

INFLUENCING FACTORS ACTING UPON MUSLIM SHRINES AND THEIR IMPACT ON BUILT ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

Shrine complex has remained an important feature of urban settlement since its inception. For *Zaireen*, it is a place of blessings of saint, point of power for political authorities and source of income for *Waqf* administration.

In first part of this paper, three types of influences acting at Muslim shrines have been studied to explore the charisma of life and institutional arrangement at *Khanaqah*. Ideological influences are purely concerned with *Shaykh* and his cult, devotees and their beliefs. Political influences deal with *Waqf* administration at government as well as private level and third, the Economic influences deal with sources and management of income from all sources at *Dargah*. The manner in which these three types of influences affect the building form and spatial configuration at shrine complex is focused in second part of the study.

1. INTRODUCTION

Shrine in a Muslim society is a great cultural and religious phenomenon in both urban and rural settlements¹. It needs to explore the charisma of life and changes as occur in shrine complex as the time ahead. This can be studied at two levels. One is religious, cultural and political level; that is social environment, whereas second is the space where this phenomenon happens; that is the built environment. Shrine of a Sufi has been declared here as a "Religious Magnet"² in urban settlement. It is the of the *Shaykh* that takes into control the *Zaireen* and attracts them when their wills and wants are fulfilled. In the magnetic field, the force

or *Shaykh* has his own sphere of influence with a pull force that grips the visitors. This magnetic field of the Sufi is not bound to geographical limits. *Zaireen* and attracts them when their wills and wants are fulfilled. In the magnetic field, the force acts and attracts the particles. Similarly, the Sufi The actions and reactions of these forces create the drama of life at shrine complex that is created



Figure 1: Devotees at the Shrine

¹ Shrine has been taken here as social phenomenon in Muslim society.

² The term "religious magnet" is used for shrine because of its characteristic pull force and magnetic field.

by *Zaireen* who pay their visitation and perform the rituals and ceremonies at shrines daily, weekly monthly and annually.³

2. INFLUENCING FACTORS

Three types of influencing factors in urban settlements control these activities.

Ideological Influences, that includes *Shari'at* and *Tariqat*. *Shari'at* is the guideline as given by *Quran* and the *Sunnah* of Holy Prophet (SAW). *Tariq'at* is the way of living as adopted by the Sufi and Saint in Islamic mysticism that makes the cult of the Saint.

Political Influence includes the *Waqf* administration such as the Auqaf Department, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Religious Purposes Committees, *Sajjada Nasheen* and religious organizations.

Economic Influence deals with the money matters related to the shrine. This includes income from cash boxes placed at shrines, income from lease contracts i.e. *Waqf* agriculture land, shoe keeping *Taharat* Fairs, etc. Rents received from commercial units built on *waqf* land and the *Nazrana'jat* bestowed by *Zaireen*. Shrine has become source of power for political people⁴ and source of income for *Sajjada Nasheen*⁵ or *Waqf* administration.⁶

3. IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

To study the phenomenon of Ideological influences, we have to know what is *Shari'at*, *Tariqat* and the cult of the *Shaykh*? *Shari'at* refers to *Quran* and *Hadith*. *Tariq'at* is the way of the Sufi, as he adopted⁷ during his life time. It also elaborates the

education system and practical following of the path of the *Sheikh*. Lastly, is the cult of the *Shaykh*. It is the individual method of the *Sheikh* to achieve the ultimate divine reality (*Haqiqat*). *Shari'at*, *Tariqat*, Cult and beliefs are the controlling forces of all activities happening at *khanaqah* and nothing can go beyond their limitations. *Shari'at* is the same for *Shaykh* and the devotees. *Tariq'at* is related to the Sufi himself and cult/beliefs are more related to *Zaireen*.

3.1 Shari'at

Quran and *Hadith* are the two major sources of guideline for Muslims in Islamic world. *Quran* is a comprehensive book, revealed through our last Prophet of Allah, Hazrat Muhammad (SAW). *Sunnah* is the way and path followed by Hazrat Muhammad (SAW) through out his life. It is the way of living of Holy Prophet as described for us by his closest colleagues. Where the details of certain Quranic issues are to be obtained, *Hidayat* (Guide) is sought from *Sunnah* and *Hadith*.

3.2 Tariq'at

Mysticism accelerates the generally dormant and latent faculties of man with the support of intuition and spirituality, through the training under guidance of *Shaykh* who himself has already achieved the divine reality (*Haqiqat*). This training assumed as "Traveling the path" (*Salook* or *Tariqa*) aims at dispersing the veils that hide the self from the real and become transformed or absorbed into undifferentiated unity.

³ Daily activities like opening and closing of shrines, weekly activities mean Thursday and Friday visitation, monthly activities mean like first Thursday of moon or 11th day of every month and annual activities means 'Urs' celebrations, etc.

⁴ After taking oath, it has become a tradition for Governor or Chief Minister to come to shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* at Lahore, Even, when Prime Minister visits Lahore, he also visits the shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri*.

⁵ The annual income from shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* is more than 1000.00 million rupees. From shrine of *Hazrat Sultan Bahu*, 4.20 million rupees were collected during 5th to 10th of *Muharram al Haram* in March 2003.

⁶ Annual Budget of Punjab Auqaf Department for year 2004-05 is 5600.00 million rupees.

⁷ These individual paths of life gave rise to different Sufi orders like *Chishtiya*, *Suhrawardiya* and *Qadiriya*.

J. Spencer Termingham⁸ writes,

"Sufism developed mystical techniques to enable the seekers to arrive at Ma'rifa (esoteric knowledge). Ma'rifa, therefore, is no intellectual gnosis but direct perception of God". P-147

A *Tariqa* is a practical method to guide a devotee through thoughts, feelings and actions (physical and spiritual way), leading through a succession of stages to experience the divine reality (*Haqiqa*). Contrary to the Arab Islamic World, Indian *Khanaqah* established and flourished around a holy man, called *Shaykh* and became associated with his particular *Tariqa* and method of discipline and exercises. Professor R. Nicholson has discussed this at length in his book about the concept of personality in Islamic Mysticism.

J. Spencer Trimmingham writes about the beginning of Sufi *Tariqa* [orders],

"Two contrasting tendencies came to be distinguishable as Junaidi, and Bistami, or Iraqi and Khurasani (cannot be called as school of thought), after two men, Abul Qasim al-Junaid (910 AD) and Abu Yazid Taifur al-Bistami (874 AD) who captured the imaginations more than any other of their contemporaries. These two are held to embody the contrast, between the way based on Tawakkul (Trust) and that on Malama (Blame). Ali al-Hujveri refers to Bistami's teaching, which he calls Taifuri." (p-04)



Figure 2: Shrine of Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri at Lahore.

