

Zikrism: A Historical Study



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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the M.Sc. candidate Masood Ahmed Riaz has completed his Master's Essay titled "Zikirsm: A Historical Study" under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the degree of Masters in History.

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis presently submitted bearing the title “Zikrism: A Historical History” is the result of my own research and has not been submitted to any other institution for any degree.

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DEDICATED

TO THOSE WHO ARE

SUPPRESSED BY THE CLERGY IN THE NAME OF RELIGION

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Zikris are the followers of Hanafi school of thought and are an offshoot of Mahdavis, who are the followers of Saiyyid Mohammad of Jaunpur. He was born in India in Uttar Pradesh. He was the one who claimed to be the Mahdi. He claimed to be Mahdi thrice, but his final confirmatory claim was made in 1499-1500. For Jaunpuri, his mission was to purify Islam from impurities. His movement was popularized as Mahdavi Movement.

In India, zikris are called Mahdavis but in Pakistan they are called zikris, and it is due to the fact that the zikris emphasize on the doctrine of *zikr*, or utter remembrance of God. In Pakistan, majority of the zikris are residing in southern part of Balochistan, especially in the coastal region. Besides Makran region, zikris are also residing in Karachi, interior Sind, Lasbella, and Wadh in Pakistan as well as Iran and in some of Gulf States. The holiest city for zikris is Turbat (Kech) because when Jaunpuri travelled to Afghanistan, he stayed in Turbat at a mountainous place which was later known as Koh-e-Murad (Ko'ay Murad), i.e. the valley/mountain of wishes. The zikris established their rule in Makran region which lasted almost for a century, from 1628 to 1740. Zikrism flourished under the patronage of Buladai rulers of Balochistan. However, the zikri rule ended when Makran was attacked and conquered by Mir Naseer Khan I, the Khan of Qalat. The policies of the Khanate remained unfavorable for

the zikri community because the Sunni *ulama* had considerable influence in the politics of the Khanate, and they spoke against the zikris.

The British government in India protected the zikris. The zikri issue was sidelined as in the nineteenth century; the *ulama* focused their energies towards the Ahmadis, the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadiyan (1835-1908), who became the founder of Ahmadiyya movement in India after claiming prophethood. After the creation of Pakistan, the issue of zikrism raised its head when the *ulama* started demanding to declare all those as non-Muslims whose religious beliefs were different from the mainstream Sunni school of thought, including the zikris. When the Ahmadis were declared as non-Muslims in 1974, the zikri community got alarmed, while the *ulama* of Balochistan got encouraged to get the zikris declared as non-Muslims.

As zikris believe in the Mahdihood of Jaunpuri, they are subject to criticism from religious groups in Pakistan. Although there is consensus among the Muslims that the awaited Mahdi will come at the end of time near the Day of Judgment, and the coming of Mahdi is confirmed by both the Shias and Sunnis, so the zikris are considered as non-Muslim by certain religious groups. The most prominent groups which oppose the zikris include Jama'at-i-Islami (JI) and Jamiat-e-ulama-e-Islam (JUI). During the Zia regime, the zikris were targeted, and the opponents received the patronage of the government. It created a lot of hatred for the zikris among the common people. Justice was denied to the zikri community because the *Shariat* benches in the country had Sunni judges. During the Zia era, a demand was again put forward by

local Sunni *ulama* of Makran region to the government to declare the zikris as non-Muslim, but it was not materialized.

Significance and Scope of the Study

The study covers the history of zikri movement from its origin in India, and comes down to their state and status in present day Pakistan. Most of the works hardly had one complete chapter regarding zikris, they either focuses on Mahdavis or on zikris but there is lack of continuity between the two which are the same. The study of research aims at bridging the gap which is left regarding zikris in Pakistan. There is no such book written on zikirs which covers their history and at the same time highlights the role of Sunni *ulama* towards them. Many literatures written by *ulama* regarding zikris is full of criticism in order to show the zikris as non-Muslim. The reason for criticism from the groups of *ulama* is to justify their *fatwas* (religious verdict) against the zikris.

The reasons for persecuting the zikris in Pakistan especially in Makran is due to the fact that they did not accept the authority of Sunni *ulama* over them, because for the zikris their Mahdi has appeared whereas Sunni Muslims are still waiting for the appearing of the Mahdi. For the zikirs those who do not follow Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri, they are strayed from the right path. So, the Sunni religious *ulama* are unable to exercise their religious authority over the zikris. The study of research highlights that how the *ulama* tried to declare zikris as non-Muslim and how they have been persecuting the zikris since the inception of Pakistan.

The study of research explains that how the fate of the zikris changed as soon as Pakistan was declared an Islamic state. This study also explains that before the creation of Pakistan, zikris were considered as Muslims because during British raj there was no concept of Islamic state. From 1947-1949, zikris were not an issue in Pakistan because at that time, it was yet to be decided that what form of government Pakistan is going to form, and the *ulama* were trying to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslim.

Review of Literature

The works written on the zikris are divided into three categories. The works in the first category are written by the zikri scholars and are apologetic in nature as the zikirs have tried to defend their doctrines and beliefs, and to make them acceptable to the Sunni scholars. The second category includes works written by those non-zikri scholars, who are mostly Sunni *ulama*. These works have been written with a biased approach, in which the religious beliefs of zikrism have been explored, and many charges are leveled against the zikris owing to their religious beliefs and practices, and they are portrayed as non-Muslims. The third category belongs to those researchers and analysts, who have tried to study the phenomenon from an impartial or neutral point of view.

Esa Noori is a renowned zikri scholar who has written a book titled *Zikri Tehrik: Muktasar Tarikh wa Tarufh* (2010). He has traced the origin of the zikris and explained their doctrines and beliefs. It also studies the phenomenon of the persecution of the zikris in Pakistan.

Abdul Ghnai Baloch was a well-known zikri scholar who was shot dead at Karachi in 2003. He wrote two books, *Zikri Mazhab Islam kay Ainey Mein* (1979) and *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh* (1996) which were aimed at countering the allegations leveled against the zikris by the Sunni *ulama*. He repudiated the argument that the zikris consider Koh-e-Murad as a pilgrimage center instead of Kabbah at Makkah.

Abdul Haq who was a Member of National Assembly (MPA) from Turbat wrote a book, titled as *Zikri Masla* (1992). He belonged to *Ahl-e-Hadith* school of thought. His work is informative but is based on the argument that zikris are non-Muslims. In his book, he has tried to distinguish Mahdavis from zikris. He also presented a bill in the National Assembly of Pakistan against zikris but it was not accepted. His work deals with the zikri doctrines and interprets them from a new perspective. However, it does not trace the origin of zikris and does not explain their coming to Makran region.

Abdul Majeed Qasrqandi is a renowned Sunni scholar who has refuted zikrism in his book, *Zikri Mazhab aur Islam* (1984). It is full of biases and allegations against the zikris. This book is not only criticized by the zikris but also by some of the non-zikri scholars owing to its partiality. However, this book is widely available in the centers of *Khatam-e-Nabuwat*, and is widely read by the people.

S.M. Baloch's book *Zikri Kharij-e-Islam Hain* (1978) presents a critical analysis of the beliefs and practices of the zikris. In this book, he has tried to distinguish zikris from other Muslim sects, and portray Zikrism as an altogether new religion. This book is aimed at declaring the zikris as non-Muslim. The beliefs of the zikris are shown as contrary to Islam, and a present Zikrism as a threat for the Muslims *ummah*.

Hameed Baloch's work *Makran* (2011) is an excellent study on the history of Makran region. It covers the history of Makran from the prehistoric times to the present day. It also covers the history of the zikris in Makran. However, only a section of a chapter in this book is based on the zikri beliefs and practices. It does not analyze the phenomenon of the rise of zikrism, and its advent in the Makran region, as well as their persecution.

Jan Mahmud's *Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions* (1988) is a good source on the subject. He was a non-zikri civil servant who wrote in favor of zikris, and highlighted the biases of *ulama* against the zikri community. His work is very valuable as it gives information about the persecution of zikris in Pakistan as well as about the countries supporting sectarianism in Pakistan.

Key Questions to be Addressed

The study raises and tries to address the following research questions:

What is the origin of Zikrism, and what are its fundamental doctrines and practices?

Why the zikris are subject to criticism by the Sunni *ulama*?

What factors were responsible for the rise of Zikrism as a movement and its proliferation and popularity?

Why and how Makran emerged as a center of Zikrism in Pakistan?

After the creation of Pakistan, what has been the response of the state towards the zikris?

How far the state has been able to safeguard the interests of the zikris living in Pakistan?

What are the reasons for the lessening of hatred against the zikris in recent years?

Methodology

The methodology used in this research is narrative as it narrates the historical account of the rise and spread of zikrism in South Asia. It also explains their history in a chronological order, and explores the origin of the zikris. It is partly explanatory, as it tries to explain the dynamics of the Zikri movement. It also explores new facts with fresh interpretation. It tries to explore their rituals and beliefs, particularly of those who are residing in Makran. It also highlights the reasons why the zikris are being persecuted, and how the various government in the country have treated them.

Organization of the Study

The study of research is divided into four chapters. After introduction, the first chapter discusses the origin of Zikrism/Mahdavi Movement in India by Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri. This chapter presents a biographical sketch of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri and the early doctrines of Mahdavis. It also highlights the causes or reasons why the Mahdavis are called zikris in Pakistan. The second chapter covers the history of Zikrism from sixteenth to eighteenth century. It is the post-Jaunpuri phase when Zikrism spread in various parts of the Indian Subcontinent. It is the time when Makran emerged as the centre of Zikrism, when the zikris established their rule in Turbat. Later on, their rule was put to an end when under Naseer Khan I, the Makran region came under the rule of the Khanate. Chapter three explains the development of doctrines and beliefs of the zikris which is quite controversial. It explains the concept of *zikr khana/zigranas* and *Ko'ay Murad* and the practice of *Choghan*. This chapter mostly focuses on allegations and counter arguments between the zikris and the Sunni *ulama*. The fourth chapter deals with the zikris in Pakistan from 1947 to the present day. This chapter also analyzes the persecution of the zikris in Pakistan. It shows that the era of Zia known for Islamization policies was the worst for the zikris, as the state failed to protect them. However, the zikris in Makran region are protected with the rise of Baloch Nationalism in recent years.

Chapter 1

Mohammad Jaunpuri as the Founder of Mahdavi Movement and Zikrism

Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri, who claimed to be the Mahdi, was the founder of Mahdavi movement in fifteenth-century India. He is also considered to be the founder of Zikrism, a sect whose followers can be found in the coastal region of the present day Baluchistan. Jaunpuri's teachings attracted a number of followers, who are now known as zikris and Mahdavis. After his death his mission was propagated by his successors.

1.1 Mohammad Jaunpuri: A Biographical Sketch

Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri was born in the city of Jaunpur on *Jamadi-ul-Awwal* 14, 847 A.H., i.e. Monday, 1443 A.D. The city of Jaunpur was founded by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (r. 1356-1388) in 1370. This city was famous for learned persons and scholars. It was comparable to Shiraz in the Middle East. Mohammad Jaunpuri was son of Saiyyid Abdullah, better known as Saiyyid Khan. They belonged to the family of Saiyyids, who were descendants of Prophet of Islam (PBUH).¹ It is also narrated that Mohammad Jaunpuri traced his lineage to the seventh

¹ Inayatullah Baloch, "Islam, the State, and Identity: The Zikris of Balochistan" in *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-Colonial Balochistan*, ed. Paul Titus (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 225.

Imam of the Shias Musa-al-Kazim (d. 799).²Zikri sources narrate that when his mother, Bibi Amina, also known as Aqa-Malik, was pregnant she dreamed that, the “sun came down from the sky and entered in her collar”, and then she went into a trance.³It is also narrated that many other miracles, which were for the promised Messiah, were revealed during and after the birth of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri.

Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri started receiving his religious education at the age of four and his teacher was Shaykh Daniyal. It was during his early education that he proved to be very keen in learning, having a God gifted memory for remembering things. At the age of seven, he memorized the Holy Quran by heart, and later Shaykh Daniyal used to seek clarification on certain difficult points from him. At the age of twelve, realizing his knowledge and competence in solving the most difficult problems, Shaykh Daniyal gave him the title of Asad-ul-ulama (The Lion of the *Ulama*) which, surprisingly, corresponded with the title Asadullah (Lion of the God), given to Hazrat Ali (RA). All the *ulama* or scholars of Jaunpur approved of the title and used to address him as such.⁴

Very soon people started becoming his disciple. He used to resolve disputes and issue orders for his followers, who were called Mahdavis. Sultan Husain Sharqi (r. 1458-1479) of Jaunpur was very much inspired from him, and wished to be his disciple. The Sultan was a vassal of Rai Dalpath of Gaur, to whom he paid tributes every year. The Saiyyid disliked the

² Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (New Delhi: Agra University Press, 1993), 75.

³ Syed Husain Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS} (Hyderabad: Privately Published, 1989), 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

subservience of the Sultan and intended to wage a war against the raja, on the condition that the Sultan would support him, which was accepted by the latter. A battle was fought and won by Mohammad Jaunpuri with the help of the soldiers of the Sultan, who were called *Bairagis*. Despite the repeated requests of Sultan Husain Sharqi, the Saiyyid left Jaunpur along with his wife and his son, Saiyyid Mahmood.⁵

In 1477 (there I had written 1877), at the age of forty, he started propagating his teachings with the start of his journey from one place to another in order to spread his message. The first place after Jaunpur was Danapur, after which he went to Kalpi, Chanderi, Mandu, Chapaneer, Daulatabad, Ahmednagar, Bidar, Gulberga, Bijapur, Chitapur, and Dabole, and then he left India and went to Makkah. When he reached Makkah, his age was fifty four. It was here that he declared: "I am the Promised Mahdi⁶, and he who follows me is a *Momin*-the pious one". This declaration is known as his first claim to be the Mahdi.⁷ It has been well-known (and generally accepted) by the Muslims that in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family of the Prophet would make his appearance, and would strengthen the religion and make justice triumph.⁸

If the Mahdavi traditions are ignored, the piety and learning of Saiyyid Mohammad of Jaunpur could not be questioned; neither by his contemporaries nor by later scholars and

⁵ Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1972), 286

⁶ Mahdi means 'restorer', 'comforter', or a 'paraclete'. Mahdi according to the traditions will come when Islam will be at its last gasp in the world. He will be the restorer of the glory of the faith.

⁷ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 23.

⁸ Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, 68.

Sufis.⁹The claim of Jaunpuri was different from other claimants as he had no political ambitions; rather his aim was restoration of the purity of Islam.¹⁰He stayed in Makkah for few months, and then returned to India and reached Ahmedabad in 1497, where he stayed for eighteen months, and became very popular. People used to gather around him and listen to his sermons and then pledged not to commit sins any more. He invited the people to the obligatory prayers, constant *zikr* of Allah and to seek the vision of Allah.¹¹ He taught to his disciples that the world and its belonging should be avoided, i.e. to renounce the world.

In 1497-98, Mohammad Jaunpuri declared himself again as Mahdi when he was in Ahmedabad. This was his second claim to Mahdihood, and the people present there at that time vowed allegiance to him. He also claimed that God can be seen in this world with the eyes of the flesh. It was opposed by the *ulama* of Ahmedabad who issued a *fatwa* (a legal verdict by a Muslim jurist) to kill Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri. They approached the Sultan for banishing the Saiyyid, but before the orders of the Sultan could reach him, he had already planned to leave Ahmedabad. Everywhere from Ahmedabad to Badhli, orders for his banishment were issued. He stayed in Badhli for one and a half year. He led a life of a wanderer, propagating his mission from one place to another.

In 1499-1500, Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri made his final declaration, i.e. confirmatory claim. At Badhli, after the mid-day prayer, he declared, "I am commissioned by Allah to declare

⁹ Ibid., 78.

¹⁰ Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 285.

¹¹ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 24.

that I am the promised Mahdi. I am the caliph of Allah and a follower of Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) and, he who follows me is a *Momin* or a pious person. Whoever disbelieves my *Mahdiat* is a *kafir*.”¹² After the final declaration, he had discussions with the *ulama*.¹³ When Jaunpuri started his journey, he had more than eight hundred followers.¹⁴ He proceeded towards Khurasan via Jalor, Nagaur, Jasalmer, Thatta, Kaha, and Qandahar, but he stayed and breathed his last in Farah, which was a small town in Afghanistan.¹⁵

During his stay at Farah, he became very famous not only in that town but also in Khurasan (at that time present day Balochistan was a part of Persian Empire). During his stay at Farah, it became a word of mouth of everyone that “A Syed from among the descendants of Hazrat Imam Husain has come and he claims to be Mahdi Mau’ood *Khalifat ur-Rahman*”.¹⁶ This news infuriated the *Qazi* (judge) of the city and he ordered the chief of the police of the town to arrest Saiyyid Mohammed along with his followers. The police did not arrest them but took all of their belongings.

