# BUILDING ISLAM: JAMIA KHAIR UL MADARIS, MULTAN, PAKISTAN, 1947-2001.

Fakhar Bilal
Department of History

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Royal Holloway College, University of London

2018

# **Declaration of Work**

I, Fakhar Bilal, hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis for
examination of the PhD degree is solely my own. Where I have consulted the
work of others, this is always clearly acknowledged and stated in the thesis.
Signed
Date

#### **Abstract**

For much of Islamic history, the transmission of the central texts of Islam (the Quran and the Hadiths), and the skills needed to make them socially useful was undertaken primarily in the households of the *ulama* (learned men). In the classical Islamic era this process did come to be formalised for some in the *madrasa* or college. Such colleges slowly spread throughout the Islamic world. By the mid-twentieth century in South Asia, for instance, there were at most a few hundreds of them.

Since independence in 1947 the number of madrasas has increased exponentially. My focus is on Pakistan where the number has gone from 189 in 1947 to 10,000 in 2002. A large majority of these new foundations, namely over 7,000 in number, have been of the reformist Deobandi tradition. This raises the issue of how a reforming tradition, opposed to many expressions of Sufism, was able to expand in a region where Islamic mysticism was very strong. It is an issue that attains especial importance when we note that the dominant religious presence amongst jihadi Muslims of the NW Frontier has been Deobandi.

This study shows how a Deobandi madrasa came to be established in the city of Multan in southern Punjab. This is a case study of one madrasa Jamia Khair ul Madaris, which was established in 1931 in east Punjab in Jalandhar (present-day India) and then relocated in the Multan city in the Multan district, of the Punjab province in Pakistan in 1947. Multan is an urban developed area, which has supported the development of a major Deobandi madrasa and its education system amid its dominant *sufi* and shrine cultures which were once the symbol of the area. It was called *Madina tul Aulia* (City of Saints). Commonly, *madrasas* are community initiatives, working independently of the state sponsorship or funding but they are registered with their respective *wifaqs* (boards of education).

My study is divided into six chapters. Chapter One gives a background of Multan's development into a mega city and hub for trade and the subsequent boost given to it by the Green Revolution. The second chapter explains the establishment of Khair ul Madaris and its growth in colonial India under the supervision of Maulana Khair Muhammad and its restoration in Multan in 1947 after Partition. In Chapter Three, I have explained how Khair ul Madaris strengthened itself in Pakistan and created Wifaq ul Madaris as major organisation serving as Board of Education in 1959. Chapter Four discusses life within Jamia Khair ul Madaris as part of the training of students for life. Chapter Five elucidates the curriculum and education reform attempts by the successive regimes in Pakistan and talks about the education imparted in Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan and the last chapter describes the sources of funding and public subscription coming to the *madrasa*.

Extensive government and secondary sources are used to create the social, economic and cultural context in which Jamia Khair ul Madaris grew. For the history and life of the *madrasa* itself, the *madrasa* archives and library as well as the personal libraries of the leading families in Multan have been consulted. Amongst the records we have been particularly interested in are the departmental records of the *madrasa* to work out how Khair ul Madaris re-established itself in 1947 and survived. Two major conclusions are already evident. First, the role of the followers of the Deobandi *alim*, Ashraf Ali Thanvi (d. 1943) in initiating the spread of *madrasas* throughout Pakistan; and second, the role of the Green Revolution in generating the extra financial wealth to support the massive expansion of *madrasas*.

### Glossary

Abadkar Migrants/ Settlers

Adab Right conduct, Etiquette, Proper behaviour

Al-uloom al-aqliya Rational sciences
Al-uloom an-naqliya Transmitted sciences

Alim/ Ulama Religious Scholar of Islam, A learned man

Anjumans Voluntary Associations, Committee

Ayat Verse of the holy Quran
Azan Public call to daily prayer

Basti Settlement Bayan Lecture

Biradari Endogamic kinship group
Chak Urdu term for village

Dargah Sufi Shrine

Dars-i-Nizami Madrasa curriculum since the 18<sup>th</sup> century associated with Firangi

Mahal of Lucknow, with a particular emphasis on rational

disciplines and sciences.

Dar ul Uloom House of learning

Dars Lectures

Daura HadithPost-graduate level studyDawahSummons/ InvitationDeenReligion/ FaithDeeni TalimReligious EducationDoabLand between two rivers

Fatwa Legal decree

Fazil Distinction, glorification, often denoting the degree gained from

education within a madrasa or under an elevated alim.

Figh Islamic Jurisprudence

Firangi Foreigner

Hadith Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)Hafiz One able to recite the Quran from memory

Hifz Memorisation of the Quran

Hithar Riverain area

*Imam* Prayer leader in mosque

Ijaza Certificate issued by a teacher/shaikh, authorising his disciple to

teach certain books

Jalsa A procession or a gathering

Jamia University

Jhallar A Persian wheel by which water is raised from canal or stream

Kharif Autumn harvest

Khatib One who delivers sermon, Khutbah

Khutbah The sermon delivered on Friday prayer or on other occasions

Madrasa Islamic seminary, an educational institution of the Islamic sciences,

training ulama.

Maktab/ Makatib Islamic School Mandi Market town

MarkazCentreMasjidMosque

Maslak Practice of a Particular interpretive tradition, Way or creed

Maulana Designation of religious distinction and authority

Maulvi Religious Speaker or preacher

Mauza A Village

Milad Literally birthday, used particularly for celebration of the Prophet's

birthday

Mufti Scholar of Islamic law authorized to issue Fatwa

Muhtamim One who manages, principal of a madrasa

Munazra Debates between Islamic Scholars

Namaz Prayer

Nazim Manager, leader, director Nazira Reading the Quran

Nisab Curriculum

Pir Religious leader, often descended from or linked to a Sufi saint

*Qari* One who has mastered the recitation of the Quran

Qaum Caste

Rayiat Migrant settlers/ Cultivators

Rabi Spring harvest

Sajjada Nashin Caretaker of a Sufi shrine
Sanad Degree, Certificate, Diploma

Sarf Grammar Sawab Merit

Shariah Islamic Law

Sihah Al-Sittah The six classical compilations of Prophetic traditions

Silsila Chain linking an individual through hi/her Sufi master ultimately to

the Prophet Muhammad

Sirah Biography

Tafsir Quranic Exegesis

Taglid Adherence to one of the schools of Islamic law

Tarbiyyat Disciplined nurturing

Tarikh History

Tehsil Under British rule, an administrative unit below the Distric

Utar Intermediate tract between riverain and upland area

Wifaq Organization of Islamic, religious School serving as board

Waqf A Religious endowment directed towards the upkeep of institutions

such as mosque, madrasa etc.

Zakat Alms giving; one of the five Pillars of Islam

Zamindar Landholder

$\mathbf{r}$	1.		1	
1 1/	edio	nnt.	$\alpha$	+^
1 75	70 110			

Aneela and Faiq's unconditional love and unfailing commitment through this Journey

### Acknowledgement

All praises to Allah Who is the only Supreme authority and whose presence has given me courage and support in compilation of this manuscript and on similar grounds provided me with strong nerves to meet the deadlines. Allah is the most beneficent who never leave me despair when I call Him. Everything moves with His command and He is the One who has bestowed upon me the potential and ability to finish my research work within targeted timeframe.

A huge profound gratitude to my honourable supervisor and *Guru*, Professor Francis Robinson for his dynamic supervision, able guidance, illustrious advice and encouragement during my thesis writing and research work. I would like to thank him for his guidance and well-timed advices which helped me through number of stages in the process of completing this work. I am thankful to him for always being there through thick and thin. I feel proud of having such a nice and kind supervisor. I really pray to Allah to keep him healthy and he guide many more historians as he guided me.

I am, of course, particularly grateful to the Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad for providing me Faculty Development Scholarship to pursue my Ph.D. in the United Kingdom. I owe special thanks to the Department of History at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad for being there to sort out issues on administrative and technical fronts with concern university offices. I also take this opportunity to thank Friendly Hand Bursary for making my two field trips successful in 2016 and 2017.

I am fortunate and owe the completion of this thesis to my dear friends and readers who gone through different chapter of this work and gave wonderful feedback includes Drs. Diego Abenante, Rizwan Kokab, Layli Uddin, Shilpi Rajpal and Radha Kapuria. I am also thankful to people who continuously supported me and helped in different ways like, Prof. Shafiq Bhatti, Prof. Ghulam Shamas-ur-Rehman at Bahauddin Zakariya University,

Maulana Najam ul Haq, Maulana Abdul Manan, Maulana Ahmad Ammas, Maulana Umar

Farooq, Maulana Mamoon and Qari Fayyaz Nadeem at Jamia Khair ul Madaris for helping

and facilitating me during my field work. I am greatly indebted to all caring and sincere

friends and unsung heros of thei PhD journey whose names are not mentioned here but

supported and encouraged me to continue doing good things in life.

Special thanks goes to the Staff at the British Library's Asian and African Studies

room for their constant support during the entire Ph.D. Academic and Administrative Staff

at History Department of Royal Holloway needs much appreciation because of their

efficient support in many ways.

I am grateful to my parents and my in-laws for their tireless moral and financial

support during my academic achievements. My wife, Aneela Mushtaq, deserve an applaud

for her unconditional affectionate, caring and loving support for providing me with time

and space to finish my thesis. Giggles of our Son, Muhammad Faiq Bilal, became a solace

throughout my Ph.D. journey. His faith in his parents and love for us always helped us

come out of many situations and we could see light at the end of tunnel.

Any errors or omissions are my responsibility alone.

Fakhar Bilal

**Royal Holloway University of London** 

**United Kingdom** 

August 2018

10

#### Introduction

This thesis is concerned to explain how madrasas, which numbered 189 in West Pakistan at independence grew to number at least 10,000 by the year 2000. This is a development with a major impact on the culture and politics of the country. It has meant the emergence of a significant religious class at the lower levels of society. It has also meant that from time to time madrasa students have come to provide the shock troop of sectarian religious activity. While we shall be studying this development in the context of Pakistan, it should be noted that similar developments have been taking place in other South Asian countries.

The Deobandi ulama, whose main base lies in India, have established by far the largest number of madrasas in Pakistan. This thesis examines the establishment and growth of just one Deobandi madrasa, the Jamia Khair ul Madaris of Multan. It is commonly stated that the growth of madrasas in Pakistan owes much to funding from abroad, in particular from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and from the late 1970s from government encouragement. This thesis will be concerned to test these assertions, in particular in the context of the growth of Multan as a major agricultural region and the relationship between the new wealth being generated and the considerable funds which the Jamia Khair ul Madaris had at its disposal by the end of the twentieth century.

There is a range of work on the establishment of madrasas in South Asia from the colonial period to the present. Literature is available on Madrasa reform, education and *ulama* in politics in Colonial India and post-Colonial Pakistan. Various scholars have tried

to explore factors responsible for the use, need and necessity of Madrasa in Pakistan since 9/11. Many researchers highlighted the political stance and understanding of sectarian discourses of politics of religion in South Asia and its impact on the society; others opted for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh as case studies. Most of these researches explain madrasa system and its education, curriculum, reform attempts and sectarian politics involved in Madrasas and demonstrations of why the choice of madrasa education is in vogue for many in South Asia. However, mushroom growth and spread of these Madrasas in Pakistan and, subsequently, social, economic and political root causes of this establishment and growth in Twentieth century in Colonial India and post-Colonial Pakistan, has not yet been studied and explored thoroughly.

Relevant literature for this research has been divided into two broad categories covering colonial period to the present. This include thematic literature on history of madrasa establishment and education produced by Barbara Daly Metcalf, Francis Robinson and Muhammad Qasim Zaman which talks about the colonial epoch, the other set of literature is based on *ulama* and religious education in addition to few works on madrasa reforms and institutions dealing with Pakistan and preent time which include Sana Haroon, Ali Riaz and Saleem H. Ali.

The first set of literature which explains history of religious education and Islamic education and madrasa establishment and its maintenance consists of the seminal works on the subject titled *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900.* In her pivotal

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

study, Barbara Daly Metcalf presented the conceptual understanding of Deoband's first forty years as a remarkable institution of renaissance of modern Islamic reform, revival, thought and teaching in India. The aim of Deoband's establishment was to impart education with emphasis on the transmitted knowledge and classical curriculum to ulama and intellectuals who will later on support and strengthen their society. This work also explains the styles of leadership trained in Deoband like *muftis*, *shaikhs*, writers and debaters. As Metcalf presented in her study that all the ulama and their followers were engaged in forming their identity and loyalty towards Islam in a new shape and new form through rifts and contradictions of various movements. Metcalf also provides details of other movements opposed to Deoband like Ahl-i-Hadis, the Barelvi, Syed Ahmad Khan's Aligarh and the *Nadwat-ul-Ulama*. This study based on institutional records, biographies, hagiographies, memories, dairies and government records provides the initial history and establishment of Deoband as teaching seminary of future Muslim scholars of India. This primary work of Metcalf provided guidance to many future researches and it is considered the pioneer research work to look into Deoband's establishment as an institution.

Francis Robinson<sup>2</sup> deals with Farangi Mahal's of Lucknow influential family of Indian ulama and their madrasa. This work provides an in depth study of how religious ideas and norms shape politics and symbols as used by political elites. Robinson's works

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia*. (Lahore: Feroze Sons, 2002).

explain how religious identities and institutions have evolved in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Both Metcalf and Robinson restrict themselves to the colonial period and do not look at transformation with madrasas in postcolonial India. The recent work of Francis Robinson<sup>3</sup> gives an insight into the life and contribution of Jamal Mian of Farangi Mahal. This book tells us about Robinson's expertise and his long association and interest in Farangi Mahal family history. This work talks about Jamal Mian's life spent in colonial India and how it was transformed after partition. Jamal Mian's biography tells us about the intellectual life and history of Farangi Mahal as a whole through private papers and collection which Robinson has utilised in producing this work. This work helps in understanding how transformation took place in social, political and religious life of twentieth century.

Muhammad Qasim Zaman's *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*<sup>4</sup> talks about the role of ulama in modern times with practical participation in problems of socio-economic and political nature which every madrasa faces regularly. Zaman has discussed the nature and scope of ulama's contribution in contemporary world with focus on their role as arbitrators and authorities of intellectual traditions. Zaman's focus is Deobandi ulama of India and Pakistan in nineteenth and twentieth century with comparative study of ulama from Iran, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. He has provided us with

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Francis Robinson, *Jamal Mian: The Life of Maulana Abdul Wahab of Farangi Mahall, 1919- 2012.* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

details of colonial and post-colonial religious discourse, self-identification and activism of Deobandi ulama of Pakistan and India. Zaman has described madrasa reforms, sectarian conflict, textual genre of commentary and Islamic state building and demonstrated how ulama remained central for everything starting from *fatwas* till reforms including thoughts of *ulama*. Zaman further went on explaining the social and political conditions of colonial era for narrating the legal orthodoxy of Deobandi ulama in subcontinent. Zaman also compared Indian Deobandi ulama with that of Pakistani ulama and narrated that their foci is different altogether in both countries respectively. Over and above the work has elucidated the situation of last century of India and Pakistan's ulama in contemporary setting of colonial and post-colonial era.

Bastions of Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India<sup>5</sup> of Yoginder Sikand is a good attempt to clarify the madrasa image as it has been perceived negative post 9/11. Sikand dispels the negative image of madrasas as "dens of terror" in India. The author starts with the basic importance of knowledge (*ilm*) in Islam and sacred role of scholars (*ulama*) as preservers of knowledge. Sikand also points out the shift from Arabian madrasa model to dual educational model of *dini-duniavi*. He has presented the case study of Mughals and British rule as examples. Sikand has thoroughly explained the plight and shortcomings of Indian madrasa facing change, resistance and reform since partition. Sikand tells us that all the madrasa are associated with different ideologies (*maslaks*) and

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Yoginder Sikand, *Bastions of Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India.* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2005).

all have dismal state of syllabus, curriculum, state funding and shabby infrastructure at large. Sikand provided an analytical understanding of correlation between madrasas, militancy and radical change. This book overall presents a good logical and coherent study of madrasas and Islamic education in India.

Islamization in Modern South Asia: Deobandi Reform and the Gujjar Response<sup>6</sup> written by David Emmanuel Singh explains the context of a marginal community of Gujjars living in Rajaji National Park (RNP) in Uttarkhand and their assimilation with Deobandi reforms in their locales. These Gujjars also known as the van Gujjars (forest dwelling Gujjars) because they are not living in urban settlement but living in Rajaji National Park (RNP). Singh has described these Gujjars and their settlement and locality with focus on demography, their association with Islam and Rajaji National Park (RNP) and explained how Deobandi Islam strengthened its roots in this locality. Singh has also provided the interface of NGO's who are working for these Gujjars and their religious practices like *The* Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra (RLEK). Author has studied over thirty madrasas of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Dehradun and Haridwar districts of Uttarpardesh and Uttarkhand. With Deobandi islamization and focusing on these van Gujjars, Singh has mentioned the outreach strategies like preaching, teaching and learning in madrasas, appointment of teachers in these madrasas who were Deoband trained and above all training for jobs in future of the madrasa graduates are few of them. Singh's special focus

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> David Emmanuel Singh, *Islamization in Modern South Asia: Deobandi Reform and the Gujjar Response.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

remained on Gujjar response to this islamization and how these Gujjars have had unique practices and beliefs within mixed popular Islam, traditional culture and abiding all practices and beliefs accordingly. Singh has provided a new dynamic study with foci on Islam, integration, Gujjarism, contact of Islam with Gujjar hybridity and diversity in their socialization and restructuring themselves while living in and around Rajaji National Park (RNP) far from main urban centres of development and growth.

Inside a Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India<sup>7</sup> by Arshad Alam is another work for understanding madrasa establishment, its education, knowledge and power for identity construction. Alam focuses on economic and cultural senses to analyse madrasa from deen (religious) duniya (material) and debate from madrasas on politics, caste, colour, creed, region, language and social mobility of society took shapes. Alam's case study is the madrasa of Mubarakpur. Alam talks about the making of madrasa regime while discussing knowledge and power with masalik rivalry and politics. Alam shows a range of economic, cultural and religious reasons for which families prefer their children to be trained and taught at madrasa. Alam's work provides us a convincing glance of varied contestations prevailing among madrasa regimes, maslaks and diversity in knowledge and power formation in Muslims of India and showing madrasa as an educational institution not merely a religious seminary.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Arshad Alam, *Inside A Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India.* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011).

Mareike Jule Winkelmann's From Behind the Curtain: A Study of a Girl's Madrasa in India<sup>8</sup> comes from a different angle by providing a single study of girl's madrasa in Delhi's Nizamuddin area. Winkelmann's study provides a connection of this madrasa with the tablighi jamat who normally has no straight understanding for establishing madrasas or thinking on madrasa education. Instead it focuses on preaching of Islam. She also narrated the man behind the madrasa Sayyid Abul Hassan Nadvi. Author has explained the curriculum as dars-i-nizami and ideals of madrasa from tablighi jamat and how this madrasa reformed the girl's education concept at large. Winkelmann has expressed in her work that these girl's madrasa graduates would lead the public and take authority in decades to come and will challenge ulama at some point of time in future. Her work provides a good study of contemporary female madrasa education.

Religious education through madrasas have become popular over centuries. Madrasas provide free boarding, lodging and education to the students and in this way madrasa education became first priority of lower middle class for sending their children for free food and education. *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*<sup>9</sup> of Saleem H. Ali is an attempt to investigate the dynamics of religious education and conceptual framework of understanding madrasa in conflict environ of post 9/11 scenario. This book is a comparative study of Ahmedpur East and Islamabad Capital

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mareike Jule Winkelmann, *From Behind the Curtain: A Study of a Girl's Madrasa in India.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Saleem H. Ali, *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs.* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Territory. Ali has focused on conflict and conformity through madrasa education and exploring the connectivity of madrasa with violence, jihad, extremism, militancy and terrorism. Ali's debate is on conflict prevention while analyzing the role of government of Pakistan, its failure and international powers involvement. Ali has used government statistics but without giving accuracy and conformity to the numerical strength of madrasa's in the two considered locales. Madrasas associated with violence, jihad, extremism, militancy and terrorism again have lot of financial support which indirectly becomes a support for radicalization. Ali also opines that not all of the madrasa in Pakistan are associated with violence, terrorism, extremism and militancy but only few. Ali's interest and focus is some where on geography and history in addition to political science mixture puts his work on the edge of inter-disciplinary approach to provide a solution of reconciliation of madrasa with modernity and modern educational facilities everywhere in Pakistan. He has suggested "peace education" in the madrasa curriculum and inter-sectarian and inter-religious dialogue for peaceful coexistence. This book provides some details of sectarian madrasas and their growth till 2002 with reference to government records but no detail has been provided of mushroom spread and growth of madrasas.

Masooda Bano has described the developmental side of madrasas in Pakistan with a lens of change, stability, formation and outcomes of madrasas as institutions in her book, The Rational Believer: Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan. 10 Bano's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Masooda Bano, *The Rational Believer: Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

perspective of associating religion with reason has given afresh view of madrasa of Pakistan. She has highlighted the rational choices and associations of people including scholars, parents, students and founders of madrasas critically. Her focus on South Asian madrasas and government engagements shows the state relationship in the wake of reform and curriculum structure. Her work provides an insight into the changing dynamics of curricula and how it is being implemented in madrasas. Her work also points out that all religious actors including but not limited to *ulama*, scholars, parents, students and founders of madrasas must be studied according to their choices, motives and perspectives. She has further enhanced our understanding of reasons and causes why people in South Asia prefer to join madrasas than western education owing to their emotional attachments with religion, which she has tried to prove throughout her book. Bano has also stressed highlighting religious fervour of *jihad* as an outcome of this reason and religion's perspective through development study of madrasas of Pakistan.

Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia by Ali Riaz has raised an understanding of much awaited focus on religious institutions of South Asia. Riaz has provided a comparative and histrorical analysis of madrasas in three South Asian countries; Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. He has provided a close examination of socio-economic and political developments and attaching them to Islamic education since 1947 in all three countries. This work, in chapter three, provides close understanding of Pakistani madrasas and their presumed connection to Afghanistan's Taliban. Riaz has argued that the growth

of madrasas in Pakistan is attached to "their close connection to political activisim", "their transformation into institutions of indoctorination," which was supported by successive regimes since 1970. Riaz has presented shared cultural and historical traditions of madrasas in all three South Asian countries.

Sana Haroon's *Frontier of Faith* describes the critical role played by the clerics in the local tibal politics while particularly showing their network connections and their influence on tribal boundaries. She argued that these clerics competed local tribal chiefs for clients and influence. Haroon's focus on *pirmuridi* line show where the original authority lies and she supports her argument with detailed descending chart of followers. Haroon discussed that the idea of authority which started from sufi orders, gradually changed its orientation and landed into orthodox version of Islam in hands of Deobandis. She has argued that this authority was influenced by Deobandi trained clerics and their ties to Deobandi sponsored madrasas.

Thus we find scholarly works on madrasas in India and Pakistan more focused on colonial period. There is hardly anything on conditions of madrasas today and some contemporary study on Pakistan's ever increasing madrasa body. The works which I have mentioned are published a decade and half before except Francis Robinson's latest biography of Jamal Mian. My current work is strengthened and suported with Khair ul Madaris archives and records for which I built the narrative of madrasa growth around the huge public subscription. I have summed it up that Khair ul Madaris and many more

madrasa like it are popularly run with help and support of common Pakistani masses, traders, merchandisers and inhabitants of the localities where these madrasas are now. It is with the will of a normal man that these huge institutions are built and surviving to-date.

No research has been done yet to explain the extraordinary growth of madrasas in Pakistan since independence. Moreover, nothing has been done to explain why the Deobandis, who are amongst the more puritan of the various schools of ulama, and most particular about curbing heterodox religious practices, should be so successful amongst a population strongly influenced by Sufism. The thesis aims to fill this gap.

The Thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter One gives a background of Multan's development into a mega city and hub for trade and the subsequent boost given to it by the Green Revolution. The second chapter explains the establishment of Khair ul Madaris and its growth in colonial India under the supervision of Maulana Khair Muhammad and its restoration in Multan in 1947 after Partition. In Chapter Three, I explain how Khair ul Madaris strengthened itself in Pakistan and created Wifaq ul Madaris as major organisation serving as Board of Education in 1959. Chapter Four discusses life within Jamia Khair ul Madaris as part of the training of students for life. Chapter Five provides debates over the curriculum and education imparted in Jamia Khair ul Madaris and the last chapter explores sources of funding and public subscription coming to the *madrasa*. I have tried to demonstrate what the history of Jamia Khair ul Madaris can tell us about the growth of Deobandi *madrasas* in Pakistan more generally.

# BUILDING ISLAM: JAMIA KHAIR UL MADARIS, MULTAN, PAKISTAN, 1947-2001.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

i.	Declaration of Work	p.3
ii.	Abstract	p.4
iii.	Glossary	p.6
iv.	Acknowledgement	p.9
v.	Introduction	p.11
Chap	pter 01	
Setti	ng the Locale: Social and Economic Change in Multan,	1849-1981.
		p.28-83

Part I: Multan under the Raj 1849-1947

Introduction

- 1. Agrarian Developments in Multan
- 2. Development of Canal Colonies and Impact on Multan
- 3. Irrigation in Multan
- 4. The Local Elites
- 5. Multan Towards Urban Development under the Raj
- 6. Multan's Growing Wealth through Revenue and Tax Collection

Part II: Multan after the Partition 1947-1981

- 7. Green Revolution and Its Impact on Multan
- 8. Basic Democracies system
- 9. Industry Establishment and Growth in Multan
- 10. Development of Communications in Multan since 1947
- 11. Local Leaders in Making of Multan since 1947 Conclusion

# Chapter 02

Jamia Khair ul Madaris and Its Establishment in Multan, 1931-1951

p.84-118

#### Introduction

- 1. Dar ul Uloom Deoband and its Principles for Madrasa Establishments
- 2. Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari: The Founder (1895-1970)
- 3. Education of Maulana Khair Muhammad
- 4. Sufi Discipleship: Influence of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi
- 5. Sowing the Seed: Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar, India (1931-1947)
- 6. Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan, Pakistan (1947- 1951)
- 7. Multan as a Religious Centre

Conclusion

### Chapter 03

# Establishment of the Wifaq ul Madaris Arabia, Multan and the Strengthening of the position of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, 1959-1970

p.119-152

Introduction

- 1. History and Development of Madrasa in Pakistan
- 2. Ayub Khan's Modernization Plan
- 3. Response of the *Ulama* to Ayub Khan's Initiatives
- 4. Madrasa Education Boards in Pakistan
- 5. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's Followers and Their Role in Creation of the Board
- 6. Organisational Committee of the Board
- 7. First Shura Meeting and selection of Office Bearers for the Board
- 8. Objectives of the creation of Wifaq ul Madaris
- 9. Curriculum Development of Wifaq ul Madaris
- 10. Admission and Examination Procedure of Wifaq ul Madaris
- 11. Administrative Setup of Wifaq ul Madaris
- 12. Wifaq ul Madaris in Strengthening of the position of Jamia Khair ul Madaris Conclusion

# Chapter 04 Life within Jamia Khair ul Madaris

p.153-175

Introduction

- 1. Training and Routine of Maulana Khair Muhammad
- 2. Teaching Methodology of Maulana Khair Muhammad

Part I: Teachers Life

- 3. Teacher's life and Routine
- 4. Appointment of Teachers
- 5. Attendance and Leave of Teachers

#### 6. Instructions for Teachers

Part II: Student's Life

- 7. Student's Life and Routine
- 8. Attendance and Leave of Students
- 9. Salana jalsa
- 10. Glimpses of Salana jalsa of May 1956-April 1957
- 11. Student's orientation regarding Qul or khatam
- 12. Student's orientation regarding Ashura and Milad-un-Nabi
- 13. Instructions for Students
- 14. Life of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in the eyes of leading personalities

Conclusion

# Chapter 05

#### Curriculum and Education within Jamia Khair ul Madaris

p.176-196

Introduction

- 1. Learning and Training of Maulana Khair Muhammad of Curriculum
- 2. Curriculum Reform attempts by the Government of Pakistan since 1947
- 3. Reform Attempt under Ayub Khan
- 4. Reform Attempt under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
- 5. Reform Attempt under Zia ul Haq
- 6. Curriculum and Examination in Jamia Khair ul Madaris Conclusion

# Chapter 06

# **Funding Sources and Physical Growth of Jamia Khair ul Madaris**

p.197-216

Introduction

- 1. Student enrolment in Jamia Khair ul Madaris
- 2. Funding Sources of Jamia Khair ul Madaris
- 3. Physical Growth of Jamia Khair ul Madaris Conclusion

Conclusion p.217-219

**Annexes** p.220-247

Annex- I

Member of the First Shura of Wifaq ul Madaris Arabia, Multan

Annex- II

Notification from the Government of Pakistan of Equivalence of madrasa Degrees

Annex- III

Member of the Committee for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the Various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan

Annex- IV

Old Dars-i-Nizami Syllabu

Annex- V

Nisab, Wifaq ul Madaris Arabia, Multan, Pakistan (2016)

Annex- VI

Brief Bio Data of Administrative Officers, Respondents and Ulama Gathered During Field Work in Multan During 2016-2017

Annex- VII

Brief Bio of Khair ul Madaris Shura Members

**Bibliography** p.248-258

#### **List of Illustartions**

# **Figures**

Figure 1 Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris (Front view), Jalandhar, India

Figure 2 Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris (Top view), Jalandhar, India

Figure 3 Main entrance of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan

Figure 4 Map of New Hostel block for the resident students of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan

Figure 5 A view of Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan

Figure 6 An outer view of the female madrasa at Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan

Figure 7 A view of Teachers residences at Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan.

Figure 8 A view of new construction and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan

Figure 9 A view of new construction and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan

Figure 10 A view of the library of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan.

#### **Maps**

Map 1 District Multan, 1904

Map 2 District Multan, 1926

Map 3 District Multan assessment circles

Map 4 Irrigation Sysytem in District Multan

Map 5 Railways in District Multan

#### **Tables**

- Table 1 Annual Rainfall in District Multan in 1881
- Table 2 Import and Exports within Punjab in 1880-81
- Table 3 Import and Exports of Agro-commodities in tons during 1880-81
- Table 4 Canal Colonies in the Punjab
- Table 5 Sidhnai Colony Land Distribution in Multan District
- Table 6 Irrigated Area from Different Sources in District Multan
- Table 7 Wells in District Multan in 1921
- Table 8 Rainfall in District Multan in 1900 and 1936
- Table 9 Population rise in Multan from 1881 to 1941
- Table 10 Import and Exports of Articles via Multan District Railway Station, 1896-97
- Table 11 Schools and Student Strength in District Multan in 1883
- Table 12 Assessment of Multan settlements
- Table 13 The year wise income tax of Multan city from 1886-1895
- Table 14 Rehabilitation of Refugees in Rural and Urban Areas, West Punjab, 1949
- Table 15 Growth rate of Multan's population from 1951 till 1972
- Table 16 Urbanisation in Multan
- Table 17 Average growth of crops in 1949-50 and 1959-60
- Table 18 Farm patterns allocated in Multan
- Table 19 Tube wells installed in District Multan
- Table 20 Installation of Private Tube wells, 1963-1965
- Table 21 growth in the private tubewells installation in Multan district
- Table 22 Projects under Rural Support program
- Table 23 Level of Literacy and Higher Education in Multan in 1961
- Table 24 Industries established in Multan during 1960-65
- Table 25 Annual Income Support of Religious Madrasas from the Federal Government of Pakistan, 1988-2002
- Table 26 Income and Expenditure of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan

# Chapter 1

Setting the Locale: Social and Economic Change in Multan, 1849-1981.

Part I: Multan under the Raj 1849-1947

#### Introduction

Jamia Khair ul Madaris was a devout place of learning but with a large number of followers. It was well-supported by the masses of Multan. The people of Multan used their growing wealth over the period to support the institution. This chapter analyses the growth and establishment of Multan up to 1947 and further how the Green Revolution enabled its wealth to continue to grow up to 1981. This demonstrates that Multan was a favourable environment in which a madrasa like Jamia Khair ul Madaris could be established with the support of locals and huge popular subscription.

#### **Agrarian Developments in Multan**

Multan was one of the richest agricultural land areas in the Punjab. Multan was popular for mango groves and cotton plantations. It produced 40% of the total of mango crop in the country. The government, in 1980s, established experimental agricultural farms throughout the district for research on seeds, land types, usage of agricultural machinery and animal husbandry. Before the British arrival, Multan was also one of the centres for handicraft production. Its traditional *lungis*, *dorias*, fancy embroidered clothes were sent throughout India and out of India as well. 12

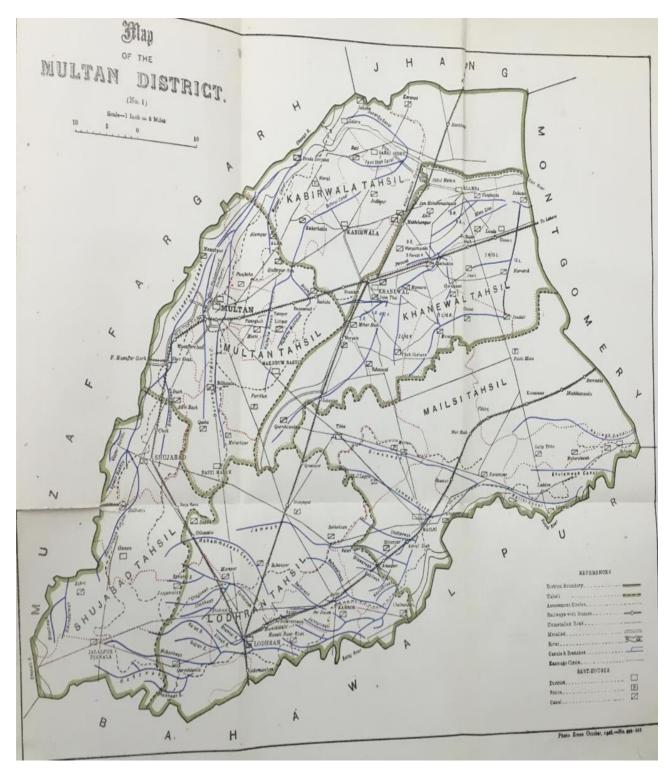
After the war of 1857, the Colonial administration decided to use the local elites as intermediaries between the masses and administration. There was huge increase in the value of land and prices of agricultural land due to political stability, enormously improved communication and irrigation facilities in the region. Although Multan's economy was

28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Mahar Abdul Haq, *Multan*. (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1980), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid., 29.

based on agro-production, due to very minor rainfall, agriculture was largely dependant upon rivers, canals and wells. The availability of water was crucial to the economic growth and well-being of Multan.



Source: Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume VII Part A. Multan District 1923-24. With Maps. Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1926.

Multan was divided into three well-marked divisions: low lying lands on the river, land accessible to canal irrigation and desert areas inaccessible to canals. <sup>13</sup> There were two main harvests, the *rabi* or *hari* (spring) sown in October-November and reaped in April-May and the *kharif* or *sawani* (summer) sown from June to August and reaped from early September to end of December. The *kharif* crop included rice, jowar, bajra, millet and maize, while the *rabi* included wheat, barley and oats. With the development of canal irrigation during the colonial period, the wheat crop assumed great importance. Since most of the agriculture remained dependent on rainfall, it was the failure of *kharif* harvest that consistently resulted in drought and famine.

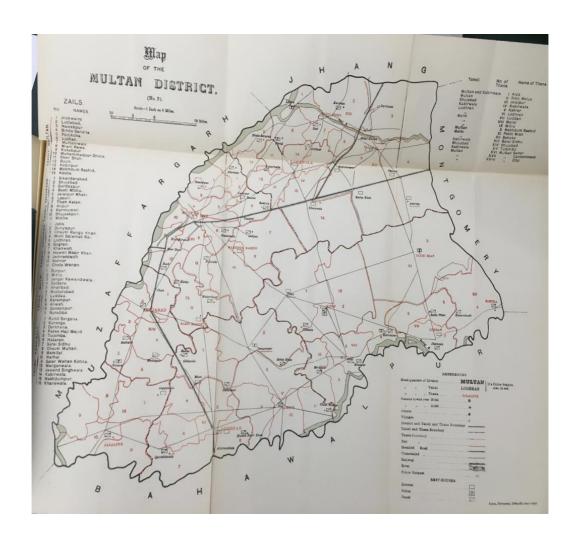
Table of Annual Rainfall in District Multan in 1881<sup>14</sup>

District	Average Annual Rainfall in inches  Area in square miles		Percentage of cultivation on total area	Population	Population per square mile
Multan	6.6	5,882	16.5	471,563	80

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Settlement Report 1899-1900. Lahore:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Punjab Census 1868, General Statement no. 2. and Punjab Census 1881, Abstract no 14, 35.



Source: Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXXIII B. Multan District, Statistical Tables. With Maps. 1904. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908.

Punjab was both a "bread basket" and a "sword arm" for the British Raj. Bearing in mind the nature and custom of the agrarian world, the British government gradually converted the Punjab into an agrarian land. Large amounts of capital were invested by the British government in building canal irrigation system in West Punjab which brought new and barren land under cultivation and increased agrarian production. In this region of canal colonies, agriculture was transformed into a capitalist venture. A major part of agricultural production was transported through the newly established railway system from Punjab to other cities of India for export to different overseas ports and markets. The

<sup>15</sup> Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, 1926-47. (Delhi: Anupuma Publications, 1979), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 4-5.

introduction of modern technologies like the railways increased Punjab's importance as province and Multan was one of the major contributors in imports and exports of goods. The fiscal year of 1880-1881 proved Multan as major city in the development of the economy. Multan was third largest town after Amritsar, Delhi and ahead of Lahore in imports and exports in the British Punjab.

Table of Import and Exports within Punjab in 1880-81 (value in rupees)<sup>17</sup>

City	Value of Imports	Value of Exports	<b>Total Value</b>
Amritsar	31, 534, 287	13,030,985	44,565,272
Delhi	22, 072, 933	9,874,125	31,947,118
Multan	8, 404, 104	3,703,382	12,107,486
Lahore	7, 333, 518	1,202,717	8,536,035

Multan's economic growth changed its importance for the British and they started considering it one of the major markets. Multan's geographic location in the south of Punjab further made it convenient for the British to control and watch over Bahawalpur state and other adjacent areas. The commodities and goods were all transported via railway through Multan to the major towns and cities like Jhang, Bahawalpur, Khanewal, Kabirwala, Dera Ghazi Khan and Sind as well.

Table of Import and Exports of Agro-commodities in tons during 1880-81<sup>18</sup>

Commodity	Import (in tons)	Export (in tons)
Raw Cotton	714	562
European Cotton	85	2
European goods	867	520
Indigo	490	379

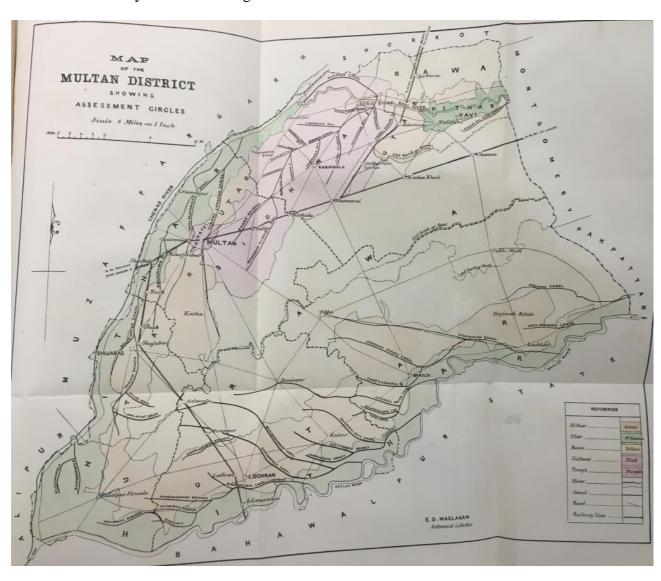
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Punjab Government, Report on the Internal Trade and Manufactures of Punjab (1880-81), Lahore; 1882.12-17.

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., 17.

Wheat	10,223	541
Seeds of all sorts	3,757	626
Raw Silk	49	17
Refined Sugar	2,206	825
Unrefined Sugar	2,384	1,325

The agrarian developments in Punjab opened new avenues of economic development for the local community and surrounding areas of Multan.



Source: E.D. Maclagan, Settlement Report of Multan District (1901). Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1901.

Regarding the accumulation of wealth from Indian resources the time of British colonialism in India is generally divided in three interconnected broad phases. In the first stage (1757-1813) British acted as a colonial trader; in the second stage (1813-1860) as controller of state power and collector of government revenue; and in third stage (post 1860) as investor of capital competing in a global market in many fields like railways, irrigation and plantation and many other areas.<sup>19</sup>

#### **Development of Canal Colonies and Impact on Multan**

Between 1885 and 1926, the British government embarked upon a successful agricultural expansion plan. The process of agricultural canal colonization started in western Punjab from 1885 and continued till the end of British rule. The nine canal colonies were developed during this period.<sup>20</sup> The canal colonization project was based on the construction of a network of canals. These canals were constructed on uncultivated land which resulted in migration into this area from other parts of the Punjab.

Table of Canal Colonies in the Punjab<sup>21</sup>

Name of Colony	Period of Colonisation	Doab	Districts	Name of Canal Work	Estimated Cost of Construction (Rs 000)
Sidhnai	1886-1888	Bari	Multan	Sidhnai	1,301
Soda Para	1886-1888	Bari	Montgomery	Lower Sohag Para	1,803
Chunian	1896-1898 1904-1906	Bari	Lahore	Upper Bari Doab	_
Chenab	1892-1905 1926-1930	Rechna	Gujranwala, Jhang, Lyallpur, Lahore, Sheikhupura	Lower Chenab	53, 072

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sanjay Kumar, "Colonialism and Rural Society in Punjab, 1901-1947" (diss., Kurukshetra University,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ali, The Punjab Under Imperialism, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid., 9.

Jhelum	1902-1906	Jech	Shahpur, Jhang	Lower Jhelum	43, 613
Lower Bari Doab	1914-1924	Bari	Montgomery, Multan	Lower Bari Doab	25, 086
Upper Chenab	1915-1919	Rechna	Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura	Upper Chenab	43, 596
Upper Jhelum	1916-1921	Jech	Gujrat	Upper Jhelum	49, 770
Nili Bar	1926- (not completed by 1940)	Bari	Montgomery, Multan	Sutlej Valley Project	83, 787

Multan's geographic locale was important and it was one of the three major colonization projects of Punjab. Multan was part of Sidhnai Colony. This settlement started in 1886-1888 and total land allocated was around 250, 000 acres. To attract people to Multan and to migrate there, the minimum six of grants in each settlement were fixed at fifty *acres*.<sup>22</sup> This canal colony project served as platform for Multan's rapid growth and attracted influx of migrants from all parts of the Punjab. The second settlement was the Lower Bari Doab Colony, which began in 1914 and in which Multan was considered attached to Montgomery. The original land allotted for this project was 1, 192, 000 acres but later on reduced to 900, 000 acres in 1916.<sup>23</sup> The third major and last settlement project was Nili Bar Colony that started in 1925 and continued until 1940. The land allocation for this Multan related project was divided into two types; 1, 000, 000 acres perennial and 2, 710, 000 non-perennial and it was further divided into state and private land.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid., 46.

District	Muslim Number of Grantees	% of Allotted Area to Muslims	Number of Grantees Hindus and Sikhs	% of Allotted Area to Hindus and Sikhs	Total Number of Grantees	Total % of Allotted Area
Multan	607	37.32	73	4.21	680	41.53

Its worth mentioning here that influential families of notable religious elites like Gardezi, Qureshi and Gilani obtained respectively 193, 275 and 262 acres of land in the Lower Bari Doab Colony. Multan's population also continued to flourish as the city grew under British *Raj*. The population of Multan increased 60% from 1881 till 1921 just because of colonisation schemes under Sidhnai and Lower Bari Doab. In 1921, there were 1647 villages in Multan district which rose to 2287 by the time of partition. <sup>27</sup>

Canals are cut from the main rivers in different lengths and widths. Multan has been surrounded by three different canal routes; Sidhnai, Chenab canals and Sutlej canals. Sidhnai canal was only dependent on the Ravi. Sidhnai canals system comprised of main canal, the Abdul Hakim, Fazal Shah.<sup>28</sup> A small area of Kabirwala and large area of Multan and Shujabad were dependent on canals of Chenab. Out of the four running canals from Chenab, Sikandarabad was the most efficient. Second canal of Chenab canal system was the Durana Lantana and Wali Mohammad separating at boson regulator. The Matithal was third canal serving parts of Kabirwala and Multan and Balochanwah was the last and fourth one running through Shujabad serving about 20 villages.<sup>29</sup> The Sutlej river four canals were serving namely the Mailsi, Muhammad wah, Sardarwah and Bahawalwah-Lodhran. All

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., 106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> H. W. Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District*. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid., 3.

these canals were unified by the irrigation department responsible for them.<sup>30</sup> These canals directly or indirectly irrigated and cultivated Multan's land and supported its economy.

## **Irrigation in Multan**

Multan became popular because of its agricultural growth, inhabitation of *abadkars* and allotments of land under canal colony settlements. The agricultural products were in need of proper irrigation. The maximum area of Punjab was irrigated by the river channels, canals, water tanks and wells etc. The following table shows the irrigation from different sources:<sup>31</sup>

Table of Irrigated Area from Different Sources in District Multan (000 acres)

Year	<b>Public Canals</b>	Wells	Misc. Sources	Total Irrigated Area	Total Sown Area
1901	4561	3747	574	8851	23212
1906	6801	3132	825	10758	29875
1911	6964	3420	570	10955	26309
1916	8072	3433	691	12196	31704
1921	4997	3587	709	13293	31026
1926	9586	3484	609	13679	30407
1931	9929	3767	571	14267	32007
1936	10886	_	632	15605	32643
1941	11639	4618	658	16915	32299
1946	12780	4190	601	17571	32699

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> M. Mufakharul Islam, *Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab, 1887-1947*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 158-59.