⁸ Trimmingham, J. Spencer (1971); 'The Sufi Orders in Islam' Oxford University Press p. 147.

Punjab was the earliest which received three Sufi orders first as under:-

- a) *Chishti* at Pakpattan.
- b) *Suhrawardi* at Multan & Uch Sharif.
- c) *Qadiri* at Lahore and Uch Sharif.

3.3 Beliefs.

Belief is the faith of devotee in *Shaykh* or Sufi. This along with Sufi orders, ceremonies and rituals, forms the cult of the saint. Dara Shikoh writes in *Sakeena-tul-Auliya* that, "if some-one pays visits to the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri for consecutive 40 (Thursdays, Days), he will get what ever he will wish." Similarly the female visitors of shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu believe that if a leaf falls on the cloth, spread under tree, located at western side of shrine, she will get a male child. These beliefs are the scaffoldings for the visitors and



Figure 3: Shrine of Hazrat Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan... Representative of Suhrawardi Order.



Figure 4: Shrine of Hazrat Baba Farid at Pakpattan... Representative of Chishti Order.

devotees that support their mental and psychological dispersions until they do not get what they wish. These beliefs give the balance to their personalities.

4. POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Today, Shrine has been established as a source of power. It is believed that Politicians will support what the public supports and venerate what the public venerates. Our history is a witness to popular aphorism, "the religion of the King is the religion of the people", and it applies both ways. At one hand, the Politicians need the support of *Sajjada Nasheen* or *Mutwallis* and at the other, it seems to have been common practice for *Mutwallis* to approach the political authorities. Sufis had also made their contribution towards the militant advance of Islam. The role of *Babas* in inspiring Ghazi warriors is significant.

After establishing as *waqf* property, shrine complex has gone through the long experimentation of *waqf* administration. At the level of individual shrine, *Waqf* Property Ordinance has given birth to Religious Purposes Committee, that looks after the affairs and performance of ceremonies and rituals at shrines. Being a religious and cultural centre, the role of local, religious and social organizations becomes more effective. Sometimes, these religious organizations stand against the decisions of *waqf* administration, if these go against the cult of the *Shaykh*.

J. Spencer Trimmingham writes,

"We find Sufis aspiring to political power, revolting against established authority and some time actually successful in founding a dynasty. Normally, Shaykhs were pillars of society but Zawiya and Khanaqah were local hagiocracies and it has been sometimes the fate of the leaders of these institutions to aspire to rule in this world." (p. 239).

Further he elaborates;

"There was always the possibility of direct interventions in affairs of the state. Consequently, the political authorities, well aware of their potentialities rooted as they were in the lives of the masses, sought to control, regulate and conciliate them rather than to suppress." (p 239).

Chishti Sufi Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auliya's succession certificate contained;

"Do not accept any village or stipend or favour from the kings and officials, it is not permitted to a Dervish."

Gisudiraz,⁹ himself is reported to have rejected the offer of village and gifts from Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani saying that to accept them was something contrary to the *Chishti's* ideology.

Shaykh and shrines were always very important for ruling authorities through out the ages. Mughal Emperor preferred to have blessings of *Shaikh* if they planned to attack certain territory. Similarly, when their wills and wishes fulfilled, they awarded the *Shaykh* with land, money or kind. When prince Saleem was born with the blessing of *Hazrat Khawaja Mo'en-ud-Din Chishti* of Ajmer Sharif, Emperor Akbar came to the Shrine barefooted¹⁰ and donated generously to the *Khanaqah*.

The Sufi shrines were also well looked after during the British Colonial administration, barring a few exceptions. The same trend contracted after Pakistan came into existence. President of Pakistan, Muhammad Ayub Khan made and promulgated the "West Pakistan *Waqf* Properties Ordinance" 1959" for better control, administration, maintenance and management of shrines. President Zial-ul-Haq accepted the chairmanship of the Design Selection Committee and also showed his keen interest and financial contribution for construction of Shrine Complex of *Hazrat Ali*

⁹ Hussaini, S. Shah Khusroo (1983) 'Gisudiraz on Sufism' Idara Adebayat, Delhi (p. 7).

¹⁰ Currie, P. M. (1989); 'The Shrine and Cult of Kh. Mo' en al Din Chishti of Ajmer', Oxford University Press, Bombay (p. 174-180).

being Prime Minister of Pakistan provided Rupees 120.00 million for construction of new mosque at shrine of *Hazrat Baba Farid-ud-Din*, at Pakpattan. During his visit, Prime Minister Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali on 18-September 2003, made contribution of rupees 15.00 million for re construction of shrine of *Hazrat Baba Bulleh Shah* at Kasur and also directed the Chief Minister Punjab to contribute additional rupees 15.00 millions for Phase-III of the shrine complex. All the political forces influence the social environment of the Shrine Complex. Instead of *Mutawalli*, now political authorities give the annual *Ghusal* (Bath) to shrines on *Urs* day.¹¹

4.1 *Waqf* Administration

To run the day-to-day affairs was not as much complicated during the lifetime of *Shaykh* because he was the ultimate controlling authority and his words were like a command that were obeyed without questioning at any level. Even then, for better administration and control at *Khanaqah* of *Baba Farid ud Din* during his lifetime, the duties were distributed among his sons regarding the arrangements of Langer (Free Kitchen), *Taweez* writing, for *Zaireen*, collection and distributions of endowments etc. After the death of *Shaykh*, when number of visitors and income increased, the administration of *Khanaqah* became more complicated. At one hand, matter was to administer the day-to-day affairs and at the other, to distribute the income received from *Khanaqah*, among the successors. When the *Shaykh* nominated his *Khalifa* during lifetime, fewer problems occurred. For the distribution of income from the shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana*, Lahore, Noor Ahmed Chishti, the author of '*Tahqiqat-e-Chishti*' (1867) gives very interesting details.

In *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*, different affairs of *Waqf*, its administration, income, expenditure, criteria for *Mutawalli*, etc. in concept of Islamic

teaching has been deliberated.¹² Any property once declared as "*Waqf*" goes into the ownership of Allah permanently and can never be sold or transferred or gifted to any one under any circumstances. This makes *Waqf* property different from other non-*Waqf* properties. While writing the *Waqf* deed, one should be very careful and all such aspects should be comprehensively covered in documentation.

