it is unmanageable to sing this genus".

Sufi shrines in this region have long been centers of *Qawwali* practice. *Samaa* ceremonies were prevalent even before that, and it was customary for some religious scholars to oppose and consider music to be un-Islamic. However, it is believed to have originated from *Hazrat Amir Khosrow*, a special disciple of *Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya*, a well-known Sufi, poet, and musician of his time. Memoirs of the subcontinent's *Chishti Mashaikhs* specifically mention *Mehfil e Samaa* (Newell, 2007).

Music can also be heard in the region from the old religious texts. Here, "*Bhajan*" featured music. Renowned Indian musician Tan Sen, a *ratana* (jewel) of Akbar, learned music from the renowned Sufi *Hazrat Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliori* of Gwalior while growing up in his monastery. Qureshi (2003) states that Tan Sen's tomb remains beside

him even now. Such occasions suffice to demonstrate the Sufis in this area had a particular love for music and contributed significantly to national music, particularly *Qawwali*. Its invention and popularity are due to Sufis. Sufis from Central Asia are also particularly interested in music and even before their arrival in India, they had a passion for music.

There are a large number of such *Qawwalis* whose popularity is beyond the confines of time and space. Over time, Qawwali gained so much popularity that it was sung at public gatherings and dispersed from shrines to the general public. It was now widely used by the general public and was no longer only found in monasteries and shrines (Hodgson, 2013). It has become a trend to include music in different forms in movies; *Qawwali* became the part of movies after the arrival of cinema.

Literature Review

Qawwali is a popular music genre of the Indian subcontinent which has become globalized over time. There have been many research studies on *Qawwali* in which its various aspects have been comprehended. No work has come up regarding the presentation of *Qawwali* in movies. The purpose of this paper is to look at the presentation of *Qawwali* in movies.

In movies, *Qawwali* subjects have been diverse, ranging from romantic themes to religious demonstrations, including *Hamd, Naat, and Manaqib*. The genre experienced a resurgence in the 2000s with the success of artists like *Sabri Brothers, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan* and *AR Rehman*. *Filmi Qawwalis*, as a subgenre, not only preserves the centuries-old Sufi heritage but also present it in a modern, popular, and secular light. *Qawwali's* journey from Sufi shrines to global recognition, its integration into cinema, and its ability

to transcend linguistic and cultural barriers underscore its enduring significance in the world of music and culture (Rao, 2007). Below is a review of a few studies that have looked at *Qawwali* from different contexts.

Sarrazin (2013) asserts, “Unlike the traditional *Qawwali*, the film version is considered to possess the twin effects of entertainment and religious evocation”. This is featured in A. R. Rahman's "*Arziyan*," which was included in the 2009 film *Delhi-6*. "*Arziyan*" combines true *Sufi* themes found in traditional *Qawwali* with contemporary aspects seen in filmi *Qawwali*. While the song's text is not directly based on a traditional *Sufi* poem, it is thematically similar. The singer's love for the Lord is expressed via the spiritual lyrics. The phrase *maula*, which means Lord or Master in Arabic, is repeated and emphasized to produce repeated supplication and appeal to the divine.

Viitamäki (2011) explored the aesthetics of *Qawwali* lyrics. He terms it as a wine which has intoxicating impact on the listeners. Furthermore, he postulates that this wine has been brought from Medina because Muslim community has a deep association with Medina as it has a special significance for them. The paper is significant in the sense that it has explored the influence of various progresses on *Qawwali* lines through the analysis of wine similes and the transformation it has been undergoing. The impact of wine is metaphoric which in other words conveys metaphoric and implied meaning in religious context. The author indicates that the message disseminated in the *Qawwali* lyrics is conveyed through implicature. This is the key distinction between the general sense of wine intoxication and the intoxication implied in a *Qawwali* lyrics.

Another study conducted by Rajan (2018) defines the women's status in Sufism and especially in practicing *Qawwali* According to Islam's concept of woman and gender

classification and regarding the presence and participation of women at shrines. According to this Sufism provides an agency for women to work within traditional places of formal performance according to their spiritual motivations. However, the agency turns dialectical when it depicts slavery. Despite portraying women as both pious and spiritually authoritative, Qawwali performances are depriving them of their agency. This study mainly looks at the representation of women in the shrines and in the voices of *Qawwali*.

The famous *Qawwali* "*Khawaja Ka Deewana*," which was performed by the Sabri Brothers, Haji Ghulam Farid Sabri (1930–1994) and Haji Maqbool Ahmed, was translated in another study by Dywer (2017) and was titled "I'm crazy about the Lord." Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer is the "Lord" mentioned herein. Referred to as the "lover of the poor" or "*Gharib Nawaz*" Though they may offer their blessing or spiritual power, those who support poverty have a blinding suspicion of the poor and sick. How frequently he appears in Indian films and how he fulfills the role of a devotee in non-Islamic films is astounding. There is a mention of the Khwaja and his shrine visits by almost all Muslim devotees, including the well-known "*Khawaja Ka Deewana*," which *Qawwali* dedicated. For that reason, this study discusses the symbolic use of *Qawwali*, how the emotions of the devotees are stimulated by making certain sentences a part of *Qawwali*.

All the above cited works indicate that *Qawwali* has been focused upon in various dimensions but changes in the form, function and content of *Qawwali* in Bollywood and Lollywood have not been explored cross-culturally.

Theoretical Framework

According to Arvidsson (2006) Melvin DeFleur and Timothy Plax proposed the Meaning Theory of Media Portrayal theory. In 1980, DeFleur and Plax collaborated on a study paper titled "Human Communication as a Bio-Social Process," which they presented at the International Communication Association in Acapulco, Mexico. They have made significant contributions to the communications sector. The meaning theory of communication, which was created by Timothy Plax and Defleur, addresses how messages are influenced by the media and how this affects social behavior. Interpreting meanings is done through communication. People develop, interpret, and hold onto a sense of meaning through media content. Individuals interpret information from the media according to their own sense of meaning. Media content is created based on messages and is subsequently understood within those messages. The audience should be able to accurately perceive whatever content is presented through media (Lovejoy et al., 2014).

Lomborg (2015) while arguing about meaning in media postulates that the link between readers/viewers/listeners and the message is referred to as meaning in communication terminology. This theory holds that human behavior is a product of inner understandings. The way a person interprets symbols, pictures, or events they see in the media shapes their understanding, and this process can only take place when there are common cultural understandings of the material presented in the media. Our meanings are shaped, altered, and stabilized as a result of our engagement in a range of communication processes. The media's content has the ability to mold meaning and develop comparable meanings among vast groups of people.

The media creates meanings and connotations in a special presentation of various forms, symbols and objects. The fine arts certainly have symbols, codes, gestures, implications within them which are transmitting meaning to the hearts and minds of the viewers according to their perception (Hadley, 2017). Movies also use various forms of art like painting, dance, music, and poetry to convey certain meanings. The repetition of poetry in *Qawwali* and the presentation of specific concepts to the audience in the form of *Qawwali* is also a process of conveying a specific meaning. Therefore, the same theory has been applied in this research.

This is guided through the following research questions;

- How *Qawwali* is portrayed in Bollywood and Lollywood Movies?
- What commonalities and differences are found on the basis of visuals and lyrics in the portrayal of *Qawwali* in Bollywood and Lollywood Movies?

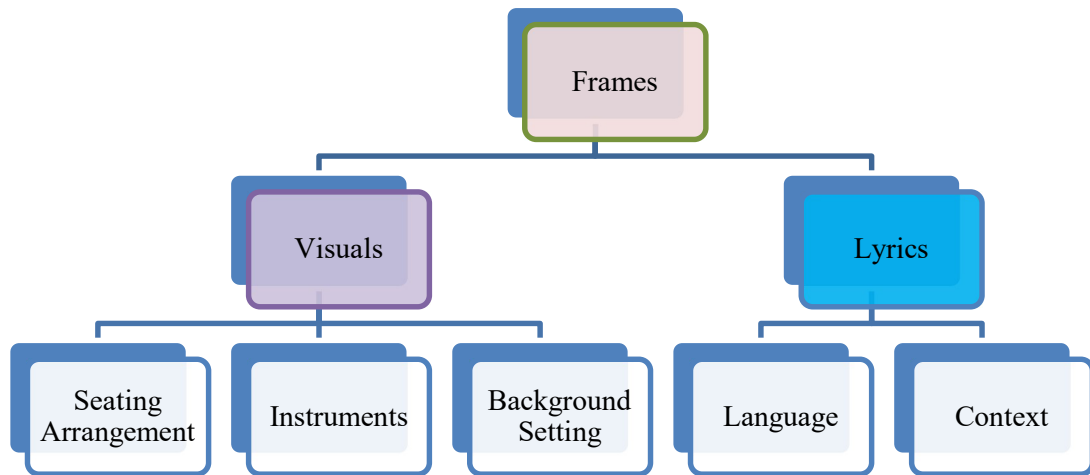
Method and Material

The researcher employed a qualitative method based on content analysis to evaluate and draw conclusions from the obtained sample. In modern research, the content analysis technique is extensively employed when examining data acquired from the media and political process. So the researcher have adopted qualitative content analysis and desired to explain descriptively beyond the numbers. In this regard thematic analysis is being applied for examination of the established frames and their respective indicators.