The natural means of irrigation in the Punjab were rivers, canals and rains. Wells, canals and jhallars were the important artificial means of irrigation. Wells were of two kinds: kacha and pakka. The kacha wells were dug in the earth without masonry walls. In some districts they worked with a type of Persian wheel. The use of wells was sole mean of irrigation confined to the non-canal villages in and around Multan. The value of well irrigation was affected by a variety of causes; the area served, nature of soil, character of canal irrigation, efficiency of tenants and number of wells were the chief factors.<sup>32</sup>

Table of Wells in District Multan in 1921<sup>33</sup>

Multan Tehsil	Wells (Condition)	During Settlement Period	In 1921
Multan	In use	3,946	6,192
Multan	Capable of use	481	430
Total	_	4,427	6,622

The method of water supply drew the immediate attention of the British rulers of the Punjab. It was believed that regular supply and availability of water in this area of the Punjab would bring a vast land under the cultivation and provide occupation to the people of this area of the Punjab. Rural economy of the Punjab based on the rain and rain varied from region to region due to geographical and demographic factors. Rainfall in the Punjab was brought by monsoon's winds arriving from the east and the south-east.

Table of Rainfall in District Multan in 1900 and 1936 (in inches)

District	Year 1900	Year 1936
Multan	9	7

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> H. W. Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District*. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921), 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., 5.

The British introduced an extensive irrigation network in colonial India. The Indian irrigation work became the model for others to follow. The British pursued irrigation development for a variety of ends. The initial aims of the colonial irrigation were to encourage agricultural settlement, political stability, boost production, increase state revenue, and improve communications. Protection against drought, and the prevention of famine, were secondary aims which subsequently became much more important.<sup>34</sup>



Source: Multan: Past and Present. Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968.

The major beneficiaries of Multan's growth as third major agricultural city of Punjab were the local elites who profited either through land grants, honorary appointments and or being religious elites of the area and facilitating the British in execution of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire (Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 134.

projects. These religious elites were the same ones who later on supported the establishment of Khair ul Madaris. Those who supported and welcomed Khair ul Madaris in Multan include family members of Gilani, Bukhari, Qureshi and Gardezi at the time of the Partition of India. The British Raj left blessings in shape of administration including but not limited to law and order, irrigation, canals, roads and bridges, schools, railways, telegraph and public health.<sup>35</sup>

#### **The Local Elites**

The political scene in Multan was a good example of a traditional political setup. The population of the city can be classified in three categories as per tribe/caste, religion and profession. The British government's central aims were to balance economic changes and the maintenance of political stability. The colonial administration used local elites as a buffer between people and administration. The same local elite took power and strength to control the masses once the British left India after dividing it in to two new states of Pakistan and India. Then the role of these elites changed from intermediaries to masters and mentors as custodians of the shrines. The local castes and creeds of Multan, both served the British and acquired influential powers and appointments over the passage of time. The famous families who served in various capacities and received favours from the British include: Gardezi Saiyids, Qureshis of Kabirani, Qadirpur Jalalpur and Ghauspur, Gilani Saiyids, Sadozais, Badozais, Khakwanis, Mullazais, Bosans, Khokhars, Bagai and Raizadgans. Saiyids and Qureshis were the biggest beneficiaries of such policies. Saiyids and Qureshis were the biggest beneficiaries of such policies.

These elites performed the duties of local administrators well before the colonial era. This patron-client relationship of colonial administration and local elites developed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century 1857-1947*, (Berkely,1968), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> For details of all these castes, creeds and tribes see, Syed Muhammad Aulad Ali Gillani. *Muraqqa' i-Multan*. Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Punjab Government Report on the Revenue Administration in the Punjab and its dependencies for the year, 1865-66, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1867), 65-66.

over the time. All the colonial policies like Revenue Free *Jagirs*, *tirni* (grazing tax), Court of Wards Management and Land Alienation Act of 1900 favoured these local elites comprised of jagirdars, *pirs* and *sajadah nashins*. Many of these grants originated from Mughal *sanads* and were maintained for pastoral purposes in the south-western Punjab. The British Government introduced the Court of Wards in the Punjab under the Punjab Court of Wards Act 1903 (Punjab Act 2 of 1903). In the set-up, the Executive District Officer (Revenue) of a District was to be the Court of Ward in respect of the person and the property of ward where "Ward" stands for any person or the whole or any part of whose property or of whose person and property, the Court of Wards constituted for the time being has assumed superintendence. These local elites were also granted posts in local administration as *zaildars*, honorary magistrates<sup>38</sup> titles and huge land grants too.<sup>39</sup>

Since the British East India Company annexed the Punjab in 1849, all the land including the *waqf* properties attached to different *sufi* shrines came under the Company control through Court of Wards. The Court of Wards was a legal body created by the East India Company. Its purpose was to protect heirs and their estates when heir was deemed to be minor and therefore incapable of acting independently. However, due to regional identity of the big shrines and very high socio-religious status of their hereditary custodians, many such religious elites were compensated and granted lands as part of the Company's policy of collaboration. Between the late nineteenth century and the 1920s, some of the Sayyid and Qureshi families in Multan fell into debt and their properties were taken under the administration of the Court of Wards.<sup>40</sup> During settlement process, these *Pirs* and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXXIII B. *Multan District, Statistical Tables, 1913*. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), xxxix. Some of the names from religious and political elites who were enjoying Civil and Criminals powers in Municipal limits of Multan of 1<sup>st</sup> Class, 2<sup>nd</sup> Class and 3<sup>rd</sup> Class include Khan Muhammad Yar Khan, Sayed Hassan Bakhsh Gardezi, Khalifa Pir Bakhsh, Makhdoom Hassan Bakhsh, Shaikh Riaz Hussain, Mahar Allah Yar Hiraj and Nur Muhammad Khan Bosan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Settlement Report of Multan District (1880). (Lahore:1880), 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> IOR/V/24/2488, 6. For example Estate of Sayyidd Hamid Shah was given under the wardship of S. Faiz Bakhsh and Zain-ul-Abidin. The wards were appointed who were educated at Aitchison College, Lahore.

custodians were again granted tracts of lands for the maintenance of socio-religious institutions under their management and these elites also collected taxes on behalf of the central government.<sup>41</sup>

These local religious elites trace their lineage back to the Holy Prophet or pious caliphs. This religious influence and association with religion and religious figures gave them a sense of superiority and respect among the common people. This religious fervor of the people paved way for these religious elites to control and command them. This religious factor played a vital role in maintaining relationship of these religious elites like Gardezi Saiyids, Qureshis of Kabirani, Qadirpur Jalalpur and Ghauspur, Gilani Saiyids with the British authority. British considered these religious elites as good intermediaries between them and the masses of Multan and Punjab. This relationship was akin to patron-client relationship because all these families and groups received favours from the British.

Saiyid Murad Shah from the Gardezi Saiyids was the first focal contact who went to serve the British when Multan was surrounded in 1848.<sup>42</sup> Murad Shah was leaving Multan and was on his way to his native town Korai Baloch which was 15 miles away from Multan. When the British reached Sardarpur, they needed some local, who was a clever and sharp minded individual and was familiar with the area and people. The locals recommended Murad Shah owing to his wit and sharp mind as well him being from the respectable Saiyids. Murad Shah was immediately summoned by the Major General and requested to stay and live with the British camp for safety, security and to help make the local area accessible for British troops. Murad Shah accepted the offer and started serving the British army. When Punjab went under the command and control of East India Company and Murad was appointed the Peshkar of Shorkot on June 8, 1849. Murad was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Arthur F. Buhler. *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet*. (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Syed Muhammad Aulad Ali Gillani. *Muraqqa' i- Multan*. (Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995), 235.

promoted to Teshildari in 1850 and served for thirteen years at different places.<sup>43</sup> Murad Shah's relations with the British flourished over time and he managed his locales and posting stations in such good condition that he was continuously getting promoted. In 1864, Murad was promoted as Extra Assistant Commissioner and next year was appointed as Native Agent of the Bahawalpur State.<sup>44</sup>

Murad's sudden death on Jan 10, 1876 paved the way for his son Saiyid Hassan Bakhsh Gardezi to get the administrative apparatus as reward for his father's loyalties towards the British. Hassan got numerous appointment like Member Municipal Committee Multan in 1882, Vice President of the Municipal Committee, Honorary Judicial Magistrate in 1891 and promoted with power and duties in 1893 and received title of Khan Bahadur in 1899. Hassan reached from Divisional Darbar to Provincial Darbar in 1905, only in two decades from his initial appointment. Like his father, Hassan's loyalty was unquestionable like his father. He contributed eight thousand rupees for First World War fund to the British government. Madrassa Bab ul Ulum of Multan 46, a Shi'a seminary was established on five *muraba* acre (125 acres in measurement) of land donated by Hassan Bakhsh.

Another example of local notables and religious elites is of the Qureshis. Their lineage started from Ghaus Baha ul Haq Zakaria Multani. This lineage continued and many descendants became sajjada nashins (hereditary successor of sufi shrine or pir or custodian) of the shrine in Multan. During Sikh rule many of the lands and associated properties of shrines were confiscated. In 1818 when Ranjit Singh occupied Multan, he fixed amount of property of 3,500 rupees annually for the shrine of Ghaus Baha ul Haq Zakaria Multani but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid., 241-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in Colonial India: Religion, Community and Sectarianism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 38. Also See Gillani. *Muraqqa' i- Multan.* (Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995), 243.

Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, paid only 1,600 rupees to the sajjada nashin.<sup>47</sup> In 1848-49 siege of Multan, Makhdoom Shah Mahmood, a descendant of Baha Uddin Zakaria Multani, supported the British against the Sikhs and in reward obtained 2,000 rupees as well half of the land of the *mauza* (a type of administrative district, corresponding to specific land area within which there may be one or more settlements) as personal gift of land grant.<sup>48</sup>

Makhdoom Shah Mehmood served the British government in 1857 war. He kept the Commissioner informed of all the developments and helped in the recruitment of police force. Shah Mehmood himself stood in battle field with Colonel Hamilton. He rendered his services for safety and security of the British camp and war equipment and weapons. In 1860, Makhdoom was granted Begiwala Bagh and as reward of war services eight *chahat* (land irrigated by wells) amounting 550 rupees and annual jagir of 1,780 rupees. <sup>49</sup> Makhdoom Shah Mehmood died in 1865 and on his funeral, local government paid homage by observing the day as a public holiday, closing all local schools, offices and judicial courts. His son Makhdoom Bahawal Bakhsh was installed by the Deputy Commissioner as the next *sajjada nashin*. Bahawal Bakhsh was also one of the beneficiaries and got allocation of nine *mauzas*. In 1877, he was appointed Honorary Magistrate and Member of local Municipality. In 1880, he was rewarded with a robe of honour in rendering his services for Kabul war. <sup>50</sup>

Gilani Saiyids were also another elite group favoured and supported by the Raj. The Gilani's traced their roots back to Imam Hassan, Hazrat Ali Murtaza (R.A) the fourth caliph of Islam. Many of the descendants of the Gilani's remained close and loyal allies of the British. One example from the Gilani's is of Haji Saiyid Muhammad Saddru ud Din Shah

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Gillani. *Muragga' i- Multan*. (Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995), 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid., 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid.

who became sajjada nashin on the death of his father Makhdoom Saiyid Muhammad Ghous Salis (R.A) in 1878.<sup>51</sup> Saiyid Muhammad Saddru ud Din Shah's name was entered in provincial darbaris (courtiers). Saddru ud Din Shah served the district jail in Multan for four years as an Honorary visitor. He was member of *Anjuman-i-Rausa*. He was invited to the Delhi Darbar in 1911 as religious head and landlord of Punjab.<sup>52</sup> After Saddru ud Din Shah, his elder son Haji Saiyid Ghulam Yasin being elder son became sajjada nashin. Ghulam Yasin also served in various position like Honorary Magistrate from 1918 till 1922. From 1918 onwards Ghulam Yasin was unopposed member of Multan Municipal Committee and later on remained Vice President of the Committee.<sup>53</sup>

Multan administration, as in other districts of Punjab, was also composed of Lambardars, Zaildars and Tehsildars to monitor the administrative structure. Minor elite groups were at the top of Muslim society like Saiyids, Qureshis, Gillanis etc. Pathans and Balochs were from the warrior class and Syeds and Qureshis represented the religious elite. These groups held large areas of land which was granted, gifted by the British government for their loyal association and support during their rule. Out of 1,375,747 acres held by Muslims at the time of the second regular settlement of Multan (1874-1880), the Syeds and Qureshis who comprised less than 5% of the Muslim population, controlled 213,548 acres which becomes 16% of total land and Pathans and Balochs, roughly 6% of the Muslim population, held 124,135 acres which was around 9% of land.<sup>54</sup>

Multan's local power structure was fashioned by the British to have a close group of loyal local servants and associates for helping them conquer and later on rule the place smoothly and during this period, the religious elites-cum-landlords became influential with the passage of time.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ibid., 296

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Himadri Banerjee, Agrarian Society of the Punjab (1849-1901). (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 28.

Multan was a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural city, with a multi-faith population by the end of nineteenth century. Multan was also a centre of Sufi activities and leading shrines had huge number of disciples. Multan is considered the city of saints and pious people because of shrines of sufi saints like Muhammad Yousaf Gardezi, Sheikh Baha Uddin Zakariya, Sheikh Saddar Uddin Arif, Sheikh Rukun Uddin Fateh, Syed Musa Pak Shaheed, Shah Shams Sabzwari, Hafiz Muhammad Jamal Multani and Hafiz Ubaid Ullah Multani are in Multan city. 55 However, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and Jews were also residents in Multan.

Hindus and Muslims were the major groups inhibiting Multan. However, Muslims not only formed a definite majority, but also increased their strength in number during the first half of the twentieth century under the imperial administration. According to the population census of 1881, the population of the Muslims was 52.84 % of the total population of Multan city and Hindus formed 43.63 % of the total population of the city. The population of Hindus decreased slightly, according to the census report of 1891 especially due to a minimum level conversion of Hindus to Christianity, conswquently the population of Muslims increased in comparison with the Hindus. However, the Jewish population seems to have migrated and no census evidence of existence of Jews after 1891 is available. Multani society was based on caste and clan system, having distinction of customs, traditions and rituals. Major number of castes and clans had equal following of Islam and Hinduism.

#### Multan Towards Urban Development under the Raj

After the annexation, Lord Dalhousie put the Punjab province under a Board of Administration. The settlement of land, assessment of land revenue, adjudication of rights and interests and registration of tenures were conducted by the Board with admirable

<sup>55</sup> Mahar Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 30-31.

.

efficiency. The Board was abolished in 1853 and its power vested in a Chief Commissioner. <sup>56</sup> Initially in the Punjab, the land revenue was collected from an estate as a whole and prevalent system of assessment and revenue collection was followed. This was called Mahalwari system, however it changed with the passage of time, the state land settlement was under the Rayiat system, in which they collected the revenue from the cultivators directly.

The British introduced land settlement to maximize the land revenue. Commercialisation of agriculture was the outcome of development of transportation. The new means of communication like railways and roads resulted in faster movement of various agricultural commodities at cheaper rates. British policy to increase cultivated area and land revenue led to an extensive program of canals and colonization in the Western Punjab. The network of canals and irrigation system of subcontinent increased ratio of production and radical changes in crop patterns under the British policies. Here, I will explain few indicators of urban development of Multan which will help us to have a look at the growth of population, increasing means of production due to more influx of migrants, new facilities like roads and railways helping the city to be more central and focal to the mainstream trade and business.

### a. Migration

Societies are transformed by peaceful migration or conquest. Migration happens for several reasons: search for bread and butter, peaceful homeland, better settlement etc. The migrant communities assimilate themselves with exiting norms, customs, culture and practices. Multan was the centre of agricultural development, trade route and commerce centre alongside a religious city, and, thus attracted a huge influx of

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> James Douie, The *Punjab*, *NWFP and Kashmir*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 188-89.

population as migrants. The migration took place because of few factors including but not limited to agrarian development, allotment of land by the British, irrigation system and canal colony structures. Population rise of Multan can be seen in this table which can help us in understanding growth of city.<sup>57</sup>

District	Population in				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1941
Multan	556,557	635,726	710,626	814,871	14,84,333

#### b. Roads and Railways

Roads are also part of effective communication but the British invested too little in the construction and maintenance of roads, so most fell into disrepair within a few years and became impassable.<sup>58</sup> The only exception to this rule was the Grand Trunk Road that once stretched from Kabul to Dhaka. The British rebuilt this between 1833 and 1855 and made it navigable for faster horse teams.<sup>59</sup> After the Great Rebellion, initial plans were made for the operation of state road system as 'imperial roads' to connect British India at district and regional level with the already emerging railway network and open up the subcontinent.

Roads in Multan were initially not metalled but with the passage of time this development took place. The un-metalled roads were also in fairly good condition. The major roads were; the old road from Multan to Lahore which was running parallel to the railway, the road from Multan to Lodhran and Bahawalpur which lay to the east of Indus valley rail line and the old Customs road coming from Pakpattan and the Montgomery

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXXIII B. *Multan District, Statistical Tables, 1913*. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), xii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Michael Mann, South Asia's Modern History: Thematic Perspectives (London: Routledge, 2014), 347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid.

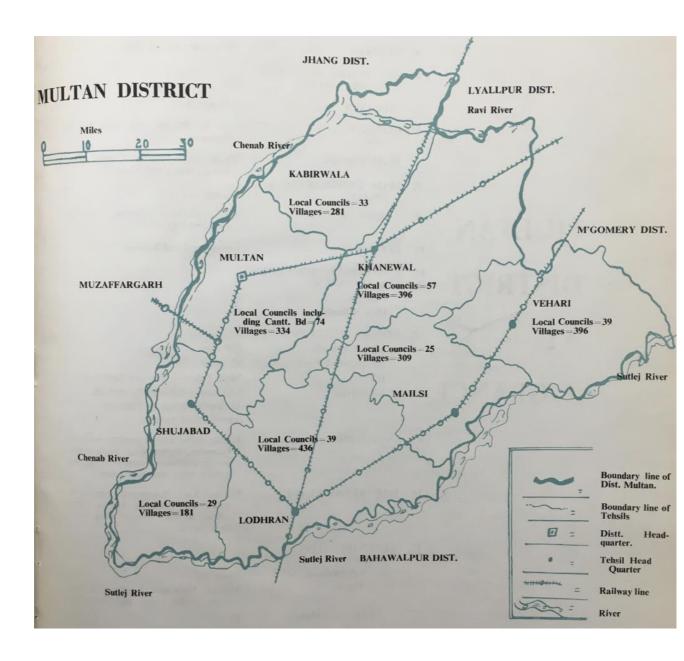
district was going towards Mailsi and Lodhran.<sup>60</sup> Another good road which leaves Lahore road at Tulamba and runs around the district passing through Serai Sidhu, Multan and Shujabad and finally crossing the Sutlej into Bahawalpur. Besides these main roads, there are cross roads from Multan to Luddan and Mailsi and to Kahror via Duniapur.<sup>61</sup> The development of roads provided Multan a chance to connect to near by cities, markets, *mandis* and trade centres for selling and purchasing of goods.

Transport is an important infrastructure for the developmental process of a country. The progress of a country depends upon the availability of a viable system of transport facilities. Railways played a vital role in the political and economic development and integration of the colonial empire. The introduction of railways caused a remarkable increase in the communication between different parts of Indian Subcontinent but also brought about profound changes in the habits and outlook of society.

The British capitalists invested their money in the construction of railways in India. The British introduction of railways to India had multi-pronged interests and reasons behind it. The first and foremost interest was of commercial nature and India was going to provide raw material to British factories and eventually better transportation and communication would open up the markets for British manufactured goods all over India. The second motive of construction of railways was to facilitate frequent, convenient and uninterrupted movements of troops throughout India. The motives of British military was need of the hour. The last but not the least was political interest of the British in introducing railways was maintenance of efficient political administration throughout India for peaceful and tranquil maintenance of law and order.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Charles A. Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab*, 1873-1880. (Lahore: W. Balls, 1883), 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Ibid., 33.



Source: Multan: Past and Present. Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968.

After the annexation of the Punjab, the British were anxious to connect the region with the rest of India. Different companies were created under single administrative control for this purpose namely; the Sindh Railway Company, the Indus Flotilla Company, the Punjab Railway Company and the Delhi Railway company to connect all major economic cities and hubs through railways.

Multan- Lahore- Amritsar Line: The colonial government allowed in 1856 a survey of constructing a railway line from Multan to Lahore and Amritsar. The Punjab Railway

Company was separately established for this purpose. The work on the line started in 1859.<sup>62</sup>

Lahore- Multan Line: The construction of this line was started at Sher Shah on Chenab river to the city of Multan. The initial 11 miles long line was opened in 1863 for carriage of goods for construction and finally this line was made functional in 1865. The train line was unique in the history of world railways that it ran in a straight line for 114 miles due to plain land amid Lahore and Multan.

Multan- Kotri Line: This line was under consideration until in 1878 when it was completed. The basic purpose of connecting Multan with Kotri was to provide a viable connection between Karachi port, Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar. However, the delta changes of the Indus River were a constant hurdle in this completion. The line was built on the left bank of the Indus. Multan's railway line and station served as one connection for the development and socio-economic change of the city. The nature and course of trade changed once the railway station was being made operational and in the year 1896 and 1897 Multan district railway station has record imports and exports transported.

Table of Import and Exports of various Articles via Multan District Railway Station in 1896-97 (in maunds)<sup>63</sup>

Articles	Imports	Exports	Articles	Imports	Exports
Cotton seed	280	137,021	Salt	19,164	291
Cotton loose	31,272	16,500	Kerosene oil	9,088	66
Cotton press	475	168,102	Common oil	5,802	424

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Edward Davidson, *The Railways of India: With an Account of Their Rise, Progress, and Construction* (London: E. & F. N. Spon, 48 Charing Cross, 1868), 311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for the Year (1895-96), Lahore: 1896, Multan Statement No.3 and Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for the Year (1896-97), Lahore: 1897,1-30.

Wool raw	40,170	19,799	Dried fruit	16,297	11,484
Gunny-bags	17,176	14,468	Fresh fruits	136	3,260
Edible grain	1,92,288	136,364	Bones	489	8,743
Wheat	98,690	414,962	Hides, Skin	2,006	25,383
Rice	37, 654	2,733	Iron	27,788	1,228
Oil seeds	27,266	796	Piece goods	26,101	
Sugar refine	58,600	610	P G Indian	7,098	270
Gur	130,210	7,143	Multani mitti	552	
Ghee	15,074	682	Sajji	260	2,876

The introduction of the railway brought changes in fares, profit and revenue trends throughout India. Railway also enhanced the capacity of commuting goods, individuals, commodities and import and export at a large scale. Multan was also a hub for trade and commerce activities. The colonial state ownership of the railways took many advantages of it. The performance of Indian railway was quite different before and after 1920. There was trend to higher output, productivity and profits between 1850 and 1919 when the traffic flow was not on much higher scale but 1920s onwards this profit started decreasing and the local trade was only operational because the freight charges and taxes levied on import and export discouraged the foreign business in colonial India. In terms of economy, the railway played a major role in integrating markets and increasing trade. Domestic and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Dan Bogart and Latika Chaudhary, Railways in Colonial India: An Economic Achievement? (May 1, 2012), 23-24. Available at SSRN: <a href="http://ssrn.com/abstract=2073256">http://ssrn.com/abstract=2073256</a> or <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2073256">http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2073256</a>

international economic trends further shaped the pace of railway construction and the demand for the important traffic flows to the ports.

#### c. Education

Educational system was supported and strengthened by the British in Multan. There had been a missionary presence in the Punjab well before 1860 and Muslim educational setup was also flourishing. The evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS) has a presence in Amritsar since 1851.<sup>65</sup> CMS later established schools in Peshawar (1854), Multan (1856), Dera Ismail Khan (1862) and Bannu (1865). The missions were committed to girl's education in this period. Mrs Annie Briggs pursued proselytising curriculum in the small CMS female school in Multan. The taught curriculum included the translations of scriptures, lessons in cleanliness, the singing of hymns etc.<sup>66</sup>

Multan's first madrasa was apparently established in 7<sup>th</sup> century by Muhammad Bin Qasim.<sup>67</sup> Besides this, Sheikh Baha Uddin Zakariya also established a madrasa in Multan fort where Maulan Ala'u Din, Allama Abdul Qadir, Maulana Muhammad Idress, Maulana Imam Bakhsh and Mulana Ilm Din taught the Fiqh, Quran, Hadith, Tafseer and logic to the students coming from different areas.<sup>68</sup> Nasir Uddin Qabacha established a madrasa which was run by Allama Kashani.<sup>69</sup>

While looking at the subcontinent overall, Multan was much ignored, only 4 Middle, 36 Primary schools and one lower school existed.<sup>70</sup> In the Middle schools, English was taught with vernacular, Persian and Urdu both were taught in Primary schools

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Punjab Gazetteer Multan 1883-4 (Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 120-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Mrs Briggs to Mr. Fenn, May 1, 1878, CI 1/O/54/1-2, CI 1/O/54/6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Mahar Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 33.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Charles A. Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab, 1873-1880.* (Lahore: W. Balls, 1883), 35.

education which was totally in vernacular. The town schools were normally attended by Hindus and village schools were by all classes. The following table shows the breakdown in student population:<sup>71</sup>

Table of Schools and Student Strength in District Multan in 1883

<b>School Description</b>	No. of Schools	Hindus	Mohamedans	Others	Total
Middle	4	337	124	3	464
Primary	36	460	1,038	_	1,498
Average	_	13	29	_	42
Lower	1	270	113	3	386
Total	41	1,067	1,275	6	2,348

Syed Sadar-ud-Din in 1944 under the influence of Maulana Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi Amrohvi established a madrasa.<sup>72</sup> This madrasa was initially patronised by Munshi Allah Baksh. Madrasa Khair ul Ma'ad was established by Maulana Hamid Ali Khan in Rohtak and he served this madrasa in Rohtak till 1959 and than he established it in Multan at Churi Sarai.<sup>73</sup> Madrasa Mazhr ul Uloom is opposite Aam Khas Bagh Multan and established by Mulana Muhammad Sharif. Jamia Arabia Talim ul Ibrar is situated at Khaniwal road Multan. This was established in 1945 by Syed Mubarak Shah Baghdadi.<sup>74</sup> Besides these madrasas, there were few more like Madrasa Anwar ul Ibrar at Aurangzeb road, Madrasa Rumia in Pakdaman graveyard, and Madrasa Rizvia Anwar ul Quran in Kaly Mandi. In 1947, in this conducive environment Khair ul Madaris of Jalandhar was welcomed and re-established in Multan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ibid., 374.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ibid.

### Multan's Growing Wealth through Revenue and Tax Collection

Multan's growth as third major agricultural city of the Punjab after Amritsar and Delhi and leaving Lahore behind its economic growth by the end of nineteenth century was showing city's stature as leading hub of economy. Multan being the centre of agricultural suburbs and major beneficiary of canal colony developments got the attention of the British rulers in terms of revenue and tax collection. The system of land revenue assessment was almost same as it was prevailing before annexation. The government used to collect taxes or one can call the *mahsul* in cash or in kind. The colonial practice and method of assessment were following: Jinsi, nakdi jinsi, zabti and karari. 75 When Punjab came under the political control of the British government, Multan was provided with fix cash assessment. The first settlement was sanctioned in 1849 and was commonly known as the *Charsala*, based on average collection of previous four years. <sup>76</sup> The second settlement was carried out by Major Hamilton in 1853 for Shujabad and Lodhran and later on in 1854 by his successor Mr. H. B. Henderson for other tehsils.

After these experimental settlements, the British government decided to carry out regular settlement with an idea for implementing them for longer period with better income. Three regular settlements were introduced for period of ten years each. The first settlement was undertaken by Sir John Morris in between 1857 and 1860.<sup>77</sup> No review was carried out of first settlement till 1873. The second regular settlement was carried out by Sir Charles Roe in 1873.<sup>78</sup> The third and last settlement was carried out in 1896.<sup>79</sup> The following table shows the assessment of all settlements.

<sup>75</sup> E.D. Maclagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District 1901-02. (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ibid., 295. <sup>77</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid., 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid., 298.

Sr.	Settlement	Estimated	<b>Assessed Land</b>	Increase or
No.		increase in	Revenue	decrease in
		Cultivation		Land Revenue
1.	First Summary Settlement, 1849	N/A	Rs. 5, 94, 151	N/A
2.	Second Summary Settlement, 1854	N/A	Rs. 5, 87, 835	-1%
3.	First Regular Settlement, 1858	N/A	Rs. 4, 85, 835	-18%
4.	Second Regular Settlement, 1880	16%	Rs. 6, 85, 016	+41%
5.	Third Regular Settlement, 1901	33%	Rs. 13, 39, 844	+30%

Multan was one of the leading district in tax collection ad contribution towards the Punjab province. Income tax was assessed and collected by the revenue department and Mr. Parker was deputed for tax assessment and collection in 1888.<sup>80</sup>

In Mr. Parker's assessment the year wise income tax of Multan city and cantonment was assessed per individual which was following:<sup>81</sup>

Sr. No.	Year	Number of Assesses	Amount of Tax in Rs.
1.	1886-87	1,384	26,749
2.	1887-88	1,387	26,892
3.	1888-89	1,566	26,613
4.	1889-90	1,829	36,018
5.	1890-91	1,976	38,175
6.	1891-92	1,984	38,968
7.	1892-93	1,937	38,828
8.	1893-94	1,991	40,447
9.	1894-95	1,979	40,975

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Report on the Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1891-92. (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1892, 9). V/24/1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>Ibid., 18 and *Report on the Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1894-95.* (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1895, 19). V/24/1762.

Mr. Parker's assessment and estimate of income tax with each passing year and this popular growth in the tax collection, and assessment demonstrates that Multan was leading city in terms of wealth. Between 1895 till 1905, the tax collection rose to 42,891 after the assessment procedure carried out by the revenue department on individual assesses. Each passing year shows a rise in the collection and assessment which can be treated as a key indicator and measure showing Multan's growth and prosperity. In year 1911-12, the 1,050 assesses paid 50,717 rupees as tax in Multan. <sup>83</sup>

The British rule managed accumulation of taxes very smoothly while handling issues and problems in the area. One such incident occurred when the local inhabitants disrupted tax collection in Multan and the officers controlled this situation amicably. In February 1930, the local Hindu- Muslim *Panchayat* refused to pay the Municipal Water tax imposed by the Municipal Committee to ensure proper maintenance of the new waterworks and drainage system and collecting loan back given by the Government to the public.<sup>84</sup>

Multan flourished as social and economic hub under the command and control of the British government since its annexation in 1849. Multan's agricultural, social, cultural and economic life has been considered among the top contributing cities of the Punjab since it came under the British rule. The advancement and introduction of technology like railways, roads, irrigation and revenue collection raised Multan's stature as social and economic centre in the colonial times. The British *Raj*, in addition to irrigation, canals, roads, bridges, schools and railways, left impressions of successful administration at the time of partition of India.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>Report on the Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1905-06. (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1906, v). V/24/1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Report on the Income Tax Administration of the Punjab, 1911-12. (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1912, iv-v). V/24/1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> IOR/L/PJ/6/1996 -, File 708 (Agitation and Disturbances at Multan (Punjab) in connection with attempt to collect payments of Municipal Council Tax), 1930.

## Part II: Multan after the Partition 1947-1981

One of the important events of the twentieth century world history was the partition of India in 1947 and the creation of the independent states of India and Pakistan. The event was marked by the greatest migration of the century making fifteen million refugees. <sup>85</sup> Immediately after the partition, refugee settlement was the prime concern of both independent states. This second part of the chapter explains Multan's development since partition. Multan was the one of the major cities of the Punjab selected for refugee settlement by the government of Pakistan. The refugee settlement can be seen through this given table showing rural and urban settlement.

Rehabilitation of Refugees in Rural and Urban Areas, West Punjab, 1949<sup>86</sup>

Name of Place	Rural Areas	Urban Areas	Total
Multan	466,200	235,400	701,600

Multan had a population of 87,394 in the year 1901 and it rose to 1,90,122 in 1951. During the decade 1951-61, it increased by 88.4% totalling 3,58,201 persons in census of 1961.<sup>87</sup> Satellite towns were created in the West Punjab for accommodating refugees. These satellite Towns were constructed in Lyallpur, Montgomery, Jhang, Sargodha and Multan, which became major refugees centres.<sup>88</sup> The Satellite Town at Multan was known as Mumtazabad. It was constructed in 1953 at a distance of 5 miles from the city. It comprised 30 'A' Class, 204 'B' Class and 939 'C' class houses and 68 shops along with the amenities of a hospital, post office, community centre, market, and school for boys and girls.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Francis Robinson, "The Muslims and Partition", History Today, Vol. 47, No. 9, September 1997, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ilyas Chattha, "Partition and Its Aftermath: Violence, Migration and the Role of Refugees in the Socio-Economic Development of Gujranwala and Sialkot Cities, 1947-1961." (diss., University of Southampton, 2009), 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957.* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 122.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 129; *Dawn* (Karachi), 1 July 1953.

Autonomous Development Authorities were established by metropolitan cities to undertake major public works, water sewerage and transport, and to develop land for urban developments. Examples include Lahore Development Authority (1975), Hyderabad and Multan (1977), and Faisalabad (1976) Development Authorities. The population growth of Multan was on rise and kept increasing.

The following table shows growth rate of Multan's population from 1951 till 1972.

City	Population in	Population in	Population in	Growth in	Growth in
	(000) 1951	(000) 1961	(000) 1972	% 1951-	%
				1961	1961-1972
Multan	190	358	544	88.4	52.0

The urbanisation of Multan continued because of facilities, amenities and established structure of economic growth and this consistent growth in urbanisation can be measured through following table.

Urbanisation in Multan<sup>91</sup>

District	1972	Urban Population in 1972 (in thousands)	Percentage of Population in Urban Area in 1951	Population in	-
Multan	4,007	884	16.2	21.4	22.1

# **Green Revolution and Its Impact on Multan**

The Green Revolution brought agricultural progress in Punjab and Sindh during the Auyb Khan era. The introduction of the Green Revolution technology in Pakistan resulted in significant increase in agricultural output. Critical to this growth was the installations of

<sup>90</sup> Mohammad A. Qadeer, "An Assessment of Pakistan's Urban Policies, 1947-1997", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol 35, No. 4 (Winter 1996), 453.

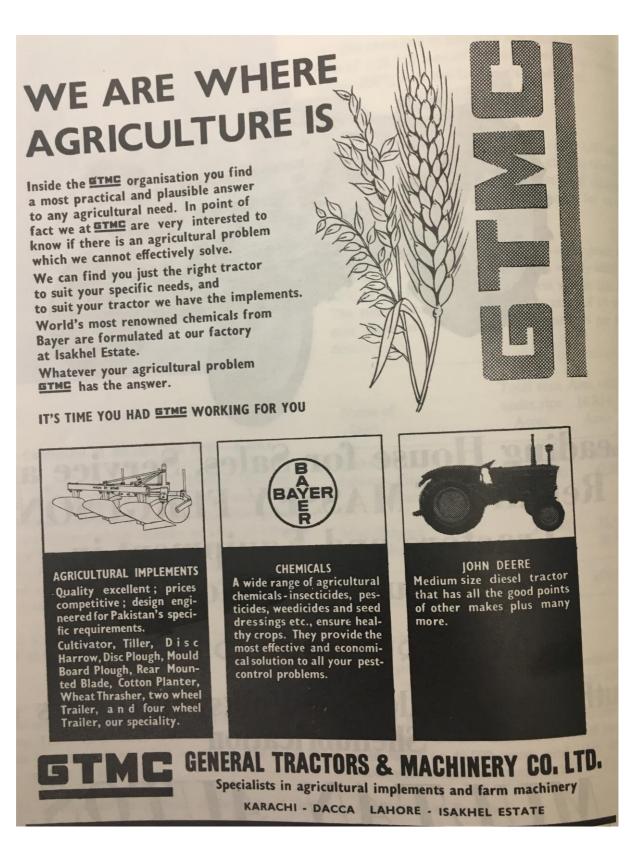
<sup>91</sup> Mohammad Afzal and Nasreen Abbasi. *Urbanization and Internal Migration in Pakistan*, 1951-1973. (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1978), 44.

tubewells, which enhanced the capacity of irrigation of cultivable lands. West Pakistan was an arid area and average rainfall was 8 inches. Before the introduction of tubewells, only source of irrigation was uneven rainfall. Roughly 60% of the West Pakistan's cultivated area was irrigated and devoted to the main cash crops like rice, cotton and sugar cane was irrigated while wheat was both irrigated and dependent on rain. 92 For the period 1947 till 1958, it was estimated that, on average, 75% of total wheat acreage was irrigated. 93

۰

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Leslie Nulty, *The Green Revolution in West Pakistan: Implications of Technological Change.* (London: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Ibid., 16.



Source: Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 72.

The Green Revolution enabled farmers to participate in development of agriculture through use of mechanisation, high yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Here important measures in the shape of fertilisers, plant protection and irrigated water supported farmers in enhancing their crop qualities. Another measure was availability of irrigation water. The Green Revolution greatly contributed to the increased agricultural productivity which led to the economic and social change in Multan. The Green Revolution started in late 1960 and occurred only in those areas where water was available either by canal or by tube wells both public and private. The Indus basin has been providing water for irrigation. The modern irrigation system dates from the nineteenth century when old canals were replaced by weirs and barrages. The canal system constructed by the British as designed to serve as much land and area as possible.

The Green Revolution left a remarkable impression on the lives of local peasants and agricultural class. The introduction of technological change brought positive changes in production and consumption of goods. The application of new technology in agrarian society always brought about significant social, cultural, economic and political changes. Improvement in technology raised the agricultural production index from 100 in 1959-60 to 127 in 1965-66.<sup>95</sup>

0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Shuja Ahmed, "Economic and Social Change in Khairpur (1947-1980)", diss., University of London, 2012, 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Arbab Ikramullah, *Tubewell Irrigation and Green Revolution in the N.W.F.P: Impact on Productivity and Income Distribution.* (Peshawar: Institute of Development Studies, N.W.F.P. Agriculture University, 1989), 40.



Source: Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 84.

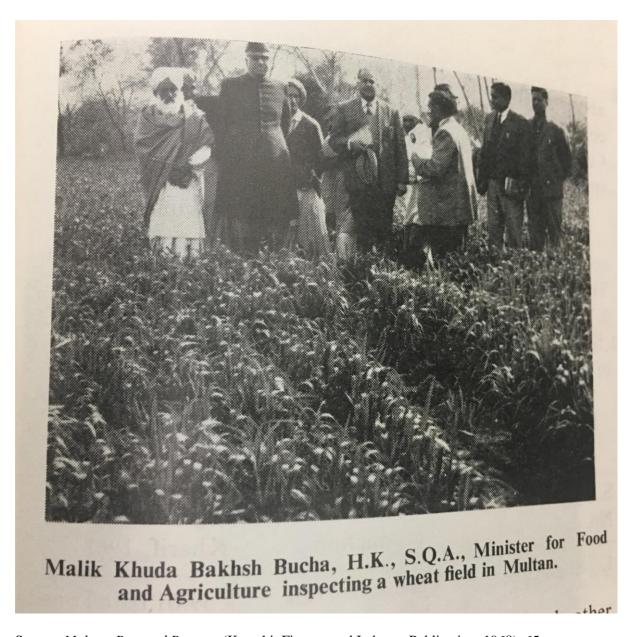
The breakthrough in agricultural production was not just the result of scientific discoveries but technological and social conditions necessary for its adaption. Between 1947 and 1960, there was little focus on the rural areas of West Pakistan. This slow growth

of crops increased after the decade of sixties. The following table can help us to have a comparative glance of average growth of crops in 1949-50 and 1959-60.96

Sr.	Name of Crop	Rate of Growth in	Rate of Growth in
No.		% (1949-50)	%(1959-60)
1.	Rice	1.9	6.5
2.	Wheat	1.1	5.2
3.	Barley	2.1	4.0
4.	Coarse Grains	0.5	3.4
5.	Grain	1.8	2.6
6.	Oilseeds	5.0	No Trend
7.	Sugarcane	6.6	7.7
8.	Cotton	2.3	6.5
9.	Tobacco	9.0	10.1
10.	All Major Crops	2.3	5.4

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Rashid Amjad, "A Critique of the Green Revolution in West Pakistan", *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (June 1972), 20.



Source: Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 65.

Taxation of the agriculture sector is one of the major instrument of the economy growth. In Pakistan, the share of land taxes in total taxes fell from 16% in 1960 to 6% in 1970, 2% in 1975 and just .5% in 1982.<sup>97</sup> The agricultural growth and income of the West Pakistan kept fluctuating. In 1959-60, agricultural taxes were 1.7% of the total income

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Sarfraz Khan Qureshi and Ahmad Khan, "Political Economy of Land Tax in Pakistan", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol 25, No. 4 (Winter 1986), 839.

which decreased in 1965-66 to the ratio of 1.3% and went further down in 1969-70 to 1.2% of total income.<sup>98</sup>

Agricultural land in Multan was one main factor for producing bread and butter for farmers and pattern of small, medium and large farms were producing livelihood and adding to the revenue of Multan. In 1954 evacuee land was allocated amongst the refugees on the basis of former holdings in India.<sup>99</sup>

The following table shows farm patterns allocated in Multan. 100

District	Small Farms	Medium Farms	Large Farms	Total
	(below 5 acres)	(5 to 25 acres)	(over 25 acres)	
Multan	38%	51%	11%	100%

Multan remained the focus of almost all the initiatives carried out either by the British in colonial times or by the Government of Pakistan after partition of India. The focus on Multan was because of its fertile land, irrigation system, intensive cultivation in addition to revenue settlements. 101 The last regular settlement was carried out in 1921 with an estimate of Rs. 98, 876. 102 After Partition, Government of Pakistan carried out first regular settlement and assessment of Multan in 1966. 103

The Department of Agriculture distributed 1,414 Persian wheels free of cost to poor and needy farmers possessing an area of about 12 acres to supplement their irrigation supplies. The cost of each Persian wheel was Rs. 1,000. 104 Private tubewells were installed for irrigation purposes in the Punjab since 1930s but only in 1960 this private investment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>99</sup> Hamza Alvi, "The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan", Pakistan Economic and Social Review, Vol. 14, No. 1/4, Income Inequalities in Pakistan (1976), 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> B. A. Azhar, "Land Revenue Assessment: A Case Study", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol 12, No. 3 (Autumn 1973), 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Multan: Past and Present, 49.

on tubewells reached a significant proportion.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, 228 tube wells were allocated to needy zamindars on subsidy basis and installation work was handled by the Agricultural Engineering section. The total number of private and state funded tube wells were 12,348 in 1964-65 which later on increased to 15,246 in 1965-1966.<sup>106</sup>

Table of Tube wells installed in District Multan<sup>107</sup>

Name of	Total No. of Tube wells	Total No. of Electric	Total No. of Diesel
District	installed up to 1964	Tube wells	Tube wells
Multan	5,148	624	4,524

More than 40% of the voters own agricultural land in Pakistan but their representation in elected bodies has always been more than proportional to their numbers because of the influence they exercise over tenants and landless labour class. In 1951 provincial elections in the Punjab, landlords won more than 80% seats and same was the case in 1971 when out of 138 members of the West Pakistan Constituent Assembly 105 were landlords.<sup>108</sup>

Installation of Private Tube wells, 1963-1965<sup>109</sup>

District	Total No. of Tubewells	Tubewells on Large Farms	% of Tubewells
		(above 25 acres)	on Large Farms
Multan	3,076	2,639	86%

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Leslie Nulty, *The Green Revolution in West Pakistan*, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ghulam Mohammad, "Tubewell Development and Cropping Patterns in West Pakistan", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1965), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Sarfraz Khan Qureshi and Ahmad Khan, "Political Economy of Land Tax in Pakistan", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol 25, No. 4 (Winter 1986), 849.

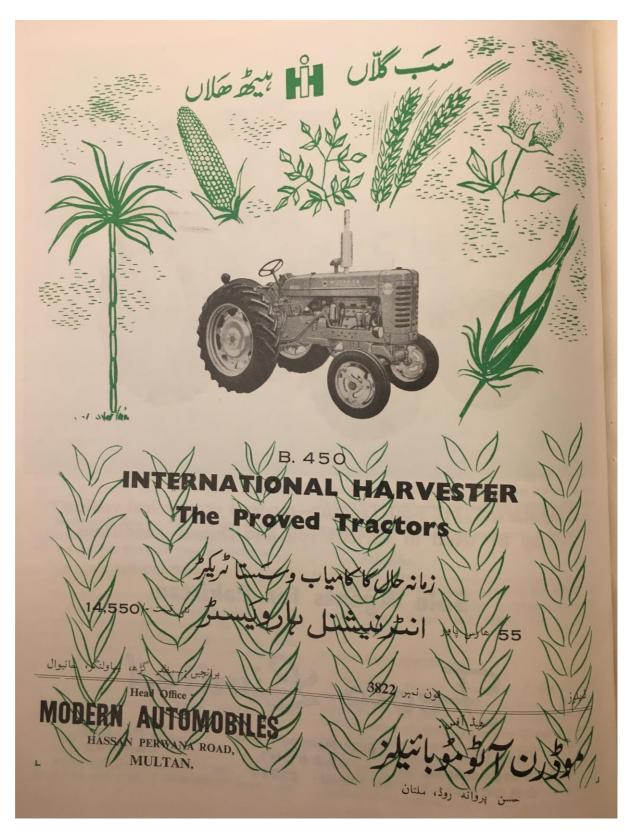
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Hamza Alvi, "The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan", *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 14, No. <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Income Inequalities in Pakistan (1976), 189.

The year wise distribution of private tubewells can further explain how Multan was moving towards agricultural and economic stability under the Green Revolution. These private tubewells were either run by electricity or by diesel. The following table will show gradual growth in the private tubewells installation in Multan district.

Location	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Multan	3,370	4,700	6,340	7,880	9,410	10,350	11,010
District							

The number of tractors in the year 1965-66 was 1,625. During 1966-67, this number reached to 2,345.110 The Agriculture department also imported 150 bulldozers for hiring out to zamindars. The Agricultural Engineering section levelled 11,849 acres of uneven land during 1967.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> *Multan: Past and Present*, 50. <sup>111</sup> Ibid.



Source: Multan: Past and Present. (Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968), 64.