4.2 *Waqf* Administration at Government Level:

When India became the colony of the British Government, they administered the religious monuments of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in their own way.¹³ According to Bengal Code 1810, the powers were delegated to the Board of Revenue for administration and looking after *Waqf* properties in India. The income from these *Waqf* properties was spent for projects of public welfare like construction of Bridges, *Serais*, etc.

According to 'Religious Endowment Act 1863, Board of Revenue was directed to hand over the *Waqf* Property to Trustee, Manager or Superintendent related to *Khanaqah*. To supervise the Manager, Trustee or Superintendent, a committee comprising of three or more persons was constituted. Every Trustee, Manager or Superintendent was directed to keep regular account of his receipts and disbursements in respect of endowments and expenses on such religious establishments. Basic spirit of this committee was to open the opportunities for local residents to participate in the affairs of management of their religious establishments. In spite of all above, the religious endowments remained under control of *Mutawalli* and *Gaddi Nasheen* and they steered the cart in their own way.

After independence, when Pakistan came into

11 Governor or Chief Minister Punjab celebrates the Ceremony of Urs and Ghusal Sharif at Shrine of Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri.

12 In *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*, almost hundred pages have been reserved for subject of Islamic concept of *Waqf*.

13 Religious Endowment Act 17863, deals the religious properties of Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs under same rules and regulations.

being, the matter of administration of *Waqf* establishments once again came into focus in late fifties during the period of President Muhammad Ayub Khan. On his behalf, Governor of West Pakistan made and promulgated the West Pakistan *Waqf* Properties Ordinance-1959 for the first time. According to this, the Government appointed a Chief Administrator of Auqaf for the provinces of East and West Pakistan separately. Chief Administrator was delegated powers to appoint Administrators and Deputy Administrators. He was given endless power to takeover and assumes the administration, control, management and maintenance of a *Waqf* property.

This was replaced by "Punjab *Waqf* Properties Ordinance 1979". According to this ordinance, if a property has been used from the time immemorial for any purpose recognized by Islam as religious, pious and charitable is called *Waqf* Property. Where the *Waqf* is under administrative control of government, the main controlling force is "Religious Purposes Committees" instead of *Mutawalli* or *Gaddi Nasheen*.

4.3 Religious Purposes Committee

The concept of this committee evolved when British Government realized that there should be some public participation in administration and maintenance of religious establishments of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. So according to Religious Endowment Act 1863, the committee was elected but members were given lifetime membership.

According to section 6 of Punjab *Waqf* properties (Administration) Rules 2002, Chief Administrator *Auqaf* has been authorized to constitute a "Religious Purposes Committee", separately for shrines and mosques administration in Punjab. The number of members and power to constitute a Religious Purposes Committee is as under:-

- i) Seven to ten members, where the shrine has an annual income of rupees one

million or above.

- ii) Five to seven members, where shrine has an annual income of 0.5 to 1.0 million rupees.
- iii) Five members where the shrine has an annual income of less than 0.50 million rupees.

Religious Purposes Committee for category (i) is constituted by the Chief Administrator Auqaf and for category (ii) and (iii), concerned Zonal Administrator Auqaf is authorized to constitute.¹⁴

The tenure of committee has been kept one year, from the date of its constitution, provided it is not rescinded earlier. Zonal Administrator Auqaf or Manager is declared as secretary of the committee. Zonal Administrator appoints one of the members of committee, as chairman of Religious Purposes Committee. The aim and objectives of Religious Purposes Committee is to organize and perform the rituals and ceremonies held at Shrine on *Urs* days, and on the eves of years.

Today, the status of membership of Religious Purposes Committee has become so important that devotees use all the ways and means to become member or chairman of the committee.

The chairman of committee for *Data Darbar* is usually retired Justice of High Court. Devotees give time and money for the up keep and maintenance of shrine to become member or chairman of committee. This rank has become a status symbol in religious community.

4.4 *Waqf* Administration At Private Level

Chief Administrator Auqaf has been delegated powers¹⁵ to take over and assume the control and administration of any shrine in Punjab. Up till now, more than four hundred shrines have been taken over by Chief Administrator Auqaf since 1960, whereas, hundred and million thousand

¹⁴ Punjab *Waqf* Properties (Administration) Rules 2002.

¹⁵ Section 7, Punjab *Waqf* Properties Ordinance 1979.

shrines are looked after and maintained at individual, personal or private level in Pakistan. Major shrines include; "Shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu, District Jhang, Shrine at *Golra Sharif* Islamabad etc.

Income/Expenditure Account is not maintained at these shrines and no one is answerable to any one for income and expenditure. This is totally private enterprise. Even no income tax is deducted from the money collected at shrines. The *Gaddi Nasheen* or *Khalifa* is the ultimate authority for any decision. He looks after the arrangements for *Langer* (Free meal), availability for public amenities, *Urs* arrangements and the other festivals associated to the *Dargah*. Because of having a number of devotees around, he enjoys the status in the state affairs of political constituency of his area. He has established his role in religious as well as political scenario.

Other close members of *Shaykh's* family either start confronting the announced *Gaddi Nasheen* or they declare themselves as *Gaddi Nasheen* or representative of the *Shaykh* or *Pir* and starts collecting the money and other benefits associated with the *Khanaqah*. This creates some time law and order situation for the Government.¹⁶

4.5 The *Sajjada Nasheen*

The "*Sajjada Nasheen*" is the living representative of the *Shaykh*. He is also called "*Diwan*". *Shaykh* himself selects, among his followers or disciples, his representative called *Diwan* or *Sajjada Nasheen*. There are different symbolic representations for transference of spiritual authority to the successor. In *Chishti* order, it is the prayer rug (*Sajjade* or *Musalla*), the staff (*Asa*), the cloak (*Khirqah*) and less importantly sandals and a begging - bowl called *Kushkole*.

The *Sajjada Nasheen* has spiritual power as well as political power for upgraded social status. In private *Waqf* administration, *Sajjada*

Nasheen enjoys the authoritative dictatorship whereas in Government *Waqf* administration, the status of *Sajjada Nasheen* is symbolic and not influential. Chief Administrator is announced legal *Mutawalli* for such shrines. *Diwan Masood Mauood* is present day *Sajjada Nasheen* of *Hazrat Baba Farid's*. He opens the *Baheshti Darwaza* on 5th and 6th of *Muharram* every year at shrine of *Hazrat Baba Farid ud Din* at *Pakpatten* and performs all the *Rasoomat* (rituals) on *Urs* days. Otherwise, he has no authority to interfere in the affairs of administration of *Khanaqah*. The *Sajjada Nasheen* of *Dargah Golara Sharif* has all the powers to collect the money, to perform the *Rasoomat* and to administer the day-to-day affairs of Shrine.