After watching the *Qawwalis*, two frames namely “Visuals and lyrics” are identified. Three and two indicators are found for each frame i.e. seating arrangement,

instruments, background setting, language and context respectively. So these are the units of analysis for this study.

Figure 1: Units of Analysis in the Frames of Qawwali



Research studies the evolutionary journey of *Qawwali* over the last five decades in Bollywood and Lollywood. It examines the similarities and differences in the presentation of *Qawwali* in these two cinemas. For this purpose, ten *Qawwalis* have been taken from both the cinemas.

Table 1: List of 10 Qawwalis in Last five Decades

Cinema				
Bollywood			Lollywood	
S.No	Movie Name & Year	Qawwali Name	Movie Name	Qawwali Name
1	<i>Adhikar (1971)</i>	<i>Jeena to hai usi ka</i>	<i>Nasheman</i>	<i>Ab chor k dar</i>

			(1976)	<i>tera</i>
2	<i>Kachy dhaagy</i> (1999)	<i>Is shan e karam ka</i>	<i>Badmash thug</i> (1991)	<i>Meri touba touba</i>
3	<i>Ye dill ashqana</i> (2002)	<i>Allah Allah tarif</i> <i>teri</i>	<i>Main ne pyar</i> <i>kia</i> (1995)	<i>Akhiyann nu shok</i> <i>deedar da</i>
4	<i>Veer</i> <i>zaara</i> (2004)	<i>Aya tere dar par</i> <i>deevana</i>	<i>Jannat ki talash</i> (1999)	<i>Othy jaa k mur na</i> <i>awan</i>
5	<i>Bajrangi</i> <i>Bhaijaan</i> (2015)	<i>Bhar do jholi meri</i>	<i>Alamdard</i> (2017)	<i>Tere alam to na</i> <i>Ghazi</i>

Purposive Non-probability sampling is used to select movies in this study. The reason behind taking this technique is this study being qualitative and the need to select those specific movies which contained *Qawwalis*. Data was collected from Bolly and Lollywood movies which was approached from digital website that is YouTube. There are many other movies in which *Qawwali* music is included but the main reason for taking these five movies from each cinema as a sample is that these movies contained *Qawwalis* that are well acknowledged in terms of their ratings and music production.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of *Qawwalis* from Bollywood movies reveals a rich tapestry of cultural and thematic diversity. The study is organized into two main components: Visuals and Lyrics. The Visuals are further categorized into seating arrangement, instruments, and background setting, while lyrics are examined in terms of language and

context. The detailed examination of specific *Qawwalis* from various movies showcases the dynamic nature of this musical tradition. Each *Qawwali* is a unique artistic expression, encompassing distinct seating arrangements, instrumentations, background settings, languages, and contextual themes. From the celebratory atmosphere of a child's birthday party in "*Jeena to hai usi ka*" to the spiritual ambiance of a shrine in "*Aya tere dar par deevana*," the *Qawwalis* span a wide range of settings and emotions.

Furthermore, the lyrical content reflects the societal and philosophical contexts of the respective films. Themes of love, social relations, spirituality, and human emotions are eloquently portrayed in Urdu and Punjabi languages, enhancing the depth and resonance of each *Qawwali*. In essence, the exploration underscores the cultural significance of *Qawwalis* in the cinematic realm, illustrating their ability to convey diverse emotions, messages, and cultural nuances. Through the examination of these *Qawwalis*, one gains insight into the intricate interplay of music, visuals, and language, contributing to the rich artistic heritage of Bollywood cinema.

The exploration of *Qawwalis* from Lollywood movies unravels a captivating mosaic of cultural and thematic diversity, echoing the rich heritage of Pakistani cinema. This analysis is structured around two key components: Visuals and Lyrics, delving into the intricate details of each *Qawwali's* unique presentation. The Visuals of these *Qawwalis* showcase a variety of settings, from the vibrant ambiance of a private gathering in "*Ab chor k dar tera*" to the spiritual solemnity of a Sufi shrine in "*Meri touba touba*." Each *Qawwali's* seating arrangement, instruments, and background setting contribute to its distinct character, reflecting the cultural nuances embedded in the narratives of the respective movies.

Examining the Lyrics unveils the poetic richness and thematic essence of these *Qawwalis*. Whether expressing spiritual devotion, praising the Prophet Mohammad SAWW, or narrating tales of love and repentance, the *Qawwalis* traverse a spectrum of emotions and cultural contexts. The linguistic diversity, with *Qawwalis* presented in Punjabi and Urdu, adds depth to their cultural resonance.

From the competitive and humorous tone of "*Akhiyan nu shok deedar da*" to the spiritual depth of "*Othy jaa k mur na awan*," each *Qawwali* contributes to the narrative fabric of its film. The contextual significance, whether within a jail setting or the sacred environs of a shrine, further enhances the cultural and emotional impact of these musical expressions. In essence, the *Qawwalis* from Lollywood movies exemplify the vibrant tapestry of Pakistani cinematic artistry, offering a unique lens into the cultural, spiritual, and emotional dimensions embedded in the nation's storytelling tradition. Through the interplay of music, visuals, and language, these *Qawwalis* contribute significantly to the cultural heritage of Pakistan, captivating audiences with their diverse narratives and emotional resonance.

Conclusion

A comprehensive exploration of *Qawwali* in both Indian and Pakistani cinemas divulges a nuanced distinction in their treatment of this musical genre. In Indian movies, *Qawwali* is accorded a level playing field among other musical genres, receiving meticulous attention to presentation, incorporating both traditional and modern instruments through advanced editing techniques. This underscores the recognition of *Qawwali* as a vital expression of culture, emotions, and narrative elements within the Indian cinematic landscape. The investigation brings to light the integration of *Qawwali*

as a regular musical track in Indian films, produced in contemporary studios with the infusion of modern instruments. This practice reflects a deliberate effort to position *Qawwali* on par with other song genres, emphasizing its cultural significance and adaptability to evolving musical landscapes.

On the contrary, Pakistani films, until the nineties, predominantly portrayed *qawwali* in a more traditional light. The depiction often adhered to conventional settings, with *qawwali* performances captured in the customary manner using traditional instruments. Unlike the Indian counterpart, Pakistani cinema has historically showcased *qawwali* in a more traditional and unaltered form, preserving its authenticity as an integral part of the cultural and cinematic heritage. In essence, while Indian cinema embraces *qawwali* as a dynamic and evolving genre, seamlessly integrating it into the contemporary music scene, Pakistani cinema has, to a large extent, maintained a traditional approach, valuing *qawwali* for its historical and cultural roots. This comparative analysis underscores the diverse cinematic interpretations of *qawwali*, reflecting the distinct cultural contexts and cinematic practices of these two nations.

Recommendations

1. *Qawwali* is an ancient, significant, positive and credible reference to the subcontinent that represents the religious, cultural and spiritual aspects of the region throughout the world. Its use as a genre of music in movies is very important and necessary because movies are reflecting different issues of any country in the world. Therefore, filmmakers should give it a prominent place in the movie.

2. Researchers in the media sciences need to be aware of different areas of the arts, including music, as the performing arts are part of the media, thus expanding the scope of research in the media sciences.

3. Such literary and cultural research should come to the fore so that artists and performers also know what is the social significance of these genres, especially *Qawwali*, as well as its importance in research and writing so that they can take this art in a better way in the future and to create innovation and rarity in it.

4. The media sciences departments of the universities should also play their role in promoting such research among the students so that the cultural beauty of the country is maintained, and the quality of research may be raised.

References

- Arvidsson, A. (2006). *Brands: Meaning and value in media culture*. Psychology Press.
- Dwyer, R. (2017). I am crazy about the Lord: The Muslim devotional genre in Hindi film. In *Cinema in Muslim Societies* (pp. 136-147). Routledge.
- Gaind-Krishnan, S. (2020). Qawwali Routes: Notes on a Sufi Music's Transformation in Diaspora. *Religions*, 11(12), 685.
- Hadley, B. (2017). *Theatre, social media, and meaning making*. Springer.
- Hodgson, T. E. (2013). Multicultural harmony? Pakistani Muslims and music in Bradford. *Music, Culture and Identity in the Muslim World: Performance, Politics and Piety*, p. 200.
- Jena, M. K. (2019). Ritual and Music: A sociological analysis of the dimensions of Qawwali.
- Kugle, S. (2007). Qawwali between written poem and sung lyric, or... How a Ghazal lives. *Muslim World-Hartford Then Oxford-*, 97(4), 571.
- Lovejoy, M., Vesna, V., & Paul, C. (2011). *Context providers: Conditions of meaning in media arts*. Intellect.
- Lomborg, S. (2015). "Meaning" in social media. *Social Media+ Society*, 1(1), 2056305115578673.
- Newell, J. R. (2007). *Experiencing Qawwali: Sound as Spiritual Power in Sufi India* (Doctoral dissertation).

