Governing Sufi Sound, Empowering the Subaltern Singer: Raagi Faqirs On the Edge of Modernity in Contemporary Sindh, Pakistan

by

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Abstract

In the 18th century, a Sufi mystic and poet in Sindh region of pre-colonial India showed his devotees (*the raagi faqirs*) the Sufi path by reciting verses that the faqirs memorized and sang. This corpus of sung verses called the Shah jo Raag stands distinctly for its poetic, melodic and structural elements within the more dominant forms of Sufi singing in South Asia namely *qawwali, kafi, and khayal*. As musical communities from across Rajasthan, Gujarat and Sindh sing Shah Latif's poetry, the original community of devotees, the raagi faqirs have been preserving the style of singing they refer to as the *kari* style of singing the Shah jo Raag at the dargah of Shah Latif for nearly 300 years. This community and style stands as a subaltern within Hindustani musicians and singing styles that remain predominant in Sindh. My dissertation addresses the question: To what extent have processes of modernity empowered or disempowered the subaltern? I address this question in the historical context of post-colonial Sindh that witnessed regulation of *waqf* (religious endowment) of Sufi dargah in Pakistan examining its impact on the tradition of the Shah jo Raag and its singers.

Drawing upon post-colonial theory on empowerment and etasization of society based on Michel Foucault's discussion of "governmentality," I analyze the faqirs voices and conduct in the public sphere and at the dargah, and the extent to which their participation is shaped by the ways in which the spiritual authority of the Sajjada Nashin has been impacted by state regulations. I argue that modernity and state interventions create new forms of subalternity within music communities making ambiguous Sufi singers' rights to their tradition and heritage. With ethnographic work in Sindh between 2009-2017, I examine faqirs' subalternity in contemporary Sindh by tracing how the trajectory of modern governmentality from colonial to post-colonial and from neo-liberal

and corporate has impacted the Shah jo Raag tradition and the authority of the raagi faqirs. Since the faqirs' voices in the public sphere and their rights to their heritage is mediated by the Sajjada Nashin and the pirzade family whose authority over the tradition is recognized by the Waqf Legislation, the disputes at the dargah are resolved through a power imbalance. I conclude that the absence of faqirs' rights over their heritage within the state legal system contributes to faqirs' subalternity created by modern governmentalities. This dissertation contributes to the discipline of Ethnomusicology, Islamic Studies and South Asian Studies by bringing into discourse the emerging scholarship on the Islamic heritage of *waqf* and how the sacerdotal power imbalances within the pre-modern socio-economic structure impacts the music communities and their claims to heritage today.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Shumaila Hemani. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “The Episteme(s) of Preserving the Sung Poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in Sind, Pakistan”, No. Pro00051380, March 2017.

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As a woman of an ethnic and religious minority within Pakistan and studying the dominant culture and subalternity within it, I have confronted many kinds of barriers at different points within this research. I want to thank my supervisors Dr. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi and Dr. Michael A. Frishkopf who have been of formidable support at every juncture of this project.

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Sincere gratitude to my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah who not only initiated me in the tradition of singing the Shah jo Raag but in doing so laid the ground for this research. It is because of his support that I was honored as the first scholar who took an ethnographic perspective to study the tradition at the 262nd Bhitai conference in 2012 in Bhitshah and Karachi and was successful in bringing forward the perspective of the faqirs from where they have been excluded. Unfortunately, this contribution has not resulted in a continuity followed by other music scholars. Textual approaches predominate. This dissertation is a humble attempt to reciprocate the mission that my teacher has initiated me on, which is to elevate the status of the raagi faqirs in Sindh. Special thanks to my mentor Dr. Qureshi for helping me to build this mission within Ethnomusicological discourse of South Asian music.

I would like to earnestly thank my committee members for an engaged discussion and feedback that has helped me in revising the manuscript substantially. Sincere gratitude once again to Dr. Michael Frishkopf on timely and detailed feedback on many versions of this manuscript and Dr. Maryam Moshaver, the Graduate Chair for her continuing support.

My heartfelt gratitude to my teacher Ustad Hameed Ali Khan who is also my *abba* (father). Special thanks for arranging and accompanying me to Radio Hyderabad for the interview with Nasir Mirza as well as members of his family. Ustad ji has not only taught me performance in khayal and Sufi *kafi* since I became his student in 2012 but conversations with him and the wisdom he has transmitted has played a significant role in

building a multi-faceted perspective to study Sindhi sound that is presented in this dissertation.

Special thanks to my brother, Karim Hemani, who supported my research despite family taboos and accompanied me to Bhitshah. Without him, this dissertation research would not have been possible! I would also like to thank the Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Waqar Saeein who has always been very encouraging and supportive and egalitarian in approach; his positive demeanor has inspired me to work harder on this project. Special thanks also to Ismail Faqir who assisted in conducting interviews with different faqirs and has always corresponded in a prompt manner if I had any questions. His commitment to the Shah jo Raag and the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is inspiring!

Above all, I would like to dedicate my mother who has supported this project beyond her moral and financial abilities and seen through its completion. My mother is a true *ashiq* (lover) who not only gave me the space to pursue my dreams but that too in the field of music which remains socially tabooed in Pakistan. Her support for a project to work with the faqirs speaks for her trust in my abilities and vision and her dedication to this dissertation is going to be a debt! A similar dedication goes to my supervisor Dr. Qureshi who contributed not only intellectual mentorship but also her living wisdom. This dissertation is indebted to the soulful journey of self-discovery and moral development in the area of social justice that conversations with Dr. Qureshi have made possible.

I wish the readers a fine read into what has also been for me a culmination of nearly a decade of research and different forms of knowing that I have verbalized in this work.

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Glossary

A

Adab: moral conduct and etiquette
Adabi: literary
The *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*: A seminal biography of Shah Latif written by Mirza Qalich Baig and published in 1877
Ajlaf: the lower orders, base, vile, mean or ignoble people
Ajrak: is a unique form of block-printed shawls and tiles found in Sindh, Pakistan. These shawls display special designs and patterns made using block printi
Akriti: figure
Alam: throne
Alap: the introductory phase in the recitation of bait. Has parallels with rendition of Raag in Hindustani music. Just as alap reflects the identity of the raag, the faqirs identify a sur from its alap and the musical phrase in alap repeats within the bait.
Amanat: custody, guardianship, thing or property committed to the trust and care of a person or group of persons
Ana-l-haq: literally means "I'm haq/I'm Truth." It is a claim for Unity in Divinity—the highest mystical state in Sufi theosophy.
Aqida: belief
Autaq: room, chamber
Awaz: voice
Awliya: guardians, defenders, friends (of God), saints, holy men
Azan: call to prayer

B

Badi zaat/choti zaat (high/low class/caste)
Bagh: garden
Bait: distich, couplet or verse
Bait dena: Giving a verse
Bait uthana: Taking a verse
Bandish: restriction, hindrance, obstruction
Bania: occupational community of merchants, bankers, money-lenders, dealers in grains or in spices, and in modern times numerous commercial enterprises
Batin: esoteric
Bazahir: at the outset
Benjo: a zither musical instrument
Be-sura: out of tune
Bhagat: literally means a "devotee" but is also a title for Hindu singers of Shah Latif and other saint poets
Bhasha: dialect
Biraderi: brotherhood, fraternity, community, kinsfolk, people of same profession, locality, caste, etc.

C

Cher: One of the three types of wai found in the repertoire of Shah Latif's Risalo

D

Dahshat-gardi: terrorism
Dambur: five stringed lute used at the dargah of Shah Latif
Dupatta: Scarf that women in Pakistan wear with Shalwar Kameez
Darbar: royal court or audience hall, court of a noble; figurative (Shrine or tomb of a saint)
Darbar-e-awliya: the court of the saint
Dargah: shrine
Dastan: story
Dastar bandi: coronation ceremony when the *dastar* (turban) is wrapped around the new Sajjada Nashin
Dast-e-shafqat: blessed hand
Dedhi wai: One of the three types of wai found in the repertoire of Shah Latif's Risalo
Dhaga: thread
Dholak: double barreled drum used in South Asian weddings
Dil: heart
Doha: is a form of self-contained rhyming couplet in poetry composed in Matrika metre in Hindi poetry. Among the most famous dohas are those Kabir, Surdas, Tulsidas and other poets. Shah Latif's poetic verses range from two lined doha to six line verses.
Dohiro: A style of singing Sufi poetry in free metre before the beginning of the Kafi
Dohra: A colloquial term for the word "dohiro."
Dua: prayer

F

Farmaish: request, desire, ask for, bespoke
Faqir: dervish
Fatiha: commencement, first part or introduction exordium; fatiha, the first sura of the Qur'an ceremony in which sura Fatiha is recited
Firaq (separation)

G

Gaddi: seat, post
Ganj: Shah Latif's compilation of poetry found in the original manuscript form is called the "ganj."
Ghor: Name of one strings to dambura… deep, dark, thick (forest, etc.); dread abyss; sound of drum
Gwalior gharana: A kinship of musicians originating in the court of Gwalior. This group of singers singing Hindustani Khayal is also present in Sind, Pakistan

H

Hal: state of ecstasy and fervour; uncontrolled bodily movements resembling dance in such a state of ecstasy
Halqo: a Sufi ritual observed at the dargah of Shah Latif
Haq: right, due portion or share, proprietorship; justice, equity, duty, responsibility

Haveli: a manor or mansion
Hikmat: wisdom
Hoongara: the ending musical phrase of reciting a bait at the dargah.
Huquq-al-Adam: rights of humans
Huquq-al Ibad: rights of individuals

I
Insaaf: justice, equity, fair play, impartiality
In'am: reward, award
Ishq: love
Izzat: honor, respect

J
Jagir: property, estate, freehold land given by king or government as a reward for services
Jamadar: title used for various military and other official in the Indian subcontinent and
Jat: an agricultural community native to the Indian subcontinent, comprising what is today Northern India and Pakistan
Jati: a Hindu caste
Jhari: literally means a "bush." Cluster. Lower Sa
Jhok: a descending melodic phrase
Jhoonghar: A style of singing Sufi poem of Shah Latif used in solo

K
Kache: unripe
Kacheri: a gathering of people that involves discussion on a topic or ceremony
Kachi matti: unbaked clay
Kafi: A style of singing Sufi poem of Shah Latif
Kari: A style of singing Sufi poem of Shah Latif used at the dargah
Karigar: skilled worker
Kefiyat: condition, state, situation
Khalif: administrator
Khand: A chapter
Khansaman: a title within the Mughal social ranking and office
Kharj: lower octave
Kisan: peasant
Kohiyari: Name of one of the surs related to the story of Sur Sassui. There are five surs related to Sur Sassui: Abri, Desi, Maazoori, Kohiyari, and Hosseini
Kharj: refers to the singing in lower-octave
Khak-e-shifa: dust that is considered to have *shifa* or healing
Khartaal: Pair of wooden blocks with jingles used as clappers. One pair is used in one hand of the musician. These pieces can be clapped together at high speeds to make fast complex beats.
Kitabat: writing; scholarship
Khidmatgar: volunteer
Kunji bardar: the person who has the key to the shrine and plays the role of locking the shrine at mid-night and opening it at dawn

Kursi: chair, seat, post, office

L
Lakhi Dar: the main gate of the dargah
Langar: public kitchen; alms
Langarkhana: The kitchen at the dargah
Laukika vinoda: this term introduced by Dr. Jotwani is defined as “music produced by experts for the satisfaction of common people”
Laukida sangita: folk music
Lok gita: this term introduced by Dr. Jotwani is defined as “music sung by lay men and therefore amateurish and without technical virtuosity” (88)

M
Mach kacheri: gathering around bonfire
Makhan wali: literally meaning “butter-like”
Manganiyaar: beggar; a community of singers found in Rajasthan and Sindh
Mansab: post, office, dignity
Mansabdar: officer or official of rank, functionary
Mansabdari: Name of the system of allotting land and office during the Mughal period
Mantiq al-tayr: literally translated as “Conference of the Birds.” This is a book by Fariduddin Attar.
Maqamat: places, ranks
Mashaikh: a collective of Islamic religious authorities including Sajjada Nashins, muftis (Islamic legal interpreter) and teachers at madressah
Milk/milkiyat: property, possession
Mahaul: ambience, state
Maadhi: the word literally means “feminine;” in the context of the Shah jo Raag, it also refers to singing in higher octave
Maani: roti or bread
Mazdoor: worker
Meherbaan: kind
Mehfil: assembly, meeting, party, gathering, congregation, sitting-place
Mehfil-e-sama: a spiritual gathering of Sufis
Muafi: forgiveness; exemption, remission (of a sentence, fee, tax, etc.)
Murki: Murki is a short taan or inverted mordent in Hindustani classical music. It is a fast and delicate ornamentation or alankar, employing two or more notes and is similar to a mordent. Like melisma.
Muraqaba: Arabic Sufi word for meditation. It implies that with meditation, a person watches over or takes care of his spiritual heart (or soul), and acquires knowledge about it, its surroundings, and its creator.
Mutawali: the trustee of a waqf (as a religious building)

N
Naib: deputy or representative of authority
Na manzoor: Not acceptable

Nara: slogan, rhetoric, chant
Nazar: offering
Nazrana: cash or gift offering that the devotees give at the dargah
Nisbat: relation, connection, affinity

P
Panjtan: Five people in the house of Prophet including Prophet, Fatima, Ali, Hussain, and Hassan
Pattadari rights: rights to own land
Pirzade: the son of a spiritual guide or teacher; family of the spiritual heir
Pukhtagi: maturity, ripeness, firmness, soundness, solidity, strength

Q
Qashani: A type of Iranian style
Qawwali: a style of singing Sufi poem dated back to Amir Khusrow

R
Raag: a melodic mode Hindustani style of singing
Rano: Name of a sur based on the story of Moomal-Rano
Rasool: prophet
Rawza of Imam Hussain: burial place of Imam Hussain located at Karbala
Rindana: dissolute, lewd, disorderly, debauchee
Riyasat: princely state, dominion
Ryotwari: Ryotwari System was introduced by Thomas Munro in 1820 introduction Madras, Bombay, parts of Assam and Coorgh provinces of British India.
In Ryotwari System the ownership rights were handed over to the peasants, and the British Government collected taxes directly from the peasants.
Roti: bread
Ruh: soul

S
Saiyid: descendant of Prophet Muhammad
Sajjada Nashin: hereditary administrator) also refers as Trusty (a successor) is the descendant of a Sufi or Pir and in some instances descendant of a Sufi
Sanad: throne
Sarparast-e-aala: guardian, protector
Sema: Arabic word literally means "to listen." In the Sufi context, it refers to the ceremony to dhikr
Sharia: Islamic law
Sharif: high-born, of high rank or dignity, sacred, holy
Shifa: healing
Silsilah: chain, link, connection
Sur: A chapter in Shah Latif's Risalo
Sura: a chapter in the Quran
Surud: Surud is another word for "sur" and was used by Shah Inayat of Jhok, a Sufi saint who preceded Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai

T

Tabib: healer
Tafsir: interpretation, exegesis
Talim: learning
Tand: instrumental melody associated with each sur
Taqiya: from Persian root. pillow; to which someone leans; support; trust; *takiyadar* is a person who gives support and can be a faqir or dervish. Abode of a faqir. A place of repose.
Taqiya dena is to give respect or lean or rest against. The phrase "Takiya abad karna" also refers to becoming a dervish. At the sites in Sindh and Rajasthan where Shah Latif travelled during his life, there are structures built in his honor to mark his travel
Tasalsul: continuity
Tasbih: chaplet of beads used by Muslims to remember God; glorification of God, sanctification of God
Tawiz: an amulet or locket usually containing verses from the Quran or other Islamic prayers and symbols.
Teep: Tonal center or Sa
Thal: a kind of frame-drum
Toli: group
Topi: cap
Tuhfat-ul-Kiram: A book about history of Sindh compiled by M
ir Ali Sher Qane Thattavi (1727-1789)

U

Ulema: a body of Muslim scholars recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology.
Uwaisi: The term is used to define Sufis who are be-pir (without a spiritual teacher) and who do not belong to an established Sufi order. The name derives from Uwais Al-Qarni, a sacred figure in Muslim history.

V

Vairaag: is from the Sanskrit term "Vairagya" and used in Hindu philosophy to dispassion, detachment, or renunciation, in particular renunciation from the pains and pleasures in the temporary material world. Vairagya refers to an internal state of mind rather than to external lifestyle and can be practiced equally well by one engaged in family life and career as it can be by a renunciation.
Vyakti: individuality

W

Wadi autaq: Big chamber
Wai: A style of singing epilogue poem of Shah Latif used at the dargah
Wali: guardian, defender, friend (of God), saint, holy man (p. awliya)
Waqafa: legal document that signifies waqf
Waqf: stopping, standing, pause, permanence, charitable endowment, trust, legacy
Waqif: person who legalizes his owned property as waqf

Wazifa: Stipends, Daily pay, Pension
Waqt: Time, moment
Waaris: heir, successor, inheritor
Wadero: landlord
Wazifa: stipend
Wisal: communion
Wisal-e-yaar: communion with the beloved
Wuzu: ablution performed before the start of Muslim prayer

Z
Zamindar: Landowner
Zarya-e-maash: living
Zindabad: Long Live!
Zikr: remembrance, recital of the praise and names of God
Zikr: remembering
Zuban: literally meaning “tongue.” Higher Pa.

Introduction

In the mystical branch of Islam called the *tasawwuf*, listening (*sema*) is considered to create specific effects that bring listeners closer to the Divine. The power of *sema* is exemplified in a story called the Sorath within the region of Sindh which goes as follows: a bard called Bijal goes to the royal court of a king, Raja Diyach to entrance Diyach with his melodies and in return ask the king for his head. Bijal is given this challenge by a rival king Anirai because he lost his beautiful wife Sorath to Diyach when Diyach took Sorath by force. When Anirai failed to get his bride back despite an attack on Diyach's castle that results in his army's retreat, he sends a talented musician, Bijal. Bijal, happens to be the son of Diyach, and unknowingly goes to his father's court to demand his head. Raja Diyach finds Bijal's fiddle to be strangely intoxicating and is drawn to the unfolding mystery of the sound. From his position outside the palace, the king invites him inside and asks Bijal to take any wealth he wants. When Bijal asks for the king's head, Raja Diyach replies that the beauty of his music is far greater than his skull. Diyach offers him all his wealth in return for playing hundreds of sweet tunes, but Bijal again only asks for Raja's head. Finally, Diyach, enchanted with his melodies, cuts off his head in the name of God. Bijal takes Diyach's head to King Anirai who trembles in horror and scolds Bijal for being cruel to the generous king and banishes Bijal from the country. Bijal leaves for Diyach's court, and upon seeing his wives enter the *sati*, he too enters the flames, followed by his wife.

The musician, Bijal, stands between two worlds, one is the world of sound and Divine and the other a worldly realm where he is acting out the political rivalry of the two kings. While he is performing Divine sounds that bring Diyach close to his death and his unison in God, he is also acting upon the political ambitions of King Anirai. How empowered is he in this situation? The folk tale of Bijal and Diyach, locally known as "Sorath," is versified in the poetry of the 18th century Islamic mystic-poet Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, whose *dargah* (shrine) is located in a small town called Bhitshah named after the saint in the province called Sindh in Pakistan. Musical communities across Sindh, Rajasthan, and Gujarat in India and Pakistan recite poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. At the dargah (shrine) of the Sufi poet and saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, the

faqirs (literally meaning 'dervish') sing this nearly 300-year-old tradition in a musical style that Shah Latif is considered to have created. The Shah jo Raag in the local language Sindhi means Shah's *raag*. Raag is locally translated as "melodies" and "jo" is a possessive. Its singers are called the raagi faqirs who were very close to Shah Latif during his life.

The raagi faqirs, who are the Sufis who sing Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's poetry also stand between two worlds: one is the world of Sufi ritual that takes place at the dargah where faqirs sing Shah's poetry in devotion locally known as *darbar par hazari* (being present in the royal court of the saint). The other is the material world, the Islamic religious economy that has traditionally supported the physical and tangible heritage of the dargah (shrine). The economy of religious endowment (waqf) has historically constituted a hierarchical relationship between the Sufi singers (faqirs) and the spiritual authority (Sajjada Nashin). How has this traditional relationship that is supported by Islamic religious economy (waqf) transformed as a result of colonial and post-colonial state regulation of waqf? Have the processes of modernity empowered or disempowered the subaltern, in this case, the raagi faqirs? How have colonial and post-colonial state's interventions within the intangible heritage, that is the poetry and sound of the Shah jo Raag impacted the hereditary singers, that is the faqirs?

In absence of a discussion about *waqf* in the discipline of Ethnomusicology, this dissertation bridges an important gap in the field of Islamic sounds. By examining the power hierarchies that *waqf* has historically created for Sufi singers, and that which determines the social status of the faqirs and their relationships with traditional spiritual authority, the Sajjada Nashin historically, I lay a ground to examine transformations that have occurred as a result of state regulation of waqf in colonial and post-colonial Sindh, and question: have the processes of modernity empowered or disempowered the subaltern, in this case, the raagi faqirs? My argument is three-fold: first, I argue that while faqirs show respect (adab) towards traditional authority of the Sajjada Nashin, they have also become assertive in voicing their resentments and grievances towards the state as well as in showing dissent towards high-stake decisions made by the spiritual authority. The second part of my argument situates faqirs' silences and marginality within these transformations. Using Michel Foucault's concept of "governmentality" to situate an

interface of different modes of governance, including traditional authority of the Sajjada Nashin, the state and neo-liberal institutions such as the UNESCO and the Coke Studio, I argue that governmentality creates new forms of subalternity and silence. By bringing forward faqirs' conflicts with the Sajjada Nashin in contemporary Sindh, I argue that while colonial and post-colonial modernity centralized the place of Sufi saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in Sindh, it kept his faqirs at the margins.

The Ethnographic Field and Subjects

The research for this dissertation was conducted mainly in the Sindh province, which is the third largest province of Pakistan by area, and borders the Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan to the east and the Arabian Sea to the south. The word "Sindh" is derived from the Sanskrit term "*Sindhu*" (literally meaning "river"), which is a reference to the Indus River.

Figure 1: A map of Pakistan with its province Sindh that borders the Arabian Sea and Rajasthan, India (Bencheneb 2010) (Bencheneb 2010)

Sindh is the second largest province by population after Punjab with a population of 47.9 million according to the 2017 census. Sindhi is the official language of Sindh and its roots are in Sanskrit and Prakrit. As a result of partition, there was a sizable emigration of Sindhi Hindus and immigration of Muslims who spoke Urdu and Gujarati to Sindh.

The provincial capital of post-colonial Sindh was Karachi, which is also Pakistan's largest city and financial hub, and at the time of partition, Karachi was the state's capital. The shift in population dynamics impacted the Sindhi speakers in the province and city; in 1941, 61.2 % of the population spoke Sindhi with 6.3% Urdu, and 51% of this population was Hindu and 42 % Muslim in Karachi. According to the 1951 census, the percentage of Sindhi speakers dropped to 8.6 % in Karachi, and Urdu hiked to 50 percent with only 2 % Hindu population remaining in Karachi and 96 percent Muslims (Hassan and Mohib 1997, 3). These shifting dynamics also impacted the politics of post-colonial Sindh and the tradition of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai that gained national significance after partition. The dissertation addresses this cultural politics and the ways in which the traditional relationships at the dargah became part of the public sphere as a result.

The ethnographic field of this dissertation is not limited to the dargah of Shah Latif but also the Sindhi public sphere where the tradition of Shah jo Raag gained national significance in post-colonial Sindh. However, while Shah Latif gained national significance, the raagi faqirs have stayed at the margins until they raised their voice in the public sphere. The photo below represents an instance of faqirs protesting outside the press club in Hyderabad for their rights over the tangible heritage of the dargah, namely a site called Hala Haveli that I discuss in detail in Chapter 8. Holding a sacred instrument called the *dambura*, a five-stringed lute that accompanies the singing of Sufi poems of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai at his dargah in Sindh, they are singing Latif's poetry in order to enhance their protest. If faqirs' participation in the public sphere insinuates empowerment, then what are the processes that enable them to voice themselves and how can one know when they are silent? I show in this dissertation that the answer to the question lies in their relationship with the spiritual authority and how it has evolved with the transformations taking place in post-colonial Sindh.

Figure 2: The faqirs protest outside the Hyderabad press club with their damburas. Nazan Saeein on the right with his hands in prayer. The faqirs, who are standing at the back with the placard are appealing to gain back the control of the physical site Hala Haveli, a historical site at the dargah the administration of which is under dispute. Published in Tribune (2010).

The leadership of Sajjada Nashin and its evolution in post-colonial modernity in Sindh after state regulation of waqf is an important aspect to situate the voice and silences of the faqirs. The photo below shows the traditional ceremony of *dastar bandi* where a new spiritual authority is being coronated. The kin and elders of a sister shrine of Shah Latif's great-great-grandfather—Shah Abdul Karim Bulri—present the "*haal dhaga,*" attire that was once worn by Shah Latif. The Sajjada Nashin is also given a cap, an *amama* (robe), a turban, a shawl, a *tasbih* (a garland of beads used to remember Allah) and a sleeveless piece of cloth worn by Bhitai in his lifetime. As part of observing the tradition, the Sajjada Nashin visits a room called "*wadi autaq*," (literally meaning "big room") a sacred place where Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai was known to have sat until his last breath listening to the raagi faqirs. This is the same room, alongside other structures, the ownership for which the faqirs in the picture above are protesting. Major political dignitaries from Sindh attend the ceremony, and the press interviewed him. To the press, the Sajjada Nashin situates his leadership in post 9/11 Sindh that has witnessed terrorist attacks on the shrine. He says: "I will discharge my obligation without any fear. Every second of my life will be devoted to propagating Bhitai's message…Sindh will become

Sindh of Bhitai" ("Passing on the torch" 2015). This statement reflects the Sajjada Nashin's vision for civic engagement, in contrast with his traditional engagements at the dargah, and represents a transformation that I discuss in detail in Chapter 4.

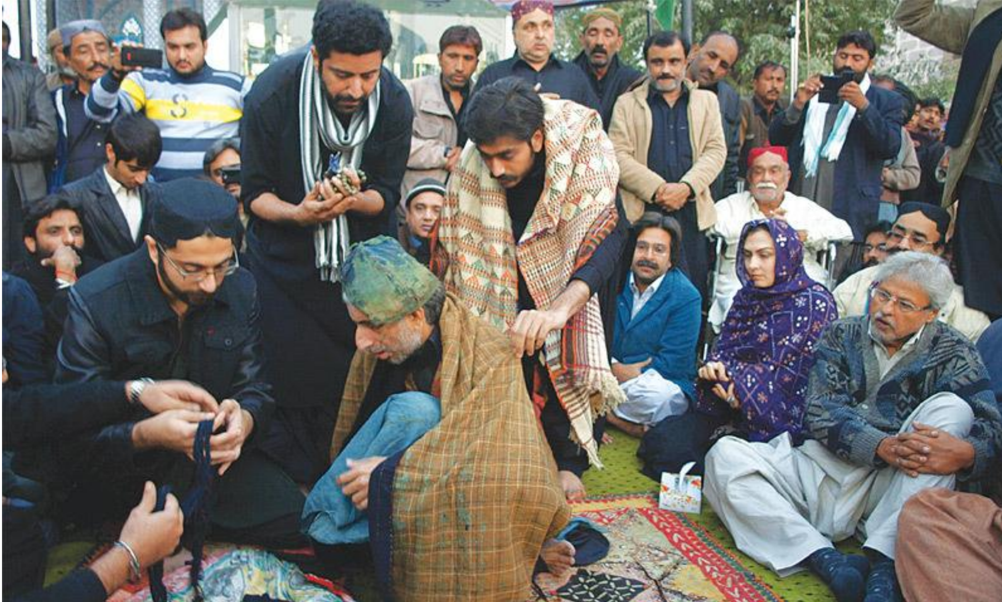

Figure 3: The pirzade family (family of spiritual authority) at Shah Abdul Karim Bulri's dargah present Shah Latif's attire to the 12th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Waqar Hussain Shah. Published in The Express Tribune (2015).

The above glimpses of the raagi faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin's engagement with the civic sphere while maintaining their traditional positions is the primal way to understand how the transformations in their relationship are taking place. Understanding these transformations is the key to responding to the central question about the extent to which faqirs have been empowered or disempowered by the processes of modernity. I situate the evolution of the leadership of the Sajjada Nashin as an engagement with different forms of governance, including state and neo-liberal institutions and how that influences the empowerment of the faqirs.

Position in the Ethnographic Field

I was born in Sindh, Pakistan but my family is from the Gujarati diaspora that settled in Sindh in 1948 after the Partition following the *farman* (edicts) of the Aga Khan.

The languages I grew up speaking were Urdu and English with some exposure to Gujarati and Devangiri script while reading the daily newspaper with my grandparents' in Gujarati. As a result of learning Ismaili hymns (ginans) from a young age, despite a westernized schooling, I have always found the poetry and music that I connect with most is the pre-modern South Asian devotional poetry that has relatively similar kind of symbols and imagery (in contrast with modern poetry) as Shah Latif's *Risalo*. My interest in Sufism began after completing tenth grade of my religious school. While receiving training to become an Ismaili missionary, I was also reading books by Sufi Inayat Ullah Khan at the local Ismaili Tariqah Library in my hometown. While preparing a presentation on the topic of "fear" for the final grade for the Ismaili Missionary class, I ironically experienced a crisis of faith—a lonesome experience that resulted in the view that my entire religious training was a form of indoctrination of that supported a constructed figure of God. After two years I formally abandoned my faith and told my family that I would not participate in the collective recitation of prayer, which were positions that were detrimental in maintaining my reputation as a respectable woman. However, my studies at the Lahore University of Management Sciences, alongside my scholarships, helped me in coping with social taboo. I filled the vast vacuum in my mind left behind after the destruction of my religious imagination, with books in modern philosophy and literature, as well as absorbing many aspects of European and American culture as it seeped into the Pakistani bourgeoisie at LUMS.

Figure 4: Map of the province of Sindh, locating Bhitshah, Hyderabad and Karachi

I had first encountered the *Shah jo Raag* tradition at a Sindhi NGO gathering in Karachi in 2002. Up until 2010, before their performance for the Coke Studio, the tradition was little known. While studying Islamic Studies in London, I encountered a recording of a Shah jo Raag for the first time. I aspired to learn to sing this tradition but accessing it seemed very difficult. When I visited Pakistan in 2009 as a part of my master's research, I happened to book accommodation in Bhitshah, where I received my first lesson in Sur Samoondi from my teacher, Faqir Jumman Shah. Faqir Jumman Shah is a hereditary singer of the Shah jo Raag who, having lost his father at a young age, acquired the tradition from his uncle, and has passed it down to his son.

Faqir Jumman Shah invited me to return. It was very difficult to convince the scholars and government of Sindh to support my research, let alone from my family. No one thought that this topic was viable and important and interacting with the faqirs was considered very low. However, my brother's limited support helped me in going to Bhitshah for a few weeks in 2009 and then again in 2014. In this visit, I learned to repeat after Faqir Jumman Shah in four to five different *surs* (chapters) from Shah Latif's book of poetry the *Risalo* including Kalyan, Yaman-Kalyan, Sohni, Samoondi, and Sassui-

Abri[1]. He also sang verses from several other surs that I recorded including Leela-Chanesar, Moomal-Rano, Sassui-Mazuri, Sassui-Desi, Dehr, Sarang, and he also sang surs that are part of a faqir's vocal repertoire but not included in the *Risalo*, including, Sur Dhol Marvi and Sur Heer Ranjha.[2] In 2014, when I returned to Pakistan, I continued the lessons and learned Sur Sarang, Sur Marvi, Sur Leela-Chanesar, and Sur Sassui-Kohiyari.

Figure 5: Learning Shah jo Raag from Faqir Jumman Shah at the Shah jo Raag School in 2009

In 2012, I presented my ethnographic research to Sindhi scholars at the 262nd annual academic conference in commemoration of the urs (death ceremony) of Shah Latif in Bhitshah that drew support from many spheres of society. Behind the scenes, however, the disrepute of the faqirs as a lowly group continued, with indirect taunts from the

[1] Some of the names of surs in Latif's Risalo are named after Hindustani Raag, including Kalyan, Yaman, Desi, Hussaini etc. Others are named after themes such as Samoondi (seafarers), Kedaro (battlefield of Karbala), Sarang (monsoon). At least seven of these sur are named after the protagonist, including Sassui, Sohni, Leela-Chanesar, Moomal-Rano, Marui, Sorath,

[2] The tales of Dhol-Marvi and Heer Ranjha are both have an extensive history in Sindh, Multan, Jaisalmer, Barmer and Jodhpur, and musical communities including the manganiyaar sing these narratives.

scholars as well as my Gwalior Ustad from whom I started learning more reputable genres including *khayal* and the Sufi style of singing *kafi*. This research is then a culmination of numerous boundary-crossings, negotiations with scholars, and family in Pakistan and in Edmonton. My ability to advocate my needs and interests has been the greatest asset in this journey alongside the support of my supervisors—Dr. Regula Qureshi and Dr. Michael A. Frishkopf—who did not lose their faith in this work despite all the hardships.

Literature Review

Situating Raagi Faqirs within Sindhi Studies

Sindhi Studies is an emerging field of study in South Asian studies scholarship within which there is an emerging body of literature on Sufi sounds. Within the sphere of ethnographic work on Sufi shrines, Frembgen (2011), Boivin (2012) and Rehman (2016) have done work on Sufi and Hindu shrines and temples in Sindh, bringing perspectives on the history of the saints and the believers who seek supplication. The focus of these studies is on devotion without much emphasis on the relation between the Sufi dargah and the modern political culture. On the other hand, there is an emerging interest in Sindhi nationalism from a critical perspective. Oskar Verkaaik's (2010) chapter "The Sufi Saints of Sindhi Nationalism" traces the politics of colonial Sindh, and how it influenced the construction of Sindh as the "land of the Sufis" in post-coloniality—a claim based on Marxist kind of "religious nationalism" in the region, that was based on a socialist interpretation of the message of the Sufi mystics (197). He examines the writings of Sindhi intellectuals, including Muhammed Ayub Khuhro, G.M. Saiyid, and Ibrahim Joyo to argue that the *Sindh Through the Centuries* conference held in the 1970s in Pakistan academically canonizes the history and culture of Sindh (196) by tracing its history and culture to the 5000-year-old Indus valley civilization in which partition was a significant but not a deciding moment. Moreover, Farzaneh Ibrahim (2010) discusses the social dimensions of the migration of Sindhi Hindus from Sindh, Pakistan to Ulhasnagar in India, and links Sindhi Hindu identity with listening to the poetry of Shah Latif in Sindhi Hindu immigrants within India. By doing so, she problematizes regional studies of

"Sindh" as not limited to the land that is within the territory of Pakistan but the people, namely Sindhis who reside in India, Pakistan and abroad. Studies by Ibrahim (2010) and Verkaaik (2010) on the political culture of modernity in Sindh provide the necessary basis for my dissertation that addresses the position of the subaltern within the culture of modernity.

The perspectives of the people from the margins, who are from a lower socio-economic status has not received due attention since the emphasis has been on the saint and his poetry and the physical spaces of the shrine. I contribute specifically within Sindhi historiography by discussing the regulation of the religious endowment (waqf) from a subaltern perspective. Historical and ethnographic studies by David Cheesman (2013) and Sara Ansari (1992) discuss land ownership in Sindh from the perspective of Sindhi wadero (landlord) and Sufi pir (spiritual authority) respectively, but these studies do not shed light on the contemporary context of Sindh and how colonial and post-colonial regulation of religious endowment (waqf) has impacted the empowerment of the subaltern faqirs. In this respect, this dissertation bridges an important gap in Sindhi studies by bringing perspectives from the margin.

Within scholarship on the music of Sindh, some scholars such as N.A. Baloch, G.A. Allana, Shaikh Aziz and others have highlighted aspects of Sindh's music that are very pertinent for scholars, but these do not always make visible the sources. For example, in the volume titled *Rhythms of Sindh,* there are many articles on the music of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai but most of them are not based on ethnographic work and do not explain the musical dimensions of the tradition from the perspective of the hereditary tradition bearers—the faqirs, who carry forward the tradition. Moreover, the details about historical figures such as Manthar Faqir are also not complete. For example, Manthar faqir is described as a Sufi poet as well as musician whose legacy has been carried forward by his students, Faqir Amir Baksh and Faqir Abdul Ghafoor; however grounded work on these singers and their background is missing. In the discussion of the Shah jo Raag tradition, the authors do not use the term "Shah jo Raag" that is widely used by the raagi faqirs and moreover, the terminology to describe the tradition also does not include the lexicon used by the faqirs.

Situating Raagi Faqirs within Ethnomusicology of South Asia

Ethnomusicology of South Asia has discussed the relationship between musician and patron from different dimensions, including the divide between the socio-economic class of patron and musicians. Jairazbhoy (1993, 275) write that the status of a singer in North Indian music is very low and is considered akin to other service-providers including sweeper or a menial work. Qureshi (2005) extends this discussion in the case of Hindustani music as well as Sufi *qawwali* stating that there is a difference in class of the singers and patrons. She argues that the difference in the social status create a difference between those who do the work (kam karna) and those who own land and take work from labourers (*kam lena*). The ones who do the work of music are considered was "low people" (*chote log*), people "low class/caste" (*choti zat),* or even "degraded" (*azlal*)-in contrast with the non-labouring "people of quality" (*achhe* log), people "of high class/caste" (*badi zat*), or "exalted" (*sharif*) (91). Daniel Neuman and Shubha Chaudhry (2006) and Shalini Ayyagari's dissertation (2009) is an addition to this scholarship as her ethnographic work on the *manganiyars* shows specificities of relationship between the manganiyar singers and their jajman patrons and how that has been influenced through the rise of new institutional spaces (governmental and non-governmental) for these musicians.

The socio-economic structure that these ethnomusicologists refer to is the "jajmani system" that has been initiated in the scholarship of British Orientalist writer called Wiser (1914). Peter Mayer (1993) problematizes and historicizes the category "jajmani system" and questions whether it is a construction of colonial modernity in South Asia. While scholars have rejected the view that either "caste" or "jajmani system" was a construction of British colonial imagination, reinforcing the existence of these categories in pre-colonial India (Dirks 2001, Bayly 2001, Mayer), the specific impact of colonial modernity on the ownership of land and relations of production and its impact on caste identities (Prakash 2003) are foundational issues in the study of South Asia that have been built upon in Ethnomusicological scholarship. However, these studies have not recognized the Islamic structure of religious endowment called the *waqf* and the specific hierarchies that it creates or for the matter a system of religious endowment within Hindu, Sikh or other religious context within South Asia. What this implies is that while

the socio-economic power imbalances between patron and musician has been taken into consideration, the sacerdotal imbalances of authority that are structured within socio-economic differences have not been discussed.

Gayan Prakash's works untangle the agrarian relations within pre-colonial India with historiographical work and critiques the concept of "bondage" of labour in feudal economy as a colonial construction and reformulation of pre-colonial Indian agrarian exchanges. He argues that the caste identities only became fixed through colonial transformations that did not take into account the *jajman* and *kamia* were not as polarized in *kamia* oral narratives and it was colonial modernity and specific laws of land that formulated them as such. Shalini Ayyagari's observations about the manganiyaar confirm these obsesrvantions since she writes that moral aspects of these agrarian relations between the jajman and manganiyar are important. She argues that these agrarian relations are far from impersonal and restricted only the work; in fact the jajman is not only a taker of services but both the jajman and his kamia know each other's private affairs and have some influence in it. (Ayyagari 2009) Such observations in addition to Prakash's work beg for more grounded understanding about forms and styles of communication that exist between the jajman and the singer to reveal how the power imbalances also parallel moral binding between jajman and patron within the relational domain.

A detailed discussion about different dimensions of traditional relationships and their power imbalances as well as protective and moral dimensions have not been taken into account in Muslim settings. Moreover, within the study of regions of Pakistan, especially Sind and Punjab, such a conversation is nearly absent. In the study of the structure of social stratification within the Muslims of South Asia, scholars of South Asia consider faqirs as the lowest social ranking. For example, scholars including Ali (2002, 603), Benson (1983), Ahmad (1976, 1978b, 1981, 1983), Ansari (1960), Madan (1995), Fanselow (1997) Mines (1978) and Vatuk (1997) studying the Muslims regions of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad and Gujarat, have argued that Muslim population have an explicit social hierarchy, the basis of which requires more explanation. Jane Benson divides Muslims of Andhra Pradesh into seven groups: Saiyid, Sheikh, *Mughul*, Pathan, Kakikawallu, Laddaf (also known as Dudekula) and then Faqir. Whereas the first

four are associated with either foreign or North Indian origins, the latter three are converts from former lower castes among Hindus. Marriage alliances between the former four and the latter three are not common. Just as the untouchable castes are segregated hierarchically among Hindus, the last three groups among Muslims are also treated lower than the first four (Benson 1983, 46–47). Therefore, one of the bases for social stratification is the regional origin of the Muslims.

On the other hand, Helena Basu (2013) argues in context of the Sidi singers in Gujarat that even though Muslim social order was not based on the opposition of pure and impure social categories as in the case of Hindu caste, in its Sufi version it "displays the formal features of a hierarchical logic by relativizing sacred bodies." The higher (Saiyid) encompasses the lower (Sidi) and both are contrasted with "non-sacred" Muslim bodies. She said that this calls for different methodological approaches to study Muslim and Hindu hierarchical practices; while Hindu practices predominantly have cognitive concerns with hierarchical categories, the study of Muslim caste involve the study of performance and corporal practices that embody and inscribe diverse values of hierarchy. (83) These ideas demonstrate an "on-going interplay of multiple hierarchies and representations invoking different social and cosmological values and oppositions," (83) and framed in patron-client/master-servant relationships as argued by Basu and other scholars. These studies on Muslim castes in agrarian contexts of Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat complicate our understanding of social stratification within waqf.

My dissertation takes a distinct approach to the social grouping within Muslims discussed by the above-mentioned scholars in a few ways: first, I show that, in Sindh, faqirs are not an endogamous group or a caste as many scholars consider but a title that Sufi singers take. Whereas Sufi musicians at the dargah in Sindh generally have the title "faqir" and within the dargah of Shah Latif, too, there are different kinds of faqirs: those who sing the Shah jo Raag are called the raagi faqirs, those who play the naubat (a percussive instrument) are called *girnari faqirs*, and the faqirs who lead the *zikr* ceremonies are called the *zaakri faqirs*. It is also important to keep in view that there are musicians who are not hereditary musicians at the dargah and are, for example, *manganiyaar* communities of musicians singing wedding songs or *sehra* who also take the title "faqir" when they sing Sufi poetry. Amongst them, one finds names such as

Allan Faqir, Dhol Faqir, Faqir Abdul Ghafoor—these are very popular names on national media and if one reads about their careers and communities of origin, they are from both non-hereditary groups and hereditary musical communities who are not associated with any dargah. Since these Sufi singers become associated with a dargah as a result of singing poetry of a particular Sufi saint—for example, Shah Latif, Rakhail Shah, Manthar Faqir and others—it shows that faqir as a title is not a hereditary title but a title that is earned. Not all children of *raagi faqirs* sing the Shah jo Raag but those who do and become proficient are given the title "faqir."

Secondly, the hierarchies that I discuss between the raagi faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin are not strictly socio-economic that would divide people in the lower ranking to take the labour of music while those in the higher ranking to take the role of singing. With ethnographic work at the dargah, I show in Chapter 1 that the status of the Shah jo Raagis in the tradition is also high because unlike the status of music and singing discussed by Ethnomusicologists working in other North Indian contexts, the patrons, that is the Sajjada Nashin, consider singing Latif's raag to be considered as *ibadat* (contemplation), and the Sajjada Nashin(s) including Saiyid Glulam Shabbier Shah as discussed in the last chapter participated in it. There are also members of the parade family (families of par or spiritual authority) including my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah who are involved in singing the tradition as I show in detail chapter 4. This is not found in the qawwali tradition as documented by Professor Qureshi.

Thirdly, in my discussion of the relationship between the raagi faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin, I align with Helena Basu's work, specifically her discussion of sacred bodies. And I show with ethnographic work how the Sajjada Nashin and the faqirs communicate these hierarchies to an ethnographer as well as observe these hierarchies through a regulation of moral conduct and etiquette called the *adab*. Adab is a moral orientation in Islamic intellectual thinking and not only is it important in South Asia but belongs to the very core of the classical Islamic tradition. Considering the central place of adab, whereas the use of resistance and raising the voice of dissent may be considered emancipatory and as a form of resistance, in the local discourse of Sufi dargah, it suggests "be-*adabi*" (absence of *adab*). Barbara Metcalf (1984) in the introduction of "Moral Conduct and Authority," a volume dedicated to the study of *adab* notes that this

topic begs for more work in contemporary South Asia. In the 8th and 9th century, adab referred to the etiquette appropriate to the aristocrats and courtiers of the Abbasid age. Urbanity, aristocratic learning, refined manners, cultivated conversation and good taste constituted the adab of the gentleman, scribe and courtier. The term applied to the knowledge necessary for the offices of scribe, vizier and judge, and to the learning and correct behavior of the scholar and sufi. Adab meant the proper upbringing of children and their morals and good behavior. The word also acquired a more strictly intellectual and literary meaning, as knowledge of poetry, language, and ethical and political works, selected from the Arab, the Greek, and the Iranian past. The adab was used throughout the classical era of Islam to imply learning and knowledge acquired for the sake of right living. It was a concept of what a person should know, be, and do to perfect the art of living. In the Indian environment, during its passage from Arabic, through Persian, to Urdu, the term lost some of the meanings that it had in Arabic but retained some it had acquired in Persian. Thus, in Urdu adab commonly means "respect" and "regard" implying a standard of moral perfection in the context of a hierarchical system of social relations. One might speculate that in the Indian environment this juncture of education and hierarchy gave to adab a character somewhat unique. (Masud 1984, 127)

Adab occupied a significance inner the Sufi way of life, so much so that a third/ninth century Sufi could coin the following shorthand definition of Sufism: "The whole of Sufism is ways of behavior (*at-tasawwuf kulluhu adab*)[3]. These disciplinary rules of the Sufis are known under the technical terms of *adab as-sufiyya or adab al-muridin* i.e. the proper ways of behavior of the Sufis or novices, sometimes separated into *adab az-zahir* (external conduct) and *adab al-batin* (inner attitudes) (Bowering 1996). Adab basically constituted outward conduct and was distinct from inner attitudes, which are usually termed *maqamat* (stages or way stations representing virtues acquired by the

[3] Primary Sufi sources from the 10th to 13th century from the *Kitab al-luma of Sarraj* and *Qut al-qulub of Makki* through the *Risala of Qushairi* and the *Kashf al-mahjub of Hujwiri* until the *Awarif al-maarif of Suhrawardi* (d. 1234), a significant body of information is to be found in the Arabic and Persian manuals of Sufism. Next to the material on adab, integrated into the handbooks of Sufism, there are certain treatises exclusively concerned with adab, in particulary works by such authorities as Sulami, Ansari and Abdu an-Najib as Suhrawardi. Although the handbooks have available in print for a considerable time and are generally well known, some of the particular treatises on the Sufi adab literature have been published in critical editions only during the last twenty-five years. (Bowering 1984, 68)

Sufi in his mystical itinerary) or *ahwal* (states or dispositions experienced by the mystic as divine gifts). However, these two were related when each mystical moment (*waqt*), each state (*hal*), and each stage (*maqam*) was considered to presume a distinct discipline (adab), and whoever adhered to the ways of behavior (adab) of the mystical moments was considered to have reached the rank of mature men; moreover, whoever neglected ways of behavior was considered to have digressed."

While Brian Silver (1984) and Regula B. Qureshi discuss the role of adab in musical settings of Hindustani music as well as *qawwali*, this dissertation bridges the gap in the discourse about contemporary observances of *adab* and the ways in which it pertains in the musical setting of Muslim Sufi singers in Sindh. What I contribute to these conversations is the place of adab in contemporary Sindh where regulation of waqf and neo-liberal institutions have transformed the leadership and governance style of the Sajjada Nashin and consequently the place of the faqirs. I show how faqirs observe adab in situations where they are not in agreement with the Sajjada Nashin, for example, in the performance for the Coke Studio or after the petition is withdrawn from a court case filed against the Sajjada Nashin, where adab is a mode of ending faqirs' confrontations. In representing changing position of the Sufi singers and the ways that modernity creates sites of subalternity, including voice and silence, I bring new perspectives in the discipline of Ethnomusicology in situating the place of musician within social hierarchies of South Asia.

Situating Raagi Faqirs within Ethnomusicology of Sufi sounds

Ethnomusicologists studying Sufi sounds have focused on the Sufi tariqah, for example Chishti, Shahadiliyya, Qadriyya and others. The raagi faqirs do not belong to the established Sufi *tariqah* of North India. Scholarship on Sufi *tariqahs* (orders) of North India suggest four main *silsilah* or *tariqah* translated in English as "paths" or "orders:" 1) *Chishti* tariqah with which the poet Amir Khusrow and the tradition of *qawwali* is related, 2) *Naqshbandi* who have historically found music to be illegitimate in Islam, and 3) *Qadiri* and *Suhrawardi tariqah* that each have a history of massive land-ownership. Scholars debate the Sufi identities of the Sufi saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and the faqirs. Anne-Marie Schimmel writes that Shah Latif was a Qadiri Saiyid whereas a Sindhi scholar Kanasro notes from his readings of the historical text *Tuhfat ul-Kiram* (A

book about history of Sindh, written by Mir Ali Sher Qane Thattvi in 1727) that Shah Latif was Uwaisi—an identity also shared by the raagi faqirs.[4] Moreover, from his readings of *Bayan-ul-Arifin*, the biography of Shah Latif's great-great-grandfather, Shah Abdul Karim Bulri, Kanasro notes that Bulri introduced Qadiri *dhikr* practices in Sindh (Kanasro 2007, 58). According to the genealogy of Shah Latif noted by Mirza Qalich Baig in his book *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif,* the founder of Qadiri silsilah-- Abdul Shah Qadir Jilani is mentioned.

Ahwal-e-Shah Latif places Shah Latif within two Sufi lineages. The first genealogy identifies the Shi'ite lineage of Shah Latif, placing him within the "Qazmi Sadat" (as also pointed out by the Sajjada Nashin).[5] (For more details see the genealogical chart in Appendix I from Baig 1887, 142-3). Secondly, this book relates Shah Latif's genealogy[6] with Junayd Baghdadi (835–910 A.D.), a Persian mystic and one of the most famous of the early saints of Islam to whom Abdul Shah Qadir Jilani also traces his ancestry. Junayd was one of the prominent Sufis within the "formative period" of Sufis contributing towards the development of Sufi doctrine and emphasizing asceticism and abiding with *sharia*. Junayd's lineage is also linked with the sixth Imam Ali Reza, the son of Imam Musa Qazim (ibid.). Both the Uwaisi and Shi'ite identities are embraced by the faqirs, however, the Sajjada Nashin does not embrace any categories in order to position Shah Latif's message as having universal meaning and not for any particular group. Therefore, the religious and spiritual identities of the raagi faqirs are mainly Uwaisi and Shi'ite.

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[4] Kanasro writes that the Uwaisi influence in Shah Latif's spiritual teachings is attributed to his teacher Makhdum Mueen. In his last days, Shah Latif traveled to Thatta with his faqirs, and it is reported that one day, Shah Latif said to his faqirs: "Let us go to take the last glimpse of our yaar (friend)" (Kanasro 2007, 56). The faqirs sang the raag and Makhdum Mueen stood up, went inside his hujra and lay on the ground and expired. After attending his funeral, they left for Bhitshah and Bhitai told his faqirs "Our going to Thatta was mostly for Makhdum Mueen; now no more visit Thatta" (Kanasro 2007, 56). The faqirs adopted the dhikr practices of the "Uwaisi" that involved the spiritual exercise of repeating God's name while sitting in one place (ibid.).

[5] Musa Qazim was the sixth Imam or spiritual leader of the Shi'ite after Imam Jafar al-Sadiq and this branch of Shi'ism is called Twelver Shi'ite. The Ismailis in contrast followed Imam Ismail as the sixth Imam and as a result called Ismailis.

[6] For a detailed genealogy of Shah Latif, see Appendix II

Uwaisi is not a Sufi silsilah but it is considered to be a Sufi tendency associated with Uwais Al-Qarni.[7] Since Uwaisi is considered a diffused spirituality after the historical figure Uwais Al Qarni and not a Sufi order, it means that Uwaisi Sufis are spread across Muslim world with no explicit affinities. Uwaisi spirituality means "be-piri," and people who associate themselves with this form of Sufi spirituality are without a teacher. This spirituality is prominent amongst Persian poets including Jami, Farid-ud-Din Attar,[8] and others. Najmuddin Kubra, the founder of the Kubrawiyya Sufi tariqah was also an Uwaisi (DeWeese 1993, 4) as was the case with Khoja Baha ad-Din Naqshband who formed the Naqhsbandi silsilah (as noted by the Persian poet Jami, quoted in DeWeese 1993, 4). In rare instances, Uwaisi spirituality is connected with Qadiri Sufis, and a branch of Qadiri called Uwaisi Sarwari is found in Pakistan in significant numbers; however, the raagi faqirs I spoke with did not show an affinity with this tariqah in particular. A few Ethnomusicologists working in Central Asia and Middle East have mentioned, Uwaisi spirituality within their scholarship; for example, Earl Waugh in his book on the *Khalveti Tariqah* notes (2008) that some of its followers were Uwaisi[9] and later joined the Khalveti. Dawut and Harris (2002) write about Uyghur *Mazar* festivals stating that Uyghurs associate themselves with Uwaisi spirituality.

Historically, Uwaisis have been targeted by *pirs* (spiritual authorities) of established Sufi orders. DeWeese (1993) gives the example of Uwaisi Sufi Saiyid Ahmed Bashiri, who was targeted by Sufi *tariqahs* for being a "self-made *shaykh*" and for "stealing" disciples and followers. (22) One could surmise that as one of the reasons that Shah Latif was targeted by *pirs* of Hala, who were from Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi

[7] Uwais Al-Qarni is a historical figure, who according to the oral narratives was a contemporary of Prophet Mohammed. He was devoted to Islam but did not receive an opportunity to see Mohammed during his lifetime. But Mohammed knew about his devotion and expected to receive him. After Prophet Mohammed's death, Uwais Al-Qarni as a passionate follower of Imam Ali, the first spiritual leader of the Shi'ite branch of Islam. The film about Uwais al-Qarni in Arabic with English subtitles show the dramatic death of Uwais Al-Qarni at the Battle of Siffin when he finally reached Imam Ali's camp and was introduced to him. In the gesture of embrace towards Ali, Uwais Ali Qarni took the arrow that was meant for Imam Ali in this battle, and therefore he not only died in the battle for Imam Ali but also died in the arms of Ali, which becomes evidence of his piety.

[8] Attar defined the Uwaisi Sufis as "persons without need of a pir since they obtain spiritual 'nurturing' directly from the Prophet—as Uwais al-Qarani had, although he had never met Muhammed." Jami extended this definition in Nafahat al-uns to include not only those guides by the "spirits of Muhammed or of pre-Islamic prophets, but those guided by the spirits of great Sufi saints of earlier times" (DeWeese 1993, 4).