4.6 Private Religious Organizations

The Shrines located in urban settlements, attract more people and as a resultantly, people with different objectives come to the shrines. Will for blessings of *Shaykh* or *Fateha Khawani* is the major objective for visitation.

These private Religious Organizations collect the money in the name of *Khanaqah* and spend on maintenance, addition/ alteration or renovation works, and for public amenities to facilitate the *Zaireen*. As a result, they take their bread and butter through these activities.

During the construction of *Data Darbar Complex*, these religious organizations like *Anjuman Khadim ul Auliya*, played an effective role in decision of building large size prayer hall of the mosque. If these organizations resist, it become almost impossible for Government to implement any development scheme or any change in social and built environment of the Shrine.

5. ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

Sufism and economics stand poles apart. One is focusing its attention on the afterlife and next world, and the other is concerned with the material

¹⁶ At shrine of *Hazrat Sultan Bahu*, there are three claimant of *Gaddi Nasheeni* and for many times they times they have exchanged firing resulted in murder of devotees.

	%age	Income	%age
1	Rents	5,60,96,373/-	15.73
2	Lease Money	4,89,86,684/-	13.74
3	Cash Box	19,45,13,221/-	54.54
4	Shoe Keeping	2,62,24,139/-	7.35
5	Flower Contract	22,65,036/-	0.64
6	Misce.	2,22,14,494/-	6.23
7	Darbar Hospital	19,00,054/-	0.54
8	Recovery Advance	17,48,251/-	0.50
9	Sale of Books	1,91,749/-	0.05
	Good will of Shops	25,45,000/-	0.72
	Total	35,66,85,001/-	100

Table 1: Annual Income of Auqaf Department for Year 2002-03
(Source: Auqaf Department)

life of this world. The *Khanqah* has broadly two kinds of men in its fold, the permanent residents and the temporary ones. To meet the daily requirements of permanent residents,¹⁷ *Kasb* and begging were the two practices, whereas for temporary residents or visitors, *Futuh* came into existence. *Futuh* means, unsolicited charity. An earning activity - like *Kasb*, brings a Sufi into contact with public and places him in a position of subordination before the authority of

administration. This limits his freedom. Begging was another way to fulfill the need without *Kasb*. *Futuh* became the main source of financial support for Sufis of certain *Silsalas*. This concept, initially evolved in Baghdad and Khurasan and its application was institutionalized mostly in South Asia.

Futuh made the Sufis independent in basic needs of life. *Futuh* became an established practice well

Income from Cash Boxes

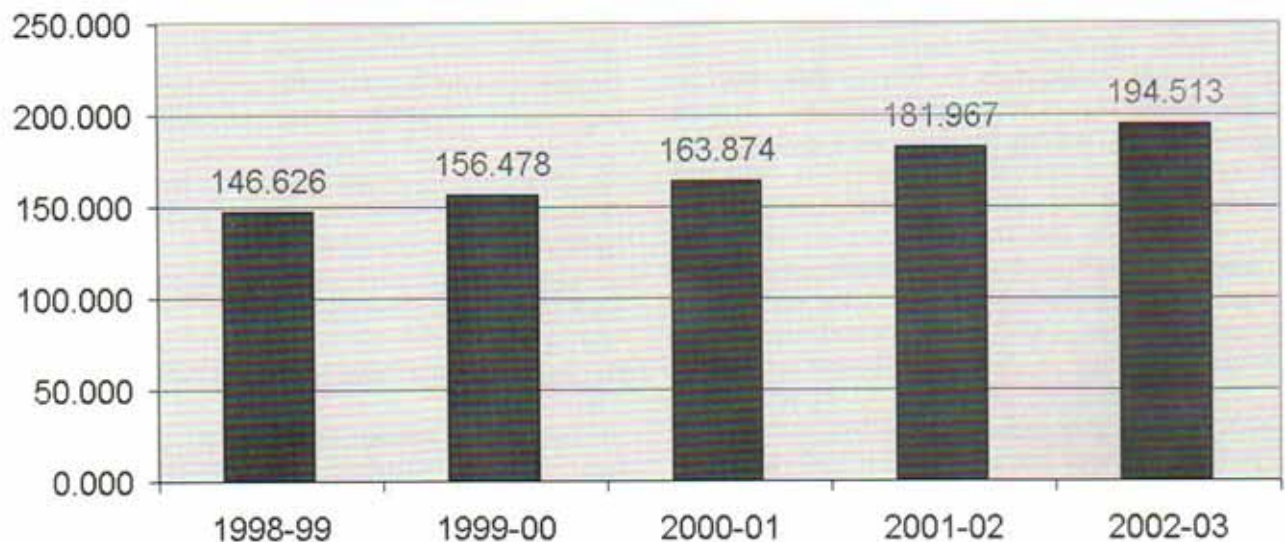


Chart 1: Income from Case Boxes (in millions) for 5 years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

¹⁷ Riazul Islam has discussed in detail about begging, *Kasb* and *Fatuh* in Islam in his book "Sufism in South Asia" (2002) VANGAURD Lahore.



Figure 5: At shrine where Gaddi Nasheen is politically strong authority, Cash Box of Auqaf Department is covered and Nazranajat are collected by representative of Gaddi Nasheen.

before the end of the 10th century. During *Ghaznavids* and Mughal period, Kings and Emperors dedicated the land revenue of dozens of villages or sometime in the form of coins, construction etc., they contributed.

For the devotees, shrine is always a source of blessings of *Shaikh* and main objective of visitation is to request for blessings to fulfill the wants and wills of devotees. During the lifetime of *Shaykh*, it was strictly observed that *Nazranajat* collected every day, might be given away to needy before the sunset, and these were the strict instructions of Baba Farid-ud Din. During the lifetime of *Shaykh*, there was no accumulation of money in any form. After the death of *Shaykh*, shrine became a major source of money for *Waqf* administration. *Shaykh*, in fact, do not agree to bow before any one except Allah.