Sarwar Khan Sarwani was the ruler of the town of Farah. According to Mahdavi sources, around midnight, Sarwani saw in a dream that Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) was standing near his head with a spear in his hand and was saying, “Such an outrage has occurred on my son who is the Lord of my Sainthood in your territory” Sarwani promised to investigate the

¹²Ibid., 31.

¹³See Appendix I.

¹⁴ Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 288

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Shah Abdur Rahman, *Maulud: The First Ever Biography of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Mahdi Mau’ood*
^{AS}(Bangalore: Jamiat-e-Mahdavia, 2007), 104.

matter.¹⁷ Immediately, he called the chief police officer and inquired him about the situation in the city and the latter narrated the whole of story. Sarwar Khan ordered the detention of the *Qazi* and produced him before Saiyyid Mohammad who forgave him. All the belongings were returned back to Saiyyid Mohammad. After a few days, Saiyyid Mohammad went to the town of Rach,¹⁸ a town situated near Farah, and set his home there. Meanwhile, he declared, “There is no place, asylum, home or place to love for the Mahdavis. *Insha Allah*¹⁹, those who are ours will die in penury. Mahdi and the Mahdavis will be there till the Day of Resurrection is established.”²⁰

He regularly offered his Friday prayer but in his last prayer he also offered *witar*²¹ in a loud voice. When the prayer was offered, the *ulama* asked certain questions regarding his name, his date of birth and death? Jaunpurians answered, “The name of this *banda*²² is Syed Muhammad, son of Syed Abdullah. The day of my birth, call (*dawat*) and death is Monday.”²³ It was Monday, April 23, 1504 that Saiyyid Mohammad died. After his death a controversy aroused among the residents of Farah and Rach. Each of them demanded that the body should be buried in their locality.

Saiyyid Mahmood, who was the son and successor of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri, emphasized his right to decide the matter as an arbitrator and next successor to his father. The dead body was carried from Rach to Farah. When the coffin reached a central point between Farah and Rach, it became so heavy that no one had the strength to move it further. It was taken

¹⁷Ibid., 104-5.

¹⁸ Also spelled as Reich.

¹⁹ If Allah wishes.

²⁰ Abdur Rahman, *Maulud*, 112.

²¹ The three-*rak'at* (cycle) prayer usually said after the night prayers.

²² Literally meaning the slave of God, i.e. the human being.

²³ *Maulud, The First Ever Biography of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Mahdi Mau'ood*^{AS}, 112-13.

as an omen that the burial was destined to take place at the spot.²⁴ At present, there is a mausoleum built in which the grave of Saiyyid Mohammad lies.

1.2 Emergence of Mahdavi Movement

Saiyyid Mohammad never claimed that he propounded a new religion, rather he laid emphasis on restoring Islam to its purity. For him, purity means the Islam which was present during the life time of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). His movement was never meant to get political power or to achieve any fame. He never claimed to belong to any one of school of thought; rather he claimed to have followed the religion of Muhammad (PBUH), and the teachings and practices of the Holy Quran. The Mahdavi Movement gained much popularity in Sindh, Thatta, (sindh and thatta in pak) and Qandhar in Afghanistan. Many rulers, nobles and *ulama* joined the Mahdavi faith. Few among them were Malik Usman Khan of Jalor, Mirza Baig Arghun of Qandhar, Shaykh Sadruddin of Sindh, Mirza Shaheen of Bhakkar and Qazi Qadan.

Saiyyid Mohammad had declared himself as Mahdi, so his followers were called Mahdavi, and the mission carried out by him and his followers to spread his teachings was named as Mahdavi Movement. Saiyyid Mohammad declared non-Mahdavis as non-Muslims. He declared that non-Mahdavis were like *harabis*,²⁵ and the *jizya*²⁶ could therefore be levied upon them, but since it was not the prime object of his mission, so he did not realize it.²⁷ The Mahdavis

²⁴ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud* ^{AHS}, 97.

²⁵ *Harabis* mean the enemies of Islam.

²⁶ Poll tax.

²⁷ Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, 98.

were not allowed to settle anywhere permanently, and so they had to live a life of wanderer and to spread the message of the Mahdi.

Saiyyid Mohammad spent his life in remote areas living in mosques. The place where the Mahdavis used to stay for a short time is called *daira*²⁸ or *daera*.²⁹ Literally, *daira* means circle or to sit while forming or being in a circle. For them, basically *dairas* were an assembly of Mahdavis which were meant to form a classless community based on egalitarianism in terms of religion. It teaches the Mahdavis to live with each other like kith and kin. These *dairas* are not only consisting of men but also of women.

In *dairas*, the Mahdavis used to gather once in a week and confess their sins which they have committed. In extreme cases those who are found guilty are punished according to the laws of *shariah*. *Zikr*³⁰ is one of the foremost duties of Mahdavis in *daira*. No one is allowed to carry out any work during the *zikr*. “Members of *daira* were strictly forbidden to marry the daughters of the new followers unless their sincerity had been tested for one year. The older members were permitted to marry.”³¹

²⁸ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud* ^{AHS}, 102.

²⁹ Rizvi, *Mahdavi Movement*, 5.

³⁰ Literally meaning remembering God.

³¹ Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 291.

The zikris lay a lot of stress on *zīkr*, and that is why they are called zikris. At the death bed, Mahdi appointed twelve chief *khalifas*,³² his son Saiyyid Mahmood being one of them. The names of his successors are as under:

1. Bandagi Miran Saiyyid Mahmood (Sani-e-Mahdi)³³.
2. Bandagi Miyan Shah Khundmeer.
3. Bandagi Miyan Shah Nimath.
4. Bandagi Miyan Shah Nizam.
5. Bandagi Miyan Shah Dilawar.
6. Malik Gowher.
7. Malik Burhanuddin.
8. Shah Abdul Majeed Noori.
9. Shah Ameen Mohammed.
10. Malikji.
11. Moulana Miyan Yousuf.
12. Malik Maroof.³⁴

Saiyyid Jaunpuri's son Saiyyid Mahmood is said to have been blessed by his father.³⁵ Saiyyid Mahmood increased the number of *dairas*. Mahdavi doctrines were propagated in Gujarat, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar besides Agra, Delhi and Nagaur. The number of *dairas* kept on increasing owing to the banishment of Mahdavis from place to place. The disciples of Saiyyid Mahmood who established *dairas* were not men of learning and scholarship, so they communicated the ideas to the masses very easily in simple language.

The Mahdavis rejected the etiquettes of court and of other practices which in their opinion polluted Islam. Nevertheless, all the members of *dairas* were considered to be righteous, but they

³² Chosen one or vice-regent. Here *Khalifas* mean successors.

³³ Second Mahdi.

³⁴ Balki, *The Mahdi Maud* ^{AHS}, 101-7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

were categorized. He (Saiyyid Mohammad) used to say that there were all the three types of people in his *dairas*; the believers, hypocrites and infidels.³⁶ The Mahdavis were not allowed to take loans because it depicted a desire for wealth, and were taught to live like a community; they had to share everything with each other. Saving anything for tomorrow was disliked, even to store food for the next day was not allowed. All such actions were meant to increase the faith of Mahdavis in Allah.

As *dairas* were formed everywhere, the number of followers of the Mahdavi movement kept on increasing but everywhere they faced criticism from the *ulama*. The movement did not end abruptly, rather it gradually faded away. The factor behind its downfall was that it was not patronized by any ruler or government. At present the Mahdavi movement has lost its zeal and vigor in context of preaching, but its followers are concentrated in present day Turbat (Balochistan).

1.3 The Early Doctrines of the Mahdavis

Besides the teachings of Islam, the Mahdavi Movement revolves around some basic doctrines taught by Mohammad Jaunpuri. These doctrines were not new but were taken from Islam. Those who practiced these doctrines were considered to be true in their faith, and who seek the Divine love. Jaunpuri and his followers divided the verses of the Quran into two categories: the first portion included commandments associated with *shariah*, which had been explained by the

³⁶ Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, 104.

Prophet (PBUH), and the portion was to be explained by the Mahdi.³⁷ Those included the doctrines which are as follows:

- 1) Renunciation of the World.
- 2) Seclusion from People.
- 3) Company of the Truthful.
- 4) Trust in God.
- 5) Quest for Vision of God.
- 6) Constant Remembrance of God.
- 7) Migration.
- 8) Ushur or Agrarian Tax.³⁸

In some Mahdavi source, the above doctrines of Mahdavisism are given but with the exception of agrarian tax, whereas it is mentioned in some other Mahdavi sources.³⁹ The non-Mahdavi sources also describe these doctrines and include agrarian tax (distribution of one tenth of their income).⁴⁰

1. 'Renunciation of the World' means to free oneself from the pleasures of worldly life because too much indulgence in worldly life, since accumulation of wealth makes a man forgetful of Allah and the world hereafter. On the other hand, poverty leads to remembrance of Allah. Saiyyid Mohammad defined this doctrine in these words: "The love of the world is the root cause of all sins, and its abandonment is in reality the basis of each prayer. Only those who have abandoned the world are true seekers of Allah and true believers".⁴¹ To the Mahdavis, world and religion are opposite of each other. World refers to death and is against the religion. All prohibitions to religion are called world. In

³⁷ Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 290.

³⁸ *The Promised Mehdi* (Dubai: Farah Committee, 1995), 11.

³⁹ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 68-69.

⁴⁰ Rizvi, *Mahdavi Movement*, 6.

⁴¹ Balkhi. *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}. 69.

order to achieve the Love of Allah, one should leave all the worldly belongings and should follow the teachings of the Holy Quran, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and of Mahdi.

2. 'Seclusion from People' means seclusion from mankind. According to this doctrine, one should cut off his/her ties from his/her relatives including the pleasure of worldly life. It is different from the notion of "Renunciation of the World" in the sense that in the latter you can have contact with people but in former you have to be in mediation having no contact with the people. This doctrine/concept was borrowed from the life of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) when he used to go to cave of Hira. In seclusion, one can better remember God and can achieve His love. One can come to know about his sins and evils. It is a way to purify one's heart and soul. In extreme cases, one can have contact with his relatives.

3. 'Company of Righteous People'. It is well defined by Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri in these words:

Mahdi Maud (AHS) declared it obligatory to keep company with such people whom Allah's *Zikr* and ways of reaching Allah become easy. *Sadiqueen* are those pious and religious leaders who have perfected themselves in the precept and practice of the religions of Islam by virtue of their keeping company with the righteous *Murshid-i-Kamil*. Mahdi Maud (AHS) said, 'Even if anyone prays to Allah for a thousand years and the prayers have been accepted, it is not equal to the effect of a single look at him by me.'⁴²

⁴² Ibid., 71.

4. 'Complete Faith/Trust in Allah Alone'. This was practiced in *dairas* whereas no one was allowed to ask and accept anything coming from outside the *daira*. Many thought it as their duty to empty their cooking vessels at nightfall, giving up of all the necessities of life including salt, flour and water. The Mahdavis are required to keep nothing as means of subsistence.⁴³

5. 'Quest for the Vision of God'. For Saiyyid Mohammad, vision of God was meant for in this world, not for the world hereafter. This concept is defined by Mahdavis as such:

The *ulama*, asked the Mahdi, 'Do you say that in this Perishable world Allah can be seen through the eyes of ordinary mortals? Mahdi Maud (AHS) said 'Allah is saying this, not I', he quoted the following verses from the Quran, wherein it is said,

1. 'And whoever hopeth for meeting with his Allah, let him do righteous work, and make no share of the worship due unto his Allah.'

2. 'Who is blind here will be blind in the hereafter and yet further from the road, how are they still in doubt about the meeting with their Allah? Lo! Is not He surrounding all things?' The *ulema* from Herat said, the *ulema Ahle-Sunnat* have taken these verses to mean *deedar* in the hereafter. Mahdi Maud (AHS) replied, 'the promise of Allah is absolute, it is not restricted and none of the *Ahle-Sunnat Ulema* have ever denied the possibility of *deedar* in this world'.⁴⁴

6. 'Constant Remembrance of God'. According to the Mahdavis, *zikr* is the only way to seek the love of Allah. The Mahdavis have to remember Allah in every condition. It is the most important and obligatory duty of the followers of Mahdi. Saiyyid Mohammad stressed on regular *zikr* during *Sultan-ul-Nihar*⁴⁵ and *Sultan-ul-Lael*⁴⁶. There should be no interference when *zikr* is being practiced.⁴⁷ According to Mahdavis, *zikr* is the primary

⁴³ Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, 103.

⁴⁴ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 77.

⁴⁵ The Time between dawn and sun rise.

⁴⁶ The Time between *Asr* and *Esha* prayer.

⁴⁷ See appendix II for the text of *zikr*.

condition for the vision of Allah, it should not be performed only by tongue, and rather it must be practiced in complete absorption in Allah.

7. 'Migration'. According to Mahdavis, there are two types of migration, internal migration and external migration. Opting for renunciation of the world is called internal migration, whereas to physically leave a place is called external migration. The concept behind migration is that it does not allow accumulation of wealth. Saiyyid Mohammad himself kept on moving from one place to another till he breathed his last. The Mahdavis also used to migrate from one place to another due to the fact that they were mostly banished because of their teachings. One of the biggest challenges they had to face were the criticism from the *ulama*. So migration became a principle of their faith.

8. Agrarian tax called *ushur* means one tenth of income from agriculture produce. Those who earn their living through cultivation have to pay one-tenth of their income as agrarian tax apart from *zakat*,⁴⁸ which is a separate obligation in Islam. It is aimed at developing a classless society with maximum distribution and collection of wealth and to decrease the lust for the collection of wealth by drawing more and more from those who have accumulated a lot. Agrarian tax draws more wealth as compared to *Zakat*. It is beneficial for poor as they get more and also for the rich as it did not allow them to accumulate wealth, and to enjoy luxuries of life which morally corrupts the society. The Mahdavis pay *ushur* not only on their agricultural produce but on all sources of income. However, they do not pay *zakat*.

⁴⁸ Muslims have to pay 2 ½ % of their wealth if it is accumulated for a year without being utilized.

1.4 Who are the Zikris?

The question arises whether those who call themselves zikris are the followers of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri? While going through the pages of literature written by religious *ulama* in Pakistan, the zikris are declared as non-Muslims. They did not belong to the Mahdavis, rather they are the followers of Mullah Mohammad Attock. On the other hand, the sources written by scholars and reports of foreign surveys show that zikris are the followers of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri. According to Mahdavi and zikri sources, the zikris and the Mahdavis are one.

After the creation of Pakistan, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the government to declare the zikris and Mahdavis as being one in order to pollute Islam.⁴⁹ Zikris presume by their own that they are an offshoot of Mahdavis and they declare Mullah Mohammad Attock as their Mahdi.⁵⁰ Zikris believe that Mullah Mohammad Attock is the Mahdi who was awaited.⁵¹ The founder of the zikri sect was Mullah Mohammad Attock, who was from Punjab (Attock), he came to Kech (Turbat) as Mahdi and later declared himself as the Prophet.⁵² Zikris believe in the finality and prophethood of Mullah Mohammad Attock.⁵³ “All the natives of Baluchistan and of Makran, whether they are Muslim or zikris have agreed on the point that the founder of zikri religion is Mullah Mohammad Attock.”⁵⁴ Zikris believe that Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri is the last Prophet and he is still alive till the Day of Judgment.⁵⁵ Besides Baluchistan, the members of

⁴⁹ Abdul Haq, *Zikri Masala* (Lahore: Matbah Dar-ul-Arooba Mansura, 1992), 44.

⁵⁰ Atesham-ul-Haq, *Zikri Din Ki Haqiqat* (Quetta: Majlis Tahafuz Khatam-e-Nabuwat, 1984), 7.

⁵¹ Atesham-ul-Haq, *Zikri Mazhab kay Aqaid wa Amal* (Quetta: Majlis Tahafuz Khatam-e-Nabuwat, 1989), 6.

⁵² *Gumrah Firqa* (Pamphlet Published by Tahrik-i-Nawjawan-i-Islami, Pakistan), n.d.

