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Weeping and Identity: Shia Community's Devotional Rituals, Devotional Literature and Religious Institutions in Pre-Colonial Multan and Lahore (1088-1849)

Abstract

By taking cues from the Persian and Indian culture of the performance of ritual weeping, this research paper proposes through the study of devotional rituals, devotional literature and religious institutions that Shia community used weeping to construct and preserve its identity in pre-colonial Multan and Lahore. It discusses the origin and evolution of Shia community in pre-colonial Punjab with reference to the weeping of Shia community through azadari rituals such as majlis, tazia and zuljinah. It highlights the Shia community devotional literature like marsiyah which evoked weeping. It treats religious institutions like imambargahs as the places of weeping in pre-colonial Punjab. Moreover, it contextualizes the weeping of Shia community in pre-colonial Multan and Lahore. It also traces the role of two Shia families such as Gardezi in Multan, Faqirs in Lahore, in popularizing and patronizing azadari based ritual weeping.

Prior to the eleventh century, it is hard to find the historical evidence of Twelver Shia community's arrival in Punjab. Since the eleventh century, most of the Sufis and sayyids who migrated from Persia, Central Asia, or Arabia to the Punjab were Shia or held belief close to Shi'ism.¹ Ranjit Singh (d.1839) conquered Lahore in 1799 and Multan in 1818 and allowed Shia gradually to observe azadari rituals and weeping in street which later spread to many tehsils and districts.² First ten days of Muharram were the most significant days for weeping in Shia Community in Pre-colonial Punjab. Shia community observation of the martyrdom of Imam Husain was established and remained as a central symbol of calamitous manifestation unequalled in its enormity by any other calamity in the world.

In pre-colonial Punjab, through cultural politics of patronage of weeping and observing azadari rituals, two famous Twelver Shia families such as Gardezi in Multan and Qazilbash in Lahore played a significant role in evoking weeping and the popularization and dissemination of azadari culture. These two waves of Twelver Shia Islam had Afghan and Persian background. Like sadat (sayyids) families in India, these families not only organized azadari processions, but, they also provided a patronage to the culture of weeping in pre-colonial Punjab.³ In the following sections, in order to contextualize, I will discuss their origin and evolution with reference to weeping in the observation azadari rituals at places of weeping like imambargahs in Multan and Lahore.

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Introduction

Multan was among those first regions where weeping was invoked by *sadat* families. Weeping was popularized through *aazadari* culture. Gardezi family patronized *ulamas*, *marsiya* (elegies) writers, *madrassa* (religious school), *imambargahs* (mourning place) and disseminated *azadari* rituals and weeping not only among their followers but in other religious communities such as Sunnis, Sikhs and Hindus. The unique patterns of *tazia* and appealing *Siraiki* dialects of Shia *zakirs* of pre-colonial Multan were very famous for evoking tears of grief in the pre-colonial Punjab.

The patronage of politics of weeping went under change with the rule of Alvis in Multan. The Alavis⁴ came into power in Khurasan⁵ towards the end of the third century, and with their emergence as the masters; the exiled *sadats* from Assyria (Syria) and Mesopotamia (Iraq) heaved a sigh of relief. Perhaps by that time, the Sadats of the generations of Imam Hasan and Imam Husain had already settled down in Sindh and Multan. In fourth century, Abdul Jafar Bin Muhammad, a descendent from another wife of Imam Ali ibn Abi, migrated to Multan and propagated the creed of Alvis and gradually captured Multan. Alvis ruled Multan for sixty-four years.⁶ They were the first to commemorate public weeping through the martyrdom of Imam Hussain in Multan. In order to evoke weeping they also composed *marsiya* in local languages. Consequently, around about 1350 A.H., when Moaz-ud-daula Dailami ruled over Baghdad, the people of Multan got in touch with him. Even Friday sermons were also read out in Multan in the names of the Fatemide rulers of Egypt. According to Maqdisi (d.991),⁷ he heard the cry of *Hayya Ala Khair-ul-Amal*⁸ called out during the Azaan (call to prayers) in pre-colonial Multan.