Annual income from all sources, at shrine of Hazrat Data *Ganj Buksh Ali Hujveri* is rupees 100.76 million for year 2003-04. During days 5-10 of

Muharram, the Managing Committee of Darbar Hazrat Sultan Bahu collected more than 4.10 million rupees in March 2004.

The actual income of Punjab Auqaf Department reached up to rupees 460.00 millions for the year 2003-04. This is achieved mainly from cash boxes (55 %), lease money from agricultural land (14 %), rents from commercial units (16%), annual contracts of shoe keeping (7.50%), *Taharat khana*, fairs etc. Today Shrine is a great source of income for *Waqf* administration and they are all the time planning to increase this income from sources relating to shrine.

5.1 Cash Boxes

To run the *Langer* at *Khanaqah*, during the lifetime of *Shaykh*, is not a difficult task. *Zaireen* were in habit of giving coins and in kind to distribute to the poor. At the time of departure, it was normal practice that devotees would put some money under the carpet of *Shaykh*. After the



Figure 6: Zaireen donate money and toys when their need is fulfilled after their prayer at shrine of Hazrat Sakhi Sultan Bahu, District Jhang.

death of *Shaykh*, people started putting money on grave. In the beginning, no one dared to take that money and *khuddam* were present there round the clock. For more security and protection, a locked wooden box was placed to collect the money that later on converted into steel box of specific size and design so that no one can take away the money even from the slit opening of Cash Box.

The major part of income (almost 55%) from a shrine comes through the Cash Boxes. Auqaf Department has announced a schedule for cash opening at shrines, for whole of the year, where time and days are fixed. Zonal Administrator for major and Manager Auqaf for other shrines themselves open the cash boxes and after counting, deposit the money in the prescribed bank that finally go to Central Auqaf Fund.

Each cash box has three locks and keys remain with,

- Manager / Administrator Auqaf
- *Khatib*
- Bank Officer.

Moreover, an official seal is fixed each time when cash box is locked after official opening. For every opening, the presence of above three members is essential. To open the cash box (i.e. every day, every week, fortnightly, once in a month) depends on income received from shrine. Schedule of Cash Box opening for year is published for all concerned. On Friday, no cash opening is carried out. At Shrine of Hazrat Data *Ganj Buksh*, 39 Cash Boxes are placed at different points in Shrine Complex and on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, cash opening is done, i.e. three days in a week. During the *Urs* Days, daily cash opening is done at shrines

Income from Lease Non

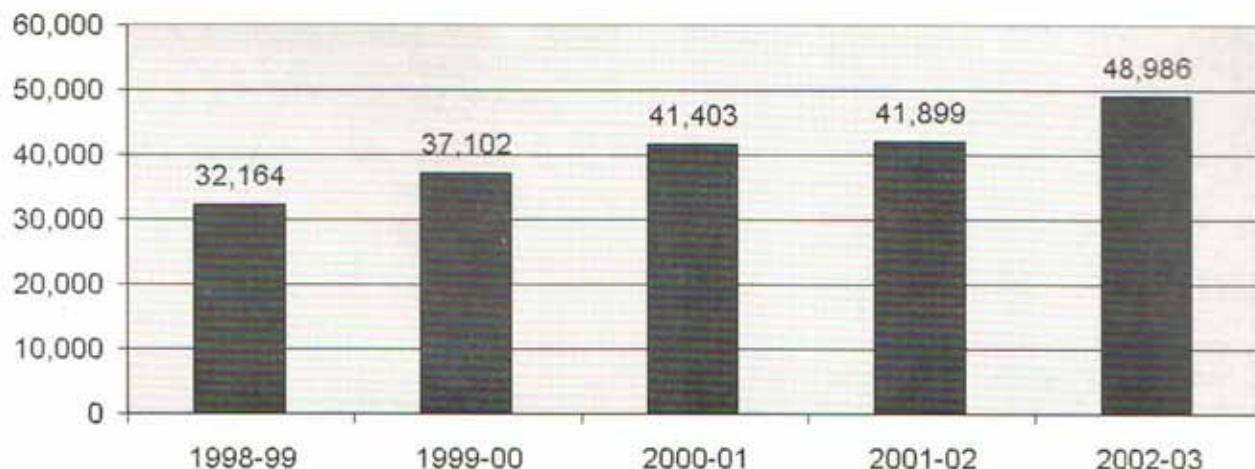


Chart 2: Income from Lease Money (in millions) for five years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

of Hazrat Data Ganj Buksh and Baba Farid.

There are few shrines where cash box is placed on annual contract to private party as the recurring expenditure of shrine becomes more than income of Shrine. There are some shrines located at roadside and *Waqf* administration awards annual contract called '*Chalti Traffic ka Thaika*' [contract of running Traffic].

According to *Waqf* law, all the income from these cash boxes is deposited in the Central Auqaf Fund from where, spending is made, as reflected in annual budget.

5.2 *Waqf* Agricultural Land

To meet the expense of *Khanaqah*, Mughal Emperors were enough generous to allocate the land, income from villages and provide coins to the *Dargah* of *Shaykh*, (Khawaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti). Second major source of income from the Shrine Complex is the lease money received from the annual contract of agricultural land.

To regulate or revise the contract of agricultural land, Punjab Auqaf Department has constituted

Rules for the lease of *Waqf* land. To lease out the agricultural *Waqf* land, following directions have been issued by the authority.

- The lease contract shall be in writing.
- The period of lease shall be three years and shall not exceed five years with the following breakup.
 - a) The first year's money to be determined in the open auction.
 - b) Second year 10% increase.
 - c) Third year 10 % increase.



Figure 7: Governor Punjab and other Ministers on Ceremony of *Chader Poshi* at Shrine of Hazrat Data Darbar at Lahore.

Head	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Rents	33.434	42.112	47.078	50.665	58.641

Table 2: Income from Rents (in millions) for five years of Punjab Auqaf Department.
(Source: Auqaf Department)

	Zaildar Road	Darbar Road
1	Deg Cooking20	Deg Cooking35
2	Tabarrakat17	Tabarrakat31
3	Music/ bangles18	Music/ bangles18
4	Dall Roti02	Dall Roti24
5	Hotel01	Hotel08
6	Books06	Books04
	Total 64	120

Table 3: Nature and Number of Shops at Shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri at Lahore.

Further it has been declared that the lease shall be extendable subject to the approval of Zonal Administrator Auqaf for further two years with 10% increase in each year. Chief Administrator Auqaf has been authorized to grant a lease for longer period, if in his opinion such auction is necessary in the best interest of *Waqf* property.