[9] The more typical Sufi terminology namely "tariqa" (path), "silsilah" (lineage) or general terminology such as "group" or "sect" does not apply in the case of Uwaisi according to DeWeese (1993).

tariqah. Since Shah Latif was perceived a threat, they drove out he and his devotees in fear of losing their devotees to Latif.[10] The town of Bhitshah where Latif's mausoleum is built was an uncultivated land (Bhit that is sand dune) where the raagi faqirs alongside Latif settled in the latter half of his life. Latif's great-grandfather Shah Abdul Karim Bulri (also an important Sindhi Sufi poet and saint) had predicted that one of his descendants would settle here (Baig 1887, 20), and the place received its complete name Bhitshah only after Shah Latif settled. When Makhdum Mir Pir of Hala, a Sufi magnate of the time came to know about faqirs doing the work of building a mosque in Bhit, the Makhdum Pir remarked contemptuously: "*Bhit dehi titt*" meaning "Bhit breaks wind" implying it makes useless noise. When the matter was brought to Shah Latif, he remarked, "Yes, friends, be not uneasy about it; it is not hungry stomachs that pass wind, but those that are full!" (20). Later, when Bhitshah became a spiritual center and attracted devotees from far and wide, Makhdum of Hala sent a few messages to Latif, telling him to vacate the land, but Shah Latif replied saying that it was God's land and his seekers have right to inhabit it. The threat from other Sufi magnates was so significant that even when his father Shah Habib was sick and called for him, Shah Latif stayed in Bhitshah and responded that they would be united in Bhitshah (Baig 1887). After his death, he brought his family to Bhitshah and had his father buried there as well. Shah Latif's reluctance to leave Bhitshah despite his father's poor health also suggests how vulnerable his position was in Sindh as a Sufi saint without an established Sufi *tariqah* and how insecure it was for him to leave this land lest, in his absence, there was a takeover by one of the Sufi magnates.

What is the extent to which the Uwaisi identities of the Raagi Faqirs impact their transnational influence? Ethnomusicologists studying Sufi sounds have considered Sufi locales and its transnational representation in many regional and national contexts from India (Qureshi 1995) to Egypt (Frishkopf 2000), Syria (Shannon 2004) Morocco (Waugh

[10] Mirza Qalich Baig's Ahwal-e-Shah Latif dedicates a chapter to recounting the incidences of attack at Shah's life and his faqirs that they continued to escape. The faqirs who recount these episodes ascribe these escapes to premonitions or miracles of Shah Latif. Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai was born (1102 A.H./1688 A.D.) in Bhainpur, a small village near Khatian in the Halla District of the Hyderabad District, and belonged to the Saiyid family (that is, his descent can be traced to Prophet Mohammed). His ancestors had come to Sindh from Herat, and Qalich Baig writes that it was because of Latif's foreign status that resulted in tense relations with the Sufi magnates who were well entrenched in 18th century Sindh and perceived his rising charisma as a threat.

2005; Kapchan 2007), Canada (Frishkopf 2009), and the United States (Sonneborne 2000). These studies have taken into account the ritualistic context of Sufi sounds at the Sufi ceremony within *dargah* (shrines) its mediated forms circulated in the national culture, as well its global representation as "world music" (Qureshi 2015) or as "sacred sounds" at festivals (Kapchan 2007) and concert stages (Shannon 2003). The significance of space and architecture of the Sufi shrines and how it is impacted by state regulation has also been considered (Rehman 2012, 2016; Frishkopf 2017). One of the recent trends in Sufi scholarship is the role of women. Kapchan (2009), Sultanova (2000), Pemberton (2010), Raudvere (2003), and Hill (2018) have contributed in this respect.

However, one has to take into consideration how the spiritual affinities of the groups we study impact their experience of modernity? Qureshi (2003) in her article titled "Lineage, Shrine, Qawwali and Study Circle: Spiritual Kinship in Transnational Sufism" discusses how transnational expansion of Chishti Sufis impacted the relationship between the Sufi singer and the spiritual authority within Sufi gatherings in diaspora. While this reflects a significant shift in transnational modernity, there is more work needed in this direction in order to understand the impact of modernity on Sufi locales and experience of modernity by less structured Sufi groups.

How does the glue for traditional relationships, that is *adab* impacted by transnational significance of Sufi sounds? In the 8th and 9th century, adab referred to the etiquette appropriate to the aristocrats and courtiers of the Abbasid age. *Adab* also guided the Sufi way of life, so much so that a third/ninth century Sufi could coin the following shorthand definition of Sufism: "The whole of Sufism is ways of behavior (at-tasawwuf kulluhu adab). These disciplinary rules of the Sufis are known under the technical terms of *adab as-sufiyya or adab al-muridin* i.e., the proper ways of behavior of the Sufis or novices sometimes separated into *adab az-zahir* (external conduct) and *adab al-batin* (inner attitudes). It appears, however, that by adab, the Sufi literature understands predominantly outward conduct as distinct from inner attitudes, which are usually, termed *maqamat* (stages or way stations representing virtues acquired by the Sufi in his mystical itinerary) or *ahwal* (states or dispositions experienced by the mystic as divine gifts). This is also illustrated by the explanation added to the definition mentioned above of Sufism: "To each mystical moment (*waqt*), each state (*hal*), and each stage (*maqam*)

belongs a discipline (*adab*). Whoever adheres to the ways of behavior (*adab*) of the mystical moments has reached the rank of mature men. Whoever neglects ways of behavior is far from where he supposes (God's) nearness and is driven away from where he expects (His) acceptance."

Urbanity, aristocratic learning, refined manners, cultivated conversation, and good taste constituted the adab of the gentleman, scribe and courtier. There were treatises by Sufis, mufti, and faqih outlining the appropriate conduct for Sufi novices, for women, for a legal proceeding, etc. The term also applied to the knowledge necessary for the offices of the scribe, vizier, and judge, and the learning and correct behavior for a scholar. Throughout the classical era of Islam, the word acquired a more strictly intellectual and literary meaning, as knowledge of poetry, language, and ethical and political works, selected from the Arab, the Greek, and the Iranian past, and to imply learning and knowledge acquired for the sake of right living. It was a concept of what a person should know, be, and do to perfect the art of living. In the Indian environment, during its passage from Arabic, through Persian, to Urdu, the term lost some of the meanings that it had in Arabic but retained some it had acquired in Persian. Thus, in Urdu adab commonly means "respect" and "regard" implying a standard of moral perfection in the context of a hierarchical system of social relations. One might speculate that in the Indian environment this juncture of education and hierarchy gave to adab a character somewhat unique. (127)

It is important to note that adab constitutes the primary principle between the Sajjada Nashin and the faqirs. Within faqirs there are two kinds of spiritual tendency: *shari* (with law) and *be-shar* (without law). Ahmet Karamustafa, in his book *Unruly Friends of God,* points out ascetic versus antinomian tendencies amongst wandering Sufis, including *faqirs, qalandari* and *haydaris.*

My teacher Faqir Jumman Shah identified the raagi faqirs as *shari* (literally meaning following *sharia,* or Islamic jurisprudence. Here it means observing the rituals that constitute the five pillars of Islam), although it is commonly acknowledged that the faqirs take *hashish* or marijuana, which would not typically be considered a tendency for the ascetics. The *Baul-fakirs* mentioned in the research (as pointed out by Benjamin Krakauer in a conversation and question asked within the question and answer session at

the SEM, 2017) are considered *be-shar* for which they are shunned by society—a tendency found amongst *qalandari* and *haydaris* at the dargah of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sindh.

The *shari* aspect of the raagi faqirs as a Sufi group is also evident in the *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*. It is mentioned that Latif, in his teachings to the faqirs expected them to be virtuous and religious according to the received standard of morality (42). Regarding the piousness of his faqirs, a verse of Shah Latif is relevant:

> The Faqirs of God could never be hindered by Kak (the famous magical river of Moomal);
> They could never be charmed by all the wealth of the world.
> The girls tried their best to overtake them,
> But yet they safely passed away." (Qalich Baig 1887, 37)

This verse describes the virtues of a good faqir whose piety is maintained, despite facing materialism and romantic seduction. In another story, it is said that Latif expected the faqirs to be composed while listening to his music, and if they became feverish, he advised them to go sing at the tomb of his father Habib Shah. When they followed this command, they were rid of the fever. But when they discontinued, it came back again. In this respect, Mirza Qalich Baig's book *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* relates Latif's genealogy to an ascetic Junayd al-Baghdadi, who was one of the prominent Sufis within the "formative period" of Sufis contributing towards the development of Sufi doctrine and emphasizing asceticism and abiding with *sharia*. Junayd's lineage is also linked with the sixth Imam Ali Reza, the son of Imam Musa Qazim (Qalich Baig 1887, 142–3). The *Ahwal* presents Shah Latif as a "good and law-abiding Saiyid," who followed the sharia but was also known for antinomian tendencies. While he was considered "good Muslim" since he performed prayers, observed fasts, carried a rosary, built a mosque, worked with his own hands, and read the *Quran*. However, he also showed tendencies of being a "antinomian Sufi" since he was known to be "walking like a madman in jungle" and "hiding himself in the hollows of trees for days," "communing with his soul under a cover," "visiting Hindu temples" and travelling with Jogis and Sanyasis. He also was fond of music, including, "things which ordinary Musalmans would shrink to hear" (Baig 1897, 39). Following the sharia then is also part of the adab that faqirs follow and it is Sajjada Nashin's role to ensure that faqirs are not involved in activities that are be-shar. This dissertation builds upon the current scholarship on Sufi sounds in Ethnomusicology by

bringing forward another aspect of Sufi sounds and the relationships it constitutes between the singer and the spiritual authority, namely, the role of adab in building relationship between the Sufi authority and the faqirs in an age when both are transformed by governmentality.

Theoretical Framework: Governmentality, Subalternity and Empowerment of Sufi Singers in Modernity

The concept of "subaltern" originates in the writing of Antonio Gramsci and has been developed in the Indian context by the Subaltern Studies Initiative pioneered by Ranajit Guha, the precursor of the post-colonial studies movement. Gramsci placed subaltern as outside the culture of the dominant group so that the ruling class seeks to integrate the subaltern in order to create an expansive hegemony. Guha's use of the term subaltern is in the context of his critique the Indian nationalist historiographies that fail to take into consideration the politics of despair that follows the end of colonialism, including partition and the lost hopes of achieving a quality life for everyone combined with growing inequalities perpetuated by a neo-liberal state. Guha focuses on the peasants in India and their rebellions during the colonial period as a way to bring forward the narratives of the people. Gayatri Spivak's famous essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" takes a feminist approach defines subaltern as a group who has not been adequately integrated into the hegemony of the dominant group and therefore are still on the road to equal citizenship:

> When a line of communication is established between a member of subaltern groups and the circuits of citizenship or institutionality, the subaltern has been inserted into the load road to hegemony. Unless we want to be romantic purists or primitivists about "preserving subalternity"—a contradiction in terms—this is absolutely to be desired. ([I]t goes without saying that museumized or curricularized access to ethnic origin—another battle that must be fought—is not identical with preserving subalternity.)

This definition of subaltern positions this category as at the margins of modern citizenship. Spivak critically engages with Marx as well as the subaltern studies group to claim that the subaltern studies group "must," (38) ask whether the subaltern can speak and also with what "voice-consciousness" can the subaltern speak (40)? How can we understand the consciousness of the people as we investigate their politics? (41)

Therefore, the silence of the subaltern is at the heart of Spivak's analysis. Drawing upon Michel Foucault's discussion of power/knowledge, Spivak constructs the subaltern as a "subject" in history, locating her agency. She argues that Marx, in his understanding of the agency and solidarity of the working class across the world in his famous dictum, "The working class of the world unite," does not take into account the international division of labor in the working class. Though she is not dismissive of Marx, she sees Foucault's understanding of power as heterogeneous and resistance as localized to complement "macrological struggles along Marxist lines." She quotes Foucault:

> But if it is against power that one struggles, then all those who acknowledge it as intolerable can begin the struggle wherever they find themselves and in terms of their own activity (or passivity). In engaging in this struggle that is *their own,* whose objectives they clearly understand and whose methods they can determine, they enter into a revolutionary process. As allies of the proletariat, to be sure, because power is exercised the way it is in order to maintain capitalist exploitation. They genuinely serve the cause of the proletariat by fighting in those places where they find themselves oppressed. (44)

What are the places or situations in modernity that make the raagi faqirs feel oppressed? How can one simultaneously account for their speech and silence? What are their struggles and protests and how are they able to communicate their voices to the dominant class and group? What are the factors that keep the faqirs at the margins of modern citizenship? And to what extent are their rights recognized? These are some of the facets of raagi faqirs' subalternity that the dissertation addresses.

Governmentality and Empowerment of the Subaltern

Modernity creates new forms of "subalternity," spaces and situations that are not within the dominion of the state or where the state's existing mechanisms fail to protect those with lower status. In order to understand the governing mechanisms that impact the subaltern, I use Foucault's concept of "governmentality" to show technologies of rule that impact the subaltern, in particular the raagi faqirs.

"Governmentality" as proposed by Michel Foucault refers to the art of governance that emerged in 16th century Europe which shifted the mode of governing from a "law-sovereign" model (Pavlich 2013, 10) towards more subtle forms of control that produce "subjects who think and act in ways that do not require direct coercion"

(ibid.) For example, in contrast to the punitive power of the law-sovereign model, which focused on punishing deviance, modern governmentality involves the use of bio-power to keep a continuous surveillance on people so that their everyday conduct is influenced by the continuous awareness of this surveillance. In this way, governmentality is considered "conduct of conduct." Foucault writes: "Maybe what is really important for our modernity—that is, for our present—is not so much the etatisation of society, as the 'governmentalization' of the state (Foucault, quoted in Scott 2005).

Governmentality, as defined by Foucault shows a shift from "repressive sovereign power that was primarily concerned with control over territory to a form of bio-power and rule that is centrally focused on the care and well-being of the population living in a particular territory." Foucault drew attention to an entire range of "practices and institutions of surveillance and governance, including but not limited to state agencies, which regulate the conduct of a population and direct it towards particular ends" (Sharma 2008, xvii).

One of the techniques of governance described by Foucault is "empowerment," which involves governing "through freedom" to the extent that freedom that is presumed by the subjects is constituted within the power relationships (Pavlich 2013). Within the neo-liberal context, "empowerment" is the "normative correlate of the explanatory focus on agency. If human beings are, at least potentially, agents, then they need to be empowered to become so." This concept was developed during the US Community Action Programs in the 1960s. As the political scientist Barbara Cruikshank (1994) shows, empowerment becomes a "technology of citizenship, a strategy or technique for the transformation of subjectivity from powerlessness to active citizenship." And this technology of citizenship requires a "consciousness of one's powerlessness, knowledge of its causes, and actions to change these conditions" (Dean 2009, 83). In neo-liberal contexts, the term "empowerment" implies participation of the poor and the powerless in the political decision-making process of programs that impact them.

Foucault's concept of "governmentality" is based on the European experience of modernity; however, there are scholars who have expanded it to colonial and post-colonial contexts. Sharma's work in post-colonial India is an example. Sharma's book *Logics of Empowerment* studies "empowerment" within a Foucauldian framework of

neo-liberal governmentality in India, specifically in terms of the impact of the shift from a welfare-state development model to an empowerment-style self-development that has impacted "gender and development" policy in India. She analyzes the impact of these shifts on state and governance, reconfiguring the relationship between state and society actors and how it reshapes citizenship and popular politics under the regime of neoliberal governmentality. Sharma (2008) deploys the concept of governmentality to:

> Signal the diffusion of self-regulatory modes of governance, such as empowerment, throughout society and imbrication of varied social actors, including individuals and NGOs, in the project of rule. The state, in this frame, is one among several nodes of governance, albeit a dominant, coordinating one (xvii).

Sharma's work (2008) follows the post-colonial studies' author Partha Chatterjee call to scholars to "dirty [their] hands in the complicated business of the politics of governmentality" (Chatterjee 2004, 23) and study the altering relationships between "those who govern and those who are governed" and how these relationships, in turn, are defining "political society." This is a term that Chatterjee uses to denote underprivileged groups "who do not fit the small, elite domain of lawful civil society 'citizens'" in India and who are constituted as "target populations by governmental regimes and administrative classifications." (Sharma 2008, xxi). I use the term "subaltern."

Also within the post-colonial Indian context, James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta's chapter "Spatializing States: Towards an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality" proposes new questions to understand how states shape "'local communities' that have historically constituted the objects of anthropological inquiry," bringing ethnographic gaze to bear on the cultural practices of states (2008, 105). By studying what they call "spatialization" of the state—how people come to experience the state as an entity with certain spatial characteristics and properties and through what images, metaphors and representational practices the state come to be regarded as a concrete, overarching, spatially encompassing reality. States are imagined as "constructed entities that are conceptualized and made socially effective through particular imaginative and symbolic devices that require study" (2008, 105).

Gupta highlights the language used by people in Indian villages of his study to describe the state and its intervention. Therefore, an analysis of the "imaginary of the state" would include explicit discursive representations of the state that are "implicit,

unmarked, signifying practices." Ferguson and Gupta (2008) analyze it in the context of the Integrated Child Development Services Program (ICDS) launched by the Government of India in 1975 (109). They show how this program is spatialized in the lives of the people who are on the receiving end by bureaucracy of this program, including the Anganwadi Workers, are installed and how they represent and embody state hierarchy and encompassment (110–113). In another essay, Akhil Gupta (2006) explores these constructions of state more closely by examining the discourse of corruption (*brashtachaar*) that emerged in the everyday conversations of people in his study of a north Indian village that also reflected the "degree to which the state has become implicated in the minute texture of everyday life" (212). He writes that studying the construction of state involves both the analysis of everyday practices of local bureaucracies and the discursive construction of the state in public culture (212). Corruption, in this respect, was not a dysfunction of the state, but a means in which the state was discursively constituted and is reflective of how the state is encountered at the local level.

In terms of my work on the raagi faqirs, Gupta and Ferguson's (2008) research is relevant in terms of examining the faqir's discourse about the state. With my ethnographic work, I extend Ferguson and Gupta's work (2008) in the Sindhi context to show how the raagi faqirs imagine the state and point out the corruption and faults of state empowerment programs (including *wazifa* [stipend] and the state's housing scheme) in contrast with how they communicate their relationship with the Sajjada Nashin. Moreover, I show the impact of how these governmentalities intersect to create new types of subalternity for the raagi faqirs locating sites of voice and silence. In order to situate the silence of the subaltern, I step back and address some of the concerns that the raagi faqirs raise by contextualizing the colonial technologies of governance in Sindh.

A concrete study that examines the relationship between governmentality and subalternity is Gayan Prakash's book *Bonded Histories*. Prakash does not use these categories in his work, but he examines colonial policy on land ownership showing the case of peasants (*kamia*) in India, who because of colonial policies over land, lose the protections they previously enjoyed. Prakash's work is an inspiration for this dissertation at many levels because his method of excavating subaltern history along with the study of

inter-caste narratives of the *kamia* sheds light on how people perceived mobility within caste hierarchies in pre-colonial India.

Ritu Birla, among other South Asianists has extended Foucault's concept of governmentality in the colonial context, an area that is "notoriously unexamined by Foucault" (2009, 7). She invokes the Marxist/Foucauldian term "political economy" in its classic sense, as a discourse of governing. One that, as Foucault has famously articulated, structures a historical process that ''isolates the economy as a specific sector of reality." "Economy" from its Greek root word *oikonomia* refers to the conventions or laws (*nomos*) for arranging, distributing, and managing the household (*oikos*). This idea of economy as arranging and managing is revitalized with the emergence of "political economy" as a form of knowledge, which marks a shift in government from "imposing law on men" to "disposing things" and "using laws themselves as tactics to arrange things in such a way that such and such ends may be achieved" (quoted in Birla 2009, 23). The ways in which Birla's discussion on political-economy and colonial law is applicable for my research is with regards to the British regulation of Muslim religious endowment (*waqf*) in India that left behind a legal legacy continued within post-colonial waqf administration in India and Pakistan. This is one example of subaltern silence in post-colonial Sindh.

In part two, I discuss in the context of "colonial governmentality"—a term used by David Scott to refer to new political rationalities that made "the old, pre-modern possibilities not only no longer conceptually approachable except in the languages of the modern, but are now no longer available as practical historical options" (Birla 2009, 23). Showing the impact of colonial policy on language, I build on the ideas of Bernard Cohn's *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* in the Sindhi context and show the value of sources such as the Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif,* that are a product of colonial education in Sindh. Chapter 2 shows how colonial governmentality produces new forms of subalternity with its standardization of dialects, script as well as a literary production of Sindhi oral texts for the purpose of instruction in colonial schools marginalizing oral forms and preservers of orality. Within this literary production, I argue that the publishing of Shah Latif's *Risalo* was a turning point in inspiring further

scholarship on Latif's poetry as well as inspiring other poets of Sindh creating a canon that did not exist earlier.

Cultural Rights of the Subaltern Singers

What discourses and tools does Ethnomusicology offer to discuss the cultural rights of religious singers within the tradition. The book *Music and Cultural Rights* (Wientraub and Yung 2009) is very nascent and cursory in its approach to discussing cultural rights of musicians as it pertains to the heritage that they have been passing down from one generation to another. Additionally, the rights of singers is a complex issue because musicians' worldviews are tied to a distinct tradition and thus a discussion about their rights has to move in a ground-up manner by historicizing the rights within the tradition rather than by imposing a United Nations' convention on different locales. Additionally, the UDHR is also a generic framework of rights and cannot take into account specificities of the tradition and its particular histories. For this reason, it is necessary to establish the rights of the Sufi singers not only as an *a priori* but also by studying the religious economy in which they have been serving in, namely that of *waqf.*

Mohammed Arkoun, the prominent Muslim intellectual, utilized a tripartite concept, what he calls "the thinkable, the unthinkable, and the unthought" to stretch the boundaries of Islamic intellectual thought. The "thinkable" is that which, at a given time, is possible to be thought about and explicated with the help of extant intellectual tools in a given linguistic community, and the issues that a community can discuss, explicate and reflect upon in a given period fall into this category. The "unthinkable," by contrast, is "what the members of a sociocultural community at a given time cannot fathom, because of the limits of the cognitive order, the self-censorship of the speaker, or the constraints imposed by the dominant ideology." (quoted in Vahdat 2015, 235). The "unthought" in comparison is related to the second but refers "more to a historical situation in which major elements of Islamic tradition that have not been critically evaluated and analyzed but accepted at face-value." The unthinkable and unthought, in Arkoun's view, are the mechanisms by the means of which a community controls "the epistemological validity of any discourse." I consider this issue about religious singers' rights that are pertaining to their authority within waqf within the realm of unthinkable only because the issue challenging restorative justice at the dargah in its relation to a religious singer has not

been addressed before. What further makes it unthinkable that it brings into question the concept of "rights" in the Islamic context in ways that has not been addressed?

Even though Ethnomusicology has not taken into account the discourse about *waqf,* there is a gradual build of scholarship in this Islamic heritage that is evidenced by the fact that there are symposiums being organized at the Oxford University's Islamic Center. The emerging scholarship about *waqf* from various disciplines is historical and textual in its nature and does not address the question of cultural rights nor of the rights of musicians in particular. Moreover, the discourse about human rights in the Muslim context has been dealt from the perspective that the normative order of the Muslim Ulema in the Muslim context derives its values from sacred texts of Islam that developed into corpus of jurisprudence (*sharia*), than from liberal values as they developed in the west[11]. Muslim intellectuals have sought different ways of reconciling this gap and to argue for universality of human rights and its applicability within the Muslim context. Arkoun argues that derivation of rights (huquq) in Islam comes from a different cultural context and thinking and distinct from the concept of human rights that emerged in modernity, and critiques anachronistic and apologetic idea that would consider "Islam as a religion is open to the proclamation and defense of human rights, but also that the Quran, the word of God, articulated a concept of such right." Within the Islamic context, he writes that the concept of rights, is derived from the concept of truth (*al-haqq*). Al-Haqq is a Quranic word that stands for God himself as well as to absolute, transcendent truth. In this context, the movement from the singular Arabic word *haqq* to its plural form *huquq* translates "as a de-sacralisation of right extracted from the religious force of *al-*

[11] Moreover, the discourse about human rights across nation-states where Islam is a dominant religion, experienced the impact of European colonization and the struggle to retrieve dignity from colonial powers accentuated the importance of rights and democratic freedoms in the Muslim context. However, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) provoked criticism from some Muslim countries, who pointed out a "western bias" in the thinking about rights, arguing that the economic, cultural, and social rights were not prioritized that would include principles of the freedom of religion—notably the right to convert from Islam to another faith. Moreover, the full equality of persons regardless of sex or religion also seemed to pose particular problems. Whereas the Organization of the Islamic Conference's charter affirmed its commitment to the UN Charter and to fundamental human rights. in 1990, the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam came forth, which diverged significantly from international human rights standards. For more details see, "Huquq al-Insan." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e895 (accessed Mar 28, 2018).

haqq." There are two primary ways of thinking about rights in the Islamic context: (*huquq Allah)* that includes the observance of rituals, and *huquq adam* (rights of person) with the former having primacy and priority over the latter.

What also needs to be taken into account is that in Muslim states such as Pakistan, there are three kinds of justice systems in place; one is the civilian justice system administered by the high court and supreme court and upholds the constitution of Pakistan; second is the Islamic law *sharia,* that influences the constitution with legislations such as the Hudood Ordinance and the third is the community restorative justice systems known with different names across different regions of Pakistan. Pakistan has also ratified to United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the courts are incumbent to observe cases of violations of human rights. The case that I present was taken first to the community restorative justice, whereby the elders of a sister shrine of Shah Abdul Karim Bulri (Shah Latif's great grand-father) asked Ali Dino to apologize to the Sajjada Nashin. However, he did not apologize and went to civil courts because the ruling of the community justice system was not acceptable to him. Even though it pertains to Islamic religious singers, the *sharia* was not invoked and does not have the concept of the kind of "right" that my *faqir* informant claimed was violated.

The current discourse on human rights does not take into account local struggles and claims to rights nor does it have a language to incorporate these voices into the discourse. What language and tools do we have to locate these events and voices? What can these voices contribute, if so, to our understanding of rights in the context of human rights on one hand, and within the Islamic context on the other? In what ways does it reflect the voices and agency of the people in given cultural settings? We can know this by understanding what kinds of rights are *faqirs* fighting for; can they be labelled under any of the covenants of human rights or do they come from an experience of tradition that is witnessing transformation in modernity? The issue of "cultural rights" of traditional musicians in the Muslim context is not an explicit issue found in legislation of Muslim countries (as is also the case in their secular and non-Muslim counterpart). In fact, the UN has only recently begun to talk about cultural rights and the extent to which they have taken into consideration the practitioners of the tradition in different cross-cultural contexts is not ascertained. However, the reason why this brief discussion about rights in

the Islamic context is significant is that it has the potential to give empowerment to the claims for "rights" by subaltern groups whose claims are neither recognized adequately in their community justice system nor by the court. Their claim to their *haq* or "rights" do not stems from United Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) or Cairo Declaration or any locally discourse on "rights" that has been formed by Ulema and Mashaikh in Pakistan. They are not observing rights within a supra-Islamic that is generalized by scholars on Islam, that is their claim of rights do not fall into the category of observing *huquq Allah* or *huquq insan* that is in their relationship with Allah or human beings. Then, what is this idea of "right" (haq) in the way my informants use it?

I argue that my faqir informants' claim to *haq* (rights) and their perceived marginalization are related with their rights over their cultural heritage. The Shah jo Raag is not only a sonic heritage but also a tangible heritage was given to the faqirs by Shah Latif since as history shows they played a major role in building the city of Bhitshah and were given an important role in the tradition that is not recognized by the Waqf legislation in Pakistan. A discussion of these local struggles I propose would contribute to Ethnomusicology's discourse on cultural rights and its advocacy for greater power to musicians to own and define their cultural heritage.

Research Methodology

The dissertation is based on multi-sited ethnographic, historical-archival research as well as participant observation through learning to sing the tradition of Shah jo Raag. The data for this research was collected over an eight-year period from 2009 to 2017. The primary method of research was ethnography which included participant observation in the Shah jo Raag rituals, conducting open and structured ethnographic interviews, visits to archival sites and Sufi shrines, participation in learning and performing the Shah jo Raag tradition from two different Ustads: Faqir Jumman Shah in Bhitshah and Ustad Hameed Ali Khan Gwalior in Karachi. I learnt the style of *kafi* and *jhoonghar* from Ustad Hameed Ali Khan Sahib (Gwalior gharana) and Faqir Jumman Shah respectively.

During this time, I made four visits to Pakistan, in 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2014 for a period of 4-8 months each time followed by interviews that were undertaken over phone and Skype in 2017. During these visits, I traveled to Hyderabad to speak with various Sindhi intellectuals including Dr. Ibrahim Joyo, Dr. N.A. Baloch, Dr. G.A.

Allana, and Nasir Mirza, the journalist Shaykh Aziz as well as members of the Gwalior Gharana. In Bhitshah, I started learning the tradition from Faqir Jumman Shah and interviewed him, Ismail Faqir, and Sajjada Nashin amongst other faqirs. I interacted with Faqir Jumman Shah's students and peers with whom I learned to recite the different surs of Shah Latif, most prominently Marvi, Sohni, Kalyan, Yaman-Kalyan, Sarang, Sassui-Abri, Samoondi and Sassui-Kohiyari, Leela Chanesar. I also learned wai of surs that are not considered part of the *Risalo* collection, namely Sur Heer Ranjha. In Karachi, I interviewed Hameed Akhund, Shah Latif chair Saleem Memon, as well as had conversations with Dr. Fahmida Riaz and the late Dr. Aga Saleem at the Bhitai conference. I also learned Hindustani *khayal* and Sindhi *kafi* from Ustad Hameed Ali Khan beginning in 2012 and participated in conferences about Shah Latif. In my visit to Pakistan in 2014–15, I built upon my earlier work and conducted interviews with the Sajjada Nashin and some more faqirs and met the family of Ismail Meerjat in Bhitshah. I also learned more Sindhi *kafi* from Ustad Hameed Ali Khan as well as more surs from Faqir Jumman Shah. In 2017, I conducted further interviews with the faqirs via phone and Skype with the help of Ismail Meerjat. I also interacted with lawyers in Pakistan in order to get proceedings of the court case filed by the raagi faqir Ali Dino Tamrani. I interviewed Faqir Ali Dino Tamrani as well as his advocate Arshad Pathan who filed a petition for his rights to administering Shah Latif's heritage.

The participants for this research were recruited as a result of open sampling as well as discriminate sampling. The open sampling approach was applied with regards to my interviews with the faqirs, who were chosen to ensure that faqirs from different generations, including the elderly and young faqirs, as well as the hereditary and non-hereditary faqirs were able to participate. A discriminate sampling procedure was applied with regards to the selection of intellectuals and government administrators who participated in this study. The participants were locally acknowledged as experts in oral history and would inform my research.

Within my interviews with the faqirs, I used a structured interview style, asking them questions about their village, socio-economic origins and how they began to sing the Shah jo Raag, as well as more in-depth questions about how they view their singing outside the dargah, how they relate with the Sajjada Nashin and what are the adab

(etiquette) they follow as faqirs? On the other hand, with Sindhi intellectuals and government administrators, I had a more open-ended interview style that probed them to talk about the history of patronage of the Shah jo Raag tradition in postcolonial Sindh and the institutionalization of patronage in Pakistan.

I have also referred to historical-archival audio sources from Radio-Hyderabad's archive (2014) and built upon the understanding about Pakistan's political and cultural context of music expressed in my master's thesis, titled "Representing Pakistan through Folk Music and Dances" that included work on Sindhi music and patrons. Archival sites such as the Institute of Sindhology (2009), the Mumtaz Mirza Studio (2009, 2014), and the Lok Virsa archive (2009), the Pakistan Television Networks (PTV) all contributed towards this research indirectly. I also conducted a primary source review of newspaper articles for the court cases combined with analyzing the court petition that became the basis for interviews with Advocate Arshad Pathan, the journalist from Tribune as well as Ali Dino Tamrani.

Additionally, I consulted historical sources including the *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* (1877), *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* and *Lataif-e-Latifi* (1888) alongside reviewing colonial sources such as Richard Burton's *Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of Indus* (1851), Ernst Trump's essay "How the Risalo was Printed First" (1866) and H.T. Sorley's *Shah Latif of Bhit* (1940). Moreover, I reviewed a vast number of contemporary sources, including several edited volumes produced about Shah Latif's poetry and music produced by the Government of Sindh by writers including Dr. N.A. Baloch, Dr. G.A. Allana, Dr. Ibrahim Joyo, Dr. Fahmida Riaz, most of whom I also interviewed as mentioned above. Amongst the historical text, I made extensive use of Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*, which was written during the colonial period and published in 1889; nearly a decade after Ernst Trumpp, a German philologist, printed the Risalo. Qalich Baig not only has an excellent reputation as a scholar (H.T. Sorley refers to him was the "most competent of Shah Abdul Latif's life"), his sources were very close to the oral tradition preserved by the faqirs, and according to the oral memories, Qalich Baig was also known to have spent a great time with the faqirs. I problematize these sources as a product of colonial modernity in Sindh in Chapter 2. The first part of the dissertation also includes primary and secondary sources about waqf published by scholars in the US such as Dr. Gregory

Kozlowski and Indian and Pakistani scholars on waqf including Dr. Jamal Malik and Dr. Khalid Rashid.

As a result of the broad historical focus of this work, this dissertation did not significantly include Sindhi Hindus and the ways they relate with Shah Latif's tradition in Sindh. Some mention is made in Chapter 7 but the dissertation has not focused on the Hindu community. I have however studied the colonial and postcolonial period including writings by Lilaram Watanmal, Gidvani, Advani, Motilal Jotwani and concede with their viewpoint on Latif's poetry as being based on Hindi meters rather than the Aruz system as was the misconception by Muslim scholars writing in colonial Sindh. Additionally, my papers at the Shah Latif conference in Bhitshah also brought me in touch with scholars such as Hero Thakur and Vimmi Sadarangi who have written about problematic translations of Shah Latif in Ulhasnagar, India. These translation Hinduize Latif's poetry, replacing the words "Allah," "Hussain" and other Muslim figures with Hindu sacred figures—a topic that altogether merits another dissertation.

The data in this dissertation was organized according to the community each individual came from: faqirs, spiritual authority, intellectuals in Sindh, government administrators etc. Next, I used triangulation to test one source of information against another to ensure validity and reliability by comparing the quality of the information. Most of my sources validated each other; For example, the interview with Nasir Mirza (Radio-Hyderabad) as well as Hameed Akhund (former Secretary of Culture) validated the contributions of Dr. N.A. Baloch. The information I received from the family of Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan including from my Ustad Hameed Ali Khan (2012, 2014) and his brother Sainde Khan (2014) was validated by the interviews with Nasir Mirza (2014) and Ibrahim Joyo (2009). An important point that brings forward the distinctness of musician-patron relationship within this tradition was given by the 10th Sajjada Nashin, Nasir Hussain Shah, who stated that people in the Saiyid family of the spiritual authority and patrons, including the Sajjada Nashin (s), have been involved in singing the raag. At first, this was a startling discovery as I discussed with Dr. Qureshi since in the tradition of qawwali, it is not the case that Sajjada Nashin(s) would sing qawwali. However, this information was confirmed further in the interviews with Dr. G.A. Allana (2014), Ustad Fateh Ali Khan (2014), Nasir Mirza (2014), and Faqir Jumman Shah (2014) who

mentioned that Saiyid Ghulam Shah, the 9th Sajjada Nashin also sang and recorded for the Institute of Sindhology. This was further verified by accessing Ghulam Shah's recordings at Radio Hyderabad, and contributes an important dimension of traditional relationships in the sonic context of the Shah jo Raag that differs from the tradition of Qawwali as put forward by Qureshi (1995).

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part titled "Governing the Sufi Sound of the Shah-jo-Raag in Colonial and Post-Colonial Sind" focuses on how processes of modernity have impacted the Shah jo Raag tradition and in turn empowered or disempowered the faqirs. I bring forward sites of voice and silence within which one can read the subalternity of the raagi faqirs in Sindh today. The first chapter introduces the community of the Raagi Faqirs in Ethnomusicology and shows the impact of state empowerment programs on this group and their relationship with the Sajjada Nashin. I show how the Sajjada Nashin mediates faqirs' participation in modernity such that despite state regulation of waqf, the faqirs still observe adab within traditional relationships and find their sense of empowerment to come from the tradition and not so much from the state's empowerment programs. Chapter 2 discusses colonial governmentality in Sindh, and how its favorable policy towards Sindh and Sindhis led to the printing of the Shah jo Risalo (poetry of Shah Latif) that in turn created a scholarship about Latif and centralized the place of the poet within Sindh's cultural identity. Within the discussion of colonial modernity, I argue that Raagi Faqirs' authority was marginal in the colonial print culture that continued in post-colonial culture creating grievances within the raagi faqir group towards the scholars who are supported by the state, marginalizing their perspective on the tradition.

Chapter 3 discusses post-colonial governmentality and its production of Shah jo Raag on national media that favored urban singers and listeners' tastes in which the kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag was absent, marginalizing the hereditary faqirs from visibility. Chapter 4 describes the kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag within the more dominant forms including kafi and qawwali, and the absence of discussion in colonial and post-colonial scholarship. Chapter 5 shows a case of the raagi faqirs performing for the Coke Studio, which to them was a case of breaking their marginal position but as a

result of disapproval of the Sajjada Nashin, they observe silence and adab and discontinue musical fusions of the kari style. In discussing the case of dissent that raagi faqirs had towards the Sajjada Nashin, I conclude that colonial and post-colonial modernity centralized the place of Shah Latif in Sindh but kept his faqirs at the margins.

The second part titled "Governing the Sufi Heritage of Shah Latif's Waqf: Empowerment/Disempowerment of the Raagi Faqirs" positions faqirs' subaltern status and the state empowerment programs in the context of regulations of waqf. The sixth chapter introduces the pre-capitalist Muslim economy of land endowment for religious purposes called the waqf in the discipline of Ethnomusicology and shows how this economy has sustained material and intangible Sufi heritage by bringing forward the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. In Chapter 7, I show how regulation of waqf has shifted the authority of the Sajjada Nashin increasing his participation in the public sphere and reliance on neo-liberal institutions. In Chapter 8, I show the impact of these shifts on traditional authorities and rights of the faqirs within waqf bringing forward the controversial case of a khalif filing a lawsuit against the Sajjada Nashin. In showing the case of Ali Dino Tamrani, I bring forward sites of voice as well as subaltern silence.
I conclude by showing the implications of faqirs' subalternity in thinking about cultural rights over the Sufi heritage, in terms of the sound of the Shah jo Raag and administration of waqf in economic and legal ethnomusicology, pointing towards avenues for further research.

Part I: Governing the Sufi Sound of the Shah-jo-Raag in Colonial and Post-Colonial Sind

Chapter 1: Empowerment of the Raagi Faqirs after State Regulation of Waqf

The raagi faqirs, who are the Sufi singers of a nearly 300-year-old Islamic mystic tradition called the Shah jo Raag are a subaltern group within musical communities of Sind because neither are they recognized as musicians by Hindustani Ustads who not only question their musicality but also that of the musical tradition, which is the *kari* style of singing that is respected since it was invented by Shah Latif but not appreciated for its sound. How have processes of modernity impacted the raagi faqir community? How do they interact with new funding programs of the state and to what extent does it contribute towards their socio-economic uplift and the access to public sphere? What kinds of tensions does state interventions produce within faqirs' relationship with the Sajjada Nashin? This chapter introduces the community of the raagi faqirs in Ethnomusicology and shows the impact of state empowerment programs on this group and their relationship with the Sajjada Nashin. Building on Gupta and Ferguson's thinking about "state effect" (2008) in context to India, I argue that despite the state empowerment programs, the faqirs look at the state with suspicion. Moreover, their language show more trust for traditional relationship with the Sajjada Nashin and with the saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. In bringing forward the voices of the faqir, I show how their conceptions of "empowerment" are rooted in *aqidat* (religious belief) so that singing the Shah jo Raag reflects not only spiritual empowerment for the faqir but also that which empowers their families and familial relationships. With this conception of "empowerment" that is rooted in religious belief, I conclude by showing the mediating role of the Sajjada Nashin in faqirs' interaction with the state program and within the public sphere.

Raagi Faqirs' Position within the Sufi Ritual of the Shah jo Raag

The dargah is the primary context in which the Sufi singers sing Shah Latif's poetry. Shah jo Raag is sung as part of a ritualistic cycle that creates a specific set of relationships between the singer and the listener that involves an exchange of *mannat* (a prayers or wishes fulfillment of which the devotees seek) with the observance of devotion and its monetary manifestation in nazar (offering). It is the attendance and observance of ritual that brings alive the stories in Shah Latif's *Risalo, adding an element of* pathos resonating with the devotees. In this section, I describe this ritual.

Shah Latif's poetry is divided into surs. The first sur that is recited in the evening is Sur Kalyan, in praise of Allah, followed by Sur Yaman Kalyan, which describes the pain of love with Allah as a physician. The following sur, Suri Raag, is about humans as pilgrims journeying through life in search of truth. The storms in the sea rock their boat, and though the pilgrim is afraid, his search for the beloved continues. Sur Samoondi follows this sur, which is about sailors who start a voyage leaving friends and relations behind.

When the faqirs are singing at the dargah of Shah Latif, they sit facing Lakhi Dar, the door of the saint's tomb, thus addressing the saint as if they were at his *darbar* (royal court). Faqirs call it "*darbar par hazari*" (attendance at the royal court). In this respect, the Shah jo Raag is an offering to the saint which links the faqirs not only with the saint but also the other devotees who are also listening along to the Shah jo Raag. During the singing, these listeners come to the leader of the group (*toli)* to receive blessings and, amulets and offer in return a monetary offering (*nazar*) that the leader accepts. This singing places the faqir and listeners in a relationship of love and devotion to the saint, manifested in the poetry of Shah Latif. Latif's poetry consists mainly of local folk tales with a central theme: the search for ways to reach and communicate with the beloved.

Figure 6: The faqirs are facing the darbar of Latif. Outside the door is a green box on the left, which is also for giving monetary offerings (nazrana)

After reciting the first verse of a sur, the leader of the toli places his dambura down, while other faqirs are reciting the verses. He later picks his dambura to initiate the epilogue verse, called the wai, with which each sur ends. Between the first bait and the wai, the leader takes on the role of the healer; he puts together the *tawiz* (amulets with black threads that connote *shifa* or healing), and to him, the devotees come with a *nazar* (offering). This is later distributed by the leader to different faqirs in the toli according to their age and seniority. The devotee sits in a submissive position, take his *baraka* (blessings) and *dua* (prayer) as the leader puts his hands on his/her head and gives them the tawiz to protect them from evil. The sacred role of giving *dua* is typically associated with the Sajjada Nashin, for example in the tradition of *qawwali* (Qureshi 1992) but the Sajjada Nashin is not present in these gatherings, and his role as a prayer-giver is only in the ritual of *manjh* that takes place once a month in which *dhikr* is observed.

For example, in the figure below, the male bends down with his child to receive blessings from the leader. In front of the faqirs are the monetary offerings, nazar, that devotees have given as they come to do their prayers. In the image above, the leader, after reciting a prayer and blowing it (*phoonkna*) on the tawiz, hands it to the man, holding the child. Another picture below shows how the exchange of blessings is observed through bodily gestures. The man who has bent down is curling his hand to receive the tawiz from the leader. The bending of the body and curling of the hand signifies a humble manner of receiving something from a person of higher standing and shows the hierarchies between the leader, the raagi faqir and the listeners.

Figure 7: A devotee is taking blessings from the faqir for his child and offering the nazrana (offering) the faqir-leader. The faqir leans over to put his hand over the child's head

Figure 8: A devotee offers his hand to the faqir to receive the black amulet from the faqir

Figure 9: The nazrana (offerings) have gathered in front of the faqir (leader). A female devotee offers by bending herself

In the picture above, the woman is bowing down to offer nazar (monetary offering) to the faqir, who will then proceed to offer her the tawiz if she asks for it. In the center of the above photo is a jug of milk that would be distributed during the singing of Sur Sohni and is covered with a black shawl. Sohni is a much-loved female character in Sindh and Punjabi, and there is a shrine in Shahdadpur, some 75 km from Hyderabad, Sindh that commemorates her love.

In the Sindhi version of the story, Sohni was the daughter of a buffalo-herder or *mehar*, who falls in love with Mahiwal, who come to her father to ask for milk to perform in the milk-offering ceremony for the bride and bridegroom. While her marriage procession is crossing the river, Sohni feels thirsty and there is no water. However, her tribe spots Mehar who was carrying milk and the moment Mehar gives Sohni a cup of milk and they glance at each other, they fall in love. Sohni is unhappy in her marriage because the marriage is not consummated as her husband is impotent, and she swims every night across the river using an earthenware pot to keep afloat in the water, until she comes to the place where her beloved Mehar herds buffaloes. One night her sister-in-law

replaces the earthenware pot with a vessel of unbaked clay, which dissolves in water and she dies in the whirling waves of the river. Sur Sohni begins at the most dramatic moment in the story, when Sohni is crying for help in the cold river, and is being attacked by crocodiles. The whole chapter is an extension of this terrible moment when her vessel breaks and she drowns in the river. Her death in mystical terms also signifies the breaking of the body and the uniting of the soul to its origin.

The ritualistic observances transform Sohni and her tragic death to reflect the pain and longing with which the devotees have come to the dargah to ask for *shifa* (healing). During the recitation of the sur, one of the faqirs who is volunteering for the night distributes milk in a *katori* (small bowl) with some *misri* (sugar cubes). At the end of Sur Sohni, as the *kunji bardar* stands next to the leader, the leader initiates a long prayer called "*Sohni ki dua*" (dua associated with Sur Sohni). This prayer offers supplication for those have come to the shrine with their *mannat* (wishes). The prayer mentions people without children who have come to ask for children, people who are sick who have come to ask for good health and other types of concerns that commonly bring people to the shrine.

At the end of this prayer, the faqir who carries the keys to lock Lakhi Dar at midnight (the *kunji bardar*) calls out "*Nara-e-haydari*" to which everyone replies "*Ya Ali*!" He repeats the same "*nara*" (call) twice or thrice, motivating the people to join in with more vigor to say the name of Ali. He then says "*Zara mil keh, zara jam keh Ali aley salaam ka nara lagao, Nara-e-haydari*" yelling the "nara-e-haydari" very loudly, and this time more people join in and collectively call out "*Ya Ali*!" After this, he goes to the autaq where the tomb of Latif resides and locks that door. When the door of the room is closed, many people who were listening to the Shah jo Raag begin to leave because they had come to listen till the recitation of Sur Sohni. The people who were praying inside the autaq (the room with the saint's tomb) also leave. After the kunji bardar closes the door, some women tie their dupatta (scarfs) to the door and sit in this position all night till the door opens at four o'clock for the purpose of supplication.

Figure 10: The female devotees tie their dupatta to the doorknobs after the dargah's gates have closed

The kunji bardar I spoke with states that when faqirs sing the raag, they sing it in the presence of the *Murshid* (the saint). Whereas the other faqirs have their duty once or twice a week to sing the Shah jo Raag, he as a Kunji bardar serves every night. He cannot sleep, and if he falls asleep, he wakes up every other minute (*Neend aati hi nahin. Aati hai to lamhe se jaagta hoon*). Between 11 and 12 p.m. he closes the door of the shrine (*darwaza qaim karta hoon, yaani band karta hoon*). At four O'clock in the morning, he opens it again. For this he wakes up between 2:30 and 3:00 a.m. and observes the *wuzu* (ceremonial washing before Muslim prayer). He rests during the day because there is no rest during the night. His livelihood (*zarya-e-mash*) is menial labor (*mazdoori*), but now he is too old and only serves at the darbar and eats in the *langar* (food offered at the dargah). He also observes different kinds of dua including at the *halqo*, where there are five kinds of *dua* related with the five calls to prayer (*azan*), and after the fifth *azaan of isha*, he additionally recites the dua for the *langar* (food) as well. Then after the faqirs

sing the first Sur Kalyan, he observes a prayer called "*Kalyan mein baithne ki dua*" for the raagi faqirs. After Sur Sohni is sung, he observes dua related to Sohni that leads to the door being closed (*darwaza qaim karna*), and in the morning, he observes dua related to Sur Marvi. He remarks that it is the prayers that keep the continuity (*tasalsul*) between all the rituals. For him, the purpose of being a faqir is to live for others and to love others and serve others.

The role of the kunji bardar presents the devotional context of singing the Shah jo Raag as situated within prayers and rituals at the dargah. The last sur of this ritualistic cycle is Sur Marvi, which is sung close to the break of dawn. During the recitation, the call to prayer for *fajr* (the first Muslim prayer of the day) starts at which point the raagi faqirs stop singing and observe silence. After the azaan ends, the leader sings the wai and then recites a prayer that marks the end of the ritual. During the entire ritual, from 10:00 p.m. to dawn, the faqirs typically do not move from their place and have not taken dinner. There are volunteering faqirs who massage their legs and feet while they are sitting in the same position. After the ritual ends, they have breakfast together and then depart for their homes. The ritualistic cycle of the Shah jo Raag begins with the singing of Sur Kalyan at about 10:00 p.m. and continues until the first call to prayer (*azaan*) at the break of dawn with the recitation of Sur Marvi

Raagi Faqirs as Shi'ite, Uwaisi Sufis

The Sufi identity of the raagi faqirs can be situated as Uwaisi on one hand and Shi'ite on the other. Not only is the Shi'ite lineage of Shah Latif emphasized by the *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*[12] and acknowledged by local scholars including Dr. Motilal Jotwani,

[12] In the *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*, Qalich Baig writes that Shah was a believer of Shi'ite Imams, but would not exclusively identify himself as a Shi'ite because of his antinomian tendencies. For example, according to one story when someone asked Shah Latif whether he was Shi'ite or Sunni, he replied that he was "between the two." The people argued that there is "nothing between the two" and he replied, "nothing then is my religion" and said the following verse: "Observing fasts and saying prayers is also a good work; But that is altogether different thing by which the beloved (i.e. God can be seen)." On the other hand, the *Ahwal* also notes that when Shah Latif set out to travel to Karbala to visit the shrine of Imam Ali and Hussein in the last year of his life and returned due to poor health, he dressed in black, the color of Shi'ites mourning, and requested the *faqirs* to commence singing the dirges from Sur Kedaro, a *sur* based on the story of Karbala—where Imam Hussain was martyred (Qalich Baig 1889, 25-26). During the last 21 days of life, he sat listening to Kedaro before he passed away.

but also I found in my ethnographic work that the Sajjada Nashin of the dargah[13] was also explicit in situating Latif within the Qazmi *sadat* (lineage) of the Shi'ite branch of Islam. Shi'ite spirituality also manifests in one of the surs of Shah Latif, Sur Kedaro[14] which is about martyrdom of Imam Hussain at the Battle of Karbala—an event that marks commemorative mourning called *ma'atam* in different parts of the Shi'ite world. In Sind, dargah of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and Shah Latif amongst others, also host the *ma'atam* ritual of Moharram showing the Shi'ite affiliation of the dargah.

The Sh'ite imaginary is also displayed in the ritualistic commemorations at the dargah. For example, the picture of a *rowze* of Imam Hussain, shown below, located in the central courtyard of the dargah. The Arabic words "Ya Hassan" (meaning O Hassan) and "Ya Hussain" (O Hussain) can be seen displayed on the roof. Hassan and Hussain were the sons of Imam Ali and "ya" is a way of addressing them respectfully. This *rowze* contains mosques and shrines of sacred figures of the Shi'ite Imams and Sh'ite women.

Figure 11: The rowze of Imam Hussain located at the central courtyard of the dargah

[13] Whereas the current Sajjada Nashin explicitly situates Latif within the Qazmi Saadat of the Shi'ite branch of Islam, he finds that identifying Shah Latif as Shi'ite undermines his universal, humanist message. Nevertheless, the references to "Karbala," "husainiyat" and other Sh'ite symbols are prominent in Sajjada Nashin's understanding of the tradition even though he is against firqa baazi (divisions in Islam) and aspires to interpret Bhitai's verses more universally.

[14] Sur Kedaro from t*he Risalo* of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is based on the story of Karbala. It consists of six *dastan* (stories) and is sung during Muharram. *Kedaro* literally means "battlefield" in Sindhi.

In commemoration of Latif, the faqirs at the dargah are always dressed in black *shalwar kamiz.* The dargah of Shah Latif is known for commemorating Shi'ite rituals and they greet people with the usual Shi'ite saying "*Ya Ali Madad*" (May Ali be of help to you!). The Shi'ite *hadith* states that the earth of Karbala (from the precinct of the resting place of Imam Husain) has the power to cure every ailment except deadly disease (for which death has been decreed), and the dargah also has soil imported from Karbala in Iraq called "*khak-e-shifa*" or "soil that brings healing" (Rehman 2012, 69) and pilgrims, who come to Shah Latif's dargah, including both Muslim and non-Muslim suck the sand The other Shi'ite commemorations are noticed in chanting of "*Nara-e-Haydari*," a chant in the name of Ali-Haydar, after every *dua* (prayer) that is recited at the dargah. The *faqirs* also greet each other with "*Ya Ali Madad*" (May Ali help you) the greeting is also found on the walls of the dargah.

Figure 12: This is an example of Shi'ite inscriptions at various points within the dargah. The above inscription says "Ya Ali" (O Ali) referring to the first Shi'ite Imam.

Raagi Faqirs as a non-endogamous group

Raagi faqirs are not an endogamous group and there are many socio-economic differences amongst them. There are major hereditary families/castes associated with singing the Shah jo Raag. Among them, the most prominent are: Tamrani, Nizamani, Lanjwani and Khaskheli. Originally, the hereditary singers numbered only about 15-20

and the raag was only recited on Thursday evenings (known locally *jumma ki raat* or "Friday night". However, in the past decade or so, with the establishment of the Shah jo Raag School in 2005, there are also faqirs from non-hereditary families, who sing at the dargah. Hereditary faqirs have more authority so they would typically be the leader of the *toli.* Older faqirs are ranked as seniors and are given roles that increase their prestige as a result of age in comparison with younger faqirs. A faqir also have prestigious titles such as the khalif (the one who administers other faqirs) or and/or *naib* (the faqir who leads the toli on Thursday evenings, the most sacred night). These differences influence the way *nazar* (offering) is distributed amongst the faqirs, because it is the leader who distributed the nazar to his group. The older faqirs receive a higher share than the younger faqirs.

The education and employment levels also vary: while some faqirs are illiterate, there are also faqirs who were close to finishing their PhD and/or aspiring to do research and PhD on the Shah-jo-Rag. The faqirs who are illiterate do not speak in Urdu. While some educated faqirs are working for the government; those who have little or no education are working as menial laborers, working in construction or other industries. There are also faqirs who are employed versus those who are living from their family's subsistence farming. Not all the faqirs are registered with the government's scheme to receive a *wazifa* (stipend). Some faqirs live in the town of Bhitshah close to the dargah but most faqirs lived in villages that were located a few kilometers from the dargah. This proximity also perhaps influenced their access to the foreigners and researchers who come to the dargah and the faqirs who were living within Bhitshah had greater access. There are those faqirs who have widely performed abroad, and some who have only performed within Sindh or at the dargah.

The faqirs do not receive their livelihoods from singing at the dargah; they are not professionally trained musicians and many of them have received musical training only with recitation of the Shah jo Raag. Some also sing Shi'ite dirges, called *nuha*, and perform outside the dargah, but most of the faqirs are volunteers and consider coming to the dargah as a *khidmat* (service) and they use the word "duty" for it akin to attendance at a government job. They may or may not survive on *langar* that is served at the dargah, but most of the faqirs I spoke with were subsistence farmers (*kisan*) or day labourers (*mazdoor*). This was true of Hajjan Faqir (b. 1979) who derived his *zarra-e-maash*

(livelihood) from his land that was passed down to him from his ancestors. Faqir Qadir Bux Khaskheli (b. 1958) did *mazdoori* (labor) for 25 years that included farming and laboring in occupations. Now, he was old and retired from formal labor and claimed to be surviving on the langar from the dargah. The young Faqir Intizaar Hussain Khaskheli who is also the son of Faqir Gul Mohammed Khaskheli, a leader and senior the Shah jo Raagi, identified himself as a matriculate and involved in *mazdoori* (building labor) and *kari-gar* (fixing tiles) etc. that includes work related to scaffolding and construction and other kinds of odd jobs. He was given added responsibility of being a *Kunji bardar*. The exceptions were my teacher Faqir Jumman who was the principal of The Shah jo Raag school (established 2005) and a widely travelled performer, Faqir Basharat Ali Lanjwani who is the Assistant professor at University of Sindh and is currently completing his Ph.D. in Political Science, Ismail Faqir Jat who works for Pakistan's Electricity company (WAPDA) and others. There were also a few young faqirs who identified themselves as unemployed and were living from their family's *zameen* (land) as part of subsistence farming practices in Sind.