Later, the politics of patronage of weeping continued under Ismailis and Ghaznavi. Around 958, under the alliances of Fatimid dynasty (909-1171) of Cairo, an Ismaili Kingdom was formed in Multan.⁹ Like Alvis, the Ismailies were also the supporters of the cause of Imam Hussain.¹⁰ A famous Ismaili preacher, Shah Shams Sabzwari (1166-1276), a Shia saint of Multan composed various *marsiya* in Siraiki language to evoke weeping in Shia community. His *marsiya*hs were popularly called as *Shah Shams ke Dohray* (Dohras of Shah Shams).¹¹ Ismaili Kingdom lasted until the invasion of Mahmood Ghaznavi in 1005.¹² Mahmood Ghaznavi (971-1030) attacked Multan with the intention of annihilating the Qarmatis¹³ and Rafizis.¹⁴ The interesting aspect in the connection is that with him a large number of Alavi Sadaats such as Salar Masood (d.1032) came to India.¹⁵ He and his father came to India with Mahmood Ghaznavi and moved over to Oudh. In Sindh and Punjab, among other people, the heirs of the Gardezi dynasty, Sayyid Jamaluddin and Abul Fazal Mohammad Gardez were born in around 1069 in Gardez.¹⁶ He died in 1152 in Multan. Sayyid Mohammad Yusuf also came to Multan from Gardez. This was the period of Behram Shah Ghaznavi which lasted from 1118 to 1152. However, Muslims in Multan, including Shias, Sunnis, the poor and the rich, subscribe to the devotional rituals of *azadari*; and mostly houses in the city observed the sanctity of the month of Muharram. According to a famous Ismaili preacher, Shah Shams Sabzwari (1166-1276), a Shia saint of Multan

composed various *marsiya* in Sirai language. In Multan, there was a Hindu community, also known as Hussaini Brahmans, during the first ten days of Muharram, shedding tears in grief, used to beg *alms* in the name of Imam Husain and sing Husaini Dohras.¹⁷

Shah Yousaf Gardez (1057-1137),¹⁸ commonly known as “Shah Gardez” was one of the main exponents of inducing a new spirit in *azadari* culture and weeping of Shia community in pre-colonial Multan. He migrated from Gardez (Afghanistan) and came to Multan in 1088, won the hearts of the people of Multan through his preaching of Islam and partly through the sheer spiritual force of his personality with miracles.¹⁹ He brought a new wave of Twelver Shia Islam (*Asnai-e-Ashri*) in Multan.²⁰ For his family maintenance, his descendants were given *jagirs* (the right to the revenue piece of land given by the government as a reward for services).²¹ After him came Shams ud Din Shamsi Tabrez (1185-1248)²² and Jalal-ud-din Haider Surkhposh (1199-1291), followed by Sayyid Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (1177-1275).²³ These Sufis from Persia and Ottoman Empire proved to be main exponents of devotional rituals related to *azadari* for Imam Husain in Multan, where the Ismailia's pre-dominated them. It was as result of their devotion and selfless efforts that Multan started echoing with the cries of “Ali-Ali” and “Husain-Husain.”²⁴

The Gardezis in particular wept and mourned more for the martyrs of Karbala than did in respect of the deaths of their own kith and kin. For emotional release, they slept on bare floors during the month of Muharram, wore black attires, mourned and extremely wept for nights and days, and hold *majlises* round the clock. No food was cooked in their houses. One could not see any smoke coming out the chimneys from their kitchens. The abode of Shah Gardez, the houses of the *Khalifas* and the *Siddiquis* held *majlises* at places of weeping such as *imambargah* Jhak, *imambargah* Jahaz Mahal and the *imambargah* of Mohajireen. In short, every home and every *imambargah* in Multan echoed with the recalling of the events of the tragedy of Karbala in weeping.

Symbolic representation of Shia community such as *alams* (black flag), *taboots* (empty coffins), and *tazias*, played an important role to evoke weeping which ultimately led to the construction of Muslim identity. From the 1st of Muharram to the 28th of Safar, for the symbolic representation, people of various religious denominations took out mourning processions of *alams* and *taboots*. Among the groups of *matam* (breast-beating) mourners in the procession on the Ashura Day, the *Tazias* built by the Sunnis with extraordinary labour and enthusiasm were most worthy of mention. Muslims had an emotional attachment with *tazias* of Multan that they used to come from distant places and flocked to pay homage to these *tazias* which were carried by the Sunnis. The *Tazias* of Ustad (teacher) Pir Bakash, made in 1825 and Shagird (Student) Ali Ahmad made in 1890, were reputed features of *azadari* rituals in Multan.²⁵ *Choop Tazia* (silent mourning procession) was also taken out in Multan on the 8th of Muharram; but the outstanding feature here was the sweet language and dialect of the people, which enhanced the appeal and pathos in to expression of their emotions such as weeping. Emotional agents like *zakirs* (orators at mourning sermons) of Multan were very popular in the cities as well in the rural areas of the Punjab. These *zakirs*

used to render yeoman service in the propagation of Islam and *azadari* and served as tear-jerkers.²⁶