### **Basic Democracies system**

The Green Revolution expanded the horizon of growth and development throughout Pakistan and one sub-measure of Green Revolution's success was Basic Democracies system introduced by the President Ayub Khan. It left a lasting legacy on the land of Multan. The income of Multan district council in the year 1947-48 was only 23 lakhs and its expenditure was 22 lakhs. According to the budget of 1967-68 the income side of district Multan rose to Rs/. 80,24,39000.<sup>112</sup> The Basic Democracy system changed the nomenclature of District Board of Multan to District Council.<sup>113</sup> Multan District Council was running 49 Civil dispensaries, 61 Veterinary dispensaries, 20 High schools and 1052 primary schools. Through Basic Democracy system, Rural Works Program was launched in 1963 which opened a new avenue in the history of rural development of Pakistan. The manual of instructions of Basic Democracy system explains the following aims and objective of the Rural Works Program:<sup>114</sup>

- a. To solve the small, urgent needs of the local population
- b. To increase the income of the local councils
- c. To develop human resources in the rural areas
- d. To create economic infrastructure in the rural areas (roads etc)
- e. To increase the capability at the local council level for planning small schemes and undertaking their executions
- f. To add to the income of the people living in rural areas

<sup>112</sup> Multan: Past and Present, 41.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 43.

- g. To provide employment to surplus agricultural labour, particularly during the slack seasons
- h. To supplement the development effort of department busy in large schemes and projects
- i. To provide training to the local councilors in planning for their own needs
- j. To increase both land and labor productivity in the agricultural sector.

Since the inception of the Rural Works Program Rs/. 1,77,32,055 were allocated to Multan district. Multan district was graded among top seven districts of the West Pakistan for implementation of the program. The local councils completed 3653 projects under this program and sector wise detail can be seen in the following table. 115

Sr.	Sector	Projects	Amount utilised
No.		undertaken	
1.	Education	508	Rs. 31,12,000
2.	Animal Husbandry	46	Rs. 3,00,000
3.	Communication	2008	Rs. 43,00,000
4.	Health and Sanitation	900	Rs. 13,00,000
5.	Irrigation	46	Rs. 5,00,000
6.	Social Welfare	13	Rs. 6,23,565
7.	Other Schemes	14	Rs. 44,000
			,

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

Through Basic Democracy system, Rural Works Program satisfactorily implemented better polices and continued to search for new means and way for making Multan more prosperous. These projects proved their worth as medium of social welfare for the inhabitants of Multan and new wealth accumulation continued. In the meanwhile, urbanisation was further supported through increasing levels of formal education and literacy among the people of Multan city.

Level of Literacy and Higher Education in Multan in 1961<sup>116</sup>

Region	Literate Men	Literate Women	Men Educated up to	Women Educated
	with Formal	with Formal	Matriculation or	up to Matriculation
	Education	Education	Higher	or Higher
Multan	14.6%	2.6%	1.8%	0.2%

Multan kept growing as a rich and economically developed city as it had done under the British Raj. This growth was further supported and strengthened with the help of Green Revolution project which enabled positive changes in the industry, agriculture and tax reforms etc. The Green Revolution also encouraged new industry establishment in the area of Multan and the industry range spread from cold storage, sewing machine industry, cotton textile finishing and pressing to pharmaceuticals etc.

# **Industry Establishment and Growth in Multan**

The Green Revolution stimulated industrial development in Multan. Industrial development mainly took place in Multan because of its railway and road links to suburban areas for accessing raw form of material for industry needs. The industry range diversified

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Hamza Alvi, "The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan", *Pakistan Economic and Social* Review, Vol. 14, No. 1/4, Income Inequalities in Pakistan (1976), 182.

from cold storage, sewing machine industry, cotton textile finishing and pressing to pharmaceuticals etc. During the years 1960-65, the government invested money in the establishment of variety of industries and for the modernization and improvement of existing projects. The following list of industries established in Multan during 1960-65 can help as understand this growth:<sup>117</sup>

Sr.	Name and Location of Unit	Foreign	Total	Product
No.		Exchange	Investment	
		component	(in lacs)	
		(in lacs)		
1.	M/s Al-Hilal Veg. Ghee Mills Ltd.	14	30.5	Veg. Ghee
	Multan			
2.	M/s Sh. Fazal-ur-Rehman and Sons	8.52	17.89	Refining and Deodorisng of oils
	Ltd. Multan			
3.	M/s Pakistan Fruit Juice Co. Ltd.	9.19	19.69	Citrus Fruit Juice
	Multan			
4.	M/s Khawaja Tanneries Ltd. Multan	2.04	3.89	Buffalo and Cow Hides
5.	M/s Shahzad Ice Factory Ltd. Multan	2	4	Ice and Cold Storage
6.	M/s Metal Packages Ltd. Multan	2	6	Metal Container and Tin Printing
7.	M/s Gultex Ltd. Multan	1.25	2.25	Neckties, Handkerchief,
				Ribbon Powder
8.	M/s Artex Ltd. Multan	0.88	1.50	Neckties, Handkerchief,
				Ribbon Powder
9.	M/s Multan Beverages Ltd., Shah	2.4	7.4	Non-Alcoholic Drinks, Bottles
	Garden, Multan			

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Multan: Past and Present, 86.

10.	M/s Shameem & Co. Ltd. (Beverages)	5.76	14.89	Bottling, 7-Up
	Multan			
11.	M/s Mincherje Monakjee, Railway	0.50	1.5	Crown Cork
	Road, Multan Cantt.			
12.	M/s New Ferrous Metal Industries,	2.5	6.5	Chaff Cutter Knives
	Multan			
13.	M/s Allah Wasaya Textile Mills Ltd.	30.31	54.61	Spindles
	Multan			
14.	M/s Colony Textile Mills Ltd. Multan	10	30	Waste Cotton Spinning, Spindles
15.	M/s Colony Woolen Mills Ltd.	20.19	34.12	Worsted Spindles,
	Multan			Wool Top Dyeing
16.	M/s Colony Woolen Mills Ltd.	15.5	33	Tufted Carpets
	Multan			
17.	M/s Sh. Fazal Rahman & Sons,	22	40	Cottonseed Processing
	Multan			
18.	M/s Pakistan Oil Mills Ltd. Multan	5	9	Cotton Ginning
19.	M/s Riaz & Co. Cotton Ginning,	6.54	7	Cotton Ginning
	Multan			
20.	M/s Salahuddin & Co., Multan	0.46	0.95	Plastic coated wire and cable

Another mega development for Multan's growth was establishment of Natural Gas Fertilizer Factory and all this was possible just because of Multan's strong position as fast growing agricultural and economic city with accumulation of abundant resources. In 1957, a contract was given to M/s. ENSA of France to establish Natural Gas Fertilizer Factory at Multan. Construction on this project was started in January 1958 and factory

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 93.

started working in March 1964.<sup>119</sup> This factory produced jobs for local people and factory was comprised of processing unit, production of Urea, ammonium nitrate, electricity and steam, workshop, laboratory, training for technical persons, a housing colony and fertilizer distribution unit in the premise.<sup>120</sup> Multan proved its worth as a city for accepting all the challenges for transforming its economic growth and Ayub Khan's government also invested in Multan for developing mega projects.

## **Development of Communications in Multan since 1947**

In August 1947, Pakistan inherited a crippled railway. The railways transported millions of refugees after the partition. The coal burning locomotives were converted to oil burning engines because India has stopped coal supply in January 1948. The efficient communication system was need of the hour. Railway lines served the smooth running of goods for import and export. The most important post-partition development was the construction of a line connecting Kot Addu, Dera Ghazi Khan and Kashmore. This project was approved in 1952. Another positive change was electrification of railway tracks for providing faster services. This was made possible with the help of English Electric Company and B.I.C.C, team of experts from Japanese National Railways, team of experts from European Consortium and team of experts from the United Kingdom Railway Advisory Service who took independent study of areas and working on technical and economic assessments and results were achieved in 1969 for running trains on three tracks one of which was Multan, Khanewal and Sahiwal. 122

A Radio station was demanded by the people of Multan in 1959 and work was started in 1966 to establish Multan Radio station. All the equipment was imported from

<sup>119</sup> Zahid Ali Wasti, *Deekh Lia Multan*. (Multan: Beacon Books, 2002), 123-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Multan: Past and Present. 94-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> A. Rahman Khan, *Aina-e-Multan*. (Multan: Maktaba Ashraf ul Marif 1973), 590.

Holland and engineers of Pakistan Broadcasting Cooperation were entrusted with duties to construct studies, building and other necessary arrangements. Multan Radio Station was inaugurated on November 21, 1970 by Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan, Minister of Information.<sup>124</sup>

With the ever increasing need of electricity for agricultural needs, there was a need for establishing a new mega Thermal Station with the help of Sui Gas in Multan to fulfil the needs of tube wells and growing industry. The construction work started in 1959 and in February 1960 production of 65,000 KW and in May 1961 1,30,000 KW was regularly produced for helping industry and agricultural needs. Another landmark in the life of Multan was Pak-German Cooperative Training and Research Institute. The Institute has different sections, training facilities, field experiments and technical support demonstrated cooperation in the field of agriculture between Pakistan and the Federal Republic of West Germany. Comparison of the field of agriculture between Pakistan and the Federal Republic of West Germany.

The Institute was established under an agreement signed by Pakistan and West Germany in 1959. The construction of building was started in 1960. The Institute was located on Multan-Bhawalpur road about 20 miles South of Multan. The total area was 75 acres out which 19 acres were under buildings and rest of 56 acres were under cultivation. In order to provide a status to the Institute as a cooperative agricultural training institute and also with statutory position for the trainees passing out of the Institute, the Government of Pakistan affiliated it to the West Pakistan Agricultural University, Layallpur. The courses of training included certificates and diplomas and successful trainees later on became farmers, Field Assistants, Cooperative Chak Managers and

\_

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 592

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Multan: Past and Present. 133.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Ibid.

Additional Chak Managers for supporting mechanized farming, agricultural awareness and spreading their knowledge to other cultivators.

## **Local Leaders in Making of Multan since 1947**

Cities and urban centres always depend on the personalities and leading figures of the area to support its growth. Multan was fortunate enough to have few such figures to support its growth. Some of these personalities who supported economic growth, industry, health and education in Multan are briefly discussed here and divided into three sub categories. These categories of people include rich religious elites, industrialists and professionals. These people sought their strong base in Multan and established themselves as leading families and social workers for the development of Multan as a developed city. Another interesting fact worth mentioning here that these rich religious elites were from the families of *sajadah nashin* and custodians of the *sufi* shrines who were supporters of Khair ul Madaris, a Deobandi madrasa establishment in Multan. The first set of people are the religious elites which included people from Gilani, Qureshi, Bukhari and Gardezis. These religious elites were the same who were once serving as intermediaries and supporters of the British administration as loyalists and later their role changed into supporter of the city and new builders of the institutions.

## **Syed Hamid Raza Gilani**

Gilani's are among one of the respected religious elites of Multan. Syed Hamid Raza son of Makhdum Mohammad Raza Gilani was a political cum social worker. He was member of the National Assembly and made a significant contribution in the welfare of the people of the region. Hamid Raza received his secondary education at Aitchison College and then B.A. from Government College Lahore. Syed Hamid Raza attended Lincoln's Inn for Bar at Law. He was elected from Shujabad and Lodhran seat to National Assembly in

1962.<sup>130</sup> He was reelected unopposed in 1965 on Muslim League ticket. He was also parliamentary secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs in 1962. He was convener of Muslim League Multan Division in 1964.<sup>131</sup>

# Dr. Shafiq Yusuf Bokhari

One of the leading T.B. and chest specialist and faculty member at Nishtar Medical College. <sup>132</sup> He remained secretary of T.B. Association for eight years. He used to provide free medicine and medical check ups to poor and needy people.

## Pir Dost Ali Qureshi

Qureshi was chairman of the Market Committee of Abdul Hakim and chairman of Union Council 63. He contributed cash and kind for the Defence Fund and helped the government to guard the Sidhnai Barrage in 1965 Indian War. Qureshi was close associate of Muslim League.

# Syed Ashfaq Ahmad Gardezi

Ashfaq Ahmad belong to landlord Gardezi family. He was Secretary General of the District Muslim League, member of the District Council and Chairman of the Market Committee.

#### **Syed Farouk Bokhari**

He was a prominent social worker and Basic Democrat. He was Chairman of the Union Committee No. 2, Multan Cantt. He was also president of Anjuman Nusratul Islam, Multan Cantt which was working to solve issues related to health and education.

### Dewan Sved Ghulam Abbas Bukhari

Dewan Syed Ghulam Abbas Bukhari was first elected to the Provincial Assembly in 1951 on Muslim League ticket. He belonged to religious elites and descendant of

132 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

Jalaluddin Bokhari of Uch Sharif and *sajjadah nashin* of Sultan Ahmad Qattal Jalalpurpirwala. The family has thousands of disciples in Multan, Muzaffargarh, Bhawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan. He was educated at Aitchison College Lahore and began his political career as a member of District Board for consecutive two decades. He was Chairman of Jalalpurpirwala Municipality. He established a charitable trust for orphans and children.

## Makhdum Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi

Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi served as Member National Assembly, Vice Chairman of Multan Municipality and Governor of Punjab province. He was *sajjadah nashin* of Bahauddin Zakaria and Shah Rukn-e-Alam. He has innumerable disciples all over Sindh, Punjab, Kashmir, Balochistan and Afghanistan. He was one who facilitated refugees in 1947 and settled many of them on his own land. He has donated some land for Nishtar Medical College, Multan. He financially supported Khair ul Madaris and other educational institutions.<sup>134</sup>

The class of industrialists were those who developed themselves from small businesses towards mega industry establishment in Multan and changed the outlook of Multan in industry, development and market since the partition. These were the city dwellers who transformed the city into a business hub for future progress and prosperity of locale and its inhabitants.

### **Mohammad Khan Malik**

Malik started his career as an employee with an automobile firm but with his savings of salary and some loans he started initially a petrol pump. After sometime he started tanker

,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Ibid., 116.

service and then a transport service. He took dealership of Ghandara Industries Limited and within no time settled in Multan as well settled businessman.<sup>135</sup>

#### Hassan Sheikh

Hassan Sheikh was owner of Pioneer traders. Sheikh's manufacturing bends and products included international harvesters, Vespa Scooters, Siemens electric motors, tubewell pumps and air conditioners etc. His trade contribution was considerable towards industry, agriculture and household appliances. Hassan Sheikh was one regular supporter of educational and religious institutions of the Multan region. This support was both in cash and kind whatever was required.

The third type of people who contributed towards the development of Multan are professionals from different walks of life.

## Haji Hamiduddin Kakorvi

Kakorvi started his career as police constable at the age of 14 in Central India and rose to the rank of sub-inspector. Later he joined the forest department as inspector in Jaipur, India. After partition Hamiduddin migrated to Pakistan and made business his career. He became a good contractor and soon was owner of number of cinemas and hotels in Multan. He donated 1.25 lakh worth of amount to Writers Guild of Multan for his love for literary traditions and regularly supporting religious education in madrasas like Jamia Khair ul Madaris and Jamia Qasim ul Uloom and deaf and dumb schools. Haji Hamiduddin kept serving noble causes and for the development of Multan. He also established a Kakori house in Jaipur for patronizing poets and writers.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

#### Dr. Aon Mohammad Khan

Dr. Khan a Medical superintendent and founder of Awami Hospital Multan a 60 bed hospital also contributed to the welfare and growth of city. He was member many Professional and Medical Associations like Doctor's Guild, Refahe Aamma Society, Director T.B. Society. Before coming to Pakistan, he was Professor of Medicine at Lucknow University. 139

#### Dr. Fazl-i-Elahi Sheikh

Dr. Sheikh was Municipal Medical Officer and supervising health and sanitation system of Multan. His duties included advising on health matters, environmental sanitation issues, situation of municipal hospital and dispensaries. 140

## Malik Karim Bakhsh Khokar

Malik Karim was joint secretary of city Muslim League and Chairman of Union Committee No. 13, Multan. He was retired Superintendent of Irrigation department and as member of Multan Municipal Committee looking the education related issues and matters.141

### Khan Faiz Mohammad Khan

Faiz Mohammad belong to Sadozai family of Multan and born in 1924. He was president of the Chemist and Druggist Association of Multan and chairman of the Union Committee for two consecutive terms. He was great patron of sports and football was of special interest to him.

## Khan Hameed Nawaz Khan

Hameed Khan was an old Muslim League worker. He was vice president of the City Muslim League and Chairman of the Union Committee No. 8. He successfully remained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

elected member for consecutive 13 years as Chairman of the Committee. This continuous support and confidence of the masses in him showed his love and care for social welfare.

#### Zafarullah Khan Chaudhri

Zafarullah was former M.L.A in 1945 from Ajnala Amritsar, landlord and owner of Allahdad Cattle Farm. He was graduate of Aligarh Muslim University and Islamia College Lahore. He joined the Muslim League in 1940 and elected Senior Vice President of the District Muslim League in 1944. He participated in the Muslim League agitation against the Unionist Ministry in Punjab was imprisoned. He was elected to the Provincial Assembly in 1952 from Khanewal. He also remained Member Divisional Council, Multan and Chairman Union Council No. 98, Tehsil Khanewal.

## **Furqan Ahmad Ansari**

Ansari was a lawyer by profession and loyalist Muslim League follower. He organized Muslim Student Federation at Aligarh Muslim University at the call of Quaid-i-Azam in 1937-38. After partition, he served on various government positions till 1960 and in 1961 he started his law practice again.

In short, Punjab always attracted the British and after getting hold of this as administrative unit, the waste and barren land was converted into rich and fertile land as a major economic contributing factor towards the British colonial economy. This was the colonial legacy to Pakistan after the partition to-date. The introduction of comprehensive canal system, agrarian policies, land allocation and introduction of means of communication and technology of the British also changed the face of Punjab in colonial and post-colonial era. Multan's ever increasing capacity of production, new wealth, popular migration influx, industry establishment and Government of Pakistan's investment in it further enhanced the importance of Multan as an economic centre. Multan also remained focal point of the British attention since annexation in 1849 till the time of partition and

continued its legacy of accepting reforms and innovations after 1947. The importance of Multan city can be seen as a major beneficiary of all development carried out in each walk of life including agriculture, administration, irrigation and communication even beyond 1947 after partition of India.

# Chapter 2

## Jamia Khair ul Madaris and Its Establishment in Multan, 1931-1951.

After partition in 1947, Multan's social, political and economic growth not only supported migration influx but also attracted learned intellectuals for settlement. One such example was Maulana Khair Muhammad who migrated from Jalandhar to Multan in 1947 with his madrasa Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Khair Muhammad and Jamia Khair ul Madaris became a key role player in preaching and teaching Dar ul Uloom Deoband's message in Pakistan.

They continued serving Multan, its people and Pakistan in various capacities. This chapter will provide details of birth and rise of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in colonial India and bring forth the circumstances in which a Deobandi madrasa moved from colonial India to Pakistan. This chapter will explain how this madrasa came to Multan and how Maulana Khair Muhammad became patron and preacher of a Deobandi madrasa in South Punjab of Pakistan. This chapter will further explain how Khair ul Madaris was established in Multan amid hegemony of prevalent Sufi shrines and practices while it continued to grow in this environment. In a society, such as postcolonial Pakistan, faced with dramatic educational and strategic instructional transformations after the partition, Khair ul Madaris was able to showcase itself as a different religious institution that imparted education in secular subjects too.

Dar ul Uloom Deoband started as a small Arabic school in Masjid-i-Chattha which was later on shifted to the present site and transformed into Dar ul Uloom, Deoband. Masjid-e-Chattha was also abode of the notable great sufi Hazrat Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar for his meditation. Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautavi and Maulana Rashid Ahmad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Farhat Tabassum, *Deoband Ulema's Movement for the Freedom of India*. (New Delhi: Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind, 2006), 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 88.

Gangohi laid the foundations of Dar ul Uloom Deoband. Hasan Maulana Mehmood ul Hasan was the first student of madrasa and first teacher was Mullah Mehmood. Haji Abid Hussain collected funds for the first time for madrasa and the strength of the students in the first year was 78. Maulana Nanautavi was not content with establishing a madrasa at Deoband but he also wanted other Muslims to start such madrasas at different places to create a network of madrasas throughout India. His initiative, untiring effort and energy resulted soon in opening of new madrasas at Saharanpur, Muradabad and Nagina (Bijnore) and other places in Western U.P. Mazahir ul Uloom of Saharanpur and Qasim ul Uloom of Muradabad always looked towards Deoband for inspiration and developments.

In a short span of time Dar ul Uloom Deoband became a great seat of learning in the Subcontinent, attracting students from all over India and even from outside. A network of madrasas also opened all over India on this pattern preserving and preaching the ideals of Dar ul Uloom Deoband. The curriculum adopted for madrasahs was largely based on Dars-i- Nizami with slight modifications. The founders of Deoband laid emphasis on the study of Quran and Hadith and other transmitted sciences on the pattern of the syllabus adopted by Shah Waliullah in the Madrasa Rahimiah.

## Dar ul Uloom Deoband and its Principles for Madrasa Establishment

From the 1870s the number of Deoband madrasas in northern India continued to grow. By 1880 there were roughly 12 to 15 madrasas that identified themselves as Deobandi. By the end of the century the number increased. The influence of the Deobandi brand of Islam was reaching as distant as Chittagong to the east, Madras to the south and Peshawar to the

٠

<sup>144</sup> Ibid..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Tabassum, Deoband Ulema's Movement for the Freedom of India, 44.

west.<sup>147</sup> Although the Deobandi madrasas had reached into modern day Pakistan with the Partition of India, the numbers remained low but continued to grow with passage of time. Maulana Nanautavi identified the following principles and guidelines for maintaining the integrity of the Dar ul Uloom approach in education.

- 1. Madrasa leaders should always pursue the ways and means to increase the donations and encourage those around them to do the same.
- 2. Madrasa leaders should always try to carry on giving food to increase their numbers.
- 3. Madrasa leaders should always prefer the needs of madrasa to their own personal needs.
  All important madrasa related decisions must be taken in consultation with *Muhtamim* (Rector/Vice Chancellor). Failure to carry all stakeholders on board will make the madrasa weak.
- 4. Instructors in the madrasa should carry out views similar to that of the Dar ul Uloom objectives. Instructors should not be jealous of other fellow instructors, not egoistic and should not pursue individual agendas. Allah forbidding, if this persists, the madrasa will fail.
- 5. Teaching materials which are proposed for the given year should be prepared before hand otherwise madrasa will not flourish. If madrasa has a large student body and poorly proposed agenda, the madrasa will ultimately fail.
- 6. The madrasa should remain self-sufficient with regard to funding. If this not possible, the madrasa can remain open to donations, but must be very selective with regard to whom they are taken from.
- 7. The share of government and the rich also seems dangerous.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 136.

8. The donations from those who do not wish name and fame are blissful. Good intention of the donor is a cause of establishment for the madrasa. 148

These principles laid out by Maulana Nanautavi further supported and helped the growth of Deobandi Islam in India. While looking into these principles Maulana Nanautavi's foresight can be seen that he advised Ulama to stay away from political influence and also to be watchful of their own personal desire and wishes becoming hindrances to the growth and development of madrasas. One important theme was giving free food to students which was major attraction for the poor. This is an early indicator that Deoband madrasa network was focused on catering for the underprivileged. The other important theme principal was staying away from the government and distance from the government input in the madrasa. Maulana Nanautavi intention was purity and keeping Deoband brand of Islam on track of imparting quality education.

There were divisions among Deobandi leadership on the issue of on-going British occupation of India. The division was on creation of a separate Muslim state and shift into the new dominions of independent states created after the partition. The division led to an alliance of three individuals who disassociated themselves from the Indian National Congress and anti colonial stance in India; Ashraf Ali Thanvi and his disciples Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani. In 1945 the Usmanis formed their own political group, Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam (JUI) and campaigned vigorously for the establishment of Pakistan. After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the JUI remained focused on the intent to shape Pakistan into an Islamic state. With the Deoband

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Muhammadullah Khalili Qasmi, *Madrassa Education: Its Strength and Weakness*, (Mumbai: Markazul Ma'arif Educaion and Research Centre. 2005). 42-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Michael J. Adamski, "The Evolution of the Deoband Madrasa Network and U.S. Efforts to Combat Militant Ideology" Masters Thesis., (Georgetown University, Washington D.C., 2009), 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Mumtaz Ahmed, "The Deoband Movement in Pakistan: Piety, Pedagogy, Politics, Sectarianism and Militancy", (Virginia: Hampton University, nd.), 10.

background and history formed in an anti colonial stance, JUI maintained these efforts at their forefront throughout the next decade. With the doors now open to Pakistan for Indian Muslims, an influx took place and thus an expansion of Deoband madrasa network. The pattern of establishing new madrasa on Deoband lines was followed by other Pakistani madrasa since the partition of Indian subcontinent took place. Noteworthy madrasas such as Dar ul Uloom, Karachi, Jamia Uloom ul Islamia in Binori Town, Khair ul Madaris in Multan, Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, Akora Khattak and Jamia Ashrafia in Lahore were established soon after the partition by Deobandi scholars who migrated to Pakistan. Madrasas of various sects continued to expand throughout Pakistan and new business opportunities offered greater contributions to the emerging madrasas throughout Pakistan.

Social, political and economic growth of colonial cities like Multan not only supported migration influx but also attracted learned intellectuals for settlement after partition. One such example was Maulana Khair Muhammad who migrated from Jalandhar to Multan in 1947. Before partition, Maulana Khair Muhammad had been running Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar since 1931 but after partition and migration he re-established Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan, Pakistan. Khair ul Madaris was true representative of Deoband teachings and philosophy. Khair ul Madaris was pivotal player in bringing Deoband legacy to the South Punjab in Pakistan. It was started initially at Hussain Agahi road but it was temporary place and arrangement. The inspector of Schools Multan Qazi Abdur Rehman helped in land allocation for madrasa at Gayan Thala where it has grown since 1947. Madrasa was reopened in October 1947 for imparting religious education and started *Dars-i-Nizami* in addition to a female madrasa and a primary school catering

-

<sup>151</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> A. Rahman Khan, Aina-e-Multan, 472.

the students from Punjab, N.W.F.P., Balochistan, Makran, Burma, Bengal and Afghanistan. 153

## Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari: The Founder (1895-1970)

Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari was born to Elahi Bakhsh in 1895 in tehsil Nakodar, District Jalandhar. 154 He was seven when his family migrated to Chak No. 252/GB, Faisalabad and Maulana Khair Muhammad started learning Quran but family moved back to Umar wal bala in Nakodar and Maulana completed eighteen parts of Quran from Mian Imam Din. 155 Maulana Khair Muhammad completed Quran from his maternal uncle Shah Muhammad at the age of ten. 156 Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1905, at the age of twelve, went to madrasa Rashedia in Nakodar, Jalandhar. 157 He studied initial Persian books there and this was the same year in which Deobandi scholar Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi died.

Later on Maulana Khair Muhammad continued his education at Madrasa Arabi Raipur Gojran under the supervision of Maulana Fazal Ahmed\* and Maulana Hafiz Mufti Faqir Ullah Raipuri\*\* who came from Deoband. Then he was admitted to Madrasa Sabria Raipur Gojran under the tutorship of Maulana Fazal Ahmed and continued in same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh. (Multan: Idara Khair ul Ma'arif, 2006), 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira Ulama Punjab*. (Lahore: Maktba Rehmania, 1981), 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Ahmed Saeed, Bazm-i-Ashraf ke Chirag. (Lahore: Al-Ashraf Printers, 1975), 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Rahi, *Tazkira Ulama Punjab*, 177.

<sup>\*</sup> Maulana Fazal Ahmed was born to Mian Fateh Din. His early education was from Cambelpur. He completed his Daura Hadith from Madrasa Abdur Rab in Delhi from Maulana Abdul Ali. He taught at Madrasa Arbia Hapur, Meerath. He started his own madrasa with the name of Madrasa Arbia Sabria Rasheedia. He died on November 11, 1964 at the age of 95 in Chechawatni, Pakistan. His funeral prayer was led by Maulana Khair Muhammad.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Maulana Hafiz Mufti Faqir Ullah Raipuri was born to Umar ud Din in Nakodar, Jalandhar. He learnt Quran from Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Saleh who was successor of Maulana Rsheed Ahmed Gangohi. His initial Arabic and Persian books were taught by Maulana Aleem Ullah and Maulana Muhamamd in Jalandhar. He went to Madrasa Arbia Naumania. He went to Saharanpur to Maulana Muhammad Yahva Kandhalvi and finally got admitted to Dar ul Uloom Deoband. In 1905, he became tutor at Madrasa Sabria Rasheedia in Raipur Gojran. He died on February 11, 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhri, *Personal Dairy*. Unpublished. In possession of Maulana's grandson and Nazim-i-Al'aa Khair ul Madaris, Hafiz Najam ul Haq, 39.

madrasa till 1909 studying books of logic, jurisprudence and grammar. Maulana also stayed for sometime at Maulana Sultan Ahmad Ganjvi's place in Gujrat for learning books. <sup>159</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad stayed for three years under the able guidance of Maulana Ghulam Nabi Sarhadi\*\*\*, Maulana Karim Bakhsh Punjabi\*\*\* and Maulana Mohyiuddin Ahmed\*\*\*\* at Madrasa Manba ul Uloom Galowti, Bulandshahr in 1910 for learning *fiqh*, *Asul fiqh*, logic and philosophy. <sup>160</sup> This was the same year when Maulana Khair Muhammad met Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for the first time while visiting Deoband. <sup>161</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad went to Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareilly in 1913 for registering himself for *dars-i-nizami*. The teachers who taught him at Bareilly include Maulana Muhammad Yasin\*\*\*\*\*, Maulana Abdur Rehman Sultanpuri\*\*\*\*\*\*, Maulana Sultan Ahmed Bareli\*\*\*\*\*\* and Maulana Sultan Ahmed Peshawari\*\*\*\*\*\*. During student life in 1914, Maulana Khair Muhammad started teaching some books at Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareilly and his monthly stipend started from 2 rupees per month

159 Rahi, Tazkira Ulama Punjab, 177.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Ghulam Nabi Sarhadi belong to Hazara. He was graduate of Dar ul Uloom Deoband and completed his Daura Hadith from Maulana Mahmood Hassan. He taught at Madrasa Manba ul Uloom Galowti and Fatehpur Delhi. He died in 1919.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Karim Bakhsh Punjabi belong to Ludhiana. He completed his Daura Hadith from Maulana Ghulam Rasool Sarhadi in Dar ul Uloom Deoband and remain student of Maulana Mahmood ul Hasan. He taught for 28 years in Madrasa Manba ul Uloom Galowti and died in same madrasa on October 15, 1920.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Mohyiuddin Ahmed was a Syed from Galowti, Buland shehar. He was *Muhtamim* Madrasa Manba ul Uloom Galowti. He use to lead the prayer as Imam and have a cloth shop for his earning. He died at the age of 63 on January 17, 1928.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhri, *Asar Khair*. (Multan: Idara Talifat Ashrafia, 1994), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Muhammad Yasin was Muht'mim and Sheikh ul Hadith at Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareli. He completed his Daura Hadith from Maulana Ghulam Rasool Sarhadi in Dar ul Uloom Deoband and remain student of Maulana Mahmood ul Hasan too. He died on Feburary 3, 1944.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Abdur Rehman Sultanpuri was son in law of Maulana Muhammad Yasin. He belonged to Sultanpur. He was successor of Maulana Muhammad Ashraf Ali.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Sultan Ahmed Bareli has taught at Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareli. Maulana Sultan stayed for few days at Jamia Khair ul Madaris and than left for Karachi and died there.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Maulana Sultan Ahmed Peshawari associated with Madrasa Manba ul Uloom Galowti. Later on taught in Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareli for 7 years than came to Bahawalpur and stayed for 2 years. Finally Maulana Sultan settled in Mardan, Pakistan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Ahmed Saeed, *Bazm-i-Ashraf ke Chirag*, 351.

and rose up to 8 rupees.<sup>164</sup> In 1917, the annual *dastarbandi* of Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom Bareilly was held and Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Ahmed Qasmi *muhtamim* of Dar ul Uloom Deoband distributed degrees and certificates to the graduates as chief guest of the ceremony. Maulana Khair Muhammad was one of the graduates that year.<sup>165</sup>

#### **Education of Maulana Khair Muhammad**

Maulana Khair Muhammad started his early Islamic education under the disciples of Maulana Shah Abdur Rahim and Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi in Jalandhar. <sup>166</sup> These first two teachers who taught Kahir Muhammad were Maulana Fazal Ahmad who was disciple of Maulana Shah Abdur Rahim and Maulana Hafiz Faqir Ullah who was *khalifah* of Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi. <sup>167</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad was trained under variety of learned *ulama* at different institutions of India. Maulana Khair Muhammad's personal training and understanding of religious education was influenced by leading Doebandi scholars. For understanding the curriculum and education at Jamia Khair ul Madaris, it would be helpful to have a look into Maulana Khair Muhammad's own journey at different religious institution as student and teacher.

Maulana Khair Muhammad embarked upon his religious education from Jalandhar at Madrasa Raipur Gojran for four years from 1906 to 1910 under Maulana Hafiz Faqir Ullah and Maulana Fazal Ahmad. Khair Muhammad studied following books from these teachers for four years: Gulistan, Nahw Mir, Bostan, Muraqq'at, Sikandarnama, Qutbi Tasawarat, Diwan Ali, Neerang, Insha Khalifah, Qasidah Burda, Nur al Anwar, Tashreh

<sup>166</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 100-101.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

ul Haroof etc.<sup>169</sup> In year 1910 for three and half month, Khair Muhammad went to Kharian, Gujrat under the guidance of Maulana Sultan Ahmad to learn *Sharh Jami, Mir Qutbi Tamam, Salm ul Uloom* and *Sharh Waqaia*, on the directive of Maulana Hafiz Faqir Ullah.<sup>170</sup> Maulana Sultan Ahmad Gujrati had studied and got his *sanad* of *Daura I Hadith* from Dar ul Uloom Deoband under Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan.<sup>171</sup>

After Gujrat, Khair Muhammad's next destination was Madrasa Manba ul Uloom, Galowthi for three years where he studied under three leading scholars Maulana Ghulam Nabi for *Badi ul Mezaan, Sharh Jami Behas*, Maulana Karim Bakhsh studied *Sharh Aqaid, Mukhtisar ul Maa'ni, Hashia Ghulam Yahya, Mir Zahid Risala, Bab Tashrih Al Aflaq, Khulasa tul Hisab, Sharh Aqaid Nafsi* and Maulana Mohyuddin Ahmad for *Hassami, Quran parts from sixteen to thirty and surah Baqra, Tafsir Jalaleen, Mishkat to Kitab ul Hajj and Hidayah Awwal.* <sup>172</sup> Maulana Ghulam Nabi an Maulana Karim Bakhsh both got their a*snads* of *Daura I Hadith* from Dar ul Uloom Deoband under Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan. <sup>173</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad not only studied under Deoabndis but he also stayed for four years from 1913 to 1917 at Madrasa Ishatul Uloom, Bareilly where he was student and also teaching few books simultaneously. <sup>174</sup> During his stay at Madrasa Ishatul Uloom, Bareilly, Khair Muhammad remained student of Maulana Muhammad Yasin, Maulana Sultan Ahmad Peshawari, Maulana Abdul Rahman and Maulana Sultan Ahmad Bareilly. <sup>175</sup> Maulana Muhammad Yasin was Dar ul Uloom Deoband's graduate and remained student of Maulana Ghulam Rasul Sarhadi and Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Ibid.

Maulana Khair Muhammad's internalization of *Dars-i-Nizami* through leading graduates of Dar ul Uloom Deoband left lasting impressions on him. Maulana Khair Muhammad migrated with *muhajir Khair ul Madaris* (migrant madrasa) and brought his training of Deobandi curriculum with him to Multan. He was trained by students of Maulana Ghulam Rasul Sarhadi and Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan. Maulana Khair Muhammad's personal training under different *ulama* and institutions broadens his horizon to look into academic and administrative matters. The focus of Maulana Khair Muhammad was on *Quran* and *Hadith* when he came to Pakistan in 1947. The first academic year of Khair ul Madaris in Pakistan only offered *darja Quran* and *Daura-i-Hadith*. For the Quran classes 88 students and for *Hadith* 53 students appeared for the final examination. <sup>176</sup>

## Sufi Discipleship: Influence of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

Maulana Khair Muhammad was disciple of Hafiz Muhammad Saleh and after the death of Hafiz Saleh in 1920,<sup>177</sup> Khair Muhammad took oath of allegiance (*bait*) at the hands of Maulana Ashraf Ai Thanvi in July 1925.<sup>178</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad first listened the lecture of Thanvi in Meerut in 1911 where other leading scholars including Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi, Maulana Mahmud ul Hassan, Maulana Shah Abdur Rahim Raipuri, Maulana Syed Murtaza Hassan, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Dehalvi were also present.<sup>179</sup> The initial correspondence was through letters and Maulana Khair Muhammad was also one of the disciples of Khanqah Imdadia Ashrafia Thana Bhavan onwards and Khair Muhammad was allowed to bring people in all four leading *silsilas of Chishtia, Naqshabandia, Qadria* and *Suhrwardia* by Thanvi.

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Letter of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani to Maulana Khair Muhammad of 1949 available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*, vol. 1, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Ibid., 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Ibid., 108.

Maulana Khair Muhammad was offered administrative responsibility on the recommendation and advice of Maulana Shah Abdur Rahim Raipuri in October 1926. After the offer of Nazim Talimat at Madrasa Faiz Muhammad Jalandhari, Khair Muhammad visited Thana Bhavan for seeking the guidance of Maulana Thanvi. 180 Maulana Khair Muhammad sought regular advice of his mentor Maulana Thanvi on all the issues and matters. Maulana Khair Muhammad served Madrasa Faiz Muhammad Jalandhari till December 1930. On Maulana Thanvi's advice and recommendation Khair ul Madaris was established in 1931 after the closure of Madrasa Faiz Muhammad Jalandhari. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi visited Lahore in 1938 to get treatment. At that occasion he also visited Jalandhar and Khair ul Madaris on the request of Maulana Khair Muhammad. Maulana Thanvi arrived on May 11, 1938 and stayed for one night at Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar, Maulana Thanvi left for Saharanpur on May 12, 1938.<sup>181</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad visited Thana Bhavan first time in May 1924 and these visits continued till the death of Maulana Thanvi in 1943. Maulana Khair Muhammad last time visited Thana Bhavan on July 21, 1943. The influence and impressions of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi shaped the personality of Khair Muhammad slowly and gradually since 1924 when they met for first time. Maulana Khair Muhammad visited Khangah Imdadia Ashrafia Thana Bhavan nineteen times<sup>183</sup> in two decades time to meet his mentor.

Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari's maternal uncle Shah Muhammad was also *murid* of Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi. Maulana Khair Muhammad, founder of Jamia

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Ibid., 143 and 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Jalandhri, *Personal Dairy*. Unpublished, 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 272-73. All these visit details are following: 1. May 1924 for 7 days, 2. March 18, 1925 for 8 days, 3. June 26, 1925 for 8 days, 4. June 20, 1926 for 5 days, 5. November 17, 1926 for 7 days, 6. June 9, 1926 for 5 days, 7. March 12, 1928 for 9 days, 8. October 11, 1928 for 1 day, 9. December 28, 1928 for 6 days, 10. February 28, 1929 for 13 days including *itekaf* of the holy month of Ramazan, 11. May 18, 1929 for 5 days, 12. February 25, 1930 for 6 days, 13. May 7, 1930 for 5 days, 14. July 4, 1930 for 3 days, 15. December 24, 1930 for 5 days, 16. May 2, 1941 for 5 days, 17. September 2, 1942 for 7 days, 18. May 1, 1943 for 5 days and 19. July 21, 1943 for 3 days.

Khair ul Madaris, took his first oath of allegiance (bait) at the hands of Hafiz Muhammad Saleh Raipuri in 1919.<sup>184</sup> Hafiz Muhammad Saleh Raipuri was *khalifa* of Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi.<sup>185</sup> Hafiz Muhammad Saleh founded Jamia Rashedia in Jalandhar where Maulana Khair Muhammad was admitted for his early education. Hafiz Muhammad Saleh died in 1920 and this sufi-discipleship connection came to an end. Maulana Khair Muhammad visited Dar ul Uloom Deoband in companionship of Hafiz Muhammad Saleh and noted it in these words, "In 1910, a delegation was ready to visit Dar ul Uloom Deoband to participate in *Jalsa* 27 *sala Dastarbandi* and Hafiz Muhammad Saleh was the leader of delegation and I was told to accompany them. We all stayed a night at madrasa Mazahir ul Uloom of Saharanpur and next day went to Deoband to see the magnificent *jalsa*." <sup>186</sup>

After the death of Hafiz Muhammad Saleh, Maulana Khair Muhammad started visiting Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi in Thana Bhavan. Khair Muhammad's first visit to Thana Bhavan was on May 6, 1924 and in this meeting Khair Muhammad asked few questions on some issues and Maulana Thanvi responded to these questions and Khair Muhammad asked for his second bait at the hands of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and also asked for *ijaza bait wa talqeen*. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi refused *bait* during first meeting while saying that your connection to Hafiz Muhammad Saleh is still there and Maulana Thavi said all this because he never made anyone disciple in first meeting. Maulana Khair Muhammad went for *tajdid-i-bait* on the hands of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi on July 1, 1925 and got *ijaza bait wa talqeen* on December 30, 1928. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi also published this *ijaza bait wa talqeen* in monthly magazine *Al-Imdad* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh. (Multan: Idara Khair ul Ma'arif, 2006), 266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Ibid., 267

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Ibid., 274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Ibid., 270.

of Khanqah Imdadia, Thana Bhavan. <sup>190</sup> During this time between 1925 and 1928, Maulana Khair Muhammad visited Thana Bhavan six times and once stayed during the month of Ramazan for *itekaf*. <sup>191</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad was regularly visiting Thana Bhavan and getting guidance and advice from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Maulana Khair Muhammad spent his maximum time in the companionship of his mentor. One such example is narrated here when Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi visited Amritsar, Lahore and Jalandhar in May 1938. 192 On May 1, 1938, Maulana Thanvi arrived Lahore on Dr. Aziz Ahmed's residence for his dental treatment and Maulana Muhammad Hassan Amritsari informed Maulana Khair Muhammad of Maulana Thanvi's arrival through post. 193 Maulana Khair Muhammad immediately left for Lahore on May 5, 1938 after receiving the news of Maulana Thanvi's arrival to Lahore and met Maulana Thanvi at the residence of Dr. Aziz Ahmed on Mall road, Lahore. From Lahore on May 8, 1938, Maulana Thanvi went to Amritsar and stayed for sometime at Maulana Muhammad Hassan's residence and returned to Lahore during the evening. 194

Maulana Khair Muhammad requested Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi to visit Jalandhar on his way back to Thana Bhavan and Maulana Thanvi said I wish to go too. Maulana Thanvi said talk to Maulana Shabbir Ali and plan it. So it was decided that on May 11, 1938, Maulana Thanvi will come to Jalandhar and will stay for a night at Maulana Khair Muhammad's place and next morning Maulana Thanvi will leave for Saharanpur. 195 Maulana Khair Muhammad was so happy and excited that his *Pir-o-Murshid* was coming

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Ibid., 280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Ibid., 271-273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Ibid., 282.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Ibid., 283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Ibid.

to visit him. Maulana Khair Muhammad went early to Jalandhar to make necessary arrangements for Maulana Thanvi's stay. Maulana Khair Muhammad requested the local agriculture Office to borrow his car for receiving Maulana Thanvi from train station and it was a huge gathering of people and followers from Hoshiarpur, Nakodar and Jallandhar who gathered to receive Maulana Thanvi at station. <sup>196</sup>

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi arrived at Jamia Khair ul Madaris and it was time of *Isha* prayer and Maulana Thanvi led the prayer in the mosque which is in the picture below. 197 Maulana Khair Muhammad asked that there are few females who want to do *bait* on your hands and Mulana Thanvi said tell them to gather in your house after *Fajar* prayer tomorrow and after leading the *Fajar* prayer went upstairs in Maulana Khair Muhammad's residence to offer *bait* to females. Maulana Thanvi sat in courtyard and all women were inside the room. Maulana Thanvi gave a piece of cloth inside the room and said those of you who have permission of their husbands or *mehram*, they should hold this piece of cloth in their right hand. 198 Maulana Khair Muhammad narrated that in this *bait* my wife Fatima, wife of Maulana Ghulam Mustafa and wife of Maulana Abdul Latif were also present. 199 Maulana Khair Muhammad considered this visit of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi to Jamia Khair ul Madaris on May 11,12, 1938 a very auspicious moment and good omen for the growth and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris. 200

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Ibid., 284.



Pic 1: Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Jalandhar, India (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

Maulana Khair Muhammad was visiting Thana Bhavan again and on May 27, 1939 Prophet's *jubba* of Jalalabad came to Thana Bhavan.<sup>201</sup> Khair Muhammad noted that: "Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi decided to offer bait to some followers in the mosque where the Prophet's *jubba* was available and we all available disciples at that moment requested allegiance for second time (*mukarar bait*) which Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi accepted and allowed all disciples to have *mukarar bait*. Maulana Khair Muhammad noted that at that time other disciples who were present and took *bait* included Maulana Muhammad Hassan Amritsari, Maulvi Ubaidullah and Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi".<sup>202</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad also got *sanad ijaza* from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shah of Deoband. Maulana Khair Muhammad narrated about Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's *ijaza* that I have written to Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi on December 30, 1928 and asked that my heart says that I will be serving more religion if I get permission from you of teaching and reading *tafsir*, *Hadith* and Fiqh. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi responded to my letter that Who I am and my permission. But if you feel and

98

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Ibid

think, I allow you and pray for you. 203 For second ijaza, Maulana Khair Muhammad visited

Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shah in Dar ul Uloom Deoband on March 3, 1930. Maulana

Khair Muhammad narrated it in these words that I asked Maulana Anwar Shah that after

examining me from the *Hadith* books please allow me teaching of *Hadith* and I will be

obliged. Maulana Anwar Shah replied that I do not need to examine you and I allow you to

teach *Hadith* and if possible and I find an opportunity, will send you *sanad* from Dhabail.<sup>204</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad continued his correspondence through letters for taking

guidance from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Besides these letters, Maulana Khair

Muhammad continuously visited Thana Bhavan till the death of Maulana Ashraf Ali

Thanvi in 1943.<sup>205</sup>

Sowing the Seed: Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar, India (1931-1947)

It was Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi who suggested that Khair Muhammad should open a

new madrasa with the name of Khair ul Madaris. Khair ul Madaris opened on March 9,

1931 in the Alamgiri Mosque, Attari Bazar, Jalandhar.<sup>206</sup> Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

suggested that it is better to open and start madrasa in city than village. Maulana Ashraf

Ali Thanvi also suggested the name of madrasa as "Khair ul Madaris". 207 Maulana Ashraf

Ali Thanvi also gave three pieces of advice regarding Khair ul Madaris:

a) The establishment of madrasa should not be based somehow on the financial support of

some rich financier or officer but only on the will of Allah.

b) There is no need to appoint a fixed number of staff but always as per capacity and need the

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 134-135.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 274.