⁵³ S.M. Baloch, *Zikri Aqaid Aap Ki Adalat Mai* (Quetta: Majlis Tahafuz Khatam-e-Nabuwat, nd.), 2.

⁵⁴ Abdul Majeed, *Zikri Mazhab Aur Islam* (Quetta: Majlis Tahafuz Khatam-e-Nabuwat, 1984), 12.

⁵⁵ Rasheed Ahmad, *Zikri Firqa* (Karachi: Siddiqui Trust, 1983), 6.

zikri sect are also residing in Karachi and trace their lineage from Mullah Mohammad Attock, but they have very little knowledge regarding their own sect.⁵⁶

Historically, the zikris or the *zigris*⁵⁷ claim to be the followers of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri, whom they consider to be the promised Mahdi.⁵⁸ Zikri, a religion of Indian origin, has been practiced since the early sixteenth century and from evidences available so far, it appears that it was founded by Mohammad of Jaunpur(India), who was expelled from there (India) because of his religious beliefs.⁵⁹The famous Mughal noble, administrator and historian, Abul Fazl (d. 1602) writes that Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri was a “great scholar of religion (Islam).”⁶⁰

According to a scholar, Shay Ragam, the zikris are an offshoot of Mahdavis.⁶¹ It is said that the founder of the zikri sect is Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri who later on claimed to be the Mahdi.⁶²

The zikris have generally subscribed to the idea of a revealed *imam –Mahdi* (promised Messiah) – and, while believing in all the basic tenets of Islam, they consider Syed

⁵⁶ Mohammad Yusuf, *Kia Zikri Muslaman Hain: Zikriyun Kay Baray Mai aik Ahm Fatwa* (Karachi: Jamia-e-Uloom Islamia, n.d.), 3.

⁵⁷ In Balochi language, Zikri is pronounced as Zigri.

⁵⁸ Taj Mohammad Breseeg, *Baloch Nationalism: Its Origin and Development* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2004), 76. See also, Inayatullah Baloch, “Islam, the State, and Identity”, 224.

⁵⁹ Jan Mahmud, *Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence, Dimensions, Repercussions* (Quetta: Gosh-e-Adab, 1988), 261.

⁶⁰ As cited in Malik Dehwar, *Balochistan Tarikh Ki Roshani Mein* (Quetta: Nisa Traders, 1985), 768.

⁶¹ Shay Ragam, “Zikri Kon Hain?” *Nokain Dor*(Monthly), Quetta, March, 1993, 81.

⁶² Ibid.

Muhammad Jaunpuri, a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century, to be their *Mahdi*.⁶³

According to other scholar, “The zikris were the followers of a sect founded in the fifteenth century by Said Mahmoud of Jaunpur, a Mahdi-or Islamic Messiah-who travelled extensively and drew many converts in the northwestern sector of the subcontinent.”⁶⁴ “They are the followers of a Mahdi, who is stated to have come from Jaunpur in India, and they believe that the dispensation of the Prophet Mohammad is at an end.”⁶⁵ The views of researchers depict that the zikris are an offshoot of Mahdavis and they belief in Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri.

What the zikris say about themselves and from where they trace their lineage? “Some years ago when zikri and Mahdavi sect confronted with one another then there was a quest to know whether they are one: religious scholars of both communities argued with each other and viewed the past and it became clear that the founder of zikri and Mahdavi movement is Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri.”⁶⁶ Although *Zikrism* and Mahdavi movement are Islamic reformatory movement which emerged from India, whose founder is Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri (1442-505).⁶⁷ Quoting Shaykh Saiyyid Mohammad Noori regarding zikris, Esa narrates:

In fact zikris and Mahdavis belong to one sect, both the sect believes in Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri. In India, they are called Mahdavi and in Pakistan zikris. In rest of other countries they are also called Mahdavis.⁶⁸

⁶³Iftikhar H. Malik, *Report on Religious Minorities in Pakistan*(n.p.: Minority Rights Group International, 2002), 11.

⁶⁴ Stephen Pastner and Carroll McC. “Canadian Anthropology Society: Aspects of Religion in Southern Baluchistan.” *Anthropologica*, New Series 14, no. 2 (1972): 33.

⁶⁵John. B.Edlefsen, Khalida Shah, and Mohsin Farooqi,“Makranis, The Negroes of West Pakistan”. *Phylon*, vol. 21(1960):129-30.

⁶⁶ Abdul Ghani Baloch, *Zikri Firqah ki Tarikh* (Karachi: All Pakistan Muslim Zikri Anjuman, 1996),89.

⁶⁷ Saiyyid Esa Noori, *Zikri Tehrik: Muktasar Tarikh wa Ta ‘ aruf*(Kech: Al Zakarain Welfare Foundation, 2010), 125.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

As far as the zikrism and Mahdavi movements are concerned, they were not isolated movements; rather one movement with two different names, and they believe in one single doctrine.⁶⁹ Another account of Mahdavis relates the relationship between Zikris and Mahdavis. Dr. D. N. MacLean, a Professor of History in Simon Frazer University of Canada was the first renowned scholar who when visited Pakistan, met with the zikris of Balochistan, from where he got information about Mahdavis, and then he went to Hyderabad in India where he met with some leaders and collected data on Mahdavi faith.⁷⁰

Before drawing any conclusion, it is very important to trace the lineage of Mullah Mohammad Attock. Mullah Mohammad Attock has no evidence in history books; ironically his name is only mentioned in the literature written by the *ulama*. “At the dawn of Monday, in the disguise of human being in the clothing of a *Faqeer*⁷¹, he appeared on the hilltop (peak) of Attock in 977 A.H.”⁷²

Abdul Majeed writes about Attock:

The founder of this⁷³ useless religion is Mullah Mohammad Attock and it is well known that he was a native of Attock-Punjab. After wandering from place to place, he reached Kech (Makran) and took advantage of the people as being ignorant. He declared himself as Mahdi and started projecting himself as a Prophet. Due to his eloquence, all the rulers became his disciples. In short, he became very popular among the people.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Abdul Ghani Baloch, *Zikri Mazhab Islam Kay Ainey Mein* (Turbat: Privately Published, 1979), 22.

⁷⁰ Bandagi Miyan Saiyyid Qasim, *Afzal Mujizat-al-Mahdi: Supreme Miracles of Mahdi*. English trans. Syed Muhammad Suhael (Bangalore: Jamait-e-Mahdavia, 2005), i.

⁷¹ Faqeer is a religious person having no concern with the materialistic world.

⁷² Abdul Haq, *Zikri Masala*, 10.

⁷³ Here, this religion refers to the sect, zikri.

⁷⁴ Majeed, *Zikri Mazhab Aur Islam*, 14-5.

Zikris scholars do not accept Mullah Mohammad Attockki as their founder.⁷⁵ On one hand, it is stated by the *ulama* that zikris and Mahdavis are two different communities but in their own writings, intentionally or un-intentionally they portray Attockki as one of the followers of Jaunpuri. According to stories, after the death of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri, his disciples dispersed, Mullah Mohammad was one of them.⁷⁶

In the light of the above discussion, it can be thus concluded that zikris are an offshoot of Mahdavis, and they are the followers of Mohammad Jaunpuri. Practices and beliefs of zikris are discussed in chapter three which further shows the relationship between zikris and Mahdavis. The facts which differ between the two is the name, if the name is masked then one cannot identify whether he/she is reading about zikris or Mahdavis. Then the major question arises that if both are the same, then why the name differs? The question needs to be answered that why in Pakistan zikris are not called Mahdavis?

Basically the word zikri is derived from *ziker* which means utter remembrance of God. The zikris are also called *Dai*. In fact, the zikirs remember Allah Almighty that much that they are called zikri.⁷⁷ The people of this sect are called zikris due to the fact that the founder of zikri sect emphasized so much on utter remembrance of Allah that *ziker* became their identity.⁷⁸ Another account narrates that in Balochistan instead of Mahdavi, zikri became famous because “Mian Abdullah Niazi emphasized on the Mahdavi doctrine of *Zikr-e-Kaseer* (excessive

⁷⁵ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah ki Tarikh*, 78.

⁷⁶ Atesham-ul-Haq, *Zikri Din Ki Haqiqat*, 8.

⁷⁷ G.S. Bizenjo, *Noor-e-Tajali* (Turbat: Al Zakarain Welfare Foundation, n.d.), 39.

⁷⁸ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah ki Tarikh*, 51.

remembrance of God) to such an extent that zikris started calling themselves as zikri.”⁷⁹ Regarding zikri sect, Mir Raheem Dad Khan says: “Mostly in Makran, Kalat, and areas of Balochistan, the followers of Miran Saiyyid Mohammad by giving importance to remembrance of God are called zikris.”⁸⁰

As zikris utter the name of Allah in a loud voice so they are called zikris.⁸¹ Slowly and gradually the followers of Jaunpuri got the name of zikri and it became their identity. As time passed, due to their name it was thought that they focus more on *zikr* instead of *Salat/Namaz* or prayer. After decades an attempt was made by the *ulama* to create differences among the people by propagating the terms *namazi*⁸² and zikris.

Historically, zikris have never enjoyed political power except under the *Buladais*⁸³. Time and again Makran was attacked by the rulers of Kalat due to its geographical location. It is a coastal belt and open to sea for trade. In mid eighteenth century, Naseer Khan attacked Makran thrice, when the zikris were ruling it. Zikris were crushed by Naseer Khan in his third attack. The ruler of Makran, Malik Dinar was taken as a captive to Kalat and murdered. Third attack of Naseer Khan changed the fate of the zikris; Blood and Iron policy was adopted towards them. Life of the zikris in that regime is described by Abdul Ghani in these words:

⁷⁹ Ragam, “Zikri Kon Hain?”, 82.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁸¹ Hameed Baloch, *Makran: Ehad-e-Qadeem Say Ehad-e-Jadid Tak* (Karachi: City Book Point, 2011), 268.

⁸² The one who offers prayer.

⁸³ A tribe among the Baloch. Abu Saeed Buladai was the first Buladai ruler in Makran.

In this era, the literature of zikris was distorted in order to dubb them as wicked and to present Zikirism as a false religion. It was meant to justify the attacks of Naseer Khan I for propagation of Islam. The lives of zikris were worse than that of animals. They were forced to vacate the cities and take shelter in the mountains...they were freed from these cruelties after the establishment of the British rule.⁸⁴

Before the attacks of Naseer Khan, zikris were not considered as non-Muslims rather they opposed the foreigners with the locals under the banner of Islam. Such actions of zikris are explained by Inayatullah in the following words:

In the sixteenth century the Ottoman fleet, under the command of the Admiral Sidi Ali Reis was sent by the Caliph Sultan Sulaiman Qanuni to punish the Portuguese and to ensure the safety of the ships of the *Hajis*.⁸⁵ According to Sidi Ali Reis, the ruler of Makran, Malik Jalal, and his administration provided the Ottoman fleet with material help, facilities, and ships. The zikri state acknowledged the supremacy of the Ottoman Caliph and promised further co-operation. Had the zikris viewed themselves as a separate religious community they might have co-operated with the Portuguese, as did Safavi Iran.⁸⁶

Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, (d. 1701) who was an orthodox Sunni Muslim, visited south west Asia during the reign of his father Shah Jahan but he never denounced zikris as non-Muslims.⁸⁷ Furthermore, Ahmadzai Kambarani, who was the ruler of Kalat married his daughter to Gichkis of Panjgur who were zikris. The policies of Kalat State towards the zikris can be divided into four phases, from 1695 to 1948. This period mark the rule of Mir Ahmad II (1695-1714), Mir Abdullah Khan (1714-34) and Mir Mohabat Khan (1734-49). This was the period when zikris were treated as Muslims and matrimonial alliances with them were also made. Second phase was the rule of Mir Naseer Khan (1749-94). It was the darkest time for the zikris; they were

⁸⁴ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah ki Tarikh* , 40.

⁸⁵ Those who perform pilgrimage.

⁸⁶ Baloch, "Islam, the State, and Identity", 230.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

persecuted and dubbed as non-Muslims. Third phase witnessed a reversal in the policies of Mir Naseer Khan which lasted from 1794-1933. Those who ruled during this era were:

Mir Mahmood Khan I (1795-1817)

Mir Mehrab Khan (1817-39)

Mir Hassan Aka Naseer Khan II (1840-57)

Mir Khudadad Khan (1857-93)

Mir Mahmud Khan II (1893-1931)

Mir Muhammad Azam Jan Khan (1931-33)⁸⁸

The fourth and the last phase include the regime of Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (1933-48). It was again a time when the zikris were discriminated from the Muslims and were considered as non-Muslims. The change of policies of rulers were actually meant to gain popular support, increase their territory and to use religion as a tool. It is worth noticing that ironically sometimes zikris were treated as Muslims and sometime as non-Muslims. So how can one be a Muslim and again Non-Muslim with the change of rule?

⁸⁸For detailed discussion, see Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, *Inside Baluchistan-A Political Autobiography of His Highness Baiglar Baigi: Khan-e-Azam-XIII* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987).

Chapter 2

Historical Development of Zikrism:

From Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

Mahdavi and zikri are two names of a single movement. Mahdavis and Zikris are the followers of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri. This chapter explains how Mahdavi Movement flourished after the death of Jaunpuri, and how Makran came under the rule of the zikris.

2.1 Mahdavi Movement in India in Post-Jaunpuri Phase

There were twelve trustworthy companions of Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri who spread his teachings after him. After the demise of Jaunpuri in 1504, his followers migrated from Farah to Gujarat, as Gujarat was highly praised by their Mahdi. The Mahdi has always spoken high of Gujarat and he used to call it, “the mine of Love” and “the gem in a ring”.¹ The details of his successors and their contribution to Mahdavi movement are discussed below.

¹ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 100.

Saiyyid Mahmood (b. 1462 d.1515) was the eldest son and successor of Saiyyid Mohammad.² He was also born in Jaunpur. When his father left Jaunpur, he camped at Danapur with his wife but later on joined his father when he proclaimed himself as the Mahdi, and started receiving knowledge from him.³ Saiyyid Mahmood went to Chapaneer to earn his livelihood, and there in the court of Sultan Mahmood Beghda (r. 1453-1511), who was the ruler of Gujarat; he received the rank (*mansab*) of two hundred horsemen.⁴ Sultan Mahmood Beghda was well known in Gujarat for his war tactics as he was able to defeat the Portuguese naval forces in 1508. After a few years, he received an invitation from his father inviting him to Farah. He went there and stayed in Farah for about a year after the death of his father. Afterwards, he went to Gujarat and established his *daira* to preach the tenets of Mahdavisim. He held *Ijma*⁵⁶ in order to resolve differences in the teachings of Mahdi.⁷ He also persuaded other successors of Jaunpuri to establish their *dairas* throughout Gujarat and Malwa. The *ulama* poisoned the ears of the Sultan against Saiyyid Mahmood, who was imprisoned but after forty days he was released.⁸ At the age of 53, he was killed at Bhiloot on November 13, 1515.

Miyan Saiyyid Khundmeer was a descendent of Imam Musa-al-Kazim, and was born in 1481-82.⁹ At Patan, he was warmly welcomed by Mahdi. The Mahdi said about him: “Syed Khundmeer had the capacity, the lamp was ready with fuel and wick, and required only lighting,

² Ibid., 101.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Raj kumar, *Encyclopedia of untouchables Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2008), 208.

⁶ Consensus of religious scholars.

⁷ Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud* ^{AHS}, 102

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

which was accomplished with the light of *Wilayat-e-Mohammedia*.”¹⁰ At the death bed of Saiyyid Mohammad, Khundmeer was with him. He also migrated to Gujarat and stayed there for twenty years but at last he was exiled. He wrote many treatises to popularize the teachings of the Mahdi. The most famous were *Aqida-e-Sharifa*, *Maqsad-e-Awwal* and *Risala-e-Kalan* which is also popular among non-Mahdavis.

Miyan Shah Ni'mat was the third *khalifa* of the Mahdi. Before meeting Mahdi, he was a robber.¹¹ When he heard of the Mahdi and by chance met him, he narrated to him all his previous deeds and Jaunpuri asked him to seek forgiveness from those whom he had troubled. He went to all of them whom he had ever troubled, and was forgiven by all of them. Then he practiced the philosophy of “renunciation of the world”.¹² He was strict at eradicating *bidats*, or the un-Islamic innovations in Islam and was titled as *Miqraz-e-Bidat* (Scissors of innovations) by the Mahdi. In 1528, at the age of sixty-one, he was assassinated along with his seventeen companions. He was buried near Poona.