- Qureshi, R. (2003). Lineage, shrine, qawwali, and study circle: Spiritual kinship in transnational Sufism. *Religious Studies and Theology*, 22(1), 63.
- Rao, S. (2007). The globalization of Bollywood: An ethnography of non-elite audiences in India. *The Communication Review*, 10(1), 57-76.
- Rajan, B. (2018). Gendered Sufi music: Mapping female voices in Qawwali performance from Bollywood to YouTube channels.
- Sarrazin, N. (2013). Devotion Or Pleasure?: Music and Meaning in the Celluloid Performances of Qawwali in South Asia and the Diaspora. In *Music, Culture and Identity in the Muslim World* (pp. 178-199). Routledge.
- Viitamäki, M. (2011). New Wine from Medina: Aesthetics of popular Qawwali lyrics. *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 111, 393-406.

Historical Sketch of Saint Thomas in Taxila

Wajid Bhatti

Lecturer, Department of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore

Email: wajid.arch@pu.edu.pk

Abstract

Taxila was ruled by various political dynasties like Achaemenians, Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Mauryans, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Sassanians, and White Huns. During the Parthian rule, St. Thomas visited Taxila. As a faithful disciple of Jesus Christ, he sowed the seed of Christianity in Taxila. After the ascension of Jesus Christ, the Disciples of Christ dispersed all around the world, and St. Thomas selected the Indian region to spread the Gospel. The whole story of St. Thomas is based on Gnostic record "Acts of Thomas" and few sources of Synoptic records. All these records narrate his visit in South India and North-West India (Pakistan). He was sold by Habban, a foreign trader around 52 CE. He moved to Mailepuram (Mylapore) and then to Taxila. After preaching in Taxila he moved to China. He converted many prominent rulers among was Gondophares, the king of Taxila and his brother Gad. The research aims (a) to trace and identify the vestiges of St. Thomas' presence in Taxila. (b) to add some historical evidence in Eastern & Western Church history (c) to fill gaps in early Christian history of Pakistan. Historical evidences has revealed the Jewish settlement which existed long before St. Thomas' visit in Taxila.

Keywords:

Saint Thomas, Christianity, Gandhara, Taxila, Apocryphal Literature, Apocalypse.

Introduction

Since the first appearance of Gandhara *Rig Veda* denoting a certain geographical unit, it has been a subject of controversy as to what part of South Asia it precisely refers to. Chinese travellers identified Peshawar Valley and Gandhara, which is made up of two words, “Gand” and “hara” which are translated as scent or fragrance and land (Qureshi, 2003, p. 12). Persian inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis and *Naksh-e-Rustam* also include Gandhara (Gadra) in the list of Persian satrapies. In the *Vedic* and *Puranic* Literature, Gandhara is as often as possible alluded as "Uttara" (northern) nation, possessed by *Gandharavas* (Rapson, 1955, p. 26). Moreover, *Kien-to-lo* is also identified as Gandhara by the Chinese Pilgrim (Cunningham, 2002). The estimation of its limits is anyway out of the blue portrayed just by Xuan Zang. In a similar vein, the country of Kien-to-lo spanned approximately 1000 li from east to west and 800 li from north to west. It appears that the term Gandhara isn't bizarre in the locale as there are different names following a similar example. These are *Nagarahara*, *Pothohara*, *Vanahara* and *Nirahara* etc. The origin of the names ascribed to these regions requires investigation and explanation. The suitable answer could be sought in the geographical characteristics of each region. *Nagarahara*, also termed Na-kie-lo-ho, which translates to “land marked by a city,” has lent its name to the encompassing area.

The plain terrain to the east of the Indus River seems to have acquired its name owing to its mound-like topography. Indeed, the word Potho is a *Prakrit* rendition of the word *Pusht*, signifying ‘back.’ Given that this area is situated at the rear of elevated hills, it logically earned the designation ‘*Pothohara*,’ denoting ‘the land at the back.’ The instance of categorization is observed even south of the Salt Range, where a vast area is

still identified as '*Vanahara*', meaning 'woodland', and the region at the back of Margalla (particularly Mar Qila) is known as *Nihara*, indicating a land distinguished by the presence of a river or rivers. Hence, it looks evident that each of these regions derived its name based on the geographical characteristics of the land it portrays. If the term Gandhara had been exclusively associated with the Buddhist era, its supposed meaning (suggesting fragrance) would indeed be practical. While one could easily discover a connection to the spiritual essence of Buddhism, the name predates the Buddhist period and was first cited in the *Rig Veda* approximately one thousand years prior to the advent of Buddhism. The engraving originating from Hamdan discards Gandhara and specifies just the name of 'Hindu' Satrapy Achaemenian Empire (Qureshi, 2003, p. 29). It is possible that the execution of Hamadan epigraph Ganj Nameh resulted in the entire Sindhu Valley, including Gandhara, being collectively addressed to by the title 'Hindu as the Achaemenian Satrapy.

The Achaemenians ruled over Gandhara for about two centuries, but with the exception of a few scattered mentions, that long period of dominance is nowhere recorded. Various political dynasties played an important role in Gandhara, like Achaemenians, Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Mauryans, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Sassanians, White Huns, also known as Ephthalites, Trukh Shahis, and Ghaznavi Period have additionally assumed a vital part in the political history of Gandhara (Qureshi, 2003, p. 24). Sometimes the Peshawar valley and Taxila are collectively known to be Gandhara; even the Swat valley was also included in it. The heart of Gandhara was Peshawar valley. The kingdom of Gandhara was ruled from many capitals such as *Pushkalavati* (Charsada), Taxila *Takshashila* or *Takashila* (Qureshi, 2003, p. 15), *Purushapura*

(Peshawar) and its final days from *Udabhandapura* (Hund) on the Indus. In early Buddhist literature, particularly in the *Jatakas*, Taxila is as often as possible said as a college focus where understudies could get direction in any subject whether religious or common, from Vedas to arithmetic and solution, even to soothsaying and arrow based weaponry. This pre-distinction of the city as a seat of scholastic and useful education was a result of her geological position at the north-western portal of the sub-landmass. Students travelled to Taxila to undergo education in the three Vedas and the eighteen *Silpa*.

Acts of Saint Thomas informs us regarding the historical backdrop of Saint Thomas in India around 52 CE with Habban a remote broker. He arrived at Maliankara (Cranganore) in Kerala where he lectured the Gospel, fashioned supernatural occurrences and changed over numerous. At that point, he moved to Mailepuram (Mylapore), and after that, went to China at some point, he came back to Maliankara and moved to Madaras again, where he spent the rest of his time on earth in educating, lecturing, and drawing a substantial number of mistreated and the smothered into his crease. Saint Thomas accomplished numerous miracles, and the local king, Lord Mahadeva, provided him a location along the coast, which is now the site of the old Church of Mylapore. His conversion exercises enraged the universal, and opponents from their rank vowed to finish him. Saint Thomas hid himself in a cave near the current St. Thomas Mount (approximately five kilometers from Mylapore). Then moved to North-West India (Modern day Pakistan) and preached there at Taxila. Finally, he moved back to Mylapore, where he was killed by those enemies. His remains were shifted to Mylapore and interred in 73 CE at a location that remained obscure to several centuries.

Demonstration of Saint Thomas was found in 1822 in Syria, the book recounted how St. Thomas having been relegated by Christ to spread the Gospel to Indians, touched base by vessel in the capital of King Gondophares. This Act of Saint Thomas is basically a Gnostic (gnosis in Greek) source according to Christian Theologians.

These Gnostics were followers of a variety of religious innovations in the early Christian centuries that concentrated on the idea that individuals could be saved by mystery understanding. Gnostic conviction is based on stark dualism. Until the nineteenth century, our understanding of Gnostics was based on the written work of Christians such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, Tertullian, and Epliphanius. Many academics have written that progress was being made at the time. From the beginning, distinctions were formed between real and fraudulent versions of the Christian message. Although there are different theories regarding the visit of Saint Thomas to India and agreements and disagreements both are fond on this issue of his visit to India. (Marshall, 2016, p. 14)

Saint Thomas (Disciple of Jesus Christ)

St. Thomas, as mentioned in the Bible, is counted among the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ. As indicated by Eusebius his genuine name was Judas yet it is mistaken for Thaddeus who is likewise specified in the concentrate, it is a probability that Thomas was his surname. The book of Acts and all four gospels mention him by Johnsubmitted, who gave him the active role and submitted his Greek name “Didymus,” and it is equivalent to his Hebrew name (John 11:16). The Biblical meaning of this name is “the twin” or “double.” According to church tradition with Thomas his sister was also born, her name was “Lydia” that is the reason why he was given name “Didymus” (Yad, 2007, p. 18). The Gnostic sources disclose that he had a place with Benjamin clan. He consumed a

large portion of his time on earth as Hermit close Antioch (close Syria) yet he was conceived in the Galilean city of Pansada. Professionally he was an angler (Yad, 2007, p. 22). The inventory of missionaries discloses to us that he is combined with Philip (Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). Church customs reveal to us that Saint Thomas established Christian places of worship in Palestine, Mesopotamia, Parthia, Ethiopia and India (Pliny, 2012, pp. 15-19). It is general acceptance among the Christians of Pakistan that Christianity reached to them in the first century through Saint Thomas, one of Jesus Christ's twelve disciples, also known as "doubting Thomas". There is a common belief that he initially came to Taxila in the Holy Land, deploying John Thomas as a Bishop, and later went to Kerala. In South India, Christians hold a strong tradition that Saint Thomas went there, constructed ancient churches called "Mar Thoma" or the Syrian Orthodox church, and was martyred by a Tamil King at St. Thomas mount near Chennai (Madras) (Yad, 2007, pp. 18-26).