<sup>206</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 136.

99

number of staff can be decreased or increased.

c) The donations of poor people should be preferred over rich people because rich people always want praise and pomp and show but poor people always feel happy that they supported the noble cause.<sup>208</sup>

Jamia Khair ul Madaris was established on the pattern and model of Dar ul Uloom Deoband. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi became the first patron of Khair ul Madaris.<sup>209</sup> The list of patrons include the following:<sup>210</sup>

- 1. Maulana Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanvi
- 2. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani
- 3. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan
- 4. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani
- 5. Haji Muhammad Sharif
- 6. Maulana Khair Muhammad continued his correspondence through letters for taking guidance from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Besides these letters, Maulana Khair Muhammad continuously visited Thana Bhavan till the death of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi in 1943.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Ibid., 136-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Ibid., 274.



Pic 2: Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Jalandhar, India (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

After the death of Maulana Ahmad Bakhsh in 1932, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhri and Maulana Khair Muhammad took the responsibility of madrasa management. Maulana Muhammad Ali resigned from all responsibilities and duties in 1939 due to his political career and engagements. After this Maulana Khair Muhammad was the only one able to look after the madrasa. Maulana Khair Muhammad said "Apart from one year, each year madrasa Khair ul Madaris was offering *Daura* Hadith. Examiners were coming from Dar ul Uloom Deoband for conducting examination and same was the case of annual meeting of degree distribution."

Maulana Khair Muhammad considered it his responsibility to provide a religious education to the locals of the area. Maulana Khair Muhammad's life and services have encompassed religious, educational and political spheres. All his services were providing glimpses of a mix of socio-cultural representation of his own brought up and his learning. Maulana has taught at Ishat ul Uloom Bareilly as Arabic teacher. Madrassa Ihya ul Uloom in Mandi Sadiq Ganj was the next destination for Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1918 and

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhri, *Personal Dairy*. Unpublished, 83.

he served for eight years. He taught *tafsir* and other books here. His monthly stipend increased from twenty-five rupees to forty-five rupees. Maulana Khair Muhammad taught at Barelvi and Ahl-i-Hadith madrasas before establishing his own madrasa.

Maulana Khair Muhamad was an excellent teacher. Maulana Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri wrote about Maulana Khair Muhammad, "what we used to say and deliver in two hours, Maulana used to finish it in half an hour. Maulana Khair Muhammad not only used to follow book but also provided extra information accordingly. In this way student used to get knowledge of book, subject and other schools of thought too."<sup>213</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad was a good orator with established knowledge. Maulana Khair Muhammad was a preacher too and took part in many *manazaras*. Maulana Khair's teaching and educational background of serving in Barelvi and Ahl-i-Hadith madrassas gave him an opportunity of learning about different schools of thoughts. Maulana Khair Muhammad presided over many *manazaras*. Maulana Khair Muhammad started *manazaras* in 1923 at District Hissar when he was Arabic teacher at Madrassa Ihya ul Uloom in Mandi Sadiq Ganj. Another notable *manazara* was with Ahl-i-Hadith Maulvi Abdul Rahim Shah of Ferozpur in Ferozpur titled "Recitation behind Imam". This *manazara* continued for two days and Maulana Khair Muhammad proved himself a successful nomination of Dar ul Uloom Deoband in addition to Maulana Murtaza Hassan. In 1938 at Shahpur in Shujabad, Multan another *manazara* under the president ship of Qazi Qutbi Multani took place on two titles; "Recitation behind Imam" and "Prayer after Funeral". This *manazara* was between Maulana Khair Muhammad and Malik Abdul Aziz Multani. Multana Khair Muhammad established his good name and fame in

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri, "Monthly Al Khair", Jamia Khair ul Madaris Multan, (May 1987), 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhri, *Personal Dairy*. Unpublished, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Ibid., 80.

succeeding in manazaras against Ahl-i-Hadith.

These *manazara*s were about defending and explaining various prevalent issues and bones of contention amid various schools of thought. Maulana Khair Muhammad continued these *manazara*s for establishing writ of Deobandi teachings and proving himself as a true follower of his elders. In 1940, another *manazara* took place at Amritsar and Maulana Khair Muhammad convinced his opponents. Maulana Khair Muhammad always used to write to Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for prayers and wishes for success in *manazras* but in this 1940 *manazara*, Maulana Thanvi responded that I pray to Allah that He may take away your habit of participation in these *manazaras*. <sup>217</sup> Therefore after this response of Maulana Thanvi, Maulana Khair Muhammad stopped his participation in *manazaras* and the reason which he used to give was *manazaras* were a waste of time.

Maulana Khair Muhammad preferred teaching and preaching. Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi says "Maulana Khair Muhammad was of very tender nature and good at reading. He utilised all his potential for teaching and preaching and avoided practical participation in politics but wherever and whenever it was required for the welfare of Muslims, unity of ulama and something against the religion, he came to forefront." Maulana Khair Muhammad was also a strong supporter of Pakistan and its creation. Maulana Khair Muhammad was invited in Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's "Majlis Dawat ul Haq" which was created in 1938. Majlis Dawat ul Haq was created for preaching purposes. Majlis Dawat ul Haq was having support of Muslim League and following were the objectives of this:

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari, *Zikar Khair wa Yaad Sharif.* (Multan: Madrasa Arbia Khair ul Madaris, n.d.) 39

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Munshi Abdur Rehman Khan, *Tameer Pakistan wa Ulama-i-Rabbani*. (Lahore: Sheikh Academy, 1975), 55.

- a. For the safety of Muslims, preaching through this platform should reach all over the India.
- b. Providing preaching to Muslim League leaders with this point in mind that there training and *islah* will in many ways help the followers to obtain good results of the movement.
- c. Sending delegations during processions, meetings and public gatherings of Muslim League.
- d. To convince Muslim League central committee members to follow Islamic customs, traditions and requesting them to follow these principles.<sup>220</sup>

In 1939, on the command of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi his *khalifas* Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Muhammad Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan Amritsari, Maulana Qari Muhammad Tahir Qasmi, Maulana Murtaza Hassan Chandpuri, Maulana Abdul Hakeem Gumthalvi, Maulana Abdul Ghani Phulpuri, Maulana Khair Muhammad and Qari Muhammad Tayyab Qasmi started preaching under the umbrella of *Majlis Dawat ul Haq* in their respective cities.<sup>221</sup> Another contribution of Maulana Khair Muhammad was to support Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani in October 1945 in founding the Jamiat ul Islam.

Maulana Khair Muhammad was offered a teaching position in Dar ul Uloom Deoband in July 1943<sup>222</sup> by Qari Muhammad Tayyib who was *muhtamim* of Dar ul Uloom at that time. Khair Muhammad turned down the offer because of his health and his focus on Madrasa Khair ul Madaris. But later on Maulana Khair Muhammad accepted membership of *shura* of Dar ul Uloom Deoband in May 1944.<sup>223</sup> This connection with Deoband and visits as s *shura* member continued till the time of partition. Maulana Khair Muhammad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Syed Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari, "Tehreek Pakistan aur Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari," *Al-Khair*. 8-9, May 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Ibid.

resigned from his membership on the date when Madrasa Khair ul Madaris was reestablished in Multan on October 8, 1947.<sup>224</sup>

## Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan, Pakistan (1947- 1951)

Maulana Khair Muhammad arrived in Lahore immediately after partition and stayed for two weeks at 15, Racecourse Road Lahore with the help of Chaudhary Muhammad Ali who was an old acquaintance. On one hand, Maulana Muhammad Hassan Amritsari was in favour of re-establishing Khair ul Madaris of Jalandhar and Madrasa of Amritsar together in Lahore.<sup>225</sup> On the other hand, the selection of Multan as new home was suggested by Maulana Faqir Ullah who was a local and knew the area. Maulana Khair Muhammad had been approached by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari from Multan and Maulana Hafiz Abdul Majid from Layallpur to go to their cities and re-establish Khair ul Madaris there.<sup>226</sup> The logic put forth by Maulana Faqir Ullah was that Layllpur was industrial and enlightened and Multan was traditional in taste and rich in resources and had more space to flourish so its was better to prefer Multan over Layallpur. Maulana Khair Muhammad became first *muhtamim* of the madrasa before the partition in Jalandhar and he continued as *muhtamim* after madrasa migrated to Pakistan. <sup>227</sup> After Khair Muhammad's death his son Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Sharif Jalandhari became the second muhtamim of Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Sharif Jalandhari remained muhtamim of Khair ul Madaris till his death in Mecca on September 7, 1981. Hafiz Muhammad Sharif was succeeded by his son and current muhtamim Hafiz Qari Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari.<sup>228</sup> In one way or the other the *muhtamim* was from the same Jalandhari family,

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Ibid., 272-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Ibid., 150-151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Ibid.

the madrasa leadership tended to come from the same families. This shows the hereditary succession in madrasa leadership for controlling it from all means. Madrasa Khair ul Madaris has a wide range of intellectuals as its *shura* members since the Partition and reestablishment of madrasa. Maulana Khair Muhammad had gathered many followers of Ashraf Ali Thanvi on the *shura* of Khair ul Madaris as members. These *shura* members were either graduates of Dar ul Uloom Deoband or preaching Deobandi Islam.

The following list shows some of the prominent names who became members of the *shura* in 1947 on the request of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>229</sup>

- 1. Maulana Khair Muhammad, Founder and Muhtamim Madrasa
- 2. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah, Mufti of Khair ul Madaris, Multan
- 3. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan, *Muhtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
- 4. Maulana Muhammad Idrees Kandhalvi, Shaikh ul Hadith, Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
- 5. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi, *Muhtamim*, Darul Uloom, Karachi
- 6. Maulana Ehtsham ul Haq Thanvi, *Muhtamim*, Dar ul Uloom Islamai, Tando Allah Yar, Sindh
- 7. Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani, Shaikh ul Hadith, Dar ul Uloom Islamai, Tando Allah Yar, Sindh
- 8. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani, Turangzai, Peshawar
- 9. Maulana Ibrahim, Muhtamim, Madrasa Arabia, Mian Channu
- 10. Maulana Abdul Aziz Raipuri, Chak No. 11, Chechawatni
- 11. Maulana Abdullah, Sajjadah Nashin Khanqah Sirajiah Kundian
- 12. Haji Sarfraz Khan, Rais Thal Najib, Multan
- 13. Haji Muhammad Sharif, Mahallah Nawashahr, Multan

٠

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Ibid., 181-82.

#### 14. Munshi Abdur Rehman Khan, Mahallah Chehlaik, Multan

### 15. Maulana Muhammad Sharif Jalandhari, Khair ul Madaris, Multan

Maulana Khair Muhammad's association with Maulana Asharf Ali Thanvi's was proved as the people associated with Thanvi were *shura* members of Khair ul Madaris and I explain brief life sketches of these members for providing their association and services which they rendered.

Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan Amritsari was born in Malpur near Hassan Abdal.<sup>230</sup> He received his early education at his native town and later on proceeded to Dar ul Uloom Deoband where he remained student of Maulana Anwar Kashmiri for *Daura-i-Hadith* and became a disciple of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.<sup>231</sup> Later on he moved to Amritsar and took up a teaching assignment at Jamia Naumania. He moved to Lahore on partition and founded Jamia Ashrafia in Lahore which is now a leading Deobandi seminary of Pakistan and Jamia's name was decided after Maulana Thanvi's name for showing his respect and reverence to his mentor. After partition, he got piece of land allotted in the name of Jamia Naumania and started Jamia Ashrafia on September 24, 1947 in Lahore.<sup>232</sup> He taught for nearly forty years; for thirty years at Amritsar and for ten years at Jamia Ashrafia. He died on June 1, 1961.<sup>233</sup> Till his death, he served as *shura* member of Khair ul Madaris.

Another leading figure of Khair ul Madaris *shura* was Maulana Muhammad Idrees Kandhalvi who was born in 1900 in Bhopal to Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Ismail.<sup>234</sup> Maulana Idrees was *murid* of Haji Imdad Ullah Thanvi Mohajar Makki and was *pir bhai* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Qari Fuyuz Al-Rahman. *Mashahir Ulama-i-Deoband*. Vol I. (Lahore: Al Maktaba tul Azizia, 1976), 488.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Ibid., 489.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Ibid., 490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Akhtar Rahi. *Tazkira Ulama Punjab*. Vol. II. (Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, 1981), 609.

of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.<sup>235</sup> He learnt Quran by heart at the age of nine. He got his early education under the guidance of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi at Madrasa Ashrafia, Thana Bhavan. <sup>236</sup> Later on for higher education, he moved to Madrasa Mazahir ul Uloom, Saharanpur under the supervision of Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri and graduated from Saharanpur in 1919. From Saharanpur, Maulana Kandhalvi went to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband to finish Daura-i-Hadith and remain student of Maulana Muhammad Anwar Kashmiri, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Mufti Aziz ur Rehman Usmani and Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobandi. In 1921, he started his teaching career from Madrasa Aminia and stayed only for one year and moved to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband next year and stayed as teacher in Deoband for nine years. For ten years, Maulana Idrees stayed at Hyderabad Daccan and published few books. He returned to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband as Shaikh ul Tafsir on the invitation of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. 237 In 1949, Maulana came to Pakistan and went to Bahawalpur State on the invitation of the Nawab Sadiq V and assumed the charge of Shaikh ul Jamia, Jamia Abbasia.<sup>238</sup> He served Jamia Abbasia for two years and than moved to Lahore and joined Jamia Ashrafia and his association remained with Jamia Ashrafia for twenty-four years till his death on July 28, 1974.<sup>239</sup>

Thanvi's followers supported Khair ul Madaris *shura* from the day one in Pakistan and continued their support till their death. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi was also one of the *shura* members who was born in Usmani family of Deoband in Saharanpur in India in 1897 to Maulana Yasin Deobandi. He learnt Quran from Hafiz Muhammad Azeem and Persian books from his father at home. Some of the books were taught by his uncle Maulana Manzoor Ahmad. At the age of sixteen, he was admitted to *Darja Arabi* of Dar ul Uloom,

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Ibid., 610.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Ibid., 611.

Deoband. He was taught by leading scholars like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobani, Maulana Mufti Aziz ur Rehman Usmani, Maulana Habib ur Rehman Usmani, Maulana Aizaz Ali Deobani and Maulana Rasul Khan Hazarvi. Mufti Shafi graduated from Dar ul Uloom Deoband in 1918. Mufti Shafi taught at Dar ul Uloom, Deoband for twenty-six years. He was appointed sadder mufti of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband in 1933 at the age of thirty-five and before accepting this position Mufti Muhammad Shafi wrote to Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for seeking advice and on Maulana Thanvi's affirmative response he accepted the position. Mufti Shafi also participated in preparing Objective Resolution in 1949. He was member of Board of Islamic teachings. This board worked for four years from 1949 till 1954. After the death of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani on December 13, 1949, Syed Suleman Nadvi was made head of Marakazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam and Mufti Shafi was given this responsibility after the death of Maulana Nadvi on November 22, 1953. Mufti Shafi died on October 6, 1976 in Karachi.

Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi was another prominent figure who served the *shura* of Khair ul Madaris. He was born to Maulana Zahoor ul Haq in Muzaffar Nagar in U.P. in 1915.<sup>240</sup> His mother was younger sister of Maulana Asharf Ali Thanvi. Maulana Ehtsham was under the guidance of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi since his childhood.<sup>241</sup> He learnt Quran by heart at the age of twelve. He learnt Persian and Arabic books at Madrasa Mazahr ul Uloom, Saharnpur. He got admission in Dar ul Uloom, Deoband in 1930 and graduated in 1937. Maulana Ihtisham was taught and trained by leading scholars like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobani, Maulana Aizaz Ali Amrohi, Muhammad Ibrahim Bulyawi and Mufti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari. *Chalis Barey Musalman*. Vol I & II. (Karachi: Idara tul Quran wal Uloom al Islamia, 2001), 482.
<sup>241</sup> Ibid

Muhammad Shafi. He was also part of Ashraf Ali Thanvi's *Dawat ul Haq* program of preaching people for the support of Pakistan. Maulana Ehtsham established Dar ul Uloom Al Islamia, Tando Allah Yar in 1949.<sup>242</sup> Maulana Ihtisham also remained *Nazim-i-Ala* of Markazi Jamiat Ulama Islam, Pakistan. Maulana was active *shura* member of Khair ul Madaris and Wifaq ul Madaris till his death. Maulana died on April 11, 1980.<sup>243</sup>

Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani was also among those Thanvi's followers who supported Khair ul Madaris in Multan. He was born in 1893 to Sheikh Latif Ahmad Usmani in Deoband, Saharanpur.<sup>244</sup> He was disciple of Haji Abid Hussain Deobandi. His mother was sister of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. He received his early education at Deoband and later on went to Khanqah Imdadia, Madrasa Imdad ul Uloom, Thana Bhavan. At Thana Bhavan, he remained under the guidance of Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Gangohi. <sup>245</sup> In 1906, he got admission in Jamia ul Uloom, Kanpur and learnt Arabic books from Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Burdwani and Maulana Muhammad Rasheed Kanpuri. In 1911, he graduated from Madrasa Mazahr ul Uloom, Saharanpur after completing Daura-i-Hadith from Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri. He started his teaching career in 1912 from Madrasa Mazahr ul Uloom, Saharanpur and taught here for seven years. From 1919 till 1921, he taught at Madrasa Irshad ul Uloom, Garhi Pukhta near Thana Bhavan. After performing Hajj in 1922, he settled in Thana Bhavan and served Khanqah Imdadia, Madrasa Imdad ul Uloom for seven years till 1929. For two and half years, he taught at Madrasa Randeehria, Rangoon and than returned back to Thana Bhavan. In 1941, he joined Dhaka University for one year after seeking permission from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. In October 1945, Maulana Usmani presided All India Jamiat Ulama Conference in Calcutta

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Ibid., 494.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Ibid., 497.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Qari Fuyuz Al-Rahman. *Mashahir Ulama-i-Deoband*, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Ibid

and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani was elected its president and Maulana Zafar Usmani was elected vice president. From 1948 till 1954, he was *saddar mudaris* in Madrasa Aliyah, Dhaka. On the request and invitation of Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi, he joined Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Tando Allah Yar as *Shaikh ul Hadith* in October 1954 and served for twenty years. He died on December 8, 1974.<sup>246</sup>

Another figure who continued his support for Khair ul Madaris was Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani Peshawari who born in 1900 in Turanzai, Charsadha, Peshawar. 247 He got his initial education from his father Maulana Ghulam Haider. His initial education of primary and secondary was completed in 1912. He was admitted to Deoband in 1920 where he completed Daura-i-Hadith in 1921 and remain student of leading scholars like Maulana Anwar Kashmiri, Maulana Mian Asghar Hussain Deobandi, Maulana Muhammad Rasul Khan Hazarvi, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. He also completed *Ilm-i-Tib* training at Deoband. He performed Hajj in 1922. Maulana Shams was also the disciple and follower of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. In 1923, he started his teaching career as Saddar Mudaris in Karachi at Madrasa Mazhar ul Uloom and later on remained as Saddar Mudaris of Madrasa Irshad ul Uloom, Larkana, Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom, Lahore and Dar ul Fayuz in Sindh.<sup>248</sup> From 1935 till 1940, Maulana was associated with Dar ul Uloom Deoband as Shaikh ul Tafsir. He served Kalat State as Minister of Education in 1939 and got reappointed to the same position in 1947.<sup>249</sup> Maulana served as first president of the Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia in Multan from 1959 till 1963 until his new appointment in the Bahawalpur University. Maulana also served as shura member of Khair ul Madaris, Multan. In 1962, he served as *Shaikh ul Tafsir wa Hadith* in Uloom-i-Islamia Academy,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Ibid 238

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari. *Chalis Barey Musalman*, 439.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Ibid., 440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Ibid.

Quetta.<sup>250</sup> He was appointed *Shaikh ul Tafsir* of the Islamia University of Bahawalpur in 1963 and taught there for thirteen years. He passed away on August 16, 1983.<sup>251</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri was one of the close associates of Maulana Khair Muhammad and served Khair ul Madaris in various capacities. He was born in Sher Khan, Plundari, Punch to Maulana Nasir-ud-Din. He started his early education at a local school and onwards went to Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom in Chakwal. For further education Maulana Kashmiri went to Jamia Fatehia, Ichra, Lahore. Maulana Sharif was student of Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani at Madrasa Hashmia Sajawal, Sindh for getting knowledge of books and also finished *Daura-i-Hadith* there. Maulana Kashmiri also stayed for one year each at Dar ul Uloom Deoband and in Tonk under the guidance of Maulana Hakim Barakat Ahmad. Maulana Sharif served for two years as assistant to Minister of Education in Swat to Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani. From 1942 till 1947, he taught at Dar ul Uloom Deoband. After the partition, Maulana Kashmiri served as *Saddar Mudaris* of Khair ul Madaris for twenty-five years and on the *shura* of Khair ul Madaris as well.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari was born to Haji Muhammad Ibrahim in 1895 in Raipur Araian, Nakodar, Jalandhar.<sup>256</sup> He received his early education from Jamia Rasheedia and remained under the guidance of Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari. He went to Dar ul Uloom Deoband and completed his *Daura-i-Hadith* from Maulana Muhammad Anwar Kashmiri at the age of twenty.<sup>257</sup> He taught at Sultanpur Lodhi as *mudaris*. He was with Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari at the time of establishment

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Ibid., 448.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Ibid., 384 and Oari Fuyuz Al-Rahman. Mashahir Ulama-i-Deoband, 515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Qari Fuyuz Al-Rahman. *Mashahir Ulama-i-Deoband*, 515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari. Chalis Barey Musalman, 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Ibid., 544.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Ibid.

of Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar in 1931 and started teaching in Khair ul Madaris. <sup>258</sup> In 1935, he participated in Tehrik Masjid Shaheed Ganj and joined Majlis Ahrar ul Islam on recommendation of Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari. Maulana Muhammad Ali was sent behind the bars in 1939 for three by the British on charges of agitations against the soldier recruitments. In 1943, his family migrated to Sadiq Abad and he remained active in politics in Multan. He assisted and helped Maulana Khair Muhammad in establishing Khair ul Madaris in Multan after the partition. After partition, Majlis Ahrar ul Islam was not much in the politics and Maulana Muhammad Ali along with Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari created Majlis Khatam e Nabuwat in 1953. <sup>259</sup> Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari was its first president and Maulana Muhammad Ali was *Nazim-i-Ala*. In 1953, he was again put in the prison. In 1967, Maulana Muhammad Ali became president of the Majlis Khatam-i-Nabuwat. Maulana Muhammad Ali was disciple of Maulana Abdul Qadir Raipuri. He died on April 21, 1971. <sup>260</sup>

Justice (Retd.) Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmai born in 1943 in Deoband to Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi. He obtained his *Takhassus* degree from Dar ul Uloom, Karachi. He also obtained his Masters degree in Arabic from the University of Punjab in 1970 and LLB from Karachi University. He served as Judge of Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan from 1982 till 2002 and also Judge in Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan too. He served as vice chairman of the International Islamic Fiqh Academy, Jeddah for nine years. He is the vice president of Dar ul Uloom, Karachi which was established by his father Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi. He is known as leading expert of Islamic finance and served for a decade on advisory boards of various banking, finance and related institutions. He is also chairman of the International Shariah Council for the

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Ibid., 545.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Ibid

Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Financial Institutions (AAOIFI), Bahrain. Since 1967, he is chief editor of monthly Urdu magazine "Al Balagh" and sine 1990, he is chief editor of monthly English magazine "Al Balagh International". He served various educational institutions in capacity of member Syndicate of Karachi University, member Board of Trustees, member Board of Governors of International Islamic University Islamabad, member Council of Islamic Ideology, member Commission for Islamisation of Economy of Pakistan and member International Institute of Islamic Economics. He has authored more than sixty books in Urdu, English and Arabic. He is serving Khair ul Madaris shura to-date.

Maulana Muhammad Sharif Jalandhari was the second son of Maulana Khair Muhammad and was born on March 16, 1918 in Jalandhar.<sup>261</sup> He received his early education in Khair ul Madaris. He learnt Persian books at Madrasa Rai pur Gojran. He finished his Daura-i-Hadith at Jamia Qasmia, Deoband. 262 He was disciple of Qari Muhammad Tayyab who was muhtamim of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband. He taught for thirtysix years. He assumed the charge of administration of Khair ul Madaris after the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1970.<sup>263</sup> He died in Mecca on September 7, 1981. After Sharif's death madrasa's responsibility is on the shoulders of his son Qari Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari since 1981.

## Multan as a Religious Centre

Multan had long been a focus of pilgrimage. The two shrines in particular of Shaikh Bahawal Haq Zakariya and Musa Pak Shahid had connection and ties beyond Multan district and their disciples and influence is seen in Sindh and on Baluchi and Pathan

<sup>261</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*. (Multan: Idara Khair ul Ma'arif, 2006), 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Ibid.

audience respectively. These two shrines had popularised Multan and attracted its followers much more than anything else to Multan for sacred pilgrimage.<sup>264</sup> The tradition of conversions to Islam also took place on the hands of these *Sufis* and their *dargahs* attracted local tribes in the region. Most popular names of these saints who preached Islam and converted regional tribes include Baba Farid, Shaikh Bahawal Haq, Musa Pak Shahid and Shah Gardezi.<sup>265</sup>

The sacred city of Multan preoccupied by *sufi* traditions and *silsilas* now also became second home of Khair ul Madaris of Deobandi origin after the partition. Khair ul Madaris was also supported and welcomed by leading custodians of these shrines including Syed Hamid Raza Gilani, Pir Dost Ali Qureshi, Syed Ashfaq Ahmad Gardezi, Syed Ghulam Abbas Bukhari and Makhdum Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Madrasa Khair ul Madaris started its journey on October 8, 1947 at Hussain Agahi in Multan and new land was allocated for madrasa in Gayan Thala Wabawli. After the partition some leading religious institutions stayed in India like Dar ul Uloom Deoband, Mazahir ul Uloom Saharanpur and Jamia Al Uloom Kanpur.<sup>266</sup>

Multan's sacred shrines and their custodians continued their hegemony and influence over the followers and disciples as intermediaries between the *sufi* saint and God. This relationship of *sajjadah nashins* and *murids* was not only hereditary but it was having monetary benefits associated with it. All these shrines had land grants, endowments and gifts given to them by the British administration. The Government of Pakistan continued these grants and endowments. This gave these religious elites a strong social and political influence over the locality. This was also the time when some of these religious custodians

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari. *Chalis Barey Musalman*, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Ibid., 54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 152.

were supporting different welfare projects of educational and literary nature and scope.

As a madrasa which had migrated to Pakistan and relocated in Multan, Khair ul Madaris was often called "Muhajar Khair ul Madaris". Khair ul Madaris was a beneficiary of the such supportive initiatives of the local religious elites and custodians of the shrines. Khair ul Madaris was supported by Gilani, Qureshi, Bukhari, Gardezi and one Kakoravi who I have mentioned in the chapter one in last section. These people provided financial support and couple of them provided land as an endowment to the madrasa.

As Maulana Abdullah Raipuri who was Shaikh ul Hadith of Jamia Rasheedia Sahiwal said "at the time of partition everyone was concerned about property, land allocation and collection of their luggage but Maulana Khair Muhammad was concerned about the madrasa and its students. Khair ul Madaris had its *daura Hadith* in year 1947 when no other madrasa was able to do that and even many madrasas were established few years later." Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi also praised services of Khair ul Madaris and Maulana Khair Muhammad and said "It would be injustice not to mention the services of Maulana Khair Muhammad and Khair ul Madaris that established itself in Multan and sustained itself in challenging circumstances. Khair ul Madaris not only sustained itself but proved its worth as a leading institution of religious education imparting." <sup>269</sup>

The newly establish Khair ul Madaris started its journey afresh in Multan. Maulana Khair Muhammad started *Dars-i-Nizami* in Khair ul Madaris. Maulana was of the opinion that madrasa graduates must be provided English language teaching but there is no need of bringing English and co-education in the madrasa premises.<sup>270</sup> In 1949, Maulana Shabbir

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Ibid., 155.

Ahmad Usmani came to Khair ul Madaris for addressing annual procession.<sup>271</sup> In his address Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani said, "Khair ul Madaris since its inception remained under the guidance of leading scholar like Maulana Thanvi and now Maulana Khair Muhammad. Its founder was supporter of Pakistan and after partition now he and his teachers and students are working to strengthen Pakistan and consider this task as their foremost duty."

Maulana Khair Muhammad also took part in the Islamic constitution making in 1951.<sup>273</sup> He continued his services towards madrasa and political sphere. In 1953 Maulana was invited by the Constitution Consultation Committee on basic principles of Islam to Karachi to contribute his views and in 1954 Maulana Khair Muhammad was among the other invited *ulama* who were invited by the then Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin for consultation on constitutional matters at his residence.<sup>274</sup> In the same year Maulana again travelled to Karachi for the formation of Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam and remained associated with it till his death.

After the partition, many madrasas and institutions were established in Pakistan but

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Muhammad Yousaf Mujahid Al-Hussaini, *Ulama-i-Deoband*. (Faisalabad: Seerat Markaz, 2004), 268.
 <sup>272</sup> Hafiz Syed Muhammad Akbar Shah Bukhari, *Tazkira Auliya-i-Deoband*. (Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, n.d), 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Ibid., 479. The following ulama were invited by the Government to Karachi for consultation: 1. Allama Syed Salman Nadvi, 2. Maulana Syed Abu Al'aa Maududi, 3. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani, 4. Maulana Muhammad Badar Alam, 5. Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, 6. Maulana Muhammad Abdul Hamid Qadari, 7. Mufti Muhammad Shafi, 8. Maulana Muhammad Idress, 9. Maulana Khair Muhammad, 10. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan, 11. Pir Muhammad Amin ul Hasnat, 12. Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Binori, 13. Haji Khadim ul Islam Muhammad Amin, 14. Qazi Abdul Samad Sarbazi, 15. Maulana Athar Ali, 16. Maulana Abu Jaffar Muhammad Saleh, 17. Maulana Raghid Ahsan, 18. Maulana Muhammad Habib ur Rahman, 19. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari, 20. Maulana Dawood Ghaznvi, 21. Mufti Jaffar Hussain Mujtahid, 22. Mufti Hafiz Kifayat Hussain, 23. Maulana Muhammad Ismail, 24. Maulana Habib Ullah, 25. Maulana Ahmad Ali, 26. Maulana Muhammad Sadiq, 27. Prof. Abdul Khaliq, 28. Maulana Shams ul Haq Faridpuri, 29. Mufti Muhammad Sahibdad, 30. Maulana Muhammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari and, 31. Pir Muhammad Hashim Majdidi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Ibid., 480; *Daily Imroz*, Lahore (October 22, 1982). This meeting included following members/attendees: 1. Prime Minister, Khawaja Nazimuddin, 2. Sardar Abdul Rab Nishter, 3. Maulvi Tameez Uddin, 4. Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, 5. Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari, 6. Maulana Muhammad Idress, 8. Maulana Mufti Ishfaq ur Rahman, 9. Maulana Athar Ali, 10. Maulana Shams ul Haq Faridpuri, 11. Maulana Abdul Haq, and, 12. Maulana Dawood Ghaznvi.

there was a dire need to bring all these institutions and madrasa on a unified platform. In this regard, Maulana Khair Muhammad gathered the ulama of Deoband school of thought (*maslak*) in Pakistan and invited them to Khair ul Madaris in 1957.<sup>275</sup> This initial meeting of ulama constituted an administrative committee and finally on October 18-19, 1959 *Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan* was created as an organisation. The new constitution of wifaq was approved with members of the administrative committee for three years.<sup>276</sup> The objective of the wifaq's creation was to coordinate the activities of Deoband madrasas throughout Pakistan. Wifaq ul Madaris since its inception served as madrasa education board for Deobandi madaris throughout Pakistan. The headquarters of the wifaq is based in Multan.<sup>277</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad was the one who continued his dominance and attachment to Wifaq till his death in 1970 in various capacities. Maulana Khair Muhammad through the platform of Khair ul Madaris also supported "Majlis Tahfuz Khatm-i-Nabuwat Pakistan" as member of the *shura* and advisor to it.

Multan's growth not only supported establishment of Khair ul Madaris but also enabled its remarkable growth after partition. Maulana Khair Muhammad and Jamia Khair ul Madaris continued serving Multan, its people and particularly Deobandi Islam in various capacities which we will discuss in next chapter with focus on institution building in shape of *Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan* and obtaining support and strength for Khair ul Madaris and himself. The next chapter will provide a glimpse into the birth, growth and establishment of Wifaq as platform for Deobandi madrasas of Pakistan and directly or indirectly supporting the base of Khair ul Madaris since 1957 onwards.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Abdul Majid, *Ta'ruf Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan*. (Multan: Central Office Wifaq, 2016), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Ibid., 4. The initial committee comprised of Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani as President Wifaq, Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari as Vice President I, Maulana Yousaf Banori as Vice President II, Maulana Mufti Mahmud as Nazim-e-Al'aa and Maulana Mufti Abdullah as Treasurer.

# Chapter 03

# Establishment of the Wifaq ul Madaris Arabia, Multan and the Strengthening of the position of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, 1959-1970.

This chapter will explore aspects of the structure of madrasa education board Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia (onwards as Education Board), how it was established by Maulana Khair Muhammad, how Khair ul Madaris became the beneficiary of the Board's establishment and how later on it became the sole voice of Deobandi madrasas in Pakistan. This chapter will also explain the nature of the relationship between Khair ul Madaris and the Board from the time of its establishment till the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1981.

In addition, this chapter will explain how large public subscription came to establish Khair ul Madaris and Education Board in Multan. Thus the reliable growth of the Board and substantial expansion of the physical structure supported Khair ul Madaris. This chapter will explain Board's administrative apparatus as education board and curriculum control body of all Deobandi madrasas of Pakistan. Multan's continuous social and economic growth from colonial times to postcolonial Pakistan played a vital role in establishment, expansion and collaboration of institutions like Khair ul Madaris and Education Board in the city of Multan.

# History and Development of Madrasa in Pakistan

Since independence the number of madrasas in Pakistan has grown remarkably.

The number of madrasas in Pakistan has been shown in the table as per one of the reliable calculations.

Sr. No.	Year	Number of Madrasas
1.	1947	245
2.	1960	472
3.	1971	908
4.	1980	2,056
5.	1988	2,861
6.	1995	3,906
7.	2000	6,761
8.	2003	7,000
9.	2006	13,500

Before Independence, religious education was marginalized as it had been under the colonial rulers.<sup>279</sup> The British introduced a secular education system and since then, it was heavily promoted by Government, while the religious education and schools were neglected and ignored.<sup>280</sup> This support for modern education system and governance failure to the traditional way of education created a gulf between *ulama* and government. The rift

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Ali Riaz, *Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2008) 93

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan*. (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Ibid.

between the *ulama* and politicians goes back to the nineteenth century and was exacerbated after the birth of Pakistan where the politicians were reluctant to give rights and privileges to clergy.

## Ayub Khan's Modernization Plan

The dispute between government authorities and the religious leadership increased under Ayub Khan (1958-1969). Ayub Khan tried to introduce a modernist version of Islam through public policies. His efforts to modernize Pakistani society led him to introduce constitutional, legal and social changes<sup>281</sup> This was reflected in various measures which Ayub Khan took regarding modernization of Islam and making it compatible to Western ideologies. He established Islamic Research Institute (1960) while introduced, Muslim Family Law Ordinance (1961) and Council of Islamic Ideology (1962) etc. Ayub's regime also focused on religious education and produced a report on Madrasa curriculums in 1961. Ayub Khan was clear that only the name of Islam could not create a positive change and new content in the shape of these social and legal policies was introduced.<sup>282</sup> In addition to this Ayub Khan also addressed a couple of madrasa congregations one at Dar ul Uloom Islamiah, Tando Allah Yar (Sindh) in 1959 and one in Jamia Talimat-i-Islamia, Karachi in 1962.

The Government's attempt to modernize the traditional Islamic education system was not accepted by the *ulama* who were unsettled by his modernization plans, and Ayub's rapid development of new institutions. Ayub Khan faced criticism and resistance from the *ulama* towards his modernization agenda. Following words of Ayub Khan's speech on the

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Sarfraz Husain Ansari, "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)," *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 1 (2011): 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Fazul Rahman, "Some Islamic Issues in the Ayyub Khan Era" in Donald P. Little (ed.). *Essays on Islamic Civilization* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 285.

occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of *Jamia Taleemat-e-Islamia* in Karachi alarmed *ulama* about his intentions: "Religious thought has lost its original dynamism and is bogged down in the quagmire of stagnation."<sup>283</sup>

Ayub Khan further said in the same speech that

"The only way out of this crisis, to my mind, is that our highly educated sections as well as our Ulema should, in their own way, try to find out the ultimate objective which has been lost in the welter of confused thought and both should try to understand each other's point of view." <sup>284</sup>

Ayub Khan always employed a modernist stance to rationalize and legitimate innovative changes while arguing the need to "liberate the spirit of religion from the cobwebs of superstition and stagnation which surround it and mover forward under the forces of modern science and knowledge." In addition, the Government was planning to bring a new reformed madrasa curriculum and changes, which was considered by leading scholars and *ulama* a great threat to their existence and authority. Ayub Khan's statements and policies showed that he was convinced of the importance of Islam as the basis of the Pakistani nationhood<sup>286</sup> and its role in keeping East and West Pakistan to-gather.

The Government of Pakistan under Ayub Khan launched a madrasa reform project in 1959 to introduce new subjects. As a result of this initiative the *Report of 1962* was published with recommendations of improved curriculum. It was the outcome of the

<sup>285</sup> John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996),

<sup>286</sup> Fazul Rahman, "Some Islamic Issues in the Ayyub Khan Era" in Donald P. Little (ed.). *Essays on Islamic Civilization* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 284.

122

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Mohammad Ayub Khan, Speeches and Statements of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan. (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1963), 26.
 <sup>284</sup> Ibid.

government initiative to reform madrasa system and curriculum. The Report states, "No doubt it was Islam which gave birth to Pakistan and more than anything else it is Islam which will guarantee its future greatness. The importance of religion is therefore obvious in a country like Pakistan." In the *Report of 1962*, reform seems to mean primarily two things as Qasim Zaman points out: "to restore the purity of religious learning to the madrasa by eliminating all that is perceived as unnecessary, nonreligious, or both; and at the same time to introduce "essential non-religious disciplines comprising modern knowledge". <sup>288</sup> Ayub Khan's initiated *Report of 1962* suggested formal educational system with Islamic beliefs, rites and verses from the Quran. Religion was to be made compulsory subject from Kindergarten up to grade eight. <sup>289</sup>

The *Report of 1962* clearly shows Ayub Khan's strategy and action to counter religious elites by establishing new institutions and reforms. The aim of these newly established institutions was to conduct research in order to establish the compatibility of Islam with the modern world. The very first institution which was established under this new strategy was the Central Institute of Islamic Research on March 10, 1960 and it was renamed as Islamic Research Institute in 1962.<sup>290</sup> The institute was established with a motto of "to organise research on Islam, to give it a rational and scientific interpretation in the context of modern age and to bring out the achievements of Muslims in the fields of history,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> GoP. Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> M. Q. Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> GoP. Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962), 20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 123.

philosophy, science and culture".<sup>291</sup> The major objectives and functions of the institute were as follows:<sup>292</sup>

- Act as the research arm of the university (International Islamic University) and conduct research in the fields prescribed by the Academic Council;
- Develop and disseminate methodology for research in various fields of Islamic learning;
- Study/interpret the teachings of Islam in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of the modern world;
- Publish monographs, books, research reports, research journals and such other research
  material as may be considered necessary for the promotion of knowledge on various aspects
  of Islam;
- Serve as a clearing house of knowledge on various aspects of Islam;
- Appoint study groups for identifying issues facing Muslim society;
- Organize seminars, conferences, symposia and workshops to promote harmonious understanding amongst various schools of thought in Muslim societies;
- Perform such other functions as may be necessary for the realization of institute's objective.

The Islamic Research Institute, under article 207 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1962, assigned the function of undertaking "Islamic research and instruction in Islam for the purpose of assisting in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis". <sup>293</sup> This constitutional status for the institute was provided to legalise the controlling actions of the government. The objectives and functions clearly state the intention of government to control religious elites of the country.

In 1959, Ayub Government promulgated West Pakistan Augaf Properties

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> http://iri.iiu.edu.pk. Accessed on Jan 04, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> http://iri.iiu.edu.pk/index.php/objectives-and-functions/ Accessed on Jan 04, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> http://iri.iiu.edu.pk/index.php/about-2/historical-chronology/ Accessed on Jan 04, 2018.

Ordinance, 1959 and established Ministry of *Auqaf* for the supervision and management of religious endowments and shrines and tombs of *sufi* saints. This measure was aimed at countering power of *pirs* in the rural areas of country.

The Ayub Government also set up an *Ulama* Academy in Lahore under the *Auqaf* Department in 1961.<sup>294</sup> The purpose of the academy was to train ulama for a few weeks to equip them with skills of administration, class management and successful engagement with foreign academia and intellectuals. This service was limited because of financial resources and in its constitutional scope. This measure was undertaken to equip *ulama* with modern techniques so that they might present tender and soft image of Islam to their followers and students in *maktabs*, mosques and madrasas.

Besides the Islamic Research Institute, Ayub Khan also promulgated the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961). This Ordinance was based on the findings of Commission on Marriage and Family Laws appointed in 1954 that presented its results in 1956.<sup>295</sup> Ayub Khan considered this Commission's finding and Ordinance was enforced. The Ordinance was also a manifestation of Ayub's strategy to counter and control religious elites of all sectarian orientations. This Ordinance gave effect to certain marriage and Family Laws. The Ordinance was applicable to Muslim citizens and covered issues of marriage registration, succession, polygamy, *talaq*, maintenance and dowry etc. The main points of the Ordinance of 1961 were as follows:<sup>296</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Sarfraz Husain Ansari, "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69), 54. Pakistani Government announced a seven members Commission on Marriage and Family Laws, consisting of Dr. Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din (President), Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim (Member, Secretary), Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq, Mr. Inayat-ur-Rehman, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Anwar G. Ahmad and Begum Shams-u-Nihar Mahmood." After the death of the President of the Commission, Mian Abdur Rashid, former Chief Justice of Pakistan fulfilled the vacant seat of president on October 27, 1955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Fazul Rahman, "Some Islamic Issues in the Ayyub Khan Era" in Donald P. Little (ed.). *Essays on Islamic Civilization* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 288.

• To give the orphaned grand children shares from the inheritance of their grand father's inheritance equal to those of their parents, should their parents have been alive,

To lay down a procedure for and certain restrictions on contracting polygamous marriages,
 and

• To reform and lay down a procedure for divorce.

Ayub's Government gave constitutional protection to this Ordinance and a two-third majority of the National Assembly was required annul it.

In second Five Year Plan (1960-65), Ayub Khan Government financed the Family Planning program. In 1962, Ayub Khan took plea on the basis of a statement of Shaikh Mahmud Shaltut, the Rector of AL- Azhar Eqypt, regarding population control and argued that according to the Islamic social teachings, children could not be regarded as the sole concern of individual parents but that the society also shared this concern.<sup>297</sup>

In 1963, again under the *Auqaf* Department, an institution of higher learning was set up by transforming an older madrasa titled Jamia Abbasia (established by the Muslim ruler of Bahawalpur State in 1925), in to an Islamic University (Al Jamia Al Islamia).<sup>298</sup> The curriculum of this institution was visibly influenced by that of Al Azhar. The new subjects like economics, history, geography, statistics and philosophy were added.<sup>299</sup>

Ayub Khan tried to the curtail powers of the religious elites and to maintain his own authority and supremacy, therefore, he went on to create new institutions. The religious leadership was not happy with all these moves and Ayub Khan's strategies paved way for the creation of uniform platforms in shape of madrasa education boards for all the sectarian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Ibid., 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Ibid

orientations.

# Response of the *Ulama* to Ayub Khan's Initiatives

The *ulama* responded to all actions and initiatives of Ayub Khan Government. The Jamat-i-Islami responded on all fronts as well. Maulana Ghulam Murshid of Lahore declared the Family Law Ordinance as utterly repugnant to Islam.<sup>300</sup>

The Family Laws Ordinance Commission was composed of seven members. Out of those seven three were women- only representation of the *ulama* was Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi and rest three were civil servants. Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq wrote his note of dissent and said that "The Commission was simply attempting to inject Western ideas into Pakistani society in the name of Islam." Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq further wrote in his note that "The sole motive to malign the *ulama* was that Muslims should ignore the *ulama* and follow the footsteps of so called progressives. *Ulama* is not the name of any race or tribe but everyone who has devoted the greater part of his life to the acquisition of knowledge on religious subjects is an *alim*."

Maulana Ihtisham also mentioned how members of the Commission had tried to take place of popular Muslim jurists and commentators without understanding and grasping their thoughts. Maulana Ihtisham further said that no one of the Commission members could take the place of Fakhruddin Razi, Abu Hanifa or Ghazali. Maulana Ihtisham was also critical of following the West blindly in case of polygamy and stated that "our young men and women, who happened to visit Europe, often find themselves in situations in

<sup>300</sup> Fazul Rahman, "Some Islamic Issues in the Ayyub Khan Era", 288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Donald Eugene Smith. *Religion, Politics and Social Change in the Third World.* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Ibid., 76.

which their country is ridiculed for permitting polygamy and labelled it as inferiority complex to blindly follow the West". 305

Ayub Khan's actions and strategies were speaking louder. Apparently he demonstrated his actions as Islamic. Ayub Khan's appointed Commission on National Education introduced the study of theology as a compulsory subject in classes one to seven. The Commission report stated that "Religious education might not impair social and political unity in the country. On the other hand, it should strengthen this unity by trying through mutual understanding to bring humanity together. Religion is not to be presented as dogma, superstition or ritual." The country of the speaking louder. Apparently he demonstrated his actions as Islamic. Ayub Khan's appointed Commission on National Education introduced the study of theology as a compulsory subject in classes one to seven. The commission report stated that "Religious education might not impair social and political unity in the country. On the other hand, it should strengthen this unity by

Efforts and actions of Ayub Khan directing control of religious education compelled *ulama* of all sectarian background to seriously think about their own madrasa education boards in order to protect themselves and their faith. There was the reason for the creation of all the madrasa boards. Four out of five madrasa education boards were established during Ayub Khan's government and all this was the response of *ulama* to Ayub's actions.