Miyan Shah Nizam was a descendent of Shaykh Farid-ud-Din Masud Gunj-e-Shakar (d. 1265), the famous Chisti Sufi of the Punjab.¹³ After performing pilgrimage, he went to Iraq and Syria to propagate the teachings of the Mahdi, and then returned back to India and stayed at Gujarat. He remained with Mahdi for eleven years. In 1553 he passed away at the age of sixty-eight.

¹⁰ Ibid., 103.

¹¹ Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 288.

¹² Balkhi. *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS}, 104.

¹³ Ibid.

Miyan Shah Dilawar was another successor of Jaunpuri who was the nephew of Raja Rai Dalpath, the ruler of Bengal, who was a staunch enemy of the Mahdi.¹⁴ Shah Dilawar was from the beginning inclined towards religious affairs. It is also narrated that once while he was asleep, he heard the words that “there is no God, and Muhammad is His messenger. Mahdi gave him the title of shah.¹⁵ Dilawar also accompanied the Mahdi till his death, and died in 1537.

There is not much detail about other successors. Malik Gowher was a noble and was very close to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khilji (r. 1469-1500) of Malwa.¹⁶ Malik Gowher had no desire for wealth. He propagated the teachings of the Mahdi among his subjects. He died in Thatta, in 1508.

Malik Burhanuddin was very learned and renowned noble of his time in Ahmedabad, and he was the husband of Jaunpuri’s daughter named Bibi Khunza Fatima.¹⁷ He had a great quest for knowledge. Later on, he became one of the followers of Jaunpuri. He died in 1509. Shah Abdul Majeed Noori was a renowned poet of Delhi, who wrote poems for the events happened and travellogs. His poetry remained a great source of inspiration for the Mahdavis. He was killed in 1512, and laid to rest in Ahmedabad.

Shah Ameen Mohammad was the brother of Shah Abdul Majeed Noori. He was a great scholar and a renowned Persian poet.¹⁸ He depicted Persian culture in his poetry. He became a follower of Jaunpuri, when the latter traveled to Afghanistan via Iran. He met Jaunpuri during his

¹⁴ Ibid., 105.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 106.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 107.

stay in Iran. When Jaunpuri died, he traveled to India to propagate his teachings, and at last died in Daulatabad in the year 1528.

Malikji was a scholar and the Mughal ruler of Nagaur, in Marwad, Rajasthan.¹⁹ He was a native of India and propagated the teachings of the Mahdi. At that time, he was the only ruler who patronized the teachings of Mahdi. Jaunpuri used to call him the “Prince of Lahoot” i.e. a Divinely State.²⁰ He died in the year 1523 and was buried at Ahmednagar.

Maulana Miyan Yousuf was another great scholar, and a noble of Ahmedabad.²¹ He accompanied Jaunpuri in Afghanistan till the latter’s death, and then yousuf along with other companions left Afghanistan for India. Another successor was Malik Maroof who was the descendent of first pious Caliph of Islam, Abu Bakr, and a maternal cousin of Miyan Shah Khundmeer.²² He was laid to rest at Jalor in Rajasthan.

The Mahdavi movement did not collapse in India; rather it spread from India to other countries of the world. In Pakistan the Mahdavis are termed as zikris, and they are facing difficulties since some of their beliefs and practices are different from main-stream Sunni Islam. Their claim to be Muslim is doubted by the people in general.

2.2 Advent of the Zikris in Makran

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Makran is located near Iran border and centuries ago, it was a part of the Persian Empire.²³ The travel route of Mohammad Jaunpuri and the rulers of Makran played a vital role in bringing and nourishing the Mahdavi faith in Makran. Various authors give one or the other argument to explain the arrival of Mahdavi faith in Makran. Malik Muhammad narrates the story in these words:

It is commonly said that Abu Saeed was the ancestor of Buladais who were the native of Hillmand-Garm Sair.²⁴ They migrated to Makran and settled there. From the beginning they were the follower of zikri faith and they introduced it in Makran but it is also said that the Malik family of Makran was initially from Hillmand-Garm Sair. After entering Makran they established their rule. They were zikris by faith and due to their efforts Zikrism was propagated in Makran and then in Jalawan.²⁵

Taj Mohammad defines the spread of Zikrism in Makran as such:

Historically, it is believed that the *Zigris* are the followers of Syed Mohammad (c. 1442-1505 AD) originally from Jaunpur, India, who is considered to be the Mahdi. According to *Zigri* tradition, he came to Makkoran and took abode at “*Koh-e-Morad*” a holy place in the suburb of Turbat, preached his doctrine, converted the whole of *Makkoran*, and then disappeared.²⁶

Shay Ragam gives another opinion. His views are mentioned below:

It is said that in Balochistan, the foundation stone of Mahdavi movement was laid by famous religious scholar Mian Abdullah Niazi. This person came to Afghanistan. No factual data prove his coming to Balochistan but it seems that Mian Niazi had contact with Abu Saeed Buladai who became the first zikri ruler of Makran. It is said that Abu Saeed Buladai met Mian Abdullah Niazi at Garm Seel (Sair) in Afghanistan. The argument that Mahdavi movement was initiated by Mullah Rehmat, Dost Muhammad or Mullah Muhammad Attock is not correct.²⁷

²³ See appendix III.

²⁴ It is situated near Farah in Afghanistan.

²⁵ Dehwar, *Balochistan Tarikh Ki Roshani Mein*, 768.

²⁶ Breseeg, *Baloch Nationalism*, 76.

²⁷ Ragam, “Zikri Kon Hain?”, 82.

Zikris believed that the Mahdi himself came to Makran while he was going to Afghanistan.²⁸ This fact cannot be denied or rejected that he travelled to Afghanistan via Baluchistan.²⁹ This argument is valid because when Jaunpuri left for Afghanistan, he passed through Persia via Khurasan, and at that time, Baluchistan was a part of Iran, which was called Iranian Baluchistan or Greater Baluchistan.

2.3 Zikri Rule in Makran and its Emergence as a Centre of Zikrism

Buladai is a tribe of Afghanistan. One of the tribesmen got converted to zikrism, and later with the help of his zikri followers, established his rule in Makran in 1628. Thus, the zikris almost ruled Makran for about a century, during which Makran emerged as a centre of Zikrism in the seventeenth century.

Abu Saeed Buladai was of Arab descent, and came from Oman. He met Jaunpuri when the latter came to Farah in Afghanistan in late fifteenth century. According to zikri sources, he was inspired by the teachings of zikris and converted to it. Later, he came to Makran for trade as a merchant, and settled there. In Makran, he stayed at a place called Bulaida, and that was why he came to be known as Abu Saeed Buladai. At that time, Makran was ruled by Malik Mirza who was a very cruel and merciless ruler. It is said that he used to capture his opponents and castrate them.³⁰ Zikris were also not spared by him as they were in minority.

²⁸ Noori, *Zikri Tehrikh*, 123.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

³⁰ Noori, *Zikri Tehrikh*, 171.

After conversion to zikrism, Abu Saeed gathered some followers in Bulaida and declared his independence from the rule of Malik Mirza. He named his kingdom as Bulaida. He was supported by the tribe of Gichkis³¹ on the condition that after killing Malik Mirza, the kingdom would be divided into two parts: Kech (Turbat) would be ruled by Abu Saeed, while Panjgur would be ruled by the Gichkis. In 1628, Malik Mirza was killed by the joint forces of Buladai and the Gichkis, and consequently, Abu Saeed Buladai became the ruler of Kech (Turbat), who gave Panjgur to the Gichkis as promised. After some time, the Gichkis demanded more land from Abu Saeed on the plea that the latter is having more area under him than them. Abu Saeed rejected their demand on the basis of the agreement made between the two. Being disappointed from him, the Gichkis violated the treaty and attacked Kech but they were defeated. Their leader, Mar Singh Gichki, was killed and Panjgur was captured. In this way, the whole of Makran region came under the sway of the zikri rulers.

The rule of the zikris in Makran can be divided into four phases. Their rule followed the theory of Ibn Khaldun which is called *Asabiya*.³² The first phase was the era of their mushrooming; the second phase was their golden era; the third phase was characterized by decline, and the last one by the fall of the zikri rule in Makran region. The zikris were present in Makran even before the rule of Abu Saeed, but they were very few in numbers. They had been converted to zikrism by Jaunpuri when he went to Afghanistan via Balochistan. However, it was

³¹ Gichkis were the Rajputs who migrated to Panjgur and settled at a place called the Valley of Gichk, and thus came to be known as Gichkis.

³² *Asabiya* means unity, solidarity, oneness, etc.

under the rule of the zikri ruler named Abu Saeed that the number of zikris increased and it became the state religion in Makran.

The Buladai rulers who succeeded Abu Saeed added the word *Shay*³³ with their names such as Shay Hasan, Shay Ahmed, Shay Qasim I, Shay Abdullah, Shay Zehri, and Shay Qasim II.³⁴ Second phase of the zikri rule started from the rule of Abu Saeed till the reign of Shay Qasim II. It was the golden era for the zikris. In this period, not only the doctrines of zikris flourished but they also propagated their teachings among the masses. Art, poetry, music, and folklore of zikris were also promoted. Under zikri rule, Zikri-Baloch culture flourished owing to the patronage of the rulers. Through their war ballads in Balochi, a number of zikri poets, including Hamal Jihand Hoat and Malik Dinar Gichki, throw light on the history of Baloch resistance to the Portuguese and Iranians. In the words of Inayatullah Baloch:

Some zikri rites of worship are conducted in Balochi; in consequence, zikri poets and religious scholars have enriched Balochi literature. In fact, because they attach religious significance to sites there, the *Zikris* have developed a special reverence for the land of Balochistan. For them Balochistan, and especially Turbat, is the *Gul-e-Zamin* (Flower of the earth). This patriotic attitude on the part of the *Zikri* Baloch is the forerunner of modern Baloch nationalism.³⁵

The third phase was characterized by the downfall of the ruling family. As every rise hath a fall, the same happened with the Buladais. Their *asabiya* was weakened and they were no more able to sustain their rule. Shay Qasim II was the last ruler of Makran who was defeated by the Gichkis. Shay Qasim sought help from Nadir Shah, who sent his army to help the Buladais but

³³ Zikri religious leaders are called Mullai or Shay in Balochi, which is derived from the Arabic word Shaykh, meaning an elder.

³⁴ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah ki Tarikh*, 26.

³⁵ Baloch, "Islam, the State, and the Identity", 229.

they were defeated by Malik Dinar Gichki and he imprisoned Qasim. Zikris narrate the downfall of their rule in these words:

When the last ruler of Buladai, Shay Bilal³⁶ left Zikrism, then in 1729 A.D. Malik Dinar killed Shay Bilal and occupied the territory of Kech.³⁷ After this, Shay Omar became the ruler of Kech. Shay Omar is alleged to have been involved in the conspiracy of murdering his father. Besides this, he was also involved in martyrdom of many zikri leaders (Saiyyid Abdul Karim was one of them) by deceit. In the meantime, Shay Qasim Buladai (who was supporter of zikris) with the help of zikris dethroned Shay Omar and captured Makran but due to interference from Naseer Khan of Kalat, Shay Omar had to abdicate the throne. This incident is said to have happened in 1740.³⁸

2.4 Zikris under the Khanate in Kalat

Mir Muhammad Naseer Khan I (r.1749-1794) became the ruler of Kalat/Qalat when the rule of zikris in Makran was at the verge of collapse. Naseer Khan I had political motives to extend his kingdom at all costs. He started intervention in the politics of Makran which was ruled by the zikris. The zikri rulers feared that he might use or manipulate the religious issues, since the zikris were often declared as infidels by the traditionalist *ulama*. During the initial attacks of Naseer Khan I, the zikri rulers were helped by the rulers of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah (r. 1736–47) and Ahmed Shah Abdali (r. 1747-73). The rule of Nadir Shah was a cemented curtain for Naseer Khan I. The successor of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali during the end of his regime became a friend of Naseer Khan I. He assured with Naseer Khan that he would not interfere, which gave an opportunity to Naseer Khan who attacked and captured Makran.³⁹

³⁶ Shay Bilal was the deputy/Amir of Shay Qasim II in Gawadar.

³⁷ Here Kech refers to Gawadar.

³⁸ Noori, *Zikri Tehrikh*, 178.

³⁹ Ibid.

When Naseer Khan attacked Makran and surrounded the fort of Malik Dinar Gichki, the latter decided to fight outside the fort but most of the people did not see eye to eye with their ruler. At dusk, the zikri ruler, Malik Dinar launched a guerilla attack on the forces of Naseer Khan and then camped at Nasirabad.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Naseer Khan attacked the fort⁴¹ and ordered a general massacre of the zikris. Malik Dinar was chased and killed in Nasirabad. Later on, Mir Dostain Mirwani was appointed as governor by Naseer Khan in Turbat.⁴² The zikris, who were in hiding due to the fear of Naseer Khan, organized themselves under the command of Mir Shahdad and launched an attack on Makran and killed Mir Dostain.

Naseer Khan appointed Shay Omar Gichki as the new governor of Makran on the condition that he would not favor the zikris and would hamper them. Omar accepted the terms of Naseer Khan, and implemented the policies of the Khanate.⁴³ Omar was welcomed and accepted by the zikris but were unaware of the fact that Omar was a traitor⁴⁴ for them. Omar adopted an overt policy towards zikris and dealt with them with an iron hand. Zikris were attacked and killed while they were on their way as a caravan.⁴⁵ Sometimes they were attacked by arrows and sometimes by spears. Sunni's *Shariah*⁴⁶ was introduced which was contrary to the zikri legal system. Zikri legal system was based on Balochi tribal customs. After the death of Naseer Khan, his successors did not continue his policies, Ahmad Yar Khan (1933-1948) being an exception.

⁴⁰ Nasirabad is a place in Turbat.

⁴¹ The fort is known as Mereye Kalat. See appendix IV for pictures of the fort

⁴² Noori, Zikri Tehrikh, 178.

⁴³ Khanate refers to the state of Kalat and his terms and policies.

⁴⁴ Here traitor refers to the fact that Omar was no more a zikri.

⁴⁵ Noori, Zikri Tehrikh, 178.

⁴⁶ Islamic laws.

The last phase began with the sufferings of the zikris. It starts from Naseer Khan under the rule of Khan of Kalat and up to the present day. It was the time when the zikris were chased, persecuted, tortured, killed, and murdered. Till that time zikris were parts of the Muslim society but attacks of Naseer Khan labeled them as non-Muslim. This era was not only a dark era for the zikris but it was also a black spot on Baloch culture and on their tradition of religious tolerance.

2.5 Spread of Zikrism around Makran Region in the Eighteenth Century

Before the attacks of Naseer Khan I, the zikris were only concentrated in Makran; and Turbat (Kech) was their holiest place and still it is. Geographically, the present day Makran is different from the Makran of pre-partition times. Presently, Makran is a division with three districts, namely Turbat, Gwadar and Panjgur, but during the eighteenth century, it was not a district but was a part of Iranian Balochistan⁴⁷ which included areas such as Chahbar, Banpur, Zahedan, Hilmand and Sistan. The spread of Zikrism started when Naseer Khan I attacked Makran. Zikris spread not only in the entire region but also in neighboring countries. Presently, zikris are found in Turbat, Panjgur, Pasni, Ormara, Jiwani, Lasbella, Jalawan, suburbs of Quetta, Khuzdar, Kharan and Awaran which are nowadays in Balochistan. In Sindh, they are found in Karachi, Hyderabad, Shahdadpur and other areas in interior Sindh. They are also residing in present day Iran and in some Arab Gulf countries.

It is worth noticing that the zikris do not include the people of a single tribe; rather they include people from various tribes. The names of the tribes having zikris include the Gichkis, the

⁴⁷ See appendix III for maps.

Buladais, the Rais, the Sajidis, the Sangurs, the Meds, the Bizanju, and the Darzadas. Those who did not migrate from Makran when it was attacked by Naseer Khan I were later on forced to leave the area owing to the strict policies of the Khanate. The people of Makran were divided into many social strata:

The nobles or power-elite (*hakimzat*). This class consisted of former and newly-appointed members of the ruling elite, most of whom came from such groups as the Boledis, Gichkis, Nausherwanis, and Bizenjos, as well as the Rais tribes (*tumannat*). This group consisted of both the nomadic and settled members of Baloch tribes.