The lease is granted through open auction after due publicity through national press, by distribution of handbills on spot and also on beat of drum. Manager along with the assistant of Revenue and Administrative Field Staff of Auqaf Organization can do fresh "*Lot bandi*" of *Waqf* land and forward it to Zonal Administrator for approval and to Director Estate for intimation.

This fresh "*lot bandi*" is kept in Manager office in printed or cyclostyled form. Copies of "*lot bandi*" is sent to the Town Committee, *Tehsil* Council, District Council, Deputy District Officer (Revenue) and concerned District Co-ordination Officer. The land to be auctioned for lease can not be more than fifteen acres for irrigated land, and that of *Banjar* (Barren) not more than seventy five acres. Schedule of auction is prepared by Manager in consultation with Zonal Administrator and is intimated to the Director Estate. The Rate of lease money is taken as of "*Illaga Rate*". In case of Tube Well lots, *Bangar Qadeemi* (Barren land) can be leased out for seven years. Area for single lot is not increased more than 75 acres, but not more than one hundred acres each. Such lease is extendable up to 10 years by the Chief Administrator.

5.3 Commercial Units

It is the duty of *Waqf* administration to make arrangements for best utilization of *Waqf* property as it was dedicated for the purpose. *Waqf* property, in the urban settlement mostly has the commercial potentials. *Waqf* administration mostly constructs the shops in urban areas and rents out to collect the money. Punjab Auqaf Department collects almost 16% of total annual income, from the rents of commercial units.



MASTER PLAN OF SHRINE HAZRAT BIBI PAK DAMAN AT LAHORE

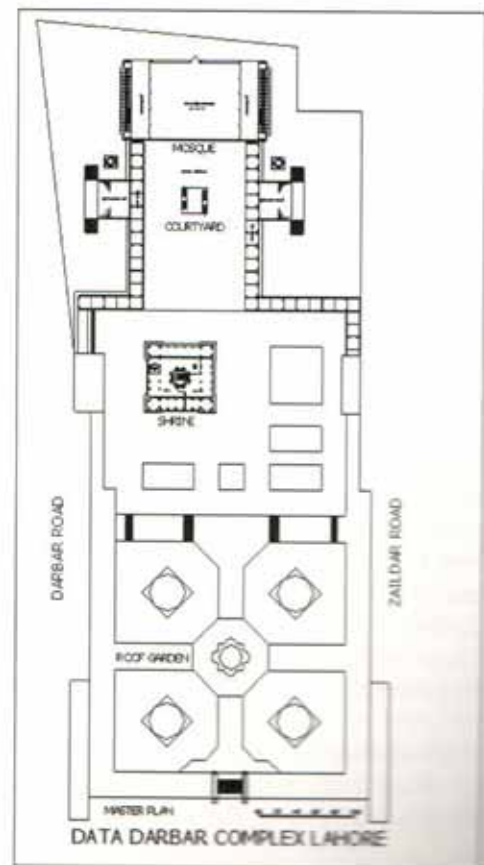
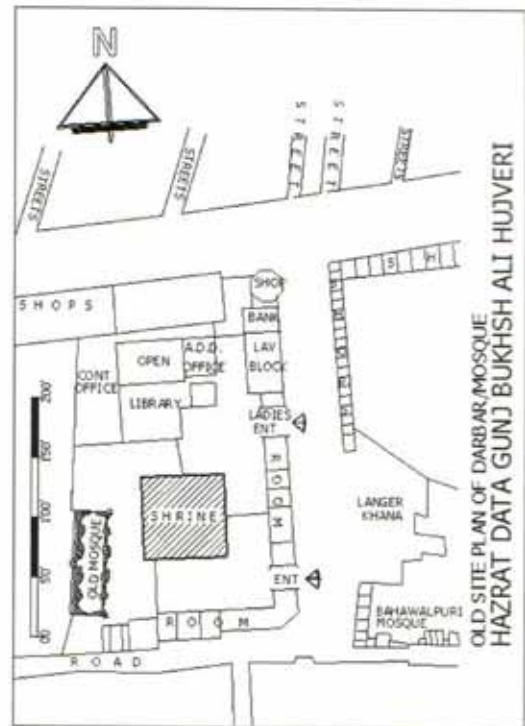
The shops are the necessity at each shrine. *Zaireen*, coming for the visitation, need to buy *Tabbarkat*, *Chaddar*, *Mukhanay*, *Langer*, Sweet, Salt, flowers etc. So it is natural that on the way to shrine, business of such item flourish.

When land was acquired to expand the Data Darbar complex at Lahore, there were 138 existing shops that were vacated by Auqaf Department. In the complex, originally 148 shops were planned to construct. On the *Zaildar Road* (64 number) and on *Darbar Road* (120 number) shops presently exist.

Three hundred feet long street giving access to Shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana* at Lahore, is flanked by shops on both sides. These shops are the regular feature of shrines in sub continent. During the *Urs* days, temporary shops are established in hundreds for few days and rents are collected. There are certain shrines, where every Thursday and Friday, a bazaar is established. Local people visit the shrine and also purchase the households items. At shrine of *Hazrat Imam Ali-ul-Haq Sialkot* and *Hazrat Deewan Chawli Mashaikh Burewala*, every Friday a big fair is held. *Waqf* Administration collects monthly Rs. 1,45,000/- from shrine of *Hazrat Imam Ali-ul-Haq* and Rs. 65,000/- from Shrine of *Hazrat Deewan Chawli Mashaikh* from the Friday shops. For the lease, relating to house or shop, it should be in written form and period does not exceed more than Three years.

Previously, it was common phenomenon to rent the *Waqf* shops comparatively at low rent from market but now, the rent of shop or residential unit is kept close to the market rate. Preference is given to the old lessee. Lessee deposits two months rent in advance. If lessee fails to pay rent for two months, he is liable to be ejected on one-week's notice. The rent of urban properties, commercial units and rural properties is enhanced at the rate of 25 % after every three years. If it is found that occupant is other than the lessee, case for cancellation is taken up.

For the transfer of tenancy, it is required to deposit the rent at old rates for fifty months and lessee also accept new rent according to the market rates in writing. In case of death of tenant, the change



of tenancy in favour of his widow or legal heirs is processed without charging fifty months rent.