Alexander John Malik, the Bishop of the Church of Pakistan, thinks that the river Sin, which runs 20 km north of Taxila and all the way to Karachi, is how he arrived in Taxila (Takshasila); he also thinks that this river is how Thomas arrived in the Taxila region. The cross of Saint Thomas, which is currently the Church of Pakistan's emblem since 1970, is said to be a relic from his time spent in Taxila. He was brought to the Indian subcontinent and sold into slavery by an Indian by the name of Habban. The apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, whose veracity was questioned by several academics, claims that the King was introduced to the mythical Gondophares in Taxila. The King governed the Indo-Parthian Dynasty beginning in 21 CE and lasted for at least 26 years. A few coins with the picture of Gondophares were found in Afghanistan by General

Alexander Cunningham, bringing historical accuracy to the fore. Another indication of Stupas' presence in Taxila is his cruciform foundation. There is another interesting belief among few Christians of Pakistan that the holy shroud of Turin was originally woven in Sindh and even the Bible also gives reference of this cloth, both the Old and New Testament also give references regarding this cloth. (Proverbs 31:24) and even Herodotus 5th century historian used the word "Sindon" for Shroud in his historical accounts, moreover Bishop William G. Yang writes in his book the original word of Hind was Sindh, Dr. F.S Khairullah explains in his work "Qamosul Kitab" that the Hebrew word "Hadad" gave shape to another word "Ando" in Persian which shifted in Sanskrit to "Sandhu" (Esther 1:1).

A few additional examples of his arrival may be found in Taxila, where Saint Thomas is credited with saving the locals from a natural calamity in the settlement known as "Karm Thoma." Moreover, there is another Islamic Sufi group in Sindh known as Thatta Nagar Fakirs who also practice Christian rites and possess a book claimed to be the Gospel of Matthew. This group of people call themselves "Barthamai (Sons of Thomas), many say these are the descendants of the church established by St. Thomas. According to another believed narrative, Melchior, one of the magi who brought the baby Jesus to Bethlehem, was a student at Takshashila University (Gaberial, 2007, pp. 17-18).

Saint Thomas in Taxila

It is very unfortunate that there is one scholar named Pierre Perrier who claimed in his research that Saint Thomas never visited Taxila, but he moved to China directly while preaching from the South of India (Perrier & Walter, 2008, pp. 15-100). Both Indian and Pakistani scholars agree on the visit of Thomas to Taxila. Indian researcher

Simon guarantees that Saint Thomas came to India in 52 CE with Habban, an outside broker. When he got to Maliankara (Cranganore), Kerala, he preached the gospel, worked miracles, and transformed a lot of people. He then travelled to Mailepuram (Mylapore), then to North-West (Takshashila), then to China, returned to Maliankara for a while, and then travelled back to Madras once more. There, he spent the remainder of his life teaching, giving lectures, and bringing a sizable number of the oppressed and abused into his overlap. After he worked miracles, the local lord Mahadeva offered him a location near the sea, where the ancient Mylapore Church now stands. His altercations aggravated the norm, and opponents of their caliber pledged to finish him. Thus, he took refuge in a cave near the current St. Thomas Mount near the Little Mount (about five km from Mylapore). Finally, he was slain by those formidable opponents at St. Thomas Mount. His body was conveyed to Mylapore and was covered in 73 CE at a spot which was overlooked for a long time.

Historians from Pakistan also agreed on visit of Thomas to Taxila, Yousef Jaleel agreed the visit of Thomas to Taxila. Baraktullah another clergy and Christian historian from Pakistan also agreed on visit of Thomas to Taxila (Barkat, 2010, pp. 50-59). Dr. Majeed Abel and Freda Carey also agreed on his visit to Taxila; not only historians but archaeologists also agreed on the visit of Thomas. Marshall is also among those who accord on the visit of Thomas (Marshall, 2016). Saifur Rahman another archaeologist form Pakistan agree on his visit to Taxila (Dar, 1983), Dr. Ahmed Hassan Dani (historian and an archaeologist) also concern on his visit to Taxila (Yad, 2007, p. 82).

Saint Thomas in Apocryphal Literature

It is also very important to discuss about the apocryphal literature regarding Saint Thomas.

Acts of Saint Thomas

The acts of Saint Thomas do abound in legends as is characteristic of any apocryphal literature. What is of interest to us in India are certain factors which touch upon our land and the mission of Saint Thomas here. The content of the Acts of Saint Thomas has these expressions of Thomas when India tumbled to his parcel: "*I am a Hebrew; how might I educate the Indians?*" It is evident that he came here to India around then. A second reassuring factor in the Acts of Thomas regarding the apostle mission in India is the mention in this narrative of one Gundaphar as the the King of India. It may set aside the very existence of the king by such name. Till the middle of the 19th century there was no sufficient historical evidence for him and he was considered legendary. On the other hand, Gondophares appears on a significant number of coins discovered in the provinces of Punjab in the west and south, as well as in Kabul and Kandahar. According to investigations made by scholars one may reasonably say that the period of the Gondophares of the coins is between 20 and 45 CE. His kingdom lay around Peshawar. The Acts of Saint Thomas was found in 1822 in Syria, the book recounted how St. Thomas, having been relegated by Christ to lecture the Gospel to the Indians, touched base by vessel in the capital of King Gondophares. Acts of Saint Thomas is Gnostic source as per Theologians. Gnostics were followers of a variety of religious movements that emerged in the early centuries of Christianity and were centered around the idea that people may be saved by mystery learning, or gnosis in Greek.

Gnostic belief is characterized by a stark duality. Our understanding of the Gnostics was entirely based on Christian writings up to the nineteenth century, including those of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, Tertullian, and Eplphanus. Theologians claimed that in the interval, historical progress had been at work. Nonetheless, clear distinctions between authentic and counterfeit renditions of the Christian message were made from the first(Wright, 2001, pp. 14-18).

The Book of Thomas the Contender

This book could have been composed in the first half of the 3rd century C.E. Jude was the original name of the apostle. The Greek name “Didymus”, the twin, which is a translation of Thomas as mentioned earlier, could have been added later to suit the Greek audiences. The character of Thomas is presented in the book as a valiant person who contends against the temptations of the flesh. This writing has a long dialogue between Jesus and Jude, Thomas in the form of questions and answers almost like a book of Catechism. It looks as if Jesus after his resurrection and just before his ascension to heaven had decided to give a summary of his teachings and added some insights to his doctrine to a few of his selected disciples. Among them was also Thomas. And it looks as if Thomas had some special claim to such a special revelation for his being a “twin” of Jesus, by reason of his external appearance as mentioned earlier (Anthonyamy, 2009, p. 31).

The Gospel of Thomas

The Gospel of Saint Thomas was composed between the second and third hundreds of years CE. It was found at Nag Hammidi in Egypt in 1945 and distributed in 1958. The gospel contains a series of proverbs, parables and sayings of Jesus and exhibits

certain Gnostic ideas popular in the early Church. Jesus is presented as the speaker with Thomas, who wrote down what he heard from Jesus. It is quite evident that this book too had its origin in the traditions of Syriac speaking Churches where Thomas had been revered. This Gospel of Thomas is different from the Canonical Gospels of the New Testament. The main issue of Gospel of Thomas seems to be to project Jesus as the teacher of wisdom. A distinctive community of Jesus' followers was formed to propagate this wisdom. Most scholars have their opinion that the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas had its influence from Gnostic teachings of the time which propagated the importance of knowledge as the source of salvation, as against involvement in activities (Kolangaden, 1993, p. 20).

The “Infancy Gospel” of Thomas

This is writing from the middle of the 2nd century CE containing many miracles attributed to Jesus in his infant or boyhood stage. It is simply part of the folklore of the time. The boy Jesus, between the ages of five and twelve, is presented as one who performed such miracles. While the Gospel of Thomas presents a sage-like Jesus with attributes of wisdom. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas depicts the boy-Jesus with a playful temperament and the stories attributed to him at this stage of his life do have a frivolous character about them. This apocryphal work too has a Syrian tradition behind it and the fact that Thomas was a great hero in the early Syrian Christian community gave rise to this account too under this spurious authorship (Anthonyamy, 2009, p. 37).