Raagi Faqirs' Position within the Pre-capitalist Islamic Economy Waqf

The socio-economic status of the faqirs within the economic system of religious endowments in Islam is low because they were not traditionally holders of waqf. As noted earlier, in pre-colonial India, there were only certain classes of people who were eligible for such endowments: "seekers of true knowledge, devout persons who had abandoned the world; people who were destitute and nobles who out of ignorance were unable to accept gainful employment" (Kozlowski 1993). Moreover, the social ranking within the Muslim pre-capitalist economy of waqf had different positions within the royal courtly hierarchies who received titles that were highly regarded in comparison with similar positions outside the courtly setting. For example, the cook was known as the "*Khansaman*", the title of the court chamberlain; and no respectable royal family used the common Hindustani word for "cook," "*bawarchi*." Even the lowly sweeper received a high-sounding title: "*Jamadar*" which the Mughals used for the officer in charge of the royal wardrobe. The household servants, the wet-nurses, nursemaids, gatekeepers and butlers all bore honorifics once employed in Mughal palaces, and this heritage continued to be the model long after the Mughal lost their power. As Kozlowski writes:

> Even in the homes of the modestly affluent, Mughal courtly style influenced terms of address, forms of polite conversation, hobbies, dress and household organization. Any family asserting its own noble (sharif) status followed imperial usage as closely as possible (1993, 48).

These courtly customs, as noted earlier, influenced the high culture of the dargah namely the Sajjada Nashin and their *dastar bandi.* However, in addition to this courtly simulation noted by Richard Eaton and Simon Digby, as Kozlowski describes, the positions within the lower hierarchies also followed the simulation of the court and were bestowed with titles (Kozlowski 1993 48). In this context, faqirs can be considered to represent a title that is offered to people who are performing a certain religious function at the dargah. Considering "faqir" as a title and not a kinship has many implications especially in the local context of the dargah of Shah Latif because it opens us to consider the socio-economic differences within the raagi faqir group.

Even though faqirs' sacred place within the tradition of the Shah jo Raag is high, the relational dimension places them at a lower hierarchy vis-à-vis the Sajjada Nashin. He is not higher in status only because he is a spiritual leader but also because he is a Saiyid and comes from a pirzade family. This also means that while the Saiyids are a kinship, the raagi faqirs being a community of faqirs are not one singular group but diverse in their social and family identities. The Sajjada Nashins are also very explicit about their own high sacred status within the tradition. For example, when I visited the autaq of the Sajjada Nashin, he also identified the hierarchies within the dargah. The Sajjada Nashin related Shah Latif genealogically with *panjtan pak,* which is the House of the Prophet. He stated that Shah Abdul Latif was in the twenty-third generation of the Seventh Shi'ite Imam Musa Qazim, and therefore belonged to the *Qazmi Sadat* (Qazmi lineage). This implied that Shah Latif was from the family of *panjtan* and came from Shi'ite heritage, a point also noted by Motilal Jotwani in his book on Shah Abdul Karim Bulri, who was Latif's great-great grandfather. In situating the authority of the Sajjada Nashin and the Latif genealogically, Waqar Saeein also established Shah Latif and his family as "Saiyid," who are considered "chosen people of Allah."

> There is a difference between the chosen people of Allah and the ordinary human being. The everyday human being looks at the world through his own perspective. He doesn't have the spiritual powers to understand things deeply. This is the main

> difference between "aal-e-rasool" (the progeny of Prophet Mohammed) and "rasool-e-khuda" (Prophet Mohammed). If we are Saiyids, this is our good fortune but we are sinful and flawed human beings. Rasool was Noor (Divine light). So, no one can reach his understanding. This is an important difference to understand. Similarly, there is a huge difference between us and *Allah ke wali*. We cannot reach the understanding that Shah Latif had because he was a saint. Whichever Sajjada Nashin came, according to our *akeeda* (belief), they were also chosen. So at least, in his opinion, he was the best person to lead the legacy.

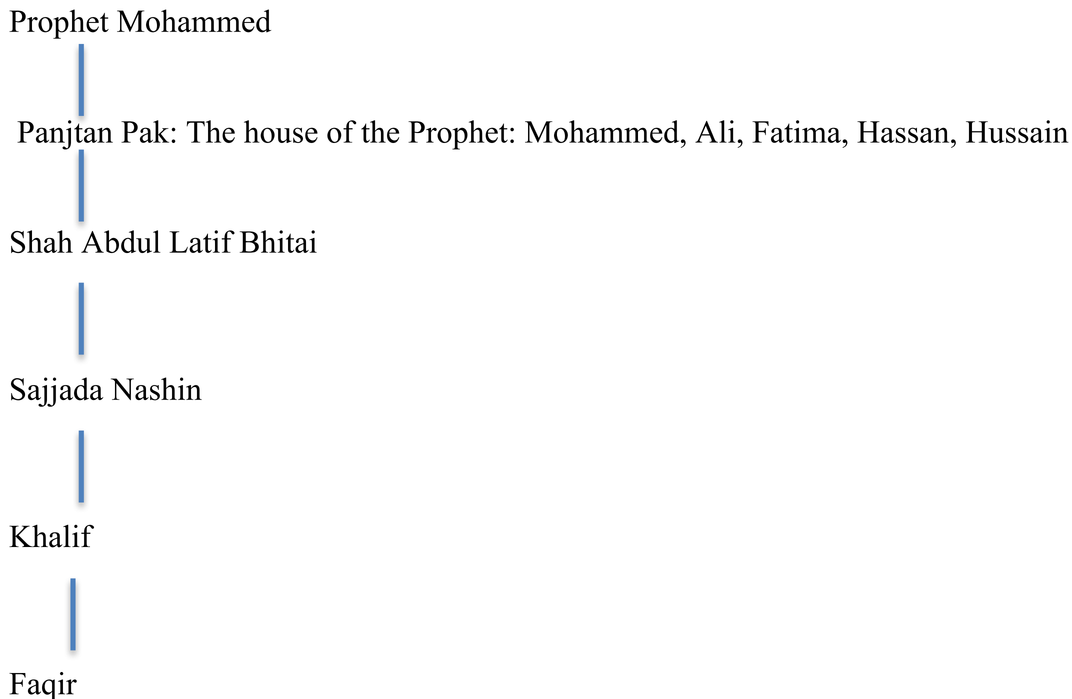

Figure 13: The spiritual cosmogony at the dargah of Shah Latif

The faqirs and the Sajjada Nashins are very clear about the hierarchies that divides them and observe these hierarchies when communicating with each other and also when explaining their own position to others. The Sajjada Nashin's sacred and socio-economic status also privileges him over the faqirs. For example, Faqir Qadir Bux Khaskheli (b. 1958), an older Shah jo Raagi at the dargah states: "*Saeein bada hai Jo manghta hun, woh deta hai Woo meherban hai. Faqiron se mohabetein karte hain.*" Translated, this means, "Saeein is our elder. Whatever I ask for, he gives me. He's kind. He loves the faqirs." Faqir Qadir Bux considers his own position as that of a *naukar* (servant) in relation to the Sajjada Nashin. Similarly, Qambar Ali Faqir Lanjwani, who is now 79 years old and has been leading the *toli* for 20 years states that the Sajjada Nashin is always "*meherbaan*" (kind) and if there is a performance program in the country, he

takes us with him. According to some faqirs, the Sajjada Nashins always try to help the faqirs. Faqir Meer Ismail Jat adds to this that the Gaddi Nashin loves the faqir. And his "*Dast-e-shafqat*" (blessed hand) is *keemti* (valuable) and his presence (*Unka hona*) is necessary for the faqirs. He adds that this system has been going on for generations.

What one notices from the above-mentioned ways of addressing and talking about the Sajjada Nashin is that despite the socio-economic and sacred inequities within the tradition, the Sajjada Nashin is perceived as a good leader and benefactor. The faqirs describe his leadership as empowering because of the ways he cares for their interests.

Faqir Basharat Ali Lanjwani, who is also an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the SindhUniversity states that the Sajjada Nashins are the "*sarparast-e-aala*" (the head caretakers) and are associated with the rituals at the shrine and care for the faqirs as well. About the present Sajjada Nashin, he states that Waqar Saeein is more active and engaged with the faqirs and he interacts more than his predecessors. He also established a medical camp and ensures cleanliness of the shrine. Faqir Gul Mohammed Khaskheli states that the Sajjada Nashin decides the duty of all the faqirs and who can sing or not sing, and if a faqir is too old or dies, then he appoints the replacement (2017). Finally, a younger Faqir Haji Sher Mohammed Nizamani (Hajjan Faqir) (b.1979) states that the present Sajjada Nashin Saeein loves the faqirs very much and does not interfere in the affairs of the faqirs, stating, "*Faqiron par pusht-panhai rakhte hain*" ("He protects the faqirs").

Helena Basu's differentiation between sacred and non-sacred bodies is an interesting framework and relevant in the context of the Shah jo Raag tradition. Basu (2013) argues, in the context of the Sidi singers in Gujarat, that even though Muslim social order was not based on the opposition of pure and impure social categories as in the case of Hindu caste, in its Sufi version it "displays the formal features of a hierarchical logic by relativizing sacred bodies." The higher (Saiyid) encompasses the lower (Sidi) and both are contrasted with "non-sacred" Muslim bodies. She suggests that this calls for different methodological approaches when it comes to studying Muslim and Hindu hierarchical practices. While Hindu practices predominantly have cognitive concerns with hierarchical categories, the study of Muslim castes involves the study of performance and corporal practices that embody and inscribe diverse values of hierarchy

(83). These ideas demonstrate an “ongoing interplay of multiple hierarchies and representations invoking different social and cosmological values and oppositions,” (83) and framed in patron-client/master-servant relationships, as argued by Basu and other scholars. These studies on Muslim castes in the agrarian contexts of Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat complicate our understanding of social stratification within waqf.

As in the case of the above-mentioned quote by the Sajjada Nashin, where he distinguishes the pirzade family from other non-sacred families in same social hierarchy, and the Sajjada Nashin as the “chosen” one from within his own family, he is demarcating boundaries on the basis of sacredness and not only caste. Saiyid then would be ranked higher than a landlord or *wadero*, and although his family are considered *aal-e-rasool* (progeny of the prophet), the saints who are *awliya* (friends of God) are higher than rank than them. This is a stratification that is not only defined in belief but is an important lived reality within the pre-capitalist economy of waqf as well as broader society in Pakistan, *where Saiyids constitute a kinship and traditionally only marry within a Saiyid.*

Shah jo Raag as a source of Empowerment for the Raagi Faqirs

The status of the Shah jo Raagi sis also high because unlike the status of music and singing discussed by ethnomusicologists working in other North Indian contexts, the patrons, that is the Sajjada Nashin, consider singing Latif’s raag to be ibadat (contemplation). The Sajjada Nashins, including Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah, as discussed in the last chapter, also participated in it. There are also members of the pirzade family, including my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah, who are involved in singing the tradition. This is not found in the *qawwali* tradition as documented by Professor Qureshi.

At the autaq (room) of the Sajjada Nashin, when the Wali Ahad was speaking with me, his father, who was sick at that time was silent throughout the course of the talk. However, there was one instance in which he interjected with force. The question I had raised was based on my training in ethnomusicology that presumed the social stratification between the musician and the patron. I made a remark about the hierarchy between the faqir and the Saiyid, and that a member from a Saiyid family would probably not sing the Shah jo Raag. At this moment, even before the Wali Ahad could say anything, the sick Sajjada Nashin who had been silent all along broke in the conversation

with the following claim: "*Humare yahan koi bandish nahin hai*. *Khandaan ka koi bhi fard bhitai ka raagai ban sakta hai. Bhitai ka murid ho, us se mutasir ho, us ko wohi right hai jo mujhe right hai,*" meaning, "We do not have any restrictions. Anybody from the family can become a raagi [faqir]. Whoever is Bhitai's devotee and inspired [by his poetry and singing], has as much right to recite as I have (Interview with the 11th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Nasir Hussain Shah, 2014). At this point, the Wali Ahad also added: "*Woh us ko ibadat samajh ke karta hai. Us ke liye bohat bara honor hai*." "They would think of it as *ibadat* (contemplation). It would be an honor for them." He further stated:

> It is obligatory on all of us especially as a Wali Ahad that we learn to recite this raag and understand its message. And if we think we are capable of performing it, i.e. if his [a particular Sajjada Nashin's) voice is good, then we also participate in its singing. Someone from our family is working on Latif's poetry, his *Risala*, [...] there are no restrictions! […] With regards to reciting the raag, in every generation there have been three to four people in our family who recite the raag. Faqir Jumman Shah is also from the family of Sajjada Nashin and so was his father and grandfather (Interview with the 12th Sajjada Nashin Waqar Hussain Shah 2014).

The Sajjada Nashins have not only considered preserving the Shah jo Raag as an *amanat,* but within their family they encourage people to sing the Shah jo Raag if they have musical abilities. In the study of north Indian ("classical" and "folk") music in ethnomusicology, there is an underlying argument that the class of patrons is distinct from the class of the musicians. For this reason, it is unthinkable for a patron and a person of "*badi zaat*" to be involved in singing music (Qureshi 2005, 91). However, this is not the case in the tradition of the Shah jo Raag, where Sajjada Nashins and people from the Saiyid family also learn to recite the raag. Finally, it is important to understand that unlike other Sufi singers in Sindh who are not associated with a particular dargah or where their singing at the dargah is not regulated, the raagi faqirs are a very institutionalized group who perform in a *toli* (group) at a particular day and time in the week. These are some of the ways that one can consider their position to be relatively high within the Shah jo Raag tradition. As a result of its sacred significance, the faqirs also receive support from their family members for their work as singers. For example, Ismail Meerjat states that when his grandmother was alive, she used to be very happy that he was learning the raag showing how singing the Shah jo Raag is spiritually empowering his family.

> She would ask me to sit close to her at home and sing the raag. So, whenever she was ill, she was more interested in listening to the raag than taking her medicine because she considered Raag to be a cure (woh dawaiyan kam raag ziyada sunti theen). When she heard the raag, she would feel better and prayed that he'll become a great raagi one day. She knew the raag but since women do not sing in Bhitshah, she did not. But whenever raag was sung at the dargah, they could hear it at home through the loudspeakers, and she knew which sur was being sung. She had that knowledge. When raag would start, she would stop having her "patte ki bidi" (cigarette) and listen tothe raag. Ismail says: "I do not have any raagi in my family, but I am fortunate to have a grandmother who knew about this raag,"

Figure 14*: A toli of the raagi faqirs sitting with Abida Parvin*

Qambar Ali Lanjwani started singing raag from 1970 and he has been serving at the dargah for 47 years and currently sings on Saturday evenings. He has served as the leader of the toli for 20 years. His first Ustad was Jalal faqir, and after his death, he learnt from his brother Jurrial Faqir Lanjwani, who is a well-known faqir and also the teacher of my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah. He recalls that when he started singing, the faqirs would perform without the loudspeakers but their voices were still audible from a distance. He prefers to sit at the darbar and give hazri (presence) that gives him sukun (peace). He says that when he sings the raag, he feels that he is singing it in front of Shah Latif. Because of the power of raag, he never had to see a doctor, and if he ever has physical pain, he takes water and puts it in front of him while singing the raag and all his pain goes away. The *adab* and purpose of the faqir that he has learned is to follow the right path, not hurt anyone and live simply. He also stated that a faqir should seek to eliminate his ego following the mystical path ("*Apne aap ko fana kare")*.

Qambar Lanjwani was an employee at the Pakistani Railways and retired in 2004. He has not only sung at the dargah but also traveled to Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore and sung in all cities of Sind, including Larkana, Karachi, Sukkur, Jacobabad and also sang from TV and Radio. In our interview, he mentioned that he has travelled to France, Italy, Paris, Turkey and many other countries, and prayed to see Medina. His prayers were answered and he eventually went for pilgrimage to Mecca with six other companions. Qambar Ali Faqir Lanjwani, a faqir from the hereditary family called the Lanjwani, who is currently in his seventies, recalls that his father used to sing with the Sajjada Nashin Ghulam Shah, and people used to cry upon hearing them because of the *dard* (pain) and *soz* (sadness) in their voices.

> I used to sit at home and serve my father ("Paaon dabata tha") and my father used to sing with Saeein Ghulam Shah on Thursdays. I also used to listen to Meeru faqir. I started learning one sur here and a bait in another sur from my father and became ready to sing... my father said that if you learn this raag, then your life will transform (Interview with Hajjan Faqir, 2017).

Moreover, a younger Faqir Haji Sher Mohammed Nizamani (a.k.a. Hajjan Faqir), born in 1979 is a hereditary faqir from the caste [6]/family of Nizamani and says that he listened to the raag since childhood in his father's autaq. He had no interest (*shawq*) in learning it, but he respected and believed in it (*aqeedat aur ehtaram tha*). One day, his father said to him that if he sings at the dargah, then *malaik* (angels) will come to congratulate him (his father) in the grave, and that his soul will be happy. These words moved Hajjan so much that he began to learn Shah jo Raag and after three or four years of training, he began to sing at the dargah from the year 2000. Hajjan Faqir's father and Qambar Ali Lanjwani show how valuable Shah jo Raag is to the people and how important the singing is for the Sajjada Nashin, faqirs, people in Sind, such that its recitation and singing is spiritually empowering for the faqir at a personal as well as inter-personal level within their families.

My interviews with faqirs from different hereditary families, including Lanjwani, Khaskheli and Nizamani, as well as non-hereditary families, sought to bring forward how the faqirs assess their ritualistic role of singing the Shah jo Raag in connection with their professions (*zarya-e-maash*) and participation in performing for national media and cultural tours. I received varied perspectives that I want to bring forward to the reader in

order to show how the processes of modernity, in particular modern governmentalities, are influencing the faqirs' livelihoods and aspirations for the future. The faqirs are from different generations and have varying degrees of access to the public sphere and world music industry. Some have travelled abroad and others have only been singing within Sind. Some receive stipend from the government while others do not.

In the last chapter, I related visiting the autaq of a Sajjada Nashin. The faqirs in Bhitshah also have an autaq where they receive visitors, including researchers. I visited the autaq of Ismail Faqir, who is also a student of Faqir Jumman Shah and an important collaborator in the field. Ismail is different because even though he is not from the lineage of the raagi faqirs, he received the opportunity to learn it as a result of being an assistant to Faqir Jumman Shah's mother and being an employee in the Faqir Jumman Shah's family. In our conversations, he recounted that as a child, he lived in the *haveli* of Ustad Faqir Jumman Shah and was a servant of his mother, who also raised him. When he became older, Bibi Sahiba (Jumman Shah's mother) began to observe *parda* (veil). He was allowed to study, and after coming back from school, I used to do household chores. He says that throughout his childhood and adolescence, he continued to be influenced by her upbringing (*tarbiyat*) "*Unki tarbiyat mein rehta tha*" (I was being educated by her). She had also named him "Waheed." If he had difficulty in life, he would share it with her, and she would help to resolve it. He says he wanted to work in the army, but she advised him not to. She was a very spiritual lady and she predicted that he would get employment in a specific state institution after three years and he should pursue that. Even though he could not believe that his life would move in this direction, she also told him that he would become a good Shah jo Raagi one day. He says he had no idea how long it would take him to become a good raagi, because he used to find learning the raag very difficult. However, in time, he got the job that Bibi Sahiba predicted and he continues to work there.

Then one day Saeein Jumman Shah said to him, "You should learn the raag from me from tomorrow." He was surprised at first and told him that he finds it very difficult, but Saeein Jumman Shah said he would teach him. He was also nervous because most of the other faqirs are hereditary, and no one in Ismail's family sang raag. But as a result of Faqir Jumman Shah's "*mehrbani*" (kindness) and his mother's "*dua*" (prayer), he began

to learn in the evening. Other faqirs including Lal Mohammed faqir, Sayed Hussain Shah, and Sayed Gada Hussain Shah also joined in Saeein Jumman Shah's *baithak,* and after two to three years of training, Ismail was asked to sing at the dargah on Saturday evenings.

Ismail's journey to the Shah jo Raag is reflective of the ways that traditional social structures and authorities at the dargah have empowered the subaltern prior to state intervention. It is a kind of empowerment that is brought about by leadership within the pirzade family. As the last chapter shows, the 10th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah played a pioneering role in encouraging faqirs who were singing in the villages to join him at the dargah. Faqir Jumman Shah, who is considered to follow in his footsteps, is credited to have taught Ismail the Shah jo Raag and helped him become a raagi faqir even though he is not from the family of faqirs. Later as Faqir Jumman Shah was appointed the principal of the Shah jo Raag school, established by the Sindh government in 2005, he is credited to have trained many boys who are not from hereditary families of the raagi faqirs.

Governmentality and Impact of State Empowerment Programs for the Raagi Faqirs

To understand the different ways that the dargah was influenced by the processes of modernity we must consider it from several and vantage points. Firstly, as Ibrahim Joyo, a prominent intellectual and Sindhi nationalist described in our discussion, since 1935, after the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency, cultural elites began to organize Latif's urs and eventually the ceremony of the urs expanded (Interview with late-Ibrahim Joyo 2009). The construction of infrastructure, including roads and communication, also enabled more people to visit the dargah of Latif, leading to the growth of this Sufi centre over several decades (Conversations with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2017). It is also as a result of the growth of this Sufi center that the Shah jo Raag expanded from being sung only once a week on Thursday evening to being sung every evening and even during late-afternoon, such that all thirty-six surs of Bhitai are sung all day at his shrine.

One of the major impacts of state intervention in recent years is the establishment of the Shah jo Raag school in 2005 that has allowed faqirs from non-hereditary families to enter the toli. Traditionally, there are major hereditary families/castes associated with

singing the Shah jo Raag including the Tamrani, Nizamani, Lanjwani and Khaskheli. In the 1960s, the hereditary singers numbered only about 15-20 and the raag was only recited on Thursday evenings (known locally *jummeh ki raat* or Friday night). However, with the establishment of the Shah jo Raag school in 2005, there are also 101 faqirs from non-hereditary families who sing at the dargah.

State Initiation of Wazifa and Housing Scheme

In the 1990s after Benazir Bhutto visited the dargah of Latif, she is credited for creating the stipend scheme for the faqirs. and Hameed Akhund, who was then the secretary of culture approved Rs. 500,000 rupees for the wazifa of the faqir. There are about 100 faqirs who are under this wazifa who receive a yearly stipend from the government. This stipend, as the faqirs note, never arrives on time and although it is some form of support, it does not pay for their living expenses (Conversations with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2009). Faqir Qadi Bux Khaskheli (b.1958), a faqir who is also a *kunji bardar* (key-holder) at the dargah, and has been singing for forty years, states that the government started its support with 5000 rupees per year, increasing it to 10,000, then 30, 000 and then 40,000. This year in 2017, they received 60,000. The payment of stipend is irregular and the funds for the entire year or two years are sometimes are received after seventeen months to two years.

The wazifa (stipend) comes from the Ministry of Culture in Sind, who also invites faqirs for recording and for performances at cultural festivals. This department of the government is distinct from the Auqaf Department. But meetings between the head of auqaf and the Sajjada Nashin for something that is related with the Ministry of Culture shows that the state agents working as administrative authorities of the dargah in one capacity or another do mingle and are part of a social network. All the faqirs were very clear that they do not receive any kind of support from the Auqaf Department.

Whereas the installation of the Auqaf Department has restricted the authority of Sajjada Nashin, the influence of government has brought forward new opportunities for the faqirs. Apart from the wazifa scheme that currently has 101 faqirs registered, in 2005, the number of faqirs in Bhitshah rose even more when the government established a school for training men from non-hereditary families to sing the Shah jo Raag. Even though not all of these faqirs are registered for wazifa, they are invited to perform for

national media, as well as local and international Sufi festivals. How do these governmental interventions impact the relationship between the faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin? This is a significant question and with my interviews, I found out that the Sajjada Nashin supports the faqirs in getting them registered, negotiates with the auqaf and the Ministry of Culture on their behalf to get them opportunities and show approval and support to faqirs to sing outside the shrine as long as they are not involved in any musical fusion performances. The regional ministry did not only patronize the musicians but also established a school for teaching the Shah jo Raag on one hand, and on the other offered the faqirs free housing.

> Benazir Bhutto made small houses for them in that area. Jam Sadiq Ali ensured that all the faqirs of Shah should get a regular stipend, which is still being paid to them. And the change was that you find many young boys coming in to learn this music and started to sing. When we started this stipend thing, people were very happy. When we started the quarters for the artists, I was told by one of these artists there that you know a wonderful thing has happened. I was told the whole town now has become...they have started singing, because they expect a house and they expect money what else do they want,' and we got a completely new group of boys who were good, good voices and were committed (Interview with Hameed Akhund, 2009).

Figure 15: Faqir's Housing Constructed by the Government of Sind

Establishment of the Shah jo Raag School

In 2005, a school for teaching the Shah jo Raag was established sponsored by the government of Sind. As a result of the increasing number of the Shah jo Raagis, the raag that was originally sung only on Friday nights (Thursday evenings) at the darbar began to be sung every evening and also in the afternoon, such that the dargah has had faqirs singing all t 36 surs of Latif every day since 2003-5. Faqir Jumman Shah complains about the lack of resources at his school and when he performs for state-sponsored events, he takes these opportunities to voice the needs of his school. For example, he states that he has an upcoming performance in Karachi where the district commissioner of Jasmshoro (a city in Sind) is the chief guest. He states that, before starting the raag, he will make that request to the district commissioner. I was also often asked by Faqir Jumman Shah to make those requests to the government to expand the facilities of the school.

Figure 16: Outer facade of the Shah jo Raag School, 2009

Impact of Modernity on Raagi Faqirs' Relationship with the Sajjada Nashin

There are younger faqirs such as Faqir Nizam Ali Khoso (b. 1986) who have been singing at the dargah for five years and who are surviving on subsistence farming and who are not receiving the wazifa. He states about the government's wazifa, "Something is better than nothing. *Hum nothing wale hain* (We are in the category of nothing)." There is no support from the government since only those who were registered earlier in the 1990s receive their wazifa (2017). The Sajjada Nashin and the Auqaf Department act as mediators when it comes to the settlement of wazifa and getting the new faqirs registered. As Saeein Jumman Shah states, Waqar Saeein is scheduled to meet with the current head of auqaf to get wazifa for 45 more faqirs approved. "*Suna hai keh un ka wazifa ho raha hai!*" he says, ("*I am hearing that they will get registered for a wazifa*!"), indicating that it is not confirmed (Interview with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2017).

Faqirs are more overt in their criticism of the state than the Sajjada Nashin and they have complained about state corruption at the dargah even to the press. The Auqaf Department, according to Faqir Jumman Shah earns 1.5 crore rupees per year from the *nazar* boxes at the dargah. He complained that out of the (20 lac) 2,000,000, if only 200,000 are given to the faqirs, what difference would that make to the government? "They [auqaf administrators] are all *chor*" (thieves). (Interview with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2009) "Whoever works here are *khidmatgaar* (voluntary service providers) and are either servants from our home or that of *Gaddi Nashin*. All these service providers are part of our committee including those who run the *langar*. The government does not support us." (Conversations with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2009)

Figure 17: A nazar box owned by the Auqaf Department, the Ministry of Sind, located outside the dargah of Tamar Faqir

Some faqirs also voiced complaints to national media about the Auqaf Department. For example, at the 265th anniversary of the urs, one faqir told the daily English newspaper *Dawn:* “They normally do not keep the shrine clean the way they are doing now. Both Auqaf and culture employees compete to stomach as much money as possible as this remains their top priority.”[15] The faqirs are also vocal about their critiques to researchers like myself. Faqir Jumman Shah noted that even though the renovations and repairing is in the hands of the Auqaf, they are corrupting the funds that they receive from the dargah and even when the faqirs needed another loudspeaker for the dargah, they were unwilling to grant one. In fact, Qamar Zaman Shah, then the head of Auqaf, sanctioned the loudspeaker in use at the dargah was about 35 years ago and the auqaf only repairs the same, old loudspeaker. The complaint about the loudspeaker was also made during my conversation with Jumman Shah in July (2009) and he states that despite talking to commissioner, deputy-commissioner and other authorities, the speaker has not been changed. He conducted press conferences to protest, and met with Yousuf

[15] Proper citation needed (https://www.dawn.com/news/444495/newspaper/column)

Reza Gillani, then Prime Minister, and was given five minutes to present his case, when Faqir Jumman Shah went with a short delegation to Jacobabad (Conversations with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2009).

What becomes clear from talking to the faqirs is that the source of state empowerment programs at the dargah is not an initiative taken by the state independently but in response to the faqirs' press conference in the 1990s. Moreover, Sajjada Nashins have supported the faqirs' protest outside the Hyderabad Press Club. Up until the 1990s, the faqirs who sing at the dargah of Shah Latif were marginal to the national popularization of Latif undertaken by the Sindh's cultural elite because the general conception was that their style of singing was not comprehensible to most people. Hameed Akhund admits in his interview:

> Another characteristic of the people who go to the dargah is that they understand what the faqirs are singing. People like me who are more urbanized than them do not know what they are singing. We don't know what language it is in…Latif's poetry is in classical Sindhi and the rural people know this Sindhi. They are closer to it. Latif's poetry has all the dialects: Khari, Lari dialect, Northern, Kohistani dialect and not all these dialects are comprehensible to an urban ear (Interview with Hameed Akhund, 2009).

In 1997, the faqirs organized a press conference with the help of the *Gaddi Nashin* (*Sajjada Nashin*) and it was as a result of Benazir Bhutto's government's support that the faqirs began to be included in the music festival organized by Radio Hyderabad. Previously the Ministry of Culture would only include *fankaar* (artists) at these urs celebrations who would be later showcased on Radio. Allan Faqir's rise to stardom and introduction to national media occurred from performing at the urs in 1962 as shown earlier. However, Faqir Jumman Shah (2009) notes that Latif's faqirs were kicked out of these cultural shows organized by the Ministry of Culture (a.k.a Culture Department) at the time of the urs, until they protested.

The initiative for performing outside the ritualistic context of the dargah was taken in the 1990s by Hameed Akhund who was then the secretary of culture. Hameed Akhund organized a performance of the raagi faqirs in Berlin in 1993, where the faqirs performed three times. One event was an all-night event in which faqirs sang extended versions of each *surs* just as they sing at the dargah. I experienced such a performance in Karachi in

2002 when the raagi faqirs, sponsored by a Sindhi NGO, performed till about 3:00 a.m. in the morning.

Since then, the faqirs have received several international opportunities. In 2010, they performed for the Jaipur Literature Festival and have been performing every year for the Sufi festival organized by the Rafi Peer Group. The raagi faqirs have also performed for a world music event in Tashkent in which 110 artists perform every year and receive awards. These international opportunities backed by initiatives at the local level are encouraging young faqirs to become Shah jo Raagi. For example, Faqir Nizam Ali Khoso (b. 1986), a young faqir who has been performing for only five years but has already performed twice at the performances organized by the government at the urs of Latif, as well as for the Sufi festivals organized by the Rafi Peer Group in Lahore.

Conclusion

The faqirs, as this chapter showed are a diverse group consisting of people from different socioeconomic backgrounds (including Saiyid faqirs—a group rarely acknowledged in South Asian studies of Sufi hierarchies). While the Sajjada Nashins have played a progressive role in expanding the tradition and inviting singers from villages who sang Latif's poetry in their villages to sing at the dargah, the tradition with the help of Shah jo Raag School has gradually expanded. From 20 faqirs to 101 faqirs today and from singing only on Friday nights at the dargah to singing every day from and also in the afternoons are some evidence of the ways that this tradition is emerging from the margins.

The faqirs' status has changed as a result of state empowerment programs, namely that they now receive a stipend and compensation for coming on Radio, TV and performing for Sufi festivals making performing Shah jo Raag a source of income. However, since it is only in the recent decade that the state has initiated empowerment programs to support the faqirs socio-economically and integrate them in performances within the public sphere, the faqirs are in a process of being integrated into the musical modernity in Pakistan and at many levels their status and style are at the margins. For this reason, I propose to consider them a subaltern group and situate their subalternity within colonial and post-colonial modernity in the following chapters.

Additionally, my ethnographic works show that the faqirs are responding to state regulation of waqf with a critical stance towards the Auqaf Department as well as the Government of Sind's *wazifa* scheme. They, in turn, show submission and collaborative attitude towards the Sajjada Nashin and retain their traditional relationship through a language of adab (moral etiquette) preserved in the modern context. Upon analyzing the source of empowerment of the faqirs in the public sphere such as their protests outside the press club or their delegations to the Minister, I conclude that Sajjada Nashin mediate faqirs' protests in the public sphere as the faqirs ask them permission before launching press conferences or taking delegations to the Minister. While this shows a continuing influence of traditional relationships at the dargah, it also reflects subalternity that continues in modernity, as the faqirs do not have an independent voice. As I show later, this is a problem, especially when they have a dispute at the dargah with the Sajjada Nashin, and there is no advocate for them other than the Sufi family at the dargah of Shah Abdul Karim Bulri who are Sajjada Nashin's relatives. In conclusion, regulation of waqf and consequent diminishing in the authority of the Sajjada Nashin has led to spatialization of the state and empowerment program for the faqirs. However, faqirs have maintained their submission and etiquette (adab) towards the Sajjada Nashin who is perceived as a leader and protector while they view the Auqaf Department as corrupt and irregular stipend payments as a reason for state to be unreliable. Why do faqirs look at the state and its advocates with suspicion and how does this suspicion further marginalizes their status is a question I address in the next chapter by showing the impact of colonial governmentality on the raagi faqirs.

Chapter 2: Colonial Governmentality and the Printed Risalo: Raag Faqirs' Disempowerment within Colonial Sind

Faqiron se kaun poochta hai" ("Who cares to ask the faqirs?" This characteristic phrase suggesting disempowerment that I heard from my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah during the ethnographic work in Sindh that pointed towards Sindhi scholars suggests a marginalization of tradition-bearers of lower socio-economic standing in Pakistan that has not been discussed within literature. In this chapter, I address marginalization of the faqirs from production of knowledge about Shah Latif's Risalo and the Shah jo Raag and argue that one of the reasons for the subalternity of the raagi faqirs in contemporary Sind today is that colonial modernity with its print culture displaced the authority that the raagi faqirs had in the pre-modern manuscript culture that was embedded in orality practices and forms of learning and pedagogies promoted in Muslim schools of learning that is the *maktab* or *madressah*. Colonial and post -colonial scholarship that privileges enlightenment modernity and reasoning and marginalized the mythical worldview of the raagi faqirs and their style of singing has displaced the faqirs' traditional authority in ways that have been addressed by scholars of post-colonial India including Gayatri Spivak who points towards "epistemic disjunctures" and Bernard Cohn that discusses the processes of knowledge construction supported by the colonial state. Bringing also the perspective of their critics who argued that colonial forms of knowledge were collaborative, I show with my ethnographic work with Sindhi scholars their favorable attitude towards the colonial State and its support for Sindhi in comparison of the lack of support within Pakistan. By discussing the historical context of Sind, in particular the printing of the *Risalo* in colonial Sind, I show the reader that the subalternity of the raagi faqirs is embedded between two other levels of marginalization: one is the perceived marginalization of Sindhis within Pakistan and Muslims within colonial India.

In what ways did the colonial state empower or disempower the faqirs within their tradition? How did local relationships change as a result of a state-sponsored printing of the *Risalo* in colonial Sindh in 1866? What new rationalities did the colonial state and its agents bring towards the literature of Shah Latif and how did it influence the tradition bearers? I argue that the epistemological orientation of Enlightenment modernity and the

print culture (in contrast with oral and manuscript culture) dislodged the faqirs' authority from the manuscript culture of pre-colonial Sind, in which they were the custodians of the manuscripts of Shah Latif's verses. This created a literary space through which to approach Shah Latif's poetry in terms of its contributions to Sindhi language—an epistemological space that was distinct from the devotional space of the tradition-bearers who revere Shah Latif as a *wali* (saint).

I contextualize the continuation of this epistemological space in Sindh today by positioning Sindh as one of the few progressive provinces in Pakistan that has a rapidly expanding print modernity and print culture (in contrast with decline of the oral traditions) with active support of the Sindh government. The government has organized literary conferences on the topic of Sufi mystics and Sind's cultural heritage at regional and international conference as well as producing publications on similar subjects in English, Urdu and Sindhi. I examine the significance of this epistemological space on the tradition of Shah Latif and the tradition bearers.

Raagi Faqirs Role in Compiling and Preserving the *Risalo* in Pre-Colonial Sind

The raagi faqirs were not only singers of the Shah jo Raag but also played a major role in compiling Shah Latif's verses in manuscripts that are locally referred to as the *Ganj* from which the current versions of the *Risalo* are derived. There are also episodes in Latif's life that show that Latif considered the faqirs to be his children. For example, according to an oral narrative, when Shah Latif's wife, who was a very intelligent and pious lady, was pregnant, she asked a faqir to bring her palla fish. The faqir came to Shah Latif breathing hard and perspiring and when Shah Latif asked him what was the matter, he mentioned that he had been running to find palla fish upon the request. At this moment, Shah Latif was upset and said "Such a child, who still in the womb, give such trouble to my poor faqirs, how cruel will he be to them when he is born; let him disappear in the womb, I do not want such a child; these faqirs are children to me." And it is said that the child died in the womb and his wife never conceived again. Before his death, Shah Latif gave his spiritual *masnad* (throne) to his nephew Jamal Shah and the administration of the singing to Tamar Faqir, who became the first khalif.

The faqirs also played a major role not only in compiling the *Risalo* but also organizing it. Mirza Qalich Baig states that the *Risalo* was composed "piece-meal" and written by Latif's khalifas and murids, after Latif's death. During his life, his verses had been collected in volumes, but only a few days prior to his death, the oral narrative say that he secured three manuscripts and threw them in the Krar Lake near Bhitshah. His motive for doing that was that he feared ordinary people would misunderstand his verses. Therefore, none of the manuscripts of Shah Latif's verses, locally referred to as the *Ganj*, can be dated to his time and his disciples and followers only transcribed them posthumously. Two or three of these manuscript versions were published in the mid-19th century and about 31 were published later.[5] These manuscripts are variously arranged and scribes have omitted entire surs. Whereas one manuscript consists of 40 surs, another of only has 17 surs (Lukpke 2000, 76). Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* points out that faqirs shifted the sequence of the surs and the verses in the Ganj. According to oral narratives, that Qalich Baig penned, namely from the *Gaddi Nashin* from the shrine Shah Abdul Karim Bulri, the first verse of the *Risalo*, that Shah Latif anticipated in a manuscript, was modeled after Masnavi's opening. Shah Latif wrote a Sindhi verse, a translation of the Persian couplet of Rumi ("*Bishnu az ney chun hikayot mikunad…*") which opened the *Ganj*. However, the *faqirs* rearranged the surs (1887, 32) to depict the sequence sung at the dargah. The faqirs arranged the *Risalo* so that the first sur was Sur Kalyan—which is in praise of Allah—was the first sur, just as it is n the Shah jo Raag ritual.

The oral narratives about Shah Latif in Bhitshah show that he died singing to the raagi faqirs' performance of Sur Kedaro, a sur in his poetry dedicated to the Battle of Karbala. Such oral narratives also reflect Shah Latif's closeness to the raagi faqirs. The saint-poet spent a great deal of time in *sema*, listening to hymns with the accompaniment of musical instruments (Qalich Baig 1887, 21). He himself never sang or played openly and was known to be an attentive listener rather than a good singer or player (44). When the faqirs used to sing, Shah Latif would keep time by striking the nails of one hand over those of another, and this listening response transported him in a *kefiyat* of joy and grief. He felt highly ecstatic and yet he also cried most bitterly.

Shah even spent the last days and last breaths of his life close to his faqirs. In the

last month of his life, he wanted to travel to Karbala to visit the shrine of Imam Ali and Hussein but after travelling some distance, a pious man who was also his *murid* (devotee) remarked that it is strange that he is telling his relatives about his burial ground while venturing out to Karbala in his last days. This remark sent a creeping sensation in the saint's body and he turned back. Upon return, he wore black clothes, which are clothes that Shi'ite wear for *ma'atam* (Shi'ite practice during the Islamic month of Moharram that includes activities such as self-flagellation (azadari)) and ordered his followers to do the same. He then commenced singing the dirges in honor of the death of Imam Hussain and composed the chapter Sur Kedaro. Then he underwent a long fast and prayer for 21 days having only two meals. He then came out, bathed with one hundred jars of water, covered his head with a sheet of cloth as they observe in *murraqabah* (a Sufi practice of meditation in communion when the devotee watches over his heart and its relation with the creator) while the music was being played. This went on for three days continuously. "Not a muscle moved. Not a sigh broke. All were taken up with the grave, somber aspect of affairs and the pathos of the hymns. At last the music stopped. They approached Shah Abdul Latif and found him to a body without soul. No one knew when he had died." His last wish that his body is washed urgently and that he is buried beside his father (Qalich Baig 1887, 25-26).

The closeness of the faqirs towards Shah Latif's poetry reflects a status they had in the tradition, which was impacted by colonial modernity. Paul Ricoeur writes that a sacred text that has been "critically edited," "is no longer the text that the community has always regarded as sacred; it is a scholar's text" (1995, 68). As shown earlier, this is true because print culture also created new yardsticks to verify the authenticity of the verses creating a discourse about accuracy that related to issues of the standardized Sindhi script in colonial schools and other issues.

Additionally, orality and person-to-person learning in Muslim schools such as *maktab* and *madressah*, engaged with the written text in a manuscript through orality. Texts were not meant to be read but recited and listened to as they were recited. This also led to a communal acquisition of knowledge; Muslim teachers shunned reading silently and private modes of learning, and emphasized reading aloud and reading under the supervision of a teacher. Scholars in the study of disciplines other than religion also

followed the practice of reciting aloud for the purpose of memorization. In the following sections, I show how colonial literary modernity disempowers the faqirs from their tradition and the ways in which it impacts the faqiri community today. (For more details, see Robinson 1993, 64-70).

Colonial Governmentality and Literary Modernity in Sind

The annexation of Sindh by Charles Napier in 1843 was a relatively peaceful colonial takeover, and the colonial state in Sindh developed a collaborative approach towards the local Muslim rulers. Unlike other colonial situations, where the local culture was destroyed or considered inferior to the European civilization, in Sind, the British promoted Sindhi as the official language and viewed Sind's poets alongside the great writers in the European cannon. In doing so, the British created a new epistemological space in Sindh that I discuss in detail in this chapter, showing its impact on the tradition-bearers.

Bernard Cohn (1996), argues in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* that the British "unknowingly and unwittingly invaded and conquered not only a territory but an epistemological space as well," which they sought to conquer through "translation" the first step for which was "to learn the local languages." (4) In this respect, the British not only learned classical languages such as Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit, but also vernacular languages. The knowledge of local languages was necessary to issue commands, collect taxes, maintain law and order, and to create other forms of knowledge about the people they were ruling (4). In the project of appropriating Indian language to construct their system of rule, beginning in the 18th century, the British built an "apparatus" of control through the production of grammar books, dictionaries, treatises, textbooks, and translations starting with classical languages such as Persian and Sanskrit, and extending to the Sindhi language by the early 19th century.

Since then the Sindhi language underwent "a modern literary development" and one of the first attempts to standardize it in order to teach it to European officials and missionaries[16]. This was also the time when a Sindhi dictionary was written, and a

[16] In the 19th century, European writers including Princep (1835), Ramos (1836) and Wathen (1836) followed by Stack (1853) alongside locals including Munshi Odharam (1857), Mian Mohammed and Munshi Pribhdas (1860) made one of the first attempts to standardize Sindhi in order to teach it to

grammar of Sindhi language was published in 1853.[17] Moreover, as a result of the British reforms and pressures from Muslims and Perso-Arabic oriented Hindus, the British standardized Perso-Arabic script for Sindhi, that resulting in extending the 29-letter Arabic alphabet to 52 in order to include Sindhi sounds[18] (Masica 1991, 443).

After Charles Napier's annexation of Sind, and the inclusion of Sindh within the Bombay Presidency, Sir George Clerk, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, wrote in his minutes from the 24th of April 1848 that the British should introduce the language of the country (namely Scindee) as the medium of official intercourse. Their reason was mainly that the "revenue and judicial officers [...] can work effectively" because the foreign medium of communication, such as Persian or English would not suffice. Sindhi was also standardized with the official publication of dictionary and grammar prepared by Lieutenant Stack (quoted in Allana 2010, 231). Therefore, the British impacted the culture of pre-colonial Sind, which was based on Persian as the official language, and continued the policy of teaching Sindhi in colonial schools as it was taught in pre-colonial Muslim, Hindu and Sikh educational institutions, such as the *maktabs*, *madressah* and in *path shalas* (Allana 2010, 275).[19] The first educational institutions that the British established to train their officials in India taught local languages, which "allowed the British to classify, categorize and control the vast social world that was India" (Cohn 1996, 5). This system of education also expanded in order to educate local Sindhis in colonial Sind, marking continuity between pre-colonial schools and colonial schools. While Persian was replaced with English for high-ranking jobs, Sindhi in the Arabic script was maintained for the lower-ranking jobs, and even the Hindu amils, who

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European officials and missionaries.

[17] Stack (1849, 1855) and Rev. Shirt and Mirza (1879) also contributed towards preparation of Sindhi dictionaries.

[18] During the colonial period, there were also several scripts of Sindhi; for example Stack in his Grammar of the Sindhi Language written in 1853 refers to various forms of Devanagari and Lunda scripts used by Hindu traders and Ismaili Muslims including Khudawadi, Shikarpuri, Sakhru, Thattai, Larai, Wangai, Rajai, Khwajiki, Memanko, Sewhani Bhambhira and also a modified Perso-Arabic script called the Abul-Hassan Sindhi and the Gurmukhi script, which was an improved version of Lunda used in literary and religious writings (Jain and Cardona).

[19] While in other parts of India, children began learning Persian from infancy, in Sind, a pupil from age nine to twelve or thirteen read all the religious texts available in Sindhi (Rahman 1999, 23). For more details on the use of Sindhi in local schools in pre-colonial Sind, please see Richard Burton's essay titled "Muslim Education in Sind" (1851) and B.H. Ellis's *Report on Education in Sindh (1856)*, Nabi Baksh Baloch (ed.), Education in Sindh before the British Conquest and the Educational Policies of the Government, Hyderabad, University of Sindh, 1971, (pp. 1–44 quoted in Tariq Rahman) write about the prevalence of education in Sindhi within the *maktab* and *madressahs*

followed a different script for Sindhi, had to learn the Arabic script to qualify for government positions. In primary and secondary schools, Sindhi was the language of instruction in colonial Sind, and the colonial state published textbooks in Sindhi. After the fifth grade, the students went through a two-track system where they also started to learn English, which was available only at the Anglo-Vernacular (AV) schools. Since there were no universities in Sindh at the time, they travelled to other parts of the Bombay Presidency for this purpose. The support that Sindhi received in colonial Sindh was unprecedented and unmatched in any other province in Pakistan—and this historical experience of colonial modernity placed the Sindhi cultural elite at the forefront of cultural preservation in post-colonial Sind.[20]

In short, the colonial rationalities of governance led to the standardization of Sindhi and its Arabic script, made it the lingua franca in colonial Sind, and mandatory for officials to learn. Sindhi was also introduced in schools and altogether these processes culminated in a colonial literary culture in Sind, based on Sindhi textbooks, dictionaries and books of learning Sindhi for European officials—books that continue to be used for learning Sindhi today.

This 18th century British project took place in Sindh mainly from the early 19th century onwards as discussed above. What is significant that the colonial state's driven literary modernity was also used "investigative modalities"---a colonial form of governance that included collecting facts about the natives and transforming the facts into usable forms, such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, legal codes and encyclopedias. (Cohn 1996, 5) This knowledge production, as Cohn argues, began the establishment of discursive formation, that is to say, it defined an epistemological space,

[20] G.A. Allana notes the presence of many primary and secondary schools that were modeled after colonial schools. The British Captain Preedy established new secondary schools in Karachi, including Church Mission School, N.J.V (Narain Jagan Nath Vasnani) High School, as well as Hyderabad and Shikarpur. Following the model of the British public school, Mohammedan Educational Society under the leadership of Khan Bahadur Effendi established Sindh Madrasat-ul-Islam in 1885. This prominent school later became a college in 1943 and a university in 2012. Moreover, Noor Mohammed Lakhior started a high school in Hyderabad; Sayid Allahando Shah established the reputed Madressa High School at Naushero Feroz and Khan Bahadur Mir Talpur established Madrassah High School at Tando Bago in lower Sind. Since these schools were modeled on the British school, the *mullah* (Islamic cleric) discouraged the families to send their children to these schools; however, with the passage of time, they became more popular (275).

created a discourse, and "had the effect of converting Indian forms of knowledge to European objects" (21).

An objectification of Sindhis evident in the orientalist scholar Richard Burton's book *Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of Indus* (1851). This book, among others, introduced European categories such as "caste" to show socio-economic stratifications in Sind—a category that became indigenous in Sindh as a result. It also creates an understanding of the people of Sindh and Sindhi language and the significance of poetry for Sindhis. Burton discusses the significance of Shah Latif's poetry for Sindhis in ways that European scholars following him built upon. Burton is one of the first Europeans to celebrate the presence of original rhythms, meters and peculiar poetic devices in Sindhi claiming that they are "second to no other vernacular tradition on the Indian subcontinent" (Horta 2010, 157). He celebrates the achievements of Sindhi, particularly within the verses of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (158) writing that Latif's verses use alliteration as successfully as within the poetic productions of the Anglo-Saxon ancestors (160). He also shares a fascination for Latif's verses, remarking how the "beautiful verses of Shah Latif" from the tale of Sassui-Punhun have made this tale "a favorite one" among the Sindhis so that there few who cannot cite the verses by heart (57). He writes that Latif's verses are akin to the ayahs of the Quran, and he is known locally as the "Hafiz of Sind." Moreover, nearly everyone he encountered in his travels had read or knew Latif's "Shaha jo Risalo."

Colonial governmentality and its rationalities valued the language of the people who were colonized but objectified the people and their culture in ways that built new epistemological spaces in modernity. Appreciating Sindhi language and people was therefore a colonial formation and objectification of Sindh that re-contextualized the Islamic Sufi mystic and objectified him ethnologically. It was the language of the poetry, and not so much the Sufi belief, that was of significance to the colonial state and this became the primary point of disjuncture amongst the believers and the new group of scholars who studied Latif's poetry after its printing in the nineteenth century.

Such an objectification continues up until the 20th century when, as Bernard Cohn writes, the dominant modes of "knowing India" constituted a comparison between India and Europe in which Europe was presented as progressive and superior and India as

inferior (Cohn 1996). H.T. Sorley's book *Shah Latif of Bhit* published in 1940, considered Shah Latif's imaginative poetry to be similar to Donne and Milton. In a chapter titled "The Birth of the Classic," he offered a new discursive formation that reflects a colonial canonization of Shah Latif as a "classical" poet of Sindhi and "a poet of genius." Sorley writes that Shah Abdul Latif was "the first great exponent of the imaginative use of the Sindhi language" (206) and his poetic expression is irreplaceable. "No one will ever produce again this particular kind of poetry amidst the same local environment and in the same halo-content of thought, belief and feeling" (206). He continues:

> We are thus reduced to the simple fact that genius knows no limiting bounds. Shah Abdul Latif must by nature have possessed those qualities of observation, expression and sincerity of thought which enabled him to put his own ideas and the ideas of the common people amongst whom he lived into verses that can without exaggeration be said to have a claim to immortality (204).

Printing of the *Risalo* and Literary Modernity in Sindh

What was the colonial rationale in printing of the *Risalo* and what impact did it have it on the tradition-bearers? The editor of the first Risalo was Ernst Trumpp, a German philologist[21] and missionary sent by the Ecclesiastical Mission Society to study the languages of India in colonial Sind. After his pioneering publication of the *Risalo*, Trumpp also went to Punjab and printed the Sikh's sacred text, the *Guru Granth*. The printed *Risalo* in colonial Sindh was published for use in colonial schools. Trumpp departed from the manuscripts by adopting the Naskhy character, with additional signs and marks commonly used in Hindustani language that was read and taught nearly in every colonial schools in Sind. He also invented new alphabets and marks that students of Sindhi in government schools could master in adapting the Hindustani alphabet to Sindhi (153). Moreover, he added "aerab" (diacritical marks in Arabic) to differentiate I from E,

[21] Trumpp was born in 1828 in Germany; he had migrated to London due to political upheaval in his country and was employed as an assistant librarian at the East India House, which was the headquarters of the British East India Company. He arrived in India in 1854 with a purpose to prepare grammars and glossaries of Indian languages for use by Christian missionaries. He was initially stationed at the Karachi mission station where he learnt Sindhi language and after the publication of Risalo in 1866, he was stationed in Punjab where he also worked on the sacred scriptures of the Sikhs and published volumes of Adi-Granth and pioneered essays on Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh practices. He authored the first Sindhi grammar entitled *Sindhi Alphabet and Grammar* (1872) and published *Grammar of Pashto, or language of the Afghans, compared with the Iranian and North Indian idioms*, and translated most of the Guru Granth Sahib, the sacred scripture of the Sikhs, into English.

U, O for the "convenience of the European scholar, which however may be dropped in prints destined for natives, as they will easily enough distinguish them." Trumpp clearly situates his interest in publishing the *Risalo* with his interest and appreciation of Sindhi language:

> We humbly trust that by the publication of this volume a firm base may be gained for the study of a language, which though not widely spread, is in many points superior to any other modern language of India and well-deserving the notice of the linguist."

The colonial printing of the *Risalo* initiated by Ernst Trumpp followed the faqirs' sequence, keeping Sur Kalyan as the first sur. In his essay titled ""How was the Risalo Printed First?" Ernst Trumpp (1866[22]) acknowledges several defects. This version of the *Risalo* had several defects, as Ernst Trumpp himself mentions. Even though "great care was taken in revising the proof sheets…it was impossible to prevent the frequent slips of the vowel-prints" since the editor was not present at the place of printing. This *Risalo,* printed in Leipzig, Germany did not contain all the surs, as Trumpp acknowledges, since it would have rendered the "volume too bulky and too expensive at the same time." One of the major exclusion of Trumpp's edition of the *Risalo* was the exclusion of sur Umar-Marvi because it was one of the largest surs and would have exceeded the allowed budget (1866, 153).

Sindhi scholars on several grounds critiqued this version of *the Risalo*. In *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*, Mirza Qalich Baig points out that Trumpp's edition left out ten surs and also included surs that were not in Shah's compositions, but rather were verses written by other poets, Khaku and Hayat. Trumpp's version could not differentiate between Shah Latif's verses and surs that were by entirely other poets and written in Hindi, Siraiki and Purbi dialects. It also included verses that had been sung in Shah Latif's presence even though he had not authored them but that had been included by scribes in Ganj, and some that were attributed Latif's ancestor Shah Abdul Karim Bulri.