In pre-colonial Multan, the Gardezi family used to weep and observe *azadari* rituals in a way that other Muslim communities such as Sunnis and non-Muslims communities such as Sikh and Hindus also participated in *azadari* based weeping annually. Under Divan Savan Mal, the Sikh Governor of Multan (1821-1844), Shias wept through *azadari* rituals openly in Public.²⁷ This tradition continued in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1956. By observing *azadari* Processions, Gardezi family constructed a separate identity of Shia community in pre-colonial Punjab.

Like Gardezi in Multan, in pre-colonial Lahore, Faqir family patronized the politics of weeping through *azadari* rituals, devotional literature and religious institutions. Due to the pluralistic religious policies of Sikh rulers, Faqir family also constructed new religious institutions such as *madrasa*, *masjid* (mosque), and *imambargah*. Places for weeping like the Karbala Game-I Shah became a centre for Shia community weeping. The routes for *azadari* procession were chalked out. Gradually, the observation of *azadari* rituals annually, changed the socio-cultural environment of Lahore. Amir Wali, a traveler from Bukhara, writes his personal examination about the Muharram in Lahore in 1635-1636. He said that Shia community used to observe *azadari* at home and Sunni in religious gathering. *Masiyah* reader wore black clothes from sixth Muharram to tenth Muharram. Sometimes, dispute aroused related to *taboot* (tazia) carrying.²⁸

Being a pluralistic ruler of Punjab, Maharaja Rangit Singh (1780-1839) gave freedom to observe *azadari* rituals in Punjab. He permitted *tazia* procession so the numbers of close door *majlis* also increased in the towns of Lahore.²⁹ Not only Muslims, but other religious communities such as Sikh actively participated in *azadari* processions by taking their own *tazia* in streets. Even some prominent such as Sher Singh (1807-1843), the son of Ranjit Singh. The *tazia* of Sher Singh was very famous among the *tazia* of pre-colonial Lahore due to its best artisan works who kept making it throughout the whole year. A famous artisan, Ustad Charagh made *tazias* for Sher Singh.³⁰ Thus he also joined the ranks of mourners and weeper.³¹

In pre-colonial Lahore the Bukhari Faqir invoked weeping and popularized the *azadari* culture in Lahore.³² *Azadari* processions and pilgrimages carried out in Faqir family's time were pluralistic in nature. Fakir Family was an old weeping and mourning family of Lahore. Many pilgrimages carried out by this family from inside places of weeping such as Bhati Darwaza, Bazar Hakeeman Kocha Fakir Khan.³³ The organization of early *azadari* processions like *tazia* of Gamey Shah, *tazia* of Mai Agiyan, and *alam* (flag) of Shah Abbas is referred to this family.³⁴ Moreover, Pilgrimage of *alam* carried out from *imambargah* Fakir Aziz-u-din (1787-1845).³⁵ Fakir Syed Hassan-u-din gave extension to that *imambargah* which was constructed by Fakir Syed Aziz-u-din, so it helped to flourish the processions of mourners. Right from that place pilgrimage of *alam* carried out. On 7th Muharram the replica of *zuljenah* was carried out as well. Fakir Syed Aziz-u-din was the pioneer of both pilgrimages.³⁶