## **Madrasa Education Boards in Pakistan**

The gradual growth of madrasas in Pakistan over the decades have been explained in previous pages. This growth kept rising with each passing year. Madrasas in Pakistan are usually independent community initiatives run and organised by *ulama* and local community with the help of popular subscription. However, there are some madrasas run and managed by the government under *auqaf* system. Madrasas also vary in terms of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Ejaz Ahmad Faruqi. *Pakistan: A Crisis in the Renaissance of Islam.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Ibid.,

location (urban, rural), size, available resources, education level and their ideological attachment with a specific sectarian orientation. For having proper check and balance and control over the madrasa activities and curriculum, enriching madrasas with modern subjects as well as standardized examinations, each sectarian orientation has established its own education board which is called *Wifaq*.

There are five madrasa education boards in Pakistan, three are Sunni, one is Shia and one is associated with Jamat-i-Islami, a known religious political party. Each madrasa education board represents its own sect or affiliation. The three Sunni boards are Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia, Tanzim ul Madaris and Wifaq ul Madaris al Salafia. The Shia madrasa education board is called Wifaq ul Madaris Shia and Rabitatul Madaris al Islamia is one associated with Jamat-i-Islami. Out of the existing large number of madrasas, only registered madrasas have been controlled by their respective central boards and organizations (wifaq). These boards set the syllabi, collect student registration details, forms, fee and examination fee in addition to arrange examination in both Urdu and Arabic languages and later on declaration of their results.

Five Madrasa Education Boards

Sr.	Name of Madrasa Education Board	Sub-sect	Headquarter	Established
110				
1.	Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia	Deobandi	Multan	1959
2.	Tanzim ul Madaris	Barelvi	Lahore	1960
3.	Wifaq ul Madaris (Shia)	Shia	Lahore	1959

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Rohan Gunaratna and Khuram Iqbal, *Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero*. (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2011), 137.

4.	Rabitatul Madaris al Islamia	Jamat-i-Islami	Lahore	1983
5.	Wifaq ul Madaris al Salafia	Ahl-i-Hadith	Faisalabad	1955
<i>J</i> .	Wilay di Madalis di Salana	7 Mili-1-1 ladiui	Tarsarabad	1755

The focus in this chapter is how Khair ul Madaris has supported and created *Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia, Multan* which represents all Deobandi madrasas of Pakistan and serves as education board too for all affiliated Deobandi madrasa. Before going into the details of the Board and Maulana Khair Muhammad's role in addition to followers of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, I would like to explain how the Board was established and what were the objectives behind its establishment.

## Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's Followers and Their Role in Creation of the Board

Maulana Khair Muhammad wrote to the people who migrated to Pakistan and were associated and attached in one way or the other with Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for getting support to establish the Education Board for Deobandi madrasas. Maulana Khair Muhammad was aware of the fact that Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's disciples and followers would help him against the Ayub regime that was using Islam's name for maintaining his own political power and survival. The people who were willing to support Maulana Khair Muhammad and became part of first committee included Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi who were influenced by Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and many more religious students of Thanvi's followers. These were the same people who initially supported Maulana Khair Muhammad in establishment of Khair ul Madaris in Multan. All these learned scholars were member of the *shura* of Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's network worked in consultation with Khair Muhammad and the initial organisational committee started its functions with the support of people who were previously on the *Shura* of Khair ul Madaris

and later on became the torch bearer of Board's establishment.

These religious leaders and their services towards Deobandi Islam continued since the partition of India. Maulan Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi migrated to Pakistan and the teachings and influence of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi gathered them on one platform through the ideas of Maulana Khair Muhammad.

## **Organisational Committee of the Board**

Maulana Khair Muhammad called a meeting of leading Deobandi scholars on March 22, 1957 in Khair ul Madaris Multan to discuss the issues and problem faced by madrasas. The first structural and organising committee was given the task of bringing all the madrasas on a unified platform. Maulana Khair Muhammad was the President of this Committee and Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq was its convenor. The President of the Committee was given the right to increase or decrease the numerical strength of members to serve on the Committee. The initial members of the organising Committee were as follow: The initial members of the organising Committee were as

Sr. No.	Name of Member	Position	Address		
1.	Maulana Khair Muhammad	President	Muhtamim, Jamia Khair ul		
			Madaris, Multan		
2.	Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thanvi	Convenor	Jamia Ihtshamia, Karachi		

Maulana Abdul Majid, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia ki Karkardgi Lamha ba Lamha Qadam ba Qadam,"
 Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris, Multan, No. 7: April 2016, 24.
 Ibid.,

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Ibid...

3.	Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani	Member	Jamia Islamai, Bahawalpur
4.	Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi	Member	Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
5.	Maulana Ahmad Ali	Member	Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom Sheeranwala Gate, Lahore
6.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Sadiq	Member	Jamia Islamai, Bahawalpur
7.	Maulana Fazal Ahmed	Member	Jamia Mazhar ul Uloom, Khada Liyari, Karachi
8.	Maulana Arz Muhammad	Member	Muhtamim, Jamia Matla ul Uloom, Quetta
9.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Usman	Member	Madrasa Ahrar ul Islam, Karachi
10.	Maulana Abdullah Jalandhari	Member	Jamia Rasheedia, Sahiwal
11.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah	Member	Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan
12.	Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari	Member	Muhtamim, Madrasa Munawar ul Islam, Toba Tek Singh

The President and Convenor of the organising Committee called the first meeting of committee on May 1, 1959 at Dar ul Uloom Islamia Ashradabad, Tando Allah Yar. The meeting attended by all members continued its consultations for two consecutive days. The second meeting was held on May 26, 1959 and it was decided to establish an organisation of madrasas. A draft constitution of organisation was prepared. Third session of the committee was convened on June 24 and 25, 1959 to vet the minutes of previous meeting. Changes in draft constitution were proposed in this meeting. The fourth and final meeting of the committee was held on October 18, 1959. In this meeting approval of establishing "Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia" was given after long deliberations. It was also decided that shura members would approve of Board's constitution and its President would be elected by the shura members. The headquarters of the Board was to be situated in Multan. The maslak of Board was declared to be Hanafi, Ahl Sunnat wal Jammat and following of Deobandi scholars.

## First Shura Meeting and selection of Office Bearers for the Board

Maulana Khair Muhammad became the President of the committee. He chaired all four sessions of consultations and gave consents and approvals of the documents. In this way, Maulana Khair Muhammad and Jamia Khair ul Madaris got focal attention and got credit of the creation of Deobandi madrasa education board in shape of "Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia". Khair ul Madaris also got another feather in its cap by holding the first shura meeting of Board in its accommodation. The first shura meeting was held on the same date of the inauguration of the Board which was October 18, 1959. The simple procedure for taking ulama as shura members was adopted. All those who were present in meeting and had filled and signed Board affiliation form were included as shura members and the initial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*. (Multan: Idara Khair ul Ma'arif, 2006), 193.

strength of the *shura* members was one hundred and one.<sup>314</sup> (for details of the *shura* members see Annex-I)

The first *shura* meeting approved the Board's constitution and approved its annual budget. It also elected its first President Allama Shams ul Haq Afghani for the period of three years. First Vice President was Maulana Khair Muhamamd and second Vice President was Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori. First *Nazim-i-Al'a* was Maulana Mufti Mahmud while Maulana Khair Muhammad and Maulana Mufti Mahmud proposed that Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah be appointed the first treasurer of the Board.<sup>315</sup>

The following list of Presidents of the Board can help us in understanding that all the leaders of the Board came from different Deobandi institutions and in this way patronage of the Board was rotated and handed over to other Deobandi leaders who were followers of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.<sup>316</sup>

Sr.	Name of Board's	Madrasa/ Jamia	From	То	Total time
No.	President				duration in
					Office
1.	Maulana Shamas ul	Jamia Islamai	October 19,	January 12,	3 years and 3
	Haq Afghani	Bahawalpur	1959	1963	months
	771			0 1 22	
2.	Maulana Khair	Jamia Khair ul	January 12,	October 22,	7 years
	Muhammad	Madaris, Multan	1963	1970	
3.	Maulana Muhammad	Jamia'tul Uloom	May 30,	October 17,	4 years and 4
	Yousuf Binori	Islamia, Karachi	1973	1977	months

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Abdul Majid, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia ki Karkardgi Lamha ba Lamha Qadam ba Qadam,", 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Tawrf Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan, (Multan: Wifaq ul Madaris, 2016), 27.

4.	Maulana Mufti	Jamia Qasim ul	May 15,	October 14,	2 years and 5
	Mahmud	Uloom, Multan	1978	1980	months
5.	Maulana Muhammad	Jamia tul Uloom	November	1988	8 years
	Idrees Meeruthi	Islamia, Karachi	30, 1980		
6.	Maulana Saleem	Jamia Farooqia,	June 8, 1989	January 15,	27 years and
	Ullah Khan	Karachi		2017	7 months

Board's administrative hierarchy includes President, Vice Presidents, *Nazim-i-Alaa*, *Markazi Nazmin*, Provincial *Nazmin*, *Nazim Daftar* and *Khazan* Wifaq. By the year 2000, Board had more than six thousand madrasa affiliated to it. It controlled the curriculum, examinations, the issuance of degrees and certificates.<sup>317</sup> A testament to the success of the Board is the Government of Pakistan's official approval and acceptance of the madrasa certificates and degrees, for which, the equivalence of *Shahdat ul Almiah* is to Master of Arts.<sup>318</sup>

# Objectives of the creation of Wifaq ul Madaris

The elected office bearers (*Majlis-i-Amla*) met for the first time on November 16, 1959 and approval for the appointment of treasurer was given. As the first *Shura* of the Wifaq approved its constitution, following objectives of Board's establishment were explained in the meeting.<sup>319</sup>

\_

317 Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> The Government of Pakistan's Higher Education Commission vide its letter No. 8-16/ HEC/ A&A/ 2004 accepts *Shahdat ul Almia* equal to Master of Arts (M.A) in Arabic and Islamic studies. For details of Government of Pakistan's recognition of these madrasa degrees see <a href="http://www.wifaqulmadaris.org/downloads/NotificationLetters/4.pdf">http://www.wifaqulmadaris.org/downloads/NotificationLetters/4.pdf</a> (Accessed on July 19, 2017) <sup>319</sup> Ibid..

- a. The Board will devise a complete and comprehensive curriculum for the following *darajats* (levels):
  - i) *Ibtadai* (Primary)
- ii) Wustani (Middle)
- iii) Foqani (Advanced)
- iv) Darja Takmeel (Final)
- b. The Board will try to provide a platform to *Ibtadai*, *Wustani* and *Foqani* madrasas to connect to each other and serve as organisational base for all of the madrasas.
- c. The Board will have a closer view of the needs and necessities of the latest religious trends in the curriculum and as per the need will produce books for the curriculum.
- d. The Board will be responsible for bringing harmony, unity and uniformity in the educational curriculum, examination system and regularity in all those madrasas who will affiliate themselves with this Board.
- e. The Board will be responsible for research and publication of Islamic studies according to the needs of hour and will produce and commission authentic and researched books on important topics.
- f. The Board will follow the right and effective path for the progress, prosperity and survival of the religious seminaries (*Madaras-i-Deeniah*).
- g. The Board will be responsible for providing funds for the above mentioned objectives.

While looking into the details of these objectives, a few things need to be clarified. The first and foremost point is the involvement of Maulana Khair Muhammad at each and every stage. No doubt, Maulana Khair Muhammad was the one who thought about an institutional base for all Deobandi madrasas but he was very influential and vocal in all the developments from the day one till the declaration of Board's establishment. The first meeting of *akabr ulama* (senior scholars) was held at Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Khair Muhammad was member of each committee and hence his role in Board's creation and promulgation of Khair ul Madaris as the mouth piece of Board went to each and every

corner of Pakistan. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his Khair ul Madaris gained ample support of the locals within the first decade of their relocation in Multan after they migrated from Jalandhar.

Another issue that needs to be clarified is the Board's financial position, and source of income of such a substantial institution. The appointment of treasurer for the Board was already made in initial meetings. It was decided that a bank account would be opened for the maintenance of funds in shape of cash deposits and withdrawal must be through cheques. It was decided in the first *shura* that all the madrasas that are affiliated with Board will have to pay a registration fee and this registration fee was decided for *Ibtadai* madrasa twenty five rupees, *Wustani* madrasas fifty rupees and *Foqani* madrasas hundred rupees. All madrasas would pay eight percent of their annual income to Board as donation for running its day to day routine matters and business. All madrasas had to mention their income in their registration form and whatever was mentioned in the registration form was accepted by the Board without question. It was decided in July 1961 during a meeting held at Jamia Binori Town Karachi that the Board and its affiliated madrasa would submit to a government audit.

It was further decided in a meeting held under the leadership of Maulana Khair Muhammad on April 1, 1963 that Board will open a current account in Habib Bank and withdrawal of money from the bank will be with two signatures on the cheque. The authority to sign cheques was entrusted to the President, *Nazim-i-Ala'a* or President and Treasurer. The *shura* also decided to go for a public campaign for collection of donations from well-off people. This type of public subscription also supported many madrasas and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Ibid.,

other such initiatives. The *shura* decided that Maulana Muhammad Yousaf Binori would write public subscription appeal and it would be published with the signatures of Maulana Khair Muhammad as President, Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori as Vice President, Maulana Mufti Mahmud as *Nazim-i-Ala'a*, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Abdul Haq.<sup>324</sup>

Taking an examination fee from the student was another issue which the *shura* had to resolve. Initially it was decided that each student appearing for *Foqani* examination had to pay three rupees and each *Wustani* student would pay two rupees. But on the request of madrasas which were already paying donations to Board, it was decided that only qualified and pass candidate would pay five rupees as examination expenses. The pass candidates had to pay a degree or certificate fee later when they applied for obtaining it.<sup>325</sup>

# Curriculum (Nisab) Development of Wifaq ul Madaris

One objective of the establishment of Board was to provide a uniform curriculum to all affiliated madrasas. In the first meeting of *Majlis-i-Amla* on December 16, 1959 an initial sketch of curriculum was prepared. The committee suggested following four types of curriculum:<sup>326</sup>

- a. Makatib (Initial)
- b. Mukhtasir Nisab (Short course)
- c. Dars-i-Nizami (Nizami course)
- d. Takmeel wa Takhasus (Final and Specialization)

The suggested curriculum was to be finalised on three principles of the time duration

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Ibid., 33.

of education, level of education and distinction between suggested syllabus. It was also decided that Makatb time duration should be of six years, *Mukhtasir Nisab*'s duration would be of three years, eight years for the *Dars-i-Nizami* and two years duration should be of Takmeel.<sup>327</sup>

The *Majlis-i-Amla* met on December 16-17, 1959 and approved the curriculum committee. The first curriculum committee was comprised of following members:<sup>328</sup>

- 1. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani
- 2. Maulana Khair Muhammad
- 3. Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori
- 4. Maulana Mufti Mahmud
- 5. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi
- 6. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Sadiq

The first curriculum committee approved syllabus for all the levels in its meeting held on February 18, 1960.<sup>329</sup> The curriculum committee was extended by adding a few more members on April 1, 1963 including Maulana Abdul Haq of Akora Khattak, Maulana Abdul Khaliq of Kabirwala and Maulana Abdul Haq Nafey of Ziarat Kaka Sahib. This meeting was held at Khair ul Madaris, Multan. This extended committee was given the task to finalise entire curriculum in next few months. It was also decided that committee would meet on weekly basis in Khair ul Madaris under the leadership of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>330</sup> The committee after toil and struggle of five months approved the curriculum of all levels for Wifaq in meeting held between 19 and 21 September 1963 at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Ibid...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>329</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Ibid., 36.

Khair ul Madaris, Multan. 331

The curriculum of the Board was at par with the government schools of Pakistan. Initially the Board Curriculum Committee was reluctant to accept and integrate curriculum of schools into madrasas and vice versa. It was decided in the Report of the Commission on National Education 1959 that "The whole of the primary education as approved by the Department of Education shall be compulsory for all students of Dar ul Uloom". 332

The *ulama* after demise of Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1970 were not ready to accept further new proposals in revising and changing curriculum. Two groups of *ulama* evolved; on one side were those who had a modern orientation and enthusiasm for reform and other group was represented by old traditionalists. The Board later on revised its Curriculum Committee and raised its members to twenty.<sup>333</sup> The majority of these members in the curriculum Committee were former students of Maulana Yusuf Binori from Karachi.<sup>334</sup>

Simultaneously few madrasas and the learned members of the Committee started teaching several modern subjects. Dr. Razzaq was graduate of Jamia Islamiyyah, Madina, Saudi Arabia where he was trained in modern subjects. Justice Muhammad Taqi Usmani had a madrasa education besides a formal education and he has offered integrated curriculum in Dar ul Uloom, Karachi. Mufti Ghulam Qadir of Khair ul Madaris has

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Jamal Malik. *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan*. (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996), 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Ibid., 169. The modern group consisted of following members: 1. Mufti Wali Hasan (Karachi), 2. Muhammad Malik Kandhalwi (Lahore), 3. Mufti Ahmad Saeed (Sragodha), 4. Mufti Zain al-Abidin (Faisalabad), 5. Sarfraz Khan Safdar (Gujranwala), 6. Abd al-Ghafur (Quetta), 7. Qazi Abd al-Karim (Karachi), 8. Sadr al-Shahid (Bannu), 9. Faiz Ahmad (Multan), 10. Muhammad Sadiq (Multan), 11. Samial Haq (Akora Khattak), 12. Muhammad Amin (Kohat), 13. Mufti Muhammad Anwar Shah (Multan), 14. Ghulam Muhammad. And the traditionalists group consisted of following members: 15. Salim Allah Khan, Committee Chairman (Karachi), 16. Dr. Abd al-Razzaq (Karachi), 17. Muhammad Taqi Usmani (Karachi), 18. Muhammad Musa (Lahore), 19. Muhammad Asad Thanvi (Sukkur), 20. Mufti Ghulam Qadir (Bahawalpur).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Ibid., 218.

adjusted its curriculum to that of Jamia Islamia of Bahawalpur. Maulana Salim Khan and Maulana Muhammad Asad Thanvi of the Committee have also offered an integrated curriculum in their respective madrasas.<sup>336</sup>

# Admission and Examination Procedure of Wifaq ul Madaris

The establishment of the Board was to provide uniform curriculum to all madrasas. Board was also responsible for conducting examination at all levels. Board adopted a procedure for conducting fair and transparent examinations. Some of the rules and regulations of admission and examination which were approved and adopted by the Board for different levels are mentioned here.

## **Ibtadia**

At the time of admission for this level candidate must submit Form "B" to prove his date of birth and address. Course duration for this level is five years. This madrasa will be responsible for overseeing the full examination. Besides madrasa curriculum, only approved provincial textbooks by relevant textbook board will be taught.<sup>337</sup>

## Mutawasta

Preliminary qualification for admission in first year of this level is that the student should possess a primary certificate (of general education) or equivalent credentials. While progressing and being admitted to the third year of this level, the candidate should be of twelve years of age. The duration of this course is three years. The madrasa will conduct the examination for the first two years and Board will only conduct exams of third year.<sup>338</sup>

.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Maulana Abdul Majid, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia ka Nizam Imtehan," *Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris*, Multan, No. 7: April 2016, 47.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid...

#### Sanwiah Ama

For this level, student should have passed secondary board examination and he should be able to read Quran accurately. Madrasa will conduct the examination for the first two years and Board will only conduct exams of third year. For progressing to third year, student should submit attested copy of middle certificate from his/her madrasa or school's headmaster/mistress attestation would be required.<sup>339</sup>

## Sanwiah Khasa

Those candidates who have qualified *sanwiah amma* are eligible to be admitted to this level. At the time of admission, *sanwiah amma* certificate is to be submitted. The course duration for this level is two years. The madrasa will conduct examination of first year and Board will conduct exam of second year.<sup>340</sup>

## Aliah

Sanwiah Khasa qualified candidate may be admitted to the Aliyah level. The course duration for this level is two years.<sup>341</sup>

## Almiah Awal

To be eligible for admission in this level, candidate should have passed *Aliyah* from the Board. The Board will conduct the examination of this level and the duration of this will be one year.<sup>342</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> Ibid..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> Ibid.,

#### Almiah Daum

To be eligible for admission in this level, candidate should have passed *Almiah Awal* from the Board. The Board will conduct the examination of this level and the duration of this will be one year.<sup>343</sup>

## Drasat Dinia

For this level admission is granted to those candidates who have passed the middle certificate of general education and can read Quran accurately. The Board will conduct its examinations. Time duration of this level is two years. For promotion to the second year, candidate should have passed and qualified in year one.<sup>344</sup>

Besides these above requirements for admissions to all levels, candidates should bring filled registration card of madrasa, Form "B", National Identity card of guardian at the time of admission.

This religious education setup of admission and examination is more or less equal to that of the public sector schools providing education from early classes to middle and matriculation level. For example, if a candidate is admitted to *Ibtadia* level, he/she should also study approved provincial textbooks of relevant subjects in addition to madrasa syllabus. Another example is of the *Sanwiah Amma* level, in which, a candidate who has passed middle certificate from a government school is admitted directly.

## Administrative Setup of Wifaq ul Madaris

Board was established on the pattern of some leading seminaries of India. Maulana

.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 49.

Khair Muhammad and other scholars who helped him in establishing Khair ul Madaris and Board had all graduated from leading seminaries in India including Dar ul Uloom Deoband and Mazahir ul Uloom. All of these scholars have taught at various institutions. Board, to some extent, followed the pattern of administration of Dar ul Uloom Deoband. This enormous infrastructure and administrative apparatus of Board had some impressions of institutions where the *shura* members were taught and trained before the partition. This very systematic official operating bureaucratic model of religious clerics in madrasas and Board shows a very high level of discipline. Maulana Khair Muhammad, Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Idress Kandhalvi and Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani all were very vocal in recommending and advising Board's administration and took this responsibility to establish a good model of administration of Board on patterns of Dar ul Uloom Deoband.

Since its inception, Board has been working to provide a platform to all its affiliated madrasas. As per the Board record twenty thousand six hundred and eighteen madrasas are registered with it.<sup>346</sup> Board's administrative structure is comprised of following offices:<sup>347</sup>

- a. Administrative department
- b. Finance department
- c. Information Technology department
- d. Registration department
- e. Examination department
- f. Postal and Correspondence department
- g. Record Maintenance department

<sup>345</sup> Muhammad Saif ullah Naveed, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan ka Daftari Nazm," *Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris*, Multan, No. 10: July 2016, 58.

.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Ibid., 55.

- h. Affiliation department
- i. Publication department
- j. Reception department

## k. Security department

Here you will find brief description of above mentioned offices. It will also be explained how the people from Khair ul Madaris or its graduates or affiliate governed Board in various capacities.

*Nazim* central office of Board is in charge of this office. In the absence of *Nazim*, finance officer will take care of this office. This office is responsible for taking care of matters pertaining to administration, examination and meetings. Since its inception, Board was under the control of Khair ul Madaris and initially for almost ten years its *Nazim* office was run by Khair ul Madaris. The following table shows the names and duration of the service of individuals served as *Nazim* Board. Board.

Sr.	Name	Madrasa/ Jamia	From	To	Total Duration
No.					in Office
1.	Malik Adbul Ghafoor	Jamia Khair ul	October	April 30,	9 years and 6
	Anwari	Madaris, Multan	19, 1959	1969	months
2.	Maulana Mufti	Jamia Qasim uul	April 30,	August	27 years and 3
	Muhammad Anwar	Uloom, Multan	1969	01, 1996	months
	Shah				
3.	Maulana Sher	Jamia Khair ul	August	March	01 year and 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Ibid., 54.

	Muhammad	Madaris, Multan	01, 1996	02, 1998	months
4.	Maulana Abdul Hayee	Jamia Matla ul	March 02,	January	01 year
		Uloom, Queeta	1998	27, 1999	
5.	Maulana Abdul Majid	Jamia Farooqia,	January	To-date	To-date
		Karachi	27, 1999		

Finance department assists administrative office in addition to maintenance of the financial record of the Board. This office is also responsible for preparing monthly and annual expenditure chart and preparing budget. This office also maintains annual audit of the financial income and expenses.<sup>350</sup> It was formally initiated in 1959 but was reorganised in 2000. It works under a treasurer who is appointed by the main *shura*. For long two decades Khair ul madaris was at the helm of affairs for all financial matters of the Board and first three *Khazan's* hailed from Khair ul Madaris. The following people served as the treasurers of the Wifaq since its inception.<sup>351</sup> This list also explains that from 1959 till 1980 for long twenty-one years the finance office of Board was under single command and control of people from Khair ul Madaris. This financial office and appointees in Board indirectly strengthened the Khair ul Madaris position in the circles of *ulama*.

Sr.	Name of the	Madrasa/ Jamia	From	То	Duration in
No.	Treasurer				Office
1.	Maulana Mufti	Jamia Khair ul	October	May	13 years and
	Muhammad Abdullah	Madaris, Multan	19, 1959	30, 1973	6 months

<sup>50</sup> Ibid

34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> Tawrf Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan, (Multan: Wifaq ul Madaris, 2016), 30.

2.	Maulana Muhammad	Jamia Khair ul	May	May	5 years
	Sharif Jalandhri	Madaris, Multan	30, 1973	15, 1978	
3.	Maulana Mufti	Jamia Khair ul	May	November	2 years and 6
	Muhammad Abdullah	Madaris, Multan	15, 1978	30, 1980	months
4.	Maulana Faiz Ahmad	Jamia Qasim ul	November	February	18 years and
		Uloom, Multan	30, 1980	24, 1999	3 months
5.	Maulana Mufti Ghulam	Jamia Khair ul	February	June	3 years and 2
	Qadar	Uloom, Khairpur	24, 1999	09, 2002	months
		(Bahawalpur)			
6.	Maulana Musharraf Ali	Dar ul Uloom	March	To-date	14 years and
	Thanvi	Islamia, Lahore	17, 2004		continued

The current assistant to treasurer is an ex-banker and he has maintained all financial matters and Board started saving money and used this saved money in purchase of eighty-four *kanal* land and one *kanal* house in Islamabad. Board also purchased two vehicles for its official use. All this property and purchase amounts almost eighty million rupees.<sup>352</sup>

Sr.	Name	From	То	Total Duration in
No.				Office
1.	Rashid Naeem Azad	August 2000	May 19, 2001	10 months
2.	Chaudhary  Muhammad Riaz Abid	May 20, 2001	To-date	To-date

\_

<sup>352</sup> Naveed, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan ka Daftari Nazm,", 61.

This office maintains four bank accounts for the facilitation of students and business matters. Accounts are maintained in Muslim Commercial Bank (MCB), United Bank Ltd., (UBL), Allied Bank Ltb., (ABL) and Meezan Bank.<sup>353</sup>

The importance of technology and its usage in this global world is inevitable. Board adopted computerised systems for maintaining its records in 2005. Rashid Mukhtar has been heading this section in the main office of Board since its establishment.<sup>354</sup> This department has maintained record of each madrasa which is affiliated with Board. This office also maintains Board website and official email address for correspondence.

Another office deals with registration of new students on annual basis and later on same registration number is kept for maintenance of the record for each year's examination and results. Each year one hundred and twenty five thousand male and female students are registered. Board is an education board. Its examination department is considered one of the main departments. Board has conducted examinations since its inception. The very first batch of two hundred and thirty one students appeared in 1960. Slowly and gradually Board attracted more madrasas and affiliation of madrasas increased day by day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Ibid., 61. Rashid Mukhtar, a Computer Science graduate, has been hired by the Wifaq to head its automation department.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> Muhammad Saif ullah Naveed, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan ka Daftari Nazm," *Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris*, Multan, No. 11: August 2016, 50.

A glance into this table can tell us the number of students applied, appeared and centres established for students in year 2015 throughout Pakistan.<sup>357</sup>

Sr.	Students Applied for	Students Appeared	<b>Total Exam Centres</b>	Total Staff deputed at
No.	all levels	for all levels	maintained	Centres for duties
1.	2,65,795	2,50,894	1,691	10,076

Board offers different degrees, levels and certificates to male and female students.<sup>358</sup> In the examination department, an individual is assigned one level (*darja*) to look after all the matters relevant to it starting from registration to the despatch of degree and certificate.<sup>359</sup>

Each and every letter is received by postal department in the Board. Whole mail is entered into the record register and computer system. All letters are delivered and receiving signatures of letters form the concern department are sought. This department is also responsible for distribution of fifteen thousand copies of monthly magazine *Wifaq*. Another office is responsible for maintenance and preservation of the records of Board. All the records are maintained in registers since 1960 to-date.

Affiliation of the madrasas is an on-going process which started immediately after the establishment of the Board. All five Boards have total twenty-eight thousand madrasas registered with them and out of this total registration only Wifaq ul Madaris has total twenty

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Ibid., 57.

thousand six hundred and eighteen madrasas including their branches registered.<sup>361</sup> This gives Board a unique stature that around eighty percent of the students in registered madrasas are affiliated with the Board.

In 1999 during the Musharraf regime, the affiliation department was reorganised at government level and all the madrasas which were previously affiliated with Board were informed to renew their affiliation with Board.<sup>362</sup>

Publication department serves as mouthpiece of Board's performance and progress. It publishes the magazine *Wifaq* which was started in 2001 as three monthly magzine and later on in 2005 it was made monthly magazine. This office publishes fifteen thousand copies per month for distribution. This magazine contains policies of Board, important decisions, minutes of various meetings, issues related to curriculum or other possible changes in rules and regulations.<sup>363</sup> This magazine is sent to all affiliated madrasas.

The Department of Reception is responsible for greeting people coming to Board. It provides information to visitors and guides them to concerned departments where one wants to go. This office also attends phone calls of the Board.

The security of Board is responsibility of Security office. This department is comprised of security guards and close circuit television cameras (CCTV) are installed throughout the Board building. This office enters the record of visitors going inside the building and withhold original Computerised National Identity Card (CNIC) of all visitors till they come out of the building and get their CNIC's back. <sup>364</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Maulana Qari Muhammad Yasin, "Tawraf wa Khidmat: Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia." *Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris*, Multan, No. 3: December 2015, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Muhammad Saif ullah Naveed, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia Pakistan ka Daftari Nazm,", 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Ibid., 59.

### Wifaq ul Madaris in Strengthening of the position of Jamia Khair ul Madaris

Maulana Khair Muhammad was the man behind the entire idea of the establishment of Board as educational board and creating a platform for the madrasa network. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his Khair ul Madaris were at the forefront of all the major meetings and activities since the inception of Wifaq ul Madaris and Khair ul Madaris served as venue and birth place of Board.

Few meetings were held to discuss and deliberate before embarking on the establishment of the Board. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his Khair ul Madaris got direct and indirect support form the establishment of Board. Maulana Khair Muhammad started his administrative service of Board in addition to Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Khair Muhammad was *muhtamim* of Khair ul Madaris and his first appointment in Board was as Vice President from 1959 till 1963 for four years in office and from 1963 till his death in 1970, he was President of the Board. For these eleven years, Maulana Khair Muhammad represented Khair ul Madaris and Board in both administrative capacities. Maulana was head and convenor of the curriculum formation committee and part of selection of other office bearers like first treasurer of the Board.

Besides Maulana Khair Muhammad's own appointment to the top slots in the Board as President and Vice President in lieu of his services and being pioneer in floating the idea of Board, other colleagues from Khair ul Madaris got important positions as office bearers of the Board. For example, Board's treasurer (*Khazana*) office was run by the Khair ul Madaris people for twenty-one years from 1959 till 1980 and the people who held positions include Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah for fifteen years and Maulana Sharif Jalandhari for five years.

Two other important offices of the Board named Nazim Wifaq and Nazim-i-Ala'a

also remained under the control of Khair ul Madaris. The office of *Nazim Wifaq* remained for eleven years with people of Khair ul Madaris Malik Adbul Ghafoor Anwari and Maulana Sher Muhammad. Other office of *Nazim-i-Ala'a* is with current *muhtamim* Board Qari Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari since 1999 and who is also secretary of the Board.

Another important feature and resemblance of Khair ul Madaris and Board was having common members and direct or indirect followers of Ashraf Ali Thanvi serving on both *shuras*. Maulana Khair Muhammad was able to gather people from all over Pakistan for supporting and strengthening of his own institution Khair ul Madaris and later on Board. The tremendous network of Ashraf Ali Thanvi continued to support each other after the partition as they arrived in Pakistan. Some prominent and leading names include Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani, Maulana Khair Muhammad, Maulana Muhammad Yousaf Binori, Maulana Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi.

The establishment of the Board in 1959 continued providing direct and indirect support to Khair ul Madaris for its establishment and strengthening its position within the madrasa network. This strengthening and support of the Khair ul Madaris having the platform of Wifaq ul Madaris gave Maulana Khair Muhammad a central place and authority in deciding many important issues and appointments within newly established Board. Next chapter will highlight the spiritual and educational development of Khair ul Madaris focusing on transition in leadership and transformation of student community while explaining student registration, annual meetings and other such aspects.

## Chapter- 04

### Life within Jamia Khair ul Madaris.

The previous two chapters have explained the birth, growth, migration and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris. This chapter provides an insight into the religious life of Jamia Khair ul Madaris and explain how religious life within a madrasa operates and how an individual teacher and student spends his time in learning religion in his routine life at madrasa.

### **Training and Routine of Maulana Khair Muhammad**

The spiritual journey of Maulana Khair Muhammad received much influence of Maulana Asharf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Khair Muhammad also gave permission (*ijaza*) to some disciples to take *bait*.<sup>365</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad spent a life which many people find difficult to live and he divided his day into different activities till his death in 1970. After offering each prayer in the mosque of madrasa, Maulana Khair Muhammad had a different routine. After the *Maghrib* prayer, he used to sit in *Dar ul Hadith* of madrasa

<sup>365</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 302-303. This is the list of those twelve disciples who were given *ijaza* to take *bait*.

Sr. No.	Name	Ijaza Date	Sr. No.	Name	Ijaza Date
1.	Maulvi Abdul Salam, Lyallpur	February 5, 1952	7.	Maulvi Abdullah, Jehlum	November 6, 1962
2.	Maulvi Abdul Aziz, Chishtian	February 20, 1957	8.	Hafiz Atta Muhammad, Lahore	June 19, 1942
3.	Maulvi Fateh Muhammad, Multan	May 30, 1957	9.	Sheikh Bashir Ahmad, Multan	November 25, 1962
4.	Syed Qamaruddin, Dera Ghazi Khan	February 11, 1950	10.	Maulvi Ghulam Haider, Mian Channu	1964
5.	Maulvi Shamsuddin, Pittas (East Pakistan)	N/A	11.	Syed Muhammad Shafi	N/A
6.	Maulvi Abdul Waheed, Renala Khurd	December 1962	12.	Maulvi Aftab Ahmad, Tando Allah Yar	1963

for sometime to have discussions with teachers and students of madrasa. <sup>366</sup> He used to have his dinner after the *Maghrib* prayers and always some guest were around to meet him after *maghrib and Isha* prayers. <sup>367</sup> After *Isha* prayer, Maulana Khair Muhammad immediately preferred to go to bed without wasting time. Maulana Khair Muhammad used to wake up for *tahajud* and use to listen one *para* of the Holy Quran from Maulana Manzoor Ahmad who was his student and till today serving as *Shaikh ul Hadith* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris. <sup>368</sup> After *Fajar* prayer, he used to have his breakfast. After breakfast, Khair Muhammad had a routine of revising his subjects which he used to teach in madrasa and it was *Bukhari* which he regularly taught to students in Jamia Khair ul Madaris. <sup>369</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad taught in female section as well. During the daytime, he would be busy in routine matters and affairs of madrasa administration, teaching, responding to letters and meeting guests. <sup>370</sup>

The life at Jamia Khair ul Madaris was different when it was in united India at Jalandhar but since partition it has changed. Since partition and after relocation of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan, Maulana Khair Muhammad had a daily routine of holding a *majlis* in which Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's *malfuzat* and writings were read. This *majlis* was a permanent feature after *Asar* prayer in madrasa mosque for half an hour except Friday which was a holiday in madrasa. This daily *majlis* was a manifestation of Maulana Khair Muhammad's respect and reverence towards his *sheikh*. In this way, Maulana Khair Muhammad recalled his own days spent with his *sheikh* and imparting knowledge to his students and teachers.

Maulana Khair Muhammad not only followed the path of Maulana Ashraf Ali

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Ibid., 339.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Ibid., 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> Ibid., 342.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> Ibid., 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Ibid.

Thanvi in serving Islam but also brought many people in the circle of *murids*. This relationship of Maulana Khair Muhammad as *pir* with *murid* has received different narratives and explanations from his followers. I will explain a few of these *kirama* connections narrated by *murids* themselves. Syed Qamaruddin Ahmad of Dera Ghazi Khan narrated that his connection to Maulana Khair Muhammad was established in 1942 in Jallandhar through letters. Syed Qamaruddin Ahmad said that he started offering his payers regularly after becoming *murid* of Maulana Khair Muhammad and grew his beard. The day he came under the influence of Maulana Khair Muhammad he started following *Sunnah*, love and respect for religion, fear of Allah and thinking of the World hereafter became his regular thought. All this happened after he was under the shadow of Maulana Khair Muhammad's guidance. 373

Another incident of Khair Muhammad's *kirama* was about the foresight of Maulana Khair Muhammad's own death. Maulana Khair Muhammad wrote a letter to Maulana Zahoor ul Hassan, *Muhtamim*, Khanqah Imdadia, Thana Bhavan on October 1, 1970 and after twenty days he passed away.<sup>374</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad wrote to the *muhtamim* that you have made my *murshid's* place alive and I am about to board the ship for final destination without any luggage. I need your kind prayers.<sup>375</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad had a lot of respect and reverence for Thana Bhavan and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. On the day when wife of Maulana Khair Muhammad passed away and on that day Syed Salman Nadvi and Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi both were present in Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan. Maulana Khair Muhammad requested Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi to lead the funeral prayer and apologized to Syed Salman Nadvi that you are present here but I want

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Ibid., 372.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Ibid., 375.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid

Maulana Thanvi to lead the prayer because he has a nisbat to my Shaikh. 376

Maulana Abdul Aziz, *muhtamim*, Madrasa Arabia Ishat ul Uloom of Chishtian was *khalifa* of Maulana Khair Muhammad as well. He completed his *Daura I Hadith* under Maulana Khair Muhammad. He narrated his few memories form the correspondence which he had done with Maulana Khair Muhammad. Maulana Abdul Aziz narrated that Maulana Khair Muhammad always advised him on matters whatever he asked and wrote to him. Maulana Abdul Aziz mentioned that Maulana Khair Muhammad advised him to review his *aayub* on daily basis and look for solutions to correct them.<sup>377</sup> Maulana Abdul Aziz further said that Maulana Khair Muhammad advised him that never do that work on which your teacher is not happy.<sup>378</sup>

The daily routine and life of Jamia Khair ul Madaris changed after partition. Maulana Khair Muhammad followed the footsteps of his *sheikh* in setting up Khair ul Madaris in Multan. His training and adoption of customs he established in Khair ul Madaris manifest Mulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's training in his personality. Khair Muhammad's madrasa administration and style of running madrasa in Multan shows what he has seen and practiced at Thana Bhavan during his visits to pay homage to his *sheikh*.

While looking into the inner life and world of madrasa it would be sufficient enough to divide the life and activities into three different circles as community life, teacher's life and student life and it will also help us in understanding the spirit which Maulana Khair Muhamamd has infused into Khair ul Madaris through his experience and learning at different places including Jalandhar, Deoband and Multan.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., 397.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid. 329.

### **Teaching Methodology of Maulana Khair Muhammad**

Maulana Khair Muhammad taught for a long period of fifty-five years.<sup>379</sup> Since his graduation in 1915, he taught at various madrasas until 1931 when he established his own Jamia Khair ul Madaris in 1931 in Jalandhar. Maulana Khair Muhammad was very keen on taking a record of student attendance to make it sure that students were not missing their lessons and if someone was absent, he had to explain the reason for his absence. For making students more attentive and interactive during lessons, Maulana Khair Muhammad used to ask them questions and sometimes asked them to read text etc.<sup>380</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad used to teach students in simple and easy language so that students could get maximum out of their class lectures and lessons.<sup>381</sup> Another important feature of Maulana Khair Muhammad's training of his students and colleagues was to bring them closer to religious books, their readings and *adab* of these books.<sup>382</sup>

### **Teacher life and Routine**

Daily routine and life of the madrasa, alike for students and teachers, starts an hour before sunrise with preparation for the early morning prayers.<sup>383</sup> After offering *fajar* (morning) prayer students remain at the mosque to read portions of the Quran. Someone from the teachers or an employee of *Dar ul Iqama*, as Ebrahim Moosa has pointed out, makes a round in the various residence quarters to alert students to get ready for *fajr* prayers.<sup>384</sup> Teachers and students offer five times prayers at the madrasa mosque together so that they can interact with each other. Teachers at madrasas are kept busy in academic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Maulana Fazal Muhamamd, *Muhtamim*, Madrasa Arabia Qasim ul Uloom, Faqirwali in Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Ebrahim Moosa, What is a Madrasa? (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Ibid., 34.

and administrative duties both. After *fajr* prayer and before the start of classes teachers and students return to their residences, some go for walks, some for exercise before returning for breakfast and getting ready for classes.<sup>385</sup>

Khair ul Madaris earned its repute and stature because of its teachers. Maulana Khair Muhammad re-established Khair ul Madaris in 1947 and besides him Maulana Abdur Rahman Kamilpuri of Saharanpur was requested to teach in the first year. But slowly and gradually expansion of Khair ul Madaris was in demand of more staff, faculty and teachers to be available to students. This expansion of madrasa also increased number of teachers too. Khair ul Madaris which started with two teachers in 1947, in short span of four or five years, it had twenty-one teachers who taught four hundred and forty-eight students. Out of these four hundred and forty-eight students one hundred and thirty students were boarders and Khair ul Madaris used to take care of their boarding and lodging requirements.

The life of a teacher or *alim* was somehow a role model for the students and therefore teacher was considered central point for all activities. The concept of community life was to help and facilitate the others. In the madrasa world it is the administrative apparatus and teachers who could do this. Students were part of the community but always on the receiving end. Teaching and training of students in madrasa has always been producing an *alim* for the future and this training and teaching was not only formal teaching of books but informal training of students to learn many habits and moral values, *adab* which they would carry with them once they graduate form madrasa. The formal training and teaching of students was followed as per official instruction of the Nazim office for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Kiab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 4.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid

each department who has been responsible for maintaining good code of conduct and discipline in each department.

Maulana Khair Muhammad was very keen on building good habits and values in the students of Khair ul Madaris. Nourshing all these traits and abilities in students was part of madrasa life. Maulana Syed Asad Madani visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on the invitation of Maulana Khair Muhammad. Maulana Asad Madani entered Dar ul Hadith to visit it and Maulana Khair Muhammad picked his shoes and brought to the next door from where the exit was going to other buildings. Maulana Khair Muhammad showed this respect and reverence because of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's *nisbat*.

### **Appointment of Teachers**

Maulana Khair Muhammad was keen to appoint teachers who had followed Deobandi *maslak* and have excelled in their expertise and skills to provide good religious education to students in Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Khair Muhammad was always cautious before appointing teachers but once he had appointed someone, he always trusted him.<sup>390</sup> The role of Jamia Khair ul Madaris could be determined in different ways. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his able team of teachers mentored generations of students coming to get religious education. Maulana Khair Muhammad was always very careful in appointing and training the teachers at madrasa because he was of the opinion that these teachers will train the next generations who will represent Jamia Khair ul Madaris. One major aspect of student learning and training was to follow Deoband's pattern for preparing them to go in field after graduating from madrasa and continue serving Deobani tradition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Maulana Fazal Muhamamd, *Muhtamim*, Madrasa Arabia Qasim ul Uloom, 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 156.

#### **Attendance and Leave of Teachers**

The office of Education (*Daftr Talimat*) has been responsible for maintaining the attendance record and registers of students and teachers both.<sup>391</sup> The office would collect teachers monthly attendance on 30<sup>th</sup> of each calendar month.<sup>392</sup> The same Education office maintained the record of leaves of teachers and students. The teachers application for leaves are sanctioned by the *muhtamim* of the madrasa and if approved it would be communicated to the concerned department where that teacher taught.<sup>393</sup>

Teachers were provided residences on the campus so that they might be available to students when they require some guidance or assistance and to do other administrative duties assigned to them on routine basis. Teachers were entitled to three types of leave during the academic year from madrasa which included concessional leave, sickness leave and occasional leave.<sup>394</sup> The staff could avail concessional leave of full day, while office and administrative staff would have only Friday off and staff working in *matbakh* (kitchen) could not avail this leave because they were required to work full time.<sup>395</sup> The sickness leave was only for one month and available to all staff and faculty while occasional leave has been only for twenty days.<sup>396</sup> Besides this any leave or absence would be deducted form the monthly salary unless someone has been sent on official assignment from madrasa which would be counted as work.<sup>397</sup> Teachers promotion was always conditional to their teaching performance and results of the books which they had taught at madrasa.<sup>398</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Mamoon Ahmad, Faraiz Daftr Talimat wa Tarigkar, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 204.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Ibid., 206.