Trumpp's edition of *the Risalo* also consisted of errors that he attributed to the British standardization of Arabic-Sindhi script that made reading some of the words from

[22] Ernst Trumpp's essay "How was the Risalo printed First?" that accompanied his publication of Risalo was reprinted in a book titled *Shah Abdul Latif: His Mystical Poetry* Edited by Hameed Akhund and published by the Ministry of Culture in Sind. This essay states that the essay accompanied the original copy of the Risalo published by Trumpp. The year of the book is missing and I have used the original year of the essay to help the reader in situating the historicity of this essay.

old Sindhi incomprehensible for people trained in colonial education. He writes that those who study in Government schools can only read the books written in this Arabic-Sindhi, and have great difficulty in reading the old Sindhi. Therefore, Trumpp's version of the *Risalo* aimed at students of colonial schools "deprived" them from studying Shah Latif's verses in its original form. The Education Department, did however, issue a number of extracts from the *Risalo* in the improved character for vernacular schools. (Baig 1887, 49). As a result of local expertise on Sindhi prosody, different Sindhi scholars engaged in printing alternate versions of the *Risalo* to counter the errors within Trumpp's version.

Trumpp's accounts of Sindhi society in 1866 are interesting because the show the extent to which the culture was oral and how the literate milieu was part of a small religious elite who were well versed in Arabic and Persian. With the publication of the *Risalo*, the colonial state galvanized an entire body of scholarship produced by local Sindhi Hindu and Muslim writers, who not only printed their own versions of the *Risalo*, translated it, created exegesis of it and produced account of Shah Latif's life, but in doing so also began to reflect on Sindhi language, literature, and cultural forms in ways that were previously not prevalent within the oral culture of Sind. Trumpp was able to make Latif's poetry accessible through the modern technology of printing press. In response to Trumpp's publication, which had several errors as he himself acknowledged, a lithograph version of the *Risalo* was published from Bombay in 1867 (Baloch 1999, 12). Later, Mirza Qalich Baig, an eminent writer in Sindhi, also published a version of the *Risalo* followed by several others. Each of these versions had different number of verses, and bait verses increased from two thousand to four thousand and wai from less than a hundred to three hundred. Moreover, in certain manuscript texts, the number of surs were thirty and in others there were thirty-six (13).

Nevertheless, the significance of Trumpp's edition of the Risalo lies in the fact that its legacy continues, not only in the printed versions that followed which sought to amend the errors in his version, but also in the new orality in post-colonial Sind's national media where Sufi singers sang verses from Trumpp's edition of *the Risalo*. A characteristic phrase in Trumpp's edition was "*Adhiyoon Shah Abdul Latif Chawe*" which means the "beloved or murshid Shah Latif says" and occurs in the last verse of nearly all

kafi. The scholar Nabi Bux Baloch (d. 2010) states in an article, that this phrase is in authentically added to the *Risalo* and not found in the manuscripts by the faqirs.

> These were composed by the Munshi (scribe) who prepared the text of Shah jo the for Dr. Trumpp. That Munshi when discovered that all other surs were followed by wais but in certain surs there were not to be found, he decided to fill the vacuum by composing these "wais" himself. In this manner, he appended at the end of about Sixty-two wai, the refrain "*Adhiyoon Abdul Latif Chawe*." This refrain was never found in earlier manuscript of Risalo (Baloch 2010, 25).

This is a controversial discovery that I found in one of the later writings by N.A. Baloch that has been published by the Ministry of Culture. Since it was Dr. Baloch who was behind most of the pioneering initiatives related to the process of composing *kafi* at Radio Hyderabad, I found it important to include this claim. However, the finding has not impacted the contemporary performance practices or discourses substantially. What Baloch misses is that the raagi faqirs of Bhitshah in their singing of *wai* also sing this phrase, so could this phrase be an important part of oral practices that the *munshi* noted in Ernst Trumpp's manuscripts? Moreover, Baloch does not take into account that the process of confirming Latif's verses were done in collaboration with the Sajjada Nashin and the faqirs and colonial agents were not only relying entirely on manuscripts. Moreover, if the phrase was not present in earlier manuscripts, it also brings us to the question of who compiled the earlier manuscripts and what was the intention behind writing down the verses. Nevertheless, this engagement with Trumpp's edition of the *Risalo* in contemporary Sindhis evidence of how his legacy continues within the scholarly culture, even a century later. In short, even though there are critiques on Trumpp's edition of the *Risalo,* it seemed to have been used t Radio Hyderabad in post-colonial Sindh and also influenced the oral practices of Ustads and singers who use the characteristic line "*adhiyoon shah Latif chawe*" to insinuate the last verse of the *kafi.*

Raagi Faqirs' Marginalization from Colonial Knowledge about Shah Latif

Within colonial Sind, the print modernity led to new constructions of Shah Latif that disempowered faqirs from the tradition because the authority they had previously in the manuscript oral culture was taken over by the authority of the scholars. The colonial imagination of Shah Latif became the basis for Sindhi scholarship. Richard Burton showed that Shah Latif was revered as the "Hafiz of Sind" and Ernst Trumpp in his ""How was the Risalo Printed First?" writes that "there is everywhere a 'terra-cognita'

for the reader or hearer, and Abdul Latif has not disdained to borrow occasionally whole stanzas from these popular compositions" (Trumpp 1866, 151). Upon the work of these writers, H.T. Sorley (1940) situated Shah Latif's verses as "classical" poetry praising it for its imaginative value, linking beauty in Latif's poetry with European poets including Donne and Milton (For more details, read Sorley's chapter "The Birth of a Classic" in *Shah Latif of Bhit,* pp. 203-223). Sorley writes that Shah Abdul Latif was "the first great exponent of the imaginative use of the Sindhi language" (206) and his poetic expression is irreplaceable; "No one will ever produce again this particular kind of poetry amidst the same local environment and in the same halo-content of thought, belief and feeling" (206). The scholars in Sindh continue to quote these scholars and the ways in which they valued Sindhi poetry.

However, within these new constructions of Latif, that made his poetry of significance within Sindhi language, the tradition-bearer's position was not enhanced. One does not find elevation of the raagi faqirs as tradition-bearers of this enriching Sindhi tradition, which was not surprising considering that Muslim music practitioners across India were criticized by orientalist thinkers such as Sir William Jones and the textual approach of colonial gaze, devalued oral transmitters (Bakhle 2005). This is evident in H.T. Sorley's book in which he values Shah Latif as a "poet of genius," but refers to the raagi faqirs in a condescending manner. Sorley (1940) writes:

> …Without the stimulus of English education and the interest in literature produced by it, the poems of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai would still have been today in much the same condition as that in which the British found them in 1843. That is to say they would have remained *a rather vague body of sung and recited verse handed from one singer to another and familiar as songs to the Sindhis who delight in listening to this form of literary composition.*

In Sorley's above quote, one finds the raagi faqirs to represent a world from which *the Risalo* was excavated and saved by the Europeans. Not only did Sorley considered faqirs' oral culture as a sign of their backwardness but also their worldviews that were embedded in religious myths and belief in miracles and not founded on Enlightenment reasoning of the colonial forms of knowledge was primitive for colonial writers. For example, at the dargah of Shah Latif, even today, the faqirs love to retell the events in the life of Shah Latif that are supra-realistic in nature. For instance, at one of my earlier lessons in the Shah jo Raag, Faqir Jumman Shah shared an anecdote that when

Shah Latif was young and was learning from a local teacher (mullah) in town, his teacher taught him "Alif" and Shah Latif repeated "Alif." Alif signifies the first alphabet of the Allah. So, when the mullah said to Shah Latif, now say the alphabet "Bey," which is the second alphabet, Latif shook his head and said, "Alif is all I need," and left school. According to this view, Shah Latif spent the remainder of his life wandering with groups of Hindu yogis and faqirs, remembering Allah and dictating his poetry to the scribes or faqirs who would write it down or sing it. The faqirs use this anecdote to state that Latif was not a learned scholar; he was illiterate and chose not to receive formal schooling. Here, the abstinence from formal schooling insinuates he was always connected with *haq* (truth) and followed the path of inner knowledge. When H.T. Sorley in his book Shah Latif of Bhit refers to this anecdote, which he also heard from the locals, he writes about it as an example of "stories of the miraculous order" that "no serious-minded person will attach any value to." He brackets them as "merely the stock-in-trade of hagiological adulation" that "cease to exist when people no longer believe in them" (170). Sorley writes that the letter Alif is a symbol of God and unity, and therefore the story should not be interpreted literally but as a moral to show that "from the days of his childhood he [Shah Latif] was engrossed by a vision of the divine unity (Sorley 1940, 171). Whereas I agree with Sorley's reasoning and interpretation of the anecdote of Shah Latif, I also find that some of the words that he uses denigrate the mythical world-view of the faqirs.

Drawing upon post-colonial theory, including the work of Bernard Cohn, Nicholas Dirks and Gayatri Spivak, one may interpret Sorley's position to insinuate "epistemic violence." Nicholas Dirks argues that print culture and the study of vernacular languages is an example of "cultural technologies of rule," (Dirks 2001) that was not only a "cultural project of control" but led to cultural effects on the society that have been described as an "epistemic violence" or "epistemic disjuncture," that is "a rupture in the historical fabric of the society subjected to colonialism." In her famous essay *Can the subaltern speak?,* Gayatri Spivak gives the example of Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education" that creates "intellectuals and scholars of colonial production" who is differentiated from the "general non-specialist, non-academic population across the class spectrum, for whom the episteme operates its silent programming function" (2010, 37). Spivak gives the example of the development of Sanskrit Studies as a discipline and the

emergence of a Sanskrit scholar who is different in his approach to Sanskrit texts from the tradition of learning Sanskrit within the high culture of Hindu pundits (36-37). This form of colonial governmentality asserts the "structures, projects and desires" of Europe (Scott 2005, 29) that aims to disseminate Enlightenment rationality epistemologically through colonial education. One can interpret the raagi faqirs' marginalization within the scholarship about Shah Latif in colonial and post-colonial Sind to be a result of such an epistemic violence created by print culture and colonial education that uprooted the Muslim pedagogies of learning and transmission.

However, even though the British had a favorable policy towards the Sindhi language, they did not significantly influence the socio-economic landscape of Sind. As a result, the province could not sustain an educated middle-class in significant numbers. It remained a rural hinterland without much of a manufacturing industry, and even today, apart from the metropolitan centers of Karachi and Hyderabad, Sindhi economic life continues to be largely agrarian. This, however, does not mean that Sindh was a marginal site of colonial insignificance. In fact, the study of Sindh reveals the anatomy of the Company's rule in South Asia (Cook 2015, 18), and shows the ways in which the colonial government interacted with Sind's political-economy, preserving the authority of the Sindhi landlord (*wadero)* (Cheesman 2013, 218) and Sufi pirs (Ansari 1992) that kept the region affluent and resilient to economic destabilization that would have otherwise resulted from the poverty present in the Bombay Presidency. What it meant in terms of the impact of colonial constructions of Shah Latif was that it was available to the few educated Sindhis. Moreover, the Sindhi scholar produced by colonial governmentality was not only limited in their influence but within post-colonial Sind in Pakistan that witnessed emigration of Sindhis to India and immigration of Urdu speakers in Sind, began to hold an even more marginal status in post-colonial Sind.

For this reason, prominent Sindhi scholars including Dr. G.A. Allana as well as Marxist scholar Dr. Ibrahim Joyo were in awe of the colonial policy because of the ways in which it developed Sindhi as a language. A noted Sindhi intellectual, Ibrahim Joyo (b. 1915), stated in our conversation in Hyderabad: "*Sindh ke logon ki khushwaqti thi keh 1843 mein…"* Using the word "*khushwaqti*" meaning "good times," he was remembering the annexation of Sindh as a positive turn in Sind's history because not only had British

accepted Sindhi as a language in public schools and developed Sindhi as a language, but they also favored Muslims and the Arabic script of the Sindhi. Professor Joyo closed our talk sharing this insight by reinforcing "the debt" to the British: "*History ka ehsaan tha Sindhi per keh"* ("History privileged Sindhi people since") British promoted Sindhi.

Following these conversations with Sindhi intellectuals, the raagi faqirs' subalternity cannot be situated within a narrative of dominance and epistemic violence that points fingers towards the Sindhi scholar. In fact, it is because of the patronage of post-colonial Sindh government and Sindhi scholars who built upon the colonial legacy and policy towards Sindhi language to preserve their cultural identity within post-colonial Sindh that one finds empowerment programs for the raagi faqirs. Even though the raagi faqirs point towards the scholars in a negative way for alienating their worldviews, it is significant to situate the Sindhi scholars within colonial modernity in ways that their position is not diminished either.

Therefore, while I consider Spivak's position on "epistemic violence" to be bringing forward an important dimension of colonial modernity that resonates with the grievances of the raagi faqirs I have talked to, I would also bring into conversation a group of Cambridge historians centered around the writings of Eugene Irschick (1994), C.A. Bayly (1996), Thomas R. Trautmann (1999a, 1999b), William R. Pinch (1999), Richard M. Eaton (2000), Norbert Peabody (2001), and Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi (2001) (quoted in Wagoner 2003, 784) who critique post-colonial studies scholars for not taking into consideration colonial collaborations with the natives. They also critique that while post-colonial studies emphasize ruptures brought about by colonial rule, it does not discuss continuities with pre-colonial rulership. These scholars argue that colonial forms of knowledge represented "significant continuities" with "indigenous forms of knowledge and bodies of cultural practice" and were not superseding or displacing existing knowledge "through the imposition of new, imported epistemes." Peabody writes:

> …It is no longer tenable to insist that the forms of knowledge through which colonial rule was established were fully European in origin and development but, rather, they were created out of conditions that entailed considerable collaboration — intended and unintended, conscious and unconscious, wanted and unwanted — between the British and, at least, certain key indigenous groups. These Indian groups were often able to harness, redirect, and shape aspects of the emergent

> forms of knowledge that were being created during the colonial encounter in order to establish and/or deepen a privileged position in local society that itself was divided along various lines including class, status, party and gender. By working through and, in some cases, beyond conditions of possibility raised by the colonial encounter, Indian actors exercised substantial, but often unacknowledged, agency in the formation of colonial knowledge" (2012, 75).

Peabody's argues that colonial transformations often had a more hybridized ontological status than generally recognized. He poses a need to develop more sophisticated descriptive techniques, analytic tools, and theoretical frameworks for dealing with the multiply constituted, overlapping, and hierarchically graded forms of agency to which the historical and ethnographic records now increasingly bear witness (99). The counter-postcolonial studies school known as the "collaborationist" school of thought, argues that the colonized were not "mere passive bystanders to the process," and point towards contrary evidence to suggest "epistemic continuity" by showing "the active role of the colonized in producing colonial knowledge." Peabody (2012) asserts that he is not challenging the value of the post-colonial studies' discourse but questioning a one-sided view that considers "colonial ways of knowing" to have relied entirely on an "European episteme (however much that episteme may have been transposed geographically to the extra- European world)." Peabody emphasizes that the scholarship needs to take heed of the role of indigenous actors, agendas, and ways of knowing in the construction of these discourses.

The ways in which both Peabody's claim (2012) about indigenous episteme and the Foucauldian oriented post-colonial studies discourse hold true is in the writings of Mirza Qalich Baig, a scholar who lived during the colonial period and produced the most valuable works on Shah Latif. His work is evidence of new rationalities rooted in Enlightenment episteme as well as tensions in continuing the worldviews of the tradition-bearers within new constructions of Shah Latif that were in the process of forming. His book *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* is a magnificent biography of Shah Latif's life collected from oral narratives, somewhere between the European genre of "biography" and carrying some trends from the Islamic genre of *tazkirah* or hagiography. This conversation between pre-colonial Muslim epistemological space and the colonial Enlightenment space in Qalich Baig's work is most likely a result of his hybrid education which began

with his early education in an Islamic *maktab* followed by primary and secondary education in colonial schools and then higher education in Elphinstone College, a renowned colonial college in Bombay. H.T. Sorley refers to Qalich Baig's writing as the "most competent of Shah Abdul Latif's life" who "shows a remarkable assiduity." Sorley writes:

> He had the good fortune to be able to test for himself the quality of the oral tradition from the lips of men who had it from the lips of men who had seen Shah Abdul Latif in the flesh and spoken with him. This source is now stopped. There is no likelihood of any further accretion of hard facts, though this will not prevent the oral tradition from developing further (1940, 170).

Sorley's commendation of the writings of Mirza Qalich Baig is yet more evidence of collaboration in the production of knowledge about Shah Latif. Qalich Baig was addressing educated readers whose construction of knowledge was not embedded in miracles. In contrast with Islamic Sufi genres of hagiography, which was based on genealogy of the saint or miracles of the saint,[23] writings produced during the colonial period were embedded in the beliefs of 19th century educated Englishman, for whom the world was knowable only through the senses. Qalich Baig's writing stands out because his education in colonial schools enabled him to write for the educated Englishman while contributing the world of beliefs and miracles of the locals as oral narratives that he had collected. The introduction of his book reflects the tension between these two worlds that Qalich Beg is simultaneously writing about: one the world of his informants and the other the world of his readers:

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[23] The Persianate context included genres of writing called manaqib, tazkira, risala that differ considerably "on the basis of period and region of composition, generic elements to specific groups and personal predilections on the part of authors or compilers." Manaqib were about genealogies of holy people and histories of their merits and miracles), *fadail* about discussions of the virtuous qualities of important people), khasais about outlines of the special merits of prophets and their Companions), sirah about biographies of Muhammad and saints, tabaqat about classical-age collective biographical dictionaries organized by region, time period, Sufi order, or lineage), and tazkirah (later collective biographies). Sufi biographical collections particularly emphasized lineage relationships, hierarchies of saints, karamah (capacity to perform miracles, which confirms a saint's high rank), and barakah (blessings emanating from a saint). Sufi milieus of learning were also known for treatises on sema as noted by Leonard Lewisohn. In South Asian settings, Hujwiri's Kashf-ul-Mahjub would also be constituted within this setting for example. Some of this literary tradition continued through colonial modernity with a major impact on the style and subject of writing as noted by Francis Robinson (1984) in his study of the writings by the Ulema of the Farangi Mahal and by Francis Rozenthal (2016) on Chishti-Sabri writings in the genre of tazkirah in Urdu that were published from Karachi in the 1920s and continue till present. (For more please see Rozenthal (2016) and Robinson (1993)).

> … I must confess that I have had some difficulty in getting the particulars required. Very little was to be had in any book. I could find a passing notice taken of him [Shah Latif] in one or two Persian books, but my object was to give a detailed account. For this purpose, I had to collect different pieces of information from different quarters, in connection with Shah Abdul Latif's history, mode of living and his intellectual capacity. These were mostly in the form of anecdotes and traditions lauded down by his relations and followers, and so were at best a production of brains *heated by religious fervor and spiritual enthusiasm [my italicization 1]*. (Qalich Baig 1877)

Qalich Baig's book *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* was not written in English but in Sindhi and Persian and translated only later into English. As evident from the quote above, Qalich Baig is addressing a reader whom he does not presume to share his spiritual beliefs. He addresses the unreliability of these oral narratives and shows his care in documenting the anecdotes of the miracle of Shah Latif he has heard. Yet he quotes these stories with care and does not treat them as "truths" but rather as devotion, with emphasis on "scientific research" and "natural reasoning" and yet making space for these oral narratives by not dismissing them as irrelevant and completely unreliable and false. He tells the reader to enjoy these stories and not discredit the other aspects of Shah Latif's life that his book brings forward. Qalich Baig's book, in my understanding and reading of various Sindhi writings by Muslim or non-Muslim scholars, is unprecedented and unmatched in the ways in which it discusses its sources and reliability. He mentions talking to relatives and devotees of Shah Latif in his introduction—an attribute of scholarly writing that is not easily found even in contemporary Sindhi writings let alone those from the colonial period. For having such authentic sources, The above quote shows that there were not any previous manuscripts about Shah Latif's life that Qalich Baig relied upon. His source of information were people, including faqirs, and Shah Latif's relatives that is the pirzade family. He also mentions the pirzade family of Shah Abdul Karim Bulri who informed him about compilation of *Ganj* within his book. Qalich Baig is distinguished from his contemporary Sindhi scholars (whose books I have read including Lilaram Watanmal and others) because he not only mentions his sources but also confesses the problems he had in dealing with these oral sources. For example, in the above quote he mentions that the information he collected was in form of anecdotes and was embedded in religious belief. He further writes:

> But *some of the sources were reliable [my italicization]*, and by no means *unreasonable [my italicization 2]*. I had, therefore, no hesitation in accepting their information as true. It should be remembered, however, that civilization has greatly advanced, now, even in places where illiterate people have been living for ages. *What were miracles to the old believers, are now considered to be freaks of fancy, or feats of legerdemain,*[24] *or at best, results of scientific researches and natural reasoning. What was considered to be a superhuman power, is only now a dead letter, a myth of the past, only to amuse children or to surprise country gulls [my italicization 3]* (Qalich Baig 1877).

The tensions between the world of reason and the world of belief are further described in the quote above where Qalich Baig considers some oral sources detailing Shah Latif's life to be reliable and reasonable. He mentions that what were miracles for the older generation is superstition for the new generation, and also refers to the "scientific research" and "natural reasoning" upon which his work relies. In this way, Qalich Baig stands as a distinguished scholar who bridges the two worlds, the world of the tradition-bearers that is embedded in belief in miracles, and the world of those educated in colonial schools, who rely on natural reasoning.

This is a significant contribution because even today in particular at the *adabi* (literary) conferences in Sind that began to be organized since the 1950s at the urs of Shah Latif, there exists the disjuncture between the world of scholars and the world of listeners who are mostly non-academics. Within the group of non-academics, who have received education in universities, the faqirs are a much marginal group because many are illiterate as discussed in the first chapter. The *adabi* conferences invite scholars on Shah Latif and Sufism from India, Pakistan and other parts of the world and is an evidence of a growing academia in Pakistan. The urs was also a time when new publications on Shah Latif's works by the Ministry of Culture are announced and awards granted to musicians singing Latif's verses in the popular style are promoted on national media. I had a very intimate encounter in seeing these two worlds manifest while reading my conference paper at an adabi conference in Sind. Below I share a portion of a field-note that reflects an intimate experience with the world of scholars and the world of listeners at the *adabi* conference:

An announcer had introduced me as a "scholar from Canada" to the people in a special way, and the crowd was admonished in advance to keep the discipline during the paper. When I started reading the paper in English, as advised, very soon, I seemed to

[24] Deception, trickery

have lost all the attention of hundreds of people in the crowd, and I could hardly hear myself as the audience chatter grew louder. At a point in my paper, I began singing the alap of a bait of Shah Latif. At that instant, the background hissing went from its high end, dropping all the way to pin-drop silence in the hall. I was singing amidst an utterly silent audience that was attentively listening. As I stopped reciting the alap of the bait and continued reading the paper, the whispering again began and gradually increased in volume until I could hardly hear myself. Then when I began singing the alap of another bait, this was the second moment where I witnessed the crowd dropping into silence.

When I left the podium to go back to my seat, the former Secretary-Culture mentioned that he was holding onto every word of the paper. While the paper was very well-received by Sindhi scholars, what was most touching is that a man came to me at the end of the conference, put his hand on my head as a blessing, and said "When you were reading your paper in English, I could not understand a word you were saying because I don't understand English. But the passion with which you were talking about Latif and your singing reached my heart and I think I understood everything you wanted to say!"

This was unlike any academic conference that I had attended abroad; I was not only moved a result of sharing my research and passion for Latif's poetry and singing with people in Sindh but even greatly touched by their responses that made me understand in a very intimate way the value that the poet had in people's heart. What I also learned from this and several other encounters with Sindhis is an approach to understand Shah Latif's verses that goes beyond the sacred/secular and devotional/nationalist bifurcations that one may presume. It reflects another kind of devotion that has parallels with religious belief but it is based on devotion to one's history, language and culture and based on pride of being Sindhi.

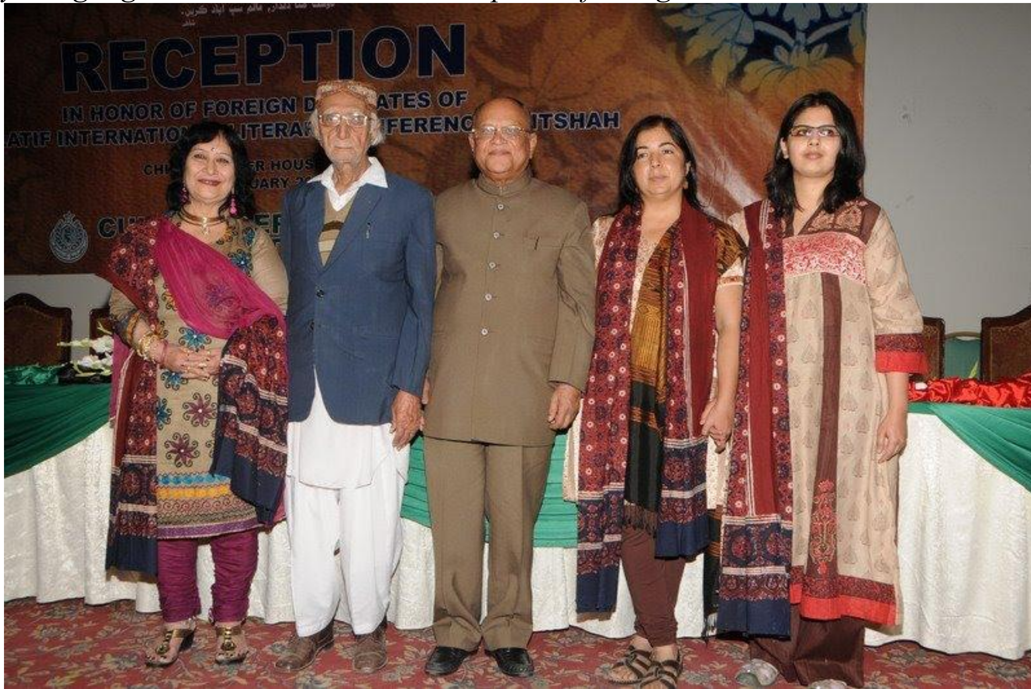

Figure 18: Adabi Conference organized at the 262nd urs celebration in Bhitshah, Sindh

In the next chapter, I trace these emotions towards Latif genealogically, to the writings of G.M. Saiyid in post-colonial Sind that also shaped the literary milieu of the

adabi conference. The world of post-colonial Sindhi literary culture combined the preservation of cultural heritage in post-colonial Sindh with the colonial legacies in scholarship, and the world of orality, in which people connect with Latif's verses through its recitation, with the world of literary analysis of the scholars supported by the state. This hybrid context of literary modernity in Sindh today, which continues to expand, does not embrace the tradition-bearers in ways that they would like to be included—an issue I turn to in the next section.

Disempowerment of Faqirs within Sind's *Adabi* (literary) Spaces

A characteristic phrase suggesting disempowerment that I heard from my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah during my ethnographic work in Sindh was: "*Faqiron se kaun poochta hai*" ("Who cares to ask the faqirs?"). He was referring to Sindhi scholars that do not respect the tradition-bearers. The faqirs I spoke with during my field-work looked at adabi conferences scornfully and for them a target of resentment is Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch, who is accused of misrepresenting the Shah jo Raag. Faqir Jumman Shah, adds that at these conferences, a faqir or any person from the family of Latif, including the Gaddi Nashin, is never invited. The scholars treat faqirs as if they are "*jahil*" (ignorant). He only appreciated Anwar Pirzada, a researcher and anthropologist who worked on Shah Latif, who respected the faqirs (*Faqiron ki pazeerai ki*) and organized scholarly conferences where they were invited. He also introduced them to renowned individuals. Jumman Shah stated that he does not involve himself in "*khushamad*" (flattery) of government officers, he is only asking for his "haq" (right). "The government does not support people like Anwar Pirzada because they talk about "*haq*" (truth) and they do not engage in khushamad. That is the difference between the other scholars and us faqirs." Jumman Shah, in his critique of scholars, states that they know how to do khushamad that faqirs do not. "Haq" is an important concept in Sufi thinking but here Faqir Jumman Shah was referring to it as his right.

Faqir Jumman Shah also notes that the Ministry of Culture earlier would only include *fankaar* (radio artists) at the urs, who would be later showcased on radio. Allan Faqir's rise to stardom and his introduction to national media occurred from performing at the *urs* in 1962 as discussed in the next chapter. However, Faqir Jumman Shah (2009) claims that Latif's faqirs were kicked out of these cultural shows organized by the

Ministry of Culture (a.k.a Culture Department) at the time of the urs until they protested in the 1990s outside the press club and received support from then Secretary-Culture Hameed Akhund who began to include the raagi faqirs in the state-sponsored cultural tours.

The faqirs' resentment could also be traced to epistemic disjunctures brought about by colonial modernity. Faqir Jumman Shah voiced his resentment towards the ways in which the scholarly text of the *Risalo* had eliminated the verses that faqirs sing. He aspired produce faqirs' version of the *Risalo* that was inspired by the verses that faqirs have been passing down orally. In 2009, Jumman Shah requested that I convince the Ministry of Culture to print a *Risalo* by the faqirs since there is currently none in print.

I mentioned it to the secretary of culture at the time. Later, when I visited in 2014, his project had transformed. In 2014, Faqir Jumman began teaching me from Mirza Qalich Baig's *Risalo* and asked me to read the *Risalo* to tell him which bait I would prefer to learn from a particular sur he was teaching. Moreover, he told me that Shah Latif came in his dreams and asked him to abandon the project of compiling the *Risalo* and asked him to begin working on the *tafsir* (exegesis) of the *Risalo* that he had started, with the vision that it would be published by Shah Latif Foundation's Press.

Another example of the disjuncture between the scholarly world and the faqirs' world can be gauged from different interpretations of anecdotes about Shah Latif. The faqirs believe Shah Latif was not literate, and quote the following anecdote. When Shah Latif was young and was learning from a local teacher (mullah) in town, his teacher taught him "Alif" and Shah Latif repeated "Alif." Alif signifies the first alphabet of the Muslim God and signifies the name of God Allah. So, when the mullah said to Shah Latif, now say the alphabet "Bey," which is the second alphabet, he shook his head and said, "Alif is all I need," and left school. According to this view, Shah Latif spent the remainder of his life wandering with groups of Hindu yogis and faqirs, remembering God and dictating his poetry to the scribes or faqirs who would write it down or sing it.

However, the scholarly tradition emphasizes that Latif was educated in a *maktab* and had books such as the Quran and Masnavi with him and Arabic and Persian verses in his poetry are evidence of that. The British writer H.T. Sorley in his book *Shah Latif of Bhit* quotes this above anecdote which he also heard from the locals, as an example of

"stories of the miraculous order" that "no serious-minded person will attach any value to." He brackets them as "merely the stock-in-trade of hagiological adulation" that "cease to exist when people no longer believe in them" (170). Sorley writes that the letter Alif is a symbol of God and unity, and therefore the story should not be interpreted literally but as a moral to show that "from the days of his childhood he [Shah Latif] was engrossed by a vision of the divine unity (Sorley 1940, 171). As one can notice the scholars and faqirs derive their understanding from different sources of knowledge; scholars' knowledge is founded on oral narratives that are based on natural laws, faqirs' knowledge is based on belief about a supernatural realm. In Bhitshah today, the belief in the world of spirits is very prevalent and there are women who come to the dargah to be healed from their possessed spirits. Faqirs, including Jumman Shah, are even involved in exorcising the spirits and find this not to be interpretive but part of reality.

These two worlds are being bridged in Bhitshah today in the form of young faqirs who are aspiring to do research and pursue doctorates. A raagi faqir, Hajjan Faqir (b. 1979) initiated a project to create a website called "shahlatif.com" in which he has discussed all the different wai of Shah Latif. He is also writing a book called "*Zikr-e-Latif*" about all the different forms of *zikr* observed at Latif's dargah. He shares that he finds the message of truth (*haqiqat ka paigham*) and oneness (*tauheed ka paigham*) in Latif's raag. He says that this raag should not be listened to with ears but with heart and soul (*dil aur ruh*). This remembrance brings us closer to Allah (*zikr hai jo hum to Allah tak pohonchata hai*) and helps us recognize our true selves and God. He says that there is no restriction of religion or caste in this raag and whoever wants can sing it. He gives the example of Madan Faqir who was a Hindu but became a Shah jo Raag. Whoever listens to Shah jo Raag will be liberated from the imprisonment of this world (*Wisal-e-yaar hojata hai*). He aspires to travel to Lahut, Ramkali, Hinglaj, Mata Jabal, Moomal ki Maari and Leela par raag. Wherever Shah Latif went to or mentioned in his *Risalo*, he wants to go there and sing the raag there.

Another young faqir, Faqir Nizam Ali Khoso says that it is his dream to do a PhD. on Latif's surs. He wants to travel to all the places that Shah Latif visited including Bharat, Multan, Hinglaj, and Lahut where his *takiyeh* have been built. Perhaps, the establishment of a "Sufi University" in Bhitshah would enable the faqirs to take on the

projects that work within the imagination of Latif's poetry. The Sufi University is then another initiative of modern governmentality that influences the predilection of the faqirs towards scholarship. The University of Sufism & Modern Sciences (International University of Sufism & Peace) was the "dream project of their slain leader Benazir Bhutto" and the Sindh Assembly approved the charter in 2011. Currently, there are seven courses of modern sciences along with a course in Sufism. But in a period of four years the vice chancellor, Aslam Parvez, was politically removed in just 1.5 years. There are 350 students enrolled but since the construction of the university is not complete, it appears to be a university mostly on paper and is not yet fully operational. Yet, its potential existence is shifting the minds of the young faqirs and their interest in pursuing education t driven by Sufi ideals they have absorbed by learning the raag.

Conclusion

Drawing upon post-colonial theory and its critics, this chapter brought forward two dimensions of colonial modernity in Sind; one that was collaborative and the other that marginalized the tradition-bearers. The Sindhi scholars trained in colonial schools benefited from colonial collaborations in comparison with their situation after partition, a classic example of which is the collaboration between H.T. Sorley and Mirza Qalich Baig and Lilaram Watanmal whereby Sorley endorsed the two Sindhi scholars in his writings about Shah Latif. However, the tradition-bearers including the raagi faqirs were at the margins of this knowledge production, and not only did the printed editions of Risalo created its own discourse about authenticity of the verses that excluded the raagi faqirs but also their use of diacritics aimed at modern Sindhi speaker alienated the Sindhi verses that faqirs passed down orally making their recitation and pronunciation difficult for a modern Sindhi listener. This outcome of print modernity and its impact on the subalternity of the raagi faqirs is seldom thought about or voiced explicitly but it is necessary to make these historical connections in order to fully grapple with the faqirs' resentments and the manner in which they voice them today. When I voiced the faqirs' perceived marginalization at Sindhi conference in Karachi in 2012, the chair of the panel, who was a renowned person in Sind, laughed at the phrase: "Faqiron se kaun poochta hai" and the paper was not recognized for its argument that stood for faqirs' rights within the intangible heritage of the Shah jo Raag. A year later, when a well-known Sindhi

academic and translator Agha Saleem used the concept of "intangible heritage," the *Express Tribune* recognized it as the title of their cover story on Latif's urs. However, this story as in the case of many others did not recognize faqirs' authority and wisdom within the tradition. They continue to be treated as sound-producers of the Shah-jo-Raag and not carriers of Latif's oral heritage and wisdom. This as I account in this chapter is because of the result of the disjunctures of Enlightenment modernity that displaces the authority of the faqirs and reduces them to *just* singers. The print modernity initiated by colonial governmentality is expanding in Sind, and the current disjuncture in epistemological orientations that I witnessed in Bhitshah is part of the process that I link with the printing of the *Risalo.* It was with the printing of the *Risalo* that the faqirs lost their authorial place as the scribes of Shah Latif and became *just* singers of Shah Latif. The continuity that existed between manuscripts and oral performance is not there between faqirs' oral performance and the vast scholarly corpus on the Risalo that one finds in Sindh today, and this is a primary evidence of faqirs' subalternity.

Chapter 3: *Jeeay Latif, Jeeay Sindh* (Long Live Latif, Long Live Sind!): Marginalization of the Raagi Faqirs from Post-Colonial Sindhi Sound on Radio Hyderabad

It was perhaps 1962, recalls Shaikh Aziz in his newspaper article, when the late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then foreign minister, had come to Bhitshah, the resting abode of the great poet, Shah Abdul Latif to inaugurate the opening of an auditorium, and an exhibition of paintings based on Shah Latif's *Risalo*. The curator of the Hyderabad Provincial Museum, Zafar Kazmi, introduced a young man with sparkling eyes, long hair and thick beard. His name was Allan Faqir and he became an iconic singer singing Shah Latif's poetry in the form of *wai* with a one-string instrument called an *ek taro* and clappers called the *khartaal.*

At the urs of Shah Latif, Allan Faqir gave his maiden performance to a large crowd of people, mostly students, charged with anti-One Unit feelings. One Unit was a federal policy introduced by General Ayub in the 1960s that considered all the provinces of East Pakistan as one, a political strategy to suppress the Bengali majority in East Pakistan.[25] "The hall was packed and there were slogans, shrieks and all kind of voices," recalls Aziz. The stage secretary of the music session, Mumtaz Mirza, brought forth Allan Faqir and asked him to sing.

> Allan Faqir began singing wai of Sur Samoondi (the sea-surfers' song), '*Aayal kauyaan keenan muhinjo neehan paliyo na theye*.' As he soared his voice, he ended his *dohira* (couplet) in *alap*, and began reciting the wai; the unruly and huge noise began to settle and finally cooled. With every stanza, it went down and finally broke into an almost choral response of *Alla-hoo, Alla-hoo*. He then sang one wai after the other as well as and Kafi of Shah [Abdul Latif Bhitai]. The crowd's rage had subsided and they listened to all singers and instrumentalists that came to offer their tributes to the great poet. This was my first encounter with Faqir Allan, which turned into a friendship for the coming decades till a few months before his eternal departure. (Aziz 2006, 107)

Allan Faqir was not a hereditary raagi faqir singing at the dargah of Shah Latif but he had received lessons from a raagi faqir. He was a *manganiyaar* singer who grew up singing *sehra* for weddings before his introduction to Sufi verses of Shah Latif. His devoted Sindhi listeners and followers were part of the counter-public in post-colonial Sindh who resisted the homogenizing policies at the national level that forged a

[25] For more details read Toro (2005).

monolithic Islamic identity, marginalizing regional differences to protect Sindhi language and identity.

In this chapter, I discuss the governmentality—a set of new rationalities—that emerged in post-colonial Sindh after partition. In the first part of this chapter, I show that these rationalities generated a need to preserve Sindhi culture and constructed a Sindhi "subaltern counter-public[26]" that sought to resist the perceived hegemony of immigrant Urdu speakers and homogenizing policies of the state at the national level. I also show how these rationalities led to the creation of a new epistemological space that valued Shah Latif as the national poet of Sind, popularizing his singing in the national media.

In the second part, I situate the ways in which post-colonial Sindhi agents within the government recomposed the sung verses of Shah Latif in order to make Sindhi sound at Radio Hyderabad compete with the sound of Urdu poetry at Radio Karachi. In doing so, the media created an urban Sindhi soundscape that was intelligible to Sindhis educated in post-colonial schools (modeled after colonial schools teaching standardized Sindhi) while showcasing the Sindhi roots of the rural hinterland. Next, I show the impact of these rationalities by discussing different composers and singers who resonated with the Sindhi counter-public. As a result, though Sindh witnessed a golden period of new compositions and media stars who were producing for a Sindhi counter-public based on a more intelligible rendition of Shah Latif's verses, the raagi faqirs' singing were marginalized from the Sindhi counter public because their rural dialects as well as complex singing style did not make the Sindhi words intelligible to Sindhi urbanites.

I conclude this chapter by discussing the faqirs' sense of disempowerment within the post-colonial Sindhi public sphere which resulted in a protest outside the Hyderabad Press Club in the 1990s.

The Experience of Partition in Sind

Sind's experience of partition was distinct from provinces such as Punjab and West Bengal that also received high emigration and immigration during the divide. The experience of partition dates back to 1935 when Sindh received autonomy from the

[26] "Subaltern counterpublic" is a term coined by Nancy Fraser building on Spivak's use of subaltern and Rita Felski's "counterpublic." Counterpublics are formed as a response to the exclusion within the dominant public and "where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser 1992, 123).

Bombay Presidency and became self-governing. In 1947, Sindh experienced emigration of Sindhi Hindus and immigration of refugees from across India. The emigration of Hindus[27] caused a decline in Sindhi speakers within the province and immigration of Muslim refugees furthered this disproportion as the Muslim immigrants from the United Province (UP in India[28] and other parts of India were commercially wealthier and were soon able to take over the economy of Karachi. The nation-building process in Pakistan privileged Urdu, the language of the emigrants, because Urdu had become a symbol a Muslim identity in colonial India.[29] Moreover, in the new state of Pakistan, regional diversity was perceived as a threat causing internal division between the Muslims. Rasul Baksh Rais (2003) writes, "From the start, the state elite regarded even the voicing of regional interests as anti-state; they suppressed demands for regional autonomy instead of accommodating them" (Rais 2003, 9).

Within the new state, Sindhi language's privileged status as the lingua franca was undermined when the prominent Karachi University changed its language of examination to Urdu and prevented Sindhis from writing their exams in their mother tongue (Allana 2010, 249). Moreover, since a major part of Sindh was rural, Sindhi was associated with being "feudal" and "rustic" in comparison with Urdu being an urban language that was also the national language of Pakistan and promoted by the state. Therefore, the *mohajr* with greater wealth and urbane attitudes, were perceived to have a condescending view of Sindhis and did not make any concrete efforts to assimilate in the province (Rahman 1999, 27). The negative attitudes towards regional languages worsened in the 1960s as a result of the One Unit policy of General Ayub Khan that undermined regional

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[27] The movement and dislocation of Sindhi Hindus to Kutch as a one-directional migration was caused by the Karachi riots of 6 January 1948, which was a decisive moment for many Sindhi families to leave. The incoming refugees were accused for scrambling houses and assets (Ibrahim 2010, 45) that led to riots within Sind and considered the main reason for the emigration of about 231,710 refugees from Sindh to leave for India. The Sindhi Hindu representatives in All-India Congress had appealed for a planned evacuation of the Hindus from Sindh along the lines of West Punjab much before the riots occurred, according to another study by Vazira Zamindar (2010). However, they did not receive any support from the Congress because the province was very peaceful. There was also an interest in evacuating Sindhi Hindus because it would impact the economy of Sind. Therefore, when the riots broke out, it was described as "an orgy of looting and arson" in which the Congress office was also attacked. This provided ground for Sindhi Hindus to be incorporated as "displaced persons under the rubric of rehabilitation in Indian legislation to follow." (175)

[28] According to the 1951 census, the *mohajir* (immigrants) constituted about 57% of the population of Karachi and with their wealth and education were dominant in other cities of Sindh as well, for example in Hyderabad they constituted 66.08%, 54.08% in Sukkur, 68.42% in Mirpurkhas and 54.79 % in Nawabshah.

[29] (For more details see Jalal)

distinctions by proclaiming all of West Pakistan to be a single unit in 1954. This policy provoked resistance from all the provinces, and Sindh was one of the first provinces to raise its voice (Allana 2010, 250). The officers for civil service in Sindh were also brought from Punjab and the people of Sindh were deprived of even the minor jobs in their own province.

In the 1970s, Sindhis experienced a rejuvenation of their language and culture, when the Sindhi political party, the Pakistan People's Party, came into power in Pakistan. However, when the Government of Sindh government shifted the educational policy to oblige students to take examinations in Sindhi, this created violent riots between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking students in Karachi, Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas and the *mohajir* (immigrants) found themselves alienated by the PPP policy (Rahman 1999, 29-30). Later, when Z.A. Bhutto became prime minister, under the new constitution passed in 1973, provincial languages were allowed to be used as official languages alongside the national language, Urdu. However, Urdu continues to be the lingua franca in Sindh (Allana 2010, 244) and this, according to the Sindhi intellectuals, needs to be amended in order to reclaim their regional identity from the hegemony of the state. The Urdu-Sindhi divide worsened during General Zia-ul-Haq's military dictatorship in the 1980s because of the establishment of a party called the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), that caters to the marginalization of Urdu speakers in Sind. This party, initially a pro-establishment party has achieved significant support, and junta-power in Sindh over the years, furthering the marginalization of Sindhis. From the 1980s onwards, the military establishment supported the formation of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement, which has since increased its power-hold in Karachi and has been blamed for r instigating most of the ethnic violence in the city.

Preservation of the Risalo Within Post-Colonial Epistemological Sites

The contestation between Sindhi and Urdu speakers that had been initiated as a result of new partition population dynamics was at the forefront of the public sphere in post-colonial Sind. However, in the background, there was substantial continuity in practices, policies and political rationalities. Sindh received provincial autonomy in 1935 and Sindhi patrons worked to preserve their cultural heritage, primarily linked with Shah Latif's tradition. Since 1935, the representative government in Sindh was

dominated by the Muslims[30] and amongst their initiatives, one of the most important was to organize the *melo* at the urs of Shah Latif (Interview with Ibrahim Joyo, 2009).[31]. From 1936 up till 1947, the political leaders G.M. Saiyid and Meeran Mohammed Shah administrated this event and popularized the dargah of Shah Latif. These urs celebrations included exhibitions of cattle, agricultural fruits grown in Sind, and races of bullock, dogs, horses, and camels. These events were organized in tents (*shamiyana*) and were attended by major political authorities in Sindh(Interview with Ibrahim Joyo 2009).

In post-colonial Sind, the celebration of *urs* by the government began after 1951 (Interview with N.A. Baloch, 2009), and these *urs* celebrations were attended by top-

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[30] Jones argues that the idea of the autonomy from Bombay Presidency was first proposed by a Hindu merchant and was supported by other Hindus because they found their trade to be hampered by the more dominant merchants of the Presidency. The autonomy of Sindh from Bombay Presidency in 1936 is considered a forerunner of the partition of 1947. After Charles Napier annexed Sindh in 1843, he governed it till 1847 and after he retired, Sindh was annexed to Bombay Presidency (Jones 2003, 16). At the time, "little consideration was given to the disparities of religion, language and culture between the two regions" although within the press and official circles, some felt that Sindh should be joined with Punjab because of a greater affinity with region. The first person to voice a separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency was a prominent Sindhi Hindu of Harchandrai Vishindas who brought the issue at the meeting of the All-India Congress in 1913 arguing that Sindh "possesses several geographical and ethnological characteristics of its own, which give her the hallmark of a self-contained, territorial unit (16). The separation issue lay dormant and was raised again in 1917 and 1918 at the time of Montague-Chelmsford Report at a national level. One of the hidden incentives was that the trading communities in Sindh had to compete with those in Bombay and the separation would have led to trade benefits. In 1918, Congress was more in support of the separation than Muslim League.

In the 1920s, when the matter became an issue at the All-India level, Muslim League supported the issue with its aim to build a "platform to secure adequate representation of the Muslim minority in India's present and future constitutional order (19)." Two leaders from the Muslim community Ayub Khuhro and Ghulam Murtaza Shah (G.M. Sayed), who were young members of Bombay Legislative council and influential landlords in rural Sindh asserted the pro-Muslim progressive interests at the national level. However, when communal rioting broke out in Larkana in 1927, while the Muslim interest in the separation of Sindh became more acute, the Hindus withdrew their support in fear that their interests will not be secure in a Muslim majority area (for more details read Jones 16-28). The matter gained support during the first roundtable conference in 1931 and with the support of All-India Muslim League; the political leaders in Sindh were able to achieve political autonomy in April 1936 as a result of the Government of India Act, 1935 that promised greater constitutional rights to the Indians (27).

[31] Within the process of the struggle for independence from Bombay Presidency, the significance of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai as an icon of Sind's cultural identity had already become prominent. This can be gauged from the fact that a pamphlet in which Sind's political leaders asserted the distinctiveness of Sind's culture from that of Bombay Presidency in the 1930s referred to the poetry of Shah Latif and its distinct use of language as one of the markers of distinction of Sindh's cultural identity. Alongside stating how the distance from the key institutions in Bombay kept Sindh under developed, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro's pamphlet in support of Sind's autonomy published in 1930 outlined socio-political and cultural ways in which Sindh is distinct from Bombay Presidency. Although the impact of the pamphlet itself is not known, its reference of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai shows that Latif's significance within formation of cultural identity of the Sindhis came about in late-colonial Sind and was tied with the movement for independence from Bombay Presidency (206). Latif's connection with Sindhi identity became more pronounced in post-colonial Sind as significant political figures in Sind including Z.A. Bhutto and G.M. Saiyid both considered him the poet of the people and national poet of Sind.

ranking government officials. In 1958, President-General Ayub Khan also came to the Bhitshah festival. The urs celebrations included a musical evening that was organized by the Bhitshah Cultural Committee (Baloch 2009) and Radio-Pakistan (Interview with Hameed Akhund 2009) and through Baloch's leadership of the Bhitshah Cultural committee; different folk musicians from Sindh were introduced. It was during these urs when the *adabi* conferences mentioned in the beginning of the chapter began, where scholars presented their research and new interpretations of Shah Latif were circulated.

The cultural institutions that were established in post-colonial Sindh were formed in the context of preserving the Sindhi language. The Sindh Adabi Board was formed in 1951 for the promotion and development of Sindhi and to collect and publish folklore. Later, in 1955, the Bhitshah Cultural Center was established and this institution collected verses of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai from the raagi faqirs at the dargah of Latif, and published volumes of his poetry, an effort that dated back to the colonial period and Ernst Trumpp's first publication of the Risalo in 1866, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. In 1964 the Institute of Sindhology was formed to work on the patterns of Indology and Egyptology (Schimmel 1961, 225), and G.M. Saiyid and Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch presided over this board alongside Dr. Ibrahim Joyo, and Dr. G.A. Allana. The Institute of Sindhology also began a project of recording Sindh's folklore, and invited then-Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir Shah, who recorded 30 surs that are still preserved at the institute. These cultural institutions were not formed through a systematic planning or coordinated policy at the federal level but were rather "spontaneous" efforts that were a result of networks of interests at the provincial level and the work of individuals (Interview with N.A Baloch 2009).

Mobilizing a Sindhi Counter-Public with Shah Latif's Poetry

Amongst the political interpretations of Latif, two charismatic Sindhi politicians, Z.A. Bhutto and G.M. Saiyid, emerged. They were both from landed families in Sind, but had different aspirations for the Sindhis. At the 220th commemoration of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's urs, Z.A. Bhutto, then serving as foreign minister for General Ayub, inaugurated the ceremony with a speech in which he stated that Latif was "a shining star" and a "national hero" alongside being "a poet of international stature and fame" (1961, 3). Bhutto likened Bhitai's verses in Sindhi to Rumi's verses in Persian and Ibn-Fariz in

Arabic (4). Further on, he shows the indelible link between Bhitai and Sindh in the following words:

> It is difficult to isolate from each other the history of Sind, its traditions and culture and the life of Bhitai. Bhitai and Sindh are inseparable…Bhitai is a poet of the common man. It was his desire that common man should lead a life of prosperity, contentment and peace and should attain freedom from poverty, hunger and want (5).

Later, when Bhutto became prime minister, he stayed loyal to Sindh and promoted the performers of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's verses. The folk singer Allan Faqir, whose career I discuss later, sang Bhitai's verses before Bhutto's speeches were telecasted on national media in the 1970s. It was during Bhutto's government that academic canonization of Sindh's history was celebrated, with the Sindh through the Centuries Seminar in 1975. Reverence for Latif continued in Bhutto's family when his daughter Benazir Bhutto introduced wazifa and housing for the raagi faqirs of Bhitshah.

G.M. Saiyid formed the *Jeeay Sindh Mahaz* (Long Live Sindh Front) party with a mission to make Sindh independent from Pakistan in the 1970s. Saiyid declared Latif to be the national poet of Sindh and mobilized Sindhi leadership. He not only founded the Bhitshah Cultural Centre and the Sindhi Adabi Board but he also influenced its policy, advocating for preserving Latif's poetry. His argument was that Latif's verses were essential for "the advancement of Sindhi's political consciousness" and for uplifting it "in the face of hegemony of the Urdu language enforced by the state." He galvanized a policy of the government of Sindh to start patronizing the poet and his poetry as a "national responsibility" (162), and promoting Latif with the aim to "project our national identity and to develop its consciousness" (161).

It is clear from Saiyid's writings that preserving Sindhi culture and heritage in the presence of Urdu hegemony was central. In his book *Paighām-i Latīf* (*The Message of Shah Latif*) (1952), he compares Shah Latif with the Urdu-speaking national poet of Pakistan, Allama Iqbal. He argues that they both have common sources of inspiration in the Prophet, Quran and the Masnavi of Rumi, but with conflicting messages. While Iqbal supports individualism and heightening of ego, Latif advocates pantheism and thus negation of ego in service to one's community. G.M. Saiyid considered Latif to be a poet who advocated nationalism and patriotism to one's land and Allama Iqbal as a poet who advocated service to Islam and Ummah. One may disagree with Saiyid's interpretations

of Iqbal but what is of significance here is that he pioneered a counter-hegemonic discourse in post-colonial to protect Sindhi identity within Pakistan.

He further writes that just as scholars of Urdu were promoting the poetry of Dr. Mohammed Iqbal and other poets by writing a large number of books and interpretations of their works, the Sindhis should also use the poetry of Shah Latif for the purpose of bringing about "a national awakening and political consciousness among our younger generation," and arouse in them "a spirit of national self-respect to make them capable of entering the arena of action with absolute confidence before other nations of the world" (160). He argues that the government must "hold musical concerts projecting Shah Latif's poetry," celebrate his death anniversary, pay tribute to him at his shrine, and promote his work to men of learning in the country and abroad, through articles and books on his poetry. G.M. Saiyid's book has had a huge impact on the policy of the government of Sindh that continues to promote the poet and his teachings.

G.M. Saiyid's book also interprets different surs of Shah Latif from a political perspective. He writes: "If considered deeply his [Latif's] message can prove a great source of guidance for the Sindhis in unraveling and solving most of the political problems faced by them today" (142). Sur Kahori, which is about the difficult journey of faqirs and yogis, is interpreted as the journey of revolutionaries. Sur Leela Chanesar, which is a folk tale about a woman seducing a wife (Leela) with jewels to allow her to sleep with her husband (Chanesar) for one night is considered a story about greedy and selfish politicians who abandon "truth" and instead "adopt temporary benefits, personal power and selfish interests." Sur Marvi is presented as a classic tale of patriotism to one's land and community. In the concluding chapter, Saiyid anachronistically asserts that Latif was a great advocate of nationalism, democracy, socialism, and that he opposed pan-Islamism (associated with Dr. Iqbal), dictatorship, fascism, and was disgusted with the capitalistic system (152).

Saiyid galvanized the policy of the government of Sindh equating the work of Latif with serving one's motherland: "The man, who cannot make sacrifices for the independence and progress of Sindh with patience and a smile on his face, he cannot claim to have any love and dedication for Shah Latif (161)." G.M. Saiyid's book and advice has had a huge bearing on the national policy of the government of Sindh that

continues to patronize the poet and his teachings. In the next section, I show the ways in which the electronic media, namely Radio Hyderabad, followed Saiyid's advice to popularize singers of Sufi *kafi* on the national media.

Kafi and Wai Traditions on Air—Radio-Hyderabad

The production of Sindhi sound on Radio Hyderabad emerged from the particular experience of partition in Sindh beginning with the emigration of Urdu-speakers. Karachi, as the capital of Pakistan, established a new radio station, Radio-Karachi, with Z.A. Bokhari as director general. Bokhari was an apprentice of Lionel Fielden at All-India Radio and continued the culture of Muslim sound focused predominantly on Urdu poetry. In the 1940s, as noted by Nihal Ahmed, in the midst of the Hindi-Urdu controversy with All-India Radio, a committee of Muslim scholars and producers met to discuss how the sonic identity of the new state of Pakistan would be established. They chose to emphasize the poetry of Amir Khusrow, Ghalib, Iqbal and other prominent poetry in Urdu.