If the tenant, during his lifetime applies for transfer of tenancy in favour of his wife / legal heir, fifty months advance rent is charged. Chief Administrator Auqaf approves fresh allotments and fixation of rents for shops and houses, on the recommendation of Zonal Administrator through Director Estate.

5.4 Annual Contracts

To provide the facilities to *Zaireen* for better administration and maintenance, there are two patterns as practiced by the *Waqf* administration.

- To do on his own: For that purpose, *Waqf* administration employ the people and hold them responsible for certain specific jobs. Like Zonal Administrators, Assistant Director for Estate, Finance, Administration, Religious Affairs etc. a proper hierarchy is developed in service structure and prescribed rules for government servants are followed.
- To Let on Annual Contract Basis: Sometimes, it becomes feasible for *Waqf* administration to let on contract certain services on annual basis like agricultural land, shoe keeping, cleanliness, weekly and annual fairs, etc. To appoint a person where one can get hot cash directly, it becomes risky and difficult to control the embezzlement. So such services are mostly given on contract and without any recurring expenditure, *Waqf* administration gets a handsome amount from the contractor.

From the Shrine Complex of Hazrat Data Gunj Buksh Ali Hajveri, *Waqf* administration gets rupees 14.70 millions annually from the contractor for shoe keeping contract on the eight entrance gates of the complex. Similarly, on the Shrine of Baba Farid Pakpattan and Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana at Lahore, the annual contract for shoe keeping is rupees 1.40 million and rupees 1.14 million (Source: Auqaf Department) for the year 2003-04 respectively.

In a way this has become a major source of income for *Waqf* administration. Similarly, the contract for *Taharat Khana*, Flowers, Animals etc are made

on annual basis and *Waqf* administration gets income in collective form without any recurring expenditure. According to Punjab *Waqf* Properties (Administration) Rules 2002, where lease relate to contracts at various shrines, the contract is done in writing and period of contract is one year; that is extendable for another two years subject to an annual increase of 25 % and advance payment of lease money. Director Estate, grants the extension on recommendation of Zonal Administrator, before 31st December of every calendar year.

The schedule of auction of contract i.e. Running Traffic, Cash Boxes and *Nazrana Mutfarraqat* is advertised in the press, at least in one National Daily Newspaper of repute. Schedule of auction is prepared by the Manager and is approved by Zonal Administrator. Zonal Administrator accords the approval of auction if increase in lease money is 20% or more.

5.5 Nazranajat (Donations)

When wills and wants of devotees are fulfilled, in response, the devotees pay off in the form of *Nazranajat* to the *Waqf* administration. That may be in the form of coins and kinds. In the coin form, it goes to the cash boxes placed at shrine by the *Waqf* administration whereas in kind form, that may be animals like goats, sheep, chicken, etc. these are handed over to the *Waqf* administration and receipt is issued as record. These are mostly used in *Langer* [Free Meal] and sometimes, a contract on annual basis is made to dispose off these animals and money collected is deposited in the Central Auqaf Fund.

6. IMPACT ON BUILT ENVIRONMENT

6.1 Ideological Influences:

In its simplest form, a shrine is a burial place; sometimes open to sky, but mostly enclosed in four walls and casually roofed with domical structure. This is not a grave of an ordinary or common person but of a Sufi or saint, a spiritual guide, belonging to Islamic Mystics- the *Tasawwuf*, who is near and dear to Allah. After the death of *Shaykh*, his shrine is constructed. The building form and spatial configuration follows the Sufi

order or *Tari'qa* of the saint. *Chishties*¹⁸ have their shrines as very simple building form, material and construction techniques. No extra decorative motifs are found whereas shrines of *Suharawardi*¹⁹ saints are huge in volume, massive in scale, rich in surface decoration and dominate the *Zaireen*. *Chishties* and *Qadiries* are fond of *Sa'ma*. So their *Khanaqahs* have a place for *Sa'ma* – Sufi *Sangeet* near the shrine in the form of platform or Veranda. *Jam'at Khana* is another distinctive feature of *Chishty Dargahs*. *Suhrawardies* always remained near state or Government and they accepted high ranks, shared and enjoyed ruling powers. Their shrines were constructed at prominent locations of the city like mounds or forts i.e. shrine of Hazrat Baha ul Haq Zakariya and Shah Rukn-e- Alam in Multan and shrine of Jalal ud Din Bukhari in Uch Sharif. Those who were related to *Suhrawardies* were not buried in community graveyards but in the same shrines. Resultantly, *Suhrawardy* shrines have dozens graves whereas *Chishties* or *Qadireis* have one or two graves enshrined. Shrines of *Chishties* or *Qadiries* were constructed by their devotees so these are simple and friendly as compared to the shrines of *Suharawardies*, those are grand in scale, massive in volume and with richly decorated wall surfaces. Ruling authorities or they themselves have constructed these.

Zaireen also create their impact by fixing marble or ceramics tiles on floors or wall surfaces of shrine or painting in their own way on eve of *Urs* of the saint.

6.2 Political Forces

Shrine, since its inception has been source of power for ruling authorities. So, mostly construction has been carried by rulers as gesture of their respect for the saint. A number of buildings were constructed by Mughal emperors like Akbar at shrine of *Hazrat Khawaja Mu'in ud Din Chishti*. Aurangzeb Alamgir constructed the shrine of *Hazrat Mian Meer* at Lahore. Ranjeet Singh also did repair and renovation work at shrine of *Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh Ali Hujveri* during his regime. President Muhammad Ayub Khan promulgated the West Pakistan *Waqf* Property Ordinance

to take full control at shrines. General Muhammad Zia ul Haq not only accepted the Chairmanship of Design Selection Committee for Data Darbar Complex but also made many changes in proposed design. He desired to copy the form of minaret of mosques in Turkey. He directed to change the form of arcade by adding domes and making more Islamic elements to Entrances of mosque. Similarly, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif made many decisions for completion of third phase of Data Darbar Complex. He directed to demolish the constructed waterfall as it was hiding the front view of shrine of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri*. Federal Finance Minister Muhammad Ishaq Dar (being chairman of Construction Committee) and Minister for Auqaf, Sahibzada Fazal Karim dictated to consultant for many changes in proposed design of second and third phase of Data Darbar Complex. Similarly, Commissioner Lahore and Chief Administrator Auqaf Punjab made many decisions in proposed design. Today, eastern arcades of Data Darbar Complex are related to multifoil arches of *Ghulam Girdesh* of *Hazrat Ali Hujveri* whereas western arcades are related to the newly constructed mosque. This has made visual division of complex. In original design, there were 144 shops at lower ground floor of Data Darbar Complex. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif converted this area into *Sa'ma* Hall. Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister not only approved the design of new mosque at shrine of *Baba Farid ud Din*, Pakpatten but also sanctioned rupees 120.00 million for its construction. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif directed the consultant to fix red sand stone on external surfaces of mosque at the shrine of *Baba Farid* and white marble at outer surface of the domes.