There are different ideas regarding visit of Saint Thomas which are discussed below:

Thomas in Early Church Writings

Early church works likewise tell about Thomas' visit to India, these authors of Christian vestige covering a time of almost seven centuries starting with the post-missional circumstances. These early church pioneers are known for their orthodox in doctrine, blessedness of the life, and they were highly recognized by the Church. (Anthonysamy, 2009, p. 78).

Doctrine of the Apostles

This was composed by the early church Fathers in 250 CE. The document was originally written in Syriac. The statement regarding Thomas in India is as follows:

Following the apostles' deaths, there were leaders and mentors in the churches, and they taught the flocks everything the apostles had taught them and what they had learned from them. Following their deaths, they once more dedicated and transmitted to their students everything they had learned from the Apostles; in addition, they shared with them what James had written from Jerusalem, Simon from Rome, John from Ephesus, Marl from the important city of Alexandria, Andrew from Phrygia, Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India. This allowed the Apostles' epistles to be obtained and read in the temples around the world, just as those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read, so that the Apostle may be identified by this (Anthonysamy, 2009, p. 58).

Saint Ephream (4th Century)

Syrian church Father St. Ephream in the 4th century, who made several references in his hymns, mentions that Saint Thomas visited India (Anthonysamy, 2009, p. 59).

Saint Gregory Nazianzen (329-390)

He is known to be the great scholar and doctor of the Church, he has also explained in his writings that where from the disciples have made their way, Peter indeed belonged to Judea, Luke to Achaia, Andrew to Epirus, John to Ephesus, Thomas to India, Mark to Italy (Anthonysamy, 2009, p. 60).

Saint Paulinus of Nola (353-431)

He is also concerned about the fact that the Apostles indeed have taken the command of Jesus Christ to preach the Gospel to the end of the earth (Acts 2:8). St. Paulinus penned his documentation, “God then dispatched His Apostles throughout the world's vast urban centers, offering his holy endowments on all fronts Parthia gets Matthew, India Thomas” (Glucklich, 2008, p. 162).

Saint Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia

He has written in his accounts that all four Saints, St. Thomas, John the Baptist, Andrew and St. Paulinus penned his documentation. God then dispatched His Apostles throughout the world's vast urban centers, offering his holy endowments on all fronts. (Anthonysamy, 2009, p. 62).

Saint Gregory of Tours (538-593)

He has conveyed two important pieces of information regarding Saint Thomas' visit to India, he said that the pilgrims visit the sacred sites in India, not only that but also he further states from the fourth century traders and travelers have been travelling India for its trade and advancement among them are the Christian pilgrims (Olivelle, 2006, p. 20).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The research provides a detailed history of Christianity in ancient India through historical evidence focusing on the advent of St. Thomas with whom the faith entered this region. Since ancient times, the religions prevalent in Taxila such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. These religions played a vital role in shaping the history of this region. Due to religious harmony different communities professing distinct religions used to live together happily and freely. The study reveals that Taxila was the place where all religions and religious leaders met with each other and they also gave respect to each other. Every religion promoted love and the same was advocated by Saint Thomas during his visit to Taxila. He was a hope amid the Indians and his message of love is also popular among today's Christians. His dialogue with Gondophares still reminds us that how he converted the King with his message of love which is lacking in today's Christianity. Christianity emerged in North-West India (Pakistan) with the coming of Saint Thomas around 52 C.E. and he is still known to be the great Christian Saint of India and Pakistan. Before St. Thomas' visit, large amount of trade was also found between Indus and Mesopotamia; moreover, Romans also had direct connection of trade with India. This also helped in understanding that St. Thomas visited this place and made disciples. He also made bishops in Taxila and one of the most important among them is John, whom Thomas nominated for evangelism. The time when Saint Thomas visited Taxila, this was the main center for Indian routes. Visitors and Pilgrims stay there, teach and learn different religions and philosophies from scholars of Taxila University. North West India's importance has been highlighted clearly in this research. Christians of Pakistan also give respect to Saint Thomas and called him "Father

of Indian Christianity", but few Nestorian Christians pay special attention to these cultural remains and Skeptic Christians believe that more archaeological evidences are needed to support this claim of early Christianity in North-West India (Pakistan) because in front of them the only evidence of Church is not satisfactory. In this research, new evidences have been given for Christian skeptics which will help them to understand the history of early Christianity in Pakistan. Church clergy reminds the Christians that Thomas seeded Christianity in India. During his visit in India his message was the message of love, harmony, hope and respect for all communities. Promotion of his message is also needed among people nowadays. Media can play a vital role to bring a general awareness in this matter and regard. Programs and transitions should be on air to educate the people about it. General awareness programs among the common public should be launched and monitored to literate a common man about the preservation of historical sites. Proper brochures should be made so that the site could be promoted. There must be a site attendant and security guard, who should be present 24/7 to protect the site from treasure hunters, illegal diggers and from local people. Site should be protected from any kind of theft. Regular maintenance is required in several contexts. Proper grass cutting should be done. Cleanliness should be observed on regular basis. Visitors should not be allowed to throw trash on the site; strict measures should be taken in this matter. What must be said at this point is that Pakistan faces many problems nowadays; threats which affect each aspect of our society and this includes our collective heritage. Neglect, corruption, disinterest all over is just a few of the dangers being faced by our Archaeological treasure and the task to conserve these aspects of our history is monumental, it is a land where religion plays an important role and people have a direct

attachment or affiliation with their religion but these archaeological remains also show one thing that people really respect others' beliefs. It is our responsibility to preserve and promote our cultural heritage. Efforts in right direction could help in promoting religious tourism attracting Christians from all over the world. This would present a soft image of Pakistan to the international community.

References

- Anthonsamy SJ. (2009). *A Saga of Faith: St.Thomas, the apostle of India*. Chennai National Press of St Thomas Basilica.
- Barkat. (2010). *Tarekh e Kalesia Pak-o-Hind*. National Council of Churches Pakistan.
- Cunningham.A. (2002). *Ancient Geography of India: The Buddhist Period Including the Campaigns of Alexander*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dani, A.H. (1999). *The Historic City of Taxila*. Punjab: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Dani, A. H. (1986). *The historic city of Taxila* (Vol. 19). Unesco.
- Dar. (1983). Taxila and the Classical World. *Journal of Central Asia*.
- Dar. (2007). Buddhism and Taxila: Socio-Religious Profiles of the People. *Journal of Asian Civilizations*.
- Gabriel, T. (2007). *Christian citizens in an Islamic state: The Pakistan experience*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Kurikilamkatt, J. (2005). *First voyage of the apostle Thomas to India: ancient Christianity in Bharuch and Taxila*. Atf Press.
- Kolangaden, J. (1993). *The Historicity of Apostle Thomas*. Trichur Press.
- Rooney, J. (1984). *Shadows in the Dark*. Christian Study Center.
- Marshall, John. (2016). *A Guide to Taxila*. Cambridge University Press.
- Muziris. (2011). *False Propoganda on St Thomas*. Tamil Press.
- Mundadan (1972). *Traditions of The Thomas Christians*. Bangalore Press
- McLaughlin, R. (2016). *The Roman Empire and the Silk Routes: The Ancient World Economy and the Empires of Parthia, Central Asia and Han China*. Pen and Sword.

- Nagaswamy.R.(2017). *Timeless Delight*. Publish by NA.
- Neill, S. (2004). *A history of Christianity in India: the beginnings to AD 1707* (Vol. 1).
- Nehru, J. (2004). *Glimpses of world history*. Penguin UK.
- Olivelle, P. (2006). *Between the empires: society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*. Oxford University Press.
- Pliny. (2012). *Historia Naturae*. Pengiun Press.
- P.Perrier, Walter Xavier (2008). *Thomas fonde l'Eglise en Chine 65-68* Publish by Jubilee.
- Qureshi, J. (2003). *Uros ul Abad Taxila*. Rawalpindi. Board Printers Pvt. Limited.
- Samy, A.J.S. (2009). *A Saga of Faith St. Thomas The Apostle of India*. National Shrine of St Thomas Basilica Press.
- Samy, A.J.S. (2009). *A Saga of Faith St. Thomas The Apostle of India*. National
- Solomou, S. (1992). *Greek Knowledge of India Before the 4th Century B.C.E.* Colombia Press.
- Varghese, V. T., & Philip, P. P. (1983). *Glimpses of the History of the Christian Churches in India*. Christian Lit. Soc.
- Varghese Kurin. (2016). *The Nasrani's- St Thomas Syrian Christian of Kerala India*, Publish by CreateSpace Independent.
- Wright Robert's. (2001). *Saint Thomas Church Fifth Avenue*. William B.Eerdman's.
- Yad, M.Y. (2007). *Toma Rasoul-i- Hindo- Pak*. MaktabaAnayiem Pakistan.