The servants (*hizmatgar*). This was the lowest class in the new system and its members were obliged to serve the *hakimzat*. They could be called upon to supply forced labour (*bigar*) for unlimited time at their own expense in any part of the country. In addition, they were forced to pay various kinds of taxes. Slaves were the most oppressed subgroup of the *hizmatgar*. It was a practice among the members of the *hakimzat* to present a slave to a bridegroom, which often resulted in the division of slave families. The *hizamtgat* class was made up of various ethnic groups including the Meds, the Darzadas, the Naqibs, and the Loris.

Merchants and traders. Most members of this class were not Baloch but rather Hindus, afghans (known as Kabulis), or Ismailis. The majority of the zikris were members of the servant and tribal categories.⁴⁸

From the social stratification, it becomes evident that most of the zikris belonged to the lower rungs of the Baloch society. They were forced to migrate from one place to another. They were also very conscious about their religious identity. They migrated from place to place during war time or as a gift to bridegroom, but they carried on their doctrines and tried their best to preserve them. They also tried to find trustworthy fellows and then to disclose them their faith. In one way or the other, they propagated their beliefs. Even now if any zikri male is married to a non-zikri woman, then keeping in view the male-dominated social set up in the Baloch society, his wife is

⁴⁸ Baloch, "Islam, the State, and the Identity", 233.

also converted to Zikrism, and thus all offspring become zikris. They still emphasize remembering God or *zikr*, which is one of the symbols of their distinct religious identity.

The British rule in India safeguarded the rights of minorities but for them, the zikris were never non-Muslims. The British gave them a chance to speak and to disclose their religious identity. It was the British who discovered this oppressed sect in pre-partition India, and gave a voice to them. Now the zikris are known to the outside world not because of their distinct religious beliefs but because of the surveys conducted by Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and foreign teams.

Chapter 3

The Doctrines and Practices of the Zikris

The zikri beliefs and doctrines are considered to be very controversial, as some of them have a radically different interpretation from that of the mainstream Sunni Islam. That is why, they are not considered Muslims by many traditional Sunni scholars. However, it is important to note that the zikris have also defended their doctrines and beliefs, but there is considerable disagreement among the zikri scholars as well. The zikris assert that there is propaganda against them, which is meant to declare them as a religious minority, and thus divide the Baloch nation. The major difference is their belief in Jaunpuri whom they accept as their Mahdi, which is also reflected from their *kalima*.

3.1 Zikris and their Fundamental Beliefs

Every religion has its pillars to stand upon, which differentiate it from the rest of the religions. Sects blossom within religions but with certain differences. Zikris are generally considered non-Muslims whereas they claim themselves to be a sect of Islam, though with their own

interpretation to the religious problems.¹ A zikri scholar, Esa Noori has defined his sect in these words:

As other Islamic sects and religious scholars have unique beliefs which give them their identity, in the same way zikris have their unique beliefs which are practiced by zikris after every prayer and on which zikri faith stands and have become its identity... it has three basic components, first *Al-Wahiat*, second *Nabuwat*, third *Imamat*.²

Al-Wahiat means the Oneness of Allah, His Omnipotence, His Sovereignty and being Universal. It means God is unique and one, and no one is comparable with Him, He is all in all. This reflects zikri faith in Allah and in all His attributes. This belief is in accordance with the people of the book. Hence, it shows zikris are the people of book.

Nabuwat is related to the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) and accepting that he is the seal of the Prophets. Let see what the zikris say about Prophethood:

In second place, it is belief in the prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). Without having belief in the prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), one cannot enter in the fold of Islam because zikris believe that Holy Prophet (PBUH) is the last messenger of Allah and after him no prophet will come...in this regard many scholars criticize that for zikris Muhammad means the Mahdi because the name of Mahdi was also Mohammad...how is it possible that at the same time, the same being is considered as prophet and as Mahdi.³

Imamat means the leadership, and Imam means the leader or the one who leads. It has two parts. First part deals with the Holy Quran. The Holy Quran being a divine book and last revealed book which is free from distortion as it is safeguarded by Allah. Zikris are bound to follow the Holy

¹ Baloch, *Zikri Mazhab Islam Kay Ainey Mein*, 23.

² Noori, *Zikri Tehrik*, 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

Quran in their lives and should not deviate from it. The second part, *Imamat* deals with the coming of the Mahdi. Every Muslim believe in the coming of Mahdi, and then the second coming of Jesus Christ, but for zikris Mahdi has already come who was born in India in Jaunpur, and whose name was Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri.

These are the arguments by the zikris to explain their fundamental beliefs, and prove Zikrism as a sect of Islam. However, according to the non-zikris, i.e. Sunni religious scholars, the zikri beliefs are different from the Sunni Islam. For instance, the zikris have a different interpretation of some of the five pillars of faith, which are the following: (i) *Tauheed* (Oneness of Allah); (ii) *Salat* (five daily prayers); (iii) *Saum* (obligatory fasting during the holy month of ramazan); (iv) *Zakat* (obligatory alms or charity); and (v) *Hajj* (Pilgrimage to Makkah at least once in a life time).

Tauheed refers to the belief in the oneness of Allah. The zikris believe in *Tauheed* as the Sunni Muslims, and therefore the zikris are not criticized on the issue of *Tauheed*. *Salat* in Arabic or *namaz* in Persian refers to ritual prayer. It is pointed out that the zikris have dispensed *namaz* and they concentrate only on *zikr*,⁴ and so they are infidels.⁵ Moreover, according to the Sunni religious scholars, the zikris do not consider *namaz* obligatory.⁶ Instead of it, they recite

⁴ Rasheed Ahmad, *Zikri Firqah* (Karachi: Siddiqui Trust, 1986), 19.

⁵ S.M. Baloch, *Zikri Kharij e Islam Hain* (Quetta: Majlis-i-Amal Khatam-e-Nabuwwat, n.d.), 4.

⁶ Yusuf, *Kia Zikri Musلمان Hain*, 28.

zikr (a formula for repeating the various names of Allah).⁷ When the non-zikris dub the zikris as non-Muslims, they defend their position in these words:

It is said that zikris negate *Namaz*... when zikris perform *zikr* and *namazi* offer *namaz* then both are Islamic fundamentals. They perform *Qayam*,⁸ *Raku*,⁹ and *Sajud*¹⁰... but still blame each other as infidels... There are verses in the Quran relating to *salat* as well as *zikr*.¹¹

Esa Noori put forward these arguments:

Opponents blame zikris that they have disregarded *namaz*, although it is an allegation. In fact, zikris offer prayer as in every sect it is offered in a different way so zikris also offer *namaz* in a different way, and call it *zikr-e-Elahi* which is the name given to it in the Quran.¹²

According to another zikri scholar, Abdul Ghani:

As I have understood in the light of Quran, *namaz* has been given the name of *zikr*. *Zikr* means *namaz*. The truth is that zikris regularly offer *namaz* because without *Qayam*, *Raku*, and *Sajud*, *zikr* or *namaz* (which is one) is not possible. It is incorrect to assert that during *zikr/namaz*, zikris do not perform *Qayam*, *Raku* and *Sajda*. In different sects, prayer is offered in different way, so zikris have their own way.¹³

One of the zikri sources, however, mention that the *Isha* and *Zuhr* prayers are performed without *sajda* or prostration, but *Maghrib*, *Tahjud* and *Fajr* prayers are performed with prostration.¹⁴

This debate can be very well summarized by the words of a zikri scholar, Shay Ragam, who argues that the zikris offer congregation prayers three times a day, but unlike Shias they do not offer *Zuhr* and *Asr* , as well as *Maghrib* and *Isha* together. The zikris offer *fajr*, *Zuhr* and *Isha* in

⁷ Baloch, "Islam, the State, and the Identity" 226.

⁸ Standing in an upright direction when offering prayer.

⁹ Leaning and making an angle of 90 degree and holding knees with hands.

¹⁰ Prostrations before God are called *sajud*.

¹¹ Baloch, *Zikri Mazhab Islam Kay Ainey Mein*, 31.

¹² Noori, *Zikri Tehrikh*, 38-39.

¹³ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 53-54.

¹⁴ Faqir Mohammad Sindhi, *Mian Zikri Hun* (Karachi: All Pakistan Muslim Zikri Anjuman, 1985), 33.

congregation, while the rest of the two, *Asr* and *Maghrib* prayers are not offered in congregation.¹⁵ The above discussion shows that there are different opinions among the zikris regarding their fundamental religious practices.

Regarding fasting or *sawm*, the zikris are said to have dispensed the fasting of holy month of Ramazan.¹⁶ It is believed that the fasting of Ramazan is not obligatory for the zikris, but it is mandatory to observe fasts on the first three days of the month of Zil Hajj.¹⁷ The zikri sources defend their position by arguing that the above assertion is incorrect. If zikris do not fast, it is their individual act. The zikris consider the fast of Ramazan obligatory, and many zikris observe fast. Besides Ramazan, they also keep fast on 13th, 14th and 15th of every month,¹⁸ which are also called *Ayam-e-Baiz*. In addition, the zikris also observe fast on every Monday.¹⁹ Regarding *zakat*, it is believed that zikris do not pay *zakat*, and instead they pay *Ushur*, which is 10% tax on the wealth.²⁰

As far as *Hajj* or pilgrimage to Makkah is concerned, it is believed that the zikris go to Koh-e-Murad,²¹ where they perform the rituals of *Hajj* such as circumambulation (*tawaf*), running from one corner to another (*sa' ee*), and animal sacrifice, etc. Instead of going to

¹⁵ Ragam. "Zikri Kon Hain?", 84.

¹⁶ Abdul Haq. *Zikri Masala*, 32.

¹⁷ Abdul Raheem. *Zikri Firqah Ki Haqiqat Quran Ki Roshani Mein* (Panjgur: Al-Jamiyat Al-Markaziya Al-Dawat Al-Islamia, n.d.), 7.

¹⁸ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 68.

¹⁹ Sindhi. *Mian Zikri Hun*, 38.

²⁰ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 71.

²¹ For a detailed discussion on Koh-e-Murad, see section 3.3.

Makkah, they consider Koh-e-Murad as their holy pilgrimage centre.²² The zikri scholars have, however, repudiated this charge against them.²³ They also assert that the founder of Zikrism, Saiyyid Mohammad Jaunpuri not only performed *Hajj* in Makkah, but also declared himself to be Mahdi at that place.²⁴

There are similarities among some of the practices of the zikris and the Sunni and Shii Muslims. For instance, the zikris greet with each other with the words *As-salamu Alaikum* (May God shower His blessings on you). It is the usual way in which the Muslims greet each other. The zikri women observe *pardah* (veil). They celebrate the holy festivals such as Eid. They also sacrifice animals on Eid.

It is also said that the zikris are not Muslims because their *Kalima* is different, which is as follows: *La Ilaha Ill-Allah Nur Pak Nur Muhammad Mahdi Rasul Allah*, i.e. There is no God but Allah, and the Light of Muhammad is pure, and Mahdi is the prophet of God.²⁵ According to another sources, other versions of their *Kalima* are slightly different which talk about certain other attributes of God, but they all assert the prophethood of Mahdi.²⁶ Regarding the *Kalima* of the zikris, Azhar Munir argues that the Shias have also added the words that ‘Ali is the *wasi* or the deputy/representative of the Prophet of God’ in their *kalima*. Despite that, for most of the

²² Abdul Haq, *Zikri Masala*, 35.

²³ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 73.

²⁴ Noori, *Zikri Tehrik: Muktasar Tarikh wa Ta’aruf*, 50.

²⁵ Raheem, *Zikri firqah ki haqiqat Quran ki roshani mein*, 5.

²⁶ Other versions are as follows: (i) *La Ilaha IllAllah Al-Mulk Al-Haqq Al-Mubin Nur Muhammad Mahdi Rasul Allah Sadiq Al-Wahid Al-Amin*; (ii) *La Ilaha IllAllah Almulk Alhaq Almobeen Nur Pak Nur Muhammad Mahdi Murad Allah*; and (iii) *La Ilaha IllAllah Noor Pak Noor Muhammad Mahdi Rasool Allah*. Aitesham ul Haq, *Zikri Din Ki Haqiqat*, 15; and Haq, *Zikri Masala*, 26.

Sunnis, the Shias are not non-Muslims. Then why the zikris are branded as non-Muslims if they too have added some words in the *kalima*.²⁷ Other zikri scholars have also challenged the view that the zikri *kalima* is different from the Sunni *kalima*.²⁸

The Sunni scholars have also argued that marriages with zikris are forbidden as they are non-Muslims, and if someone gets married to a zikri by mistake, then he/she must seek forgiveness, and if a child is born in such a marriage, it would be illegitimate.²⁹ They also criticize zikris in regard to funeral. It is asserted that the zikris take their deads once to their *Zigranas* before burying.³⁰ There is no disagreement regarding zikris' belief in the Holy Quran, books of Ahadith, as well as their belief in the angels, and the Day of Judgment.

3.2 Zikr-khana as a Sacred Place for Worship

The zikris do not use the term *masjid* or mosque for their place of worship. Instead, they perform *zikr* in their holy buildings called *Zikr-khana* or *Zigrana*³¹ but without facing a particular direction. They believe that the holy Kabbah (the House of God) is in every direction. Therefore, they sit in circles while performing *zikr*.

3.3 Koh-e-Murad as a Pilgrimage Centre of the Zikris

²⁷ Azhar Munir, "Zikri *Tarikh aur Aqaid kay ainey mein*", *Nokain Dor* (Monthly), Quetta, December, 1993, 50.

²⁸ *Zikr-e-wahdat*, p. 30, as cited in Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 65-66.

²⁹ Ahmad, *Zikri Firqah*, 25-26.

³⁰ For details of zikri funeral rites, see Sindhi, *Main Zikri Hun*, 45-66.

³¹ For *Zigranas* see appendix V.

In the south of Turbat city, about 2 miles (3.2 km) there is a small mountainous region called Koh-e-Murad, which is also pronounced as Ko'ay Murad.³² It is the region where most of the zikris are residing, and it is their sacred place where they perform their *ziarat* or pilgrimage. The critics of the zikris argue that it is basically a substitute for *Hajj* in Makkah. However, the zikri community defends its position by maintaining that they call it their *ziarat*, and not *Hajj*. Moreover, those who visit Koh-e-Murad do not add the title of Haji with their names.³³

Koh-e-Murad has a great historic importance for the zikris because they believe that Mahdi Jaunpuri stayed there, and spent some time in worshipping God.³⁴ Scholars argue that Koh-e-Murad is a misnomer. G. S. Bijrani explains it in these words:

Ordinary men call it *Koh-e-Murad* but the word is not *Koh-e-Murad*. It is *Ko'ay Murad* which means the street/bazaar of wishes. It means whosoever comes in this bazaar of wishes; he can fulfill his wishes from here. Actually the word is *ku* but in Balochi it is pronounced as *kuway* or *Ko'ay Murad*.³⁵

Some sources assert that Koh-e-Murad is named after Mullah Murad Attockki, but according to the zikris, this assertion is incorrect, as for them Koh-e-Murad means the valley of wishes, since the term *murad* literally means wishes and desires.³⁶ However, the area is popularly known and pronounced as Koh-e-Murad.

³² For pictorial display of Koh-e-Murad, See appendix V.

³³ Baloch, *Zikri Mazhab Islam Kay Ainey Mein*, 25.

³⁴ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 73.

³⁵ G. S Bijrani. *Noor-e-Tajali* (Pasini, nd), 41.

³⁶ The alternative of *Khana Kabbah* is Koh-e-Murad, means the mountain of wishes... at the feet of Koh-e-Murad, there is a ground which is called *Gul wa Din*. On 9th *Zil Hajj* before *Arafat*, *Waquf Arfa* is celebrated here and on 10th *Zil Hajj Tawaf*/circling of Koh-e-Murad is done. But now for safety, on 27th Ramazan *ziarat*/visit is done. On the western corner of Koh-e-Murad, there is a pitch which fills with

Every year on 27th of Ramazan, the zikris visit Koh-e-Murad for their pilgrimage. This pilgrimage has also a commemorative purpose which is related to Mahdi. Koh-e-Murad is fortified by a bricked wall and has gates at its opening. To enter this place, first one has to be physically clean. One should perform ablution and must cover his/her head and should also be bare foot. One cannot take worldly belongings with him/her while entering the area. Once one starts climbing the mountain, he/she cannot come back without completing the journey or reaching the mountain peak. The top of the mountain is called *Muhray Sar*. *Zikr* or prayer has to be performed upon reaching the top. However, the *zikr*/prayer has to be in congregation. After *zikr*/prayer, one may leave if he/she wishes so.³⁷ Owing to the threats from the non-zikri religious scholars, the zikris do not allow everyone to enter Koh-e-Murad. One has to prove his/her identity, for which one needs to bring any zikri with him/her.