#### **Instructions for Teachers**

Maulana Khair Muhammad gave many instructions to teachers for following them in their routine at Jamia Khair ul Madaris. These are some of the instructions:<sup>399</sup>

- All teachers should understand that imparting religious education will get big rewards at the Final Day.
- b. Besides teaching, all teachers should take care of building student's moral character and if needed should advise students of do's and don'ts.
- c. Teachers should devise lesson in an easy way so that students can grasp it and learn it easily.
- d. If students ask or say some reasonable thing, it should be addressed and heard instead of keeping with your course of action.
- e. Teachers should have a strategy to bring all students equal in lessons either bright, weak, dull or those who are slow in getting and picking up lessons.
- f. Teachers should not be harsh towards *hifz* students because sometimes students may leave their studies and be disheartened.
- g. Teachers should never be expecting of any rewards and benefits from students. There should be no discrimination among poor and rich students.
- h. Teachers should be the role model for teaching and training students about *Shariah*.

### **Student Life and Routine**

Teaching young people both the knowledge and the practice of a moral life has been fundamental purpose of the madrasas of South Asia. 400 The life of madrasa students has been meant to be the training for a practical religious life. This practical training has been

161

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 119.

<sup>400</sup> Moosa, What is a Madrasa?, 39.

part of learning and internalizing spirituality and discipline in oneself. 401 Madrasa life is centered on one's self formation and prayers has been inescapable part of this practice and discipline. 402 Students start their day an hour before the *fajar* prayers when they wake up and prepare themselves for morning prayer. Teachers and students of madrasa offer prayers together five times a day in the *jamia* mosque of madrasa.

Madrasa life and environment has been dedicated to train students for the life outside madrasa. For some students, attending madrasa has been a chore; for others, attending has been a choice made for them by parents or family tradition but for majority attending and participating in madrasa life has been a personal and willing choice. After fajr prayer and before the start of classes some students return to their residence quarters, some go for walks, some for exercise before returning for breakfast and getting ready for classes. Food is served and distributed at matbakh which is located in Dar ul Iqama building twice a day. Breakfast is not served but Lunch is provided at twelve noon and dinner between six and seven in the evening between maghrib and isha prayer. A weekly set menu is cooked and served to the students who are residing on campus.

The start and end of classes and lectures have been intimated by a bell at Khair ul Madaris. Classes were maintained like college and school with time duration for each lecture. Students at all levels of education had to maintain strict attendance. Khair ul Madaris does not charge any admission fee from admitted students and even arrange for boarding and lodging for needy students from madrasa finances.<sup>405</sup> Academic year at Khair ul Madaris started from six of Islamic calendar month of *shawal* and continue up to twenty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 205.

of *shaban*. Teaching and duration of classes would be of six hours daily four hours in the morning from eight o' clock to twelve and two hours after *zuhr* prayer after which till *maghrib* prayer students had free time. During this interval students could go out of madrasa for some shopping, some other tasks or want to play indoor games of their interest inside madrasa. 407

The routine of students covers from learning of Arabic and Persian languages as well as hostel life and many other matters. Muhammad Saeed ur Rahman Alvi, an alumni of Khair ul Madaris has narrated his experience in these words, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris was to teach Persian language to all admitted students in the first year so that student might have no difficulty in coming years of learning. Students were taught Gulistan, Bostan, Pandnama, Nam-e-Haq and also trained in reading and writing Urdu." Khair ul Madaris has followed few rules and regulations for promoting students from one level to the next like students transferred from Persian to Arabic classes should have secured good grades in their exams otherwise they would have to repeat their courses.

Students of Jamia Khair ul Madaris were not allowed to go and participate in processions here and there. Students of senior courses were only allowed to go and attend processions of other Deobandi madrasas to listen the speeches of *akabir* Deobandi scholars with the permission of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>411</sup> Even students were not allowed to go to attend professional orators. Jamia Khair ul Madaris administration used to invite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> Muhammad Saeed ur Rahman Alvi, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris se wabsat Yadien." *Al Khair* (March 1984), 49.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid 50

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Khair ul Sawaneh*, 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> Muhammad Saeed ur Rahman Alvi, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris se wabsat Yadien." *Al Khair* (March 1984), 51.

leading scholars for delivering talks to students and staff of madrasa.<sup>412</sup>

Maulana Mufti Abdul Sattar of Samundri wrote about his experience that he remembered his days as student at Jamia Khair ul Madaris during 1949. Students were not allowed to participate in any political or non political organizational activities and were not allowed to be members of these organizations. Maulana Khair Muhammad was very strict administrator and used to maintain discipline at Jamia Khair ul Madaris. A student, once, started distributing literature and pamphlets of a political party in madrasa. His name was immediately stuck off from madrasa registration.

Maulana Muhammad Siddique was from Toba Tek Singh. After completing his middle school, he started his religious education at Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar in 1943. After partition, he completed his *Daura-i- Hadith* at Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan and started teaching at Jamia Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Muhammad Siddique wrote that he always tried to follow Maulana Khair Muhammad and remained very close to him throughout his life. Maulana Siddique supervised *Dar ul Iqama, Dar ul Hadith, Daru ul Ifta and Nizamat Talim* during different times. 416

Student life at Khair ul Madaris was closely and strictly supervised and watched. This madrasa life is intensely regimented and controlled to teach and instil discipline in students. Whether it was classes, residence or other activities being held at the madrasa premises all were controlled and supervised by the faculty and staff. This was different from public education in other government run schools, colleges and universities where

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Ibid., 531. Maulana Mufti Abdul Sattar was student of Jamia Khair ul Madaris and later on served as teacher and *saddar mufti* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Ibid., 532.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> Ibid., 540.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> Ibid., 541.

freedom and liberty was at its peak. This regimentation of religious education somehow taught discipline but in fact it also created vacuum between religious and public school education. In this vacuum, a third type of English medium schools added more difference and variety of education came into the market. Therefore, madrasa set up like Khair ul Madaris also established Al Khair public school for bridging this gap and started English medium education up to O and A Levels. The competitive environment and race for attracting students and masses to choose appropriate schools for their children compelled Khair ul Madaris to establish Al Khair Public school providing religious and English medium education at one single place.

#### **Attendance and Leave of Students**

The general student attendance was called twice in a day in the morning and evening and besides this in each class attendance was taken. The office of Education (*Daftr Talimat*) has been responsible for maintaining the attendance record and registers of students. The office would collect monthly attendance of students on 5th of each calendar month. The application for leave of students were sanctioned by the *nazim Taleemat* and if approved it would be communicated to the concerned department where student were registered.

If some student remained absent for continuous ten days or for fifteen days in an academic year, his/her name would be struck off from the madrasa enrollment.<sup>421</sup> Those who were boarder students needed to have a permission form the *muhtamim* or in charge

<sup>417</sup> Muhammad Saeed ur Rahman Alvi, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris se wabsat Yadien." *Al Khair* (March 1984),

420 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Mamoon Ahmad, Faraiz Daftr Talimat wa Tariqkar, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> Ibid..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 205-206.

Dar ul Iqama to go out of the madrasa premises after maghrib prayer. 422

## Salana jalsa

Salana jalsa (annual procession or gathering) has been considered a main feature of each madrasa where graduating students have been awarded degree and dastarbandi (literally tying of the turban, a ceremony in which to honor graduating students with turbans on their heads those who have completed Dars-i-Nizami) was done. In these annual meetings and processions, parents of graduation students have also been invited to observe it and support madrasa financially and morally. Madrasa also invited leading scholars to come and give talks on this occasion.

During the days of *salana jalsa* the class rooms and offices of all teachers were vacated and made available to the visitors for residential purposes. Once during *salana jalsa* Maulana Khair Muhammad asked Maulana Muhammad Siddique of there left any free and vacant place for rest? Maulana Siddique said no place was free and Maulana Khair Muhammad found a place in the corner of *razakar* room and Maulana Khair Muhammad slept there.

Maulana Khair Muhammad used to take extra care of guests coming to attend salana jalsa of Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Idress Kandhalvi had a habit of having cup of tea after Fajar prayer. Maulana Khair Muhammad used to bring tea early in the morning from his home for him instead of disturbing helpers and people who were appointed on serving guests. Many ulama admitted that Maulana Khair Muhammad was good a administrator. Maulana Syed Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari said if someone wanted to learn

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>423</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> Ibid., 394.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Ibid., 397.

running of a madrasa, he should learn it from Maulana Khair Muhammad. 426

## Glimpses of Salana jalsa of May 1956-April 1957

Salana jalsa is considered a key annual program of each madrasa. This event helps madrasa in getting popular support from the followers of Deobandi tradition. Salana jalsa also becomes a source of income for madrasa in shape of cash and kind donations from well off families and parents of the graduating students. Salana jalsa also invites leading scholars, ulama and religious leadership to address the audience. Salana jalsa is usually spread over two days and starts with a keynote address from some renowned religious scholar and invitations are sent all over the country. The students attending Khair ul Madaris not only come from all corners of Pakistan but from abroad as well which shows its commitment to religious education. Students strength and their local, regional, and international background distinguishes Khair ul Madaris from other madrasas in the area particularly and throughout Pakistan in generally.

The proceedings or *rudad* of *Salana jalsa* start after *maghrib* prayer. Annual report and performance of the madrasa is also presented at annual gathering. Annual report briefs audience with history of madrasa, its educational services, objectives and facts in addition, it highlights the constitution or *dastur* of madrasa. The annual report for academic year 1956-1957 was presented by Maulana Khair Muhammad to the audience. The *rudad* started with the saying that "Brothers of Islam, you all know that Prophet (PBUH) was having only objective of serving Islam and teachings of Islam to all of us". Allah Almighty has also said in the Quran "And I have sent Prophet to you to teach you the Book and its teachings." Furthermore Maulana Khair Muhammad emphasized the importance of

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

religious education and supported his argument with sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) like "I have been sent as a teacher." Maulana Khair Muhammad also narrated services of leading figures like Shah Waliullah and Ahmad Sirhindi for religious education.

Maulana Khair Muhammad explained struggle of Khair ul Madaris that how it started in a mosque in Jalandhar under the supervision of Ashraf Ali Thanvi and earned a very good repute after Deoband and Saharanpur. <sup>430</sup> But partition of the country became reason of the migration of madrasa leadership and madrasa itself to relocate it in Multan. Maulana Khair Muhammad narrated madrasa timings to the audience that academic year lasted for ten and half month which started from 6 *Shawwal* and finished at 20 *Shaban*. <sup>431</sup> Throughout the teaching year lessons were arranged for six hours daily, four hours in the morning and two hours after *zuhr* prayer. <sup>432</sup> Madrasa has been conducting examination for three times in the teaching year after three months, then six months and then at the end of the academic year in *Shaban*. <sup>433</sup> Examination results determined the promotion and demotion of teachers and also students were eligible on the basis of their results for financial help from the madrasa. <sup>434</sup>

Another important feature of the *Salana Jalsa* has been declaration of annual results of the madrasa students. Madrasa conducted oral and written examination of all students. The written examination questions for the academic year of 1956-1957 were set by Maulana Rasul Khan, Ex-Professor Oriental College, Lahore, Maulana Shams ul Haq, Ex-Minister *Ma'arif* Kalat, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani of Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Tando

4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> Ibid., 206. This routine of Khair ul Madaris resembles the Farangi Mahall madrasa routine which was established in 1905 and followed pattern of Deoband. For details see, Francis Robinson, *Jamal Mian: The Life of Maulana Jamaludidin Abdul Wahab of Farangi Mahall, 1912-2012.* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Ibid.

Allah Yar and Maulana Qari Fateh Muhammad Panipati of Shikarpur. The oral examination for the academic year of 1956-1957 was conducted by Maulana Muhammad Amin, *Muhtamim* Madrasa Aminia, Jaranwala, Maulana Abdul Qadeer, *Mudaris*, Madrasa Arabia Okara, Maulana Abdullah Raipuri of Jamia Rasheedia, Montgomery and Maulana Abdul Aziz Raipuri, Member *Majlis Shura*. All examiners examined students in different books like *darja* Arabic, *daura-i-Hadith*, *darja Quran* and *darja tajweed wa Qirat*.

Annual gathering has also been a source for collecting donations for the madrasa. Maulana Khair Muhammad explained that madrasa had no fixed income and madrasa has no permanent well off families, capitalist or industrialist who support it. 438 Financial help and donations for Khair ul Madaris came from people who were well wishers of Islam and supporters of religious education. 439 Maulana Khair Muhammad requested audience to make madrasa *khudkafil* or self sufficient in financial matters to run its day to day affairs and business. Maulana Khair Muhammad requested audience to donate and gift *waqf* to madrasa so that Khair ul Madaris did not need further donations and *chanda* (donations collected from common masses). He further added that *chanda* is considered bad now and institutions run with *chanda* are considered bad. 440 He further added that we have to live in this world and its our responsibility to continue our traditions and mending ways of the society. If madrasa has sufficient *waqf* at its disposal which can afford annual expenditure of madrasa then we do not need to ask for donations and nor we need to hold any annual gatherings or *salana jalsa* for donation collection. 441 In this way, we would be in better position to preach and teach Islam and Islamic values to our generation in annual gatherings

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> Ibid.

or *salana jalsa* where we do not ask for donations and our gatherings would be much effective and fruitful.

Maulana Khair Muhammad, to the close of his annual report presentation, requested audience to gift, donate and do *waqf* of agricultural land and commercial property in the name of Khair ul Madaris so its income can be spent for madrasa expenses. He said that as much and as far people contributed towards the companion of the specific and that as much and as far people contributed towards the expenses of madrasa, they would contribute towards its growth and make it more reputable institution.

### Student's orientation regarding Qul or khatam

Students of Jamia Khair ul Madaris were not sent to read *Qul* or *khatam* or the Quran at someone's residence like the practice of other madrasas. The logic which was given that reading the Quran for getting payment was not right.<sup>445</sup> It was also not allowed to read *Qul* or *khatam* on food and things as not proved act of Prophet (PBUH).<sup>446</sup> It was strictly forbidden and only possibility was to get read the *ayat karima*, only within madrasa under the supervision of a madrasa teacher on holiday after *maghrib* prayer and students

<sup>442</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> Ibid.

<sup>444</sup> Th: a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, *Rah-i-Sunnat*. Gujranwala: Maktba Safdria, 2009), 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Ibid., 275.

would pray in madrasa. 447 If some rich or well off family or their members want to offer some food to students, they can take students with dignity or bring food to madrasa to serve students.448

## Student's orientation regarding Ashura and Milad-un-Nabi

Students were also not allowed to participate in Ashura and Milad-un-Nabi processions and it was understood that whatever was not allowed and practiced by the leading ulama of Deoband and Deobandi thought, it should be avoided. Prayers for deceased and giving alms and sadqah was right and proved but there was no need of fixing days for each month or on year basis for such things. 449

Jamia's own published Khair ul Fatawa also issued fatwas regarding Ashura, Milad un Nabi, Khatam, Fateha and Qul etc. These juridical opinions explained in Khair ul Fatawa stated that it was not necessary and fair to give someone payment or some food after reading of the Quran and it should not be pre decided that organizer of the event would give money or food. 450 Khair ul Fatawa also issued a fatwa stating that participating in Muharram procession and majalis is wrong because many un Islamic practices are done in such procession and *majalis*. 451

Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani narrated few attributes which Maulana Khair Muhammad always wanted to transfer in his students and teaching staff at Jamia Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani said Maulana Khair Muhammad was concerned about teaching and training his students with excellent personality trait and attributes to

<sup>447</sup> Muhammad Saeed ur Rahman Alvi, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris se wabsat Yadien." Al Khair (March 1984),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, *Rah-i-Sunnat*. Gujranwala: Maktaba Safdria, 2009), 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> Khair ul Fatawa, vol. 1, (Multan: Maktaba Imdadia, n.d.), 245. Khair ul Fatawa is comprised of six volumes and it consists of all those fatwas which Jamia Khair ul Madaris has issued.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Ibid., 436.

show that Jamia Khair ul Madaris was not only religious institution but also groom student personalities.<sup>452</sup>

Maulana Khair Muhammad was not in the favor of students going to Tablighi Jamat but he never stopped his own teachers who used to go for *nusrat* of Tablighi Jamat. Maulana Abdul Aziz once asked for Maulana Khair Muhammad's suggestion regarding Tablighi Jamat and he replied that preaching is fine but their method is not fine therefore there is room for objection. Alike he did not like Maulana Maududi and his party. He said that Maududi and his followers were against Ahl e Sunnat wa Jamat and therefore he considered them atheists. Another incident which has been quoted by Sufi Muhammad Iqbal in *Baiyynat* that Maulana Khair Muhammad never liked that his associates to be attached with Jamat-i-Islami. One of his *Khalifah* Maulvi Haji Abdul Salam from Faisalabad was politically inclined towards Maududi and once Maulana Khair Muhammad visited him in Faisalabad and told him not to be in touch with Maududi and read the following verse of the Quran that "Those who have done injustice and cruelty, never go to them, otherwise (in hell) fire will catch you." 455

Maulana Khair Muhammad used to respond to letters and suggested about different book readings and *zikr* to people in order to resolve to their issues and problems. Maulana Khair Muhammad once wrote to a *murid* and advised him to read Maulana Badar Alam's "Tarjuman ul Sunna" and suggested for his wife, its good to read Talim ud Din, Islah ul Rasoom, Haqooq ul Islam, Nuzhat ul Basateen etc. 456 Maulana Khair Muhammad has always advised and suggested his followers to consult, read and go back to Maulana Ashraf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> Ibid., 489.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> Ibid., 490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> Ibid., 491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> Ibid., 309.

Ali Thanvi's writings for getting answers to their queries. <sup>457</sup> Maulana Khair Muhammad used to receive many letters regarding queries about religious matters and *Islah* (bringing someone to the right path) and people sought guidance from him. Maulana Khair Muhammad mentioned to one of his follower to read and consult "Awaraf ul Marif" for learning *ikhlaq* (moral values). <sup>458</sup>

#### **Instructions for Students**

Maulana Khair Muhammad gave instructions to students to be followed in their routine life at Jamia Khair ul Madaris. Few of the instructions covered variety of areas and walks of daily life:<sup>459</sup>

- a. Students should take care of their moral values and character building. Students should follow *Sunnah* in all matters. Their physical appearance, dress and looks should not be against *shariah*.
- b. Students should be regular in their lessons and classes.
- c. Each student should respect teachers more than parents.
- d. Never do the work for which your teacher is not happy and has not consented.
- e. Student should not be involved in politics or political campaigns during their academic learning.

### Life of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in the eyes of leading personalities

Jamia Khair ul Madaris and Maulana Khair Muhammad received good appreciation from all of his contemporary ulama. All of these contemporaries praised various attributes of his personality and services. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi wrote about Maulana

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> Ibid., 310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Ibid., 311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Aftab Ahmed, Khair ul Sawaneh, 120-121.

Khair Muhammad and said "Maulana Khair Muhammad and I met first time in 1926 at Khanqah Imdadia, Thana Bhavan. Our first meeting was as students for learning from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. We remained friends for forty-four years and I have learnt many things from Maulana Khair Muhammad and he was in the leading ulama of Pakistan and established Khair ul Madaris in Multan which was his lifetime achievement."460 Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi said about Maulana Khair Muhammad that he was a perfect human being. He served Islam throughout his life. He left a knowledge fountain in his life time which would continue its service to humanity. 461 Qari Muhammad Tayyeb Qasmi wrote that Maulana Khair Muhammad was a great scholar. He was a model of simplicity and hospitality. He was religious mentor and guide to many scholars. He was among the *Khalifa*'s of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and left many of his impression. 462 Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani wrote that Maulana Khair Muhammad was a leading figure who had command of spiritual knowledge. He attained a high place among his contemporaries and was fountain of religious knowledge too. 463 Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi stated that Maulana Khair Muhammad was most respectable alim in all ulama. He was one of those personalities who were considered treasure of religious community. 464

Maulana Abdul Haq wrote about Maulana Khair Muhammad that he was the leading figure in ulama of Indo-Pakistan. Maulana Khair Muhammad had a high place in understanding of spiritual knowledge. Besides he was also expert of Hadith, Tafsir, Fiqh and philosophy. Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Darkhwasti stated that Maulana Khair Muhammad was a great teacher, researcher and scholar. He was best example and symbol

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Fayyaz Ahmad Usmani, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (November 2000), 434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> Ibid., 404.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> Ibid., 405.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> Ibid.

of elder ulama. He spent all of his life in preaching and teaching of religion. He was among leading ulama of Pakistan. 466

The re-establishment and expansion of Khair ul Madaris received direct and indirect support from its founder and its close associates for strengthening its position within the madrasa network and making Khair ul Madaris more compatible with that of Deobandi teachings. This strengthening, expansion and support of Khair ul Madaris having the platform of national and international alumnus and huge public subscription from the common masses gave Maulana Khair Muhammad and Khair ul Madaris a central place and authority in Pakistani context. The next chapter will further explain the development of Khair ul Madaris focusing on curriculum and education while explaining how Khair ul Madaris students equip themselves with transferable skills and how the people who visited Khair ul Madaris have perceived it.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., 406.

## Chapter 5

## Education and Curriculum within Jamia Khair ul Madaris.

Acquiring knowledge in a madrasa is like having a contract with knowledge itself or with the sources of knowledge. 467 Islamic education is usually based on traditional educational system. The significance of this Islamic knowledge is judged and measured by the knowledge which is transmitted to students in religious seminaries and colleges called madrasas. The core focus of this Islamic education to train the students practical religion which they can later on practice in their lives and transfer that learning of madrasa life to further generations of students. Same was the case of Jamia Khair ul Madaris for imparting religious education and preparing students for serving Islam and Islamic education. The madrasa taught *Dars-i-Nizami* when it was in Jalandhar till 1947 and Maulana Khair Muhammad continued to teach it after its relocation in Multan. The emphasis of Deobandi tradition in *Dars-i-Nizami* was on *manqulat* "trasmitted" knowledge and in favour of *Hadith* to be the popular teaching 468 which Maulana Khair Muhammad also adopted in Jamia Khair ul Madaris. I will explain here how successive regimes in Pakistan posed threats to the existence of madrasa and Islamic education system while attempting to reform madrasa curriculum.

# Curriculum Reform attempts by the Government of Pakistan since 1947

Learning in the madrasa became a tradition of leading *ulama* and religious scholars.

All madrasas are bound to follow the curriculum devised and prepared by their respective Board. But before the establishment of individual Board's of each sect, each and every madrasa was following their own syllabus. Madrasa curriculum and education train

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> Ebrahim Moosa, What is a Madrasa? (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> Arshad Alam, *Inside a Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India*. (London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2011), 16.

students in I have given details of degree programs offered by the Board at affiliated madrasas, their examination and admission process in chapter 4.

### **Reform Attempt under Ayub Khan**

The Government of Pakistan attempted few times to revise and reform madrasa curriculum. The first attempt was in 1961 and a committee was formed for the revision of the curriculum of madrasas. The committee highlighted the importance and significance of Islamic education immediately after the forward of the report. The foreword of the report states that approximately there are 700 madrasas. The committee further elaborated that various madrasas have variations in following the *Dars-i-Nizami*. The committee projected its sole purpose of reforming the madrasa curriculum which was not done by *ulama* and educationists. The committee held twenty-seven meetings at Karachi and Lahore. The committee established sub-committees to work in different directions and angles and these sub committees had total fifty meetings. The representation of madrasa leadership was restricted to only three members out of total eleven. This shows the

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> Ibid., 7. This committee consisted of total eleven members, of whom three were madrasa leaders, six were from different universities having academic background and two were from the Government. The names of members are following:

Sr. No.	Name of the Member	Affiliation	Status in Committee
110.			
1.	Dr. Mahmud Hussain	Vice Chancellor, Dacca University	Chairman
2.	Mufti Muhammad Shafi	President, Darul Uloom, Karachi	Member
3.	Maulana Muhammad Daud	Nazim-i-Ala, Darul Uloom Taqviyyat	Member
	Ghaznavi	ul Islam, Lahore	
4.	Allama Ala ud Din Siddiqui	Head of the Department of Islamiyyat,	Member
		Punjab University, Lahore	
5.	Maulana Syed Ahmad Saeed	Madrasa Anwar ul Uloom, Multan	Member
	Shah Sahib Kazmi		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> GoP. Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962), 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> Ibid.

interest of the Government in reforming the curriculum that the concerned madrasa representation was only of three individuals sitting on the committee.

This Committee mentioned the historical changes and tracks of madrasa curriculum while mentioning books and titles. The Committee expressed its concern that as time has changed and regimes changed over centuries, there is also a need for changing existing madrasa curricula. All madrasas should focus not only on religious subjects and education but other worldly subjects should get attention equally to widen the outlook of madrasa students and to increase their mental horizon and all this is only possible with the introduction of new disciplines. The committee stressed upon the need of preparing individuals who can fit in all walks of life and, therefore, its need of the hour to only on revise course and curriculum but also training of ulema is required. The committee proposed that we need enlightened ulema and for this purpose ulema should have command and knowledge of religious and worldly subjects. The committee further added that revision in syllabus is required to equip individuals, who posses knowledge of other branches while being fully conversant of religious aspects, for the solution of problems of life. The committee emphasized that old syllabus has to be revised with a view to

6.	Maulana Muhammad Sadiq	Ex-Nazim Umoor I Mazhabiyya, Bahawalpur	Member
7.	Maulana Nurul Haq Nadvi	Ex- Dean of Theology, Peshawar University, Peshawar	Member
8.	Dr. A. J. Halepota	Head of the Department of Religion, Sind University, Hyderabad	Member
9.	Dr. Ghulam Jilani Burque	Campbellpur City, Campbellpur	Member
10.	Dr. Saleem Farani	Professor, Central Training College, Lahore	Co-opted Member
11.	Aziz ul Haq Masud, P.C.S.	Deputy Secretary Education, Government of West Pakistan, Lahore	Secretary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> Ibid., 8.

eliminate some of the out of date and unnecessary teaching material.<sup>478</sup>

The Committee also showed its concern over the lengthy and voluminous syllabus followed and taught by madrasa to their students. The committee at the outset explained their approach and said "Religion has been the most vital civilizing force in the history of mankind; it broadens sympathies, inculcates a spirit of tolerance, self-sacrifice and social service and removes artificial distinctions between man and man. Religious education should, therefore, be an integral part of the educational system." In 1959 already it was suggested that formal educational system should be enriched with Islamic rites and verses from the Quran, and as a subject, religion was to be made compulsory up to the eighth grade and optional in secondary education. The Committee proposed changes to fill the gap between two educational systems like religious and contemporary world by recommending syllabus including *Dars-i-Nizami*, religious books and few contemporary disciplines of general education as well.

The Committee proposed changes to the time duration of degree programs at madrasa to regulate them equal to the public school education. The Committee proposed *ibteddiyah* to be completed in five years and it will be equal to primary level school education, *thanawi tahtani* for three years and equal to lower secondary schools, *thanawi wustani* for two years and it is equal to middle secondary school, *thanawi fawqani* for two years and equal to upper secondary school level and *alaa* was for three years and equal to highest level of public education like Master of Arts.<sup>482</sup>

The committee presented primary education syllabus as model for acceptance to the

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> Ibid., 14.

government schools and madrasas.<sup>483</sup> The committee proposed that the reading of the Quran should be completed in five years and for this purpose an extra period should be added to the school hours in timetable.<sup>484</sup> The committee also proposed that Fridays should be full holiday and Thursdays as half holidays and no teaching on Thursdays after recess.<sup>485</sup> This primary syllabus for Dar ul Ulooms which was made compatible to that of general school syllabus was divided as following:<sup>486</sup>

### Class I

In the first year there should be six periods instead of five which was the existing practice. A week for the religious education, one for *Talim-ul-Quran*, and five for *Aqaid*, *Ibadat* and *Akhlaq*.

#### Class II

In this class, there should be two periods daily, each of half an hour duration, one for *Talim-ul-Quran* and the other for instructions in *Aqaid, Ibadat* and *Akhlaq*. In *Talim-ul-Quran* class Qurani Qaida or Noorani Qaida should be taught for learning Arabic. It was also proposed that instead of five periods a week to religious instruction as practiced in general schools, there should be seven periods a week.

#### **Class III**

In general schools, there are only four periods a week for religious study. For Dar ul Uloom schools, it was proposed that for *Talim-ul-Quran* and *Aqaid*, *Ibadat* and *Akhlaq* there should be two periods daily of forty minutes each duration. In *Talim-ul-Quran* class,

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> Ibid., Appendix I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> Ibid.

Yas'er Al Quran should be taught.

### **Class IV**

In this class, there should be two periods daily for religious education, one for *Talim-ul-Quran* and the other for instructions in *Aqaid*, *Ibadat* and *Akhlaq*. The reading of 10 parts (*paras*) of Quran should be completed in this year. The teaching hours should be the same for class III and class IV.

#### Class V

In this class also two periods will be reserved and dedicated for religious instruction.

One period for the reading (*nazra*) of remaining 20 parts (*paras*) of Quran. The teaching hours should be the same for class III, class IV and class V.

The Committee proposed changes to all levels of degree programs for all the Boards throughout Pakistan. The Committee suggested following changes at different levels: *ibteddiyah* should follow the direction of the Ministry of Education for making it compatible to that of primary level of education, for *thanawi tahtani*, it was suggested to focus more on the Quran and Hadith, Prophet's tradition and Islamic Law, Modern Arabic Literature, English, Mathematics, Social Sciences, Urdu and Sports but only English and Arabic were added and preferred. <sup>487</sup> The study duration for this level would be six hours daily and nine periods of forty minutes each and time for prayer, rest and physical education will be not counted towards six hours of education. <sup>488</sup>

For *thanawi wustani*, there will be six papers of each hundred marks. There will be nine periods of forty minutes each and six hours workload each day in addition to this time

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Ibid., Appendix I.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid.

for prayer, rest and physical education will be not counted towards six hours of education. It was suggested to incorporate Islamic History, English, Sports, Elective subjects etc. The Committee proposed a long list of elective subjects which students can opt for. The Elective Subjects included Applied Electricity, Arithmetic, Animal Husbandry, Bengali, Business methods and correspondence, Building construction, Bamboo and Cane work, Chinese, Civics, Chemistry, Clothing and Textiles, Confectionary and Bakery, Elementary Economics, Food and Nutrition, French, Fisheries, Geography, German, Hindi, Horticulture and Gardening, History, Health and Physical Education, Metal Work, Mathematics, Military Science, Persian, Physics, Pottery and Ceramics, Pashto, Punjabi, Physiology and Hygiene, Russian, Spanish, Sindhi, Soil Sciences and General Agriculture, Social Studies, Turkish, Tailoring, Urdu, Wood work and Weaving. 489

The last but not the least stage would be of *Aa'la*. This stage will be of three years. There will be five papers of religious disciplines every year. Besides this, there will be one paper on English and one in a minor subject to be selected out of the list.<sup>490</sup> In the final year instead of English, a paper on General Science will be there in addition to five papers on religious disciplines. The list of minor subjects included papers of two hundred each on Economics, General History, Islamic History, geography, Philosophy, Psychology, Political Science, Islamic Civilization and Culture, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, German, French, Russian, Sanskrit, Pali, Urdu, Sindhi, Pashto, Punjabi, Bengali, Mathematics and any two papers of hundred each from subjects like (a) Psychology of Religion and spiritual experience, (b) Ethics of Religion, (c) Sociology of Religion, (d) Philosophy of Religion, (e) History of Religion, (f) Comparative study of Religions, (g) History of Scholasticism, (h) History of Theosophy with focus on Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> Ibid

# Hinduism 491

The Committee also proposed a Directorate of Religious Education to be established within the *Auqaf* Department to supervise madrasas and also to monitor and evaluate standards of work of students and teachers. The Committee also recommended a Board of Education for madrasas working under Department of *Auqaf* and Ministry of Education. All these proposals and suggestions were only short lived. This was the same time when the Government was bringing changes and reform plan to madrasas and religious leadership of all the sectarian orientations were setting up their respective Boards serving as education boards between 1955 and 1960. This was the period of Green Revolution in which huge public subscription and wealth reached to the all corners of the country and growth of madrasa happened.

## Reform Attempt under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

The next attempt to reform and bring changes in madrasa education and curriculum was attempted by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto regime. Bhutto tried to bring Islamic principles into reality and never bothered religious elites or leaders and all this was done by Bhutto in his last year in office. Bhutto's idea was to modernize the country and in this regard he went for centralization of everything by offering nationalization of politics, economy, administration and educational system. This also led to a reorganization of the *Tanzim al-Madaris Al Arabiah* in 1974.<sup>493</sup> Bhutto regime also gave official recognition to madrasa degree programs with justification of providing them more socio-economic mobility.<sup>494</sup>

Bhutto's government was aiming at the Islamization of Pakistan's society and

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> Malik. Colonialization of Islam, 129.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid

changing dynamics of governing Pakistani masses. Bhutto strengthened the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) and its member strengthen was raised from a minimum eight to a maximum of fifteen to ensure efficient performance. Bhutto regime was successful in bringing about thirty-one proposal for integrating modern sector to that of Islamic traditions and some of the examples are introduction of the national dress, rules of prayers for the civil servants, annual secret reports on the Islamic conduct of civil servants, examinations in Islamic subjects for the public service, penalty in case of adultery (*zina*), prohibition, Friday to be holiday, Zakat and Usher, interest free banking as well as the elimination of prostitution etc. For all these changes, proposal and amendments, Bhutto authorized and used the platform of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) to which no one can object because all different schools of thoughts (*makatib-i-fikr*) has representation in the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII).

## Reform Attempt under Zia ul Haq

Zia ul Haq regime also used religion, religious education and madrasas for his political motives. Zia ordered Ministry of Religious Affairs to prepare a survey of madrasas which resulted in 1979 report of madrasa. This report has been compiled by different sub committees which were entrusted with different duties like one committee for doing a national survey of madrasas, one committee was tasked with collecting curriculum, one with financial aspect and statistics, one suggestion committee etc. 497 All the attempts of the Government were helping the successive regimes to restore themselves and having more base in the public while using religion as tactics.

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> Ibid., 132-133. See also GoP. *Qaumi Committee Brae Deeni Madaris* [Urdu: National Committee of Religious Schools]. (Islamabad: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1979), 13.

The committee was established in Islamabad on January 17, 1979 for looking into the prospects and future reform to bring into madrasas and their curriculum. <sup>498</sup> This 1979 report is named after the chairman Dr. A. W. J. Halepota then director of the Islamic Research Institute and a former member of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII). 499 The National Committee comprised of twenty-seven members. This main committee created five sub committee to assist them in their task. The Kawaif Madaris Committee consisted of four members. The Nisab Committee was having fourteen members. The Tahaweez Committee had eight members. The Jaiza Madaris Committee was consisted of two members and the *Tadween Kawaif wa Shumariat Committee* was having five members. Total sixty members worked for creating 1979 report.

This report consisted of eight chapters. The first chapter explained aims and objectives of this report and details of the members. Chapter two gave details of the subcommittees. In third chapter gave insight into a short historical overview of the genesis of madrasas and religious education system during the colonial rule. Fourth chapter of the report talked about post partition madrasa establishments. The current state of affairs of madrasa had been focused as the theme of chapter five. Chapter six dealt with suggestions and recommendations of the committee about madrasa curriculum. Suggestions and recommendations about madrasa system were given in chapter seven. Chapter eight explained about suggestions and recommendations regarding betterment and welfare of madrasas and students.

The committee proposed, for the integration of two systems of education, to insert modern subjects into the Dars-i-Nizami. The committee referred to the curriculum of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> GoP. *Qaumi Committee Brae Deeni Madaris* [Urdu: National Committee of Religious Schools]. (Islamabad: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1979), 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> Malik. Colonialization of Islam, 132.

Ministry of Education which included<sup>500</sup>

a. All *ibtedai* up to grade five levels of all Boards will be of five years.

b. The nisab of five years will consist of nazra Quran, namaz wa Deeniyat, Ibtdai farsi, Urdu,

Mathematics, Social Studies and General Science.

c. A child must be of five years at the time of admission into *ibtedai* level.

At the secondary level up to grade ten, subjects which were proposed included

Urdu, Mathematics, Social Studies, General Science and English. At the graduation stage,

leading up to B.A and M.A., two out of four optional subjects: Economics, Political

Science, Sociology and English were to be taken. 501 According to the report, at the M.A.

level Comparative Religions, Islamic History, Islam and Economy and Islam and Politics

were to be offered as subject.<sup>502</sup>

The committee further proposed the establishment of an autonomous National

Institute for *Dini* Madaris. The objective of the institute was to conduct examinations of all

Boards up to M.A. level, to declare of results, to award the certificates and to compile and

revision of curriculum. 503 The institute will have a permanent secretariat and the renewal

of the term of members of the institute would be after each three years. 504

It was to consist of eighteen members, i.e. three representatives of each of the four

schools of thought, one representative each from the Ministry of Education, Religious

Affairs and University Grants Commission (UGC) and the Inter Board Commission, the

chairman and secretary. 505 The committee proposed following names for the initial

<sup>500</sup> GoP. *Qaumi Committee Brae Deeni Madaris*,147.

<sup>501</sup> Malik. Colonialization of Islam, 132. and GoP. Quami Committee Brae Deeni Madaris, 153.

<sup>502</sup> GoP. Oaumi Committee Brae Deeni Madaris.77.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid., 90.

504 Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid., 89.

186

composition of the institute to the government as per the formula:  $^{506}$ 

nation
man
per
per
oer
per
)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> Ibid., 91-93.

	Okara, Sahiwal.	
9.	Maulana Muhammad Siddiq	Member
	Rais, Al Jamia Al Ilmia, 558- D Block	
	Satellite Town, Sargodha.	
10.	Mian Fazal Haq	Member
	Rais, Jamia Al Salafia, Nazim, Jammiat Ahl-i-Hadith	
	111 Multan Road, Faisalabad.	
11.	Maulana Shabih ul Hussain	Member
	Muhtamim, Muzaffar ul Madaris,	
	Empress Road, Lahore.	
12.	Maulana Syed Safdar Hussain Najafi	Member
	Muhtamim, Jamia Al Muntazir,	
	H block, Model Town, Lahore.	
13.	Maulana Mohsin Ali	Member
	Jamia Ahl-i-Bait, Sector F-7,	
	Islamabad.	
14.	Secretary	Member
	Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan.	
15.	Secretary	Member
	Ministry of Religious Affairs, Government of Pakistan.	
16.	Prof. Ismail Bhatti	Member
	Vice Chancellor, Peshawar University,	
	Peshawar.	
17.	Chairman	Member
	Inter Board Committee, Islamabad.	
18.	Muhammad Yousuf Goraia	Secretary
	Director, Ulama Academy, Auqaf Department,	
	Government of Punjab, Badshahi Mosque, Lahore.	

The committee further proposed improved economic conditions of teachers and students to enhance their financial resources and suggested that the government would provide lands or properties to madrasa through *auqaf* and would make sure supplies of water, gas and electricity to madrasas.<sup>507</sup> The committee also proposed that the financial assistance would come from *zakat* fund of the government and *zakat* fund would finance if there would be some other projects of madrasas like procurement of furniture, books, expansion of libraries.<sup>508</sup> The madrasas under the umbrella of this proposed national institute would be exempted from income tax.<sup>509</sup> The committee's performance was slow and its report was submitted with delay of six months on December 17, 1979.

All these reform attempts received positive response from madrasas and their leadership but successive governments in all these three epochs failed to bring uniformity among different schools of thoughts. These reforms were aiming at unification of all schools of thoughts, reformed and modernized curriculum, integration of modern subjects into the traditional syllabus of madrasa which totally failed. These attempts were also planning to provide opportunities to madrasa students and teachers to be part of formal educational system and vice versa which never happened till today. These reforms were labelled as coercive state power to control religious institutions and education set up. <sup>510</sup> The Deobandi leadership had serious concerns and reservations over these reform attempts because they would see their predominance in the traditional religious education sector affected.

Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Ludhianvi criticized Zia's reform agenda and said that government is trying to control religious institutions and would make them toys of state

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Malik. Colonialization of Islam, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>510</sup> Ibid., 136.

power.<sup>511</sup> Ludhianvi pointed out that there would be country wide resistance against any such action and plan of the government against madrasas. In addition to this, government would have to pay considerable amount for the implementation of this reform project and there would be strikes and demonstrations to stop the government.<sup>512</sup>

### Curriculum and Examination in Jamia Khair ul Madaris

Here, I have recollected few personal opinions and narratives from *Kitab ul A'ara* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris which help us in understanding how the curriculum and education and examination process distinguished Jamia in the eyes of leading figures before and after 1957 about what was taught there and how the visitors and examiners have overall perceived madrasa education.

Jamia Khair ul Madaris established a good reputation within no time after it settled in Multan in 1947. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani wrote about the educational contribution of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in these words in 1949 as an examiner that Jamia Khair ul Madaris has established a good reputation within two years of its establishment.<sup>513</sup> I and Mufti Muhammad Shafi are invited to examine 88 students of Arabic *darja* and 53 students appeared for the examination of *Daura I Hadith*.<sup>514</sup> All the students performed very well and I can say that Maulana Khair Muhammad and teachers of this madrasa are serving and strengthening Pakistan through their service of religion.<sup>515</sup>

Mufti Muhammad Shafi also wrote about the educational quality and standards of Jamia Khair ul Madaris. He was invited as an examiner in 1950 and he wrote in his letter

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> Ibid., 137

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> Letter of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani to Maulana Khair Muhammad of 1949 available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*, vol. 1, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> Ibid.

that I have examined written papers of *Jamia Tirmizi*.<sup>516</sup> Students have shown good knowledge and secured good marks. He further added that in my point of view there is no other madrasa available which is providing such high standards of education. I also pray for the success of madrasa and wish its staff and leadership may attain more progress.<sup>517</sup>

Syed Jamil uddin Ahmad, Inspector Madaris Arabia wa Deeniyat, Bahawalpur came for inspection of Jamia Khair ul Madaris on January 4, 1952.<sup>518</sup> He has given detail of his visit and various observations of his visit are available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*. He wrote that after the partition in 1947 Jamia Khair ul Madaris migrated with Maulana Khair Muhammad without any thing in hand. Jamia Khair ul Madaris was re-established in Multan.<sup>519</sup> It was very unique that Jamia Khair ul Madaris was allotted a land that use to be a Hindu temple before the partition.<sup>520</sup>

In short span of four years, madrasa has twenty-one teacher teaching four hundred and forty-eight students.<sup>521</sup> Out of these four hundred and forty-eight students one hundred and thirty students are boarders and madrasa takes care of their boarding and lodging requirements.<sup>522</sup> The Bahawalpur State provides five hundred rupees as annual fund to Jamia Khair ul Madaris and some well off people support the other needs and necessities of madrasa.<sup>523</sup> Madrasa teachers has mainly focused on pronunciation and accurate reading of *Darja Quran* students. Its not only that madrasa has focused on education of students but also a proper training of *adab* like sitting, leaving or entering room, moral conduct etc.<sup>524</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> Letter of Mufti Muhammad Shafi to Maulana Khair Muhammad of 1950 available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*, vol. 1, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> Ibid., 6.

The inspector Madaris also noted that salaries of teachers are not up to standard and they should be paid well. Everyone needs money to fulfil their daily needs and requirements and there should be a proper grade system and annual increment and promotion of teachers. <sup>525</sup> In short span of four years, library of madrasa acquired five to seven thousand titles which is remarkable. <sup>526</sup> In four years time period, one hundred and nineteen students graduated from madrasa and now serving religion at different places. <sup>527</sup> In the end, I pray to Allah that this madrasa keep serving Islam and Pakistan. <sup>528</sup>

Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on December 1, 1952 and wrote his impressions in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris* in these words that today I visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris and it was nice meeting qualified and hard work teachers and simple and down to earth students of madrasa. <sup>529</sup> I have seen record registers and financial record of madrasa and find it up to-date. One thing about financial registers is that they can be improved more if some professional service is hired for this purpose or some advice sought about it. <sup>530</sup> Madrasa is carefully fulfilling student needs of residence, food and clothes. All this arrangement is done with the help and support of public funding coming from well wisher community. <sup>531</sup>

Maulana Abdul Haq, *muhtamim*, Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, Akora Khattak visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on the occasion of *salana jalsa* in February 1959 on the invitation of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>532</sup> He wrote a letter on his return and said during my stay in madrasa I have visited various departments of madrasa and observed wider infrastructure

51

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> Ibid.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> Letter of Maulana Abdul Haq to Maulana Khair Muhammad of 1959 available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*, vol. 1, 10.

and impressed by the wonderful discipline and educational services.<sup>533</sup> Jamia Khair ul Madaris need no introduction and praise because it has Maulana Khair Muhammad as its leader who was *khalifa* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.<sup>534</sup> This madrasa is not only lightening Pakistan but before partition its served United India as well. This madrasa is of well reputation and I pray to Allah that this madrasa may grow and flourish day with ach passing day.<sup>535</sup>

Maulana Izhar Ahmad Thanvi of Madrasa Tajwid ul Quran, Lahore came as an examiner to examine students of *darja tajwid* on November 8, 1959.<sup>536</sup> He narrated that I am impressed with the performance of students and appreciate the teaching quality of staff training these students at Jamia Khair ul Madaris.<sup>537</sup> Learning of *Qirat* of Quran is not an easy task. It needs a lot of practice, guidance and careful supervision and Jamia Khair ul Madaris is providing strong training of this to students.<sup>538</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Taqqi Usmani while expressing his views in *Kitab ul A'ara* wrote that after the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad I am visiting madrasa now. I am happy to see that madrasa is running very smoothly under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Sharif after the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>539</sup> I have had the opportunity of talking to students and teachers and I find them engaged and busy in learning and excelling religious knowledge. I can say that teachers and students of madrasa are real torch bearers of teachings and training of Maulana Khair Muhammad.<sup>540</sup> I hope madrasa will grow further with each passing day.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> Ibid.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> Letter of Maulana Izhar Ahmad Thanvi to Maulana Khair Muhammad of November 11, 1959 available in *Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris*, vol. 1, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 14.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid

On April 19, 1996, Maulana Muhammad Rafi Usmani, Vice President of Dar ul Uloom Karachi visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris. <sup>541</sup> Maulana Rafi narrated his impression in these words that after twenty years today I came to Jamia Khair ul Madaris. I use to visit Jamia Khair ul Madaris with my father Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi and I am very happy to see madrasa running on same pattern and lines which I have seen two decades back under Maulana Khair Muhammad. <sup>542</sup> *Talim un Nissa* is much focused here in Jamia Khair ul Madaris and one can not find any example of such struggle anywhere in Pakistan. <sup>543</sup> I met students and teachers of madrasa and found them ready to learn and listen which is a consistent quality of good learner. <sup>544</sup>

Toheed ur Rahman, Administrator Auqaf, Multan visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on October 10, 1977.<sup>545</sup> I met Maulana Muhammad Sharif, *muhtamim*, Jamia Khair ul Madaris. I have visited library and other departments of madrasa. At present madrasa has a strength of one thousand students and two hundred students are living on campus.<sup>546</sup> Madrasa is fulfilling the religious needs of the local community sine 1947 and in this way its also serving Islam.<sup>547</sup>

Dr. Abdur Razzaq Sikandar of Madrasa Arabia Islamia, New Town, Karachi visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on October 30, 1977.<sup>548</sup> He wrote that today I am happy to see that a garden which was sown by Maulana Khair Muhammad has started given fruits to Muslims and its graduates are also serving the Muslim community.<sup>549</sup> May Allah give

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 16.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid

<sup>547</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 1, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Ibid.

progress and prosperity to this madrasa under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Sharif. 550

Maulana Saleem ullah Khan, Nazim, Wifaq ul Madaris visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on December 7, 1982.<sup>551</sup> He expressed in these words that in the recent tour of madrasa of Punjab, I was surprised to see a very huge number of Khair ul Madaris graduates serving in the province of Punjab in various madrasas.<sup>552</sup> Many of its graduates are serving as *muhtamims* of *darja Quran* and Dars-i-Nizami too and its shows how much influence Khair ul Madaris has on the religious education given throughout the province.<sup>553</sup>

Maulana Abdullah Salafi, *Amir, Markazi Jamiat Ahl Hadith* visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on June 12, 1989 on the invitation of Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari. <sup>554</sup> He praised the performance of madrasa and said that this madrasa is struggling and producing individuals who can preach and Islamise the society very well. <sup>555</sup> He further said that this institution is a manifestation of real teachings of Islam but an advise for administration of this madrasa is to focus on formal school education of students and equip them with religious and worldly education simultaneously. <sup>556</sup>

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris on April 4, 2000.<sup>557</sup> This madrasa has not only developed itself from scratch but also produced thousands of students who are serving Islam in different corners of the county.<sup>558</sup> I also came to know that madrasa has introduced mathematics and computer teaching to its students for bringing them at par with students of other educational systems as well.<sup>559</sup> Furthermore, a public

<sup>550</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 2, 2.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid

<sup>553</sup> Th: 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 2, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid

<sup>557</sup> Kitab ul A'ara of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, vol. 2, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> Ibid.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

schools is to be established where students will learn the Quran by heart and also get education up to O-Levels.<sup>560</sup>

Jamia Khair ul Madaris has contributed in developing a linkage between religion and society and above all the motto of serving Islam through the production of graduate who spread all over the world. The curriculum and reform schemes of the successive regimes of Pakistan couldn't alter their discourse and destination of serving Islam though thick and thin. This growth and expansion of Khair ul Madaris influence can bee seen in next chapter where I will explain how Jamia established itself physically and economically with huge public subscription without having a single penny from the Government to help and assist them in building their infrastructure and creating a Jamia equal to a public sector university in Pakistan in seventy years.