The Sindhi cultural agents within Radio-Karachi however, felt marginalized as a result of the focus on Urdu poetry at the new station. These agents, including Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch, felt the need for promoting Sindhi cultural expressions, in particular the music of Sindh. My interviews with N.A. Baloch and Hameed Akhund in 2009, and Nasir Mirza in 2014, confirmed that one of their concerns was to respond to the influx of Sufi genre of *qawwali* on national media as the only Sufi expression of Pakistan. Since *qawwali* was mostly in Urdu, Sindhi elite wanted the Sufi poetry from Sindh to be promoted. Dr. Baloch was the foremost person in creating awareness about Sind's folk and Sufi music. In my interview with Dr. Baloch in 2010, he mentioned that under Z.A. Bhokhari, only the music that used Urdu language was used. Moreover, the harmonium had also been banned.

Therefore, upon Dr. Baloch's initiative, Radio Karachi began to allocate broadcasting time of about 20-30 minutes to Sind's folk music (Interview with Nasir Mirza 2014). In 1955, when Radio-Hyderabad was established at the premises of Holmstead Hall, some of the Sindhi cultural elite, who were part of Radio-Karachi, including Pir Ali Mohammed Rashidi, Makhdoom Talib-ul-Mawla, and primarily Dr. Baloch, argued that the "classical" and "folk" music of Sindh needed to be promoted.

They invited Sindhi music directors from Radio-Karachi, including Master Mohammed Ibrahim, Ustad Mohammed Jumman and Ustad Nazar Hussain to join Radio-Hyderabad's musical unit. Ustad Nazar Hussain introduced the concept of instrumental interludes between *asthai* and *antara*.

Within these new rationalities, Dr. N.A. Baloch also brought attention to Shah Latif's raag which was being sung at the dargah. However, the intelligibility of the poetry for an urban Sindhi posed a problem. G.M. Saiyid pointed out that the words used by Shah Latif in his work have become archaic, and to understand them requires a dictionary for most Sindhis. This difficulty was noted by the former secretary Hameed Akhund:

> Another characteristic of the people who go to the dargah is that they understand what the faqirs are singing. People like me who are more urbanized than them do not know what they are singing. We don't know what language it is in…Latif's poetry is in classical Sindhi and this Sindhi is known to the rural people. They are closer to it. Latif's poetry has all the dialects: Khari, Lari dialect, Northern, Kohistani dialect and not all these dialects are comprehensible to an urban ear (Interview with Hameed Akhund, 2009).

Radio Hyderabad's policy was to promote a popular style of presentation for Latif's verses. The key decision-makers including Dr. Baloch, Ustad Mohammed Jumman and Mohammed Ibrahim conceded that the singing style of the raagi faqirs was "too complex for an average Sindhi listener and the words were not comprehensible in this singing style." Therefore, they decided to "simplify" it. Ustad Niaz Hussain[32] felt "that service to Sindhis not possible without Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's raag;" however, Shah Latif's *wai* was only communicating to spiritual people because otherwise it was very difficult to understand what the faqirs were singing. As a result, Radio Hyderabad introduced the more popular style of Sufi *kafi* that was based on Hindustani musical structure known as asthai-antara and was sung by many singers outside the dargah settings (Interview with Nasir Mirza, 2014). These compositions were not created in isolation and some composers at Radio-Karachi were supportive of the faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin at the dargah. For example, in order to compose Latif's verses in the form of kaf*i*, Ustad Niaz Hussain went as far as becoming a student of Faqir Nur Mohammed Shah and Saiyid Ghulam Shah (then Sajjada Nashin) at the dargah of Latif, who was very

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[32] His sons, Zulfiqar Ali and Mazhar Hussain, who are maternal nephews of Manzoor Ali Khan continue the tradition (Nasir Mirza 2014).

skilled at both *shastriya sangee*t (classical music) and Shah Latif's surs (Interview with Nasir Mirza, 2014). While Radio-Hyderabad adapted Sindhi surs to a musical style and arrangement that was closer to the Hindustani art music training of its composers, Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan, Ustad Mohammed Jumman and Ustad Niaz Hussain were seeking a conversation between Hindustani Raag and Sindhi surs and sought to preserve the original melodies (Interview with Nasir Mirza, 2014).

The singers who were selected to sing these new compositions were discovered as a result of a talent-finding mission. In the tradition of recorded *qawwali* in colonial India and post-colonial states of India and Pakistan, as Regula B. Qureshi documents, *qawwals* who participated in mediated *qawwali* were mainly from the hereditary musical families of *qawwal* who had been singing at the dargah for generations. This was not always the case within the tradition of Sindhi Sufi music promoted at Radio Hyderabad. Radio Hyderabad in the 1950s searched for new talent and more "folk" renditions of Sufi poetry at the annual *Adabi* (literary) conference at the *urs* of Shah Latif, where Radio-Hyderabad was known to organize the musical events that supported their talent-search for new musicians. This process of talent-finding led to the emergence of a new class of singers who came from varied backgrounds. For example, Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan was from the Gwalior gharana who adopted singing Shah Latif's verses as an adaptive strategy to settle in Sind. Allan Faqir was from the community of *manganiyaar* and learned Latif's verses from a raagi faqir in Bhitshah. So was the case with Ustad Mohammed Jumman, Mohammed Yousuf, Abida Parvin and other singers of Shah Latif's verses, none of who come from hereditary families of the raagi faqirs.

Radio Hyderabad also drew singers from Sindhi dargah, namely that of Sachal Sarmast, Rakhel Shah, Buddhal Fair, Umand Faqir, Misri Shah, Mohammed Shah and several others. Examples of these singers are Faqir Isa, Faqir Abdul Ghafoor, Hussain Baksh Khadim, Dhol Faqir, Sohrab Faqir, and Jamaluddin Faqir (Mirza 2014). Radio-Karachi also promoted "*sadarangi"* or *"soung gayaki*" of singing Sufi style of *kafi* associated with dargah in the interior Sind. However, from the *dargah* of Latif, the most prominent contributions were by the Sajjada Nashin Ghulam Shabir Shah and his son, and these renditions did not become very popular. In the next section, I discuss the "popular singers" of Shah Latif's verses in Sindh that would help the reader to understand

how these singers were distinct in their musical style from those at the dargah. Thus, at Radio-Hyderabad, Sindhi *kafi* became the most popular musical style, competing t with Radio-Karachi's use of Urdu *ghazal* and *qawwali* as a marker of Muslim sonic culture in post-colonial Karachi.

Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan's Style of Sindhi *Kafi*

Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan was a leading proponent of the Gwalior gharana in Sindh and is celebrated as a master of Sindhi *kafi*. Born in 1922 in Shikarpur in Sind, Pakistan, Manzoor Ali Khan was trained in the Gwalior style of *khayal gayaki* (a style of singing Sufi and Krishna Bhakti poems that flourished in Mughal courts) from his teacher Ustad Jamalo Khan and Ustad Seendo Khan. Manzoor Ali Khan received several awards for his performance. He was honored with the title of "*Bahar-e-Moseeqi*" (Spring of Music) at the urs of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in 1960 by Makhdum Talib ul-Maula. The government of Pakistan also recognized his services and awarded him the "*Tamgha-e-Husne Karkardagi*" (Pride of Performance) in 1978.

His family was from Gurdaspur Punjab, and his uncle Ustad Umeed Ali Khan was a singer of classical style, namely Khayal, and was mostly singing in Lahore. His family had migrated in pre-colonial Sindh to perform at Sindhi courts upon the invitation by the Talpur Mirs. Ustad Manzoor Ali Khas was the first within his family of singers to make Sindh his home. The ancestry of Gwalior moved between Sindh and Punjab for work and none of the members of this ancestry settled in Sind. Moreover, as a Hindustani gharana, their identity marker was singing Hindustani khayal. However, Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan departed from his ancestral heritage and adopted Sindhi kafi. He was known to initiate the *mehfil* with a khayal and then move towards singing Sindhi kafi. The renowned Sindhi intellectual Ibrahim Joyo mentioned in our conversation that the Gwalior gharana represented the classical music of Sindh and they became "Sindhized" as Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan began singing verses about Sindhi patriotism (2009). For example, his kafi "*Watan je wisaayo*" has the famous verse showing the ways that his life choices and kafi reflected his core values: *"Hayf-u tanheen khay ho-i, jan-i watan-o pahinjo visa'aryo"* *(*Shame on those who have abandoned their motherland!"".

Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan worked as a resident composer at Radio Hyderabad, and many prominent scholars and state officials in Sindh that I interacted with, including Dr.

G.A. Allana, Dr. Ibrahim Joyo, Hameed Akhund, and Nasir Mirza, honor his contributions. He immersed himself in re-composing Sindhi *kafi* at Radio Hyderabad and is primarily known for relating the surs of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's poetry with Indian raag and raaginis. His family of musical descendants' state that without Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan's contributions, Sindhi music would not exist. Many of his *kafi*, namely "*Umar des pehenjo*," "*Aao Rana Raho Raat,*" "*Aon khey jaana pandh kech jo*," "*Weendas Yar Mari*" and others, continue to be taught and sung by his musical descendants Ustad Hameed Ali Khan, Ustad Fateh Ali Khan Gwalior, Zulfiqar Ali, and Mazhar Ali. According to his family including his nephews, Ustad Hameed Ali Khan and Sainde Khan, a professor (of what?) at Sindh University, whom I met in Hyderabad, Manzoor Ali Khan initiated the work of classicizing the *surs* of Shah Latif associating them with Hindustani *raag* and *raaginis*. For example, he would conduct *kacheri* (discussions) before the beginning of his musical performances, and in one *kacheri* from the 1960s, a video for which is available on YouTube, he discusses how Sur Rano is related to the Hindustani Raag. Whereas it has the style (*ang*) of *desi todi*, he states that the *mishran mel* is that of Raag *kafi* and the shape of the melody is close to Raag *Nath Naran*.

Aesthetically, he brought several changes to his style of *kafi,* however, these changes were taking place within the tradition and were not influenced by musical elements from another cultural heritage altogether. For example, in his time, the verse sung in the beginning of a *kafi*, called the *dohiro*, which is typically in free meter without the accompaniment of *tabla*, was sung in a different raag (melodic mode) from the verses of the *kafi*. Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan re-composed these sections so that all of the sections are in a single *raag*. This was to ensure that the singers sing the kafi clearly, ("*Saaf Saaf Kafi gaeein*"). While his Gwalior ancestor Ustad Bebe Khan would sing kafi in "*purane ang*" (an older style) in which, at the time of singing *doha* or *dohiro* the tabla's accompaniment would stop. One finds this also in Hindustani *thumri* style by Begum Akhter. For example, in the famous song "*Chaa rahi hai ghata, jiya mora lehraya jai*," when Akhtar sings the asthai, the rhythm stops and it begins again with singing of refrain. However, Manzoor Ali Khan broke away with this tradition and had the tabla continue when *dohiro* was being sung between the verses. One notices this trend

even in the singing style of Ustad Mohammed Jumman's "*Boondh birahein ji bahar*," where dohiro is inserted between the verses and the rhythm continues.

An aspect of his musical interactions that remains well known amongst his followers is that if Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan promised a *hari* (peasant) to sing at his wedding, he would not change that even if a *wadero* (landlord) invited him to sing at that same hour. He not only gained a reputation for being a captivating performer but his humbling personality gained him followers amongst the rich and poor of Sind. (Interview with Ustad Hameed Ali Khan and Sainde Khan, 2014). He did not write books of his own but played a pivotal role in directing the research of Dr. Baloch. He also worked with t government officials, including Mohammed Zaman Shah, in organizing Latif's *melo* at Bhitai's urs and the musical event sponsored by Radio Hyderabad at this melo.

Manzoor Ali Khan also did the work of popularizing Shah Latif's raag on radio amongst people in remote areas of Sindh that were gradually being connected with radio transistors. Whereas in the 1950s only cultivated listeners could appreciate the Shah jo Raag, Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan made visible/clear/comprehensible (*zahir*) the verses of Shah Latif to the people of Sind: "*Un ki verses ko zahir kiya*" (literally meaning "He made visible Shah Latif's verses"), implying that in contrast with the *kari* style of singing at the dargah, the poetry of Latif was made more comprehensible in Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan's music compositions as per the Radio policy (Interview with Sainde Khan, 2014). Ustad Manzoor died on September 9, 1980.

Allan Faqir's Style of Singing Wai

Allan Faqir (1932-2000) was a very highly respected singer of Shah Abdul Latif's *wai* in Sind, whose successful career is embedded in the agents, and institutions of post-colonial governmentality. He was a e prominent representatives of Shah Latif's verses in national media since the 1960s and he is credited for having popularized Shah's verses at the national level, with both Sindhi and Urdu speakers. He was also one of the first musicians to present Shah Latif's wai at the international level, particularly at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in Washington D.C. The verses of Shah Latif under the g title "Humma Humma," sung by Allan Faqir, became massively popular in 80s, because it featured the handsome pop star Mohammed Ali Shaikhi. This song, considered to be the pioneering song of "Sufi-pop" fusion in Pakistan, featured Allan Faqir singing

Bhitai's poem in Sindhi and Shaikhi with Urdu verses in the same melody, as if it were an Urdu translation of Latif's poem (for more details see Hemani 2011).

Allan Faqir was born in 1932 to a drummer, his father, Dhamali Faqir. After becoming orphaned at the age of five, he left school and roamed about from village to village (Aziz 2006 103). Family circumstances forced him to him to go to a nearby town, Manjhand, where he took the job of an attendant at the house of G.M Saiyid, the founder of the Sindhi nationalist movement *Jeeay Sindhi Mahaz*. Later he became a comedian and started performing on trains between Kotri and Dadu districts in Sindh. In the 1950s he was singing and performing at marriages and village fairs and was introduced to agents at Bhitshah Cultural Council, an institution established by G.M. Saiyid.

Since the 1960s, Allan Faqir had acquired "faqir" as a title and was well known for singing Shah Latif's wai. While singing Latif's poetry, Allan Faqir had an *ek tara* in his left hand and *khartaal* in his right hand and often stood on the stage, and moved and whirled while performing Latif's verses. He had learnt Shah Latif's wai from a raagi faqir at Bhitshah, Qurban Faqir Lanjwani. However, the difference in his style from that of the raagi faqirs was not (and still not) so well understood, especially not to an urban ear. He was singing in Jhoonghar but his solo style of singing did not alternate between *maadhi* and *kharj* awaz nor did it include the *makhan wali awaz*. As he became popular, his renditions of *wai* were produced as part of the radio orchestra which included Hindustani accompaniment of *tabla*, alongside folk instruments such as *khartaal*, clappers that he held in his hand while singing.

Allan Faqir, from his maiden performance at Bhitshah to different points within his career, evoked a nationalist sentiment within Sindhis through his music. The annual festival in Bhitshah was an important event organized by the Government of Sindh that introduced local musicians. His maiden performance took place in 1962 during the midst of agitation against the One-Unit policy. When the democratic government of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) came to power (PPP), Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto established a socialist campaign called the "*roti kapra makan*" (bread, clothing and housing) for the poor, and promoted folk music as a part of his policy for nation-building. Allan Faqir's singing became a political symbol for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's regime and his appearance on Pakistan Television (PTV) preceded the daily speech of Bhutto to the

nation. Allan Faqir traveled internationally to the US, West Germany, UK, Holland and Japan, and won the Pride of Performance award in 1981, the *Lifetime Achievement Award* in 1999 and the *Bhitshah Award* in 1991. When appearing on television, Allan wore Sindhi attire, wearing a special style of turban with a peacock like fan made of *ajrak* that distinguished his appearance amongst other folk singers.

Abida Parvin—a Popular Sufi Singer of Sindhi Kafi

Abida Parvin ranks as one of the first female singers from Pakistan who has received international acclaim as a singer of Sindhi Sufi Kalam and become the representative of the Shah jo Raag both nationally and internationally. The careers of female singers in Pakistan are embedded in close networking and support of male patrons, most prominently Ustads or husbands (for more details, see Hemani 2017), and Abida's career shows similar patterns. In 1973, she embarked upon her career from Radio Hyderabad and in 1975, her marriage to Ghulam Hussain Sheikh, a senior producer at Radio Pakistan Sheikh retired from his job in the 1980s to manage and mentor Parvin's career. Parvin's success is credited to many factors including her husband Ghulam Hussain, who did the work of refining Abida for media showcasing, states Hameed Akhund in our interview in 2009. In my interview with her in 2009, Abida Parvin credited both her late-husband and Hameed Akhund for mentoring her and considered them as spiritual people. This also means observance of *adab* towards these patrons. For example, when I met Abida Parvin at her hotel room and accompanied her to the Hindu Gymkhana, Karachi, where we were going to meet Hameed Akhund and poets and literati from Sind, Abida upon seeing Hameed Sahib come in, raised herself from the sofa, showering greetings and also touched his feet which is a customary form of behavior in Sindh to show respect, yet not very highly typical in urban settings. This was a striking and humbling experience for me, but it is in line with the tradition where singers show great respect for their patrons.

According to Abida Parvin's media interviews, her training began at home at a very young age and her father, who had a music school in Larkana, taught her music from a young age. Abida Parvin was born in 1958 in Larkana. She studied with her father who was a *gawaiyya* (singer) and she was always surrounded by the music of Sufi dargah. Her spiritual master is Muhammed Najeeb Sultan. However, my teacher Ustad Hameed Ali

Khan from the Gwalior gharana in Sindh states that Abida Parvin did not belong to a gawaiyya from a hereditary family and was locally known to be a stage-dancer by the name of "Guddu." The story of her career, according to him, began when a talent-hunting producer on Pakistan Television Networks (PTV) spotted her. Ustad Hameed Ali Khan claims that it was his brother Wahid Ali who taught her to sing *dohiro* and there are old recordings from PTV on YouTube that show Wahid Ali singing with Abida Parvin. For example in one recording from the Mohammed Qasim Makka collection young Abida, wrapped in a dupatta, is sitting alongside Wahid Ali from Gwalior gharana and singing the refrain of the song "*Maro Ra Maleer Ra*"—a kafi from Sur Marvi of Shah Latif.[33] This kafi describes Marvi's state of being imprisoned by the prince Umar Soomro and longing to return to her village in Malir. Ustad Hameed Ali Khan and Ustad Fateh Ali Khan shows resentment towards Parvin's success because Parvin does not recognize contributions of Gwalior singers in her development, namely Wahid Ali who taught her to sing dohiro or Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan and Ustad Mohammed Jumman whose style she borrowed amongst others. Moreover, when she became a student of Ustad Salamat Ali Khan from the Patiala gharana, she credits him as her Ustad. The Gwalior Ustads find their style of kafi getting plagiarized and not acknowledged for their innovative contributions. The story that Ustad Hameed quotes is not altogether made up because it is very typical for female singers to construct a respectable narrative of their origins as a strategy to carry themselves in a patriarchal setting (for details see Hemani 2017).

What made Parvin unique was that she was singing a male repertoire. Her predecessors and contemporaries, including Mai Bhagi and Ji Ji Zarina Baloch[34], have to their credit one or more songs in praise of Latif that is also characteristic of the songs that women sing at the shrine of Latif when their *mannat* (wishes) are fulfilled. However, Abida Parvin was not singing songs in praise of Latif but rather Latif's verses themselves that were mainly being sung by male faqirs or Ustads o including Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan, Ustad Mohammed Jumman and Ustad Mohammed Yousuf. There were also Hindu male singers like Bhagat Kanwar Ram, Dhol faqir, Faqira Bhagat who had been singing Latif's poetry during the colonial period and aftermath. In this respect, Abida Parvin was

[33] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmXDQxdrlfU,
[34] "ji ji" in Sindhi is similar to "di di" in Urdu and means Sister.

following the trend set by male singers and popularizing Latif's poetry to Sindhi urban listeners and later also Urdu speakers from different generations.

Abida Parvin's rise in her career was influenced by her ability to create national sentiment within listeners from different linguistic groups in Pakistan. In the late 80s, during the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) that stretched from the North-West Frontiers to Karachi, resisting General Zia's regime, Abida Parvin's songs in Urdu, Punjabi and other languages captivated listeners beyond the region of Sind. She presented something new each time, and was continuously expanding her repertoire from singing Shah Latif's Sindhi poetry to singing the poetry of other Sufi poets of Pakistan including Bulleh Shah, Sachal Sarmast and others. Whereas Urdu female ghazal singers such as Iqbal Bano had exhausted their careers, Abida Parvin was always enthralling audiences with the number of performances and CDs released. She resonated with listeners because of her special ability to bring in Pashto, Persian, Urdu, Balochi, and Sindhi Kafi in ghazal style or ghazal in Sindhi kafi style, mixing genres and mixing verses of poets from different languages. Therefore, Abida Parvin's success was based on a relationship with her listeners that created a nationalist sentiment by connecting the people with their language and cultural identity.

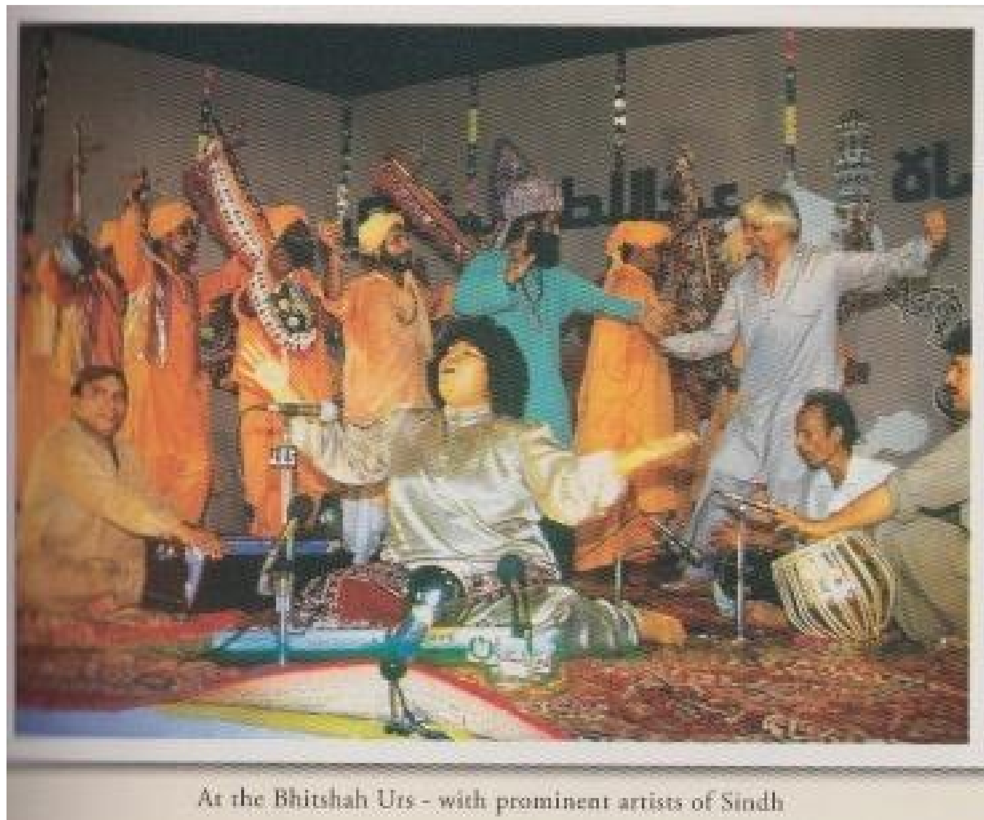
At the Bhitshah Urs - with prominent artists of Sindh

Figure 19: At the urs of Bhitshah. Standing/dancing at the back is Mumtaz Mirza from the right, Allan Faqir (blue), and Soung faqirs (orange)

Marginalization of the Raagi Faqirs from Post-Colonial Sindhi Sound

As noted above, the rationalities of urban Sindhi agents in the post-colonial state aimed to create a Sindhi counter-public who could identify with Shah Latif's verses as an expression of their motherland, language and cultural identity. For this reason, they chose to present Latif's verses in a way that made the words more intelligible for a Sindhi ear. In doing so, the *faqirs* were not given high consideration at radio music events. The former secretary of culture Hameed Akhund also notes that radio only promoted its own selective artists and did not consider the raagi faqirs from Shah Latif's *dargah*. This selective marginalization of the *faqirs* was eventually addressed in the 1990s when *faqirs*, with the help of the Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir Shah, organized a press conference, claiming their right to participate in state-sponsored events promoting Sufi sounds. This initiative, as noted in Chapter 1, led to key policy shifts that allowed *faqirs* to not only began to participate in the national media and cultural tours abroad but also

brought upon state-sponsored organized housing and *wazifa* for them. The state support for the *faqirs* emerged from the understanding that the raagi faqirs were a significant part of Sind's heritage and were preserving the sonic heritage of Shah Latif. The state officials celebrate faqirs' inclusion in their initiatives and in my interview Hameed Akhund notes:

> Benazir made small houses for them in that area. Jam Sadiq Ali ensured that all the faqirs of Shah should get a regular stipend, which is still being paid to them. And the change was that you find many young boys coming in to learn this music and started to sing. When we started this stipend thing, people were very happy. When we started the quarters for the artists, I was told by one of these artists there that you know 'A wonderful thing has happened'. I was told the whole town now has become...they have started singing, because they expect a house and they expect money what else do they want,' and we got a completely new group of boys who were good, good voices and were committed (Interview with Hameed Akhund 2009).

The faqirs of Shah also travelled in different countries in Western Europe and North America and performed at different places, and were recorded by foreign producers. Many other Sindhi musicians also participate in international music festivals abroad yearly. The Ministry of Culture celebrates its ongoing support for the raagi faqirs since there is no formal cultural policy at the center that supports rural singers in this unprecedented institutionalized way. However, as noted in Chapter 1, the *faqirs* do not find themselves to be completely integrated within the public sphere, and they feel that their singing is not appreciated by the Sindhis in the way it is appreciated by the Germans and other Europeans.

Conclusion

The rationalities that led to popularization of Shah Latif's verses on national media created a Sindhi counter-public that identified with Latif's verses as a symbol of Sindhi language and cultural identity within a homogenizing culture of the new state. The Sindhi media produced this national sentiment, and Latif's verses, particularly Sur Marvi, Sur Sassui, Sur Sohni, Sur Rano and other surs based on folk tales were especially promote. However, because of the nature of the language and style of singing by the raagi faqirs, they were to a large extent marginalized from the process of producing Sindhi counter-public in post-colonial Sind. It is only in contemporary Sindh with the globalization of Sufi sounds that this traditional sound is finding a new place in the popular culture.

Nevertheless, many Sindhis continue to find the sound too remote for their ears. A Sindhi journalist from the *Dawn* newspaper asked me in an interview in 2012 after my paper on Shah Latif's musical tradition was published: "Don't you think this sound needs to be developed; something should be done to it?" In the next chapter, I discuss a case of faqirs performing for the Coke Studio in which a fusion of *dambura* with Western musical instruments created a controversy at the *dargah*. I close the dissertation with this chapter to show the tension in preserving the tradition versus making it accessible to an urban Sindhi ear in contemporary Sind.

Chapter 4: Raagi Faqirs' *kari* style of singing the Shah jo Raag-- A Subaltern tradition within Contemporary Sindh

Musical communities from across Rajasthan, Gujarat and Sindh sing Shah Latif's poetry, the original community of devotees, the raagi faqirs have been preserving the style of singing they refer to as the *kari ka andaz* (kari style) of singing the Shah jo Raag at the dargah of Shah Latif for nearly 300 years. This style is sung only at one shrine, which is that of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, and as mentioned in the earlier chapter, the tradition is gradually expanding as a result of state patronage. In this chapter, I situate the kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag within the culture of Sufi singing in Sindh that is predominated by a style called *kafi* which is also less known in Ethnomusicology because of absence of scholarship on music of Sindh and any introduction to this region's music in the *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music.* Whereas Chapter 3 discussed the role of government in Sindh to expand the style of *kafi* on Radio Hyderabad, this chapter situates the raagi faqirs as a subaltern musical community within the musical culture of Sindh singing a style that is less known and appreciated except by educated listeners within the province. I argue that modernity has expanded the tradition but not empowered the raagi faqirs to a similar extent because their singing style is not widely understood and documented in music scholarship within Sindh. I conclude by stating what could be the reasons why this style has remained subaltern despite the enhanced prominence that Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai gained as a poet in colonial and post-colonial Sindh.

Poetic Elements of Shah Latif's Poetry: *sur, dastan, bait,* and *wai*

Shah Latif's verses are organized into thirty "sur" but the question emerges as to what a sur is. In contrast with varied definitions of *sur* given within Sindhi scholarship, my position is that "sur" can be described as a narrative poem. "Sur" is a chapter much like a "sura" (chapter) in Quran. Just as some sura in Quran are based on strong themes, for example Sur Nuh is about Prophet Noah, Surah an-Najm about Prophet's night journey, the "sur" of Latif are based on Hindu and Islamic themes including Imam Hussein's martyrdom in the battle at Karbala in Sur Kedaro, praise of Allah in Sur Kalyan, and on the life of yogis as in Sur Ramkali and on Sindhi romantic folklore including Sassui-Punhun, Umar-Marvi and others that relate soul's journey through the

journey of lover to the beloved. The distinguishing arrangement of sur from *sura* in the Quran or *khand* in the *Chandayan*, is that it is further divided into dastan, literally meaning “story” with every sur having “dastan pheiryoon” (first story) “dastan beiyoon” (second story). Each of these dastan comprises of verses that are called bait and each dastan ends with a wai that is considered to be an epilogue verse.

The names of some sur are based on the protagonist of the tale, including Marvi, Sohni, Sassui, Moomal, Sorath or on a theme Samoondi. Some *sur* are named after well known Hindustani *raag* for example *kalyan, yaman-kalyan, ramkali, sarang* and some combine the two, for example the four sur from Shah Latif's Risalo are based associated with the tale of Sassui-Punhun and are called Sassui-Abri, Sassui-Desi, Sassui-Hussaini, Sassui-Kohiyari combining the name of the protagonist and the name of the raag. However, it is important to keep in view that the melodies in which the raagi faqirs sing the sur do not always correspond with the Hindustani raag. For example, the tune of Sur Sohni sung in *kari* style is different from Raag Suhni.

Each *sur* consists of different episodes called the *dastan* (literally meaning “story”). Even though one *sur* can have many *dastan*, all the *dastan* are referring to the same story. For example, Sur Marvi has *dastan pheriyoon* (first story), *dastan beiyoon* (second story) and so forth, but each dastan is based on the story of Marvi and each of the seven *dastan* are based on the seven nights that Marvi was imprisoned in Umar's palace. Therefore, *dastan* acts as an “episode” within the *sur*--narrative poem) rather than an independent story. In Ernst Trumpp's Risalo, each sur was divided into *fasl* whereas the local lithographic edition divided it into dastan (Qalich Baig 1887, 56). As in the case of other oral poetry such as Rumi's *masnavi*, the verses do not tell the story but presume that the listeners know the plot and rather describe the state of the character at particular moments within the plot.

Each *dastan* of a *sur* consists of two kinds of poetic forms: *doha/bait* and a verse called the *wai* that comes at the end of each *dastan*. The *bait* are based on the Indic poetic forms called *doha* and an inverted *doha* form called the *soratha*, each of which have different sub-kinds including, *baro doha*, *chaupai doha*, *tunveri doha* etc. Unlike the prosody of a poem in *qawwali,* which is based on the Persianate *aruz* system of rhyme scheme based on short and long vowels, the prosody of Shah Latif's poetry is

based on Hindi meters. The *doha* is a couplet in which each line contains twenty-eight *matras*[35] or metrical instants. McGregor writes that poets emploedy the *doha* form in pre-modern period when the verses composed were intended to be sung. Shah Latif's poetry also consists of mixed language verses and when Shah Latif employs Persian and Arabic words, the unity of *matras* goes away; however it is hardly noticeable when it is sung, concluding that in *doha* there is both rhyme and rhythm (1984, 158). My faqir teacher Jumman Shah does not use this Indic terminology; he states more simply that each bait has "*payr*" (feet) and "*wazn*" (weight) and the length of the bait can differ from two to six lines. A wai is a verse that comes at the end of each *dastan* within a sur, so that there are a number of *wai* in every sur. It is a kind of lyrical poem like an ode or a song and the important aspect of it is that the first line acts like a refrain that is repeated after each succeeding line when the *wai* is performed.

Mediated Styles of Singing Shah Latif's Verses in Post-Colonial Sind

In this section, I discuss the different in structure, musical instrumentation and vocal aesthetics of singing the Shah jo Raag within the Hindustani system of singing versus those who are trained at the dargah of Shah Latif. Whereas the Hindustani style is used by Ustads of Gwalior gharana, and radio singers including Ustad Mohammed Jumman, Mohammed Yousuf, as well as Abida Parvin, the Sindhi style of singing wai varies. Faqirs who did not belong to the dargah but received training from the raagi faqirs started modifying the singing to adapt to the folk styles of their previous repertoires of singing epics. This included singers such as Allan Faqir, Dhol Faqir and Faqir Abdul Ghafoor. Within the Sindhi style of singing the Shah jo Raag, one also finds two styles sung by the raagi faqirs: jhoonghar and kari. Understanding these differences will help to situate the subaltern dialogic and their empowerment as a result of being identified with a particular style and its listeners.

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[35] Each of the two lines is subdivided into *carans* (hemistichs) of thirteen and eleven *matras*. This results in a total of four *carans* in a *doha,* the first and third *carans* consist of thirteen *matras* while the second and fourth have eleven matras. The rhyme occurs at the end of the *hemistichs* with eleven *matras*. Its first and third *carans* contains eleven *matras*, while the second and fourth carans contain thirteen. The rhyme retains its place at the end of the eleven-matra carans, so it occurs in the middle of the verse rather than at the end. In the *tanveri doha* the first and fourth have thirteen *matras* each, while the second and third have eleven matras; both eleven-*matra* hemistiches rhyming at their close.

Musical Styles of singing the Shah jo Raag

In Sindh today, there are three major styles of singing Shah Latif's poetry—the Shah jo Raag. These include *kafi, jhoonghar* and *wai.* Kafi is the most popular form that is sung in distinct ways by Ustads of gharana and folk singers at different shrines. At the dargah of Shah Latif, the raagi faqirs do not sing the *kafi* style. They sing the *kari* style but for teaching they use a style called *jhoonghar.* Jhoonghar is also the style used by the popular *faqir* in Sindh, Allan Faqir, who learnt this style at the dargah of Shah Latif in the 1960s.

Kafi

Kafi is a poetic form as well as a style of singing Sufi verses, and *qawwals* including Ustad Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan have sang *kafi* or shifted from *kafi* to *qawwali.* This style of singing situated in Hindustani musical system and employs *raag* and *taal*. The structure of a kafi performance consists of a *bandish* presented in *asthai-antara* format of a Hindustani *khayal*. In singing Shah Latif's verses, it is the *wai* verse of a *dastan* becomes the *bandish* of a *kafi.* The structure of *kafi* performance varies. The first part can consist of *alap*—an introductory musical phrase in *akar*, which in the case of a *kafi* performance is usually very short or omitted by some singers. For example, a quick sweeping phrase in *akar* S R M P S (higher) in Raag Megh that I learnt in reciting a verse from Shah Latif's Sur Sarang. This is usually followed by a verse or set of verses called the *dohiro*. The maturity of the vocalist determines the length of the *dohiro* that they can sing; for example, my initial learning was in reciting two-lined verse whereas Abida Parvin, Ustad Mohammed Jumman and Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan sing *dohiro* that could be 10 lines long. The verses of *dohiro* are usually combining one or more *bait* from the *sur* or from another *wai*.

First Part: Alap and dohiro
Second Part: asthai (tabla begins and continues till the end)
Third Part: dohiro inserted between asthai and antara (optional)
Fourth Part: antara
Fifth part: taan (optional)
Sixth Part: tiha

Table 1: Structure of a Kafi performance

In composing a kafi, the Ustads generally use the Sindhi aesthetic called the "jhok" that implies a descending melodic pattern. Following is an example of a famous kafi "Parchan shaal panhwar" that employ this aesthetic; one is a kafi from Sur Marvi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
- S*	S	S	NSND	R S	S	S	NSND
- Pa	ra	Chan	Shaal	Ho Pa	Ra	Chan	Shaal-panh
PP	PD	MM	PD	-M	P	DP	GRSS
waar	Dhola	Marun	Musa	- Pa	Ra	Chan	Shaal-panh
S	G	R-R	R	RR	RR-R	GG	SS
waar	a	Ar-Pa	Ra	chan	Shaal-panh	waar	dhola
-G	M	PD	-M	P-D	P-S*	S	SS
-ma	Run	Musa	-pa	Ra-cha	an-ho	Par	chan

Table 2: Demonstrating "jhok" within the melody "Parchan Shaal Panwar"

Ustad Hameed Ali Khan refers to this vocal aesthetic in Manzoor Ali Khan's *kafi* compositions. However, it is also important to keep in view that not all the kafi employ this aesthetic. For example, a *kafi* credited Ustad Umeed Ali Khan called "Sukh Ja Sanghir ara" that is also based on Sur Marvi does not employ this aesthetic, and so is the case with many other *kafi* composition including "*Mandh piya de*," "Dost pahi dar aayo," and others. Nevertheless, Ustad do mention this as a Sindhi aesthetic within the *kafi* style.

Jhoonghar and Kari Styles of Singing Shah Latif's Verses

The two styles: *jhoonghar and kari* that the raagi faqirs adopt in singing the Shah jo Raag are accompanied by only one instrument—dambura, which is considered ot have been invented by Shah Latif. It is therefore considered a sacred instrument. Both these two styles use only dambura that is attributed to have been constructed by Shah Latif. Sindhis prize this innovation of Shah Latif, and outside the dargah, there is a roundabout where an effigy of this instrument is placed.

Figure 20: This is the danburo roundabout located close to the dargah of Shah Latif. It depicts Shah Latif's danbur. At the back are flags of nationalist party of Sindh and advertisements of a mobile company Telenor.

Dambura consists of five strings, each with a distinct name: *zuban, teep, jhari*, *jhari* and *ghor*, tuned to fifth, tonic, tonic, tonic, lower-tonic. The shape of *dambura's* gourd signifies a "heart," according to Jumman Shah. The figure below shows a Sindhi *dambura* with which the Shah jo Raag is performed. According to oral narratives, Shah Latif, added a fifth string to the Persian *tanbur*. The links with the Hindustani tanpura are not made in the oral tradition documented by Mirza Qalich Baig or by the raagi faqirs. The gourd of the dambura is likened to the shape of the heart, remarks my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah. The five strings from the right to left (for the viewer) and left to right (for the performer) include *zuban*, *teep*, *jariyoon* and *ghor*. *Zuban*, literally means "tongue," plays the fifth (*pancham*). The instrumental melody called the *tand* is played on *zuban*. The other strings are tuned to Sa. Teep is tuned to higher Sa. The two strings in the middle called *jariyoon* are also tuned to tonic alongside *ghore* (a brass string). The faqirs wear a plectrum or *mizrab* in their fingers to pluck the dambura and strum the last three strings (*ghore* and *jariyoon*) and to strike the body of the dambura when singing the wai.

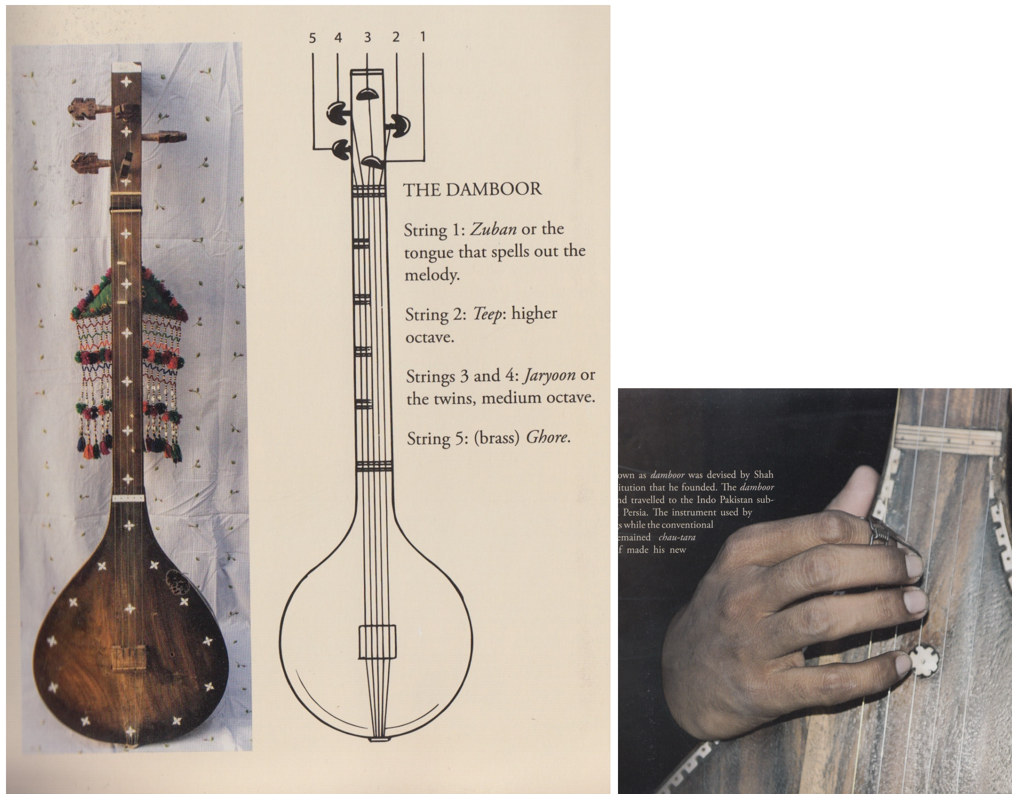

Figure 21: A dambura

The Shah jo Raag tradition is distinguished in its use of voice from other South Asian traditions of singing Sufi poetry, namely *qawwali* and *kafi*. At the dargah of Shah Latif, there are two distinctive forms of singing Shah Latif's poetry: one is solo recitation used for teaching initiates called the *jhoongar ka andaz* (the style of *jhoongar*) and another is the one sung at the dargah with a group of faqirs known as the *kari ka andaz* (the style of *kari*). Both these styles make use of a unique vocal aesthetic that switches between two timbres of voices called the *maadhi awaz* and the *kharj awaz*. Whereas my learning in *jhoonghar* from Faqir Jumman Shah included the vocal aesthetic of shifting from *maadhi awaz* (feminine voice) to *kharj awaz* (explained in more detail more), Allan Faqir does not use the aesthetic of *maadhi awaz.*

Maadhi awaz literally means a female voice and unique to this tradition. It is a singing aesthetic that includes high-pitched notes and involving softening of the palette and resembles a female singing." Whereas the devotional poetic traditions of North India reflect the poet's voice to be that of a female in longing or *virahini*, this appears to be the

only tradition in which the female persona is also sung through a female voice. Whereas the *maadhi awaz* (literally meaning feminine voice) refers to the higher-octave voice that is sung with softening the palette, locally referred to as the *makhan wali* awaz (butter-like voice), parts of phrases in a bait could be sung in the higher-octave could also be sung without softening the palette, and then could be referred to as the *teep ki awaz*. When *teep ki awaz* reaches low tones in bait, for example in the case of hoongara or chic, it turns into kharj ki awaz. The term *gram ki awaz* is used when the faqir is giving the bait in a recitative manner in the Kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag at the dargah.

The faqirs insert many vocables between the words such as "O" "Alo" "Ala" "la" "Ay" etc. These vocables of the alap of each sur are transmitted orally and in the written versions of Risalo, these vocables are completely omitted. This makes their style of singing different from singing of dohiro or kafi because when Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan or Abida Parvin are singing a bait or wai, they are strictly following words on paper and do not make any oral insertions. It is this absence of oral insertions of vocables that makes their singing clear and comprehensible to an urban ear but takes away the aesthetics of oral cultures. My teacher Faqir Jumman Shah states that there are five voices in the Shah jo Raag tradition just as there are five strings of the dambura. He does not clearly define what each of these voices is and in this section, I clarify some of the local terms.

Voice Sample 1: Maadhi *pai* awaz
Voice Sample 2: Teep ki awaz
Voice Sample 3: Kharj ki awaz
Voice Sample 4: Gram ki awaz
Voice Sample 5: Chic
Table 3: Different kinds of vocal gestures in singing the Shah jo Raag

Jhoonghar

The melodic form of singing the bait is significantly different from that of singing the *dohiro* or *kafi*. The structure of singing a bait in the style of jhoonghar is as follows: i) *alap*, ii) *bait*, and finally iii) *hoongara*. The alap opens the sur, the bait is the verse itself, and hoongara is the closing phrase. Sometimes there are transitional musical phrases between bait and *hoongara* and between the first and second line of bait. The raagi faqirs' singing of *bait* also draws us into the aesthetics of oral culture where melody is not

defined strictly by the words.

Singing the alap

Each sur has a distinctive alap that is composed of vocables such as “O Miyaan” ‘O la la,” and notes. Below, I demonstrate alap of three surs. While Sur Sassui Abri has both flat and neutral 7th and Sur Sohni has both flat 6th and neutral 6th.

Alap	Vocables and *Sargam*
Sur Sarang	Alo bhalo Miyan ala, la a la a, la la la la a a la la a
	S*S* S*R* R*R* RSP, P S* R* S*, DPMP MPD P—R RM RS
Sur Sohni	O Miyaan, Alo Miyaa-a-a-a-a-n O la la la la la la
	S* RRR S S* S * N PDND d P R M P d M G
Sur Sassui-Abri	O Mi-i-i- Miyaan-an-an-an-an-an
	S N-S-S-S D P G M n D P

Table 4: Demonstrating the alap of different surs of Shah Latif (as taught by Faqir Jumman Shah)

These alap are not completely fixed and each faqir will add variations to it. The alap and its vocables are oral insertions in the raagi faqirs’ singing of a *bait* in *jhoonghar* or *kari.* They are not found in written versions of Risalo. [Listening Example 2]

In the second audio example attached, I show two examples of alap of bait recited by two different fakirs to show how fakirs can change the words and recite the alap in different ways. [Listening Example 3]

Singing the bait

The style of singing bait by the raagi faqirs involves singing sequential musical phrases (*chal*) in which bait is presented. In 2009, when I was having my initial lessons on the Shah jo Raag, my teacher Faqir Jumman wrote in my diary these phrases: “This raag [that is Shah jo Raag] is based on chal and every word in this [shah-jo] raag has a

chal. In Samoondi's bait "Pagh-e-Paas ghar ayal is the second chal after the alap of Samoondi. It begins with teep and is taken to the zuban. This would complete the chal." Chal in Hindustani music stands for the gait of the raag that comprises ascending and descending, arohi and avrohi of the raag. However, the way in which Faqir Jumman Shah uses the word "chal" in my notebook is atypical because it is not meant as ascending or descending notes of a raag but rather what one could translate as a "musical phrase." This is because he considers the entire line of a bait to be a "chal."

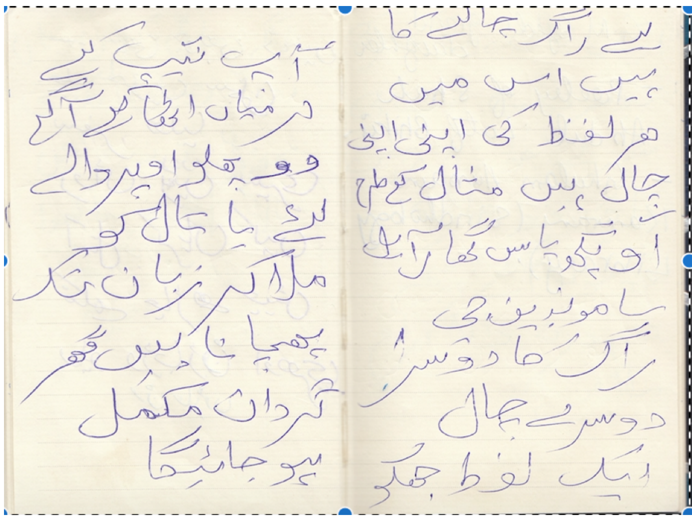

Figure 22: An image from the diary. "This raag is based on chal and every word in this [shah-jo] raag has a chal. In Samoondi's bait "Pagh-e-Paas ghar ayal is the second chal after the alap of Samoondi. It begins with teep and is taken to the zuban. This would complete the chal.

The *chal* of singing a *bait* varies from one sur to sur. In recitation of bait, the descending melodic pattern becomes most prominent in the singing of what is called "*chic."* Faqirs use the term *is lafz ko chic kar dein*" (do the chic on this word) which involves a sudden drop from a high to low note usually an octave descent or from octave to the fifth.

Aj pundh utar par deh kakariyun, Kariyun dinhandhara
Wasay to wadh phiro, Tehkan thiyun tariyun
Bhijandiyun bhitariyun, Varey Vithariyun Ahiyoon [how the bait is written in Risalo]

Chal 1	Aj pundh utar par deh kakariyun
	S* S S S S SS PPP

Chal 2	Kariyun dinhandhara
	D D D S* D D D P
Chal 3	*La la la la la…a la…*
	DPMP MPDP M R – R M R S
Chal 4	Wasay to wadh phiro aho
	S(hg) S S S S SS S
Chal 5	Tehkan thiyun *O* taariyun
	D D D D S * S(l) S (1) CHIK
Chal 6	Bhijandiyun bhitariyun
	D DD D DDDNP
Chal 7	Varey Vithariyun Ahiyoon *Ala*
	D D P P P P P P P P
Chal 8	*La la la la la - - - la - -a*
	M P D P G M R M R S(l)
Chal 9, 10, 11 (hoongara)	Haadi karim, karimatun, *Ay tun maula ala*

Table 5: Demonstrating Chal of Sur Sarang's bait, including phrases within alap, bait and hoongara

In Chal 5 in Sur Sarang's bait, one can notice a sudden drop from higher Sa to lower Sa and this is an example of what the faqirs call the "Chic." One also notices phrases such as chal 3 that mark a transition between the first line and the second line of the bait, and another bridge on chal 8 that transitions into the hoongara of the bait. The descending melody pattern of Sindhi sur is also evident between chal 1 that begins at higher Sa and chal 8 that ends at tonic. The hoongara then can be presented either in the higher octave or in the lower octave; usually the faqirs present it in the higher octave because otherwise it can get too low. Next, I present the chal of bait from Sur Sassui-Abri:

Ay je waran variyun sarathiyun, sadhariyun
Asal ariye jam jey, bolan badhariyun,
Jail khel ladhariyun doongar
Se doriye diyun miyaan

Chal 1	Ay je waran wariyun sarathiyun
	PP P D D D D S* S D D D n P
Chal 2	*O* Sadariyun
	S D D N P
Chal 3	Asal ariye jam jay
	P P P P D P MGRS

Chal 4	Bolan badhariyun *miyaan*
	P P PP D M G P R S
Chal 5	*O Woh Allah-ey*
	G S S(t) S S
Chal 6	Bolan Badhariyun
	S* S S SSS S(l) S(l) CHIK
Chal 7	*O* Jail khel ladhariyun doongar
	M P P P P P P DD PMG MPP
Chal 8	*O* Se doriye diyun miyaan D P P D D PMG P R S
Hoongara	O woh Allah-ey, O Miyaan Allah

Table 6: Demonstrating Chal of Sur Sassui Abri's bait, including phrases within alap, bait and hoongara

Singing the hoongara

Hoongara is a musical phrase comprising of vocables that are oral insertions that signifies the end of a *bait* recitation. Hoongara is not a musical term found Hindustani musical tradition, but in Gujarat, according to Dr. Deepak Raja, the word "hoonkara" could mean howl of a lion (Conversations, 2014). According to Dr. G.A. Allana, *hoongara* is a kind of folk song sung by cowherds of Sindh, who are also pied-pipers and call back their grazing cattle home by verbal call of two notes, and in response the cattle moves slowly towards the cowherd (302). What is interesting in both these oral definitions is that it implies calling out and projecting voice, which is the case when the raagi faqirs are singing *hoongara* of a bait. It also reflects the extent to which Latif was drawing upon the pastoral culture of Sindh to construct this new musical form. Following are the *hoongara* of Sur Sohni and Sur Sassui Abri. One of the differences in the structure of the *hoongara* that one notices is that the *hoongara* of Sur Sohni repeats the last hemistich of the bait, while the *hoongara* of Sur Sassui-Abri comprises solely of vocables. It is also the case that in some surs, there is a bridge phrase comprising only of vocables that marks the transition from the bait to *hoongara*, and I demonstrate the bridge phrases for Sur Sohni and Sur Sarang.

Hoongara	
Sur Sohni	O Miyaan-aan-aan Ala--- Mano Latho Mun
	N D D n D D D P, M P M M M

Sur Sassui Abri	O woh Allah ay, O miyaan Alla
	G R-- R ---- R, RSN S g R SS

Table 7: Demonstrating hoongara of two bait to show how vocables and melodies differ

Bridge Phrase before the hoongara	
Sur Sohni	O-oh-oh Woh woh
	P G M d P
Sur Sarang	La a a a La a
	M P D P GM RM RS

Table 8: : Demonstrating the use of a bridge phrase before reciting hoongara of two bait to show how transition from bait to hoongara vary across surs.

Vocal Aesthetics of Singing a bait in Jhoonghar

The alap of a sur is usually sung in the *maadhi* awaz which is makhan wali (butter-like) produced by softening the palette, while the *hoongara* even when uttered in higher octave is sung in teep awaz (that is without softening the palette) or kharj awaz (if it is sung low). The chic part of the bait requires *kharj awaz.* If the faqir starts bait in jhoongar style in maadhi awaz that is makhan-wali, then the entire bait is sung in the same voice that is by softening the palette. However, if the palette is not softened and it is initiated in the teep awaz, the entire bait is presented in the teep awaz with the kharj awaz on the chic. Chic is both a melodic gestures and vocal aesthetic that involves a sudden drop in the tone an octave below. If a faqir would forget this gesture, Ustad Jumman Shah would remind him and say "chic kar dein" (do the chic). It implies not only moving from a high tone to the low tone but also implying the sudden drop with the vocal gesture.

Sometimes, the faqir also embellish a particular word in bait and that is locally referred to as "murki lagana." These embellishments are not fixed and rather improvised aspects of the performance. Each faqir, who is well versed in singing, adds his own murkhi and this brings forward his own style to the raag. On a recording conducted on a Thursday evening in July 2009 at the dargah, Faqir Jumman Shah, the lead faqir on a raag sung embellishes the word "Aayal."

Singing a *wai* in Jhoonghar

Whereas the bait is non-strophic, the epilogue verse of the sur called the "wai" usually has a repeating refrain. There are three kinds of wai: cher, dedhi and do-tali wai. Singing of a wai begins with singing of its *thalh* or refrain. There are three types of wai:

Cher, do-tali and dedhi wai. Cher is distinct because it does not have a rhythm and like bait is unmeetered but it is important to keep in view that some Cher have been recomposed to fit a rhythmic cycle in the style of kafi.

Sometimes, faqirs also have multiple compositions for a wai so that it can be sung as Cher as well Dedhi. The way one refers to it is: " Sarang ki Cher sunaoon?" (Would you like to listen to sur sarang's Cher?) but if my teacher plans to sing the other two kinds of wai, he'll say, "Marui ki wai karte hain" (lets do sur Marui's wai) and he won't always specify if it is do-tali or dedhi. The difference is that in do-tali wai, "koi khali lafz nahin hota" (there is no empty word) that is there are no silence. Here the word probably means either a vocable or a beat whereas dedhi has one. Let's see what these mean musically!

Cher

A wai in cher does not have an established metre; however when cher is recomposed as kafi, a metre is assigned. Take for example, the cher of Yaman-Kalyan, "Ajab Nain tere, saras nain tere."