3.4 The Religious Practice of *Choghan*

*Choghan*³⁸ is a continuation of *dairias* (the practice of sitting in circle for performing ritual *zikr*) and is a common religious practice of the zikris. Mostly, it is practiced during the holy nights such as the Night of *Barat*, the Night of *Qadr* in the month of Ramazan, and the night of the

rainy water. At its side there is a shell, which is filled with water by the visitors and they drink it. This is *Kausar*. In the north of Koh-e-Murad, there is a tree which resembles with the tamarind tree. It bears fruit which are also eaten; it is called the tree of *Tauba* (*Shajre taubah*). In the west of Koh-e-Murad, there is a cave, it is said that Mahdi has passed 40 days there. It is the cave of Hira and during the days of hajj, *zikr* is held there. There is a canal near Turbat which is named as *Hazai*. It is dry now and a well has been dug there which is called *Sheeren Do Qurum* (two sweet rivers). Here Mahdi has poured water with miracle. It is alternative of zam zam. In the south west of Koh-e-Murad, there is another pitch which also fills with rainy water. From under the water, bubbles rises and form foamy water. It is called foamy water (*Guj-e-aab*). It is drunk as being sacred. On a steeply mountain, there is a line whosoever crosses it. He will cross Pull-e-Sirat (bridge of Sirat) Zia ul Haq Siddiqui. *Zikri Mazhab ka Tafsili Jaiza: Balochun ka aik Batil Mazhab* (Multan: Majlis Tahafuz Khatam-e-Nabuwat, 1989), 19.

³⁷ This description is based on the personal observation of the researcher during his visit to the Koh-e-Murad.

³⁸ For the text of the *Choghan* and its pictures, see Appendix VI.

ninth *Zil Hajj*, and also on any day or night in order to remember God.³⁹ A circle is formed and in the mid of the circle, a person having a God-gifted voice stands and sings hymns. The people standing in the circle repeat the words of the hymns with the singer. During *Choghan*, the zikris move in a circular position, with to and fro movements.

The practice of *Choghan* is not very old, neither it is a part of Baloch culture. The beginning of *Choghan* is not known as there is no historical evidence of its origin. Most probably, it developed almost 150 years ago.⁴⁰ In the past, the zikris used to perform *Choghan* in holy nights while sitting in circles and were protected by guards who were also zikris, and who also participate in the ceremony or *ziker*. There are different gatherings of *Choghan* for the men and women.⁴¹

³⁹ Baloch, *Zikri Mazhab Islam Kay Ainey Mein*, 28.

⁴⁰ Noori, *Zikri Tehrikh*, 74.

⁴¹ Zikris during their pilgrimage or on any holy day or night organize a festival in which a singer lady while standing praises the Mahdi with her charming voice. The language she uses is a mixture of Balochi and Persian. The male members make a circle around the lady and in dancing condition repeat the words. This festival sometime continues for hours and also for the whole night; although the *Banahu* (Singer) changes from time to time. This is called *Choghan* which in fact looks like a type of *Sama* of Sufis. Haq, *Zikri Masala*, 43.

Chapter 4

Zikris in Pakistan: From 1947 to the Present

Zikris have been persecuted ever since their settlement in the Makran region. In Pakistan, after the passing of Objectives Resolution, the country became an Islamic state and religio-political parties started taking active part in politics. The framing of the Constitution of 1956, which made Pakistan an Islamic state in constitutional terms, put the zikris in a great difficult situation. The zikris were persecuted during the regimes of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq.

4.1 Zikris in the Early Phase of Pakistan (1947-1969)

From the very inception of Pakistan in 1947, the question became debatable that whether Pakistan was going to be an Islamic state or a secular¹ one. The speech of M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, on August 11, 1947 in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan has variously been interpreted and reinterpreted to show that Jinnah wanted to make Pakistan an Islamic state or a secular state. Jinnah was a Modernist Muslim, and, he was aware of the fact that the constitution framed by him would be criticized. In order to avoid this, he gave the task to the Constituent Assembly. Jinnah in his inaugural speech to the Constituent Assembly stated: “you

¹ Secularism means separating the institution of religion from social and political institutions by the state.

may belong to any religion or caste or creed-that has nothing to do with the business of state.you will find that Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims...not in religious sense but in the political sense as citizens of the state.”² This idea was welcomed by many in Pakistan; in particular the religious minorities felt secured.

For the *ulama* or the religious scholars, Pakistan was not an Islamic State. They first appeared in the making of Objectives Resolution of 1949. Every attempt was made to declare Pakistan as an Islamic Republic by the *ulama*. According to the slogan of All India Muslim League, the *ulama* wanted to make Pakistan a laboratory of Islam.³ Many of the *ulama* were critical of Jinnah who was hailed by the Muslim League as the leader of the Muslims.⁴

During the first decade, sectarian conflicts emerged when Sunni *ulama* demanded the imposition of Sunni Hanafi version of *Shariah*. In 1953, some of the *ulama* and their religious-political parties demanded the Ahmadis to be declared as non-Muslims. “This situation alarmed other minority Muslim sects in the country, especially the Ismailis, Bohras, as well as the zikris of Balochistan and Karachi.”⁵ Some of the *ulama* demanded the same for the zikris, but the modernist ruling elite gave a deaf ear to such demands.

² As quoted in G. W. Choudhury, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2007), 83.

³ Aneesa Fatima, “Role of Religious Parties and Demand for Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and Jamat-i-Islami”, Unpublished M.Phil diss., Quaid-i-Azam University, 2011, 3.

⁴ Sayyid A.S. Pirzada, *The Politics of Jamiat ulama-i-Islam Pakistan, 1971-77* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10.

⁵ Baloch, “Islam, the State, and Identity”, 242.

In 1954, Zikri-Mahdavi Organization was founded by the leaders of the zikri community, which was aimed at safeguarding religious, political and social rights of the followers of Zikrism in Pakistan.⁶ The leaders of the Zikri-Mahdavi Organization accused the judicial officers of injustice, since most of them were Sunnis. The leaders argued that the officials of judicial department in Makran treated the zikris as non-Muslims. In some cases, the courts even refuse to accept the zikris as witnesses.⁷

For the *ulama*, the persecution of the zikris was justified because the latter call themselves as Muslims, whereas according to the Sunni *ulama*, the zikri community was full of superstitious and idolatrous beliefs. To the *ulama*, only reciting the Quran appeared to be a link between the zikris and the Sunni Muslims, otherwise many of the views of zikris regarding the main doctrines of Islam were considered diametrically opposed to them.⁸ The year 1958 witnessed the first ever violent attack on the zikris in the town of Pasni, when a local *mullah* attacked a zikri locality in which eleven persons were killed, including a notable named Kahoda Noor Mahmad.⁹ It led to a series of violent acts against the zikri community. The areas where the zikris were persecuted include Jalawan, Makran region, and Wadh. In Panjgur and Turbat, the Sunni *mullahs* were more organized, where Sunni *madrassas* were established with the help of foreign funds.¹⁰

Since the 1960s, the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and the Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam (JUI) have been the organizations campaigning against the zikris. Zikris were and are persecuted by the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Majeed, *Zikri Mazhab aur Islam* 116.

⁹ Mahmad, *Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan*, 263.

¹⁰ Ibid.

ulama on the reasons that they are considered infidels, and so the two parties demand that they must be declared a religious minority. Marriages of Sunnis with zikris are forbidden. The Sunni Muslims are advised not to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by the zikris. Moreover, they are advised not to cooperate and attend the festivals and funerals of the zikris. In short, the Sunni *ulama* have preached a kind of social boycott of the zikri community. Moreover, the Sunni *ulama* have also tried to destroy the zikri pilgrimage site at Koh-e-Murad. In addition, the *ulama* also presented their demands to the various governments to get the zikris declared as a minority.¹¹

4.2 Zikris during the Bhutto Regime (1970-77)

In the wake of the elections of 1970, the democratically elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was formed in 1972 Pakistan, which had been separated from the East Pakistan in 1971. During the Bhutto regime, the *ulama* were able to muster popular support owing to their criticism of the regime's policies and ideology of Islamic socialism. Therefore, they were able to articulate their demands and in some cases, they were successful in getting them fulfilled. The *ulama* demanded the Ahmadis to be declared as non-Muslims, since the Ahmadis or the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian were believed to be non-Muslims by the *ulama* as they deny the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). The Bhutto regime passed the Second Constitutional Amendment in 1974 which finally declared the Ahmadiyya community as non-Muslims,¹² and turned the community into a religious minority. After the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, the *ulama* got encouraged. After the declaration of Qadianis as non-

¹¹ Abdul Haq, *Zikri Masala*, 106-7.

¹² Hafiz Sher Muhammad, *The Ahmadiyya Case* (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam, 1987), 317.

Muslims, the *ulama* turned their attention towards Makran and started hoping for declaring the zikris of Makran as non-Muslims like the Ahmadis.

When the elections of 1977 were approaching, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Makran. A delegation of zikris went to meet him. The zikri leaders agreed to vote PPP on the condition that in areas where the zikris were in majority and were able to win seats, PPP must support them. However, some of the PPP leaders did not approve of it, and asked the zikri delegation not to make such a demand. The PPP leaders feared that the *ulama* would force their demand of declaring the zikris as non-Muslims, if they came to know about any such deal between the zikris and the PPP.¹³ In short, it was a warning given by the state to zikris that they should not ask for such demands which are disliked by the *ulama*. The zikris started facing numerous acts of violence towards the end of Bhutto regime, and in many cases they were denied judicial justice.

4.3 Islamization of Zia and its impacts on the Zikris (1977-88)

Zia-ul-Haq had usurped power from the democratically elected Bhutto regime in 1977 on the plea that the policies of the Bhutto regime were un-Islamic. Therefore, after assuming power, the Zia regime initiated an Islamization policy in order to legitimize his dictatorial rule.¹⁴ Zia believed that he had a Divine mission to establish an Islamic society in accordance with the Quran and *Sunnah*. He claimed that he was only answerable to God for his doings, as in an

¹³ Noori, *Zikri Tehrik*, 236.

¹⁴ Anita M. Weiss, "The Historical Debate on Islam and the State in South Asia" in *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: the application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, ed. Anita M. Weiss (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), 11.

Islamic state nobody could challenge a ruler if his policies were according to the Quran and *Sunnah*. In the history of Pakistan, the post-1977 era is known as the era of Islamic revivalism. In the words of Rubya Mehdi:

Islamization included steps like compulsory prayers in Government offices during working hours; the review of text books to conform to Islamic teachings; emphasizing Pakistan's national Islamic ideology; making Urdu the official language and medium of institution; and the compulsory wearing of national dress at Government functions, feasts and banquets and even - in theory – by judges in court. Under a Presidential order the month of fasting was legally enforced by prescribing punishment, if violated publicly; radio and television were made to change their programs to conform with Islamic teachings; in order to encourage the observance of Islamic ethical standards, measures were taken to eliminate obscenity and vulgarity from audio-visual media, art galleries, newspapers, journals, magazines and films.¹⁵

There were human rights violations, and the minorities felt insecure and threatened during the Zia regime. Most of the literature against the minorities was produced under the patronage of state machinery. During early 1977, a wanted murderer, named Shaymak from Iran entered Makran for a safe haven, and later he started forcing a poor zikri family to marry their daughter with him but the proposal was rejected by the zikri family.¹⁶ On August 2, 1977, Shaymak killed two zikris named Ashraf and Mureed Baloch. Despite these acts of offence, he went scot-free as the authorities took no action against him, and the families of the deceased were denied justice.¹⁷ After a few days, a bomb blast took place in the vicinity of a mosque in Makran, and the zikris were held responsible for it, although there was no proof of it.

¹⁵ Rubya Mehdi, *The Islamization of the Law in Pakistan* (Richmond: Curzon Press Ltd., 1994), 25-26.

¹⁶ Noori, *Zikri Tehrik*, 238-39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

In 1978, the *ulama* founded *Tehrik Khatam-e-Nabuwat* (Movement for the Finality of the Prophethood), and demanded that the state should declare the zikris as non-Muslims, like it did in the case of the Ahmadis earlier.¹⁸ During the regime of Zia, the Sunni *ulama* wrote against the zikris with full zeal and spirit, and considered their acts as a service to Islam. Maulvi Abdul Majeed and *Tanzeem Islah al-Muslimin* from Turbat wrote the most objectionable and controversial book on zikris which was titled as *Zigri Mazhab aur Islam*.¹⁹ It was published in 1974 and its second edition was published in 1979. Moulvi Mohammad Hayat also wrote a controversial book on zikris which was titled as *Zigri Firqae par Aik Nazar*, and it was published in 1978.²⁰ Its foreword was written by Dehkan Sheruk, an *Ahl-e-Ahadith* scholar, who is now known as Abu Saeed Ahtisham-ul-Haq Asiabadi. This propaganda was launched by *Ahl-e-Ahadith*, who were being funded by the Saudi government.²¹ Under the Islamization program, religious institutions such as *madrassahs* were financed by the state, but the zikris were denied any such financial help.²²

The Report of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) states that the people of zikri community face a social boycott owing to their religious beliefs, which are objectionable in the eyes of the Sunni Muslims. The Sunni Muslims ostracize them, and call them *bhangee* (dirty people) and *jahil* (backward). The zikris are also pressurized to accept Sunni Islam. In 1987, a zikri leader challenged the orthodox Sunni *ulama* and invited them to a public debate or *munazara* in order to have arguments and counter-arguments over matters of

¹⁸ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1999), 252.

¹⁹ Mahmud, *Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan*, 262

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Baloch, "Islam, the State, and Identity", 245.

faith and belief. This led to a surge of anti-zikri feeling among the general Sunni population in the area.²³

4.4 The Zikris in Post-Zia Era

During the Zia era, there was a heightened sense of anti-zikri feeling, which led to hatred against the zikri community during the post-Zia era as well. In 1989 a caravan of the zikris was attacked and looted by the local smugglers.²⁴ Since in this area, the writ of the state is quite weak, so it is generally difficult to catch and punish the offenders, and dispense justice to the aggrieved. On April 21, 1990, a caravan of zikris was travelling from Gichk (Panjgur) to Turbat, which was attacked with arms, and it resulted in the death of one woman and three men, whereas eight zikris were injured.²⁵ In 1991, violent attacks were launched on the zikri community by the traditionalist *ulama*, in which one woman and a child were killed and many others were wounded. Moreover, in the ambush, the houses of the zikris were robbed and *Zikr-khana Tauba* at Koh-e-Murad was also destroyed.²⁶ Similarly, in Pasni, on July 2, 1992, the residences of zikris were targeted, and 29 rockets were fired; however, the administration failed to arrest any culprit.²⁷

In addition, every year force is also used against the zikris when they try to go to Koh-e-Murad in order to prevent them. They are being harassed, attacked, robbed, killed, targeted,

²³ Shaun R. Gregory and Simon R. Valentine, *Pakistan: The Situation of Religious Minorities* (London: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information, 2009), 24.

²⁴ Munir, *Zikri Tarikh aur Aqaid Tarikh kay Ainey Mein*, 52.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

abused and their properties are destroyed. Every year on 27th of Ramazan, when the zikris go to Turbat for their annual pilgrimage to Koh-e-Murad, the Sunni *ulama* issue *fatwas* (religious decrees) from the pulpits of their mosques against the zikris, branding them as infidels, and urging the Sunni population to stop the zikris from going to Koh-e-Murad for annual pilgrimage. The attack on the zikris is considered as a holy war by these Sunni *ulama*. In year 1993, four rockets were fired at Koh-e-Murad to stop the zikris from going to their pilgrimage.²⁸ In 1994, a militant Sunni organization named *Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba* tried to introduce a bill in the Assembly in order to declare zikrism a non-Muslim sect. However, the attempt remained unsuccessful.²⁹

According to the UNHCR Report published in 2009, 89 attempts have been made in order to stop the zikris from visiting Koh-e-Murad for their annual pilgrimage. In post-Zia era, police has provided protection to the zikris for performing their annual rite. Moreover, in the post-Zia era, the Sunni Baloch *ulama* have showed a more passive attitude towards the zikris as compared to the past. Their aggressiveness has been minimized, and they have resorted to persuasion rather than coercion.³⁰

Regarding the zikris, the *Report on Religious Minorities* gives the following detail:

The Sunni/*Namazi* Muslims, belonging to the JUI and JI have attacked zikris for being a 'heretic sect' and campaigns have been mounted to stop zikris from congregating at Koh-i-Murad... To many observers, the emphasis on reconversion or designation as a non-

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Gregory and Valentine, *Pakistan: The Situation of Religious Minorities*, 24.