Verse of Rebellion: Unraveling Resistance Themes in Baba Farid, Kabir, and Guru Nanak's Poetry

Imran Khan, PhD student at Department of History, Quaid e Azam University Islamabad.

Email: imrankhan@hist.qau.edu.pk

Dr. Aman Ullah Khan, Assistant Professor of History, Department of History,
Quaid e Azam University Islamabad.

Email: amkhan@qau.edu.pk

Abstract

This comparative study explores early Punjabi poetry by Baba Farid, Kabir, and Guru Nanak, focusing on their depictions of resistance against authority and societal injustices. Contextualizing their works within cultural, historical, and literary realms, the research aims to reveal the poets' significance in challenging prevailing norms. Often associated with Sufism and spiritual themes, this inquiry unveils their distinct narratives of resistance, emphasizing their engagement with socio-political upheavals. Addressing a critical gap in existing scholarship, this study uncovers multifaceted layers of resistance within these poets' works, shifting focus from common themes to their profound critiques of established authority and societal norms. The primary objective is a meticulous analysis of resistance threads in the poetry of Baba Farid, Kabir, and Guru Nanak. Using a comparative analytical approach, the study deciphers their resistance against local or foreign authorities, societal injustices, and inherent human vices. Methodologically, the inquiry employs critical literary analysis, embedding poems within historical and cultural contexts. Scrutinizing textual nuances, the study identifies subtle

resistance elements in these influential figures' poetry. In exploring these poets' underexplored dimensions of resistance, this research significantly contributes to understanding resistance, authority, and societal critique within the early Punjabi literary landscape.

Keywords:

Punjabi Poetry, Baba Farid, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Dissent voices, Societal rebellion, Poetic resistance, Cultural critique

Resistance is the innate tendency of human mind. It manifests as an automatic response guarding against the intrusion of undesirable elements. It is any action, thought, attitude or method against some injustice, cruelty, violence, barbarism or oppression. It means stopping something, opposing some oppression, refusing to tolerate any injustice and practically and dynamically eradicate some oppression (Sehgal, 1999). The purpose of resistance literature is to protest against state atrocities, religious oppression and violence, political oppression or social and economic injustice. Similarly, resistance literature means the creation of poetry and literature to struggle against external oppression, for national liberation or against the political rifts (Manzar, 1997).

Punjab has always remained the place of a constant turmoil and trouble. The foreign invaders, throughout history have chosen this region to invade because of its fertility and prosperity. This never-ending influx of invaders continuously tested the nerves and chivalry of the Punjabis. The brave sons of the soil, whenever it was needed, sacrificed their lives for their motherland. This act of sacrifice and resistance to fight for the land of the ancestors was never went unappreciated by the poets of the region. The poets tried to make their chivalry, sacrifice and resilience immortal by composing *Var* poetry about their warrior ship. The purpose was not only to pay them tribute but also to record the history of resistance for the coming generations (Akhtar, 2005). Thus, poetry of Punjab in its nature has always remained resistant towards social evils, injustices, corruption, exploitation and oppression either at the hands of local or foreign rulers. The basic purpose of Punjabi poets is to resist against centuries long exploitation and injustice (Bhatti, 2008). Punjabi poetry has always remained very close to the common masses. The Punjabi poets reacted and protested against all the social inequalities and tyrannical

approach of political and religious authorities. One can't find any established tradition of *Qaseeda* in Punjabi poetry rather *Jangnamas* are there. (The Dawn, 2014)

Punjabi Sufi poetry, particularly, embodies the essence of resistance, representing a unique intersection of spirituality and sociopolitical critique. *Wajoodi* (Hussaini, 1970) and *malamti* (Bhutta, Ed. 1997) Sufis kept the flame of philanthropy burning for centuries in a feudal society based on greed, oppression and cruelty (Bhutta, Ed. 1997). All classical poets of Punjab were bound by loyalty to the people. They openly declared their loyalty and commitment. They stayed away from the royal courts and closer to the people (Saleem & Ja'afri, 1987). These Sufis spoke of philanthropy at a time when it was practically forbidden to discuss the subject because at that time there was no talk of democracy and freedom of opinion like today (Haider, 2003). They were not merely writing the verse; rather, they were actively participating in the struggle against the cruelty of the kings or invaders. They have a revolutionary mind to change the political, social, economic and social conditions. They lamented oppression, exploitation, violation of human values and disregard of Sharia law and made practical efforts to change the situation and bring political and social revolution (Sindhi, 1994).

The following study explores the poetry of early Sufi poets of Punjab such as Baba Farid (1173-1265), Kabir (1440-1518), Nanak (1469-1539), who resisted the injustices and oppression, wrote against foreign invaders and local tyrants, censured the wrong social, cultural, economic and religious practices of their times through their verses.

“Punjabi language has never been a language of court, state or government. None of the great Punjabi poets grew under state

patronage. All of them were people's poets and questioned the authority, injustice and advocated people's cause through their composition" (The Express Tribune, 206).

The voice of resistance and protest which is visible in *Rgveda*, *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavad.Gita*, in prehistory, during IV-V centuries, reappears in form of the *Vars*.

Gurcharan Singh in his book *Studies in Punjab History & Culture*, writes;

"Waar (Ballads) meaning the 'narrative of heroism' was the most popular folk poetry form in the Punjab since the 12th century onward, upto the days of Guru Nanak, down almost to the present times. The sentiment of valour that a 'Waar' chorus invokes agrees with the Punjabi mind. The minstrels would compose and sing and the Punjab peasantry would be entertained and inspired. They sang of the popular heroes and fighters for the causes and peasant youth got invoked and enchanted" (Singh, 7, 1990)

These *Vars* can be divided into two sections; the early *Vars* are those that tell us about the foreign invasions and the latter *Vars* speak about the wrangles of the local tribes. In both of the *Vars* the Punjabi way of life is explicitly shown by the poets (Bhutta, 2007). So far as the themes are concerned some *Vars* tell us the account of Hercules deed of chivalry and the rest forcefully stimulate the chivalric feelings among the readers (Haider, 1987). Most important of these *Vars* is the *Var* of *Raja Rasallu*. The legends, tales, songs, stories and ballads of *Raja Rasallu* describe him in these words;

"Here comes Rasalu the champion brave,

Let us haste and hide in the mountain-cave;

Whether prophet of God, or Beelzebub,

Upon his shoulders he carries a club” (Swynnerton, 1984, p. 64)

He is a savior, a champion who is always there help the masses in danger.

“Thou rider of the dark-grey mare,

Rasalu, bearded, turbaned stranger,

O for some saviour to repair,

A champion, to the field of danger!” (Swynnerton, 1984, p. 64)

In the middle of VII century, with the collapse of Harsha Empire and the disintegration of India into feudal states, the social contradictions were intensified. Brutal exploitation and spiritual tyranny became the order of the day that gave air to impulsive protests. These protests gave vent to sectarian movements, directing the struggle against the religion. These feudal shifts, subsequent to the process of feudalization found reflection in literature of the time (Serebryakov, 1997). Here, when the legends of *Raja Rasalu* could not portray the unbearable exploitation of masses, the so-called *nath* movement came forward; “The *naths* denounced the institutions of Brahmanism, the caste system, and moral and spiritual depravity in the higher circles of Indian society. Thus, it was a peculiar manifestation of social protest, which accounts for its wide popularity (Serebryakov, 17, 1997).” The most important of *nath* poets is Charpat (890-990). Like Gorakhnath, Charpat was also outspoken and daring enough to speak the bare truth (Deewana, 11). His poetry expresses his scathing criticism of his contemporary society. He raises his voice against inequality and attacks the rulers who are center of all power. He writes,

“Equally true is a jug of copper

And a simple cup of gourd.

But yogi is higher than the raja.

The jug of copper sinks,

The cup of gourd swims,

Yogi will be saved but raja will die! (Serebryakov, 18, 1997) ”

From 13th century onward a new kind of Punjabi resistance poetry took birth in form of Punjabi Sufi poetry. The pioneer of this poetry was Farid ud Din (Ganj e Shakar). His one hundred and twenty *Shaloks* (Quraishi, 1987) have come down to us. The thematic pattern of resistance present in *nath* verse seems to be continued in Punjabi Sufi poetry. Both the *nath* and the Sufi poetry resist to worldly pleasures. Farid in his letter to his disciple Sayidi Maula, writes: “Do not keep the company of kings and nobles. Remember that your visits to their homes are deadly to your spirit (Serebryakov, 18, 1997).” He advocated the voice of peasants, suffering at the hands of cruel rulers. During his time, Punjab was invaded by the Mongols. Though, every time they were defeated but they looted and killed so many people in Punjab. A humanitarian like Baba Farid could not remain silent on the massacre of people. In his poetry, he tries to illustrate the destruction of people through class differences (Bhatti, 2008). Farid was well aware of human psychology, that’s why he used to find solutions to people’s problems easily (Babri, 1984). He uses different rural and agrarian images to encourage these suffering peasants. In thirteenth century, while Punjab was under attack from outside invaders, on the other hand, the local peasants were fed up with the landlord class and chieftains connected to the Delhi court (Bhatti, 2008). He focuses on the importance of action and this emphasis on action comes directly from the socio-political situation of the time. In

his poetry, the concept of action emerges as a reaction to severe political disturbances and social disintegration (Bhatti, 2008). In that society where the people in authority could do anything of their choice he believes and teaches that one will have to reap what he sows.