-

<sup>560</sup> Ibid.

# Chapter 06

# **Funding Sources and Physical Growth of Jamia Khair ul Madaris.**

Infrastructure establishment of Jamia Khair ul Madaris would have not been possible without the generous support of donations from well-off families and huge public subscription. Multan's growth as a centre of economic trade and agricultural development further added to the establishment of institutions like Khair ul Madaris. Multan continued its journey to become a wealthy and rich city under the Raj and later on the Government of Pakistan's Green Revolution shaped its destiny through agricultural expansion. Multan's economic growth also increased public subscription in shape of charities and donations. Multan's rich agrarian economy became source of income for everyone in the area.

### Student enrolment in Jamia Khair ul Madaris

The student enrolment in the madrasas of Pakistan increased with each passing day since 1980s. The free food, accommodation and monthly stipend attracted scores of people to send their children to madrasa education system on one hand and on the other hand, it was a proud felling for the parents that they were sending their children in the service of Islam. However, there is a common though incorrect perception that only poor and lower-income families sent their children to madrasas. A careful examination of the overall situation of student enrolment in Pakistani Punjab provincial madrasas can help us in explaining the growth of student numbers enrolled in madrasas for religious education. In the year 1960, Punjab province had a total of 24,842 students in the madrasas which increased to 80,879 students in 1979. This increased, as Jamal Malik has given statistics,

in 1983 when all Punjab madrasas had 1,24,670 students receiving education in madrasas.<sup>561</sup>

The students coming to Jamia Khair ul Madaris were not only from the Punjab province but from each corner of Pakistan and from abroad as well. Multan as a city is home to Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Jamia Qasim ul Uloom and Deobandi Madrasa Education Board Wifaq ul Madaris as well. According to Jamal Malik, Multan got fourth place in attracting Deobandi madrasa students after Peshawar, Mardan and Mansehra. Malik has analysed five years graduation data of Wifaq ul Madaris. <sup>562</sup>

The analysis of student data which I have gathered from my field research will help us in understanding from which area, cities and towns people are coming to attend Khair ul Madaris for receiving their religious education. The students who attended the madrasa were usually from weaker economic background or middle class and lower middle classes. Khair ul Madaris also has a good number of students coming from Indonesia, Afghanistan, India, Malaysia and the Central Asian Republics till 1980s. This internationalization of Khair ul Madaris gave it a good number of graduates and alumni serving globally. This increasing number of international students was alarming for the Government. It has forced to intoduce checks on international students because of militancy and terrorism concerns. A good example of the internationalization is the warm reception accorded to Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari on his international tours which helped the madrasa to get funds and a reputable place in the eyes of international community. Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari who was *muhtamim* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris regularly visited the United Kingdom, United States, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Japan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, India, South Africa, Bangladesh, France, Germany, Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> Jamal Malik, *Colonization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan.* (Delhi: Manohar, 1996). 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> Ibid., 235. Jamal Malik has selected the years 1963, 1965, 1974, 1975 and 1984 and each year has following numerical strength of students respectively: 280, 173, 394, 297 and 933.

Denmark, Switzerland, Morocco, Thailand and Philippines.<sup>563</sup> This network of international alumni is also a constant financial support to the madrasa. These annual tours of *muhtamim* to all these countries shows networking of Khair ul Madaris graduates and their relation to their *alma mater*.

Within Pakistan, the students of the Jamia Khair ul Madaris hail from each and every corner- be it a small unknown town, a big city or districts of all the provinces in Pakistan. Khair ul Madaris being a Deobandi madrasa has a very diverse student population as one can see that students from all the provinces and major cities of Pakistan were traveling to get religious education there. Students come through different references and connections for getting religious education. Some students come because of their sectarian affiliation to madrasa and some come because their family friends, relatives or elder people in the home had an attachment with some madrasa teacher. Sometimes people come to attend madrasa because of its name and fame.

One can easily grasp the spirit of the student variety and background while knowing their areas of origin. For example, for the Islamic year 1437-38 (2016-17) total four hundred and nineteen (419) students who were admitted for *Darja Quran* admission hail from following districts with their numerical strengthen mentioned in parenthesis: Bannu (4), Bhakkar (11), Bahawalpur (16), Bahawalnagar (8), Jhang (2), Khanewal (21), Rajanpur (20), Rawalpindi (2), Rahim Yar Khan (5), Ziarat (3), Zhob (1), Sahiwal (3), Sibbi (1), Kasur (1), Lodhran (25), Loralai (2), Layyah (3), Muzaffargarh (38), Multan (173), Musakhel (4), Nankana (1), Vehari (25), Tonk (1), Dear Ismail Khan (12), Dera Ghazi Khan (34) and Harnai (3).<sup>564</sup> If we examine these student numbers, we come to know that some places focus more on religious education as compared to others. For example,

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> Bio data of Maulana Hanif Jalandhari received from Jamia Khair ul Madaris office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> Data collected from the *Nazim-i-Taleemat* Office of Jamia Khair ul Madaris. For better understanding of this numerical strength, I have used twenty stduents or more than twenty as bench mark to highlight various districts and areas.

Khanewal, Rajanpur, Lodhran, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Vehari and Dera Ghazi Khan have student numbers which is higher than twenty per district in *Darja Quran*. It also shows that south Punjab has more representation at this level as compared to the rest of Pakistan. This student number also shows that economically less privileged areas have more students as opposed to upper Punjab where industry, business and job opportunities are more frequent for the masses in comparison to south Punjab.

A similar distribution of students representing different areas of Pakistan is evident for the other levels like Darja Kutab and Dars-i-Nizami at Khair ul Madaris in the Islamic year 1437-38 (2016-17) when a total of one thousand, one hundred and ninety-two (1,192) students were admitted. The area wise distribution is as following: Okara (8), Attock (1), Bajur Agency (1), Barkhan (7), Bannu (3), Bhakkar (10), Bahawalpur (55), Bahawalnagar (33), Pakpattan (5), Peshawar (3), Pishin (3), South Wazirstan (23), Jhang (11), Hyderabad (1), Kharan (2), Khanewal (26), Khushab (1), Rajanpur (44), Rawalpindi (2), Rahim Yar Khan (33), Ziarat (23), Zhob (5), Sahiwal (1), Sibbi (1), Sargodha (1), Sukkar (1), Sialkot (1), North Wazirstan (10), Umarkot (1), Faisalabad (2), Kusur (6), Qila Saifullah (5), Qila Abdullah (2), Kutch (1), Kashmor (2), Quetta (7), Kotli (1), Kohlu (17), Gujrat (2), Guwadar (1), Ghotki (6), Lahore (4), Lakki Marwat (3), Lodhran (41), Loralai (55), Layyah (17), Malakand (1), Mansehra (1), Mastung (1), Muzaffargarh (165), Multan (209), Musakhel (29), Mianwali (5), Mirpurkhas (1), Nankana (1), Vehari (54), Tonk (9), Dear Ismail Khan (58), Dera Bugti (4), Dera Ghazi Khan (152) and Harnai (14). 565 If we examine this data as we have for *Darja Ouran*, again the leading districts are Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, South Wazirstan, Khanewal, Rajanpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Ziarat, Lodhran, Loralai, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Vehari, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan.

\_

<sup>565</sup> Ibid

## **Funding Sources of Jamia Khair ul Madaris**

Like many other leading madrasas of Indo-Pakistan, Jamia Khair ul Madaris also needed financial support to run an efficient organization of madrasa. Indian madrasas have adopted a variety of methods to take care of their financial needs. Traditional madrasas during the precolonial times were mostly supported by the state or Muslim endowments (waqf). The Islamic notion of charity is another main source of funding for madrasas. Charitable donations result in different types of funds including Zakat, Sadqah and Ushar. In addition to these Islamic donations, a huge amount of money comes from shops, traders, landlords in the shape of cash and kind as a source of income for madrasas. Some people donate piece of land and/or material for building new space within the madrasa premises. Others take responsibility for the payments of utility bills every month. This shows that the running of madrasa is purely reliant on huge public subscription and community support. Large madrasas have their own properties which they have received as endowments or gifts from which they gain an assured income every month.



Pic 3: Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Jalandhar, India (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul

٠

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup>Arshad Alam, *Inside a Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India.* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011), 111. Muslim endowment meant that a person relinquished his property rights on a part of his real estate and put it in the trust of God.

Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

This public subscription and community support is evidence that the masses have trust on madrasas system and its education. Madrasas also collect donations and funding from their annual processions and graduation ceremonies and through fundraising tours within and outside Pakistan. An example of this could be the holy month of Ramazan, in which madrasas send their students and representatives to their native towns and places to collect funds. Same is the case of expatriates living abroad and supporting their village mosques, madrasas and *maktabs* in the name of Allah and also establishing some charity in the names of their deceased parents or relatives.

The economic dependence of Islamic education on rich donors and the state had worked well during colonial era. The founders of Deoband were reluctant to be dependent on the state and it was clearly stated in one of the fourteen famous points which later became the constitution of Deoband. Rashid Ahmad Gangohi stated that under no circumstances would the madrasa would receive funds from the state, and that public donations would be preferred for fulfilling madrasa needs. The system developed at Deoband served as model for other madrasas founded afterwards. The financial needs of the madrasas brought them closer to local community for getting donations and patronage and in this way madrasas became dependent on annual charities, donations and fundraising tours. Madrasas also do not shy away from state funds or receiving donations from wealth patrons. Here we can adopt the two divisions of madrasa which Arshad Alam has mentioned: those who receive state funds and those who do not. The state had worked were reluctant to be dependent on receiving donations.

5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> Ibid.



Pic 4: Main entrance of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

## Income and Expenditure of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan

Year	Income (in Pakistani Rupees)	<b>Expenditure (in Pakistani Rupees)</b>
1959	86,595	78,031
1971	1,01,893	1,17,472
1981	8,56,323	7,03,619
1986	17,21,397	18,17,625
1987	19,35,000	18,50,000
1990	27,02,494	24,54,902
1991	35,47,982	32,00,000
1992	N/A	37,40,000 (estimated by <i>Shura</i> )
1993	N/A	40,00,000 (estimated by <i>Shura</i> )
1999	N/A	120,000,000
2001	N/A	150,000,000

Source: Collated from Monthly Al Khair published by Jamia Khair ul Madaris.

The case of Jamia Khair ul Madaris is not different from the above debate with regard to financial matters. We find nothing in records of the Jamia Khair ul Madaris from the times of colonial India except for six registers of student registration of various classes. All that I have found and was given limited access to the madrasa archive record is post partition material. Jamia Khair ul Madaris got the land allocated as per the government

policy where it has grown since 1947. The public subscription and donations shaped Jamia Khair ul Madaris grew from a small madrasa to a huge establishment in the seven decades since the partition. The huge public subscription came in different forms to Jamia Khair ul Madaris. Some affluent people donated three *murabba* and seventeen *bighas* as *waqf* to Jamia. Standaria In 1959, Khair ul Madaris had a total income of 86,595 rupees and expenditure was 78,031 rupees. The quintal wheat grains were received as donations from well off people. The parallel Iquama (student hostel) of Jamia Khair ul Madaris has consumption of one quintal daily and annual estimate of this requirement is three hundred quintals. The expenditure of Jamia's *Dar ul Iquama* for the year 1959 was 14,416 rupees. The parallel Iquama (student hostel) in 1959 accommodated two hundred and eighteen students on campus.

During Zia regime in 1988, Government started supporting madrasas financially throughout Pakistan. At that time the total 2,861 madrasas existed and out of these 935 madrasas accepted this financial support while 1,926 madrasas refused it.<sup>578</sup> It was estimated that 33% madrasas accepted the government support through Zakat fund and 67% madrasa refused to accept it.<sup>579</sup> The financial support was very little amount totaling to a figure of 27,370 rupees annually.<sup>580</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmad, *Jaiza Madaris Arabia Islamia Maghrbi Pakistan*. (Layllpur: Jamia Chishtia Trust, 1960), 532. One *murabba* is equal to twenty-five acres of land and four *bighas* are equal to one acre of land. <sup>573</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmad, *Jaiza Madaris Arabia Islamia Maghrbi Pakistan*. (Layllpur: Jamia Chishtia Trust, 1960), 533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmad, *Jaiza Madaris Arabia Islamia Maghrbi Pakistan*. (Layllpur: Jamia Chishtia Trust, 1960), 533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> Saleem Mansoor Khalid, *Deeni Madaris Main Taleem: Kaifiat, Masail, Imkanat.* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies), 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> Ibid.

Annual Income Support of Religious Madrasas from the Federal Government of Pakistan, 1988-2002<sup>581</sup>

Sr. No.	Year	Support in Rupees
1.	1988-89	1,37,000
2.	1989-90	144000
3.	1990-91	144000
4.	1991-92	130000
5.	1992-93	1000000
6.	1993-94	1000000
7.	1994-95	1005000
8.	1995-96	1150000
9.	1996-97	1200000
10.	1997-98	1300000
11.	1998-99	1296000
12.	1999-2000	1500000
13.	2000-01	1575000
14.	2001-2002	1654000

Jamia Khair ul Madaris refused to accept Government Zakat Fund for financial assistance of madrasa. <sup>582</sup> Khair ul Madaris refused on the grounds that for providing right religious education to society, madrasas should maintain independent identity and should not have the influence of the Government. <sup>583</sup>

<sup>581</sup> Saleem Mansoor Khalid, *Deeni Madaris Main Taleem: Kaifiat, Masail, Imkanat.* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies), 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> Muhammad Tayyeb, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (June 1984), 60.

<sup>583</sup> Ibid

## Physical Growth of Jamia Khair ul Madaris

Jamia Khair ul Madaris grew slowly and gradually. In 1960, Jamia Khair ul Madaris had a total area of twelve acres and eleven *marlas* on which building were available and also under construction. The block for *ibtadia* education was comprised of fifteen rooms and primary section was having ten rooms which were constructed with an amount of 14,640 rupees. The Arabic and Persian section has thirty-five rooms and in addition to these store, kitchen and *Dar ul Ifta* has separate rooms. The Jamia Masjid of madrasa was built on the main campus with total amount of 1,84,894 rupees were spent for the construction till 1970. The section of 1970.



Pic 5: Map of New Hostel block for the resident students of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmad, *Jaiza Madaris Arabia Islamia Maghrbi Pakistan*. (Layllpur: Jamia Chishtia Trust, 1960), 532.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Ibid., 301.



Pic 6: A view of Mosque of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

In 1971, Khair ul Madaris had a total income of 1,01,893 rupees and expenditure was 1,17,472 rupees.<sup>588</sup> In the 52<sup>nd</sup> Annual Session of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in 1983 annual income and expenditure of the madrasa were published for the preceding year 1981-1982. The total income of the madrasa for the said year was 856,323 rupees and expenditure was 703,619 rupees.<sup>589</sup> In August 1986, Jamia Khair ul Madaris admitted six hundred and fifty students who availed of the boarding and lodging facilities provided by madrasa.<sup>590</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmad, *Jaiza Madaris Arabia Islamia Maghrbi Pakistan*. (Layllpur: Jamia Chishtia Trust, 1972), 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> Muhammad Azhar, "Jamia Khair ul Madaris ka salana 52 Jalsa." *Al Khair* (December 1983), 39. The detail of each component of income is following: Zakat and Sadqat = 636,923 rupees, Donations = 21,137 rupees, Monthly Collection = 46,583 rupees, Mosque = 16,013 rupees, Rent Collection = 85, 727 rupees, Miscellaneous = 49,898 rupees and expenditure details are following: Teacher Stipend = 342,969 rupees, Allowances = 45,104 rupees, Rent/ Hospitality = 13,526 rupees, Hostel Kitchen = 99,957 rupees, Student Stipend = 45,144 rupees, Stationary and Books purchase = 3,912 rupees, Repair purchase = 34,127 rupees, Electricity and Gas = 30,105 rupees, Publications = 18,536 rupees, Court cases and essential = 16,197 rupees, Tube well and Mosque = 7,557 rupees and Repair residences = 46,483 rupees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup> Muhammad Iqbal Yousfi, "Akhbar ul Jamia." *Al Khair* (August 1986), 56.



Pic 7: An outer view of the female madrasa at Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan. (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

In June 1987, *shura* of Khair ul Madaris met and following members attended the meeting: Maulana Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri, Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari, Maulana Hakim Muhammad Akhtar, Maulana Mufti Ghulam Qadir, Maulana Muhammad Taqqi Usmani, Maulana Syed Najm ul Hassan Thanvi, Maulana Musharraf Ali Thanvi, Haji Shamshad Ali, Malik Abdul Ghafur Anwari and Dr. Mohsin Raza Khan.<sup>591</sup> This meeting of *shura* also approved the budget of madrasa for the previous year and the next fiscal year. The previous year's income was 17,21,397 rupees and expenditure was 18,17,625 rupees. In the light of previous year's budget, the *shura* approved estimated next year's budget as following: income was 19,35,000 rupees and expenditure was 18,50,000 rupees.<sup>592</sup>

Mufti Muhammad Anwar has elaborated growth and progress of Jamia Khair ul Madaris on pattern of Deoband and quoted Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Muhammad Aslam Bukhari, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (August 1987), 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> Ibid.

"After migrating to Pakistan if one wants to see a model of Deoband and Saharanpur that is Khair ul Madaris". One can assess the importance and popularity of Jamia Khair ul Madaris by the fact that its main campus buildings are not large enough to accommodate all students. The main campus had an area of 47 *Kanals* and 17 *marlas* in 1987. The main campus of the madrasa comprised of twenty houses for residences of teachers, thirty class rooms, twenty-six residential rooms for students, permanent *Dar ul Quran* comprised of five class rooms, five residential halls for students in addition having six storage rooms. As of May 1987, the madrasa had forty-two faculty members and seventeen employees. 595



Pic 8: A view of Teachers residences at Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan. (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

Jamia Khair ul Madaris attracted students from all over the country. The main campus of madrasa was not able to accommodate all of these students therefore Jamia opened its branches to cater the needs of these students. Each branch had one to three teachers serving in it. The following branches are working under Jamia Khair ul Madaris: 596

<sup>593</sup> Mufti Muhammad Anwar, "Khair ul Madaris ka shandar mazi aur haal." Al Khair (May 1987), 20.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> Mufti Muhammad Anwar, "Khair ul Madaris ka shandar mazi aur haal." Al Khair (May 1987), 20-21.

- I. Madrasa Zia ul Uloom, Vehari
- II. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Qadeerabad, Multan
- III. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Nawashahr, Multan
- IV. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Ansar Colony, Multan
- V. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Ashrafabad, Multan
- VI. Madrasa Tarteel Al-Quran, Gulgasht Colony, Multan
- VII. Jamia Madnia, Chowk Kumharan, Multan
- VIII. Jamia Tarteel Al-Quran, Hasanabad, Multan
  - IX. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Neelkot, Multan
  - X. Masjid Ashraf, Writers Colony, Multan
  - XI. Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Justice Abdul Hameed Colony, Multan
- XII. Madrasa Arabia Raheemia Taleem ul Quran, New Multan

All these branches were funded and managed from the main madrasa finances. In main campus there were 550 students and in all branches there were total 1,425 students.<sup>597</sup> Maulana Saleem Ullah Khan, Nazim of Wifaq ul Madaris, noticed a distinction of Khair ul Madaris during his official visit of all Punjab based madrasas and said "It was an immense pleasure to see that hundreds and thousands of Khair ul Madaris graduates and alumnus serving religious duties in various capacities and have not found any match of them."<sup>598</sup>

In June 1990, *shura* of Khair ul Madaris met and following members attended the meeting: Maulana Mufti Abdul Shakoor Tirmizi, Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari, Maulana Mufti Ghulam Qadir, Maulana Syed Anwar Hussain Nafees, Justice Maulana Muhammad Taqqi Usmani, Haji Shamshad Ali and Dr. Mohsin Raza Khan.<sup>599</sup> This meeting of *shura* was also important because they have to decide who would replace

<sup>597</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> Mufti Muhammad Anwar, "Khair ul Madaris ka shandar mazi aur haal." Al Khair (May 1987), 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> "Akhbar ul Jamia." *Al Khair* (July 1990), 39.

Maulana Sharif Kashmiri as *sadder mudaris* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris and there was unanimous approval for the decision to appoint Maulana Muhammad Siddique as new *sadder mudaris* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris.<sup>600</sup> The budget of madrasa for the previous year and the next fiscal year were approved by the *shura*. The previous year's income was 27,02,494 rupees and expenditure was 24,54,902 rupees. In the light of previous year's budget, the *shura* approved estimated next year's budget as following: income was 35,47,982 rupees and expenditure was 32,00,000 rupees.<sup>601</sup>



Pic 9: A view of new construction and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan. (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

On May 22, 1991, *Shura* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris met in Multan and Maulana Mufti Abdul Shakoor Tirmizi presided it. The members who attended the meeting included Justice Maulana Muhammad Taqi Usmani, Maulana Hakim Muhammad Akhtar, Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sikandar, Syed Anwar Hussain Nafees, Maulana Ubaid Ullah, Maulana Musharaf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Mufti Ghulam Qadir, Haji Shamshad Ali, Dr. Mohsin Raza and Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari.<sup>602</sup> This meeting approved the new constitution of

٠

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602 &</sup>quot;Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (June 1991), 49.

Jamia Khair ul Madaris. The *shura* meeting approved next year's budget which was estimated about 37,40,000 rupees.<sup>603</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> Ibid.



Pic 10: A view of new construction and expansion of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan. (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

On the eve of August 26, 1992, a foundation stone was laid for the construction of a new building for the madrasa. 604 The chief guests of the ceremony were Abdullah Umar Naseef, General Secretary of Organisation of Islamic Countries and Mr. Ghulam Haider Wayne, Chief Minister of Punjab. 605 The other distinguished guest included Justice Muhammad Taqi Usmani (Supreme Court of Pakistan), Maulana Saleem Ullah Khan (President, Wifaq), Maulana Hassan Jan (Member National Assembly), Syed Nafees Raqam, Maulana Allama Khalid Mehmood, Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad, Maulana Abdur Rahman, Maulana Abdul Sattar Taunsvi, Maulana Qazi Abdul Latif, Maulana Qari Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari, Maulana Manzoor Ahmad Chinoti and Maulana Abdul Majeed. 606 The new construction plan consisted of residential block (Dar ul Igama) accommodating two thousand students on the campus in one hundred and forty rooms and be constructed on seventy-two thousand square feet (17.7 acres), 607 Dar ul Taleem, Dar ul Ifta, Dar ul Tahqeeq, offices, library, dispensary, residential hostel for girls accommodating two hundred students and female madrasa building accommodating four hundred students. 608 The estimated cost for this new building was 100,000,000 rupees. 609 The people who pledged their support for this new construction in cash and kind included the following: Mian Faiz Bakhsh of Mailsi who promised construction of three rooms. Haji Khalil ur Rahman, Andhi Khui Multan gave 50,000 rupees cash on the spot. Haji Muhammad Usman Essa of Karachi promised construction of one room. Mian Maqbool Ahmad of Allah Wassaya Textile Mills, Multan promised construction of one room. Dr. Mohsin Raza Khan of Multan promised construction of one room. Haji Sarfraz Ahmad of Multan promised construction of one room, Haji Anwar Elahi of Multan promised

<sup>604</sup> Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (September 1992), 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>605</sup> Ibid.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid

<sup>607 &</sup>quot;Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (April 1993), 55.

<sup>608</sup> Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (September 1992), 56.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid.

construction of one room, Haji Sher Muhammad Khan of Multan promised construction of one room, Haji Khushi Muhammad Counsellor of Multan promised construction of one room, Haji Muhammad Boot (Member Provincial Assembly) of Multan promised construction of one room, Haji Muhammad Shafiq of Multan Rewari promised construction of one room, Muhammad Tayyad of Multan promised construction of one room, Haji Muhammad Sharif Dogar of Multan promised construction of one room, Syed Khursheed Abbas Gardezi of Multan promised construction of one room and Dr. Aun Muhammad Khan gave 10,000 rupees cash on the spot.<sup>610</sup>



Pic 11: A view of the library of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan. (Source: Personal collection of Hafiz Najam ul Haq, Nazim Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan, Pakistan)

Maulana Mufti Abdul Shakoor Tirmizi presided over the *Majlis-i-Shura* of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in May 1993.<sup>611</sup> The following members attended the meeting: Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sikandar, Syed Anwar Hussain Nafees, Maulana Musharaf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Mufti Ghulam Qadir, Haji Shamshad Ali, Dr. Mohsin Raza and Maulana Muhammad Hanif

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>610</sup> Ibid

<sup>611</sup> Muhammad Amin, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (June 1993), 53.

Jalandhari. The *shura* approved the new construction plan and its budget. The *shura* meeting approved next year's budget which was estimated about 40,00,000 rupees.<sup>612</sup>

In October 2000, Maulana Tariq Jamil of Tableeghi Jamat visited Jamia Khair ul Madaris and addressed the students and staff of the Jamia. In October 2000, Justice Maulana Taqi Usmani, Judge Supreme Court of Pakistan, visited "Idara Khair ul Ma'arif" a branch of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan. Maulana Taqi Usmani visited different department of this branch including *Al Khair Rozatul Itfal, Ma'had Al Khair* and Al Khair Public School and applauded the struggles and achievements of Maulana Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari. Maulana Tanvir ul Haq Thanvi of Jamia Ihtashamia Karachi visited "Idara Khair ul Ma'arif" a branch of Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan.

Jamia Khair ul Madaris has expanded with the help of well off and wealthy donors and huge public subscription and subsequently emerged as the leading Deobandi madrasa in South Punjab of Pakistan. Its great infrastructure and still under construction grand mosque clearly reveal the network of donors and income of madrasa which its administration is using for expansion. The income of madrasa comes not only from *salana jalsa*, in the form of madrasa property rented to a local merchandiser, i.e., Al Khair School, but also from the cultivable land which the madrasa got as *waqf* and gifts etc to run its day to day affairs. The madrasa owns property and land as well in Multan as well as in different places throughout the Pakistan. The gradual physical and economic expansion of the madrasa since 1947 shows how the Khair ul Madaris became a major centre for Deobandi identity and reform in Pakistan, especially Multan, South Punjab.

\_

<sup>612</sup> Ibid

<sup>613</sup> Fayyaz Ahmad Usmani, "Akhbar ul Jamia." Al Khair (November 2000), 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> Ibid.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>616</sup> Ibid., 52.

#### **Conclusion**

This thesis has been concerned to explain how madrasas, which numbered 189 in the lands of Pakistan at independence, grew to be at least 10,000 by the year 2000. It does so by examining the specific growth and development of one madrasa, the Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Multan.

Central to the subject is the economic growth of Multan, and its surrounding regions, from the British occupation to the present. This illustrates the new wealth brought to the region under the British by the development of the world's largest irrigation scheme of the time, the Canal Colonies development. This led to the emergence of rich families, some with a vision of public service; it also spread wealth widely throughout society. After independence the process of enrichment was enhanced by the Green Revolution, which brought new wealth to agrarian societies throughout South Asia and beyond. In Multan it meant that society, if it chose, had the wealth to support a significant educational development.

The thesis then explores how Maulana Khair Muhammad came to found the Jamia Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar in 1931. The major Deobandi figure, Ashraf Ali Thanvi, was his patron and as a young man Maulana Khair served on the Deoband *Shura* or governing Council. At partition Maulana Khair migrated to Pakistan and set about recreating his Khair ul Madaris in Multan. In doing this he was much helped by the network of Ashraf Ali Thanvis's disciples.

Under Ayub Khan the government of Pakistan was not friendly towards the growth of madrasa education, indeed, wished substantially to reform it. This thesis demonstrates how in response to this Maulana Khair Muhammad created a unified platform for Deobandi madrasas in the shape of a *Wifaq*, or education board. This followed the model of the Dar ul Uloom Deoband and offered a unified curriculum and examination system, supported by

inspections, for all Deobandi madrasas. Again, crucial in enabling the creation of this united front against the government was the network of Ashraf Ali Thanvi's pupils.

The thesis examines the lives of teachers and students in the madrasa. It shows how controlled and regimented it was. The teachers were carefully watched by the madrasa administration as they went from classroom to classroom to deliver lectures. The same went for the students from the time of admission to graduation day. They were nourished according to the Deobandi traditions of learning, *adab*, *islah*, and *akhlaq* in addition to following the curriculum. They were being trained as future torchbearers of the Deobandi tradition to carry its teaching and culture wherever they served.

Successive governments tried to reform the madrasa curriculum, but without success. All madrasa administrators and their respective educational boards refused to implement them. The Deobandis took the lead in the process. They were able to resist the government because they received virtually nothing from it in financial support.

We have demonstrated that most of the students of the Khair ul Madaris came from the south Punjab. But significant numbers came from the rest of Pakistan as well as from abroad. We have also demonstrated the range of local sources for the funding of the madrasa and how their contributions amounted to considerable sums by the end of the twentieth century. So great was this public subscription that the madrasa was able to sustain the major building programme which we have illustrated.

This thesis has established several major points. First, it is a common accusation that madrasa growth in Pakistan, indeed, in South Asia in general, has been the outcome of funding from Saudi Arabi and the Gulf. In the case of Jamia Khair ul Madaris there is no evidence of foreign government funding, although there may be some funding from former pupils living abroad. Moreover, the madrasa received virtually nothing from the Pakistan government under President Zia's initiative. Its existence and growth was almost entirely

the outcome of the generosity of devout Muslims, mostly from the locality. That so much could be given was the outcome of the Green Revolution. If this model is replicated elsewhere in the country, Islam is being built from below in Pakistan by the will of the people.

A second major point, which merits further investigation, is that Ashraf Ali Thanvi, who died in 1943, was crucial to the beginning of Maulana Khair's initiative, and his followers were crucial both to the success of the madrasa in Multan and to that of the education board he established to oversee all Deobandi madrasas in the country.

A third major point relates to the madrasa's capacity to resist government pressure to reform its curriculum. It had always been a Deobandi principle to reject funding both from government and from the rich. The merit of this position was demonstrated by the capacity of Khair ul Madaris and its educational board to resist repeated government pressure for curriculum reform. Indeed, it suggest that reform can only come from within the madrasa system itself rather than from pressure from outside.

Finally, it was another feature of Deoband on its foundation in India that it developed substantial administrative systems and practices which meant that the institution was greater than some of the charismatic figures who came to be part of the organisation from time to time. These systems and practices were mirrored in the substantial bureaucracy developed both by Khair ul Madaris and its educational board. Indeed, they might have given the general public, which funded them, rather great confidence in their integrity and lack of corruption than that of the Pakistani state.

## APPENDIX-I.

## MEMBER OF THE FIRST SHURA OF WIFAQ UL MADARIS ARABIA, $MULTAN^{617}$

Sr. No.	Name of <i>Alim</i> as <i>Shura</i> Member	Affiliated Madrasa/ Location
1.	Maulana Hafiz Fazal Ahmad	Madrasa Mazhar ul Uloom, Khadda, Karachi
2.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Usman	Madrasa Arabia Ahrar ul Islam, Karachi
3.	Maulana Muhammad Yousaf Binori	Madrasa Arabia Islamia, New Town, Karachi
4.	Maulana Qari Rehmat Ullah	Madrasa Arabia Hussania Talim ul Quran, Shahdad pur, Sanghar
5.	Maulana Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri	Dar ul Uloom Ishat ul Quran, Degree Tharparkar
6.	Maulana Arz Muhammad	Madrasa Matla ul Uloom, Queeta
7.	Maulana Rehmat Ullah	Madrasa Miftah ul Uloom, Panjgor
8.	Maulana Nazir Ahmad	Madrasa Ashraf ul Madaris, Rahim Yar Khan
9.	Haji Ameer Din	Madrasa Talim Uddin, Chak No. 114P, Khairpur
10.	Maulana Muhammad Yousaf	Madrasa Talim ul Quran, Mandi Sadiq Ganj
11.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Sadiq	Madrasa Arabia Islamia Hanafia, Mandi Yazman
12.	Maulana Muhammad Umar Qureshi	Madrasa Ahya ul Uloom, Muzzafargarh
13.	Maulana Syed Saddar Din	Madrasa Deeni Darsgah, Khan Garh
14.	Sheikh Muhammad Yasin	Idara Arabia Faiz ul Uloom, Ali Pur
15.	Maulana Ghulam Hussain Naumani	Madrasa Arabia Qasim ul Uloom, Layyah
16.	Maulana Khair Muhammad	Madrasa Khair ul Madaris, Multan
17.	Maulana Muhammad Shafi	Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom, Multan
18.	Maulana Abdul Hameed	Dar ul Uloom, Eidgah, Kabirwala
19.	Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Ludhianvi	Madrasa Rehmania, Jahania
20.	Maulana Muhammad Musa	Khair ul Uloom Hussainia, Lodhran
21.	Maulana Rasul Bakhsh	Madrasa Siraj ul Uloom, Lodhran
22.	Chaudhry Abdul Shakoor	Madrasa Muhammadia Arabia Hanafia, Mural
23.	Haji Manzoor Ahmad	Madrasa Arabia Saeedia, Qadar Puran
24.	Haji Fateh Muhammad	Madrasa Dawat ul Haq, Hussain Agahi, Multan
25.	Qazi Allah Bakhsh	Multan
26.	Maulana Muhammad Ameer	Jhok Vaince, Multan
27.	Khan Haq Nawaz Khan	Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Narhal, Kabirwala
28.	Maulana Dost Muhammad	Madrasa Siraj ul Uloom, Ghalla Mandi, Khanewal
29.	Maulana Habibullah	Madrasa Arabia Hussainia Chak No. 105, Multan
30.	Syed Niaz Ahmad Shah Gillani	Madrasa Arabia Qadria Talamba, Khanewal
31.	Maulana Ghulam Haider	Madrasa Arabia Islamia, Mian Channu
32.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah	Madrasa Islamia Arabia, Burewala

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> Maulana Abdul Majid, "Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia ki Karkardgi Lamha ba Lamha Qadam ba Qadam," *Monthly Wifaq Al Madaris*, Multan, No. 7: April 2016, 25-27.

33.	Maulana Syed Noor Ahmad	Madrasa Ishat ul Quran, Mari Sarfraz Khan, Vehari
34.	Maulana Muhammad Sharif Jalandhri	Madrasa Khudam ul Quran, Mailsi
35.	Maulana Hussain Ahmad	Madrasa Arabia Khair ul Da'rain, Lodhran
36.	Malik Abdul Ghafoor	Madrasa Hadiqat Al Rehman wal Quran,
		Shujabad
37.	Hafiz Maqbool Ahmad	Jamia Raasheedia Ghalla Mandi, Montgomery
38.	Maulana Abdul Hameed	Madrasa Arabia Dar ul Uloom Usmania, Okara
39.	Maulana Habibullah	Madrasa Arabia Farooqia, Afirwala
40.	Maulana Faiz Ahmad	Madrasa Arabia Rehmania, Pakpattan
41.	Maulana Abdul Majeed	Madrasa Arabia Ishat ul Uloom, Multan
42.	Sheikh Abdul Salam	Dar ul Arabia Ameenia, Jaranwala
43.	Maulana Abdul Qawi	Madrasa Nizamia Arabia, Tandlianwala
44.	Maulana Hafiz Hassam ud Din	Madrasa Arabia Ihya ul Uloom, Mamoo Kanjar
45.	Maulana Abdullah Raipuri	Madrasa Arabia Naumania, Kamalia
46.	Maulana Muhammad Izhar ul Haq	Madrasa Islamia Arabia, Toba Tek Singh
47.	Hafiz Nazar Ahmad	Jamia Chishtia, Layallpur
48.	Haji Allah Rakha	Madrasa Anwar ul Quran, Layallpur
49.	Maulana Abdul Ghani	Madrasa Arabia Faiz Muhammadi, Layallpur
50.	Hafiz Muhammad Yousaf	Madrasa Taleem ul Islam, Layallpur
51.	Maulana Abdul Ghani	Madrasa Rehmania, Samundri
52.	Hafiz Abdul Raheem	Madrasa Arabia Qadria Islamia
		Ahl e Sunnat, Layallpur
53.	Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhri	Madrasa Munawar ul Islam, Toba Tek Singh
54.	Maulana Tufail Ahmad	Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Layallpur
55.	Maulana Abdul Hakeem	Madrasa Jamia Raheemia, Jhang
56.	Maulana Sadiq Hussain	Madrasa Arabia Uloom Shariah, Jhang
57.	Maulana Muhammad Hussain	Madrasa Ihya ul Uloom, Jhang
58.	Maulana Hafiz Ahmad	Madrasa Sabeel ul Rasheed Taleem ul Quran,
		Nankana
59.	Maulana Ubaid Ullah	Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
60.	Maulana Hamid Mian	Jamia Madnia, Lahore
61.	Maulana Abdul Qadar	Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom, Anjmun Khudam
		Din, Sheeranwala Gate, Lahore
62.	Maulana Qari Siraj Ahmad	Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Lahore
63.	Maulana Ghulam Dastgir	Lahore
64.	Maulana Shafat Ahmad	Jamia Qasmia Misbah ul Uloom, Lahore
65.	Maulana Muhammad Khalil	Madrasa Ashraf ul Uloom, Gujranwala
66.	Maulana Manzoor Ahmad	Madrasa Ashrafia Qurania, Hafizabad
67.	Maulana Noor Muhammad	Jamia Arabia Khair ul Uloom, Pindi Bhattian
68.	Hafiz Noor Ahmad	Madrasa Islamia Qadria, Qila Deedar Singh
69.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi	Jamia Arabia Siraj ul Uloom, Sargodha
70.	Maulana Qari Jalil ur Rehman	Madrasa Arabia Madina ul Uloom, Sargodha
71.	Maulana Mufti Abdul Shakoor	Madrasa Arabia Haqania, Sargodha
	Tirmizi	
72.	Maulana Hakeem Sharif ud Din	Madrasa Hussainia Hanfia, Sillanwali
73.	Maulana Muhammad Yousaf	Madrasa Taleem ul Islam, Khushab, Sargodha
74.	Maulana Abdul Latif	Madrasa Hanfia Taleem ul Islam, Jehlum
75.	Maulana Mazhar Hussain	Madrasa Arabia Izhar ul Islam, Chakwal
76.	Maulana Abdul Hanan	Dar ul Uloom Hanfia Usmania, Rawalpindi
77.	Maulana Jamal ud Din	Dar ul Uloom Muhammadia Shamsabad,
	İ	Cambelpur

78.	Mualana Aziz ur Rehman	Madrasa Arabia Imdad ul Uloom, Abbotabad
79.	Maulana Ghulam Ghous Hazarvi	Madrasa Tajweed ul Quran, Hazara
80.	Hafiz Muhammad Yousaf	Madrasa Tajweed ul Quran, Mansehra
81.	Maulana Muhammad Ayub Binori	Dar ul Uloom, Peshawar
82.	Maulana Abdul Haq	Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, Akora Khattak
83.	Maulana Syed Badshah Gul	Jamia Islamia Pakistan, Akora Khattak
84.	Maulana Muhammad Jan	Dar ul Uloom Himayat ul Islam, Peshawar
85.	Maulana Abdur Rehman	Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Charsada
86.	Maulana Habibullah	Jamia Islamia, Tangi, Charsada
87.	Maulana Syed Gul Badshah	Dar ul Uloom Taleem ul Quran, Umarzai
88.	Maulana Habib Gul	Dar ul Uloom Arabia, Tal
89.	Maulana Ajab Gul	Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Karak
90.	Maulana Abdul Bari	Madrasa Taleem ul Quran, Parachinar
91.	Maulana Mufti Mahmud	Madrasa Miraj ul Uloom, Bannu
92.	Maulana Haji Muhabbat Khan	Dar ul Uloom Siddiqui Siray Norang, Bannu
93.	Maulana Alau Din	Dar ul Uloom Naumania, Dear Ismail Khan
94.	Maulana Mian Khan	Madrasa Ashraf ul Madaris, Gul Imam, Tonk
95.	Maulana Fateh Khan	Madrasa Miftah ul Uloom, Tonk
96.	Maulana Qazi Abdul Kareem	Madrasa Najm ul Madaris, Kolachi
97.	Maulana Qazi Ameer Gul	Madrasa Faiz ul Madaris, Dear Ismail Khan
98.	Maulana Muhammad Ramzan	Madrasa Tableeg ul Islam, Mianwali
99.	Maulana Qutb ud Din	Madrasa Arabia Saeedia, Khanqah Sirajia
		Kundian
100.	Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim	Madrasa Arabia Ihya ul Uloom, Panjgrain
101.	Hakeem Hashmat Ullah	Madrasa Deenia Arabia Dar ul Huda, Bhakkar

#### APPENDIX-III.

# MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE FOR RECOMMENDING IMPROVED SYLLABUS FOR THE VARIOUS DARUL ULOOMS AND ARABIC MADRASAS IN WEST PAKISTAN<sup>618</sup>

Sr. No.	Name and Affiliation	Designation
1.	Dr. Mahmud Husain, Vice Chancellor,	Chairman
	Dacca University	
2.	Mufti Muhammad Shafi, President, Darul Uloom, Karachi	Member
3.	Maulana Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi, Nazim-i-Ala, Darul Uloom Taqviyyat-ul-Islam, Lahore	Member
4.	Allama Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui, Head of the Department of Islamiyyat, Punjab University, Lahore	Member
5.	Maulana Syed Ahmad Saeed Shah Sahib Kazmi, Madrasa Anwarul Uloom, Multan	Member
6.	Maulana Muhammad Sadiq, Ex- Nazim Umoor-i-Mazhabiyya, Bahawalpur	Member
7.	Maulana Nurul Haq Nadvi, Ex- Dean of Theology, Peshawar University, Peshawar	Member
8.	Dr. A. J. Halepota Head of the Department of Religion, Sind University, Hyderabad	Member
9.	Dr. Ghulam Jilani Burque, Campbellpur City, Campbellpur	Member
10.	Dr. Saleem Farani, Professor, Central Training College, Lahore	Co-opted Member
11.	Mr. Aziz-ul-Haq Masud, P.C.S, Deputy Secretary Education, Government of West Pakistan, Lahore	Secretary

**Note:** Dr. Saleem Khan Farani, Professor, Central Training College, Lahore, was co-opted as a Member subsequently, vide orders of the Chief Administrator, Auqaf, Lahore, No. 19 (9) Auqaf/60, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1961.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>618</sup> GoP. Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan. (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962), 7.

#### APPENDIX-IV.

## OLD DARS-I-NIZAMI SYLLABUS<sup>619</sup>

## **Grammar Etymology**

- i. Mizan
- ii. Munshaib
- iii. Sarf Mir
- iv. Panjganj
- v. Zubdah
- vi. Fusul-i-Akbari
- vii. Shafiyah

## **Syntax**

- i. Nahw Mir
- ii. Sharh-i-Miat Amil
- iii. Hidayat un Nahw
- iv. Kafiya
- v. Sharh-i-Jami

#### Rhetoric

- i. Mukhtasarul Mani
- ii. Mutawal (up to Ma Ana Qultn)

## Philosophy

- i. Sharh-i-Hidayatul Hikmah of Maibudhi
- ii. Ash-Shamshul Bazigha

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> GoP. *Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962), 15-16.