Ajab nain tere, tere, tere, tere-ey-ey, tere-ey, tere-ey-ey-ey, tere, aja-a-b nain tere
SS RR PM MM R, RR S SS D, DD, SDP PM DD S R S PM P-M-

Table 9: Refrain (thalh) of the wai (cher)

Unchi kanwal, Kanwal wich madhwah Ho Unchi kanwal Kanwal wich Kanwal wich madhwa, Jiwein chand nu badal ghairay

Ghairay, ghairay, ghairay Ajab nain tere
MM MM RR RM MMMM-PMR P MPP M RR M RR M MMMM-PMR R S S S S RS MM R, RR S SS D, DD, SDP PM DD S R S PM P-M-

Table 10: First verse after the refrain called "pehla misra" (literally meaning first verse) of a wai (cher)

The cher "Ajab Nain tere" does not have a rhythmic metre but when kafi singers sing this same wai, they add metre to it. An example is Abida Parvin's version of "Ajab nain tere." (Please see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3jvrOaei9wY).

Dedhi Wai

Dedhi wai is in 3 counts, as Jumman Shah states. I have notated it in 6/8 meters to show the cycle of dambura.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Down (all strings)	Up (zuban)	-	Strike-Strike	Up (zuban)	-
	Oh	*Ye*	*O*	Wan	dh
Jha	Ro	*o*	*o*	*Ey*	*o*
Aaa	Yo	*O*	*O*	*Ey*	*O*
Ey	*Ma*	-	Ma	*E*	*Ya*
Mu	Ra	A	A	Do	On
O	*Ye*	*O*	*O*	Pu	U
Ni	Yu	un			
	O	*Ey*	*O*	Sa	A
Da	Ei	In	Ein	In	-
Sa	Fa	A	*Ya*	Ra	a
O	*woh*	*O*	*Oh*	Sa	A
Moon	Dra	In	*Ey*	Sa	A
A	Yo	*O*	*O*	*Ey*	*O*

Ey	*Ma*	-	*Ma*	*E*	*Ya*
Mu	Ra	-	A	Do	On
Ey	*E*	*eh*	*O*	Pu	Un
Ni	Yu	un			

Table 11: An example of how dedhi wai sung in jhoonghar inserts vocables in the middle of a word and between words that complicates jhoonghar and kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag from the kafi style.

Do-tali Wai

Do tali is in the meter of 5, with a tali on the first and third beats. The *tali* is signified by the playing of *zuban* on the dambura. The lines in bold represent *thalh* (refrain) and the words in italics represent the vocables. According to Jumman Shah, these wai are sung with two strings, *zuban* and *teep*. In *do-tali wai*, there are no *khali payr wazn* (empty meter).

1	2	3	4	5
S*	R*	-	S*	D
Hum	So	ye	Oye	o
-	n	D	n	D
o	On	Say	eee	yay
P	-	P	G	M
Lay	-	Bi	Ya	a
M	M	-R	G	-G
A	A	- ey	Lo	- o
R	M-	G	S	-
Ye	O -	O	Hum	-
S	R	S		
Hum	So	-		
			P	D
			Saee	ein
P	M			
Yan	Te	Bi	Ya	a
A	A	- ey	Lo	- o
Ye	O -	O	Hum	-
Hum	So			
		S*	S*	S*S*
		ka	hi	kaya
N	D	N	S	R
hun	ka	a	fi	lo
-	S	D	N	S
ye	Oye	O	Ye	o
P	R*	S*	S	R*
La	O	Jaa	Un	kun

S	D	n	D	n
Un	Un	Un	Zo	ye
D	P			
O	Dey	bi	Ya	a
A	A	- ey	Lo	- o
Ye	O -	O	Hum	-
Hum	So			

Table 12: An example of how do-tali wai sung in jhoonghar inserts vocables in the middle of a word and between words that complicates jhoonghar and kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag from the kafi style.

In conclusion, there are also rhythmic differences in the performance of Wai and Kafi. Whereas the kafi style uses Hindustani theka of a tabla, for example keherva, ek taal, dadra etc., the wai singing has rhythm embedded within the kind: cher, dedi and do-tali, whereby cher is unmetered, dedi is 6/8 and do-tali is 5/8.

The Kari Style of Singing the Shah jo Raag

At the dargah, the style of singing Latif's poetry is referred to as a form called "kari." The word "kari" means lock and the style it refers to constitute a form of singing bait and wai that is not found anywhere else in Sindh. In this section, I discuss the "kari" style of singing in contrast with "jhoonghar" which is also sung by the raagi faqirs for teaching purposes. The sur starts with *tand* (the instrumental) on the dambura followed by the cycle of *bait dena* (giving the bait) and *bait utha* (taking the bait) specific to the particular sur. The structure of the performance of Shah jo Raag in *kari* follows a certain format, beginning with tand (musical instrumental) of a sur, then the section of bait and then wai.

	Tand	Instrumental intro on dambura	One person
Recitation of Bait	Alap	Every sur has a different alap	Faqir 1
	Bait	The size of the bait could vary between 2-6 hemistches	Exchange between two faqirs. Faqir 1 sings in maadhi and faqir 2 in kharj.
	Hoongara	Ending phrase of the bait	Faqir 1
Recitation of Wai	Thalh (refrain)		Initiated by the leader and joined by other faqirs. Some

			words and syllables are sung by faqirs singing in maadhi and others singing in kharj
	Medium tempo		
	Faster		

Table 13: Structure of a Kari Performance of the Shah jo Raag at the dargah

Singing a bait in kari

The singing of bait in *kari* involves singing in a pair. This is an exchange of bait between two faqirs; while one faqir gives the bait known as "bait dena," the other person picks the bait "bait uthana." When the faqir "gives a bait, it is called "adak" which means "half" because he only sings half the verse. The other faqir who takes the bait repeats the first half of the verse and then completes the *misra* (line). The person giving the bait sings the verse in the *gram ka* awaz (lower octave) and in a recitative manner while the faqir whose turn it is sings it in the maadhi awaz, adding melisma. Embellishments on certain words is referred to locally as "murki lagana"---a term also used by the Hindustani Ustads. These embellishments are not fixed and rather the improvised aspects of the performance. Each faqir, who is well versed in singing, adds his own murkhi and this brings forward his own style to the raag.

Singing of a bait in kari begins with the lead faqir singing the alap in maadhi awaz. Then the faqir next to him sings *adak* in a recitative voice and the lead faqir will take the bait and sing the first line in maadhi awaz, adding a bridge musical phrase in some cases. Then the faqir next to him sings adak of the second misra (line) in kharj and recitative manner, and the lead faqir will pick the *adak* and complete the *misra,* sing the bridge phrase that leads to the hoongara in *teep awaz*. Then the faqir on his other side will begin the new bait by singing an alap, and the cycle of *bait dena* and *bait uthana* continues, until all the faqirs have completed their turns singing at least one bait in the sur. After at least six bait in a sur, the lead faqir will initiate the *wai*. In cases where the faqirs sing a longer bait, the exchange between the two faqirs will take longer until all the lines of the bait have been sung and the faqir closes the bait by singing the hoongara, passing the turn to the faqir. Following is the bait:

Bait: *Pagh-e-Paas ghaar aayal, Samoondrain Jey*

Waijhi jiyun jhanjhaal ajma, vanyanai auhri

Chal 1: *Alap---O Aloo-ey* (Faqir 1)
maadhi awaz) makhan wali (melismatic)
Chal 2: *Pagh-e-Paas ghaar aayal, Samoondrain Jey* (Faqir 2)
kharj awaz, (recitative), ----Referred to as **Bait Dena (giving bait)**
Chal 3: *Pagh-e-Paas ghaar aayal* Faqir 1
maadhi *awaz, makhan wali* (melismatic)—Referred to as **Bait Uthana (taking bait)**
Chal 3: *O Samoondrain Jey j* (Faqir 1)
Jhoonghar awaz (melismatic)
Chal 4: O woh oh, woh woh who woh oh (Faqir 1)
jhoonghar awaz (melismatic)
Chal 5: Pagh-e-Paas-e-Ghar (Faqir 2)
Kharj awaz, (recitative),
Chal 6: Pagh-e-Paas-e- O Ghar (Faqir 1)
maadhi *awaz* makhan wali with a "chic" on the word "ghaar"
Chal 7: Waijhi jiyun jhanjhaal ajma, vanyanai auhri (Faqir 2)
Kharj awaz, (recitative)
Chal 8: O ey o Waijhi jiyun jhanjhaal ajma (Faqir 1)
(maadhi awaz) makhan wali (melismatic)
Chal 9: vanyanai auhri –e e—e (Faqir 1)
Jhoonghar awaz (melismatic)
Chal 10: O woh woh woh woh-e (Faqir 1)
Jhoonghar awaz (melismatic)
Chal 11: O woh alah-e O bhalo miyaan alaa (Faqir 1)
Hoongara in *Jhoonghar awaz (melismatic)*

Table 14: Demonstrating chaal in singing a bait in the kari style at the dargah

Singing a wai in kari

Shah Latif's verses are divided into sur, with each sur defining a different melody. Each sur has a song model that can be divided into two: recitation of a number of baits and concluded with the recitation of wai. Wai, is an epilogue to a series of bait in a particular dastan within a sur, and a sur can have as many wai as there are dastan in it. When the faqirs at the mazaar sing a sur, the leading faqir decides which dastan to cover so that the wai of that particular dastan is sung at the end. Each rendition of the sur is about 20 to 30 minutes long and involves recitation of only 6 -10 bait.

The wai are of different kinds: some are metered such as the dedhi wai, and *do-tali wai* while others are unmetered such as the *cher*. Therefore, the rhythmic aspect of the performance is determined by the kind of wai rather than *theka* as in the case of Hindustani music presentation.

Within the scholarly establishment, terms such as "choral singing" are used to situate wai. However, the faqirs are not singing the verse of the wai in a chorus. They use a very distinct vocal aesthetic that is specific to this tradition. This involves the aesthetic of what I metaphorize as "sharing a word" to make its vocal aesthetic clear. Basically, a word's different syllables are shared by faqirs singing in *maadhi awaz* and those in the gram *awaz* so that one half of a word is sung in one voice and then taken by other faqirs and completed an another. For an urban ear, the intelligibility of the word is compromised, frustrating the ears of many urbanites who prefer the kafi style because the word is more intelligible.

This call and response is accompanied with a rhythmic use of dambura as faqirs strike the dambura on certain beats while strumming the strings on the other. Its overall impact on the listener is ecstatic because from the section of singing bait which is a contemplative section, the listener is aroused with a rhythmic invocation. The verse of the Samoondi wai is as follows:

Wanjharo aayo, maa muradoon puniyon
Unjay wehara, hari kodey taan jeytayon
Sadaiyeen safar, samoondrain saayo Abdul Latif chaway, safar sajaiyo

Some surs such as Sarang are sung in their parallel Raag, for example when Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan sings verses from Sur Sarang of Shah Latif, which is about arrival of spring, they use Raag Megh. Similarly, Sur Sohni is sung in Raag Suhni as in the case of Abida Parvin's badi kafi. An important departure from this norm is in the use of tune that has no parallels in Hindustani music. For example, in the case of Sur Sassui-Kohiyari, which is a very famous tune in Sindh, the Ustads say that they are using the Sindhi tune Kohiyari. For example, Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan, in his alap of the famous kafi "Pairin Pawan di Saan" and "Aaon Keh jaana Pandh kech jo" sings the alap of Kohiyari. What is important to take into consideration is that even though, the claim is that this is the Sindhi tune Kohiyari, their tune differs from that of the faqirs. The faqirs' Kohiyari use komal 7th or Ni and Hindustani Kohiyari has a shudh/teevar 7th. What I want to demonstrate in this section is that not only when equivalents of sur names exist in Hindustani Raag are the melodies different but even when the Ustads claim to use the Sindhi tune Kohiyari or Rano, their interpretations of it are tonally distinct from that of the *raagi faqirs* making us question how people understand and interpret "sur" in different musical contexts and how did these interpretations emerged and became authenticated.

Example: Sur Kohiyari and Sur Rano

S* N S N D DNSR*G* S NDPM, MP D^N, MPMPDPMG, PMGRG, MGRS
A a a a a, la la la la la la miyaan, lalala^ lalalalalala-a-a, Ho miyan-a-an, Ho bhala-a

Table 15: Alap of a Kafi in Sur Kohiyari (Hindustani)

S* S S D n P
O miyaan la la a

Table 16: Alap of a bait in Sur Kohiyari (Dargah of Shah Latif)

One notices from the two ways that alap is sung by the Ustads and the *raagi faqirs* is that tones of Kohiyari differ between the two. Faqir's Sur Kohiyari makes use of komal ni or flat 7th whereas Hindustani Ustad's interpretation does not. This is also the case in the singing of Sur Rano; since there is no Raag by the name of Rano, when the Hindustani Ustads sing verses of Shah Latif from Sur Rano in the style of *kafi*, they use what they call the Sindhi melody, Rano. Ustad Manzoor Ali Khan classified the melody of Rano within the Raag and Raagini system stating that it is similar to Desi-Todi. Rano's

3rd and 7th are both komal (flat) in the case of Hindustani Ustad's Rano.

S R M P D S* N DP M PD S (aakaar) RS N DN DN DN (aakaar) MP DN DP (aakaar) SNDPM GRRNNSRS (O Miyaan O bhala)

Table 17: Alap of Rano in Kafi style

G R----- S*S* S*S*, R* g* R* S* N N d P, dP dP dP dR S (tonic)
O miyaan, Alo miyaan, la la la la la La la la, lala lala lala La a

Table 18: Alap of Rano in Jhoonghar

Example 5: Sur Sohni/Raag Suhni and Sur Kedaro/Raag Kedar

Suhni is a well-known Raag in Hindustani music with the following aarohi and avrohi. When one hears Abida Parvin's badi kafi in Suhni "waithi kina wisal" that she recently recorded, she has composed it within Raag Suhni. The melody of Sur Sohni is different and the tables below demonstrate this difference: As noticeable, Sur Sohni uses different notes from Raag Suhni thus reflecting that despite similar nomenclature, there is a difference between the two modes and melodies. This is important to keep in view because it shows the distinctiveness of the sur tradition from the Hindustani raag and so the similarity in nomenclature do not denote parallels in tunes.

Waithi kina visare, mahabat vidhri marey, Divani yaara, Mastani dilbar, jani woh
G MD NS   rSRND, N-DM D-MG rM rS, GMD NN   rrr   GG,   rGM rrrS

Table 19: Thalh (refrain) of Sur Sohni's wai sung by Abida Parvin in the new kafi style.

Notes used are that of Raag Suhni (Aarohi: S G M(sharp) D N S, S N D G M D G M r S.

O miyaan Alo miyaan O la la la la la Sikh tuhinje sipri-i-i- Bhairin kiyas bhun

Bhairin kiyas O bhoon Mano Latho Mun Sindhun jiyana aaasra O woh
S* RRR S S* S * N PDND *d P R M P d M G* GG MP NNNP PMGRS, GM PPPP MGRS, DD DD S S MM PD PMGRS GG MM PMGRS, P G M d P N D D n D D D P, M P M M M

Table 20: Bait of Sur Sohni in the style of jhoonghar

As noticeable Sohni uses both komal and shudh ni and does not use komal re (2nd). In my interactions with scholars and faqirs, they hear this difference very succinctly and are explicit in stating that Sindhi Sur Sohni is distinct from Raag Suhni.

Vavela Vavela! Mailkan kayo rin matamu Hai Hai, Shah Hussain Sidhariyo Alas! Alas! The angels wailed Shah Hussain is no more!
Sa Ma ga, ga pa Ma pa, M(t) pa pa D D N D P P, Pa m(t) M---S r S G GP R S S M G (Hussein) GP G m P mm P M S R S

Table 21: Wai of Sur Kedaro sung in Raag Kedar by Abida Parvin

Similarly, in the case of Sur Kedaro, which recounts the martyrdom of Imam Hussain, one finds the rendition by Abida Parvin in Raag Kedar.

Vavela, Vavela
Sa ma ga, ga pa ma pa

Ma pa pa D D N D P P
Pa ma ma S r S

The *Kari style* within Music Scholarship on the Shah jo Raag

Within scholarship on Shah Latif's music produced colonial as well as post-colonial period, one finds an absence of terms such as *jhoonghar* and *kari* as well as *shah jo raag.* The scholars have only referred to *bait* and *wai* as the main determinants of this musical style and discussed *dambura.* They have not brought forward the vocal aesthetics of *maadhi* or *kharj* awaz associated with it. The terminology that I present above are all taken from my ethnographic work and performance learning with Faqir Jumman Shah and this lexicon as well as perspectives of faqirs is missing from scholarship on the *Shah jo Raag*. One of the reasons why the raagi faqirs are absent from these accounts is as Sorley writes, "the professional musicians are drawn mostly from the minstrel class, which is held in low esteem" (1940, 223). For this reason, it is important to consider both the raagi faqirs and the musical style of *kari* that they are associated with as subaltern within colonial and post-colonial Sindh.

Within scholarship produced in colonial Sind, Mirza Qalich Baig's book *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* (1887) provides a classification of Shah Latif's surs according to Hindustani *raags* and *raaginis*. Mirza Qalich Baig classifies the sur into six raag and thirty raginis, and further divides these into eight putr (sons) and eight bharjas (daughters). The subdivision of surs into *fasl* or dastan is not according to music. The following table shows the six raag including Bhairon, Malkaun, Sri, Megh, Hindol and Deepak and Thirty raaginis including Todi, Gauri, Kaukab, Dhaneshri, Maru, Basant, Asawari, Deskaar, Tilang, Bhopali, Malhar, Gujri parallel to Raag Megh. The image below located in the appendix of the book has no significant discussion about the music. For example, Sur Kamod is listed in the Malkauns' raag's son as well as in the ragini of Deepak. Sur Sorath is classified in the relative of Bhairon Raag, Sur Kipp, Sohni in Sri Raag; Sur Ramkali in Hindol and so on. The list contains some of the surs of Risalo but not all (144).

APPENDIX D

A tabular list of Raags and Raagnis according to the Science of music in Hindustan. We shall underline the names that are retained by Shah in his Risalo.

٦ راڳ	٥ راڳڻيون	٨ پُتر	٨ ڀارجا
ڀيرون راڳ	ڀيروي بيراري مَدماڌ سنڌوي	هِرڪ مارهو پنچم بياس ديوساڪ للت بلاول بنگال	سورٺ ڪنياري ڀل گجري پَٽمنجري سوها اِنداهي ميري بلاولي
مالڪوس راڳ	توڙي گوري ڪنگلي ڪنياوتي ڪَڪَب	گنڌار مالي گوڙا ڪاموڌ بترچين شهانا مَڪر سُڌ سَڪٽ	جيتسري نرگا سُگهرائي گـنڌاري ڀيم پلاسي ڪاموڏي ڌناسري مالسري
سِري راڳ	ڌناسري اساوري مارو بسنت مالسري	سرٻون گولاهل سانوَنت سنڪرون ڪٽ راڳ بَديٽس ديسڪار راگيسر	بجيا ڌيان جي سرو ڪنپ ڪيم سرمڪيا سرستي سوهٽي
ميگهه راڳ	ڀوپالي گوجري ديسڪار ملار تلنگ	ڪلاير شهانا باگيسري پوريا ستحر سڪرابرن ڪانهڙا تلنگ	ڪرنانٽ ڪادوي گونهات پاوري پرچ نٽمنجري مانجهه سُوٽانت
هنڊول راڳ	رامڪلي للت پٽمنجري بلاول ديوساڪ	بسنت مالوا مارو بڪا لنگڌن ڪسل ڏول ناگڌن	گرومي ليلاوتي چتي پُوربي پاروالي ترون ديوگري سرستي
ديپڪ راڳ	نٽ ڪانهڙا ڪاموڏ ديسي ڪيڏارا	نٽ نارائن پاڪرا اڊانا منگلاشٽڪا رهس منگلا منگلاشٽڪ ڪسم	منگل گوهي جيجاونتي مالگوجري منوهر همير ايمن اهيري ڀوپالي

Figure 23: Classification of Surs of Latif within Hindustani Raag and Raginis. From Mirza Qalich Baig's Ahwal-e-Shah Latif (1887)

Similarly, H.T. Sorley (1940) in his book *Shah Latif of Bhit* states that there is no distinctively Sindhi school of music, and "the music of Sindhis part of the musical heritage of Hindustan." (221) He quotes Ain-i-Akbari to state that the music of Sindhis *kami* (amatory), and based on rags and raginis prevalent in India, such that its "musical foundation owes little to Islam" (220). Therefore, even though "the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif is typically Muslim in sentiment," its music is not, and distinct from Arabic music. Furthermore, one finds that Sorley's understanding of music of India was influenced by orientalist writers such as Clements and Sir William Jones to whom he refers to in considering the music of Shah Latif as "Hindu"—an idea that Janaki Bakhle (2005) has

critiqued as orientalist" in her book *Two Men and Music.*

> The poems of the Risalo are all set to melodic forms of this rigid character. Most of the musicians in Sindh have been Hindus and not Mussulmans. Possibly in this circumstance may be found another reason why the Islamic poetry of Shah Abdul Latif exercises so strong a spell over the non-Muslim inhabitants of the land. While the thought may be Islamic, the musical forms in which the poems are sung are part of the Hindu heritage of India (222).

Raagi Faqirs' Marginalization from Post-Colonial Scholarship

Post-Colonial scholarship on Shah Latif was being produced in a very distinct milieu that was a result of the politics of partition and a response to the Urdu hegemony as discussed in the last chapter. Unlike scholarship within colonial Sindh that linked Sindhi surs with Hindustani *raag and raginis,* in post-colonial Sind, there emerged two schools of thought; one that continued the project of linking Shah Latif's melodies within other musical cultures of India and the other that stood for uniqueness of Sindhi sound. The raagi faqirs and the *kari style* remained subaltern within both these schools of thought.

Within the school of thought that presented Sindhi music as unique, Aziz Baloch in his article "The Music Tradition of Sindh" (which was first published in 1968 and republished in *Rhythms of Sindh* in 1975) argues for a distinctiveness of the music of Sindh from that of Hind and gives a historical context for development of the *sur* tradition. Baloch, as in the case of other Sindhi scholars, does not lay out their sources succinctly, but the reason why his ideas is significant is because his ideas are taken for granted, the sources are not questioned and his understanding of the *sur* tradition and quoted by western scholars including Ali Asani and Shalini Ayyagari in their articles. Baloch locates the Lora, Loree, Lorree and Langha communities of singers to have spread from Sindh to parts of Iran and other parts of Middle-East and their patronage under Soomras and the Sammas (1050-1520) led to development of a tradition of "musical narration" that was unique to Sindh. He says that the great epics of Sindh, for example Dodo-Chanesar, became to "artistically narrated" in "musical modes (surs)" (23) and this tradition was epitomized by Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (24) and known as the Shah-jo-Raga (Shah's music). Therefore, it is the sSur music" based on musical narration that is the unique feature of Sindhi music and been developing since 12th century. Baloch

also links the sur tradition with Arabic and Persian maqams; he defines "sur" to be "rooted in the lore of a particular locality with a typical natural environmental and geo-historical setting of its own," and represented a "distinct music style and assumes the importance of classical musical mode." Yet, these Sindhi modes were distinct from Hindustani modes with same names, such that Manjh, Jog, Jhangla and Kedaro were all different in composition from classical melodies Madh, Jogia, Zangola and Kidara. (24) There are melodies in the Hindustani tradition such as Sindhi Bhairvi or Suhni that show a clear impact of the Sindhi melodies on the Hindustani tradition. He also mentions that Sindhi Bhairvin and Loraaoo are two melodies that influenced the music of Iran and Middle East while melodies such as Yaman and Hussaini are reminiscent of Arabo-Iranian influence on Sindhi and Hindustani music (26).

Aziz Baloch writes that "sur" does not only refer to the thematic arrangement of Shah Latif's poetry but also to the melody in which it is recited. He writes that in the 11th century Sindh, certain melodies in Sindh came to be associated with a specific theme or a specific story, such that the same melody would not be used for another theme or narrative. The early association of a particular melody with an epic narrative is considered to date back to 11th century that saw the rise of epic poetry such as Dodo Chanesar and Baghul Bal during the Sumra period (1050-1350) and mystic poetry largely based on the indigenous love-stories during the Samma period (1350-1522) and also in the days of Arghuns, Tarkhans, Mughal Governors, Kalhoras and Talpurs (1522-1843) in Sindh. This period also witnessed what Aziz Baloch calls a tradition of "musical narration" (Baloch 1989, 23) or rather epic singing, which is considered to have developed through the influence of Arab rule in the Indian sub-continent. Baloch's understanding of "sur" as well as its link with Arab rule or Arab-Persianate musical system does not have any basis but surprisingly it has not been questioned. In fact, I would like to propose that such notions arose in Sindh amidst a nationalist episteme of constructing a distinct identity for Sindh that was Muslim and distinct from other Muslim ethnicities in Pakistan.

The construction of Sindhi culture and identity was in formation since late colonial period as described in the last chapter. However, its link with the 5000-year-old Indus Valley civilization in Mohenjodaro located in Sindh as the point of origin and Shah

Latif's poetry as an apex of Sindhi culture are constructions that emerged within post-colonial Sind. Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch's article "Shah Latif—The Pioneer of a New Era" is another example of this construction and its links with cultural politics of post-colonial Sind. Baloch's article can also be contextualized within the specific socio-political situation in Pakistan and Pakistani media's policy towards promoting Urdu genres of poetry including the *qawwali* primarily of Amir Khusrow. Given the elevated status of the 13th century Sufi poet Khusrow and the general attribution to Khusrow to be the father of *qawwali*, Baloch's article discusses Shah Latif's contributions to the creation of a new musical system in Sind, namely the *sur* system. Amir Khusrow had used Persian; he also composed in *Bhasha,* the people's language, and actually took delight in the use of the indigenous idiom. Like Amir Khusrow, Shah Abdul Latif was also the founder of a new movement in the field of music (62).

With this comparison, Baloch looks at *qawwali* historically, stating that after the reign of the Mughal emperor Mohammed Shah (1719-48), there came about a decline in the empire and "even the Sufi music was dominated by the monotony of the *qawwali* style which had ceased to evolve." In order to bring about a renaissance, Shah Abdul Latif founded an institution of music at Bhitshah by about 1742 AD when he had permanently settled here. He invented a new instrument, trained new musicians from amongst his followers to sing in the new style, detailed the bulk of his poems under different chapters which were called the surs, and specified each sur by the ragni or raga in which it was to be sung…This institution had a great impact on the revival of music in Sindh…" (62) In Baloch's narrative, Shah Latif's musical style was a deliberation that produced the unique culture of Sindh.

In contrast, the Sindhi Hindu scholars have differed in their understanding of *sur* as a musical system unique to Sind. Tirathdas Hotechand defines sur as a complete poem that is a "collection of *duha* or stanzas." Each *sur* is divided into "cantos" and each canto is concluded by a *wai*, a kind of epilogue (158) A wai is a kind of lyrical poem like an ode or a song and the important peculiarity of it is a refrain, which is repeated after every couplet. In another article, he looks at Shah Latif as a dramatist, and Shah Latif's music to have originated in *bhagat*. (89) Motilal Jotwani (1974) in his book *Shah Abdul Latif: His Life and Work* argues that *surs* are not "*ragas* proper" because they do not have their

own essential nature called *jati, akriti and vyakti*, i.e. type, figure, individuality. Unlike the classical ragas, Shah Latif's *surs* are based on words of the *bait* and *wai* sung in a style, which is not at all rigidly classical. Therefore, for him *raags* are pure and without words and since surs have words they are not classical—notions that are also problematic. He writes that music of Shah Abdul Latif is expressed through rhythm and melody of words in contradistinction to the classical music, which is expressed by rhythm, and melody of sounds. Tones in it are used as pegs on which to hand the words expressing tonal moods and sentiments." (87) He places surs not under the general heading of *loka-giti* or *loka-sangita* (folk songs) but *laukika-vinoda*, which refers to the music produced by experts for the satisfaction of common people in contrast with *loka-giti* which is the music sung by lay men, and therefore amateurish and without technical virtuosity. He writes that Shah Latif's verses resemble Sanskrit songs of Jaideva, and various other songs of Candidas, Surdas, Tulsidas, Vidyapati, Mira, Kabir, Dadu, Nanak revealing a tangible bias. Whereas Baloch linked Shah Latif with Arabo-Persianate music, Jotwani and Hotechand with Sanskrit and music of the Hindus. He writes that Latif's surs are based on lok-ragas that are sung tunefully to the accompaniment of a drone instrument by minstrels, faqirs and members of religious sects, and these ragas prefer simple rural speeches to not-so-simple, urban languages (88).

One notices from Motilal Jotwani's book that it is important for scholars to classify the sur tradition as either "folk," "classical" or "in-between"---projects that have also recently occupied Ethnomusicologists of South Asia (Manuel 2015). I depart from this approach because the terms "classical" and "folk" in connote valuations of musical forms that do not always do justice to its practitioners. Rather, it subdues the voice of those who do not fall in the mold of the "classical" or "art." Furthermore, since these terms have already been problematized as modern constructions, Ethnomusicology requires another approach to understand musical traditions and communities. In this respect, a dialogic approach helps to even out the gradation and hierarchy and focus on the conversations between musical communities that an ethnographer can receive access through immersion within that music community.

Conclusion

This chapter showed how the colonial and post-colonial production of scholarship about Shah Latif's music were located within Hindu and Muslim quests to own the tradition without taking into perspective the views of the tradition bearers. Since this scholarship did not take into consideration the voices of the raagi faqirs, their lexicon and analysis of Shah Latif's *kari* style was at times based on western terms such as "choral music." It is because both the raagi faqirs and their *kari* style of singing is invisible within this scholarship that one needs to take its marginalization into consideration that provoked the faqirs to protest at a Press Conference outside Hyderabad Press Club in the 1990s for greater inclusion. However, while they are being included at Sufi festivals, the appreciation of their singing remains limited to a few educated listeners. In the next chapter, I discuss how governing the sound of the *kari* style of the Shah jo Raag preserves the vocal aesthetic and the tradition but contributes further to the subalternity of the faqirs.

Chapter 5: Governing the Sufi Sound on Coke Studio: Raagi Faqirs' Subalternity in Contemporary Sind

Sur Rano is one of the popular Shah Latif's surs in the Risalo based on the popular romantic folktale Moomal and Rano in Sindh. It is also one of the most widely sung surs of Shah Latif in Sindh and depicts the *ishq* (love) between a believer and Allah. When a young princess, Moomal, who falls in love with a noble courtier, Rano from Umarkot, Moomal's family does not approve of their connection. Her sister tries to create a misunderstanding between the two by misleading Rano into thinking that Moomal is having an affair with another man. With sorcery and stratagem, when his sister dresses in male attire and sleeps next to Moomal, Rano arrives at her palace thinking that she is with another man and leaves her for good. Moomal learns about this and goes to Rano's city to entreat him to say with her, but he does not listen and finally in proof of her love for him, she lights a fire and steps into it. Rano tries to stop her but she does not, and Rano, upon seeing Moomal in flames also steps into the fire, uniting with his beloved in death and eternity.

In 2010, Raagi Faqirs were featured in the globally circulated program Coke Studio, singing Shah Latif's Sur Moomal Rano. The performance featured the Shah jo Raagis singing the wai with Coke Studio's in-house band, consisting of several Eastern and Western instruments not used traditionally in singing the Shah jo Raag at the dargah.[36] The bait that Faqir Jumman Shah sings is from the moment in the tale when Moomal entreats Rano to forgive her of any faults. Here Moomal is considered to be the believer, Rano to be the beloved God. In the wai, which is a very famous verse sung in Sindh, Moomal entreats Rano to stay with her for the night, and Latif, taking the persona of Moomal, requests Allah's forgiveness.

O Mian, Allah Mian...
O God, my Lord (repeat)
Russ ma russan ghoryo
Even if you are upset with me, I am still willing to lay down my life for you
Chudd raana raida-ee
My lord, speak to me once again
Lapay tij Latif chay, kamil khachaie

[36] (Please see the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZkOQutaHaZc&ab_channel=RohailHyatt)

My lord, forgive your Latif for all his faults and mistakes.
Oooooo kar maaf madai
Forgive all the mistakes
Ta sodha sukhiyani theeyaanm Mian
I will only be at peace when my Lord reciprocates my love
O Allah, kar maaf madai
My lord, forgive all my faults
Wai
Ao rana ruh raat tunjhi chaangul khay chandan chariyaan
My lord, stay with me tonight, and I'll feed the beast you ride as well
Kanwal choondindyas kaak ja
I will pluck the lotus that grows by the side of my palace's pond
Attay Abdul Latif khay daatar deendum daat Allah
Abdul Latif is hopeful that his Lord will bless him and endow him with knowledge.

In this chapter, I address the controversy about performance of Shah jo Raag on the Coke Studio addressing the question: how do Raagi Faqirs' performances outside the dargah impact traditional relationships? What potential do global fusions have in integrating the subaltern in corporate hegemony and what is the role of the Coke Studio in creating tensions in local relationships? How might traditional authority's resistance to corporate hegemony create new forms of subalternity? I argue that this the new subalternity is a choice and a dilemma; if the raagi faqirs integrate in corporate hegemony as Sufi singers and musicians, they would lose their aesthetic and also lose their place at the dargah; in doing so, they will also lose the support of the authority that authenticates them.

I begin by contextualizing the corporate governmentality historically in post-colonial Karachi, that supported urban popular music cultures and one of the first musical fusion of Shah jo Raag in the 1980s that did not experience similar issues of disapproval. I then situate the contemporary fusion by the raagi faqirs on the Coke Studio within the context of urban corporate hegemony. Next, I show the reception of this fusion online and then at the dargah, theorizing faqirs' responses as a kind of new form of subalternity and silence created by the interface of Sufi and corporate governmentality and address how it is locally theorized as observance of adab (etiquette) towards the spiritual authority. Finally, I conclude by situating how corporate governmentality gives an opportunity for integration in hegemony that was not offered by colonial and post-

colonial governmentality; so that while the raagi faqirs want to be integrated in this hegemony, in order to maintain their relationship and place at the dargah, they have to observe respect towards Sajjada Nashin's decisions.

Corporate Hegemony in Post-Colonial Karachi and Sindhi Subalternity

Within the new state, Sindhis found the privileged status of Sindhi language acquired as a result of a favorable British policy in colonial Sindh undermined as the prominent Karachi University changed its language of examination to be Urdu and prevented Sindhis from writing their exams in their mother tongue (Allana 2014, 249) as discussed in Chapter 3. In the 1970s, Sindhis experienced a rejuvenation of their language and culture, when the Sindhi political party, Pakistan People's Party came into power in Pakistan. However, when the Government of Sindh government shifted the educational policy to oblige students to take examinations in Sindhi. This created violent riots between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking students in Karachi, Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas and the mohajir (immigrants) found themselves alienated by the PPP policy (Rahman 1999, 29-30). The Urdu-Sindhi divide had worsened because of General Zia-ul-Haq's regime as part of the military establishment supported the formation of a political party called Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) that emerged from Urdu-speaking students at Karachi University and catered to the marginalization of Urdu speaking youth in Sind. This party that was initially a pro-establishment party has achieved significant support and junta-power in Sindh over the years, furthering the marginalization of the Sindhis.

Since a significant part of Sindh was rural, Sindhi was associated with being "feudal" and "rustic" in comparison with Urdu being an urban language that was also the national language of Pakistan and promoted by the state. Therefore, the Muhajir (immigrant) with greater wealth and urbane attitude had a condescending attitude towards Sindhis and did not make any concrete efforts to assimilate in the province (Rahman 1999, 27). The demographic changes as a result of partition and emigration of Sindhi Hindus to India and immigration of Urdu speaking Muslims to Karachi made an immense impact on the percentage of Sindhi speakers. In 1941, 61.2 % of the population spoke Sindhi with 6.3% Urdu, and 51% of this population was Hindu and 42 % Muslim. Post-colonial Karachi witnessed a change in the population dynamics, and according to the

1951 census, the percentage of Sindhi speakers dropped to 8.6 %, and Urdu hiked to 50 percent with only 2 % Hindu population remaining in Karachi and 96 percent Muslims (Hassan and Mohib 1997 3). Within Pakistan, Karachi also represented the urban-rural divide in Pakistan; the 1951 census mentions 82.2% of total population in rural town, and 17.8 % urban and this proportion has not changed significantly with 67.5 % and 32.5 % of the population in urban towns in 1998. The inequalities between the rural-urban divide, and the rural-urban migration have been an issue in the control of the population in the cities. (Hassan and Mohib 2003, 2). The rural versus urban divide also constitutes divisions in two forms of economy: agrarian economy in the rural towns versus mercantile economy in the cities.

A clear policy to promote Sindhi expressions within a state-sponsorship of Urdu expressions created a unique subculture of urban sound making and listening within Sind, the hub of which was Hyderabad as discussed in Chapter 3. Therefore, whereas the Karachi station promoted Urdu ghazal, *na'at, iqbaliat*, and *qawwali* (for more details see Qureshi 2002), the Hyderabad station promoted different styles of singing Sindhi Sufi poetry namely kafi and wai alongside national songs in Sindhi. Since Karachi was a center of national culture, the Sindhi expressions came to the metropolis only after its introduction at Radio Hyderabad. The ethnic cross-overs within these cultures were rare.

Since the 1960s, one finds another kind of music culture that emerged from second-generation urban youth and found its way in Pakistani Urdu films—a culture called the "pop culture" in Pakistan that is recognized for its westernized synth sounds, discotheque beats, etc. in the 1980s and that evolved into rock and jazz expressions in the 90s to present. This culture is based on emulation and adaptation of rhythms and harmonies found in western popular music within a Pakistani context. The musical instruments include different kinds of guitar (bass, lead), keyboards, drum kit, etc. and these are popular amongst the urban elite youth. What this culture achieves is direct the listeners from the youth segment of the urban populace to listen to westernized sounds created by Pakistanis than remain slavish listeners of popular music charts and alternative music from the west circulated by ex-pats within the urban elite underground economy. Amongst the group of singers who became famous one finds the name of Nazia and Zoheb Hassan, Ahmed Rushdi, Alamgir, Mohammed Ali Sheikhi, who were essentially

icons in the 1970s and 80s. As playback film music became popular amongst urban youth in Pakistan, a new culture based on western electronic sounds emerged in Karachi, and this culture created a pop music scene that continued in the 1980s despite the state Islamization in Pakistan by General Zia-ul-Haq. While the military establishment was creating political rifts between Urdu and Sindhi speakers in the 1980s, the progressive cultural group who were advocates for Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in Pakistan sought to bridge the political divides through a song that appealed to the musical sensibilities of both Urdu and Sindhi speakers.

The Music Culture of Coke Studio in Contemporary Karachi

Coke Studio emerged in Pakistan's music scene in June 2008 and was telecast on select television channels, with video and MP3 files available for immediate download from its official channel on YouTube. It can be considered one of the recent trend within the history of urban pop music in Pakistan, and its initial popularity was among urban youth. Coke Studio's advertising billboards across Pakistan made each of its seasons trendy amongst the younger generation. Unlike other music-oriented shows in Pakistan that introduced urban artists and new music, Coke Studio's niche was working with Pakistan's traditional musicians singing regional folk and Sufi genres of qawwali and kafi as well as engaging new urban singers in producing covers of recorded songs from the 60s and 70s. Even though it's a corporate-funded initiative, Coke Studio has even won followers from leftist groups in Pakistan because of its transnational appeal and its promotion of regional folk musicians and their work.

In a talk at Harvard University, Rohail Hyatt, who was the producer of the founding seasons of Coke Studio for the first few years, states that this interest was in blending the western and eastern tunings in ways that resonate with each other, keeping the traditional music at the forefront and the westernized accompaniment in the background (2015). As discussed earlier, a westernized musical arrangement to Indian melodies had come about as early as Lionel Fielden's Radio Orchestra in the 1940s which added western harmonies to Indian music (Lelyveld 1994). This trend continued with Radio Pakistan, where most songs contained some western instrumentation in them (Hemani 2011). However, one could consider Coke Studio's contribution to be more

along the lines of adding guitar riffs from American music—namely blues, gospel, Motown, etc.—to the traditional music of Pakistan.

One of the unique qualities of Coke Studio was its open collaboration between the producer, traditional singer and the house band who were able to work together to produce a musical arrangement of their choice. The members of the house band included one of the top instrumentalists in Pakistan, who shared a humble attitude vis-a-vis the folk and Sufi musicians and their musical expertise. Muazzam Qawwals (the duo from the family of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan) remark:

> No matter who you are, you are dealt with on your terms. You are not bound in any way or forced to think in a certain way. This kind of respect boosts the artist's confidence. We have collaborated many times internationally and have also toured around the world. However, this is the best collaborative experience we've ever had" (Tanweer 2012).

Coke Studio's producer collaborated closely with the primary singer. Hayatt would invite the singer to the studio and listen to various songs from them after which they would decide which one to move forward with. After the artist has done a raw recording, the song is then taken to the house band, which decides where and what kinds of fills are to be given. This is followed by everyone coming together to rehearse and produce a recording that then becomes a released version. Regarding compensation, Coke Studio does not offer a large sum to the musicians, but the fame that they receive helps them in securing gigs transnationally (Tanweer 2012).

Some of the “Behind the Scenes” videos with different Sufi singers including Sanam Marvi, Abida Parvin, and Saeein Zahoor, show how Rohail Hyatt, the producer of Coke Studio, interacts with the artists one on one to decide which Sufi kalam to feature in the upcoming season. These singers sing the various poems they know without accompaniment and once the kalam is decided, Hayatt records it and has his team of western musicians interact with these songs adding blues riffs while trying to stay close to the notes of the particular Raag. The live drum accompaniment is also added to make the sound more accessible for urban ears. Hayatt describes this process as a kind of communication between east and west without western music taking over the eastern and instead giving due space to the eastern sound. All the singers who come from the shrines or the families of shrine singers are given special respect by the entire team and honored

for producing voices that come from the "*mitti*" (literally meaning "sand" but connotes, in this case, the earth, land and the region). Therefore, according to its most frequent musicians, Coke Studio

Shah Latif's Wai for Urban Listeners: A Capitalist Sema

Allan Faqir featured in one of the first Sufi-pop fusions in the 1980s when he appeared in a video of Shah Latif's wai with then pop star Mohammed Ali Shaikhi. The style of *kafi* as discussed earlier has been performed with a Hindustani ensemble and what one notices in the Coke Studio is that many kafi singers, including bands such as the Jamshoro (a town next to Hyderabad) The Sketches or prominent singers such as Abida Parvin as well as folk singers from villages playing ek tara and singing Shah Latif's poetry have been featured on the Coke Studio. Since these musicians do not belong to the dargah they have not caused any controversy as a result of their Coke Studio fusions. In fact, these versions are supported for their outreach to urban listeners.

However, when the raagi faqirs sang Sur Rano for the Coke Studio, the producer's aesthetic choices to maneuver the sound of the Shah jo Raag to appeal to an urban listener created a controversy at the dargah. The behind the scenes (BTS) video shows some of the ways these aesthetic choices were realized. For example, in the behind-the-scenes (BTS) version of the video, there are two instances when Rohail Hyatt shows his struggles with capturing the sound of the dambura correctly. In one scene, he presents a tuner to the faqirs telling them that this is "*Sa*" (tonic) and to tune their dambura accordingly, and in another instance, he explicitly addresses the faqirs and states that when they strike the dambura, there is an overload on their system and so they have to work on getting a high-quality sound. At the dargah, it is common to find the dambura not entirely in tune because, depending on the construction, some pegs of the dambura loosen quickly detuning the strings.

The sound quality of the Shah jo Raag in the featured video was evident at the outset. It is a clean sound of a studio recording, without the background noise that one typically hears at the ritualistic setting in the dargah. Additional, there are some aesthetic transformations as well; the drone of the dambura is less clear in the singing of the bait. When one listens to the Shah jo Raag at the dargah, the sound of the drone is sometimes at the same level as the voice, and with several dambura strumming together, it creates a

soundscape of strings being strummed from different corners. In the Coke version, all the dambura are being strummed at the same time and in place of the field of drone, one hears a light accompaniment of the dambura in the background.

Figure 24: Faqirs' performance on Coke Studio accompanied with the in-house band at the back

A characteristic feature of the singing of bait at the dargah is the exchange between two faqirs in what is called *bait dena* and *bait uthana*. However, the studio version eliminates this exchange and has Faqir Jumman Shah sing in *jhoonghar* (solo) style that the faqir only engages in for teaching or when they are invited as a solo act. The absence of this exchange begs question of how and why the producer made these choices, but since Rohail Hyatt is known to be shy and not available for an interview despite multiple requests, I was not able to interview him to find out. It is possible that since the faqirs exchanging voices have distinct vocal colors or timbres and are not perfectly blending in, the aesthetic did not fit with the desire for a clean recording.

Moreover, the length of the Coke Studio version is 6 minutes and 40 seconds, a typical length for Coke Studio pieces which do not conform to 3 to 4-minute song structure of radio. However, in comparison with the singing of the sur at the dargah, where each sur lasts about 16-20 minutes, this is still abbreviated as well as disproportioned. For example, the singing of baits usually takes about 80-90 percent of a

sur performance at the dargah where every faqir receives an opportunity to sing a bait. Whereas Coke Studio provides only one faqir (the leader) the opportunity to sing a bait that takes about 1 minute 48 seconds of the piece, the rest involves the singing of wai. Since the wai section is metrical and rhythmic and creates a climactic moment as the tempo increases, it is an aesthetic exploited by the Coke Studio because it is here that the sound of the in-house band is added.

One also notices that the role of the leader of the toli as presented at the dargah is also not observed in the Coke Studio version. Saeein Jumman begins the bait as in the case of a leader, yet Qurban Faqir Lanjwani initiates the wai. At the dargah, it is the leader who initiates the wai. Perhaps because the leader initiates the wai halfway, as the last faqir is singing the *hoongara* (last line of the bait) in the Coke recording, while Faqir Jumman Shah is the only one singing a bait, someone else has to initiate the wai. After Qurban Faqir initiates the first verse of the *hoongara*, the other verses are initiated by Faqir Jumman, establishing his place as the leader of the toli.

Moreover, Coke Studio's version also alters the texture of the piece. What one notices in the wai section is that the faqirs begin by singing the entire verse together in monophony, in contrast with a heterophonic texture of singing wai where a single melodic line is divided, and one part of the hemistich is sung in *maadhi awaz* by one section of the group and another in the *kharj awaz* by another section of the group. In this texture, each syllable of a word is separated, so that the first syllable of the word is sung in maadhi awaz and the others in kharj awaz for example. This was also the case in the singing of the bait, where one does not hear Faqir Jumman Shah or the other faqirs using maadhi awaz (feminine voice).

The in-house band starts playing, beginning with light percussion played by Gumby. ne hears an addition of bass and rhythm guitar, with the bass riff becoming predominant throughout the rest of the wai, combined with synthesizer keyboard and other instruments such as the violin. During this section, the sound of the faqirs striking the dambura is not audible at all. Moreover, the striking sound is replaced by an external percussive sound that is heard on the beat rather than between the two strums of the dambura as the faqirs usually play it. The aesthetic feature of the wai performance is the increase in the tempo of the wai, which is well exploited by the Coke version, with a

neon-lighted effigy of a bottle of Coke and the circling movement of the camera that creates a sense of spiritual trance around the bottle. The video ends with a characteristic gesture by Faqir Jumman Shah kissing his dambura, something he often does at the dargah as well as during our lessons.

In examining mediated qawwali in colonial India, Regula Qureshi coins the word "capitalist sema," a listening experience that is decontextualized from the listening experience of the Sufi dargah which is mediated by spiritual authority and reverence towards the saint. In the past decade, with the Internet, YouTube and the digitalization of music, we've seen a shift in the embodiment of the charisma directed towards the saint and spiritual authority in the traditional settings at the Sufi dargah. Qureshi writes that the charisma is now embodied in the singer whose voice and singing is considered "divine." Singing Sufi qawwali at the dargah of Nizamuddin, in comparison to its world music productions are also two different forms of listening (sema), writes Qureshi. At the dargah, qawwali is embedded in the feudal relations between the Sheikh and the qawwal, in contrast with the "capitalist sema," which is an outcome of relations between the record company and musical specialists. The investor controls the capitalist mode of production, and the "auditory experience is enhanced by live enactment on stage and virtualized by live video" (594). A capitalist sema of the Shah jo Raag, such as the one featured on Coke Studio, eliminates the presence of a listener and the ritual so that the sound and musicians are abstracted from their context. Any reference to the saint and his message is also eliminated. While the singers are perhaps invoking the presence of the saint, what visually comes forward to the viewer is the faqirs singing in praise of Coke as the overbearing presence of the neon-lighted effigy of a Coke bottle in the background dominates the visual aesthetic of the music video.

The digital experience of capitalist sema offered by Coke Studio received positive responses from listeners on the YouTube. If one notices the comments places under the YouTube video of the raagi faqirs' rendition, one listener sends his praise to Shah Latif for spreading the message of love in Sindh. Another listener praises Coke Studio for preserving the cultural heritage of Pakistan. Another Sindhi listener in the diaspora described his ecstatic listening experience in a post below the video:

> This is something I never experienced before. Its 2 am at night in the city of Toronto, and I am feeling this track inside my soul.... can't stop moving my head with eyes closed. Not Understanding but Understanding .... at the same time.... this is magic.

From Azher Saiyid, we find other poetic postings on this video. For him, this piece also invoked childhood memories of visiting Shah Latif's dargah and hearing the faqirs singing the wai: "I am held in a trance, all those years I have been praying that how it would be possible to listen to those mystic tunes. Now I hold my breath in awe. Thanks to Coke Team. Great work!" He further writes:

> Just sit back, close your eyes and let yourself flow with the music, this is the mystic music of my homeland which is immortal...No, not the worldly riches, nor the medics could wash away the sorrows and grief gathered in my heart, but when I listen to these tunes, I close my eyes, and the tears find their ways to wash that heaviness held in my chest. Yes, I am born again. Thanks to Jumman Shah Fakir and group, Rohail Hayat and coke studio.

There are other expressions of ecstatic experiences in which people described the sound to be "divine," and that it "transported" them or creates goose bumps. This reflects the ways in which "capitalist sema" as in the case of the Coke Studio, shifts the locus of charisma to digitally produced ethnoscapes that links with the sound with imagined land. Thus, the cyber experience of listening to Sufi sound does not prominently come forward as an act of devotion to the saint, but instead becomes an example of cultural memory, cultural pride, a cultural rejuvenation and shifting of one's state of mind to higher ground.

From the comments of the listeners, one can state the elitist attempts at creating a global sound is also has a purpose in the Muslim context. For example, in the contemporary Muslim context, Deborah Kapchan studies the Fez festival of sacred sound and brings forward her interview with the founder Faouzi Skali. Skali traces the formation of this festival to the aftermath of the Gulf War which inspired him to present "counter-narratives" to the stereotype of Muslim as fundamentalist or terrorist (2008). One finds similar views expressed in the interview with Rohail Hayatt, conducted by Ali Asani at the Harvard University in 2015, in which he described his interest in blending the western and eastern tunings in ways that resonate with each other, keeping the traditional music at the forefront and the westernized accompaniment in the background.

Coke Studio-Pakistan's appeal after 9/11, when Pakistan was aligned with the US, in the "War on Terror," also brought more publicity to this program internationally, with neoliberal scholars promoting Coke Studio stars for high-profile performances for the US Secretary of State.

Preserving the Tradition of Shah jo Raag in an era of Globalization

Globalization represents a neo-liberal model of capitalist modernity that distances itself from Eurocentrism towards the celebration of the other. With this socio-economic context, the category of "world music" emerged in 1987 to represent the flow of non-western music into the West. There are two major positions to situate the global flows of music: one is the neo-liberal position that celebrates global flows of music presuming that it is based on opening of borders and equal exchanges, and the second is the Marxist critical approach that views these global flows as a kind of cultural imperialism (Tsing 2002). The third position cautions against placing too much power and agency in the hands of institutions and agents of the West and dilutes the Marxist position by pointing towards other factors, for example, the role of technology and digital release of music that is breaking national boundaries and transforming the experience of listening altogether. The Coke Studio is an example of such a digital release of music that, though produced in a particular national context, includes a neo-liberal ethic of corporate social responsibility. Since Coke Studio has a global outreach, its showcase of local musical talent that is exportable and creates opportunities for musicians. What may then be reaction of spiritual authority whose goal is not to enhance the raagi faqirs' exportability but rather to preserve the tradition handed down to him?

A controversy about Coke Studio's version of the Shah jo Raag began right after the video came online in 2010. When I visited the autaq of the 11th Sajjada Nashin, Nasir Hussain Shah in 2014, his son who is the current Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Waqar Saeein, brought up the issue of Coke Studio on his own and described this conflict as an "intellectual clash with Saeein Jumman." He stated that Faqir Jumman Shah mixed Latif's raag with other music, and the 11th Sajjada Nashin Nasir Hussain Shah suspended Faqir Jumman Shah in what he described as a "clash" that would have also resulted in the Sajjada Nashin filing a court case against Rohail Hyatt, the producer of the Coke Studio. However, when Waqar Saaein sent a letter to Rohail Hyatt, Hyatt retracted from

producing any more such recordings of the Shah jo Raag. The Sajjada Nashin also claimed that several people, including the faqirs and members of his family were against his position, arguing that "The world is changing," "We should take Shah Latif's message to the world," and "We should have a new musical form, etc." However, the Wali Ahad argued with everyone telling them that it was a matter of belief (*aqida*), and "If we start interfering with our original things, then we will suffer." He also argued that he is not against "innovation" of any kind, "but we cannot interfere with spiritual matters" and he considered it "respectable music" which should not be connected with "worldly music." "In worldly music, there can also be a reference to Satan. However, this music is spiritual, and it is pure" (Conversations with the 11th Sajjada Nashin and Wali Ahad 2014).

Moreover, he remarked, "Whether our intellect reaches that point or not, we need to keep this [spiritual music] as we have received it. However, we should not change spiritual things. Then Saeein [Jumman] also understood." The Sajjada Nashin was not happy that the video of the Coke Studio performance of the Shah jo Raag still exists on YouTube because it may encourage other versions of the kind, but he did not take the issue further. The next section describes this video, its making and its impact on Sindhi listeners. The Sajjada Nashin had very strict ideas for how the Shah jo Raag should be presented and did not support its performance for the Coke Studio. In this section, I show the making of the Coke Studio performance of the Shah jo Raag and the corporate rationalities associated with its presentation.

The Sajjada Nashin's reasons for disapproving of the Coke Studio presentations of the Shah jo Raag are traditional rationalities that are unique to this Sufi tradition. One of the primary reason why the Sajjada Nashin disapproved was that he considered the Coke Studio presentation to have conflated the sacred sound of the Shah jo Raag with worldly music. In my conversation with the 12th Sajjada Nashin, the need to keep Latif's raag differentiated from secular forms of entertainment was emphasized:

> In Shah Latif's times, music was at its zenith and people were digressing from the path of Allah because they were listening to music that was leading them towards savagery (*hevaniyat*) and that is the negative aspect of music. Nothing is in itself good or bad; it depends on its use. Music that people were listening to was digressing people from Allah. So, it was the miracle of Latif that he used music to bring people back to the path of Allah. This is the difference between spiritual

> music and worldly music. Also, we cannot mix the two because each is distinct. Allah has made everything in the opposite: day/night, truth/falsehood and similarly music also has two aspects: one is spiritual, and the other digress you from spirituality (Interview with the 12th Sajjada Nashin Waqar Hussain Shah 2014).

The Sajjada Nashin was not against the more popular renditions of Shah Latif's verses promoted by the national media. He stated "In order to spread the message, if you sing it with tabla say in the form of *kafi*, that is fine. However, do not take this style [The Shah jo Raag as is sung at the shrine] of singing and corrupt its origins." While the current Sajjada Nashin supports the faqirs' participation in secular public performances of Shah jo Raag, and faqirs performing the spiritual music at Sufi festivals, he considers it his duty to preserve the sonic aesthetic of the Shah jo Raag. He also argued that he is not against "innovation" of any kind but says "We cannot interfere with spiritual matters:" "Whether our intellect reaches that point or not! We need to keep this [spiritual music] as we have received it. However, we should not change spiritual things" (Interview with the 12th Sajjada Nashin Waqar Hussain Shah 2014).