In Faqir Hassan-ud-Din's time, two famous places of weeping such as *Havaili* Altaf shah and *Havaili* Imad Shah of *sadat* family remained very

important in terms of evoking weeping and arranging devotional rituals of *azadari* processions. One of ancient *imambargah* *Havaili* Alaf Shah belongs to Sayyid Alaf Shah. The procession of 6th Muharram carried out from Faqir Khana and ended at *Havaili* Alaf Shah.³⁷ Having tears in their eyes, the members of this family participated in this procession with mourning and respect like their forefathers. The procession of *zuljenah* started from *Havaili* Alaf Shah. This procession of 10th Muharram carried out in the morning and crossed from other places of weeping like *Pani Wala Talab*, *Chowk Tibbi* and reached at *Imambargah* Fakir Syed Hassan-u-din. Above mentioned pilgrimages travel through Imam Barah Fakir Syed Hassan-u-din and *Havaili* Alaf Shah, then it passed from Bazar Hakeeman, Tehsil *Bazaar*, Lahore Mandi, Shah Alam market, after it from the direction of *Havaili* Mian Khan it passed Mochi Darwaza and ultimately reached at *Havaili* Alaf Shah, then came to end. Later another pilgrimage of *zuljenah* started being under the supervision of Sayyid Imdad Ali Shah from *Kocha Kaghziyan* inside Bhati Darwaza. In this manner, these three pilgrimages travelled at the same time, but after one another firstly the pilgrimage of Fakir Family carried out, then Sayyid Imdad Shah's pilgrimage and after it Alaf Shah's pilgrimage. Later, owing to some personal clashes Fakir Family changed its course and route of pilgrimage. But the procession of Imdad Ali Shah and *Havaili* Alaf Shah collaborated with each other. There were two to three thousand weepers in this *azadari* procession. The third pilgrimage of Fakir Family in this period carried out from Imam Barah Fakir Syed Hassan-u-din on 6th Muharram.³⁸

Karbala Gam-e-Shah: A Place of Weeping in Pre-Colonial Lahore

Place for weeping had a great significance in history of emotions. In the history of Shia Community weeping in pre-colonial Lahore, as a place of weeping, Karbala Gam-e Shah had a unique significance.³⁹ In ancient time, this place remained a centre of weeping for Muslims and Hindu Communities' death rituals. Later, it developed as a center of *azadari* based weeping in pre-colonial Lahore. At this place, all the *azadari* processions such as *tazias* were buried, *zuljenah* processions ended, and Shia community used to return to their homes having tear in their eyes. The place of Karbala Gham-e-Shah was the course of River Ravi centuries ago. Along with there were funeral houses, where Hindu used to burn their dead bodies and on the other side Muslims used to bury their dead bodies. This whole place seems like a forest due to tall trees all around.⁴⁰

According to Siraj Nizami, in the streets and bazaars of pre-colonial Lahore, a *malang* (dervish) Gam-e Shah and a *malangni* (dervish), Mai Aghian used to carry *tazias* on their heads. Both echoed "Hussain", "Hussain". Whenever they met each other, Gam-e Shah used to say "Malangni! Pir Ali madad," (seek ali's help) and Mai Aghian used to reply "Malanga! Mula Ali madad" (seek Ali help).⁴¹ It is pertinent to mention here that Mai Aghian was the first to introduce *zuljenah* procession in Lahore.⁴² After Fakir family, the Qazlibash family was second great and old mourner family of Lahore. This family was considered very famous, virtuous, and mourner family in Lahore. The Qazlibash tribe was very famous and considered historically important in Afghanistan. It was also called weeper and mourner tribe because of its mourning inheritance.⁴³

Apart from Shia community *azadari* observation, some prominent Sufis such as Moin-ud-Din Chishti (d.1236), Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d.1405), Banda Nawaz Gaiso Daraz (d.1422), and Sahil Bin Abdullah Tistari (d.896) also observed *azadari* with tears of devotion.⁴⁴ Moin-ud-Din set the tradition of observing Muharram in Ajmir and his famous '*rubai*'⁴⁵ *Shah Hast Hussain, Badshah Hast Hussain, Din Hasat Hussain, Din Panah Hast Hussin* (Husain is Shah, Husain is King of this world. He himself is a religion and he gave shelter to religion. In fact he is the foundation of religion), became very famous.⁴⁶ Simnani started weeping as the moon of Muharram appeared on the sky. In north India, he set the tradition of taking 'Hussaini Alam' (black flag of Hussain) and stayed under it during the whole month of Muharram.⁴⁷ Banda Nawaz used to weep in Muharram.⁴⁸ Abdullah Tistari, by memorizing the atrocities of Imama Hussain, also used to weep during Muharram and said that "I am unlucky that I was not present in Karbala and I could not sacrifice my blood, but now I will weep and shed my tears in place of blood."⁴⁹ In pre-colonial Punjab, Apart from Shia community's weeping during the Muharram observation, some prominent Chishti Sufis also observed Muharram in tears. For instance, by following Moin-ud-Din Chishti, Farid-ud-Din observed Muharram regularly and used to weep by hearing the stories of Karbala with saying "Alas! Alas!". Sometime even he became unconscious during the devotional rituals of *azadari* mourning assemblies.⁵⁰