#### iii. Sadra

## Logic

- i. Sharh Shamsiyyah
- ii. Sullam ul Uloom
- iii. Risala-i-Mir Zahid
- iv. Mulla Jalal
- v. Sughra
- vi. Kubra
- vii. Isaghoji
- viii. Tahdhib
- ix. Sharh-i-Tahdib
- x. Qutbi
- xi. Mir Qutbi

#### Scholasticism

- i. Sharh-i-Nawaqif
- ii. Mir Zahid
- iii. Sharh-i-Aqaid of Nasafi

## Tafsir (Commentary)

- i. Jalallain of Jalaluddin Mahalli and Jalaluddin Syuti
- ii. Baidawai

## Fiqh (Islamic Law)

- i. Sharh-i-Waqaya (First two books)
- ii. Hidayah (Last two books)

## Usul-e-Fiqh (Principal of Law)

- i. Nur-ul-Anwar
- ii. Taudihu tul Talwih
- iii. Musallamth Othmbut (the portion dealing with Mabad Kalamiyyah)

## Hadith

i. Mishkatu ul Masabih

## Mathematics

- i. Khulasatul Hisab
- ii. Euclid
- iii. Tashriul Aflak
- iv. Qaushjiyyah
- v. Sharh Chaghmini

## APPENDIX-V.

## NISAB, WIFAQ UL MADARIS ARABIA, MULTAN, PAKISTAN (2016) $^{620}$

## 1. Almiah

Subject Matter	Books (for year one)	Subject Matter	Books (for year two)
Asul Tafsir wa Hadith	Al Tabaiyyan fi Uloom ul Quran Sharh Nukhbatul Fikr Aina'a-i-Qadianiyat	Hadith	Sunanan ma shumail
Tafsir	Bezawi (Raba para awwal)	Hadith	Sahih Muslim
Hadith	Mishkawt ul Masbih (Part I)	Hadith	Jamia Tirmizi
Hadith	Mishkawt ul Masbih (Part II)	Hadith	Sahih Bukhari
Fiqh	Hidayah (Part III)	Hadith	Suanan Abi Daud
Fiqh	Hidayah (Part IV)	Hadith	Tahawi Mauta Imam Malik Mauta Imam Ahmad

٠

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>620</sup> This syllabus has been acquired from *Nazim*, Wifaq ul Madaris office in Multan and it has been communicated to all Deobandi madaris throughout Pakistan for implementation in the academic year 2016-17.

## 2. Aliah

Subject Matter	Books (for year one)	Subject Matter	Books (for year two)
Tarjuma wa Tafsir	Surah Fateh to Surah Yunus	Tafsir wa Asul	Al Fouz al Kabir wa Jalaleen
Hadith, Asul Hadith wa faraiz	Masnad Imam Azam Khair ul Asul Siraji	Fiqh	Sharh Waqiya Akhireen
Asul Fiqh	Hassami to Qias wa bab ul Qias az nur al Anwar	Fiqh	Hidayah (Part II)
Al Balaghat	Mukhtasir ul Mani Al fun al Awwal wa Salis mah muqaddama	Asul Fiqh	Tawzih ta muqadmat arba Talwih ta behas al khas
Philosophy wa Aqaid	Al Antabahat al Mufida (Urdu) Asar ul Sunan az ibtda ta Kitab ul Witar Moieen ul falsafa	Aqa'aid Falqiat	Aqida Tahwia Sharh Aqaid Fahm Falqiat
Adab	Diwan Mutanabi ta Qafia tul Dal Sabah al mualaqat (first three mualaqy)	Lughat ul Arabia wa Aruz	Diwan al Hamasa Matan al Kafi

## 3. Sanwiah Khasa

Subject Matter	Books
Tarjuma, Tafsir wa Hadith	From Surah Yunus to Surah Ankabut Riaz ul Saulaheen Kitab ul Jihad Kitab ul Dawat
Fiqh	Sharh Waqaya Akhireen
Asul Fiqh	Nur Al Anwar to Qiyas
Nahw	Sharh Jami (Az marfuat ta mabniyat)
Lughat ul Arabia wa Insha	Muqamat Hurari (10 Muqamy) Mual'am ul Insha (III)
Mantaq wa Balagha	Qutbi ta Aks Naqiyaz Darus ul Balagha

## 4. Sanwiah Ama

Subject Matter	Books
Tarjuma wa	Tarjuma wa Tafsir Para thirty
Tafsir	Hifz half Para thirty Fawaid Makkia
Hadith, Lughat	Zad ul Talbeen Kamil Al Qirat ul Rashida (Juz awwal)
Insha	Mual'am ul Insha (Juz awwal)
Fiqh	Qaduri Kamil
Surf	Ilm ul Sigah Farsi Arabi mah kasiat abwab fusul Akbari Ilm ul surf (Part IV)
Nahw	Hidayat ul Nahw Kamil Tamreenat az Tashil ul adab
Mantaq	Tayesar ul Mantaq Muraq'at

## 5. Mutawastah

An oral exam of *nzara* from Para twenty-one to thirty could happen any day.

Subject Matter	Books
Sirat wa Fiqh	Sirat ul Rasul (martba Wifq ul Madaris) Bihisti Gohar (Mulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi)
Urdu Compulsory, Wqfiat Aa'ma	Kitan Urdu. Grade VIII Social Studies (martba Wifq ul Madaris)
Mathematics Compulsory	Mathematic, Grade VIII (martba Wifq ul Madaris)
Persian	Gulistan (Chapter 1 to 4)
English	English, Grade VIII (martba Wifq ul Madaris)
Science	Science (martba Wifq ul Madaris)

## 6. Darasat-i-Diniah

Subject Matter (for year one)	Subject Matter (for year two)
Tarjuma wa Tafsir Surah Yunus ta Surah	Tarjuma wa Tafsir Surah Baqra ta Surah
Ankabut	Yunus. Az Surah Ankabut ti Khatm ul
	Qurna
Marif ul Hadith (Part 2,3 and 4)	Ma'arif ul Hadith (Part 1,5,6 and 7)
Talim ul Islam	Bihisti Zewar (Part 5,6 and 7)
Bihisti Zewar (Part 2,3 and 4)	
Ilm ul Surf (Part 1 and 2)	Tariq Asria (Part 3)
Ilm ul Nahw	Qasas ul Nabaieen (Part 3 and 4)
Tariq Asria (Part 1)	Ilm ul Surf (Part 3 and 4)
Qasas ul Nabaieen (Part 1 and 2)	Awamil ul Nahw
Sirat Khatim ul Anbia	Hayat ul Muslmeen (Urdu)
by Mufti Muhammad Shafi	

## 7. Tajweed ul Ulama

This is a one year course and comprises following subjects:

- 1. Mualam ul Tajweed
- 2. Al Muqadma tul Jazria mah tashreehat wa hifz
- 3. Tafheem ul Waquf
- 4. Uloom ul Qirat
- 5. Tarteel para 29 and 30 wa hifz
- 6. Hadr of complete Quran

## 8. Tajweed ul Hufaz

This is a two year course and comprises following subjects:

- 1. Khulasa tul Tajweed
- 2. Jamal ul Quran
- 3. Fawaid Makkia
- 4. Al Muqadma tul Jazria mah tarjuma wa hifz
- 5. Talim ul Islam (complete)
- 6. Sirat ul Rasul
- 7. Ilm ul Surf (Part 1 and 2)
- 8. Tarteel para 28, 29 and 30 mah ijra wa qawaid tajweed
- 9. Hadr of complete Quran

#### APPENDIX-VI.

# BRIEF BIO DATA OF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS, RESPONDENTS AND ULAMA GATHERED DURING FIELD WORK IN MULTAN DURING 2016-2017.

Maulana Abdul Majeed born in 1974 in Tehsil and District Tangi. After his primary, he met Tableeghi Jamat and came to madrassa education. In 1989, he enrolled at Jamia Farooqia, Shah Faisal Colony Karachi and completed his education from middle till Darse-e-Nizami for nine years and graduated in 1997. In 1998, he came to Wifaq in Multan as Nazim and since 1999 serving as Nazim Wifaq-ul-Madaris, Sher Shah Road Multan, Pakistan.

Maulana Abdul Manan born in 1964 at Jalla Araian, Duniapur District Lodhran. He passed Bachelor of Arts (B.A) from Bahuddin Zakariya University, Multan in 1995. He also completed his Dars-e-Nizami. He is attached with Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Aurangzeb Road Multan, Pakistan since 1981. He has served as Treasurer (Khazan) of the Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris for twenty-three years since 1989. Presently, he is serving as Nazim Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Aurangzeb Road Multan, Pakistan since 2013.

Maulana Fiaz Nadeem born in 424/HR Marot Tehsil Fortabbas, District Bahawalnagar in 1983. He completed his Shahadat-ul-A'lmia from Jamia Qasim-ul-Uloom Faqirwali, District Bahawalnagar. He completed his Matriculation from Al-Qasim Model High School Faqirwali in 2006. He has done Takhasas-ul-Fiqh from Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris in 2007-08. He is serving as Assistant to Nazim Taleemat at Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Aurangzeb Road Multan, Pakistan.

**Muhammad Saif Ullah** born in 1980 at Tehsil and District Muzaffargarh. He has done his graduation from Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan and serving as Assistant to Nazim Wifaq-ul-Madaris, Sher Shah Road Multan, Pakistan since 1998.

Maulana Hafiz Najam ul Haq born in 1968 at Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris in Multan. He has done Hifz-i-Quran in Jamia Khair ul Madaris. He has completed his Dars-e-Nizami from Dar ul Uloom Karachi in 1987-88. He has done his graduation from Urdu College (now Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology) Karachi. He appeared as private candidate and passed the exam of Masters of Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan in the discipline of Islamic Studies. He has completed his M.Phil. in Islamic Studies from Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad. In 1989, he registered for Takhasus Mufti course

in Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris and started teaching too. He is registered Ph.D. scholar in Islamic Studies at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. He attended an international course titled "International Humanitarian Law" in Jordan and course on scholarship at Jamia Al-Azhar, Cairo. He is serving as Nazim-e-Ala of Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Aurangzeb Road Multan, Pakistan since 1994.

Maulana Muhammad Umar Farooq belong to Sial family and serving as librarian at Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Aurangzeb Road Multan, Pakistan since 2010. He was born in Muzaffargarh in 1983. He received his primary education at Godhpur Sial. He has done Takhasas ul Fiqh from Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris in 2008.

#### APPENDIX-VII.

#### BRIEF BIO OF KHAIR UL MADARIS SHURA MEMBERS

Justice (Retd.) Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmai was born in 1943 in Deoband to Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi. He obtained his *Takhassus* degree from Dar ul Uloom, Karachi. He also obtained his Masters degree in Arabic from the University of Punjab in 1970 and LLB from Karachi University. He served as Judge of Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan from 1982 till 2002 and also Judge in Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan too. He served as vice chairman of the International Islamic Figh Academy, Jeddah for nine years. He is the vive president of Dar ul Uloom, Karachi which was established by his father Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi. He is known as leading expert of Islamic finance and served for a decade on advisory boards of various banking, finance and related institutions. He is also chairman of the International Shariah Council for the Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Financial Institutions (AAOIFI), Bahrain. Since 1967, he is chief editor of monthly Urdu magazine "Al Balagh" and sine 1990, he is chief editor of monthly English magazine "Al Balagh International". He served various educational institutions in capacity of member Syndicate of Karachi University, member Board of Trustees, member Board of Governors of International Islamic University Islamabad, member Council of Islamic Ideology, member Commission for Islamisation of Economy of Pakistan and member International Institute of Islamic Economics. He has authored more than sixty books in Urdu, English and Arabic.

Maulana Ehtsham ul Haq Thanvi was born to Maulana Zahoor ul Haq in Muzaffar Nagar in U.P. in 1915. His mother was younger sister of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Maulana Ehtisham was under the guidance of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi since his childhood. He learnt Quran by heart at the age of twelve. He learnt Persian and Arabic books at Madrasa Mazahir ul Uloom, Saharanpur. He got admission in Dar ul Uloom, Deoband in 1930 and

graduated in 1937. Maulana Ehtsiham was taught and trained by leading scholars like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobandi, Maulana Aizaz Ali Amrohi, Muhammad Ibrahim Bulyawi and Mufti Muhammad Shafi. He was also part of Ashraf Ali Thanvi's *Dawat ul Haq* program of preaching people for the support of Pakistan. Maulana Ehtisham established Dar ul Uloom Al Islamia, Tando Allah Yar in 1949. Maulana Ehtisham also remained *Nazim-i-Al'aa* of Markazi Jamiat Ulama Islam, Pakistan. Maulana was active *shura* member of Khair ul Madaris and Wifaq ul Madaris till his death. Maulana died on April 11, 1980.

Maulana Haji Muhammad Sharif Hoshiarpuri was son of Munshi Nizam-ud-Din patwari. Maulana Sharif was born in 1901 in Mehndipur, Hoshiarpur. He received his primary education in Faisalabad and later on went to Anglo-Sanskrit school of Mehndipur. He qualified his matriculation exam in 1921 from Government High school Jalandhar. Maulana Sharif met Maulana Sher Muhammad who was disciple of Ashraf Ali Thanvi and later on he was *khalifah* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Maulana Sher Muhammad became connection between Maulana Sharif and Maulana Thanvi. Maulana Sharif visited Thana Bhavan with Maulana Sher Muhammad and continued it till Maulana Thanvi's death in 1943. After partition, Maulana Sharif migrated to Multan and remained associated with Thanvi's followers like Muft Muhammad Hassan, Maulana Khair Muhammad and Mufti Muhammad Shafi. Maulana Hoshiarpuri was aslo *khalifah* of Maulana Asharf Ali Thanvi and was allowed to accept disciples. Maulana sharif was patron of Jamia Khair ul Madaris and pioneer member of its *shura* since 1947. He died on April 11, 1985.

**Maulana Mufti Mahmud** was born in 1919 in Paniala, Dera Ismail Khan. He was admitted to a local school in 1924 and passed middle examination in 1934. He received early Islamic education from his father Muhammad Siddique and uncle Sher Muhammad Panialvi.

Maulana Mahmud went for higher education to Dar ul Uloom but his father insisted to go to Madrasa Qasmia, Muradabad where his father's Shaikh Maulana Syed Ahmad Gul's grandsons and Maulana Abdul Halim's son's were getting education. On his father's insistence, Maulana Mahmud went to Madrasa Qasmia and graduated from there in 1940. Mufti Mahmud was close associate of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. Mufti Mahmud remained member of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind and also served as first councillor of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind in North West Province. He started his teaching career in 1941 from Madrasa Moeen ul Islam, Esakhel, Mianwali and he stayed there for four years. After serving in Moeen ul Islam, Mufti Mahmud served in madrasas of Abba Khel and Abdul Khalil before moving to Qasimul Uloom in Multan in 1950. In Qasimul Uloom, Multan, he served as mudaris and Shaikh ul Hadith and Mufti of the Jamia in 1978. Mufti Mahmud was made muhtmim of Qasim ul Uloom in 1975. Mufti Mahmud also served as fourth president of the Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia, Multan for two and half years till his death. Mufti Mahmud played important role in 1953's Tehreek Khatm-i-Nabuwat. In 1959, Mufti Mahmud became Nazim-i-Al'aa of Wifaq ul Madaris. In 1962, he became member National Assembly of Pakistan for first time and again in 1970 for the second time. Mufti Mahmud died on October 14, 1980 in Jamia Uloom Al Islamia, Binori Town, Karachi.

Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hassan Amritsari was born in Malpur near Hassan Abdal. He received his early education at his native town and later on proceeded to Dar ul Uloom Deoband where he remained student of Maulana Anwar Kashmiri for *Daura-i-Hadith* and became a disciple of Maulana Asharf Ali Thanvi. Later on he moved to Amritsar and took up a teaching assignment at Jamia Naumania. He moved to Lahore on partition and founded Jamia Ashrafia in Lahore which is now leading Deobandi seminary of Pakistan and Jamia's name was decided after Maulana Thanvi's name for showing his respect and reverence to his mentor. After partition, he got piece of land allotted in the name of Jamia Naumania

and started Jamia Ashrafia on September 24, 1947 in Lahore. He taught for nearly forty years; for thirty years at Amritsar and for ten years at Jamia Ashrafia. He died on June 1, 1961.

Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi was born in Usmani family of Deoband in Saharanpur in India in 1897 to Maulana Yasin Deobandi. He learnt Quran from Hafiz Muhammad Azeem and Persian books from his father at home. Some of the books were taught by his uncle Maulana Manzoor Ahmad. At the age of sixteen, he was admitted to Darja Arabi of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband. He was taught by leading scholars like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobani, Maulana Mufti Aziz ur Rehman Usmani, Maulana Habib ur Rehman Usmani, Maulana Aizaz Ali Deobani and Maulana Rasul Khan Hazarvi. Mufti Shafi graduated from Dar ul Uloom Deoband in 1918. Mufti Shafi taught at Dar ul Uloom, Deoband for twenty-six years. He was appointed sadder mufti of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband in 1933 at the age of thirty-five and before accepting this position Mufti Muhammad Shafi wrote to Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for seeking advice and on Maulana Thanvi's affirmative response he accepted the position. Mufti Shafi also participated in preparing Objective Resolution in 1949. He was member of Board of Islamic teachings. This board worked for four years from 1949 till 1954. After the death of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani on December 13, 1949, Syed Suleman Nadvi was made head of Marakazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam and Mufti Shafi was given this responsibility after the death of Maulana Nadvi on November 22, 1953. Mufti Shafi died on October 6, 1976 in Karachi.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari was born to Haji Muhammad Ibrahim in 1895 in Raipur Araian, Nakodar, Jalandhar. He received his early education from Jamia Rasheedia and remained under the guidance of Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari. He went to

Dar ul Uloom Deoband and completed his Daura-i-Hadith from Maulana Muhammad Anwar Kashmiri at the age of twenty. He taught at Sultanpur Lodhi as *mudaris*. He was with Maulana Khair Muhammad Jalandhari at the time of establishment of Khair ul Madaris in Jalandhar in 1931 and started teaching in Khair ul Madaris. In 1935, he participated in Tehreek Masjid Shaheed Ganj and joined Majlis Ihrar ul Islam on recommendation of Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari. Maulana Muhammad Ali was sent behind the bars in 1939 for three by the British on charges of agitations against the soldier recruitments. In 1943, his family migrated to Sadiq Abad and he remained active in politics in Multan. He assisted and helped Maulana Khair Muhammad in establishing Khair ul Madaris in Multan after the partition. After partition, Majlis Ihrar ul Islam was not much in the politics and Maulana Muhammad Ali along with Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari created Majlis Khatam e Nabuwat in 1953. Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari was its first president and Maulana Muhammad Ali was Nazim-i-Al'aa. In 1953, he was again put in the prison. In 1967, Maulana Muhammad Ali became president of the Majlis Khatam e Nabuwat. Maulana Muhammad Ali was disciple of Maulana Abdul Qadir Raipuri. He died on April 21, 1971.

Maulana Muhammad Idrees Kandhalvi was born in 1900 in Bhopal to Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Ismail. Maulana Idrees was *murid* of Haji Imdad Ullah Thanvi Mohajar Makki and was *pir bhai* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. He learnt Quran by heart at the age of nine. He got his early education under the guidance of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi at Madrasa Ashrafia, Thana Bhavan. Later on for higher education, he moved to Madrasa Mazahar ul Uloom, Saharanpur under the supervision of Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri and graduated from Saharanpur in 1919. From Saharanpur, Maulana Kandhalvi went to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband to finish *Daura-i-Hadith* and remain student of Maulana Muhammad Anwar Kashmiri, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Mufti Aziz ur

Rehman Usmani and Maulana Asghar Hussain Deobandi. In 1921, he started his teaching career from Madrasa Aminia and stayed only for one year and moved to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband next year and stayed as teacher in Deoband for nine years. For ten years, Maulana Idrees stayed at Hyderabad Daccan and published few books. He returned to Dar ul Uloom, Deoband as *Shaikh ul Tafsir* on the invitation of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. In 1949, Maulana came to Pakistan and went to Bahawalpur State on the invitation of the Nawab Sadiq V and assumed the charge of *Shaikh ul Jamia*, Jamia Abbasia. He served Jamia Abbasia for two years and than moved to Lahore and joined Jamia Ashrafia and his association remained with Jamia Ashrafia for twenty-four years till his death on July 28, 1974.

Maulana Muhammad Sharif Jalandhari was the second son of Maulana Khair Muhammad and born on March 16, 1918 in Jalandhar. He received his early education in Khair ul Madaris. He learnt Persian books at Madrasa Rai pur Gojran. He finished his *Daura-i*-Hadith at Jamia Qasmia, Deoband. He was disciple of Qari Muhammad Tayyab who was *muhtmim* of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband. He taught for thirty-six years. He assumed the charge of administration of Khair ul Madaris after the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1970. He died in Mecca on September 7, 1981. After Sharif's death madrasa's responsibility is on the shoulders of his son Qari Muhammad Hanif Jalandhari since 1981.

Maulana Muhammad Sharif Kashmiri was born in Sher Khan, Plundari, Punch to Maulana Nasir-ud-Din. He started his early education at a local school and onwards went to Madrasa Ishat ul Uloom in Chakwal. For further education Maulana Kashmiri went to Jamia Fatehia, Ichra, Lahore. Maulana Sharif was student of Maulana Shamas ul Haq Afghani at Madrasa Hashmia Sajawal, Sindh for getting knowledge of books and also

finished *Daura-i-Hadith* there. Maulana Kashmiri also stayed for one year each at Dar ul Uloom Deoband and in Tonk under the guidance of Maulana Hakim Barakat Ahmad. Maulana Sharif served for two years as assistant to Minister of Education in Swat to Maulana Shamas ul Haq Afghani. From 1942 till 1947, he taught at Dar ul Uloom Deoband. After the partition, Maulana Kashmiri served as *Saddar Mudaris* of Khair ul Madaris for twenty-five years.

Maulana Shamas ul Haq Afghani Peshawari born in 1900 in Turanzai, Charsadha, Peshawar. He got his initial education from his father Maulana Ghulam Haider. His initial education of primary and secondary was completed in 1912. He was admitted to Deoband in 1920 where he completed *Daura-i-Hadith* in 1921 and remain student of leading scholars like Maulana Anwar Kashmiri, Maulana Mian Asghar Hussain Deobandi, Maulana Muhammad Rasul Khan Hazarvi, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. He also completed *Ilm-i-Tib* training at Deoband. He performed Hajj in 1922. Maulana Shamas was also the disciple and follower of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. In 1923, he started his teaching career as Saddar Mudaris in Karachi at Madrasa Mazhar ul Uloom and later on remained as Saddar Mudaris of Madrasa Irshad ul Uloom, Larkana, Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom, Lahore and Dar ul Fayuz in Sindh. From 1935 till 1940, Maulana was associated with Dar ul Uloom Deoband as Shaikh ul Tafsir. He served Kalat State as Minister of Education in 1939 and got re-appointed to the same position in 1947. Maulana served as first president of the Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia in Multan from 1959 till 1963 until his new appointment in the Bahawalpur University. Maulana also served as shura member of Khair ul Madaris, Multan. In 1962, he served as *Shaikh ul Tafsir wa Hadith* in Uloom-i-Islamia Academy, Quetta. He was appointed Shaikh ul Tafsir of the Islamia University of Bahawalpur in 1963 and taught there for thirteen years. He passed away on August 16, 1983.

Maulana Syed Muhammad Yousaf Binor was born to Maulana Muhammad Zakaria in Mahabat Abad in Mardan District in 1908. His initial education was from his father and uncle Maulana Fazal Hamdan Binori. After getting some knowledge of books from Maulana Abdullah Peshawari, he left for Kabul and stayed under the tutorship of Maulana Abdul Qadeer and Maulana Saleh Afghani. For higher education, Maulana went to Dar ul Uloom Deoband in 1927. In two years under Maulana Anwar Kashmiri's guidance, he finished Daura-i-Hadith and in 1930 he qualified exam of Maulvi Fazil in the first division from the University of Punjab. Before joining Dhabel, he was Nazim-i-Al'aa of Jamiat ul Ulama of province. After graduation, he started teaching at Jamia Islamia Dhabel (Surat, Gujrat, India). He became Saddar Mudaris and Shaikh ul Hadith of the same Jamia after death of Maulana Anwar Shah in 1934. After the partition, Maulana focused on teaching and research and was not interested in political matters and affairs. In 1951, he joined Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Tando Allah Yar, Sindh as Shaikh ul Tafsir and Shaikh ul Hadith. In 1953, he resigned from his position and shifted to Karachi. He went to perform Hajj in the same year and on his return from Hajj, he established his own Madrasa Arabia Islamia in 1954. Maulana Yousaf Binori was also close associate of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Maulana served as third president of the Wifaq ul Madaris Al Arabia, Multan from 1973 till 1977. Maulana died in 1998.

Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani was born in 1893 to Sheikh Latif Ahmad Usmani in Deoband, Saharanpur. He was disciple of Haji Abid Hussain Deobandi. His mother was sister of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. He received his early education at Deoband and later on went to Khanqah Imdadia, Madrasa Imdad ul Uloom, Thana Bhavan. At Thana Bhavan, he remained under the guidance of Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Gangohi. In 1906, he got admission in Jamia ul Uloom, Kanpur and learnt Arabic books from Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Burdwani and Maulana Muhammad Rasheed Kanpuri. In 1911, he

graduated from Madrasa Mazahr ul Uloom, Saharanpur after completing *Daura-i-Hadith* from Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri. He started his teaching career in 1912 from Madrasa Mazahr ul Uloom, Saharanpur and taught here for seven years. From 1919 till 1921, he taught at Madrasa Irshad ul Uloom, Garhi Pukhta near Thana Bhavan. After performing Hajj in 1922, he settled in Thana Bhavan and served Khanqah Imdadia, Madrasa Imdad ul Uloom for seven years till 1929. For two and half years, he taught at Madrasa Randeehria, Rangoon and than returned back to Thana Bhavan. In 1941, he joined Dhaka University for one year after seeking permission from Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. In October 1945, Maulana Usmani presided All India Jamiat Ulama Conference in Calcutta and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani was elected its president and Maulana Zafar Usmani was elected vice president. From 1948 till 1954, he was *sadder mudaris* in Madrasa Aliyah, Dhaka. On the request and invitation of Maulana Ehtsham ul Haq Thanvi, he joined Dar ul Uloom Islamia, Tando Allah Yar as *Shaikh ul Hadith* in October 1954 and served for twenty years. He died on December 8, 1974.

#### **Sources**

#### I. Archives

## **India Office Records, British Library, London (United Kingdom)**

IOR/L/PS/6/507, - Coll 56/70

IOR/R/4/843

IOR/V/24/2487

IOR/V/24/2488

IOR/V/24/2489

IOR/L/PJ/6/639, - File 1343

IOR/L/PS/7/5843

MSS/EUR/F158/1033

## Jamia Khair-ul-Madaris, Multan (Pakistan)

Ahmed Saeed, Bazm-i-Ashraf ke Chirag. Lahore: Al-Ashraf Printers, 1975.

Ahmed, Aftab. Khair ul Sawaneh. Multan: Idara Khair ul Marif, 2006.

Al Hussaini, Muhammad Yusuf Mujahid. *Ulama-i-Deoband*. Faisalabad: Seerat Markaz, 2004

Al-Khair, a monthly magazine of Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan (PAKISTAN) (1983 2016)

Bukhari, Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah. *Tazkira Aulia-i-Deoband*. Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, nd.

Jalandhari, Maulana Khair Muhammad, *Asar-i-Khair*. Multan: Idara Talifat Ashrafia, 1994.

Jalandhari, Maulana Khair Muhammad. *Personal Dairy*. Unpublished. In possession of grandson and Nazim-i-Ala, Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Hafiz Najm ul Haq.

Khan, Saleem Ullah. Sada-i-Wifaq. Karachi: Maktaba Farooqia, 2012.

Rahi, Akhtar. Tazkira Musanafin Dars-i-Nizami. Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, 1978.

Rahi, Akhtar. Tazkira Ulama Punjab. Vol. I & II. Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, 1981.

## Wifaq-ul-Madaris, Multan (Pakistan)

Wifaq, a monthly magazine of Wifaq ul Madaris, Multan (PAKISTAN) (2004-2016)

## **National Documentation Wing, Cabinet Division, Islamabad (Pakistan)**

F. No. 134/Progress/80 (National Committee on Deeni Madaris), Ministry of Religious Affairs & Minorities Affairs (Auqaf Wing), Government of Pakistan, 1980-81.

## II. Bibliography

## Books (in Urdu)

Ahmad, Aziz ud Din. Punjab Aur Bairuni Hamla Awar. Lahore: Book Home, 2014.

Ahmad, Mujeeb. Mazhar ul Islam. Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2011.

Arshad, Abdul Rashid. Bees Barey Musalman. Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rashidiah, 1992.

Arshad, Arshad Hussain. Multan Qadeem wa Jadeed. Multan: Bazm-i-Saqafat, 1978.

Bukhari, Syed Hafiz Muhammad Akbar Shah. *Chalis Barey Musalman*. Vol. I & II. Karachi: Idara tul Quran wal Uloom al Islamia, 2001.

Chand, Hukam. Tarikh Multan. Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1892.

Chand, Hukam. Tawarikh-i-Zila-i-Multan. Multan, 1884.

Chishti, Noor Ahmad. Tahqiqat-i-Chishti. Lahore: Nashran Wa Tajran Kutab, 1867.

Chuadhary, Zahid. *Muslim Punjab ka Siyasi Irtika 1849-1947*. Lahore: Idhara-i-Mutalia-i-Tarikh, 1991.

Deobandi, Nawaz. Sawaneh Ulama-i-Deoband. Vol. I & II. Deoband: Nawaz Publications, 2000.

Faridi, Maulana Noor Ahmad Khan. Multan aur Moarkhin. Multan: Qasr-i-Adab, 1991.

Faridi, Maulana Noor Ahmad Khan. Tarikh-i-Multan. Multan: Qasr-i-Adab, 1992.

Gardezi, Hassan Raza. Jamal Yusuf. Multan: Shah Gardez, 1982.

Gardezi, Makhdum Sayyid Muhammad Yusuf Shah. *Tazkirah-i-Multan*. Multan: np, 1861.

Gardezi, Sayyid Hassan Bakhsh. Aurag-i-Pareshan, Multan: n.p, n.d.

Gardezi, Sayyid Murad Shah and Shamsuddin Muhammad, *Tarikh-i- Bahawalpur*, 2 vol., 1880.

Gardezi, Syed Abbas Hussain. Tarikh-i-Multan. Lahore: Zafar Sons Printers, 1995.

Gillani, Syed Muhammad Aulad Ali, Muraqa-i-Multan. Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995.

Gilani, S. Multan Mazi wa hal ke Aine Mein. Multan, 1994.

Hussain, Nazim Bahir. Aulia-i-Multan. Lahore: Sange-i-Meel Publications, 1972.

Ikram ul Haq, *Arz Multan*. Multan: Al Karam Publishers, 1970.

Jamali, Makhdumzada Muhammad Salim. Anwar-i-Jamaliah. Multan, 1984.

Jamali, Makhdumzada Muhammad Salim. Zohur-i-Jamal. Multan: n.p, n.d.

Kandhalvi, Maulana Muhammad Zakaria. *Ahsan ul Tafheem Li Maslata ul Taleem*. Tando Allah Yar: Idara Tabligh Islam, 1986.

Kandhalvi, Maulana Muhammad Zakaria. *Akabir Ulama-i-Deoband*. Karachi: Idara-tul Marif, 1979.

Kasuri, Muhammad Sadiq. Akabir Tehrik-i-Pakistan. Gujrat: Maktba Rizvia, 1976.

Kasuri, Muhammad Sadiq. *Tehrik-i-Pakistan aur Mashaikh Uzam.* Lahore: Paisa Akhbar, 1998.

Khalid, R. *Dini Madaris- Tabdili kay Rujhanat*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2008.

Khalid, S. M. *Dini madaris men talim: kaifiyat masail imkanat*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2002.

Khan, A. Rahman. Aina-i-Multan. Multan: Maktaba Ashraf ul Marif, 1973.

Khan, A. Rahman. Tarikh-i-Multan. Multan, 1985.

Khan, Umar Kamal. Fuqaha-i-Multan. Multan, 1984.

Khan, Umar Kamal. Multan Langah Daur Main.. Multan: Bazm-i-Saqafat, 1995.

Khan, Umar Kamal. Nawab Muzaffar Khan Shaheed. Multan: Bazm-i-Saqafat, 1995.

Khan, Umar Kamal. *Pablik library Bagh Lange Khan Multan ki sau sala tarikh*. Multan: n.p, n.d.

Laal, Kanaiya. *Tarikh-i-Punjab*. Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqia Adab, 1981.

Mahar Abdul Haq. *Multan ke Badshah Namwar Gawarnar aur Hamla awar*. Multan: Bacon Books, 1994.

Mahar Abdul Haq. Multan. Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1980.

Maitla, Muhammad Aslam. Multan Nama. Multan: Seraiki Research Centre, 2005.

Multani, F. Auliya-i-Multan. Multan, 1980.

Nizami, Khwaja Hasan. Dai-i-Islam. Amritsar: n.p, 1923.

Rahman, K. and Mikan, A. D. *Pakistan Mein Dini Talim, Manzar, Pas Manzar va Pesh Manzar*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2009.

Rahman, Qari Fuyuz. *Mashahir Ulama-i-Deoband*. Vol. I. Lahore: Al Maktaba tul Azizia, 1976.

Rizvi, Sayyid Mahbub. *Tarikh Deoband*. Uttar Pardesh: Ilmi Markaz Deoband, 1972.

Sarwar, Mufti Ghulam. Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab. N.P: Munshi Nok Shor Man, 1859.

Shah, Imtiaz Hussain. Tazkira Aulia Multan. Multan: Kutub Haji Niaz Ahmad, 1994.

Shahjahanpuri, Abu Salman. *Buzurgan Dar ul Uloom Deoband*. Lahore: Jamiat Publications, 2004.

Tareen, Rubina. *Multan ki Adabi wa Tehzebi Zindagi main Sufia karam ka Hisa*. Multan: Bacon Books, 1989.

Taunsvi, Tahir. Seraiki Adab. Islamabad: Acadmi Adbiat, 1994.

Tayyab, Muhammad. *Ilm ul Ain aur Itba-i-Qadim*. Aligarh: Shoba Tasnif wa Talif(Tibbia College), 1957.

Tayyab, Qari Muhammad. Islami Tehzib wa Tamadan. Lahore: Idara Islamiat, 1980.

Thanawi, Mufti Jamil Ahmad. *Nisab wa Nizam Dini Madaris*. Lahore: Nashiran-i-Quran Limited, n.d.

Vandal, Pervaiz, and Saud-ul-Hassan. *Punjab Ka Ibtadi Bartanwai Daur-Abadkari aur Nehri Nau Abadian* (Punjab Number). Lahore: Fiction House, 2004.

Wasti, Zahid Ali. Dekh lia Multan. Multan: Bacon Books, 2002.

#### **Books (in English)**

Abenante, Diego. Islam, Irrigation and Religious Identity: Canal Colonies and Muslim Revivalism in Multan. In: Beckerlegge, Gwilym (ed). Colonialism, Modernity and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Aitcheson, Sir Charles. A Collections of Treaties Engagements and Sannads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries. Calcutta: The Punjab Government, 1892.

- Alam, Arshad. *Inside a Madrasa: Knowledge, Power and Islamic Identity in India*. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2011.
- Ali, Imran. "Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonization and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab", *Past & Present*, No. 114 (February 1987).
- Ali, Imran. *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 1885-1947. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Ali, Saleem H. *Islam and education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Ali, Saleem H. *Pakistani Madrasas and Rural Underdevelopment: An Empirical Study of Ahmedpur East.* In: Malik, Jamal (ed.) Madrasas in South Asia: Teaching Terror? London; New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Andrabi, Tahir., Das, Jishnu., Khwaja, Asim Ijaz., and Zajonc, Tristan. "Religious School Enrolment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data." *Comparative Education Review*, Comparative and International Education Society. 50 (3), (2006).
- Assessment Report of the Mooltan and Shujabad Tahsils of the Mooltan District. Lahore: Government of Punjab, Department of Revenue and Agriculture Proceedings, 1900.
- Banerjee, Himadri. Agrarian Society of the Punjab (1849-1901). New Delhi: Manohar 1982.
- Bano, M. "Madrasas as Partners in Education Provision: The South Asian Experience", *Development in Practice-Oxford*, 20 (4-5), 2010.
- Bano, M. Contesting Ideologies and Struggle for Authority State- Madrasa Engagement in Pakistan. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International development department, Religions and development research programme, 2007.
- Bano, M. Female Madrasas in Pakistan: A Response to Modernity. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International development department, Religions and Development Research programme, 2010.
- Bano, M. *The Rational Believer: Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Berkley, J. P. *Madrassah Medieval and Modern: Politics, Education and the Problem of the Muslim Identity*. In: Hefner, R. W. and Zaman, Q. M. (Eds.) Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education. USA: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Borchgrevink, K. Pakistan's Madrasas: Moderation or Militancy? The Madrasa Debate and the Reform Process. Oslo: The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, 2011.
- C.B. Dhingra. *Dhingra's Trade Directory of Multan City and Cantt.*, 1919. (Asia Pacific & Africa ST1752)

- Calvert, H., *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1936.
- Chaudhry, Nazir Ahmad. *Multan Glimpses with an Account of Siege and Surrender*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002.
- Cole, John Jones. A Sketch of the Siege of Mooltan. Calcutta: 1849.
- Dewey, Clive. *The Settlement Literature of the Greater Punjab: A Handbook.* USA: The Riverdale Company, 1991.
- Dhulipala, Venkat. Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in Late Colonial North India. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Douie, James M. "The Punjab Canal Colonies", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 62, No. 3210 (MAY 29, 1914).
- Dudoignon, Stephane A. *The Baluch, Sunnism and the State in Iran: From Tribal to Global.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Dunlop, John. *Mooltan, A Series of Sketches During and After the Seige*. London: Wm. S. ORR and Co., 1849.
- Durrani, A. M. K. *History of Multan (From the Early Period to 1849 A.D.)*. Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Limited, 1991.
- Durrani, A. M. K. Multan under the Afghans, 1752-1818. Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 1981.
- Emerson, H. W. Assessment Report of the Multan and Shujabad, Tahsils of the Multan District. Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1920.
- Fair, C. Christine. *The Madrassah Chllenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan.* Washington DC: United Stated Institute of Peace Press, 2008.
- Final Settlement Report of Multan District (1921).
- General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories from 1854-55 to 55-56 Inclusive, Calcutta, 1856.
- Gilmartin, David. "Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (November 1994).
- Gilmartin, David. Empire and Islam, Punjab and the Making of Pakistan. London: I.B Tauris & Co, 1988.
- GoP. *Deeni Madaris Ki Jame Report* [Urdu: Comprehensive Report on Religious Schools]. Islamabad: Islamic Education Research Cell, Ministry of Education, 1988.
- GoP. Pakistan ke dini Madaris ke Ulama-yi kiram ki Directory. Islamabad: Higher Education Research Cell, 1986.

- GoP. *Quami Committee Brae Deeni Madaris* [Urdu: National Committee of Religious Schools]. Islamabad: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1979.
- GoP. Report of the Commission on National Education. Karachi: Ministry of Education, January- August 1959.
- GoP. Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of West Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Ulooms and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan. Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962.
- Haines, Daniel. Building the Empire, Building the Nation: Development, Legitimacy and Hydro-Politics in Sind, 1919-1969. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hameed-ud-Din, "Multan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol XL, Part I, Serial No. 118, (April 1962).
- Hartung, Jan-Peter, and Helmut Reifeld, eds. *Islamic Education, Diversity and National Identity:* Dīnī Madāris in India Post 9/11. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd, 2006.
- Hashmi, Syed Masroor Ali Akhtar. *Muslim Response to Western Education (A Study of Four Pioneer Institutions)*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 1989.
- Hefner, R. W. and Zaman, M. Q. Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Institute of Policy Studies. *Pakistan: Religious Institutions: An Overview*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2002.
- Khan, Hasan Ali. Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of the Suharwardi Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India Private Limited, 2015.
- Kozlowski, Gregory C. *Muslim Endowment and Society in British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Latif, Syed Muhammad. History of the Punjab, From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time. Lahore, 1899.
- Latif, Syed Muhammad. The Early History of Multan. Lahore, 1891.
- Leitner, G. W. *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882*. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1882.
- Makdisi, G. *The Rise of Colleges, Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981.
- Malik, Jamal. (ed.). Madrassa in South Asia: Teaching Terror? Oxford: Routledge, 2008.
- Malik, Jamal. Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in

- Pakistan. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996.
- Metcalf, B. D. *Islam in South Asia in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Metcalf, Barbara D. (ed.) *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam.* London: University of California Press, 1984.
- Metcalf, Barbara D. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Metcalf, Barbra. "The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model for Religious Education in Modern India", *Modern Asian Studies*, 12 (1), 1978.
- Moj, Muhammad. *The Deoband Madrassah Movement: Countercultural Trends and Tendencies*. London: Anthem Press, 2015.
- Moon, Penderel. Divide and Quit. London: Chattoo & Windus, 1961.
- Moosa, Ebrahim. What is a Madrasa? Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.
- Multan: Past and Present. Karachi: Finance and Industry Publication, 1968.
- Nelson, Matthew J. "Dealing with Difference: Religious Education and the Challenge of Democracy in Pakistan." *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 2 (2009).
- Nelson, Matthew J. "Muslims, Markets and the Meaning of a Good Education in Pakistan". *Asian Survey*, 46 (5), (2006).
- Nizami, Moin Ahmad. Reform and Renewal in South Asian Islam: The Chishti-Sabris in 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century North India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Pasha, Mustapha Kamal. Colonial Political Economy: Recruitment and Underdevelopment in Punjab. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Powell, Avril A. *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993.
- Powell, Avril A. Pillar of a New Faith: Christianity in late-nineteenth century Punjab from the perspective of a convert from Islam. in Robert Frykenberge (ed.) Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross Cultural Communication since 1500. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003. :223-255.
- Puri, Nina. *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1985.
- Qasmi, Ali Usman. "God's Kingdom on Earth? Politics of Islam in Pakistan, 1947 1969." *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 6 (November 2010).
- Rahman, K. and Bukhari, S. R. "Pakistan: Religious Education and Institutions", *The Muslim World*, 96 (2), 2006.
- Rahman, K. *Madrassas in Pakistan: Role and Emerging Trends*. In: PANDYA, A., et al. (Eds.) Islam and Politics: Renewal and Resistance in the Muslim world. Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Centre, 2009.

- Ramzan, Muhammad. "Sectarian landscape, Madrasas and Militancy in Punjab", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 22, Issue 2, (2015).
- Raza, M. Hanif. Multan: Past and Present. Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988.
- Reetz, Dietrich. *Islam in the Public Sphere: Religious Groups in India 1900-1947*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1901-02 to 1912 13. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902. V/24/938
- Riaz, Ali. Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- Riaz, Ali. *Global Jihad, Sectarianism and the Madrassas in Pakistan*. Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore, Working Paper No. 85. August 2005.
- Rieck, Andreas. *The Shias of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.
- Robinson, Francis. "Technology and Religious change: Islam and the impact of Print", *Modern Asia Studies*, 27, 1 (1993).
- Robinson, Francis. "Ulama, sufis and colonial rule in North India and Indonesia", in: C. A. Bayly and D. H. A. Kolff, Two colonial empires, Dordrecht, 1986.
- Robinson, Francis. *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*. New Delhi, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Robinson, Francis. *Islam, South Asia and the West.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Robinson, Francis. *Jamal Mian: The Life of Maulana Abdul Wahab of Farangi Mahall,* 1919-2012. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Robinson, Francis. *The Ulama of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia*. Lahore: Feroze sons, 2002.
- Roe, Charles A. Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab, 1873-1880. Lahore: W. Balls, 1883.
- Rooney, John. Of Wheat that Ripens (The Dioceses of Multan and Faisalabad) A Historical Essay. Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1988.
- Rose, H. A. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North Western Frontier *Province*, 3 Vols., Chandigarh, 1970.
- Roseberry, J. Royal. *Imperial Rule in Punjab: The Conquest and Administration of Multan, 1818-1881.* Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Limited, 1988.
- Sanyal, Usha. Devotional Islam and Politics in British India, Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1920. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

- Shafqat, Saeed. "From Official Islam to Islamism." in *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation*. Editor Christophe Jaffrelot. Londn: Zed Books, 2002.
- Sikand, Y. Bastions of the Believers. New Delhi; New York: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Singer, P. W. Pakistan's Madrassahs Insuring a System of Education not Jihad. Washington, DC: Project on Terrorism, U. S. Foreign Policy, Brookings Institution, 2001.
- Singh, D.E. *Islamization in Modern South Asia: Deobandi Reform and the Gujjar Response.* Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
- Tabassum, Farhat. *Deoband Ulama's Movement for the Freedom of India*. New Delhi: Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind, 2006.
- Talbot, I. and S. S. Thandi. *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial, and Post-Colonial Migration*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Talbot, Ian. Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947. New Delhi: Manohar, 1988.
- Winthrop, Rebecca and Corinne Graf. Beyond Madrasas: Assessing the Link between Education and Militancy in Pakistan. Center for Universal Education at Brookings, 2010.
- Zaman, M. Q. "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41 (2), 1999.
- Zaman, M. Q. Ashraf Ali Thanawi. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008.
- Zaman, M. Q. *Islam in Pakistan: A History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Zaman, M. Q. Modern Islamic Thought in A Radical Age: Religious Authority and Internal Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Zaman, M. Q. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Zia, R. "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview", *Prospects*, 33 (2), 2003.

#### **Dissertations**

- Ahmed, Shuja, "Economic and Social Change in Khairpur (1947-1980)", diss., University of London, 2012.
- Alam, Muzaffar. "Madrasa System of Education in India, Continuity and Change: A Case Study based on Colonial Impact." diss., Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1976.
- Ali, Imran. "The Punjab Canal Colonies, 1885-1940." diss., The Australian National University, 1979.
- Chattha, Ilyas. "Partition and Its Aftermath: Violence, Migration and the Role of Refugees in the Socio-Economic Development of Gujranwala and Sialkot Cities,

- 1947-1961." diss., University of Southampton, 2009.
- Mian, Ali Altaf. "Surviving Modernity: Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī (1863-1943) and the Making of Muslim Orthodoxy in Colonial India." diss., Duke University, 2015.
- Winkelmann, Mareike J. "From Behind the Curtain: A Study of Girls Madrasa in India." diss., ISIM-International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, Amsterdam University, 2005.