Secondly, the Sajjada Nashin valued the singing style of the Shah jo Raag as a miracle of the saint similar to how the Quran was a miracle of the Prophet Mohammed. Sindhis consider Shah Latif's poetry to be "Sindhi Quran," much like Rumi's Masnavi is considered Quran in Pahlavi. Rislao is a "sacred book for the Sindhis and admired and memorized by Muslims and Hindus equally." Not only is the Risalo regarded as a commentary on Quran in Sindh but it has also been called the "Hindu's Gita" (Asani 2003, 634), showing that its respect as scripture is held by both Muslims and Hindus. Dr. Carl Ernst defines this phenomenon as the "scripturalization of poetry," where poetry becomes a sacred text much like religious scriptures (170). Just as the mufti and qari govern the rules of reciting the Quran in different parts of the world, the Sajjada Nashin, working within the Islamic framework, takes the role of preserving the sound and musical aesthetic of this Sufi style by establishing its value as akin to the Quran.

> Latif's spiritual music is his miracle, and even today it is found in the same form. Human beings have no right to change the things that are sent from Allah. No one can change an alphabet of Quran or Bible. Similarly, Latif's Raag is sent by God as a miracle and has been preserved in the same form. It has been the Sajjada Nashin's first duty to pass the legacy in the same form (Interview with the 12th Sajjada Nashin Waqar Hussain Shah 2014).

The Sajjada Nashin considered this musical form the "miracle" that was given to Latif. Since Latif was known to have created the musical instrumentation and arrangement in which faqirs sing, there has been an effort in Sindh to preserve the original form of the Shah jo Raag. Moreover, from the above quote, one can also gather that the Sajjada Nashin considers preserving Latif's raag to be a significant aspect of his duty to pass on the tradition in the same form. He considers the singing style as a miracle of Latif and preserving it to be safeguarding an *amanat* that has been given to him by his ancestors. The word "amanat" means "custody" and refers to the fact that custodianship of Latif's raag was given to him by his forefathers. Therefore, as part of the role of being a custodian, the Sajjada Nashin consider it part of their role to pass down this amanat from one generation to another. Amanat has a special significance in the Islamic context; it means bestowing a valuable possession in someone's custody such that it does not belong to the person and will be taken away when needed. In the absence of banks in the time of the prophet, there were trustworthy people from within society who were given the role of caring for a traveler's valuable possessions. Prophet Muhammed was known for being *sadiq* and *ameen* that is honest and trustworthy in preserving the physical possessions that were given to him as amanat by traders and others within his tribe. The Sajjada Nashin, stated:

> In different times and eras, the Sajjada Nashin preserved this tradition. They also observed the spiritual rituals and passed the amanat (referring to the tradition) to the next generation. Moreover, the music of Latif, the raag, was a special amanat (Interview with the 12th Sajjada Nashin Waqar Hussain Shah 2014).

Sajjada Nashin positions the Shah jo Raag and spiritual rituals at the dargah as an *amanat* that has been handed down by tradition and passed from one lineage of Sajjada Nashin to another. The closest English translation of the word for a person who keeps the amanat is "custodian," and the Sajjada Nashin identifies himself as a custodian and not merely an administrator of the dargah. The Sajjada Nashin was also very supportive of women like me learning the raag as well as presentations of Latif's translated poetry in the style of opera. However, he was very strict about preserving the particular style sung at the shrine that Latif had handed down to the faqirs. "If we start interfering with our original things, then we will suffer," he said.

Subaltern Silence and Observance of *Adab*

Ethnomusicologists have also challenged the industrialization of pre-capitalist musical forms within the umbrella term “world music.” Erlman contextualizes it within histories of colonialism, in which European, Black North American and Black South African (Erlmann 1994), among other musical styles, cross-fertilized in western centers. Erlman’s analysis is based on Frederic Jameson’s concept of late-capitalism that situates these global flows as based on production and consumption of difference. Whereas the late-19th century constituted a “representational regime of colonial selves in relation to the colonization” and an era of “the fetish, and the spectacle,” (Erlmann 1999, 176), the twentieth century has inclined towards the “presentational” and the “mimetic.” The Mevlevi whirling dervishes have been performing in Europe since the 19th century. The following image of a dervish performance at *r* the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889 shows a single Mevlevi dervish with an ensemble of Sufi musicians in the background (Ccedil and Çelik 1992, 24). As late as the 1970s, the New York Times describes Sufi performances in terms such as "mysterious and "exotic" reflecting a sense of cultural imperialism ("*Whirling Dervish: Still Mysterious and Exotic* — Feurlicht 1975).

FIGURE 7.
Whirling dervish on the Rue du Caire, Paris, 1889 (*Revue de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1).

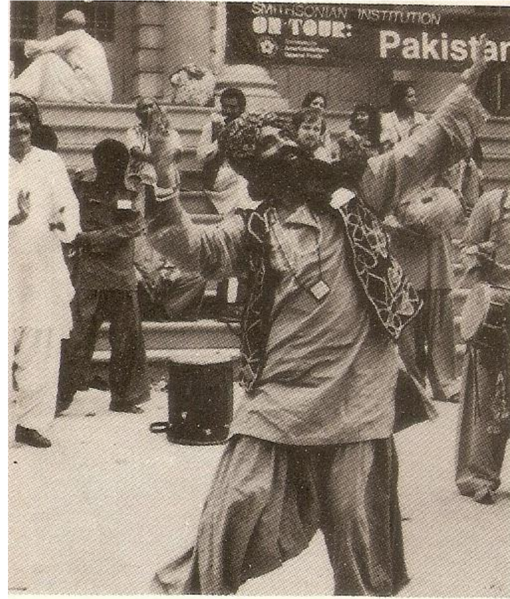

Figure 25: Left: A sketch of a whirling dervish on the Rue du Caire, Paris at the Exposition Universelle, 1889.

Figure 26: Right: Allan Faqīr at the Smithsonian Festival in 1976, from Catalogue of Lok Virsa (1976)

Kroier (2012) writes about subalternity in “world music” cultures describing the "specific kind of exclusion" of non-European musical artists within a colonial context and subalternity as a "condition of silence.". A subaltern world music musician, in hiring a mediator or spokesperson, loses his voice to the spokesperson; "Self-definition is no longer under his control." He writes:

> Paradoxically, the subaltern's legitimacy is conferred upon him only by his spokesperson, which then usurps his place in the public imagination and reduces him to a generic other. "Not only the subaltern >>can't speak<< (Spivak), also their music <<can't speak<< as a medium since it needs interpretation in the language of words (Kramer). It is the fundamental need for Ethnomusicologists to defend the music of the subaltern in the Western academia that creates their uncomfortable position as interpreters suspect of paternalism.

An example of subalternity as a kind of exclusion and silence within the Sufi context is found in an article by Jonathan Shannon about the Al-Kindi Ensemble led by Hamza Shakkur and Julien Weiss who are part of the Mawlawwiyya order of whirling dervishes from Syria. As the spokespeople of the ensemble, they focus on promoting "authentic, local, Syrian sacred music tradition." Their musical styles are "naturalized" as "sacred" and "Sufi" in a manner that reconfigures both the local and the global. Whereas globally, the performances of Mawlawiyya are promoted as "sacred music," locally they are performed at stages and restaurants in Syria. In the city of Aleppo, the performances outside the sacred settings introduce new etiquette, where the audience is asked to be silent rather than participate with their encouraging shouts or applause as in the case of their performances at home. Shanon considers Julien Weiss's ensemble as an appropriation of Third World music by the First World because most Syrians cannot afford to attend the soirees that Weiss organizes.

Whereas these forms of subalternity would be applicable in many folk singers who are featured on the Coke Studio, what I see is that reflexivity in capitalist modernity has already overcome the critique of silencing the subaltern in the ways mentioned by Kroier. For example, the BTS of the Coke Studio featured Faqir Jumman Shah who narrated the significance of Shah jo Raag, and introduced the viewers to Latif’s surs and the spiritual elements of this form of singing, states that the Shah jo Raag, comprises of 36 surs, which have been passed down from one generation to another for several hundred years. He further states that this raag speaks to the *ruh* (soul) and whoever listens

to it; his five senses are absorbed in it. Moreover, Shah Latif invented the *dambura* (lute) with which faqirs sing his verses, stating that dambura represents the heart of Latif. Jumman Shah describes Latif's poetry as based in a message of ishq (love), and the raagi faqirs' role to spread this spiritual message to the world by *fana,* that is eliminating their ego, and in doing so keeping others alive. In other words, the voice of the subaltern was at the forefront and they had the space to educate the listener about the spiritual significance of their music. Therefore, the singers' musical form and its meaning is not mediated in the same way in the Weiss's Al-Kindi ensemble because the faqirs' ability to speak in Urdu allows him to reach a national audience in Pakistan through the global outreach of the Coke Studio. Where then is faqirs' subalternity located?

Since the 1990s, when the raagi faqirs began to perform outside the dargah, they have become agents in the re-contextualization of the Sufi tradition in new spaces. Whereas traditions are integral parts of communities that interact with one another, the development of media, as John Thompson writes, gradually "uproots" the tradition and the bond that ties traditions to specific locales of face-to-face interaction" (1996, 98). With this de-localization, the people became dependent on the media and are detached from particular locales. Moreover, uprooting of traditions leads to "re-embedding of traditions in new contexts and for the re-mooring of traditions to new kinds of the territorial unit that exceeded the limits of shared locales." The faqirs continue their spiritual goals in the global sphere as envisioning their performances to be spreading the message of Latif. Moreover, the Sajjada Nashin approves of these performances, and it is through this close collaboration that the faqirs have received support to present the Shah jo Raag outside the dargah. Faqir Jumman Shah has a vision to spread the message of Latif globally. The outreach of internet-based platforms, in particular, Coke studio and others appeal to him for this. The success of the performance was also a matter of pride for Faqir Jumman Shah as he mentioned in our conversation that it was based on this performance that people from very faraway places had contacted him to congratulate him for sharing the message of Latif with the world. The Sufi singers from the dargah of Latif that I have spoken with also maintain their spiritual links by communicating that even when they sing on the stage, they sing as if they are in the presence of the saint, singing at his darbar. For example, addressing the question about what is the difference

between singing at the dargah and singing in other countries, Faqir Rahim Dino Junejo (dob: 1974) and Ismail Faqir Meerjat say:

> *Hum jab gaate hain hum Sarkar ke saamne duty karte hain. Itna sukoon milta hai. Bahar ke mulkon mein gaate hain tab bhi Udhar bhi Sarkar hamare sath hota hai.*
> When we sing, we are observing duty in the presence of the Sarkar. This gives us peace. When we sing outside, then there too Sakar is with us. (Interview with Faqir Rahim Dino Junejo, 2017)
>
> *Badshah ke saamne kalam parhte hain. Hum samjhte hain keh sarkaar baithe hain. Kisi bhi kone mein ho, saeein hamare saath baitha hai.*
> We sing in the presence of the King. We consider that Sarkar is sitting in front of us. Whichever part of the world we are in, Saeein is with us. (Interview with Ismail Meerjat, 2017)

Faqir Jumman Shah also adds that the goal of the faqirs is not to entertain and, in his view, they are not artists:

> *Hum faqir hain. Jab log kehte hain ke baba aap fankaar hain, hum fun to karten hain liken hum is sinf mein count ne ki jaye. Is raag ki khuraq do cheezon se hain. Ek khoon, dosra zehen mein shaitaan galbat. Khun humein dena parta hai. Yeh zarf ka kalam hai. Is mein haqiqat, shariat, marifat, sama, surud, raag, veiraag, ajizi, navraati.*
>
> We are faqirs. When people call us artists, we tell them that yes we can perform but please do not categorize us as an artist. This raag fulfills two kinds of appetites. One is blood, and the other is to fight Satan. We provide the blood. This kalam requires a spiritual capacity; it contains *haqiqat (truth), marifat (mystical knowledge and awareness)*, *sama (listening)*, *surud*, *raag (shah jo raag)*, *veiraag (dhikr)*, *azjizi* (humility) and *navraati,* (Interview with Faqir Jumman Shah, 2017).

However, in the case of the Coke Studio incident, because the Sajjada Nashin did not approve of the performance, the faqirs who performed were suspended and alienated. Faqir Jumman Shah mentioned to me that he did not agree with the Sajjada Nashin but he still chose to apologize, and in doing so, he not only maintained the adab (observance of respect and etiquette towards Sajjada Nashin) but also accomplished the work of spreading Latif to the world. The suspension of the faqirs for a performance reflects a new kind of subalternity that is created by global flows of sacred sounds that shows that the faqirs' participation in global modernity is mediated and is contingent upon

maintaining a positive relationship with the Sajjada Nashin and other faqirs at the dargah. Had Coke Studio consulted the Sajjada Nashin before the production and included him during production, the Sajjada Nashin may have participated in the corporate modernity. Corporate governmentality, with its lack of knowledge of local contexts, is not able to take into account such complexities that tradition-bearers confront in modernity the Sajjada Nashin's official position drew the boundaries for the faqirs, and he got the upper-hand within the traditional hierarchy in regulating their participation in modernity.

Conclusion

In what ways does the observance of adab challenge our ways of understanding this subalternity and silence therein? Whereas in the liberal discourse, dissent towards the authority could be considered emancipatory and as a form of resistance, in the local discourse of Sufi dargah, it suggests "*be-adabi*" (absence of *adab*). Barbara Metcalf in the introduction of "Moral Conduct and Authority," a volume dedicated to the study of *adab*, notes that this topic requires further research in the context of contemporary South Asia. The controversy over Coke Studio, in this respect, can be seen as an example of a contemporary observance of adab that could also represent a new kind of subalternity and silence. The faqirs want to participate in the globalization of traditional sounds, and it is because of their protests that were mediated by the Sajjada Nashin in the 1990s that they were successful in organizing a press conference and having themselves included in state-sponsored cultural tours. But in order to continue to be part of these ensembles, it is incumbent on them to maintain their relationship and place at the dargah, because otherwise they are just musicians and lose their authority to sing the Shah jo Raag given to them by the Sajjada Nashin. Moreover, as noted in the previous chapter, their musicality is challenged by the classical Ustads, therefore as musicians their repertoire and style of singing is subaltern within the dominant culture of music making in Sindh and in North India and Pakistan. Therefore, their subalternity created by colonial and post-colonial modernity pushes them to maintain the tradition and respect the spiritual authority who legitimizes their repertoire and musicianship as it is attached with Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

The global flow of sacred sounds has the potential to cause tensions in traditional relationships, as demonstrated in this chapter. The ways in which corporate

governmentality and its clash with Sufi governmentality can produce new forms of subaltern silence become evident in this case of the Coke Studio incident, when the suspension of the faqirs continued until they apologized to the Sajjada Nashin. The apology, offered as a gesture of adab, reflects not only that the traditional hierarchies are preserved, but also the traditional relationships and codes of conduct within them while helping the faqirs to overcome their state of subalternity also mediate their participation in modernity. Therefore, while capitalist sema "de-ritualize" (Thompson 1996, 98) the norms and aesthetics of spiritual traditions, but unlike national media, which provided new ways of imagining the Shah jo Raag tradition as part of Sindh's cultural identity, the Coke Studio version of the Shah jo Raag seeks to work with neo-liberal agents and institutions to avoid criticism while carrying forward the profit-making goals by enslaving the tradition and musicians to a product—in this case, a bottle of Coke!

Part I Conclusion

The raagi faqirs are a historical community of hereditary and non-hereditary singers who have been preserving and performing the Kari style of singing the Shah jo Raag. The chapters in this unit discussed the ways in which processes of modernity have disenfranchised their voices within the print culture in colonial and post colonial modernity as marginalized then from the dominant musical culture in post-colonial Sind. However, with the help of the Sajjada Nashin, this community has voiced their concerns to the the government and become agents of their transformation as the state responded to their protests by organizing empowerment programs for the faqirs. Despite, the inclusion in the public sphere, that my ethnographic work shows is mediated by the Sajjada Nashin, the faqirs observe Adab towards him and critique the state for its poor governance.

As the tradition expands, the faqirs want to come to the mainstream yet their participation in world music industry is governed by the Sajjada Nashin who cares to preserve the aesthetics of this tradition even if it continues the subalternity of the raagi faqirs. This raises the question of how much power should the Sufi singers have over defining their sonic heritage in modernity and whether self-governance is an unthinkable concept within continuation of tradition within Muslim contexts?

Part II: Governing the Sufi Heritage of Shah Latif's *Waqf*: Empowerment/Disempowerment of the Raagi Faqirs

Chapter 6: The Islamic Sufi Heritage of Waqf of Shah Latif's Dargah

The cultural context of Sufi music is constituted within the socio-economy of *waqf,* a system of religious endowment that is particular to Muslim contexts. This chapter will discuss this system as it has emerged historically within pre-colonial South Asia and the evolution in its regulation within colonial and post-colonial modernity. I propose to consider that the sacerdotal hierarchies constituted within the system of *waqf* are the reason that historically marginalizes Sufi singers within the Sufi heritage. In the tradition of Shah Latif, this marginalization is especially conspicuous because the faqirs as I show played a historical role in building the city of Bhitshah where Shah Latif settled during the later period of his life. Shah Latif also created a distinctive position of the *khalif* to safeguarding the sonic heritage of the Shah jo Raag. In situating the raagi faqirs within the discourse about the Islamic heritage of waqf, this chapter contributes an Ethnomusicological dimension within the studies on waqf.

In this chapter, I address the question: how have processes of modernity, namely the colonial and post-colonial state regulation of waqf shifted the authority of spiritual leader and how that in turn has influenced the status of the Sufi singers (faqirs) in this economy? I begin by introducing the economic structure of waqf and its historical context, and the ways in which this structure created hierarchies that were particular to Muslim contexts and religious imagination, namely that there were only certain groups of people who could create waqf or receive state support for land grants—both ranks often coalesced as studies show. Moreover, I will position how the authority of the Sajjada Nashin (spiritual leader) was constructed by this pre-capitalist economy. I discuss four eras: pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and contemporary period after 9/11, and situate waqf in the context of South Asia, Sindh and then in context of the dargah of Shah Latif. I show in this chapter that waqf of the dargah, especially those with large endowment was under surveillance of the Sultan even in the pre-colonial period because they generated large revenues. However, the mode of regulation and the relationship between the state and Sufi authority has shifted in modernity primarily because the waqf legislation in the post-colonial context of Pakistan is based on a governmentality that views the land of waqf under the lens of "income-generating property" that the state has kept versus "non-income generating property" that was later released to the tradition-bearers in context of

many shrines, including that of Shah Latif.

The land on which the dargah of Shah Latif is built was originally endowed by then Kalhora prince of Sind, Ghulam Shah. He and his mother were both devotees of Shah Latif. Ghulam Shah Kalhora is credited to have spent large sums of money to build a mausoleum with a strong foundation and ordered that its minaret is built so high that he and his mother could see its top in the morning and evening from Khudabad, the capital of the Kalhora dynasty that was located 10 kilometers west of Bhitshah. Afterward, he and his mother would visit the tomb regularly (Beg 1887, 24-25), and it is also related that Gulan would sit on an elevated place in the late afternoon when the sun rays glittered Bhitai's mausoleum to view minaret from Khudabad (Kanasro 2007, 28).

The origins of their devotion that crystallized in the religious endowment (waqf) of Shah Latif's mausoleum lies in the story about how Gulan became a princess. Gulan was a dancing girl, who once came to Shah Latif for his blessings. Watching her singing and dancing that expressed her pathos, the faqirs were moved to tears and Shah Latif in his ecstatic mood blessed her, saying, "Gulan, you will be the wife of the ruler of Sindh and will bear him a son who will be the leader of all the Abbasids (Kalhoras)[37] and will exceed his father in greatness and glory." Ghulam Shah's father Nur Mohammed was hostile towards Shah Abdul Latif because his family represented a rival Sufi lineage. When his servants reported that Shah Latif and the faqirs were in the company of a dancing girl, he sent his men to bring Gulan to him. As Gulan parted company of the faqirs, Shah Latif said, "Wait till the purchasers arrive for the pearls." At this point, the servants of Nur Mohammed entered and took Gulan away. Nur Mohammed was so captivated by Gulan that he asked for her company, but she would not grant it unless they were married, and so Nur Mohammed called a mullah and married her. Their son Ghulam Shah succeeded his father to the throne and became a devotee of Shah Latif, and when Shah Latif died, he showed his devotion by building a mausoleum in his honor.

This oral narrative is indicative of the ways in which pre-colonial Muslim polity extended its influence on Sufi authorities. This gesture of reciprocity in devotion that royal court showed towards the Sufi saint Shah Abdul Latif by building his mausoleum is a cultural practice that was common in other parts of pre-colonial India. Even today at

[37] Kalhoras trace their ancestry to the Abbasid dynasty in the Middle East.

the Sufi dargah, not only do politicians have a devotional relationship with the dargah but also the everyday devotees who come to make a *mannat* (prayer/wish), upon fulfillment of their wish, come back to the dargah to offer a song, monetary offering or gift called the *nazar* in reciprocity. This form of exchange is at the heart of the economy of Sufi dargah, and the foundations of this economy lie in the status of land of the Sufi dargah.

Politics of Waqf in South Asia

The word "waqf" with its plural "auqaf" is derived from an Arabic root "waqafa" which literally means "to stop" or "to hold" and in the legal sense, waqf refers to a piece of land or property that has been on hold, meaning in the legal sense that it cannot be inherited, put on sale or seized. The individual who creates waqf relinquish his formal rights of possession but appoints a custodian "mutawali" (literally meaning "one who is trusted") who manages the waqf. The waqif also has the powers to redistribute the income, which this property generates according to "Islamic standards." Therefore, the institution of waqf served a dual purpose; it is a "trust" in the public sense for religious institutions such as mosques or dargah (shrines) and on the other hand, also resembles "will" or "entailment" that would continue a family's material held on the property. Waqf is a structure of religious endowment that emerged that originated at the time of Prophet Mohammed (For more details see Rashid 1978, xvii) but more pertinently it goes back to caliph Umar in the first year of Islamic history. This system crystallized in many Middle Eastern Muslim dynasties from Mamluks, Seljuks to the Ottomans and Mughals in India. I bring in the discussion of waqf in Ethnomusicology from the cultural context of South Asia.

In pre-colonial India, the practice of giving endowments dates back to 12th century, when one of the first Ghurid Sultans from the Delhi Sultanate Period, set aside revenue from a single village to support a local mosque in the city of Multan (then considered part of the province of Sind). (Rashid 1-2) These endowments served a dual purpose with the court exercising influence on the religious life of the people as well as projecting a ceremonial form of power as the mosques would mention the Sultan's name during the khutbah (sermon) that took place after the prayer. Alongside, mosques, the rulers also developed a special relationship with the Sufi dargah and would visit the dargah and khanaqah of Sufi pirs who served as spiritual advisors to the king. (Eaton

1973, 51) This relationship was furthered during the 17th century in Bijapur when sultans began to give in'am (endowments) of land to the Sufi pirzade families connected with certain dargah. (52) This relationship not only shifted the Sufi relationship with the court but also relationship amongst different Sufis since some were the honored recipients of court patronage and part of the new social elite while others were not. Finally, this relationship also impacted the relationship that the Sufis had with their devotees and general populace because perhaps they were less dependent on the offering (nazrana) from the devotees. The court, on the other hand, by giving these endowments to different types of religious orthodoxy including *qazis*, *shaikhs*, *and muftis* was seeking leverage these individuals who had control over the people. (52) However, there were other reasons for which the court endowed the Sufi mystics; for example during the 16th century reign of the second Mughal emperor Akbar, the birth of Akbar's son Jehangir was credited to the intercession of a Sufi Shaikh Salim. And in reciprocity, Akbar established a generous waqf for Shaikh Salim's shrine as well as gave his sons, grandsons and sons-in-law government posts and places in the imperial nobility. (Kozlowski 1985, 24)

Waqf as a religious endowment was part of Mughal system of granting land called the "mansabdari system," where the word "mansab" means "rank," "place, a position, an honour and a rank and the mansabdar was the holder of rank of anything from ten to five thousand men and was responsible for contributing cavalry to the imperial army when needed. A parallel system called the *iqtah* was present in the Ottoman dominion. These land allotments were not heritable during the early Mughal period and therefore waqf was a means to secure land. Below the mansab were "jagir" and "zamin" and their owners called jagirdar and zamindar served as the local nobility. This system, as noted in the 16th century chronicle called the Ain-e-Akbari written by Abu-Fazl, credited four classes of people to be eligible for such endowments: "seekers of true knowledge, devout persons who had abandoned the world; people who were destitute and nobles who "out of ignorance" were unable to accept gainful employment. (Kozlowski 1985, 24) The difference between these different endowments and waqf was not clear and the ways in which the difference was discerned was through its limitations: what was the duration of the grant; was it transferable to descendants; did it entail service to the state; what part of

the revenue would be taken by the state; whether land was under plough or uncultivated and so on. (Ibid.) One of the ways waqf was distinct was that it was reserved for institutions rather than persons, and was more permanent than the others that were subjected to being revoked.

The economy of waqf created a relationship of reciprocity between the royal court and the spiritual authority. The authority of the Sajjada Nashin has always been impacted by the political rulers of their time such that it served the interests of both groups. In the pre-colonial period, the political leadership of the court sought to maintain good relations with the spiritual authority by allotting the Sajjada Nashin with in'am, that is land grants as discussed earlier. As a result of these gifts, the political authority intervened in the internal affairs of the dargah including the succession of the Sajjada Nashin and also participated in the *dastar bandi* ceremony of succession. This connection, as explained by Richard Eaton, has also resulted in the religious lexicon of the Sufi dargah resembling that of the royal court. For example, the very word for the shrine in India "dargah" and "darbar" is also the word for a royal court. Also, the word "diwan" was taken directly from the lexicon of Indo-Islamic royal courts and refers to the man who collects revenue. At shrines like that of Baba Farid in Punjab, the mutawali who was also an administrator of the dargah was referred to as the diwan (348). Moreover, in taking bai'a or spiritual allegiance to the diwan, the murid (devotee) would also show his military allegiance (Eaton 1984, 349). The succession at the shrine, including the dastar bandi (the succession ceremony) of the Sajjada Nashin reflected succession ceremonies of the Tughluq Sultans "merging the symbols of the shrine and of the royal court." (339) The successor would have a dastar (turban) tied over his head (dastar bandi) where "bandi" meant "tying" that was accompanied with the singing of qawwali amongst other rituals. The diwan also administered the public kitchen (langar) of the shrine from which the diwan distributed food and sweets and opened the main gate of the shrine, that in the case of Baba Farid's dargah was called the behishti darwaza (literally meaning 'Door to heaven") (337-8).

However, not all Sufi orders endorsed royal authorities of their time and this impacted the land grants they received. Some Sufi groups shunned accepting land grants from the Sultan in favor of autonomy of Sufi shrines while others openly supported the Sultan. For

example, in India, shrines such as that of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer derived considerable wealth from waqf (Kozlowski 1985, 25). However, some Sufi silsilah, as well as the Ulema (Muslim clergy), were critical of it, for example, the famous Chishti Sufi mystic Nizamuddin Awliya objected to any form of permanent patronage as well chose to live a life of poverty. His khanaqah is said to accept gifts of food, cloth or money such that the residents either consumed it or gave it away (Kozlowski 1985, 25). The practice of taking land grants from the Sultan, however, was not necessarily particular to a specific shrine in a locale but could be a policy generically followed by a Sufi biraderi (network/kinship) or even a silsilah. For example, the Suhrawardi Silsilah greatly influenced medieval Islamic Politics (Nizami 1957) through their acceptance of land. On the other hand, the Chishtis adopted an attitude of contempt and indifference towards politics, government service and wealth. The Sufis who had royal patronage were less dependent on the offering (nazrana) from the devotees. The court, on the other hand, by giving these endowments to different types of religious orthodoxy sought to exercise more significant influence on the religious life of the people as well as projected a ceremonial form of power at the local mosques and dargah (Kozlowski 1985, 24). Waqf was also a way for a ruler to reward the Sufi pirs whose prayers they sought. While the political ruler had the control of land, it was the saint that was considered to have the actual power over the territory and people through his baraka (blessing) over a particular territory. Therefore a ruler's riyasat (kingdom) was saint's wilayat (a spiritual ownership/successorship) of that territory. The saint with his spiritual strength was considered to exercise influence over real events and was considered a "bestower of the Sultan's good fortune " (Digby 1990, 75).

The Colonial Period

The British in India never had a consistent policy for dealing with religious endowments, and the government was never eager to meddle in the affairs of Hindu, Sikh or Muslim religious institutions for fear of negative fiscal or political consequences. However, in the late 19th century, it was the Muslim and Hindu leaders who pushed forward for government intervention in the regulation of auqaf because of the rising disputes among trustees and complaints of mismanagement. (Kozlowski 1985, 174) Taking a dispute to court was very costly, but it was after considering the rising number

of cases that the British passed a legislation to abolish waqf. (Kozlowski 1996, 89) In 1894, the Law Lords of the Privy Council, which was the highest legal authority of the British Empire (Kozlowski 1996, 89), passed a legislation that ordained that Islamic religious endowments were to be considered as religious and charitable institutions, and they should be "public" and not be in "private" hands. Thus, they were regarded as neither purely religious nor purely private but as "mixed endowments" (Malik 1991, 82).

Waqf legislation has been a cause of difference within Muslim community. While the highly well-respected 19th-century Muslim leader Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, who was also the founder of Aligarh College as well as Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan supported non-regulated waqf in colonial India, "men of the new light" (Kozlowski 1996, 205) a.k.a. progressive Muslims from the Muslim middle-class opposed waqf on the grounds that offerings from these endowments should be taken from these old endowments, such as the *madrassah* and spent on modern disciplines of learning namely English language and European sciences (Kozlowski 1985, 174; 1996, 205). In the wake of growing Muslim dissent towards regulation of waqf, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who was then a renowned lawyer and a member of parliament, presented a private member's bill to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909 in support of waqf, stating that it is a means by which a Muslim man makes provision for his family and children and a law of this kind would break up Muslim families. By 1911, this issue moved up in the parliament, and in 1913, the British revoked this act and restored "private ownership of waqf" (82). Although it is not commonly acknowledged in Pakistan Studies, the support that Jinnah received for Pakistani movement from Sufi pirs as documented by David Gilmartin (1979) could be the result of the rapport he built with the pirzade for reinstating waqf. While pirs presumed that their waqf would be secured in the new state, Javed Iqbal who is the son of Allama Iqbal, the national poet of Pakistan, probed the movement for regulation of waqf in Pakistan. Javed Iqbal, the son of Mohammed Iqbal, criticized the shrines as cults in his book *Ideology of Pakistan*, and demanded the abolition of shrines and restraining the power of pirs and Sajjada Nashin.

Post-Colonial India and Pakistan

In post-colonial India, the state continued the colonial policy to not interfere in religious endowments of the minorities. Following the Privy Council's revoking of the Mussalman Waqf Act Therefore most of the regulation of waqf is at a provincial level and differs across states. Progressive Muslim scholarship such as that by Dr. Rashid critiques lack of regulation of waqf because it leads to corruption of funds. Some such cases have emerged at many dargah that have reached the court. One famous shrine is that of Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer which is known for muqqadama bazi (court cases). Regulation of waqf in this respect is welcomed because it avoids cost of the court cases and takes the revenue to the state which is also considered corrupt in the case of both Pakistan and India. While the Indian state has continued British policy of not interfering in the religious property of the minority group, progressive Muslims Dr. Rashid in his book "Waqf Administration in India" presents a case for greater state regulation of Muslim waqf

On the other hand, in Pakistan, the state control over waqf (religious endowments), including *madressahs* (religious schools), estates (waqf property) and dargah (shrines) began in the 1950s with the introduction of Survey Act on Waqfs that evaluated the number and quality of waqf. Only a decade later in 1960, the Auqaf Ordinance was passed followed by the "West Pakistan Waqf Properties Rules" that presented the pirs and Sajjada Nashin to be misusing and squandering the national wealth. (Malik 1991, 86-7) What is important to note is that state regulation of waqf was not inspired entirely by Salafi tendencies in the bureaucracy but by progressive Muslims who were critical of Sufi dargah, saint worship and resented the power that Sufi pirs had over people. The waqf legislation in Pakistan aimed at the curbing the power of Sajjada Nashins who were considered to be exploiting income from the waqf (Malik 1991, 86). The school textbooks in government schools propagated the idea that pirs "cause anti-social wastage of national wealth" and the Sajjada Nashins were considered akin to national "parasites" (86), disrespecting the role of the pirs in their locales.

What was ironic, however, was that state leadership including President General Ayub and his foreign minister, Z.A. Bhutto, who later became the Prime Minister and continued the policy, also had pirs that they supported; for example, General Ayub paid

homage to Pir Dewal Sharif who had several devotees in the army (91). The demands for the regulation of waqf and the arguments were coming from what Kozlowski would situate as the "men of the new light" (Kozlowski 1996, 205). Moreover, General Zia who is known for Islamization and endorsing sharia in the Pakistani civil court and was supported the Ulema advocated release of property under waqf. This piece of information helps to situate the case of waqf in Pakistan as distinct from that in Egypt or other Muslim contexts where state regulation may have been inspired by Salafi doctrines.

With the policy to control shrines that was passed in the 1960s, most profitable endowments were nationalized and within the structure of each shrine was installed an Auqaf Department, a bureaucratic structure with a government official, the Administrator Auqaf[38]. This administrator was not from the family of the pir but a civil servant rather than a religious figure. Moreover, the Sajjada Nashin was made to defer to the authority of the Auqaf Administrator. Earlier during General Ayub's regime, the Auqaf administrators were under the provincial government's authority, but under Z.A. Bhutto, auqaf was nationalized. (88-89). Thus, the waqf became more closely bonded to the federal government. Later, under Zia-ul-Haq, this policy was reversed and the endowments were given back to the provincial government. Moreover, many waqfs that were not profitable were also given back to the *mutawalis* (90), an issue that created a dispute at the dargah of Shah Latif that I discuss in detail.

With the control of shrines, the government takes the income generated from the dargah including the receipts from I) from the cash boxes in the shrines (about 50 percent of the annual income), ii) Income from nazrana (offerings given at the shrine that constitute 15 percent of the wealth), income from attached businesses (about 5 percent), income from rented shops/houses (about 15 percent) and income from rented agricultural

[38] The position of the Administrator Auqaf has grown through subsequent government legislations. Unlike the men in the family of pirzade, these officials are not from the khandaan (family) and were not well-versed in the theological or religious knowledge about the saints. Their only qualification was being a Muslim. In case that any person at the dargah rejected the authority of the Administrator, it was punishable. The legal authority of the Administrator extends to the highest Provincial Court. Accordingly, he can take over any endowments as defined by section 7 of the Auqaf (Federal Control) (Repeal) Ordinance 1979 through a declaration to that effect, without being in any way legally answerable. This regulation leaves room for arbitrariness (Malik 1991, 89). Moreover, in the 1980s, under the influence of Salafi Islam during the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, the state also instituted a new initiative under the Auqaf Department called the markaz-e-tahqiq-e-awliyya (96) that studied Sufism from a critical perspective and published books that critiqued the role of an intermediary prevalent within the Sufi practice of Islam (96).

land (about 10 percent) (quoted in Malik 1991, 97). Moreover, they also try to disorient the devotees from their loyalty towards the pirs. This has been the case since under the regimes of General Ayub followed by government of Pakistan, People's Party in Sindh headed by Z.A. Bhutto, the state sought to eliminate the religious character of the shrine by promoting it as sites of cultural tourism. They also promoted shrines as "catalyzers of modernization" so that "no mediator between the State and the individual and also none between God and the individual" was encouraged.

Traditionally, the saints and their representative Sufi pirs have acted as intermediaries between ordinary Muslims in their relationship with God. They tried to shift the interpretation of Islam to make it more accessible criticizing the intermediary role of pirs in booklets. Whereas it was Zia who was closer to ties with Saudi Arabia and the Salafi interpretation of Islam, what one notices during this period according to Jamal Malik are the shrines being marketed as sites for cultural tourism (90-91).

The aim of the state bureaucracy was to exert a greater control in the education and religious practices within Muslim religious spaces as well as extrapolate its financial resources that come from monetary offerings (Malik 1991, 81-82). Those impacted by Waqf legislation included *ulema* (Islamic scholars) as well as mashaikh (the hereditary saints, the pirs/murshid) and their spiritual descendants, namely the *Sajjada Nashin* and the *mutawalis* (administrators) (82). In response, the Ulema and mashaikh have criticized the state policies since the 1960s and in 1967 and later in 1980 a Mashaik Convention was organized (90). They also organized Anjuman-e-Sajjada Nashin (Society for the heirs of shrine-saints) and the Jamiyyat al-Mashaikh Pakistan (Society of the Mashaik Pakistan (JMP) (91). Up till 1985, the *mashaikh* also filed cases against the Auqaf Department that were taken to the Supreme Court (92). Out of 12 petitions, 9 were rejected but three that were taken up received a condemnation by the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) who stated that confiscation of waqf by the state is against the principles of sharia. They argued that waqf property therefore needed to be exempted from land reforms and corresponded to the Mussalman Validation Act of 1913 that Jinnah had pushed for in the Parliament. However, the state through Federal Shariah Court (FSC) set up in 1981 legitimized the nationalization stating that it was not against sharia and according to section 16 the sale of waqf-land was also considered justified which was a

Salafi approach towards waqf and departed from the position (92) that the Ulema and *mashaikh* had undertaken. In conclusion, the waqf legislation and the Auqaf Department present an important case of spatialization of the state (Gupta 2006; Ferguson and Gupta 2008) within land that was in the hands of religious leadership earlier creating a case of studying the impact of "governmentality" in Sufi context.

Politics of Waqf in Sind

Pre-Colonial

In Sind, before the Mughals, the Sufi pirs are considered to have created a distinctive socio-economic formation from other centers of India. Whereas in North India, particularly in Punjab, the hereditary kinship or biraderi links were essential, within Sindh the Sufi *murids* (devotees) began to share "pir bhai" links that benefited them from more privileged *murids* of the same pir. This was an "alternative tribe-like structure" based on association rather than birth (Ansari 1992, 28). The economy of pre-modern Sind, as Ansari (1992) argues, was "pastoral nomadism" with the tribes moving towards fertile lands. This created constant conflicts between the haves and have-nots, in which Sufi pirs played a mediating role (25) in solving political and economic disputes. With the movement and influx of tribes, Sindh developed a very distinct social structure where Sufi pirs controlled more land and power than their counterparts in other parts of India.

The pirs not only acted as mediators between tribes but also between rulers and ruled that seek to consolidate their authority within the region. The Sufi pirs of Sindh had a special relationship with the rulers; they performed dastar bandi (tying turbans around the head of the new leader) for local chiefs and in doing so legitimized the political authority. In return for their cooperation in running their administration, the rulers allotted land grants to the pirs to the extent that they became "spiritual landlords" (Ansari 1992, 30). With the emergence of Mughal dynasty in the 16th century, the links between Mughal centers and the Sindhi Sufi pirs continued and many families of pirzade and religious families received in'am in a much more extensive way within the mansabdari system of land tenure (Ansari 1992, 31). In the later years of the Mughals, as the empire began to decline, their hold over Sindh also diminished. Subsequently, a local dynasty,

Kalhora, emerged, whose founder Adam Shah Kalhora was a follower of Sufi Saiyid Muhammed Mahdi of Jaunpur during the 16th century, and had many followers (*murid*). At one point, Kalhora's devotees began to usurp lands from local *zamindars* (landlords), in response to which the Mughal army sent a raid and defeated the devotees. However, considering the influence of Sufi pirs in Sind, the Mughals offered them amnesty.

Since the Kalhora claimed spiritual descent, during their rule, they began to give land to religious people. This was distinct from the tradition of waqf (endowments) because while waqf did not include personal ownership of land, Kalhora enabled individuals to accumulate land (33). As a result, during the 18th century, the veneration of saints and Saiyids increased, and the former position of rulership taken by the Mughals was now enjoyed by the local elite, including *jagirdars* and *zamindars*, who treated the saiyids and faqirs with great respect, but exploited the local people with high taxes (ibid.) The landed interests of pirs and *saiyids* were not confined just to charitable grants, *jagirs*, and *baghs*[39]. Many were large *zamindars* and also owned *muafi* lands, comprising of much larger estates.

Colonial

While early British officials in Sindh had regarded zamindars as "exploitative middlemen" and had introduced the *ryotwari* system of revenue collection, the settlement in practice did not undermine the position of Sindhi waderos in any lasting way (Ansari 1992, 53) Moreover, the pirs were also able to live on his murid's *nazranas* (offerings) for as long as it took to discharge his debts, increased the chances of his estate being accepted by the authorities (54). Moreover, in colonial Sind, the British dealt with land grants of the Sufi pirs in a generous way. The Sufi pirs had four kinds of grants: i) ordinary jagir with no religious conditions attached, ii) charitable grants or khairat grants (as in the case of waqf) on direct account of their piety and learnedness in order to assist with the upkeep of the dargah that was Sindhi counterparts of waqf grants, iii) Revenue-

[39] H.T. Sorley (1940) in his book Shah Latif of Bhit writes that the religious and charitable grants were at the disposal of sayids, pirs, faqirs and holy men of all descriptions. Garden grants were a common feature and a useful one, and according to the Commissioner of Sind, these gardens were to be found throughout the whole province and consisted chiefly of allotments in the neighborhood of towns. Planted by their owners or their fathers, they were in the hands of all classes, from influential Baluch jagirdar or Afghan puttadar down to the poorest faqir. Some assumed the form of "topes " or groves. All were, however, more or less public benefits created by private cost and labour, and It was owing to them that the travellers did not lack shelter, shade, refreshment and repose (150-1).

free (muafi) plots of garden lands and a handful of religious families also held, and iv) pattadari rights (land rights) about Shikarpur and Sukkur. At the time of the conquest of Sind, Charles Napier promised that these holdings would be confirmed to them and in 1844 all the landed authorities who submitted received a salaam parwana and had thei*r lands confirmed in perpetuity.* In the Mughal system, jagirs lapsed at the death of the holder, but Napier gave the jagirdars hereditary rights making land ownership transferable and perpetual transforming the jagirdars into feudal lords (Prakash 2003). This was a "folly" because it allowed the pirs and waderos to own the land which was actually a religious endowment. This folly was reali*zed* later with a few amendments such that the pirs as a group found themselves under a different set of conditions regarding their land privileges under the British (40).

With regards to waqf or khairat grants as they were referred to in Sind, the British were not sure whether the wording on these grants should be explicitly religious.[40] The British created other forms of policy that required the pirs to show allegiance to the colonial authority. For example, the pirs and Saiyids who owned *salaam sanads* (a form of land grant) were asked to go to a British darbar and proclaim allegiance to the British as an act of submission. However, many Sufi pirs did not follow this rule because of a religious injunction which prevented them from coming into direct contact with non-Muslim rulers, let alone an "infidel administration." Some pirs overcome this problem by sending a junior member of their family or trusted servant in their place, and so retained their grants, but those who did not show allegiance soon found their lands threatened with resumption (43). In post-colonial Sind, with ineffective land reforms and regulation of waqf of the dargah, the Sufi pirs continue to exercise significant authority within the politics of Sindh and dargah show allegiance to a political party as political leaders seek support of monetary offerings (given directly to the Sajjada Nashin) for their campaigns.

[40] In simple words, the British were not sure how to categorize waqf and khairat grants in Sind. Earlier they made the land inheritable that strengthened the power of the Sufi pirs. When they realized how their legislation was giving power to the landed magnates rather than taking away from them, they sought to make amendments. However, making these amendments was difficult because they did not know how to categorize land that was being considered "religious endowment" or waqf. Such a form of knowledge was not present in British understanding of India or Sind.

The Politics of Waqf of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai's Dargah

The Pre-colonial Context

The dargah of Shah Latif is located in the town of Bhitshah, about two hours from Sind's cultural capital Hyderabad. It is a city named after the saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai who came to this arid land with his devotees after escaping attacks on his? life and his faqirs. Bhitshah developed into a "Sufi center" after Shah Latif and the Raagi Faqirs settled here after escaping from the primary centers of pre-colonial Sind, such as Hala, where the Sufi pirs of established Sufi orders such as Naqsbandiyya and Qadariyya held power. During Shah Latif's life, he and his devotees were under threat from other Sufi leaders who were land magnates. The town of Bhitshah, where Shah Latif settled with the faqirs at the end of his life, was a barren piece of land that the devotees settled at, after running for their lives[41]. The place received its complete name only after Shah Latif settled but earlier it was called Bhit (sand dune). Mirza Qalich Baig recounts that when an influential Sufi pir Makhdum Mir Pir of Halla, from whom Latif and Raagi Faqirs were escaping to protect their lives, came to know about faqirs doing the work of building a mosque in Bhit, the Makhdum Pir remarked contemptuously: "Bhit dehi titt" I.e. "Bhit breaks wind" meaning that it makes useless noise. When the matter was brought to Shah Latif, he remarked, "Yes, friends, be not uneasy about it; it is not hungry stomachs that pass wind, but those that are full!" (20) This is a very powerful comeback and refers to the idea that this land gave the faqirs a place to be and cultivate food.

Later, when Bhitshah became a spiritual center and attracted devotees from far off, then Makhdoom of Hala sent a few messages to Latif to vacate the land, but Shah Latif replied to them saying that it was God's land and his seekers have right to inhabit it. The threat from other Sufi magnates was so significant that even when his father Shah

[41] Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* dedicates a chapter to recount incidences of attack at Shah's life and his faqirs that they continued to escape. The faqirs who recount these episodes ascribe these escapes to premonitions or miracles of Shah Latif. Qalich Baig writes that Latif's foreign status resulted in tense relations with the Sufi magnates who were well entrenched in the 18th century Sindh and perceived his rising charisma as a threat. Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, in 1102 A.H. and 1688 A.D. at Bhainpur, a small village near Khatian in the Hala District of the Hyderabad District, belonged to the Saiyid family (that is, his descent can be traced to Prophet Mohammed) had ancestors who had come to Sindh from Herat. When Shah Latif settled in Bhitshah, it was an uncultivated land, as noted by Qalich Baig, and there was a prediction by Latif's great-grandfather Shah Abdul Karim Bulri (also an important Sindhi Sufi poet and saint) that one of his descendants would settle there (Beg 1887, 20).

Habib was sick and called for him, Shah Latif stayed in Bhitshah and responded to his father that they both would be joined in Bhitshah (Baig 1887). After his father's death, Latif brought his family to Bhitshah and had his father buried there as well. Shah Latif's reluctance to leave Bhitshah despite his father's poor health also suggests how vulnerable his position was in Sindh as a Sufi saint without an established Sufi tariqah and how insecure it was for him to leave this land lest, in his absence, there was a take-over by one of the Sufi magnates.

The Colonial Context

As indicative in the history of the dargah's renovations, the colonial government did not interfere in the Muslim waqf and the renovations were handled mainly by the Sufi community at each dargah. The dargah built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora in 1772[42] was renovated several times historically in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Sind. Preceding the British rule in Sind, the Talpur Mir, which was the ruling dynasty that took control of Sindh from the Kalhora, renovated the shrine in 1835[43]. However, this work was halted because of the invasion of Sind. Nevertheless, the existing work of providing a boundary wall to the complex of mausoleum, mosque, tomb of Shah Habib (father of Shah Latif) and the graveyard, and construction of four towers on Lakhi Gateway inside the mausoleum and two for *azan* were completed alongside a well that was dug in front of the dargah (Kanasro 2007, 27). During the colonial period in 1928, the renovations at the dargah were initiated by the pirzade family, and then Sajjada Nashin initiated renovation of the mausoleum with the support of devotees of Shah Latif and *nazrana* (offerings) from the shrine. He created five arches and additionally a ceiling constructed with sheesham wood and Kashi tiles. Additionally, six solid marble pillars that were brought from Makrana (Rajasthan) of India that continues to astonish visitors because of its high cost and the place of making.

[42] According to Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, which is a book on history of Sind, written by Mir Ali Sher Qano of Thatta in 1760, a mason by the name of Edan Ra'azo, from Sukkur completed the construction of the mausoleum during the period of Ghulam Shah Kalhora. This construction consisted of glazed tile of Kashi fixed about five feet above what is known as the Silver Gate of the mausoleum and contains inscription of the first Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Jamal Shah who supervised the work of construction.

[43] A book titled "Lataif Latifi" first written in Persian by Mir Abdul Hussain Sangi in 1888 A.D. refers to the renovation done by the Talpur Mir (Kanasro 2007, 27).

The Post-Colonial Context

After the creation of Pakistan, local clans called the *Wasan,* whose graves are present in the graveyard of Bhitshah, are also credited for repairing the mausoleum of Shah Latif with gold brought from Bombay. (Kanasro 2007, 30) However, after the creation of the Auqaf Department, when the state took control of the monetary offerings, its promise to renovate the dargah timely was not always fulfilled. The initially renovation of the shrine was undertaken by the Sindh government, and politicians like Gahno Khan Junejo of Mirpurkhas added another Silver Gate to the mausoleum, and his brothers decorated the shrine with a popular verse:

Jedo tuhinjo na'an-o, ba'aj b-e oadiyayee mangan…
As big is your name, that much mercy do I seek. (30)

The 9th Sajjada Nashin Ali Dino Shah handed over the administration of the renovation to the state. In the 1960s, when the Pakistani state took control of all the shrines through the Waqf Ordinance, the Sajjada Nashins were requested to hand over the dargah to the Auqaf Department. In compliance, the great-grandfather of Saiyid Waqar Hussain handed the dargah to the auqaf, but the administration of all the rituals of the dargah remained in the hands of the Sajjada Nashin and continues till today. In 1994, a government ordinance declared Shah Latif's shrine as an archaeological site that would keep its structure intact and if a brick falls, a similar one replaces it. However, these renovations have not been accomplished because of the known corruption within the Auqaf Department that currently manages the shrine. (Kanasro 2007, 30-31)

The Waqf ordinance did not initially differentiate the dargah from the several related sites of Shah Latif that were part of the waqf. The guardians and administrators of these properties were not Sajjada Nashin but the family members of the pirzade family and the raagi faqirs. Within the tradition of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, examples of such waqf property include a) the haveli of Shah Latif, and b) the taqiyeh of Shah Latif built at various places in Sind, where he visited. These sites, according to a local faqir I spoke with, are traditionally managed by the faqirs because the Sajjada Nashin cannot be asked to carry out responsibilities of all these places since it would extend his role and responsibilities (Interview with Ismail Faqir Meerjat, 2017). The case of haveli is distinct because in 1962, with the state regulation of waqf, this site came under the control of the

state, but was later released[44] since this property did not generate any income and was therefore insignificant for the state. However, for twenty years or more, since Saiyid Ghulam Shah became the Sajjada Nashin, the haveli has been an object of dispute between the Tamrani family and the Sajjada Nashin (Tribune 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter situated waqf in the historical context showing how regulation of waqf has evolved from pre-colonial to colonial and post-colonial contexts. Based on secondary literature, I showed that economy of waqf, especially those with large endowments, created a close relationship between the Sajjada Nashin and the Sultan so that the Sultan sought blessings of the Sufi pir and in return offered land grants. This relationship created a symbiosis between the rituals at the dargah and at the court, where some vocabulary such as "darbar," "divan" also came to be used in the context of the dargah. Moreover, the Sajjada Nashin's power also grew substantially as a result of court patronage. This was particularly true in the case of Sindh where some ruling dynasties were also Sufi. The policy for taking grants from the Sultan also differed across Sufi orders and sometimes also across shrines, but the Sufi saints who did not have a lineage with Sufi order also were treated as imposters as in the case of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, whose Shi'ite, Kazmi lineage put him in difficulty with the Suhrawardi pirs of his time.

Moreover, drawing upon secondary literature on waqf, I showed that the British did not interfere with the religious endowments in colonial India initially but in response to the cost of mitigating court cases related to waqf and advocacy by Muslim and Hindu groups for state regulation of waqf to avoid corruption of dargah income, the Privy Council passed a legislation which was later revoked as a result of advocacy by the Sufi pirs. The colonial state did not interfere with the traditional rites and rituals but technologies of colonial governmentality influenced Sufi traditions, and in the second

[44] The site was released to the custodian who is the Sajjada Nashin but the advocacy of the release was done by the faqirs who met with then Chief Minister. The process of release was also catalyzed by a group of faqirs who contested the government notification of Haveli and went as a group to the Chief Minister to request the release of property back to the faqirs. (Interview with Arshad Pathan, Advocate Ali Dino Tamrani, 2017). The khalif-faqir of the Tamrani lineage also asked the Sajjada Nashin to document on a piece of paper that the Tamrani lineage have been the care-takers of the site of haveli for generations since the time of Shah Latif. This is not a legal document but was presented as a piece of evidence at the court case discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation.

part of the dissertation, I show how the technology of printing press transformed Shah Latif's tradition as a result of printing of Risalo.

In contrast with Pakistan that pushed forward for regulation of waqf in a more definitive manner, in the post-colonial state of India, the state introduced the Wakf Act in 1954 which is applicable in all states except West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. Whereas Maharashtra and Gujarat's waqf properties are managed by Bombay Public Trusts Act XXIX of 1950, the other provinces such as UP, Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir all have local Wakf Acts. Muslim scholars such as Dr. Khalid Rashid recommend a uniform legislation arguing that the Central Wakf Act should be implemented all across India; however, this has been unacceptable by the local communities (Rashid 1978, 57). There is also one dargah, namely that of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishty in Ajmer Sharif that has had a separate waqf legislation since the late 19th century, and the specific legislation pertaining to this dargah is renewed in light of new situations of maladministration at this particular religious site (for more details, read Rashid 1978, 28). Moreover, the federal and central government is hesitant to be involved in the religious affairs of a minority group (Kozlowski 1996, 205). The central Waqf Act in 1954 has led to the establishment of institutions such as the waqf Boards, Central Waqf councils, Waqf Section, Government of India, and the local waqf committees. For details on the powers that each of these institutions has, refer to Rashid's (1978) Chapter 6. According to Rashid, these are bureaucratic structures that have had little influence on the ground and have not resolved the issue of maladministration of waqf. (100)

In Pakistan, waqf was sufficiently regulated as in the case of Egypt, where there is a Ministry of Auqaf, Pakistan has a Ministry of Religious Affairs that is merged with culture and tourism and dargahs have become sites for organizing festivals especially at the urs (death anniversary) of the saint, the Auqaf Department in Pakistan also took control of the renovation of the dargah and is considered as not making timely renovations and corrupting the funds.