Conclusion

By studying Shia community's *azadari* rituals, it appears that weeping played a significant role in the construction and preservation of Shia community's (Muslim community) identity in pre-colonial Punjab. Taking leads from weeping in Persia and India, Shia community in pre-colonial Multan and Lahore, also used weeping to distinguish its identity not only from other Muslim (Sunnis) communities, but also from non-Muslim communities such as Hindus and Sikh. Religious change through devotional rituals of *azadari*-based weeping injected a new spirit of inter-communal religious observations in pre-colonial Punjab.

Notes & References

¹ Andreas Rieck, *The Shia of Pakistan*, p.6, and also see, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India* Vol:I, pp.153-159

² *Rizakar* 25/19-21:104 (8 June 1962), and Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore: New Imperial Press, 1892), p.271; Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, (Lahore: Izhar sons, 2002), p.259; Muhammad Baqir Malik, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore: Punjab University, 1952)

³ Interview with Malik Naseer Hussain, Principal of Muhamdia Madrassa, M.A Islamiyat and M.A Arabic from the university of Punjab, 10-01-2015

⁴ Alevism is a mystical branch/movement of Islam whose adherents are followers of Ali, the Twelve Imams and their descendant

⁵ Khurasan is a historical region lying in the northeast of [Persia](#). However, in [pre-Islamic](#) and early [Islamic times](#), the term "Khurassan" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of [Central Asia](#) and [Afghanistan](#)

⁶ Umar Kamal Khan writes in foreword of Christopher Shackle, *Siraiki Marsiya* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2003), pp.5-6

⁷ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī, also transliterated as el-Mukaddasi or al-Maqdisī, was a medieval Arab geographer, author of *Aḥsan al-taqāsim fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*

⁸ It is a part of Shia community call for prayer and this sentence all distinguished Shia community azan from Sunni community.

⁹ See, [Edward MacLagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-24](#), Lahore, 1926 (Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, part A), pp.24-30; Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, (London: 1953); Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main* (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2002), p.249

¹⁰ Francis Robinson, "Introduction: The Shia in South Asia" in Justin Jones and Ali Usman Qasmi, eds., *The Shi'a in Modern South Asia: Religion, History and Politics* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.1-11. Here, p.3

¹¹ This oral tradition can be verified by Muhammad Ubaid-ur-Rehman, *Siraiki Kitabin* (1983). Interestingly, some adherents of Multan claim about Shah Shams that he was Isna Ashri Shia and real Shah Shams Tabrez. Long ago, his shrine has passed into the hand of Isna-e Ashri guardians. For more details see, [Edward MacLagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-24](#), Lahore, 1926 (Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, part A), pp.288-289; Abdal Rehman Khan, *Aina Multan* (Multan. 1972), p.234; Christopher Shackle, *Siraiki Marsiya* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2003), pp.6, 17; Umar Kamal Khan writes in foreword of Christopher Shackle, *Siraiki Marsiya* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2003), pp.7-8

¹² Jhon Norman Hollister, *The Shia of India*, , pp.340-345, Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.125,180

¹³ The Qarmatians were a syncretic religious group that combined elements of the Ismaili Shia.

¹⁴ Rifiaz means those who reject. It is a branch of Ismaili Shia.

¹⁵ Ghazi Saiyyed Salar Masud was a Ghaznavid army general and the nephew of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. He invaded India in early 11th century to propagate Islam in the subcontinent.

¹⁶ Gardez is a famous city in Afghanistan. Almost all of those Gardezi who migrated to Multan were from Gardez.