³⁰ Ibid.

Muslim minority is linked with the growing accent on Islam in Pakistan, since Zia and since Khomeini in neighboring Iran. Zikris had traditionally been victimized in Iran and in Afghani Balochistan, and the recent emphasis on Sunni and scripturalist Islam encouraged the JUI to make inroads into Baloch regions. There are demands for zikris to be declared a non-Muslim minority. The zikri status remains unchanged but they are scared and thus find solidarity with a secular version of Baloch ethnicity.³¹

According to the UNHCR Report of 2009:

There are clear indications that the zikris still live in some fear. As the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan states: 'The acts of violence against the minorities have declined but they appear afraid of articulating their concerns.' 90 recent examples of persecution of zikris include the reported case of Abdul Ghani, a zikri leader who, in December 2003 was driving through Karachi when two men on bikes stopped him, threw abuse at him, and shot him. He was dead on arrival at the hospital, which led to public protest and demonstrations by the zikri community in the city.³²

In Pakistan, the majority of people belonging to zikri sect are Baloch, except very few who are non-Baloch.³³ The zikris follow the Baloch customs and traditions of marriage and other ceremonies. In most of the families in zikri community, some of the family members are Sunni.³⁴ It is a fact and it is evident that there are families whose members are both Sunni and zikri, and there is no enmity between them. Presently, the zikris are residing in all those areas where the majority of the population is Baloch. Zikri scholars argue that they are as much Baloch as others are:

In Pakistan zikris belong to Baloch tribes except few who are not Baloch. Their customs and traditions, marriages, occasions of happiness and sorrow are in line with the Balochi traditions. Sunni Baloch and zikri Baloch are followers of same cultural traditions, and there is no difference between them.³⁵

³¹ Malik, *Report on Religious Minorities in Pakistan*, 12.

³² Gregory and Valentine, *Pakistan: The Situation of Religious Minorities*, 24.

³³ Baloch, *Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*, 21

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

The zikris also feel bound by the *Baluchmayar*, which is the Baloch Code of Honor. It has very well been explained by some of the scholars of Baloch culture.³⁶ It refers to the demands for honor, and the bases of the *Baluchmayar* are also known as *Laj*, *Ghairat*, *Izzat*, *Nang*, and *Namus*. In the words of an anthropologist:

The main ideals of the tribe are hospitality, bravery, and a romantic chivalry where women are involved. Women are never molested in peacetime or in battle; cases of adultery are considered a breach of honor, and the woman is killed, along with her lover, in what is called *sia kari* or 'black work'. It is the same chivalry which disallows women- or children-from being tried by ordeal, however serious the offence. If the woman is married, her husband, or if she has none, her father or other male kinsman, is put to trial in her place.³⁷

The principle of *Balochmayar* also demands that the weak and helpless people should be respected, and that tribesmen should refrain from killing them.³⁸ If the zikris are persecuted or targeted, it is generally not done by the Baloch; rather it is masterminded by external agencies trying to apply the policy of divide and rule and to divert the attention of people from criticism towards the government. The traditionalist *ulama* have never showed religious tolerance towards

³⁶ A Baloch warrior poet in one of his poems on the subject of *Ghariat* composed the following lines: Some die for honor and dignity, Some live for a piece of bread, He who avenges himself, Says farewell to his beautiful wife, Has no longing for power and wealth. Inayatullah Baloch, *The Problem of Greater Baluchistan: A Case Study of Baloch Nationalism* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987), 80.

³⁷ Akbar S. Ahmed, "Trial by Ordeal Among Bugtis: Rituals as a Diacritical Factor in Baloch Ethnicity" in *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-Colonial Balochistan*, 56.

³⁸ The following persons are regarded as *kamzor-o-Lachar*:

"*Zal* or *Zan* (women). *Bachh* (boy) below the age of 17 years. The members of religious minorities, such as Hindus. Inferior races such as *Ghulam* (slave), *Domb* and *Lori* (musicians, singers and genealogists), and *Nakib* (the persons who are bound to supply firewood for the camp of the chiefs, and to carry his post or messages within the limits of the tribe). A person who is in the shrine or mosque, as long as he remains within its premises. In addition, it is required that fighting cease when a woman, a spiritual leader or a person carrying the Holy Koran (Muslim religious book) intercedes". *Ibid.*, 86.

the Zikris. They are not willing to accommodate others who have religious beliefs different from them. They have adopted an exclusivist approach. Most of these *ulama* belong to JUI.

In addition to the Sunni *ulama*, there is another section of the society who are the arch enemies of the zikris. They are the smugglers who smuggle various illegal goods through the sea and land. The smugglers oppose the zikris residing on the coastal belt of Balochistan. They have clashes with the zikris when they create hindrance in the pursuance of their illegal activities.³⁹ These smugglers also provide financial assistance to the Sunni *ulama* against the zikris for undertaking propaganda in order to pressurize and silence the zikris.

³⁹ Munir, *Zikri Tarikh aur Aqaid Tarikh kay Ainey Mein*, 51.

Conclusion

Saiyyid Mohammad (b. 1443-d. 1504) of Jaunpur was born in the present day Uttar Pradesh, India. He was a renowned religious scholar of the fifteenth century. From his childhood, he had thirst for knowledge, and he received his religious education under the guidance of renowned scholars of his times. At the age of fifty-six, in 1499, he made his final claim to Mahdihood. His movement to purify Islam was popularized as Mahdavi movement, and thus his followers, who are known as the Mahdavis or the zikris, insisted on the ritual practice of *zikr*. They faced criticism when their leader declared himself as the Mahdi. Mohammad Jaunpuri had a series of discussions with the Sunni *ulama* in India, but they were unable to come to any conclusion. Thus, he was forced to leave the places where he settled one after another. Before his arrival in Afghanistan, he stayed in Makran at a place known as Koh-e-Murad, thus converting the people of that place to zikrism. Finally, he died in 1504 at Farah, a town in Afghanistan, and was buried there.

Later on, the zikris established their rule in Makran region which lasted almost for a century, from 1628 to 1740. Zikrism flourished under the patronage of Buladai rulers of Balochistan. However, later, the zikri rule ended when the region came under the sway of Mir Naseer Khan I, the Khan of Kalat. Historically, it is evident that the attacks of Naseer Khan I on

Makran were due to his expansionist policy, and not for waging a holy war against the zikris. The attacks of Naseer Khan I on Makran gave power to the Sunni *ulama* to speak against the zikris. The policies of the Khanate remained unfavorable for the zikri community because the Sunni *ulama* had considerable influence in the politics of the Khanate.

With the establishment of the British rule in India, zikris were protected and safeguarded as the former confined religion and Islamic law only to personal life. Zikris were identified and protected by the British authority as loyal subjects of the raj in the Indian Sub-continent. The zikri issue was sidelined as in the nineteenth century, the *ulama* focused their energies on the Ahmadis, the followers Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadiyan (1835-1908), who became the founder of Ahmadiyya movement in India after claiming to be the promised Messiah. Later, after the creation of Pakistan, zikrism became debatable when the *ulama* started taking active part in the politics of the newly formed state. With the goal of making Pakistan as an Islamic state, the Sunni *ulama* tried their best to declare all those as non-Muslims whose religious beliefs were different from the mainstream Sunni school of thought. When the Ahmadis were declared as non-Muslims in 1974, the zikri community got alarmed. The local Sunni *ulama* of Balochistan, with the help and support of other *ulama* of the country, started demanding that the zikris must be declared as a religious minority. However, the Bhutto government did not support the demand of these *ulama*.

During the Zia regime, a plethora of literature was published against zikris under the patronage of the government, which created a lot of hatred for the zikris among the common

people. Justice was denied to the zikri community because the *Shariat* benches in the country favored the viewpoint of the traditionalist Muslim scholars. The judges in these benches represented the Sunni version of Islam. During the Zia era, a demand was again put forward by local Sunni *ulama* of Makran region to the government to declare the zikris as non-Muslim. Zia promised to resolve the issue of zikris very soon but his regime came to an end when he died in a plane crash in 1988.

In the post-Zia era, religio-political parties and sectarian organizations spread sectarianism and hatred in the country. Zikris, who are helpless and weak, and in minority, have often been blamed for denying the finality of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). However, the zikris argue that they believe in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and consider Mohammad Jaunpuri merely a Mahdi. The organization of zikris, All Pakistan Muslim Zikri Anjuman, has time and again published and made announcements that they (zikris) are Muslim and believe in the finality of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and also believe in the Holy Quran as the last revealed Book. The zikri leaders and scholars have also argued the Koh-e-Murad is a sacred pilgrimage center for them, and not an alternative to Kabbah in Makkah. Despite that, the Sunni *ulama* consider the zikris as non-Muslims, and they have also objected to the use of the word Muslim by the zikris and for their organization. It seems that the aim of the Sunni *ulama* is to emulate the precedent of the Ahmadis in Balochistan. In Balochistan, besides the funding of government to the Sunni *ulama*, the *ulama* are also financed by the smugglers to denounce the zikris and dubbed them as non-Muslims. It is meant to safeguard the interests of the smugglers, and also to force the zikris either to leave the sea business, i.e. of fishing, or to prevent the zikris from raising voice against the illegal business of the smugglers.

As such it is difficult to predict the future of zikris in the country, but presently their persecution in Makran region has been minimized due to the fact that zikirs are Baloch in terms of ethnicity. Owing to the upsurge of Baloch nationalism in recent years, the division among the Baloch in terms of religion is considered as a state policy to divide the Baloch and to halt their Nationalist movement. From the perspective of Baloch nationalists, the persecution of zikris means favoring the state policy. Therefore, in recent years, the hatred against the zikris has been minimized, especially in Makran. However, the zikris residing in rest of Pakistan particularly in and around Karachi, and other parts of Sindh are still facing problems due to their controversial religious beliefs and practices.

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Appendix I

Question-Answer between Mohammad Jaunpuri and the *ulama* at Badli

Under the leadership of Mullah Moin-ud-din prepared a list of questions in a meeting at *Jama Masjid Patan*, and presented it to Mahdi Maud (AHS) at Badhli. Each question was answered by Mahdi Maud (AHS) as follows:

Q. 1. Do you claim to be Mahdi Maud?

Ans. The Mahdi (AHS) said, "I cannot claim anything on my own; I am commissioned by Allah to declare that I am Mahdi Maud (AHS)".

Q. 2. The *ulama* asked "According to prophesy, your father's name ought to have been Abdullah, but his name is Syed Khan.

Ans. Realizing their taunt, the Mahdi (AHS) smiled and replied "You had better ask Allah why he made the son of Syed Khan the "Mahdi -e-Maud" .Allah is all powerful. He can do whatever he likes". This, even though the *ulama* were well aware that his father's name was Syed Abdullah, and Syed Khan was his title.

Q. 3. The *ulama* said as per "the Prophecy" will all have faith in the Mahdi, and will no one disbelieve in him?

Ans. The Mahdi(AHS) asked the *ulamawhether Momins*would believe in him or *Kafirs*? They said, "*Momins*". Then he replied, "All those who were born eternally *Momins* have already believed and are also becoming believers."

Q. 4. Do you say *Wilayat* is superior to *Nabuwat*?

Ans. The Mahdi (AHS) said, "Superiority of *Wilayat* was given by Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), not by me, in the Hadith?

"*Al-Wilayat Afzal Min Nabuwat*". This means that the *Wilayat* of the *Nabi* is superior to the *Nabuwat* of the *Nabi*. I do not say my *Wilayat* is superior to the *Wilayat* of the *Nabi*, or that I am superior to *the Nabi*, or that any *Wali* is superior to *the Nabi*".

Q. 5. You believe that Faith increases and decreases whereas *mam-e-Azam* (RA) says that faith neither increases nor decreases.

Ans. To this, he replied, Allah says in the Quran, when you recite the verses of the Quran before them; their faith is increased, and their confidence in Allah is maintained. This proves that Faith does increase. *Imam-e-Azam* (R Z) has referred to his own faith, which has reached perfection. After perfection there will be neither increase nor decrease".

Q. 6. Do you say earning is unlawful?

Ans. The Mahdi (AHS) said, Earning is lawful for a *Momin*, but one has to become a *Momin* first. You must refer to the Quran, to know who is a *Momin*.

Q. 7. Do you forbid the learning of knowledge (*Ilm*)?

Ans. The Mahdi (AHS) said "I am a devoted follower of prophet Mohammad (PBUH) .How can I forbid that which he has not forbidden? In the Quran, *Zikr-e-Dawam* is Divine obligation. Whatever interferes in the 'Zikrullah', whether it is learning, earning, meeting with people, eating or resting, is un-lawful (Haram)".

Q. 8. Do you say that in this mortal world, one can see Allah with one's own eyes?

Ans. Allah says in the Quran that, "Whosoever is blind in this world will be blind in the hereafter also. "The *ulama* said, "The *ulama-e-Ahl-e-sunnat* believe this verse to mean that one may see Allah in the hereafter Mahdi Maud (AHS) said "Allah's promise is absolute, not restricted. The "*Ulama-e-Ahl-e -Sunnat*, have not ruled out the possibility of seeing the vision (*Deedar*) of Allah in this world".

Q. 9. why is it that you mostly narrate the verses regarding fury and fear, and not those regarding mercy and benevolence?

Ans. In reply, the Mahdi quoted a Hadith which says, "Your brother is one who makes you fearful, and not one who makes you happy and arrogant".

Q. 10. How can we discuss religion with you, when you do not belong to any school of Jurisprudence (*Fikha*) whatever you say is from the Quran only, and we are unable to understand its meaning. Therefore we are bound to follow the creed of *Imam* Abu Hanifa (RZ).

Ans. "Yes, I am not bound by any school of Jurisprudence; my religion comprises the Book of Allah, and the teachings of Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), the messenger of Allah. Tell me, what you would say about a person who was following Imam Abu Hanifa (RZ), but not the practice of his religion? Do you know what the meaning of religion is? The religion of the *Imam* is what he practices, not what he preaches But, going by all the propositions from the *Shariats*, stated in the book of *Fikha* (ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE) religion means following the preaching of the Prophet and not what he practiced.

Q. 11. Do you call a Muslim a *Kafir* and order him to become a *Momin*?

Ans. I am presenting the Book of Allah whoever is called a *Kafir* in the Book of Allah; I also call him a *Kafir*. I do not say anything on my own. I am under strict obedience to the Book of Allah.

Q. 12. We are doubtful whether your claim of Mahdiat is based on truth or falsehood, so how can we believe it?

Ans. The Mahdi (AHS) quoted a verse from the Quran, which says that if he is wrong, the burden will be on him; if he is right you will be in trouble which is destined. The *ulama* said. We are afraid that if you are not the real Mahdi, we will be punished by Allah for having faith in you. Mahdi Maud (AHS) said, "Do you think that I would not be afraid of Allah, if I had declared to be the Mahdi when actually I had not been made the Mahdi by Allah?" The Quran says, "Nobody is a bigger traitor than the one who betrays Allah. Whatever I say is from the direct revelations of Allah, not from me personally".

Q. 13. "Why have your followers turned against their religious leaders finding fault with them, and behaving in an unseemly manner?"

Ans. "Their behavior is not unbecoming, but follows the *Shariat*. Have you forgotten the principle in the *Shariat*, that after a girl's marriage if it is found that the husband is impotent they will be separated? When you purchase something, thinking it is all right, but subsequently a defect is found in it, do you return it, or not? Similarly, if an incompetent religious guide is changed for a competent one, there is nothing wrong in it. It is regrettable to note, that you give less importance to the religious objective, as compared to the worldly objective. Is this the way you worship Allah, and follow your religion?"

Source: Syed Husian Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud*^{AHS} (Hyderabad: privately published, 1989), 32-35.