Prime Minister of Pakistan directed Auqaf Department to carry some development works at the shrine of *Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana* at Lahore. Auqaf Department spent 4.80 million rupees and constructed Entrance Hall, *Musafer Khanas*, Police *Chowki*, *Langer Khana*, Administration office, courtyards etc. Governor Punjab not only approved the design of mosque at shrine of *Baba Bulleh Shah*, Kasur; but also laid down the foundation stone for its construction. Prime Minister Mir

¹⁸ Shrines of *Baba Farid*, *Mu' in ud Din Chishti* etc.

¹⁹ Shrines of *Shah Rukn e Alam*, *baha ul Haq Zakariya* etc.

Zafar ul Allah Jamali has sanctioned rupees 15.00 million for construction of the new shrine of Baba Bulleh Shah at Kasur, during his visit to the shrine on September 18, 2003.

6.3 Economic Influences

According to statement given by Khaliq A. Nizami, shrines became source of income for caretakers during the Mughal period. These Economic Forces influence the built environment of shrine complex to provide maximum facilities to *Zaireen* that resultantly, enhance the income from shrine. *Waqf* administration conceives development works at shrines under their control. Annual income from shrine of Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana was only rupees 1.934 million in year 1994-95 but after carrying development works, this income has reached up to 7.421 millions rupees in year 2003-04. The annual income from Data Darbar Complex has become rupees 100.76 million for the year 2003-04 after completion of complex.

Construction of shops on the way and at entrance to shrine has become an essential feature of shrine complex. This gives business to shopkeepers and rent to *Waqf* administration. Development and flourishing of shrine invites more visitors. This develops commercial potential of surrounding area and land uses are changed.

Waqf administration has added cash boxes in shrines to collect money that are normally embedded at prominent place. For collection of money at shrine of Hazrat Sultan Bahu, other than cash boxes, a water pond has been constructed in the courtyard of shrine. Contract of shoe keeping is also another source of income. At shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujveri, there are eight entrance gates where shoe-keeping contracts have been awarded. These contractors have constructed temporary sheds for shoe keeping. Ceremony of *Chader Poshi* is another essential feature of shrine. These cloth sheets are collected and disposed off.

7. CONCLUSION

In early years of twentieth century, first time, shrine was taken as social phenomenon. As assessed by Khaliq A. Nizami, during the Mughal period, shrines became economic source for *Waqf*

administration in Indian society. During the Sikh period, no care was taken for religious monuments of Muslims or Hindus. In British period, these religious monuments were given under control the of Revenue Board under Bengal Code 1810.

In year 1863, Religious Endowment Act was promulgated and management of shrines was given under control of Trustee, Manager and Superintendent. Translation of *Kashf al Mahjub* from Persian to English language in 1911 by R. Nicholson really opened the window of Islamic mysticism to the western scholars. P.M. Currie wrote "The Shrine and Cult of Khawaja Mu'in al-Din Chishty of Ajmer" and discussed the subjects like "the Role of Saints in Islam", "The *Khuddam*", "The *Sajjada Nishin*", "The Administration of *Dargah*" etc. for the first time. Other important book was of Christian W. Troll's "Muslim Shrines in India", that was collection of essays from different authors. This book made a great impact and Shrine Complex was taken as institution run by Administration with different objectives.

Recently, Riazul Islam's book "Sufism in South Asia" and K.K. Aziz's book "Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan" has really opened new horizon for scholars. The subject of *Piri-Muridi*, Shrine as Economic source, Role and interest of Politicians, Rituals and Ceremonies etc have been discussed thoroughly. Without investing a single penny, *waqf* administration receives billions every year. Today, shrine is not only a burial place of saint or Sufi but it is much more than that ■

GLOSSARY

Asa (عصا): Stick or Cane

Auliya (اولیا): Plural of *Wali* means saint

Banger Qadeem (بجر قدیم): Uncultivated land since long

Chadder Poshi (چادر پوشی): A ritual to lay the cloth sheet on grave of saint

Dargah (درگاہ): Shrine or burial place

Dewan (دیوان): Representative of *Shaykh*

Diwali (دیوالی): A Hindu celebration

Shaykh (شیخ): Saint or Sufi

Sunnah (سنت): Way of Holy Prophet

Tabarrakat (تبرکات): Relics related to saint

Taharat (طہارت): To purify the body with water before entering to shrine

Taharat Khana (طہارت خانہ): Toilet

Tasawwuf (تصوف): Islamic mysticism

Ta'weez (تعویذ): Written verses of Qur'an for treatment

Urs (عرس): Annual celebrations of saint on day of his death

Zaireen (زائرین): Specific visitors coming on Muslim shrines

Sangeet (سنگیت): Sufi song

Salook (سلوک): a stage in the way to Sufism

Saraae (سرائے): Guest house

Eid ul Ad'ha (عید الاضحی): A Muslim annual celebration

Eid ul Fiter (عید الفطر): A Muslim annual celebration

Fatuh (فتوح): Unsolicited charity

Gaddi Nasheen or Nishin (گدی نشین): Living representative of Saint or Sufi

Ghusal (غسل): Bath

Hadis (حدیث): Saying of Holy Prophet

Haqiqat (حقیقت): Devine Reality

Haveli (ہویلی): Home of bigger size

Holi (ہولی): A Hindu celebration

Ilaqa Rate (علاقہ ریٹ): Area rate decided by Deputy Commissioner of District

Kushkol (کشکول): Bowl

Khalifa (خلیفہ): Representative of saint

Khanaqah (خانقاہ): Shrine complex

Khatib (خطیب): Muslim Religious leader

Khirqah (خرقہ): Long coat

Khuddam (خدا م): People Serving at shrine

Langer (لنگر): Free kitchen for visitors

Lot Bandi (لاٹ بندی): Zoning of agricultural land

Mutawalli (متولی): Caretaker of shrine

Mutafarrakat (متفرقات): Miscellaneous

Mukhanay (مکھانے): Sweets

Nazaranaajat (نذرانہ جات): Offerings

Qawwali (قوالی): Sufi song

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