¹⁷ For details see, *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962

¹⁸ [Edward MacLagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-24](#), Lahore, 1926 (Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, part A), pp.107-108,234-35; Abdal Rehman Khan, *Aina Multan*, pp.126,226,357-8; p Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.250

¹⁹ For the miracles details of Shah Yousaf see, Syed Muhammad Latif, *The Early History of Multan* (Lahore: People Publishing House, 1965), pp.69-72

²⁰ Shah Yousaf's mausoleum was built by Baqir Khan Najam, a Shia Governor of Multan under the Mughal emperor Akbar. The mausoleum of Shah Yousaf is situated closed to the wall city which popularly known as Gurdezi *mohulla* (town). A mosque and an *imambargah* are adjacent to it. To the north is a small turret, in which is placed a stone with the impression of a foot on it. Mohammadan believe that this is the impression of the foot of Ali-ul Mutaza, the son-in-law of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). For more details see, Syed Muhammad Latif, *The Early History of Multan* (Lahore: People Publishing House, 1965), pp.68-69

²¹ For more details see, Humaira Faiz Dasti, *Multan: A Province of Mughal Empire (1525-1751)* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998), p.264, and Ashiq Muhammad Khān Durani, *History of Multan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1991), p.24

²² His name was Shams-ud-Din, shamsi Tabrez. He was son of Shah Salih, son of Shah Momin (1166-1276). Syed Muhammad Latif, *The Early History of Multan*, p.84; Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.291-292

²³ Jalal-u-ddin Haider Surkhposh Bukhari became Shias by the eighteenth century. See, Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna-e-Ashri Shias in India Vol:II*, p.72 and Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, *Ab-I Kausar* (Lahore: Idar-I Saqafat-I Islamiya, 2006), pp.277-284; Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.253-259, 292-293. A famous early Shia alim, Mahboob Alam, popularly known as shah Jiwna (1490-1564) settled in Jhnag was a descendant of Jalal-u-ddin Haider Surkhposh Bukhari. See, Bilal Zubari, *Tazkar-I Awliya-yi Jhnag (Jhang: Jhang Adabi Akādami, 1976)*, pp.211-217

²⁴ These were/are the famous slogans of Shia community during the *azadari* procession in Multan.

²⁵ The *ustad-vala tazia* (belonging to the Qazi Julal Quarter) and the *Shahgird-vala tazia* (belonging to the Khuni Burj quarter) are briefly described in Abdal Rehman Khan, *Aina Multan* (Multan. 1972), p.248. The pupil tazia is in fact the older, since the original 'Master tazia' was destroyed by the jealous partisans of the former, so it is said. For more details see, Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.301-302

²⁶ In present time, because of the sweetness of their *Siraki* dialect, the Zakirs of Multan are still considered more favorite for *majlis* and other Shia religious gatherings. But, because of the commercialization of Islam in post-colonial Punjab, now they demand a big amount for their services.

²⁷ [Edward MacLagan](#), *Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-24*, Lahore, 1926 (Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, part A), pp.106-107, 112-3; Abdal Rehman Khan, *Aina Multan*, p.380

²⁸ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.94

²⁹ *Rizakar* 25/19-21:104 (8 June 1962), and Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore: New Imperial Press, 1892), p.271, Muhammad Baqir Malik, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore: Punjab University, 1952)

³⁰ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.314; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.106

³¹ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.314. As a result of Nadir Shah (1688-1747) invasion in mid-eighteenth century, the Qazilbash tribe of Persia spread out as far as Delhi from Lahore, thereby engendering a conducive possibility of promoting mourning traditions in this region; and almost immediately thereafter, Ahmed Shah Abdali (1723-1772) came into power, followed by the Sikh who gained supremacy after him. Thus, by this time, *azadari* had become a well-established feature in North India and as well as in South India. In Agra, Delhi and their suburbs, both Muslims and Hindu communities freely participated in the observation of *azadari* rituals. Similarly, *azadari* in

Lahore also found a firm footing. The saints and other older generations of Shias in Lahore were already dedicated mourners and used to hold regular *majlises*.

³² The family of Faqir was settled in 1730 in Lahore. Fakir Nur-ud-Din enjoyed the trust and confidence of Sikh ruler due to his diplomatic achievements. He successfully arranged the meeting of Lieutenant Alexander Burnes at the Sikh embassy in 1831. Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, the Maharaja Rangit Singh's minister, welcomed Lieutenant Alexander Burnes in Lahore on 18th June 1831. For more details see, Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab: From The Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House, 1964), pp.443-447, Hussain, Nuqush-I Rah, pp.194,206, and Som Anand, *Lahore: Portrait of a Lost City* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998), pp.128-138; *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.107

³³ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.315
ibid, p. 326.