He writes;

Farida daakh bajoriyan kikar bije jut

Handeh un kataeda pidha laurey put (Khan, 166, 2009)

“Farid, the peasant sowing thorny bushes,

Looks for grapes of Bijaur.

Passing his days in spinning wool,

He wants to wear fine silk (Sekhon, 166, 1993, V1)”

He feels the false pride is just a betrayal to one’s own self because every climax one day meets an anti-climax. The cruel, the tyrant, the oppressor, the looter one day would meet to an end and that day he would get the real idea that he had spent the whole life after the pursuit of a sham pride.

Farida mein bhalaiva pag da mat maili ho jaye

Gehla rooh na jaan aey sir bhi mati khayel (Khan, 169, 2009)

“Farid, I am afraid of my turban

getting soiled with use.

The unwary soul knows it not,

even the head will roll in dust (Sekhon, 166, 1993, V1).”

Self-accountability is a rule that can put the society on the right track that’s why he invites his readers towards self-accountability. To him, the one who keeps an eye on his own acts and tries to set them right becomes a useful asset for the society.

Farida jay tu'n aql latif, kaale likh naa laikh

Apney grivan mein sar neevan kar daikh (Khan, 149, 2009)

“Farid, if you are competent to understand,
do not earn any black marks,
Lower your head to see what you
have collected in your sack (Sekhon, 164, 1993, V1).”

His words become a warning to the oppressor when he says that time never remains the same. History is evident that today's king might be the slave in near future and today's slave might be the future king. The advises his readers that a wise person never commits what he/she does not want to bear.

Farida khaak na nindiye, khaako jeid na kauye

Jundiyan pairaan thalle, moyaan upper hoye (Khan, 160, 2009)

“Do not belittle the dust, O Farid,
nobody is its equal, indeed.
Beneath the feet of the living,
it turns overhead when they are dead (Sekhon, 165, 1993, V1).”

The Delhi Sultans did everything to press the rebellion but “the more ruthlessly they dealt with the people, the stronger grew popular resistance (Serebryakov, 24-25, 1997).” These sentiments of the masses were expressed by people's poets who were linked with the acute ideological struggle. Farid's poetry is the poetry of reformation. His aim is the propagation of Islam and philanthropy but along with the reformation of character and building of society (Hashmi, 2015). So, his poetry becomes a medium to educate the masses (Hashmi, 2015).

This strain of resistance in Farid's poetry further finds resonance in Bhagat Kabir's poetry. Bhagat Kabir a thinker and poet of real genius influenced the further development of Punjabi resistance poetry specifically and upon the whole Punjabi poetry generally. The era of Bhagat Kabir was marked by rampant violence and plunder. If Baba Farid's poetry touches upon themes of mortality and death, then Bhagat Kabir, who bore witness to foreign invasions and their devastation of Punjabi society, eloquently addresses the transient nature and tumultuousness of life in his own verses (Bhatti, 2008). He denounced the hierarchy of caste and sects and opposed the religious conservatism, fanaticism, cults and rites. He was the poet of the oppressed. In his poetry one gets the sense of sorrow, pain and suffering of the common man and also the hatred filled in the hearts and minds of the people against the rulers (Bhatti, 2008). He condemns social and economic inequality.

*“They who wear dhotis of three and a half yards,
and three fold sacred cords
And display rosaries on their necks and in their hands
are the polished jugs:
They are the cheats of Benares, not the saints of the lord.
I cannot respect such saints
Who devour trees along with all their boughs
They scour their vessels before being placed on the hearth
And wash the wood before it is lighted
And digging out the earth they make double fire places
But devour the whole man*

They live as sinners and transgressors

Yea, they abide ever in ego and all their kindred are

drowned with them.

They follow the lead of their minds and so do the deeds (Serebryakov, 27, 1997). ”

Like Baba Farid, he too focuses on the importance of action to create a change.

Kaalh ker ley so aaj ker, aaj kare so ab (Oodh, 100, 2002)

If you have planned to do something tomorrow, do it today rather now (Oodh, 100, 2002)

Towards the end of 15th century, Sikhism got developed in Punjab by Nanak. Guru Nanak, the contemporary of Babar, preached among other things the ideal of cultural defense and rejuvenation and discarding of servility in matters social as well political. Perhaps a Guru Nanak would not have been possible in a soil other than that of Punjab—he was so true to the soil (Singh, 1990). If Guru Nanak’s poetry is examined in the context of the criticism of his time, his poetry becomes a historical document. From the tyranny of the kings to the injustice and inequality spread in the society, nothing was hidden from his eyes. Nanak vehemently criticized the government of his time. Nanak has likened kings to butchers and bare daggers (Bhatti, 2008). Like Farid and Kabir, he too censures those who exploit the ignorant people at the name of religion.

“Man-eaters offer namaz, the wielders

of the dagger wear the sacred thread. I

In their homes, Brahmans blow the conch.

Naturally, they relish the same things.

Falsehood is their capital, falsehood their trade.

They live by telling lies.

Shame and religious duties are discarded.

Nanak, the air is filled with falsity (Sekhon, 202, 1993, V1)."

Nanak does not divide human beings on the basis of caste, social status and sex.

"Vulgar is the caste, vulgar also the bigness of name.

All are sheltered by the same (Singh, 41, 1990)."

At another place says,

"False the king, false the subject, false the whole world.

False the halls and palaces,

false those who dwell in them.

False the gold, false the silver,

and false those who wear these.

False the body, false the clothes,

false the countless styles one assumes. False the husband, false the wife,

they waste themselves for nothing.

The false one is attached to falsehood, forgetting the Creator.

Whom to be friends with?

The whole world is transient.

False the sweet, false the honey,

this falsehood drowns whole boat-loads.

Nanak, praise to Thee, all else is false without Thee (Sekhon, 195, 1993, V1)."

Guru Nanak as a political thinker formulated and promulgated ideas of resistance to foreign domination in the field of administration and culture. He was all against the

free-booting autocracy of the foreigners. At the same time he wanted the subjects to know their rights and learn to resist their being denied to them.

“The subjects are blind to their rights

They willingly submit to the wrongful

Exactions of the rulers (Singh, 40, 1990)”

To those who collaborated with the foreigners, Guru Nanak had the severest words of chastisement and censure. Addressing the degraded hypocrites, he writes:

“You don blue garments to crave acceptance of the

foreign rulers.

You earn by serving them in subjugation and then conduct

your religious rites with that ill-gotton money obtained from them (Singh, 40, 1990).”

He states at another place:

“You impose taxes on cows you worship and on Brahmins

you hold in high esteem

you put on dhoti and tikka and use the Hindu rosary

and yet you eat the meals provided by the demonical foreigner (Singh, 40, 1990)”

Nanak in his poetry continued the ideas of Farid and Kabir. He attributed supreme significance to action and deeds. He claims that men should be appreciated by what they do.

“Words do not make men sinners or saints

Only deeds are being written down in the book of fate,

One will reap what he sows

O, Nanak, choose your path! (Serebryakov, 28, 1997)”

He was an eye-witness to the carnage in which the remorseless and unscrupulous barbarians of the invading Babar indulged at *Aimanabad*. He indicts this invasion and conquest of India by Babar in his four *Shabds*, known as “*Babar Bani*”. In these *Shabds*, Guru Sahib has expressed his displeasure against the foreign invaders who spread unrest and called his army “*Paap di Janj*”. This feeling of displeasure is so strong that he complains even to his beloved, that is, God Almighty in these words:

Aiti mar payee kurlaney tey ki dard na ayaa (Saital, 66)

“Didst Thou not feel pained (Saital, 66)?”

Nanak’s love towards the poor people is clearly visible in these words. Seeing the plight of the people, especially of *Masturat* (the women), his heart full of human compassion was moved to the core. And he has described this tragic situation in a very sad way. He has also called the incompetent rulers of the time as the cause of this misery. They had forgotten their official duties. These officials have been insulted and blasted by him because these authorities could not protect their jewels like India (Saital, 66). Professor Kishan Singh in his book *Sikh Inqalab da Moodhi: Baba Nanak* comments on *Babar Bani* in these words,

“As, Amrita Pritam, in her poem draws a parallel between *Heer's* love and the oppression of women during the partition of Punjab. She implores Waris Shah to speak out against this oppression from his grave; Guru Nanak described the mass killings and the helplessness of women during Babar's attack-a tragic reflection of the daily cruelty in society (Singh, 58, 2017).”