Appendix II

Text of Zikr

الصَّلَاةُ الذَّاكِرِينَ
(اخوة تلاميذ زكرو دست) شيخ محمد باقر

قيام
نیت

أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ ○
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ○

أَمَنْتُ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَالْقَدِيرِ خَيْرِهِ وَشَرِّهِ
مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَالنَّبِيِّ بَعْدَ أَلَمُوتِ ○

أَمَنْتُ بِاللَّهِ كَمَا هُوَ بِأَسْمَائِهِ وَصِفَاتِهِ وَقَبْلَتْ جَمِيعاً أَحْكَامَهُ وَأَرْكَانَهُ
إِقْرَأْ بِاللِّسَانِ وَتَصَدِّقْ بِالْقَلْبِ ○

اللَّهُ الْهُنَاءُ ○ مُحَمَّدٌ نَبِيُّنَا ○ الْقُرْآنُ وَالْمَهْدِيُّ إِمَامُنَا وَمَا وَصَّيْنَا ○
إِنِّي وَجْهٌ وَجْهِي لِلذِّى فَطَرَا سَمُوٰةَ وَالْأَرْضِ خَلِيفًا وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ
الْمُشْرِكِينَ ○

إِنَّ صَلَاتِي وَنُسُكِي وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ○

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ○

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ○ أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ○
مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ ○ إِلَهِكَ تَعْبُدُ وَإِلَىٰكَ فَتَعْبِرُ ○
أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ ○ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ
غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ ○ آمين

الصَّلَاةُ الذَّاكِرِينَ

صفحہ ۸/۱

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ ○ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ ○ لَمْ يَلِدْ
وَلَمْ يُولَدْ ○ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ ○

نیت کردم سوہ تسبیح ذکر - ذکر اللہ تعالیٰ -
رو آوردم بہ خانہ کعبہ ء ربّ جلیل -
اللہ اکبر -

تسبیح اول: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (پندرہ بار)
لا اله الا الله الملك الحق المبين مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ اللهُ صَادِقُ الْوَعْدِ الْآمِينَ ○
رَبَّنَا ظَلَمْنَا أَنفُسَنَا وَإِن لَّنُتَقِرُّنَا وَرَحْمَتَا لَنَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ ○
رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لِي وَلِوَالِدَيْ وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْحِسَابُ ○
رَبَّنَا إِنِّي كَانِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ ○
امين يا الله برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين ○

تسبیح دوم: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (پندرہ بار)
لا اله الا الله الملك الحق المبين مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ اللهُ صَادِقُ الْوَعْدِ الْآمِينَ ○
رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِن نَّسِينَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إِصْرًا
كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِنَا ○ رَبَّنَا إِنِّي كَانِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً
وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ ○
امين يا الله برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين ○

الصَّلَاةُ الذَّاكِرِينَ

صفحہ ۸/۲

تسبیح سوم: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (پندرہ بار)

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ الْمُبِينُ مُحَمَّدٌ الرَّسُولُ اللَّهُ صَادِقُ الْوَعْدِ الْأَمِينُ ۝
 رَبَّنَا إِنَّا سَمِعْنَا مُنَادِيًا يُنَادِي لِلْإِيمَانِ أَنْ آمِنُوا بِرَبِّكُمْ فَآمَنَّا ۝
 رَبَّنَا فَأَعْرَضْنَا عَنْ دُعَائِهِمْ وَكُنَّا بِرَبِّنَا وَقِفْنَا مَعَ الْكَاذِبِينَ ۝
 رَبَّنَا إِنِّي أَسْأَلُكَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْأُولَى حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْعَذَابِ النَّارِ ۝
 آمين يا الله برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين ۝

فَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ قِيَامًا وَ قُعُودًا ۝
 اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝
 أَحْمَدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ۝ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝
 مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ ۝ إِلَهِكَ تَعْبُدُ وَإِلَيْكَ نَسْتَعِينُ ۝
 أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ ۝ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ
 غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ ۝ آمين

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ ۝ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ ۝ لَمْ يَلِدْ
 وَلَمْ يُولَدْ ۝ وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ ۝
 (تین بار)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ الْعَرْشُ الْعَلِيُّ وَالسَّمَاءُ هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ ۝
 هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْغَايِبُ الْغَائِبُ وَالسَّمَاءُ هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ ۝
 الْبَارِعُ الْمُبِينُ رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ ۝ هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَلِيقُ
 الْبَارِعُ الْمُبِينُ رَبُّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ ۝ هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَلِيقُ
 الْحَكِيمُ ۝ عَلَّمَنَّا الْقُرْآنَ ۝ وَتَبَيَّنَّا رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ ۝
 وَأَذْكُرُوكَ فِي تَقْسِيمِكَ قَضَا وَحَيْقَةً وَدُونَ الْجَهْرَمِينَ الْقَوْلِ بِالْقُدِّ وَالْأَصَالِ
 وَلَا تَكُنْ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ ۝

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ کہتے ہوئے رکوع میں جاتے ہیں۔

رکوع

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَبِحَمْدِهِ (تین بار) سُبْحَانَ رَبِّيَ الْعَظِيمِ (تین بار) پڑھ کر سیدھے ہوتے
 ہیں اور سَمِعَ اللَّهُ لِمَنْ حَمِدَهُ وَرَبَّنَا لَكَ الْحَمْدُ اور اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ کہتے ہوئے مالکِ حَقِّقِ
 کے حضور میں سر بسجود ہوتے ہیں۔

سجده

وَلِلَّهِ يَسْجُدُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَالنَّجْمُ وَشَجَرٌ يُسْجُدُ ۝
 لِرَبِّهِ ۝ اللَّهُ عَالِمُ غَيْبِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ إِنَّهُ عَلِيمٌ بِذَاتِ الصُّدُورِ ۝
 سُورَةُ قُدُوسٍ رَبَّنَا وَزُبُّ الْمَلَكِيَّةِ وَالرُّوحِ ۝ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ نِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ وَنِعْمَ

المولى و نِعَم النّصير ۝ تبارك الذى بيده الملك وهو على كل
 شىء قدير ۝ حسبي الله لا اله الا هو عليه توكلت وهو رب العرش
 العظيم ۝ سبحان الله و بحمده (تین بار) سبحان ربى الاعلى (تین بار)
 پڑھ کر اللہ اکبر و للہ الحمد کہتے ہوئے پوری طرح سر اٹھاتے ہیں اور اللہ اکبر
 کہتے ہوئے دوبارہ سجدہ کرتے ہیں اور پڑھتے ہیں :
 اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّى اَسْجُدُكَ يَا رَحْمٰن ۝ فَغْفِرْ لِي يَا رَحْمٰن ۝ وَاَرْحَمْنِي يَا رَحْمٰن
 ۝ وَاِهْدِنِي يَا رَحْمٰن ۝ وَنَجِّنِي يَا رَحْمٰن ۝ وَاغْنِنِي يَا رَحْمٰن ۝
 وَحَفِظْنِي يَا رَحْمٰن ۝
 اَللّٰهُمَّ احْفَظْنِي فَاِنَّكَ خَيْرُ الْحٰفِظِيْنَ ۝ اللّٰهُ اَكْبَرُ (تین بار) کہہ کر سجدہ سے
 اٹھاتے ہیں اور لا اله الا اللہ پڑھنے کے بعد حالتِ تعدہ میں پڑھتے ہیں:

تعدہ

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ
 قُلْ هُوَ اللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ ۝ اللّٰهُ الصَّمَدُ ۝ لَمْ يَلِدْ
 وَلَمْ يُولَدْ ۝ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهٗ كُفُوًا اَحَدٌ ۝
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ
 قُلْ اَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْقَلْبِ ۝ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ ۝ وَمِنْ
 شَرِّ غَاسِقٍ اِذَا وَقَبَ ۝ وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَّٰثَاتِ فِي
 الْعُقَدِ ۝ وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ اِذَا حَسَدَ ۝

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْقَائِسِ ۝ مَلِكِ الْقَائِسِ ۝ إِنَّكَ
 الْقَائِسِ ۝ مِنْ سُرِّ الْقَوَائِسِ الْخَائِسِ ۝ الَّذِي
 يُؤَسِّسُ فِي شُدُورِ الْقَائِسِ ۝
 مِنَ الْحِجَّةِ وَالْقَائِسِ ۝

سُبْحَانَكَ مَا عَرَفْنَاكَ حَقَّ مَعْرِفَتِكَ سُبْحَانَكَ مَا حَمَدْنَاكَ حَقَّ حَمْدِكَ
 سُبْحَانَكَ مَا عَبَدْنَاكَ حَقَّ عِبَادَتِكَ سُبْحَانَ رَبِّكَ رَبِّ الْعِزَّةِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ ۝
 وَسَلَامٌ عَلَى الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَحْمَتِهِ
 لِلْعَمِيمِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ ۝

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ
 وَرَسُولُهُ ۝

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ آدَمُ صَفِيُّ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ نُوحٌ نَجِيُّ اللَّهِ
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ خَلِيلِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ ذَبِيحِ اللَّهِ
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُوسَى كَلِيمِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ دَاوُدَ خَلِيفَةَ اللَّهِ
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ عِيسَى رُوحِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ سُوْلُ اللَّهِ

✓ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُهْدِي مُرَادِ اللَّهِ

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ ۝ لَهُ الْمُلْكُ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ يُحْيِي وَيُمِيتُ وَهُوَ

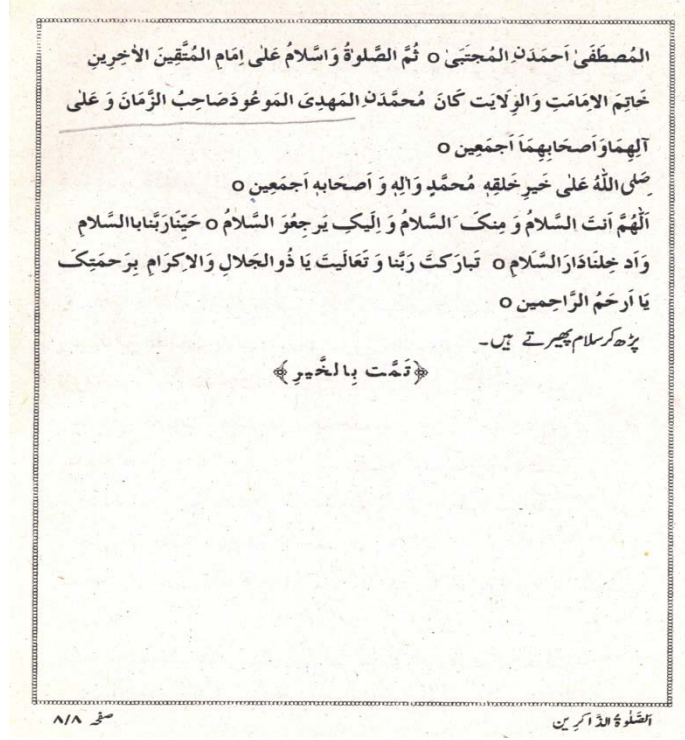
حَى " لَا يُمُوتُ أَبَدًا أَبَدًا ۝ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ بِيَدِهِ الْخَيْرُ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
 قَدِيرٌ ۝

پھر دعا کیلئے ہاتھ اٹھاتے ہیں:

رَبِّ زِدْنِي عِلْمًا وَرَزُقْنِي فَهْمًا ۝ اَللّٰهُمَّ ارْزُقْنَا اِيْمَانًا مُسْتَقِيْمًا وَفَصْلًا دَائِمًا وَنِظْرًا
 رَحْمَةً وَقَلْبًا مُنَوَّرًا خَاشِعًا وَعَقْلًا كَامِلًا وَلِسَانًا ذَاكِرًا وَرِزْقًا خَلَالًا طَيِّبًا وَاسِعًا
 وَوَلَدًا صَالِحًا ۝ وَعِلْمًا نَافِعًا وَأَعْمَالًا مَقْبُولًا وَسَعِيًّا مُشْكُورًا وَذَنْبًا مَغْفُورًا وَصَبْرًا
 جَمِيْلًا وَأَجْرًا عَظِيْمًا وَتَوْفِيقًا حَسَنًا وَدُعَاءَ مُسْتَجِيْبًا ۝ نَصِيْبًا مِّنَ الْجَنَّةِ يَا رَبِّ
 وَنَصِيْبًا مِّنَ الْقَائِمِ يَا رَبِّ ۝ بِحَقِّ سُرُورِ كَائِنَاتِ نُوْرٍ دُوْ جِهَانَ
 نُوْرِ مُحَمَّدٍ سُوْلِ اللَّهِ خَاتَمِ مُرْسَلَانِ تَاجِدَارِ بَيْغَمِرَانَ سَيِّدِ الْاِكْرَامِ نَبِيِّ تَمَامِ
 وَبِدَوَسْتِي حَضْرَتِ مُحَمَّدٍ مَهْدِي صَاحِبِ زَمَانِ خَلِيْفَةِ رَحْمَانَ تَاوِيْلِ قُرْآنِ
 بِيْشَوَاءِ اِمْتَانِ وَرَهْمَانِيْ مَوْمِنَانِ وَبَلَطْفِكَ وَكَرَمِكَ وَبِجُوْدِكَ يَا
 جُوْدًا الْكَرِيْمِ ۝ اَللّٰهُمَّ اَجْرْنَا مِنَ النَّارِ يَا مُجِيْرُ يَا مُجِيْرُ يَا مُجِيْرُ دَسْتِ مَارَا بَكِيْرُ اَمْرُوْر
 تَا آخِرَتِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا اَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِيْنَ ۝

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ
 الْعَظِيمِ ۝

اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلٰى نَبِيِّ الْاُمِّيِّ الْكَرِيْمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبُوْتِ وَالرَّسَالَةِ كَانَ مُحَمَّدًا



Source: SaiyyidEsaNoori, Al-Salat Al-Zakarain (Turbat: Al-Zakarain Welfare Foundation, 2006), 1-8.

Appendix III



Map showing Turbat which is place for Koh-e-Murad and centre of the Zikrism.



Pink color highlighting the population of Baloch in present day Iran which was a part of Balochistan before the inception of Pakistan.

Appendix IV

Pictures of MeereyeQalat



The fortress of MeereyeQalat in Makran region-the place where zikri forces were defeated by Naseer Khan I.



The remains of the fortress of MeereyeQalat.



A view of remains of fortress of MeereyeQalat.

Appendix V
Pictures of Zigranas and Koh-e-Murad



Zikr khana at Koshk (Turbat).





Zikr khana at Mula-e-Bazar (Turbat).



Male *Zikri Khana Tauba* at Koh-e-Murad (Turbat).



Side view of *Zikr Khana* at Koh-e-Murad.



Female *Zikr Khana* at Koh-e-Murad.



Inside view of *Zikr Khana*. One can see that there is no indication for the direction of *Qibla*.





Stairs leading to the gate of Koh-e-Murad at Turbat.



Main entrance/gate at Koh-e-Murad.



View of Koh-e-Murad from inside the gates.





Circles through which one has to pass before climbing the mountain, there are total seven circles at all.



A closer view of the circles.



Peak of Koh-e-Murad which is called “*Mohray Sar*” i.e. (the peak of the diamond). It is the place where one must offer *zikr* before leaving.



View of area of Koh-e-Murad from above the the mountain.

Appendix VI

Text and pictures of Choghan

چنانچہ تمثیلاً چند ابیات چوکان درج ذیل ہیں۔

سوالاً	جواباً
۱- یا ہومن	یا اللہ
۲- کہ خوب	اللہ خوب
۳- ابتدائے آدم	برکتانی محمد
۴- یا ہادی بزرگ تو ہی	یا محمد رسول اللہ
۵- این د مال پہ محمدی نام	بارانی صاحبہ محمدی
۶- عرشِ عہدائنت نورے بیانت	نورائنتناس کہ ذات خدائنت
۷- یاد ہاری ترا باد کسین	یاد قلندر یا نور فاک
۸- یاد کسین بسین	مہدی بنت سردین

سہ آپ کے چہرہ انوار پر نقاب تھا جب آپ لہجورت نورانی مقام محمود پر ظہر ہوئے تو اصحابان دیدار نورانی سے فیضیاب ہو جلتے تھے اگر کو
بھی نازل ہو جاتے۔ اور اصحاب کے ساتھ مقام محمود مکرم کے ارد گرد سجد عبادت میں شامل ہوتے اور آپ کے دیدار انوار سے سب کی سر دین پوری ہو جو
یہی وجہ ہے کہ اس مقدس مقام کا نام بلفظ بلوچی "کوٹھ مراد" ہے چنانچہ یہی روح مقدس ہر شب تذکرہ فرشتوں کے ساتھ مکرم پر نزل
ہے جب کے بار میں اگلے صفحات پر وضاحت کی گئی ہے۔



Choghan is being performed during night, i.e. the Holy nights.



Choghan being performed during day time.