³⁴ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.325

³⁵ Fakir Aziz ud-Din was physician, linguist, diplomat, and foreign minister at the court of Maha Raja Ranjit Singh. He was a Muslim, one of many non-Sikhs in Ranjit Singh's secular government of the Sikh Empire.

³⁶ Fakir, Noor-u-Din, *Memories of Fakir Noor-e-Din*, Fakirkhana Archive Museum (Lahore: Allied Press, 1909), Archive cupboard No: 1, p. 63 Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main* (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2002), p.326; Later on Fakir Syed Saif-u-Din continued the tradition of mourning of his forefathers and is still going on by Fakir Syed Saif-u-Din.

³⁷ Even till present, this traditional procession arranged with same old zeal and zest and with respect as well. This pilgrimage carried out only for one year but later on, it reshaped on permanent basis and till now it is carried out.

³⁸ Fakir, Noor-u-Din, *Memories of Fakir Noor-e-Din*, Archive cupboard No: 1, p. 50. After some period, this pilgrimage carried out under the supervision of Syed Imdad Shah from Kocha Kaghziyan on 6th Muharram in evening. Which ended at Mochi Darwaza, and this mode is continued till present.

³⁹ Karbala Gham-e-Shah is situated in the direction of south, outside Bhati Gate, behind the shrine of Data Gunj Bukhshe.

⁴⁰ Fakir, Noor-u-Din, *Memories of Fakir Noor-e-Din*, Archive cupboard No: 1, p. 72; From present Lahore hotel to railway station there was a big grave yard. With the passage of time this whole map changed. Later, this place came to be known as by the name of Pir Bhawan Bahishet. It is said that Pir Bhawan Bahishet came to Lahore with Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhshe (d.1077). He spent his rest of life near Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhshe and also died near that place. Pir Bhawan Bahishet buried in that place where present Karbala Gham-e-Shah is. After some period, the grave of Peer Bhawan Bahishet was destroyed. Now there is symbolic grave of Peer Bhawan Bahishet in the present place of Karbala Gham-e-Shah. For more details see, Ahmad Chishti, Noor, *Tehkikat-e-Chishti*, (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publications, 1993), p. 523. During Sikh period, a pious person named Sayyid Shah lived in the mid of that graveyard. He had a great affection with Ahl-e Bait. The son of Sayyid Shah, Syed Ghulam Ali Shah known as Gam-e Shah, privileged his forefather's tradition of mourning in Lahore. After the death of Sayyid Shah, Gham-e Shah used to sit at that place. After that, the place was known as the dwelling of Gham-e-Shah. Inside Karbala Gham-e-Shah in front of Qazilbash office, there is an old tree, which is still present, Gham-e-Shah often seated there. For more details see, Kanhiya, Lal, *Tarikh-e-Lahore*, (Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications, 2001), p. 304.

⁴¹ Siraj Nizami, "Lahore ka Muharram ul Haram", in *Rizakar*, Tarikh-I Azadari Number, 1962, p.502.

⁴² In dream, Mai Aghian saw *zuljenah*, so she arranged *zuljenah* procession in the morning and started weeping and beating her chest. This first procession was taken out from her home. Now a day, this house is called *imambargah* Sayyid Shah and the *zuljenah*

procession of 10th Muharram is taken from this *imambargah*. For more details see, Siraj Nizami, “Lahore ka Muharram ul Haram”, in *Rizakar*, June 1965 (Lahore), p.502

⁴³ Official Record of Qazlibash Family, visit April 10, 2011

⁴⁴ The tradition of Sufis weeping can be traced in Arabs by quoting Hasan Basra (642-728) example. When he heard the news of Imam Hussain’s death, he wept to a great extent. Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.40

⁴⁵ *Ruba’i* is a poem, or verse of a poem, consisting of four lines. It refers specifically to a Persian quatrain, or its derivative form in English and other languages. The plural form of the word, *rubaiyyat*, often anglicised as *rubaiyat*, is used for a collection of such quatrains.

⁴⁶ Moin-ud-Din rubai is still being read in Muharram related assemblies by almost all Muslim community. Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.38

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.39

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.40

⁴⁹ Sulmain Qandawzi, trns., Muhammad shrif, *Yina Bai-ul-Mawadtah* (Lahore: Insaf Press), Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.41

⁵⁰ Shahid Naqvi, *Azadari: Tehzibi, Adabi Aur Saqafati Manzar Namin Main*, p.40