Nanak refers Babar’s invasion in these words;

*“He has come down from Kabul at the head of a procession of evil,
And demands gifts by force
Law and grace have both hidden themselves and
Falsehood reigns supreme (Sekhon & Duggal, 32, 1992).”*

About the miserable plight of the women at the hands of Babar’s army in his *shabd Kaha su khel tabila ghorey kahan bheri sahnayee* he says,

*“Women, Hindu, Turk, Bhatti and Thakur,
got their dresses torn from head to foot
and many went to their graves.*

*How did they, whose gallants did not return home,
pass the night? (Sekhon, 210, 1993, V1)”*

Further in his other *shabd Jin sir sohni patiiya maangi paye sandhooor*, he says,

*“The heads adorned with coiffeurs
and camphor lining the hair,
Have been shaved with scissors, dust rises up to their necks.*

*Used to living in palaces, they are not now
allowed to sit in the Royal presence.*

*When they were wedded,
the grooms adorned their company.*

*They were carried in palanquins, adorned with ivory.
Libations were poured and fans were waved over them.*

*Countless coins were showered over them sitting
and the same when they stood.*

*They went to bed with their grooms,
taking refreshments of copra and dates.
Now there are ropes round their necks,
their pearl necklets are broken.
They are carried away with dishonour
by men under orders of their masters.
He gives honour or punishment as it pleases Him.
Hindu women are not allowed to bathe
and draw sacred marks and lines on their brows.
They never remembered Rama, now they are not
allowed to call upon Khudai.
Some go back to their homes and their people
collect round to know what was happening.
For others it was written to sit and cry over their grief.
Happens whatever pleases Him, Nanak,
what can helpless man do? (Sekhon, 210, 1993, V1)”*

Babar’s army arrested him from Gujranwala for describing the atrocities of the invading forces. Guru Nanak was thus a great emancipator of mankind and a great reformer in many ways. He was seriously critical of the misdeeds of the rulers of the country, calling them man-eaters and their revenue staff the blood-hounds. He found the slaves of India unaware of their rights and asked them to open their eyes and refuse to meet the wrongful exactions of the tyrannous kings and emperors. The call was loudest, clear and relentless. He wanted things to alter altogether and sounded a powerful note to

the people of India to rise from out of their despondency and fear and work fearlessly for a new order in this country. In the mid16th century Guru Arjun (1567-1606) recognized Nanak's teachings as supremely important and collected them in *Adi Granth*.

Conclusion

The poetic legacies of Baba Farid, Kabir, and Guru Nanak stand as timeless testaments to the resilience of the human spirit against oppression, injustice, and the erosion of societal values. Through their profound verses, these early Punjabi poets fashioned a literary resistance movement, challenging the hegemony of local and foreign authorities while addressing the prevailing social, political, and religious malaises of their times. Each poet, steeped in their unique socio-historical context, wielded their poetic prowess as a tool for rebellion, a call to action against tyranny, and an exhortation for societal transformation. Baba Farid's resonating verses encapsulate the agony of the oppressed peasantry, lamenting the callousness of rulers and advocating self-accountability and philanthropy. Kabir, a harbinger of equality and human dignity, fiercely critiqued the caste system, religious fanaticism, and social disparities, igniting a flame of resistance through his poignant and direct verses. Guru Nanak, encapsulating the zeitgeist of his era, challenged the excesses of power, denounced religious hypocrisy, and epitomized resistance against the invasive forces that wrought havoc upon the land. This comparative study underscores the thematic continuity of resistance prevalent in Punjabi poetry across centuries. It elucidates the enduring spirit of defiance, urging societal introspection, and galvanizing communities toward collective action for justice and societal reformation. These poets, with their unyielding commitment to truth, justice, and human dignity, charted a trajectory for resistance literature, urging subsequent

generations to confront oppression, challenge the established order, and champion the cause of the marginalized.

Their verses transcend temporal boundaries, resonating with contemporary struggles against authoritarianism, social injustices, and the corrosion of moral values. The legacy of resistance they left behind echoes through the corridors of time, serving as a guiding light for those advocating for a more just, equitable, and compassionate society. In delving into the profound depths of Punjabi poetry, this research not only illuminates the resistance narratives within these verses but also reaffirms the enduring power of literature as a catalyst for societal change. The enduring relevance of these poets' messages beckons us to heed their call, to question prevailing injustices, and to champion the cause of resistance against all forms of oppression, paving the way for a more enlightened and equitable future.

References:

- Amjad Ali Bhatti, (2008), *Insaan Dosti te Punjabi Sha'aeri*. A. H. Publishers
- Babri, La'eeq, (1984). *Sukhn kay Waris..* Lok Virsa.
- Bhutta, Saeed. (2007). *Des Diyan Vaaran*. Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture.
- Bhutta, Saeed. (Ed). (1997). *Soch Bichar"* Malamti Riwayat tey Shah Hussain. A.H Publishers
- Deewana, Mohan Singh. *Punjabi Adab di Mukhtsir Tareekh*. Modern Publications.
- Haider, Sayed Afzal. (2003). *Fareed Nanak, Bullah, Waris*. Dost Publications.
- Haider, Sajjad (Ed). (1987). *Varein*. Lok Virsa, 5
- Hashmi, Hameed Ullah. (2015). "Baba Farid ki Sufiana Shairi" Javed, Inam-ul- Haq (Ed). *Pakistani Zubanon kay Sufi Shair*. Al-Faisal Nashran.
- Hussaini, S.A.Q. (1970). *The Pantheistic Monism of Ibn Al-Arabi*, Ashraf Press
- Khan, Umair. (2014, March 2). 'Lahore Literary Festival: Resistance and Punjabi Poetry'. The Dawn: Lahore. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1090307/lahore-literary-festival-resistance-and-punjabi-poetry>
- Khan, M. Asif (Ed). (2009). *Aakhiya Baba Farid Nay*. Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board.
- Robina Sehgal, (1999) *Aurat aur Mazahmat*. Mash'al Publishers
- Saleem, Ahmed. & Jafri. Sayyed Hussain Muhammad (Eds.). (1987). *Pakistani Mu'ashra aur Punjabi Adab*. Pakistan Study Circle, Jamia Karachi.
- Saital, Jeet Singh. *Kalam e Nanak*. Bhasha o Bhag Punjab, 66.
- Sayed Akhtar Hussain Akhatr, (2005), *Punjabi Varaan: Tareekh tey Tajziya*. Lehraan Adabi Board

- Sekhon, Sant Singh. (1993). *A History of Punjabi Literature* Vol. I, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- Sekhon, Sant Singh & Duggal, Kartar Singh. (1992). *A History of Punjabi Literature*. Sahitya Akademi, 32
- Serebryakov, Punjabi Literature: A Brief Outline, (1975). T.A Zalite, (Trans) Progressive Books.
- Sindhi, Maiman Abdul Majeed. (1994). *Pakistan mein Sufiana Tehreekein*. Sang e Meel Publications
- Singh, Gurcharan. (1990) *Studies in Punjab History & Culture*. Enkay Publishers.
- Singh, Kishan. (2017). *Sikh Inqalab da Moodhi: Baba Nanak*. Suchait Kitab Ghar, 58.
- Shahzad, Muhammad. (2016, November 20). 'Faiz International Festival: A candid view of Punjabi Sufi poetry' The Express Tribune. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1237726/faiz-international-festival-candid-view-punjabi-sufi-poetrySingh>
- Shehzad Manzar, (1997) *Urdu Afsaane Kay 50 Saal*. Pakistan Studies Centre, Jamia Karachi
- Swynnerton, Rev. Charles (Ed- Trans). (1884). *The Adventures of the Panjab Hero Raja Rasalu and Other Folk-Tales of the Panjab*. W. Newman & Co., Ld, 64
- Oodh, Hari. (Ed). (2002). *Bhagat Kabir, Falsafa o Shaeri*. Fiction House.
- Quraishi, Abdul Ghafoor. (1987). *Punjabi Adab di Kahani*. Academy Adbiyat Pakistan.

THE JOURNAL OF
**CULTURAL
PERSPECTIVES**

The Journal of Cultural Perspectives - TJCP is a flagship, biannual, peer-reviewed journal of Azeem Educational Conference – AEC aec.org.pk, which focuses on interdisciplinary, problem-oriented, contextual research of human culture. The editors welcome historical and empirical inquiries of indigenous knowledge, cultural processes grounded in normative attitudes to understand and improve society. The journal encourages critical research of comparative international practices to facilitate an exchange of knowledge and cultural meanings beyond traditional biases. Cultural Perspectives offers articles that investigate and analyze the impact of culture on different institutions of social order; articles that integrate approaches from the social sciences and humanities; articles on cultural sciences in the twenty-first century; review articles on published work, theoretical innovation, and methods; and special issues that examine urgent questions in the field.

For More
Please Visit

tjcp.aec.org.pk

Azeem Educational Conference Regd. Islamabad