Based on my ethnographic work, I contributed that the waqf of Shah Latif has evolved in its status in post-colonial modernity in Sind. Whereas the Auqaf Department controls the offerings that devotees bring to the dargah and therefore revenue from the cash boxes, they have not played a substantial role in renovating the dargah in a timely

manner and therefore been accused of corruption. However, while the Sajjada Nashins handed over administration of the dargah to the state, they have maintained their spiritual role so that the dargah of Shah Latif has not witnessed a shrinking of ritualistic space as in the case of Egyptian shrines discussed in Frishkopf (2017). Extending Foucault's concept of "governmentality" in the Islamic context, I further argue that the shift that one sees in the state regulation of the dargah is evident of a new form of governance at the Sufi dargah that not only involves control of income generated by the dargah by the Auqaf but a new form of categorizing the waqf as "property" (in contrast with endowment or land that is on hold) which is either "income-generating" or "non-income generating" so that former is controlled and regulated by the state while the latter has been released to the tradition bearers. I develop this idea of governmentality at the Sufi dargah throughout the dissertation to show how governmentality shifts the governance and conduct of the spiritual authority and his interactions with the faqirs impacting the local relationships and the status of the subaltern faqir. The next two chapters will seek to situate the Sajjada Nashin and the faqirs within the social hierarchies within the waqf and how state intervention has impacted local relationships and how the tradition bearers have responded to the state intervention

Chapter 7: Sufi Governmentality after Regulation of Shah Latif's Waqf

On the first Monday at the beginning of every Islamic calendar month, the faqirs and the Sajjada Nashin at the dargah of Shah Latif observe a ritual of zikr (remembering) with mach (bonfire) lighted at the center. This ritual is conducted by "zaakri faqirs" who perform the ritualistic dhikr around the "much" (fire) lit at the dargah of Shah Latif. In winter, mach is lighted with full flames while in summer only a few twigs are ignited as a symbolic gesture. At this occasion, the Sajjada Nashin sits on the elevated platform about 1.5-foot-high and listens to the zikr that is being recited at the "Alam," which is a Shi'ite monument with a flag on top carrying holy inscriptions. The faqirs emerge from this "autaq of zaakri faqir" reciting the name of Allah, ignite fire and go around it two or three times. Then, the Tamrani faqirs, come from the main autaq reciting zikr and join the first group. Then both groups recite "zikr" facing Lakhi Dar of Bhitai's shrine followed by a prayer led by the Sajjada Nashin of Bhitai's shrine (For more details, please see video 1). There is a specific wai that is recited at the time of much-zikr that I learnt and is called "dhikr ki wai" that is a "wai" that is specific to this ritual of dhikr that is headed by the Sajjada Nashin (Listen to Audio 1). This ritual is additional to the daily ritual of the Shah jo Raag that takes place at the dargah of Latif.

The continuation of the ritual of *mach dhikr* today shows that the state regulation of waqf has not impacted the traditional rituals at the dargah. Then, in what ways has the regulation impacted the authority of the Sajjada Nashins at Shah Latif's dargah and how have Sajjada Nashins responded to the state intervention? To what extent has his response empowered or disempowered the subaltern in Sind, in particular the raagi faqirs, and in what ways have this new role shifted Sajjada Nashin's relationship with the faqirs? In this chapter, I argue that state regulation of waqf has created a new form of governance at Sufi dargah that departs from traditional Islamic values adopted by Islamic religious authority. This form of governance is based on the political-economy of philanthropy based on foundations and involves Sajjada Nashins creating a non-profit organization called the Shah Latif Foundation and aligning its visions with neo-liberal values social justice, religious tolerance and inclusion that generates funds for the organization and expansion of Sajjada Nashin's role in post-colonial modernity. Furthermore, I show the ways in which Sajjada Nashins have facilitated faqirs' participation in modernity and at

the same time regulated their participation and interactions with corporate governmentality.

In this chapter, I trace a trajectory of transformations in the governance at the dargah of Shah Latif and argue that the Sajjada Nashins have metamorphosed their authority within the government-regulated waqf and adopted a more neo-liberal mode of governance by opening a foundation. The establishment of a charitable foundation or a non-profit allows them to take philanthropic role in Sindh and represents an evolving sense of purpose that transforms the outreach and influence of their leadership to non-Muslim Christian and Hindu minorities within Sind. This engagement outside the dargah and in the public sphere is a response to the state intervention that seeks to restrict the Sajjada Nashin to their hujra or autaq (guestroom). The stepping out from the autaq--a visual analogy that the present Sajjada Nashin elegantly brought forward in our conversation-- depicts the response of the Sajjada Nashin to state intervention. In light of this metaphor, I argue that the Sajjada Nashins have expanded their leadership role in response to the state intervention by taking steps to empower the subaltern in Sind, including the raagi faqirs, and these renewed leadership vision and efforts is part of a mode of governance, a "governmentality" that interacts with state, neo-liberal and corporate governmentalities in modernity.

Entering the Autaq of the Sajjada Nashin

I received the honor of entering the autaq of the 11th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Nasir Hussain Shah in December 2014 only two days before he passed away and meet him for this research. The autaq (guestroom) of a Sajjada Nashin is like a royal "establishment" similar to the court of a king that creates the right kind of atmosphere to receive his followers. Murids are his courtiers, khalifas are his ministers and the autaq is his darbar (Ansari 1992, 46). Autaq at Shah Latif's dargah were built from kachi matti (unbaked clay) that was also used to build Shah Latif's house as well as the wadi autaq (grand autaq) where the Sajjada Nashin resides. The walls of these autaq are broad and they are able to provide natural insulation. Kachi matti's fragrance is shifa (healing) and the people who suffer from "milki ke daure" (fits) are also made to smell kachi matti (unbaked clay) on which some water has been sprinkled. This calms their condition. The

houses in the village are also made from kacchi matti and date back to the time of Shah Latif. (Interview with Ismail Faqir, 2014)

In the agrarian life of Sind, an autaq has a special place in the home village of the Sindhi wadero (agrarian landlord) and is its "the emotional center." The size of an autaq depends on the wealth or pretensions of the wadero. Some are fortresses that dominated the countryside, some are mansions, while others were little more than mud huts. The autaq of a particularly great man might actually cover a larger area than a village itself, the cultivators' huts huddling outside the walls like a cluster of beehives (Cheesman 2013, 60). An autaq of the wadero is a spatial display of his honor or izzat. Izzat remains a critical part of life throughout Pakistan and maintaining izzat is a driving motivation for vast numbers of people from all communities and classes in every walk of life. One of the ways to define it is: "consideration in the eyes of one's neighbors." A Sindhi wadero maintains his izzat by organizing lavish entertainments and the ostentatious provision of charity to faqirs, beggars and hangers-on, and displays wealth such that it reflects greatness of soul. He also organizes cock fights, the national sport of Sindh at his autaq, where large number of people could convene to watch, gamble and organize a day's play. The compound of a wadero's autaq is a secluded spot where the police are unlikely to interfere, and there the wadero could also organize wrestling matches and other contests between villages and could invite strolling players and musicians to entertain his raj (community) at his own expense. In modern Sind, some waderos also arrange film showings in their autaq (Cheesman 2013, 89-90). Equal or sometimes higher in status to that of a wadero is a Sufi pir or Saiyid because of his claim of Arab ancestry and descent from the Prophet Mohammed through his daughter, Fatima. Many Saiyids are also wadero that enhances their power and influence over people (39).

At the dargah of Shah Latif, early in the evening around 7 p.m., when after the Maghrib prayers, my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah brought me to the office of the Auqaf Department. It was a rectangular shaped space with two huge office desks on each side. The lights were dim and we were seated on chairs. No one was around. I could hear the fan whirring and in the relative quietness, I sent a message to the son of Sajjada Nashin, Waqar Hussein Saeein on my cellphone sharing with him that we were at the dargah. He invited me to come to his father's autaq and I requested my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah

that I am being summoned by the present Sajjada Nashin and we have to go. He looked surprised at first and then immediately led us out of the office towards another side of the shrine. It appeared to be a long walk because we were bare-foot since we had left our shoes outside the shrine, and the ground was not always smooth. I was very excited to see where the Sajjada Nashin lived, since in a Pakistani TV serial on a Sufi Saiyid family called "La," the family was situated in a haveli (typically considered a "mansion"). However, I was completely taken by surprise when I noticed a dilapidated structure and a very humbling, small room with a bed. This was the humble autaq of the Sajjada Nashin and there was one yellow bulb lighted in the room and the space felt very dim. Outside there was one tube light that was on. Beyond that part, the courtyard was relatively dark. I was inside the autaq of the Sajjada Nashin and in his presence when his son Waqar Saeein (who is currently serving as the 12th Sajjada Nashin) started to discuss the role of the Sajjada Nashin in present times.

Aga Jaan, as he was referred to as by his family members was very sick that day and allowed us to be present inside his autaq for an hour or so and then asked us to leave. The conversation with his son, the Wali Ahad lasted a few hours, first inside the autaq and then these conversations continued outside the autaq. During this time, the Sajjada Nashin was sitting at his chair smoking *sheesha* and was quiet. Only once during the conversation when I raised a question about stratification between Sajjada Nashins and the Sufi singers as in the case of the tradition of qawwali (for more details read Qureshi 2005), Aga Jaan who was silent up to this point, suddenly interjected with full force! The question I raised was that a member from a Saiyid family would probably not sing the Shah jo Raag. At this moment, even before the Wali Ahad could say anything, the sick Sajjada Nashin who had been silent all along broke in the conversation with the following claim:

> *Humare yahan koi bandish nahin hai. Khandaan ka koi bhi fard bhitai ka raagai ban sakta hai. Bhitai ka murid ho, us se mutasir ho, us ko wohi right hai jo mujhe right hai.*
> We do not have any restrictions. Anybody from the family can become a raagi [faqir]. Whoever is Bhitai's devotee and inspired [by his poetry and singing], has as much right to recite as I have.
> Then the Wali Ahad added:
> *Woh us ko ibadat samajh ke karta hai. Us ke liye bohat bara honor hai.*
> They [Sajjada Nashins] consider singing the Shah jo Raag as contemplation. They

would consider it an honor to sing it. (Conversations with the 11th Sajjada Nashin and Wali Ahad 2014).

The Sajjada Nashin further added that there have been people in his family who have sung the Shah jo Raag, and my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah was also from his family. This issue transformed my perspective about the Sufi tradition of the Shah jo Raag completely because up till then, all the literature in Ethnomusicology of South Asia discussed the low place of the Sufi singer and singing as akin to serving within the jajmani system as discussed in the previous chapter. One could not envisage blurring the lines between the patron and singer. When I came back to Edmonton, I had several conversations with Dr. Regula Qureshi because she was completely unconvinced that this could be the case in any South Asian musical tradition, especially a Sufi tradition where the stratification does not exist between the shaykh and the singer. Over the process of time, as I worked with my research material, I developed a more nuanced approach to understand this as not a sign of egalitarianism but a facet of the tradition that becomes complex with state-intervention. Within this conversation with the Sajjada Nashin or the Wali Ahad, there was no mention of Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah who was the grandfather of the 11th Sajjada Nashin. As I discovered later, he was a Sajjada Nashin who was known throughout Sindh for singing the Shah jo Raag and my teacher Faqir Jumman Shah is also considered by Sindhi Ustads to be following his foot-steps. To what extent were these transformations brought about after the state regulation of waqf in the 1960s?

Sajjada Nashin's Relationship with the Auqaf Department

Since the Auqaf Department established by state sought to restrict the powers of the Sajjada Nashin, for example, by controlling the nazrana in boxes that it has installed at various places at the dargah, the Auqaf officer is generally resented by the Sajjada Nashin. When we were talking to Saiyid Waqar Hussain Shah, then Wali Ahad said that his great grand-father, the 9th generation Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Shah Ali Dino Shah "believed in the government and gave the control of the shrine to the Auqaf Department." While the Sajjada Nashins were continued to observe their duties to maintain spiritual rituals, the government undertook the task of renovating and maintaining the dargah. "Unfortunately, the government owned the money but not the message," he said. The

Auqaf manager also does not observe the culture of the dargah. He sits on a chair instead of on the floor, a legacy of the British colonial culture, and dresses in European clothes. "This is not the culture of the dargah," he says:

> In our culture, we sit on the floor, and since that culture was not owned, now there is a gap. Even though Pakistan and Sindhis the land of Sufis, we are witnessing terrorism here and the spiritual message of the Sufis has not been passed down to the people. The reason for that is that government did not own the message and the philosophy of the Sufis. They just controlled the shrine as a property and that led to corruption (Conversations with the 11th Sajjada Nashin and Wali Ahad 2014).

What one notices in the state regulation of the waqf was that the case of conflict and corruption that was previously associated with the muttawali and the Sajjada Nashins at the dargah as in the case of unregulated waqf in India, the state regulation shifts the onus of corruption of nazrana (offerings) to the state. The issue of corruption that the Sajjada Nashin points out is not voiced by him alone, but in my interviews with the faqirs, they also raise this issue and boldly articulate it in the press (the next chapter discusses in detail how faqirs interact with the state see the next chapter).

What is also evident in the Wali Ahad's critique of the Auqaf Department is that whereas they have taken the ownership of land and money, the state does not support the philosophy of the Sufi saints and does not recognize the "pegham" (message) of the wali (saints) and its significance in countering social injustices in Sind. He argues that the government officials do not behave and act in ways that show understanding of the message of Latif. "While they own the land and money, they do not own the message." It is this at this juncture of loss of meaning of the tradition with the state intervention that probed his ancestors to take an initiative to preserve the Sufi message through spreading its meaning for social justice in Sind.

Stepping outside the Autaq: Sajjada Nashins' Engagements in the Public Sphere

In this section, I show an evolution in Sufi governmentality since the regulation of waqf in the 1960s showing the work of four Sajjada Nashins as was related to me in oral narratives via my interview with the 11th and 12th Sajjada Nashin, as well as knowing about the 10th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah to various sources including interviews with Ismail Faqir, Ustad Fateh Ali Khan Gwalior, and Nasir Mirza at Radio Hyderabad as well as hearing the archival recordings of Ghulam Shabir Shah for Radio.

Saiyid Shah Dino Shah (1933-1970)

In the 1960s, when the Pakistani state took control of all the shrine through the Waqf Ordinance, the Sajjada Nashins were requested to hand over the dargah to the state, and the 9th Sajjada Nashin's name was Saiyid Shah Dino Shah who was a Sajjada Nashin from 1933 to 1970 gave the responsibility for renovation of the dargah to the Auqaf Department. This was a turning point in the history of the dargah because up to this point, all the offerings were managed by the muttawali but now one witnessed the spatialization of the state and an external bureaucracy in form of the Auqaf Department installed at the dargah. The tradition-bearers at the dargah continue to resent this imposition by the state as evident in the following words of the current Sajjada Nashin:

> My great grand-father, who was in the 9th generation of the Sajjada Nashin believed in the government and gave the control of the shrine to the Auqaf Department. While we continued our duties to maintain spiritual rituals, the government was given the task for renovation and maintenance. Unfortunately, the government owned the money but not the message. The manager of auqaf is sitting on chair behind a desk wearing boot-pant, which is the legacy of the British colonial culture, but this is not the culture of the dargah. In our culture, we sit on the floor, and since that culture was not owned, now there is a gap. Even though Pakistan and Sindhis the land of Sufis, we are witnessing terrorism here and the spiritual message of the Sufis has not been passed down to the people. The reason for that is that government did not own the message and the philosophy of the Sufis. They just controlled the shrine as a property and that led to corruption.

As evident from the statement above, the Auqaf Department continues to be perceived as foreign to the culture of the dargah. In the above statement, the Wali Ahad firstly critiques the adab of state officials by referring to what they wear and how they sit, pointing out that the entire structure of the Auqaf Department with its office desk, chairs and files reflects modern bureaucracy that is in sharp contrast with the way the spiritual authority at the shrine operates within the oral culture of the shrine and its devotional soundscape. How then Sufi governance evolved to coexist with these impositions?

Waqar Saeein argues that the state does not support the philosophy of the Sufi saints and does not recognize the "pegham of the wali" (message of the saints) and the value of this philosophy in countering the social injustices in Sind. They have taken the ownership of land and money, according to him, but rejected the Sufi message. This is the vantage point through which the present Sajjada Nashin identifies his role in

contemporary Sind—that is to apply the message of Latif in the contemporary context of Sindh to fight religious tolerance and terrorism.

Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah (1970-2003)

The state spatialized at many different levels at the dargah of Latif. Alongside regulation of waqf, the state also invested in constructing infra-structure, including roads and communication that connected the rural towns of Sindh with modern forms of communication. This made the dargah of Latif more accessible and enabled more people to visit the shrine, leading to the growth of this Sufi center over decades (Jumman Shah, 2017). It was also as a result of the growth of this Sufi center that the Shah jo Raag expanded from being sung only once in a week on Thursday evening to being sung every evening, and even during late-afternoon, after 2005.

The person who was behind these efforts to expand the Shah jo Raag was the 10th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir Shah who welcomed state-led modernization at different levels. Firstly, with the expansion of infrastructure, he went to different villages where the Shah jo Raag was sung and invited faqirs who were singing Shah Latif's verses in the villages to sing at the dargah with him. Ghulam Shabir Shah was a unique Sajjada Nashin and muttawali because he was also singing the Shah jo Raag. One faqir Haji Sher Mohammed Nizamani (Hajjan Faqir) (B.1979) attests to the efforts of the 10th Sajjada Nashin by stating that his father, Ghulam Haidar Nizamani, who was also a raagi faqir and sang in the village for three to four years on Tuesday evenings, was invited by Saeein Ghulam Shabir Shah to sing at the *dargah*. As a result, he joined Ghulam Shah's toil and sang from 1958-2002. Ghulam Shah, he said, was interested in expanding the faqiri community, and also known for teaching new students at his house and feeding them with food and chai (tea). The existing families of faqirs were reluctant to pass on the tradition to new singers, but because of Ghulam Shah's efforts, the community expanded. During the 50s, there were only 18-19 faqirs in comparison with over 120 in Bhitshah today. The raag was also not sung every day at the dargah. However, since Saiyid Ghulam Shah wanted to expand the Shah jo Raag, he invited more people to join singing at the dargah and it is because of his efforts (alongside the Shah jo Raag school opened by the government in 2005) that the Shah jo Raag is today sung at the dargah every day and also in the afternoons (Interview with Ismail Faqir 2017). This makes Saiyid Ghulam

Shah a pioneering figure and another person from the Saiyid family Faqir Jumman Shah, who is the principal of the state-established the Shah jo Raag school, is locally recognized to continue his vision of expanding the Shah jo Raag tradition by teaching it to non-hereditary faqirs.

In the 1960s, the government of Sindh began to promote Shah Latif's verses on national media in form of singing, recitations, Urdu translations and exegesis to name a few. Thus the state interest in promoting Sufi poetry was initiated in Sindh much earlier than it was initiated at the federal level in Pakistan. Whereas the federal Waqf legislation of the 1960s sought to undermine the Sufi message through dissemination of books that denigrated the Sajjada Nashins and the role of intermediary in Islamic teachings, the government in Sindh sought to promote Sufi verses as they signified literature in Sindhi. Therefore Sufi poetry and poets were given an ethnic identity---a policy that dates back to the colonial governance in Sindh as I discuss in detail in Part II.

The 10th Sajjada Nashin (spiritual leadership) Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah took important initiatives during his leadership to expand the singing of the Shah jo Raag on national media. Ghulam Shah also represents a novel Sajjada Nashin in a Sufi tradition, such that it is the spiritual authority who was also serving as a faqir within the tradition, and he along with his son Saiyid Noor Mohammed Shah introduced the Shah jo Raag on Radio Hyderabad. He also recorded all the surs of Shah Latif for the Institute of Sindhology, where his recordings are preserved. I accessed musical recordings of Saiyid Ghulam Shah and Noor Mohammed Shah on Radio Hyderabad and attach one recording within the list.

Ghulam Shabbir Shah also collaborated with composers at Radio including Nazar Hussain in composing Shah Latif's verses in the form of Sindhi *kafi.* The famous folk singers of Sindh including Allan Faqir and Jalal Chandio who sang Shah Latif's *wai* with instruments such as *ek taro* were also students of Ghulam Shabbir Shah. As a result of his knowledge of Shastri sangeet (classical music), he was very well-respected by the Ustads of Gwalior gharana as well and in my interview with Ustad Fateh Ali Khan, he spoke highly of Ghulam Shah even though he did not show much interest in the raagi faqirs and their singing.

Thus, one notices an evolution in the governance at the Sufi dargah because of an increasing alignment with state-led modernization and integration of population through building of infra-structure on one hand and efforts to establish a cultural identity in post-colonial Sindh on the other. The Sajjada Nashins, despite the regulation of waqf, were in the process of expanding their role and service to the dargah by creating a modern vision for leadership.

The 9th Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah, do not resist modernity and de-ritualization of the Shah jo Raag on media. In fact, they have supported the faqirs to participate in this nationalization of the Shah jo Raag and advocated the traditional style that had been passed down within the dargah's hereditary families from one generation to another. Even though their presentation of the Shah jo Raag on national media did not reach the mainstream Sindhi public, their collaborations with the popular musicians also deserves a visibility that has otherwise not been given to them in written literature on Sindhi music. For example, it was during the time of Ghulam Shabir Shah that popular singers such as Allan faqir received training from the raagi faqir to sing the wai. The success of Allan Faqir as a mediated singer of Shah Latif's verses tells us the Sajjada Nashin did not resist post-colonial modernity and mediazation of the Shah jo Raag by the state. They presented the tradition on radio, gave support to Radio's composers and singers, while preserving the style of singing the Shah jo Raag at the dargah. The dambura never became an instrument for accompaniment on national media and retained its sacredness and unique place as the musical instrument given by Bhitai to sing his raag at the dargah. Nor did any raagi faqir gained the position of a national star as in the case of Allan Faqir and they remained at the periphery that also helped to keep the tradition intact. Moreover, when the faqirs protested outside the press club for inclusion in the public sphere in the 1990s, that protest was also supported by the Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah—an evidence of the ways in which the Sajjada Nashins have empowered the faqirs.

Saiyid Nisar Hussain Shah (2003-2014)

A major shift in Sufi governance came under the Sajjada Nashini of Saiyid Nisar Hussain Shah because his leadership tenure coincided with the US War on Terror and funneling of US funds to General Musharraf's regime in Pakistan. The political

soundscape of Pakistan has transformed since 9/11 and there has been growing political engagement by different groups in civil society from urban youth as well as lawyers and judges on one hand to traditional Sufi authorities. Musharraf also initiated a policy at the federal level that sponsored "Sufism" as a state ideology to fight terrorism and create a soft image of Pakistan by establishing National Sufi Council (For more details see Drage 2015). After 9/11, Pakistan's alliance with the US, the state also attempted to reinstate the role of the traditional elite including the landed elite and the Sufi pirs, who were considered allies against the new religious authorities emerging within terrorist organizations who have been penetrating rural Pakistan alongside working class and middles-class of society. The state also established Pakistan International Mashaikh Council (PIMC) in 2016 to promote inter-faith harmony and curb sectarian violence. This is a forum of more than 200 custodians of different shrines in Pakistan, who convene to advocate Sufi shrines' development, preserving heritage, and close coordinate with provincial and Federal Government in Pakistan for necessary security measures and other matters regarding the shrines rituals etc.

In contemporary Sind, the Sufi leadership at shrines in Sindh had been involved in politics in overt and covert ways and there is a growing symbiosis by the political leadership of known political parties to liaison with Sajjada Nashin as a way to seek votes of their devotees[45]. At the level of political engagements, major political figures who have served in the government including Saiyid Yusuf Raza Gilani, Makhdoom Amin Fahim, Saiyid Mahmood Qureshi and Saiyid Ahmed Qazmi, Saiyida Abida Hussain during the government of Pakistan People's Party in 2009-2014 are all from pir lineages, as are leading party supporters like Saiyida Abida Husain" (Lieven 2011, 137).

The National Mashaikh council has a presence on social media, namely Facebook, and upon watching some of their videos I heard aspects of this conference that resembles a political rally in Pakistan. For example, it consists of patriotic call to the state with call: Pakistan and response zindabad (Long Live!) and Call: Dahshat-gardi

[45] The Sajjada Nashin at Latif's dargah differentiates himself and his family from the political engagements of the Sajjada Nashin. In their tradition, Sajjada Nashins cannot hold simultaneous appointments as spiritual authority and members of a political authority. "If Sajjada Nashin will join politics, where will the followers go?" he remarks. He mentioned that recently the followers of Shah Mahmood Qureshi alleged that the dargah's funds from his shrines are going to Imran Khan's party, showing not only overt but also covert political engagements of the Sajjada Nashin.

(Terrorism!) and response: Na Manzoor (Not acceptable!) The common purpose of fighting terrorism and uniting the different Muslim factions was also reinforced through chanting the "nara" (slogans) from different Sufi communities and shrines in Sind. Following are the four nara recited one after the other:

Call: Nar-e-takbir
Response: Allah-o-Akbar
Call: Nar-e-risaalat
Response: Ya Rasool-Allah
Call: Nar-e-Haidri
Response: Ya Ali
Call: Nara-e-Tahqeeq
Response: Haq Chaar Yaar

The 12th Sajjada Nashin, Waqar Saeein, who currently heads the National Mashaikh Council states he is following the footsteps of his father. When His father, the 11th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Nasir Hussain Shah, a.k.a. Aga Jaan became the Sajjada Nashin in 2003, he decided that he will not depend on the government. His main vision was that Sajjada Nashins must not be limited to their *hujra* or autaq (room) and engage in the public sphere to spread the message of Latif. As a result, He played a fundamental role in reviving the social role of the Sajjada Nashin through the Shah Latif Foundation (SLF), a non-governmental and non-profit organization (NGO) that was established in the year 1982 and was registered under society registration act xxi of 1960 on April 24th 1982.

The SLF is a member-based organization, and there are 1000 registered members with a core team of senior professionals including volunteers who participate in organizing its various activities. It promotes religious tolerance and harmony through Shah Latif's poetry, alongside improving socio-economic conditions of poor and marginalized communities in the vicinity. They mobilize local communities for the development of rural as well urban settings, enhancing skills of local communities for sustainable development and reducing poverty by promoting small scale saving schemes and enterprise development programs through participatory initiatives.

Aga Jaan advocated SLF's mission to different educated elite within Sind, a process locally called "tanzeem saazi," and this required humility and sacrifice because Sajjada Nashins' position as argued can be likened to that of a king who receive people in

their hujra or autaq that is like a court. Instead, Aga Jaan left his privileged space and engaged with the educated elite to receive support and funds for the organization. He also engaged his son, the present Sajjada Nashin, in observing humility to further the cause of spreading Shah Latif's message. For example, while Waqar Saeein was studying in Karachi, he was asked to come to Bhitshah every Friday and sweep the floor of the dargah. "I was appointed the Wali Ahad at the time. He would call me from Karachi to clean the dargah. At first, I did not understand. Then I was told that you would carry the legacy forward" (Conversations with the 11th Sajjada Nashin and Wali Ahad 2014).

With the establishment of Shah Latif Foundation and its recent funding by UNDP, GEF and SGP, the Sajjada Nashin has taken several humanitarian initiatives at the shrine to improve the quality of life of the people. A free health Services center was established by Shah Latif Foundation (SLF) in December 2013, where devotees and poor communities are receiving free health services while they pay visit at Dargah, Bhitshah, with an ambulance was donated by Marvi Memon from a political party (MNA-PMLN) for serving the patients during emergency situations. Another ambulance was received from the Pakistan Hindu Council on 17th December 2015. When the Sajjada Nashin asked my religious orientation and I replied that I am from the Ismaili community, he mentioned that for him Aga Khan is a role model for his humanitarian work. And just as Aga Khan has continued his spiritual legacy within the community as well as in the wider society through Aga Khan Development Network institutions, through his humanitarian work, the work of the present Sajjada Nashin appeared to resemble one of the ways that traditional spiritual authorities see how they can continue their past roles in new forms.

Figure 27: A banner of the Shah Latif Foundation at the dargah of Shah Latif

Saiyid Waqar Hussain Shah (2014-present)

Saiyid Waqar Saeein, who is the 12th Sajjada Nashin, formally began a Sajjada Nashin, custodian of the dargah in 2015. However, in the last years of his father as the Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Waqar was already heading several projects with the Shah Latif Foundation. He pointed out three levels of public engagement that he focused on: the first step was to foster inter-faith dialogue by visiting Hindu temples across Sindh as a signal of good will and gesture. His aim was that in lieu of the political atrocities, in form of forced conversions and violence against Hindus in Sind, Latif's dargah should become more explicit in welcoming Hindu devotees. What did this gesture signify in light of the fact that Latif's dargah is known to have Hindu pilgrims and devotees on an everyday basis, namely from the Bhil and Kohli groups?

There are many Hindu temples in Sindh where Latif's raag is sung, including the ones in Tando Allahyar, a district known for the temple of Ram Pir, as well as the ones in Jacobabad, Ghotki and elsewhere. Even some faqirs who sing Shah Latif's raag are Hindus example Jat, Chandio community, Memon etc. Sometimes, they also organize programs in their temples for which they invite faqirs from Latif's shrine to perform; however, it is not typical for Hindu spiritual leaders (mukhi) to attend Shah Latif's dargah. While Sufi shrines are commonly written to be syncretic places of worship visited by different religious groups in the vicinity, what the work of Waqar Saeein

shows is that scholars in celebrating the inclusive nature of Sufi shrines have not taken into account ways that religious boundaries continue to be maintained in order to signify the religious identity of a particular place of worship. For example, the rituals at the dargah of Shah Latif that are observed collectively are Muslim rituals of Sufi dhikr. Names of Allah, Mohammed, Ali, Hussain are taken. While a Hindu may attend the dargah, it is not typical for a group of Hindus to observe a Hindu ritual at the dargah. However, at SLF's conferences these boundaries were broken when with the permission of the Sajjada Nashin, the Hindus observed their ritual singing *bhajan* collectively to commemorate their devotion to the saint.

Waqar Saeein is of the view that each person who prays at the dargah so that each person who comes to the shrine of Latif to give Hazri (attendance) can recite prayer from his own sacred text. For Hindus in Sind, Latif's raag has the status of *gita*, as Waqar Saeein remarks that a large group of Hindus from Tharparkar district have such a strong connection with Latif. "Unko Latif saeein ke bait is tarah yaad hain keh hifz hain abhi bhi" (They remember Latif's bait in a way that it is inscribed in their hearts). However, when the Hindus came for the conference, they asked whether they can give *hazri* (literally meaning "presence") in their way and the Sajjada Nashin welcomed them. Therefore, while Muslims put the chador (cloth) and recite dua (Muslim prayer), the Hindus recited *bhajan* and conducted their own ceremony. This was part of the First All Sindh Hindu Conference at the dargah of Latif. At the conference, there were about 50-60 mukhi (heads) of Hindus who attended and many of them cried at learning about this open gesture coming from the shrine of Latif. In the wake of rapid emigration of Hindus from Sind, many said that they would choose to remain in Sindh and not migrate because of such gestures.

Waqar Saeein says he is carrying forward the legacy of Latif because Latif used to accompany the yogis, Hindu ascetics, visited temples and gave love to the people. This is evident in many surs of Shah Latif, including Sur Ramkali, Sur Kahyori and others that mention Hindu yogis. Moreover, Latif was also an advocate of preventing forced conversion of Hindus by the Muslim mullah in the 18th century during his lifetime (for more details see Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif)*. Saiyid Waqar remarks: Hussaniyat Kisi Hindu mein bhi hai. *Yazidiat* (values of Yazid, who martyred Imam

Hussain) kisi Shi'ite mein bhi ho sakti hai. Yazidiat soch hai, (Hussaniyaat can be inside a Hindu, and similarly yazidiyat can be inside a Shi'ite. Yazidiyat is a type of thinking) whereby Hussain, the son of Imam Ali is the second Imam of the Shi'ite and Yazid was the enemy of Hussain who killed the Imam at the site of Karbala—an event of commemorative mourning for the Shi'ite. So, the main purpose of the engagement with the Hindus is to end 'ta'asub" i.e. divisions. He aspires that every person can own Latif from his own religious standpoint so that everyone feels the Universalist message of Latif. He also criticized the ways in which Muslims treat the low-caste Hindus. "There exists a perception to not eat with them, not touch them, and not visit their temples." He said that his *pirzade* family was upset with him for engaging so closely with the Hindus and to them he retorted: "With a poor Hindu, you do not want to eat but with a rich one you have no issues." Whenever he spoke about allegations against him for breaking the social norms, he referred to Prophet Muhammed and how he broke the social norms of his family by bringing the message of Islam.

This open attitude towards Hindus at the dargah of Latif is not contemporary. For example, a Hindu family maintains the water service at the dargah. While it is Shi'ite Muslim who is known to found "Pani ki sabhil" (volunteers giving out water during Muharram in camps), Saiyid Waqar states that it is the miracle of Latif's dargah that a Hindu family was managing *sabhil* for the past 25 years and out of his own pocket. He spends about100,000 Rupees ($1000) for this purpose and insists on keeping his duty and devotion.

Alongside welcoming Hindu leadership at the dargah, Saiyid Waqar has also reached out to Christians in Sind. For example, when a Christian family, Peters, who have established a non-profit by the name of NJ Arts in the United Kingdom to promote Sindhi culture came to Latif's dargah and brought some Europeans with them, they recited verses from Bible. NJ Arts also donated a medical camp to Shah Latif's dargah that is located at the courtyard of the shrine and has a picture of Latif and another of Christ. Shah Latif Foundation also printed a book titled "Roohani Ramooz" (Spiritual symbols) that connected the philosophy of Christ with that of Latif.

With this public engagement, the Sajjada Nashin has revised his traditional role based on observing only the spiritual duties towards civic engagement. This renewed role

can be compared with other Muslim leaders including the Aga Khan, whom the Sajjada Nashin, looks up to for inspiration. While the 11th and 12th Sajjada Nashin has observed civic engagement, they have also maintained their traditional role of administrating the Shah jo Raag the dargah of Shah Latif to which I turn next.

Conclusion

Sajjada Nashins, as a result of their spiritual authority has been the traditional administrators of the waqf and its wealth that comes in the form of *nazrana,* and their power over people's beliefs have translated into support from political rulers to allot gifts in the form of land to them that ultimately accumulated their economic and political power. Even those who did not enjoy the support of the state have still benefited from the offerings given in Sufi ritual. While their power lies in their spiritual placement, the economic basis for this power that is their control over the dargah's land and administration also cannot be ignored. In the case of Sind, many political dynasties such as the Kalhora were Sufi dynasties and they not only controlled land, but their independence from the Mughals also contributed in increasing the power of Sufi pirs of different orders within Sind. Latif's dargah is not part of the major Sufi orders in Sind, namely the Suhrawardiyya and the Qadriyya but the land of the dargah is part of the waqf that is currently regulated by the state.

Unlike waqf that is within established Sufi orders and subjected to rules identified by the kinship and hierarchies within the Sufi lineage, Shah Latif's dargah is relatively autonomous. However, it has ties with dargah such as the dargah of Abdul Karim Bulri who was Latif's great-great grandfather. The position of the Sajjada Nashin who is not subjected to any hierarchies within the Sufi order and relatively independent to take decisions as long as his pirzade family who is consulted for approves it major decisions. In this chapter, I showed how the mode of religious governance at the Sufi dargah has transformed after the state regulation of waqf. In order to understand the new governmentality at the dargah, we have to take into account the intersections and engagements of religious authority with neoliberal and corporate govern mentalities and state and civil society on the other. While some of these intersections are institutional that is it is the established foundation by the religious authority called the Shah Latif Foundation that engages with the UNESCO, the others are individual, whereby it is the

Sajjada Nashin who participates in engaging Sindhi minorities at the dargah, engages with the state authorities to advocate the rights of the faqirs, and leads the Ulema and *mashikh* at the regional and national level. Foucault's concept of governmentality presumes a mercantilist economy; however, its extension within the Islamic context requires that pre-capitalist forms of distribution and administration of land namely that of Islamic waqf. By understanding the transformations in religious authority and mode of governance, we can understand how the spiritual authority influences the conduct of the faqirs within the political culture of modernity in Sind.

Chapter 8: A Dispute over Administration of Sufi Waqf between a Khalif-Faqir and the Sajjada Nashin

The administration of waqf has been an issue in the Muslim context that has received criticism from stakeholders of the time, including the Sajjada Nashin and there have been several efforts made to increase the efficiency of the system. In the post-colonial context of India, new legislations have been passed with the aim of promoting for greater development of the community However, studies about waqf do not take into account how its administration or maladministration impacts the Sufi singers at the dargah, especially those who have also taken administrative responsibilities at the dargah. This raises questions such as: what role have faqirs historically played in the administration of waqf? What are the titles or honours they have received as a result? Have processes of modernity empowered faqirs in taking leadership roles or disempowered them from their traditional positions and authorities? How have modern forms of knowledge and policies contributed towards empowerment or disempowerment of faqirs? In this chapter I will examine a case t that deals with the faqirs' administrative role at the dargah of Shah Latif and the extent to which processes of modernity, namely the state's waqf legislation and the politics of competing authorities, poses challenges to faqirs' traditional role.

I began this dissertation with a description of a case of faqirs' protesting outside the Hyderabad Press Club. I have interviewed various stakeholders, including faqirs, Sajjada Nashin, journalist and the advocate who supported the faqirs. Based on this ethnographic inquiry, I argue that colonial and post-colonial forms of knowledge, namely legislations of waqf and practical wisdom about administration of waqf, have not included Sufi singers as stakeholders. Therefore, while post-colonial modernity has enabled greater access to justice beyond community dispute resolution, the justice system does not recognize specificities of tradition and local histories associated with each dargah. As a result, it fails to offer justice to the faqir-khalif (a faqir who also holds administration of the Shah jo Raag and has the title *khalif*) in maintaining his traditional administrative functions within waqf. Based on this case, I aim to initiate a new discourse in ethnomusicology about rights of the Sufi singers within waqf.

Conflicts within the Administration of Waqf

Traditionally, within the early Muslim dynasties, the administration of waqf was in the hands of the *mutawalis* or *kazis*. The Umayyads had also established *Diwan an-Nazr fil Mazalim* (Board for the Inspection of Grievances) to address any mishandling of the nazar. The Abbasids created *Diwan-i-wakf* and the Muslim Sultans, such as Qutbuddin Aibek, implemented a similar system of administration in India (Rashid 1978, xiv). The earliest description of waqf in India is documented in *Insha-i-Mahru* (Documents Relating to the Appointment of Officers) written by Aynul Mulk Multani. He classifies wakf in Multan into two categories: those created by *salateen-e-maziah* or "kings of the past," and those created by *danishmand, mashaikh* and *umra* (men of wisdom, saints and nobles) (Rashid 1978, 1). Arguably, the faqirs and people who were a part of lower socio-economic classes and lower in the sacred hierarchy could not be creators of waqf.

Khalid Rashid argues that during the Mughal period, the office of the mutawali and the Sajjada Nashin were separate; the former was a temporal office and the latter a spiritual office. While the Mughals did not interfere in the appointment of the Sajjada Nashins, they "wisely placed the management of the properties in the hands of an officer of probity and good conduct appointed by them…" (6) Every mosque and dargah was on land that was waqf and there was a kazi or *mulla* or *mutawali* managing the property and income generated from it was given to the *Sadr-e-Subah* (the chief ecclesiastical office). The king acted as an overall supervisor over the *sadr* (minister) and intervened to correct irregularities in the matters of wakf (Rashid 1978, 8-9).

The dargah of the founder of the Chishti Silsilah, Moinuddin Chishti, located in Ajmer Sharif, is a large endowment that attracts thousands of followers and has waqf regulations specific to that dargah. The first regulation was passed in 1863-7 and later in 1936, and again in 1954. The purpose was to administrate the corruption by the khadims at the dargah and to ensure that a portion of the monetary offerings (*nazar)* stayed with the dargah for its renovation. This created stakeholders involved with the nazar: the Sajjada Nashin, the khadims and the dargah committee instituted by the state.

At the dargah of Shah Latif, the Sajjada Nashin and the Wali Ahad are from the same family and are father and son. The khalif who is the administrator of the faqirs and

some waqf property, such as the *haveli*, as is not from the pirzade family but from the family of Tamar Faqir, who was given the administration of the Shah jo Raag by Shah Latif according to oral narratives.

According to Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif*, the *masnad* (throne) of the Sajjada Nashin had been historically contested after the death of Shah Latif between the two pirzade families and faqirs have also become involved in these contestations. For example, it has been reported that Latif's spiritual heir was Jamal Shah and the khalif as Tamar Faqir. Additionally, *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* states that Mahabat Faqir, who was from the lineage of Tamar Faqir, supported Jamal Shah who is the ancestor of the current Sajjada Nashin. However, there were rivals to this authority. Faqir Muhammed Alim favored another member of the pirzade family, Sayed Sharif Shah, who was another nephew of the deceased saint. When Mahabat presented Latif's clothes to Jamal Shah, people found Jamal Shah to be the rightful heir and sought allegiance to him (Baig 1887, 28). The significance of these reports is in that historically, the Tamrani family has shown loyalty and allegiance towards the current family of the Sajjada Nashin who was from the lineage of Jamal Shah. Therefore, the dispute is not historical but contemporary and as I argue result of modern governmentalities at the dargah and particularly the ambiguities within the waqf legislation that does not take into account authorities such as that of the khalif.

However, the case that occurred in 2015 and the manner it was handled betrayed these historical loyalties when Ali Dino Tamrani, who was suspended from his position of khalif, was supported by the Sajjada Nashin's uncle Saiyid Gada Hussain (a.k.a. Nazan Saeein), filed a court case against the Sajjada Nashin and spoke against his illegitimate dismissal in the press. In the sections below, I discuss facts of the case and what they tell us about the ways in which the processes of modernity empower or disempower the subaltern faqirs and their access to justice?

Community Disputes and Local Justice at the Dargah

The discourse about waqf that I have outlined in this dissertation referring to the writings by Khalid Rashid, Gregory Kozlowski, Jamal Malik and Sarah Ansari do not take into account the local forms of justice within waqf that have been historically used to resolve disputes. In discussing the rights of Sufi singers within waqf, it is important to

take community justice into consideration because faqirs do not have the socio-economic resources to reach courts and therefore their grievances within the administration of waqf. The case that I present seeks to highlight these gaps in the waqf literature and question the extent to which Sufi singers have access to justice within existing systems and what are the challenges for them to receive justice that they are seeking. One obvious issue to be considered is that community justice is typically administered by elders who are from the pirzade group, therefore in case of a conflict with the Sajjada Nashin, a faqir is at an obvious disadvantage.

In the case of the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, historically, the pirzade family of Shah Abdul Karim Bulri's dargah has resolved the disputes. When Ali Dino Tamrani was suspended from his position as a khalif, he went to the elders of Shah Abdul Karim Bulri's dargah, and the elders advised him to offer his apology to the Sajjada Nashin. He did not accept this ruling and protested in the public sphere, outside the Hyderabad Press Club, before going tocourt (Interview with Ismail Faqir, 2017). In the next section, I discuss the grievances that he brought forward in the press.

Pavlich (2013) writes about imbalances of power in community restorative justice and the regulatory role that the state can play in mitigating these imbalances. However, the waqf legislation in Pakistan and the court decisions, fail to take into account that the matter was first brought to community justice and Ali Dino faqir did not accept the decision. Ali Dino Tamrani's claim to the haveli is derived from the widely accepted assertion by the raagi faqirs that Tamrani's forefathers (including Tamar Faqir whose dargah is located in the premises of Shah Latif's dargah) have been maintaining the position of the *khalif* for centuries and administering this historical space. The court failed to consider the position of the khalif, because unlike the position of the *muttawali* that is recognized by the waqf legislation, the position of the khalif is not legally recognized. This is the aberration in the system that creates ambivalence and needs to be rectified. This absence of legal recognition is due to the fact that the authority of the Sajjada Nashin and traditional authorities in India were regulated directly by the state, as in the case in pre-colonial India when sultans regulated Sufi dargah.This top-level authority was recognized within the new legislations under colonial administrations as

well.[46] However, positions such as that of khalif have not been directly regulated by the colonial state since the British were only interested in legislating the religious endowments to the extent that the expensive and time-consuming high profile court cases over waqf could be prevented. The ways in which the post-colonial state in India and Pakistan has continued to model the waqf legislations on colonial models reflects ambivalence in the system that does not take into account these local distinctions.

Sacred Position of the Khalif-Faqir within Shah Latif's Dargah

What distinguishes the status of the faqirs within the Shah jo Raag tradition is that there is a leader from the faqirs who also has a hereditary leadership within the tradition. He is referred to as the "khalif" and historically the Tamrani family holds this position. Tamar Faqir became a devotee of Shah Latif when, during childhood, his parents brought him to Latif who named him Haji Ali. Tamar Faqir became known for his musicality and closeness to Latif and grew up to be a pious dervish (1887, 28-29). According to Qalich Baig, after appointing his cousin Jamal Shah as a spiritual heir, Shah Latif appointed Tamar Faqir as the khalif to assist him in "carrying his wishes to his innumerable followers and in settling other affairs that required any interference on his part. This post had become a post of great honor and importance." (Baig 1887, 28-29) The significance of the position of khalif at the dargah of Shah Latif can be determined from the fact that, whereas there is a graveyard where members of the pirzade family and Sajjada Nashins have been buried, their names are not written on the facade. However, in the case of Tamar Faqir, there is a dargah of Tamar Faqir commemorating his contributions as the first Shah jo Raagi. Mirza Qalich Baig's *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* does not suggest that the post of the khalif, would become hereditary but just as the Sajjada Nashin's lineage goes back to Jamal Shah, Tamar Faqir's lineage also continued the khilafat.

The position of the khalif, in subtle ways, competes with that of the Sajjada Nashin and this is exemplified in the court case that I discuss later. Saiyid Waqar Hussain Saeein distinguished the role of the khalif within the tradition in the following words positioning the khalif as an administrator that is distinct from the spiritual heir:

[46] For more details, read Rashid (1978, Chapter 2)

> Within the dargah of Shah Latif, the silsila (lineage) of faqiri is that of an administrator. Prophet Mohammed's administrators were khalifs, and they were different from his waaris (spiritual heir). While Latif's spiritual heirs were the Sajjada Nashin, the administrator for monitoring the raag and its arrangement were the khalifs. And from the raagi faqirs, there is one Khalif that administers the Shah jo Raag. That khalif is appointed by the Sajjada Nashin. Therefore, while khalif is also a position of authority at the dargah, he is lower in hierarchy to that of the Sajjada Nashin (Conversation with Sajjada Nashin and Wali Ahad in 2014).

The difference between administrator and spiritual heir (Sajjada Nashin) is not so clear-cut at the dargah, since both the position of the khalif and Sajjada Nashin were handed down by Shah Latif and are today considered a kind of spiritual guardianship. The other faqirs within the culture also view the khalif as another *Gaddi Nashin* (spiritual heir, same as *Sajjada Nashin*). Although there are two spiritual thrones (*Gaddi*) at the *dargah* of Shah Latif, one belongs to the khalif and another to the Sajjada Nashin; they differ in their role, function and spiritual stature. Sajjada Nashin as noted earlier is from the family of Shah Latif and therefore a Saiyid.

Figure 28:The Dargah (shrine) of Tamar Faqir within the complex of the dargah of Shah Latif

Raagi Faqirs and Shah Latif's Waqf in Contemporary Sind

In contemporary Sind, after the regulation of waqf by the state, the faqirs continue to administer some sites that are part of the waqf. These include Hala Haveli, wadi autaq and some cultural objects, including clothes and belongings of Shah Latif.

Hala Haveli is a site of pilgrimage (*ziyarat*). When people come to Bhitshah for *mannat* (supplication) to the dargah of Shah Latif, they stay here over for the night and the faqirs consider it their duty to serve them food (Interview with Ismail Faqir, 2017). Tamrani's family has been administering the haveli for centuries and Shah Latif had placed it under the administration of Tamar Faqir. It is a site about a few miles east of Bhitshah and about 40 miles from Matiari, where Shah Latif's father Shah Habib used to

live, and where Shah Latif was also born in 1690. This site is also referred to as Sui Qandar, and Shah Latif's brothers' graves and dargah are also built at this site.

Another site that the Tamrani lineage of faqirs (who are also the khalif) administers is the "*wadi autaq*" (literally meaning "the big room" but "wadi" here could also imply the rank of this space as belonging to someone of a higher spiritual status) where Latif's father Shah Habib used to live. It is attached to the dargah of Tamar Faqir within the dargah complex of Shah Latif. The responsibility of managing this site after Shah Latif's death was also given to Tamar Faqir. Ali Dino Tamrani's family does not live in this haveli; they live in their village, located near the highway pass. This Hala Haveli is a site of pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) and those who come to Bhitshah for *mannat* (supplication) stay there, without cost. Moreover, they are given tea and food. Serving them is considered to be one of the duties of the faqirs. Recently, Ali Dino Tamrani also established a *baithak* (a place for gathering) at this site. However, this site alongside other property of dargah is waqf and the Tamar faqir do not own it but do administer it.

Not only is the administration of these sites, including Hala Haveli and the wadi autaq, in the hands of the family of Tamar Faqir but they also possess some sacred objects belonging to Shah Latif. These include the Ganj, the surviving manuscript of Shah Latif's verses that were penned by Ramzan Faqir Mir Jat during Latif's lifetime. This manuscript is in the custodianship of Ali Dino Tamrani. There is also a *maani* or *roti* (bread) made of wood that symbolizes the simple food that Shah Latif used to eat. Traditionally, the Tamrani faqir's family also kept Latif's clothes.

Ahwal-e-Shah Latif also mentions that the clothes, which the late Shah Latif had on at the time of death, were in the possession of Mahabat Faqir who was from the family of Tamar Faqir. When the Kalhora ruler of Sind legitimized Jamal Shah, the first Sajjada Nashin, as their rightful heir to the Gaddi, Mahabat had the honor of giving him Latif's clothes to put on and the staff to carry in his hands. Seeing these relics, people thronged around Jamal Shah and kissed the clothes and cried and paid their obeisance to Jamal Shah. Mirza Qalich Baig, the author of *Ahwal-e-Shah Latif* further writes that even at the time of succession, the clothes invariably are given in charge of the successors of Mahabat Faqir, who was himself a successor of Tamar Faqir (Baig 1887, 28). Presently, at the *dastar bandi* of the 12th Sajjada Nashin, it was the elders at the dargah of Shah

Abdul Karim Bulri ((“Passing on the torch” 2015) and not the faqirs who presented Shah Latif’s clothes and other possessions to the Sajjada Nashin.

In the 1960s, when the Pakistani state took control of all the shrines through the Waqf Ordinance, the Sajjada Nashins were requested to hand over the dargah to the Auqaf Department. In compliance, the 9th Sajjada Nashin, Saiyid Shah Dino Shah, who is the great-grandfather of Saiyid Waqar Hussain, handed the dargah to the auqaf, but the administration of all the rituals of the dargah remained in the hands of the Sajjada Nashin and continues to today. This ordinance did not include several sites related to Shah Latif that were part of the waqf. The guardians and administrators of these properties were not Sajjada Nashin but the family members of the pirzade family and the raagi faqirs. Within the tradition of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, examples of such waqf property include the haveli of Shah Latif, and the *taqiyeh* (sacred spaces for meditation) of Shah Latif built at various places in Sind, where he visited. These sites, according to a local faqir I spoke with, are traditionally managed by the faqirs because the Sajjada Nashin cannot be asked to carry out responsibilities of all these places since it would extend his role and responsibilities (Interview with Ismail Faqir Meerjat, 2017).

The case of *Hala Haveli* is distinct because in 1962, with the state regulation of waqf, this site came under the control of the state, but was released since this property did not generate any income The process of release was also catalyzed by a group of faqirs who contested the government seizure of Haveli and went as a group to the chief minister to request the release of the property back to the faqirs. (Interview with Arshad Pathan, Advocate Ali Dino Tamrani, 2017). However, for twenty years or more, since Saiyid Ghulam Shah became the Sajjada Nashin, the haveli has been an object of dispute between the Tamrani family and the Sajjada Nashin (“Standoff at Bhitai’s shrine” 2015) which I discuss in detail in the next chapter.

Empowerment of the Raagi Faqirs within the Public Media

The public media in Pakistan has also generally shown disinterest in the issues related to waqf since many journalists I have spoken to have a progressive standpoint that consider Sufi shrines in general to be non-progressive and therefore they are not concerned with detailed reporting pertaining to shrines. Since the initiation of private news channels, however, such as The Geo, Pakistan’s public media has become even

more independent than it used to be, reporting issues of violations against social justice at the grassroots of society. The support of the progressive and educated interest group that supports this press, and in turn the role of media, has grown considerably after the fall of the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s. Well-known magazines such as *Herald* (where I interned briefly during the elections initiated by General Musharraf) show the extent to which the media has the freedom to critique military dictators in contrast with other Muslim states such as Egypt or Syria. For example, the cover page of *Herald* during Musharraf's election campaign in 2003 showed a caricatured image of Musharraf on a sewing machine weaving a cloth that had the names of the political parties that his administration was favoring during the elections. However, in reporting disputes such as those related to Sufi singers namely the faqirs, who are at a lower edge of society, the English-language media has not always been vigilant or interested.

Based upon my experience of working in Bhitshah and reading these articles, I noticed the pseudonym "Z. Ali" as the name of the reporter for this dispute. My immediate hunch was that these were covered by a diligent Sindhi journalist at *The Express Tribune* who had also interviewed me in 2012 at the annual Bhitshah conference. By coincidence, the journalist Zeeshan Bhatty, sent me a friend request on Facebook in 2017 around the time I was nearly done with interviewing stakeholders for my dissertation. During a conversation with him on the Facebook, he related his experience of covering this issue for *The Express* Tribune and also asked for my views . The journalist Zeeshan Bhatty, alongside the advocate Arshad Pathan, was two important people I spoke to who supported Ali Dino Tamrani's perspective on the case.

Ali Dino Tamrani's Statement: Violation of Ancestral Rights

As discussed in the last chapter, Ali Dino Tamrani was the khalif of the dargah of Shah Latif and his family has been administering the dargah's waqf for generations. The previous Sajjada Nashin prepared a document during the *Gaddi Nashini* of Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir Shah stating that the family of Tamrani has been administering the haveli for 250 years. This document was drafted in order to honor *("unki qadar karte huey")* the intergenerational service of the Tamrani lineage towards the haveli and dargah of Shah Latif (Interview with Ismail faqir, 2017). In the last chapter, I also discussed that a part of Shah Latif's waqf, including the *haveli, wadi autaq* and some cultural artifacts

from his life, were being administered by the faqirs, especially the Tamrani family since these were non-income generating property that had been released by the state upon the protest of the faqirs. I also mentioned that this property has been under dispute for several decades and every now and then a new series of conflicts arise. In 2010, the faqirs' protest outside the Hyderabad Press Club was about the control of haveli at a time when the 11th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Nasir Hussain Shah was the custodian.

Between 2015-17, when his son, Saiyid Waqar Hussain Shah became the 12th Sajjada Nashin, a new series of conflicts arose with regards to the possession of the haveli, that also resulted in the suspension of Ali Dino Tamrani from his position as a khalif at the dargah and his duties in administering the Shah jo Raag. In response, Ali Dino Tamrani appealed to civil society, including press and court claiming a violation of his hereditary rights. When the Sajjada Nashin suspended Ali Dino Tamrani from his position as a khalif in May 2015, he was also asked to vacate the haveli. Tamrani resisted both these actions on the premise that the Sajjada Nashin does not have the authority to remove the khalif, stating that this is an unprecedented case in the history of the Tamrani lineage and that a Sajjada Nashin had never before removed a khalif. A few other faqirs, who were the supporters of Ali Dino, and had also been removed from their duty to sing at the dargah, joined a protest demonstration in Hyderabad in 2015 and filed a case against the Sajjada Nashin in the Sindh High Court (SHO). During these demonstrations, Ali Dino was assertive of his ancestral authority:

> We acquired these skills from our fathers and forefathers. We have been devotedly preserving this unique form of singing and music for centuries because, despite all our hardships, there was no intervention that could have affected our art ("Standoff at Bhitai's Shrine" 2015).

According to Tamrani, no Sajjada Nashin in the past had interfered in the appointment or even nomination of a khalif in the last two and a half centuries, and a relative has succeeded each deceased khalif. The other faqirs, who supported his claim, informed the press that they were being denied their duty to sing at the dargah and forced to leave the town with their families. As a result, the court ordered the chief administrator of the provincial the Auqaf Department to submit a report about the matter to the provincial chief secretary. Other officials such as the Auqaf minister and secretary,

Matiari deputy commissioner and SSP (police commissioner), alongside the Sajjada Nashin and eleven others faqirs from Bhitshah, were named as respondents in the case.

Tamrani's claim to his hereditary rights is an exemplary case of a subaltern situation because he was speaking the language of tradition, claiming that his forefathers handed down this position to him, and now being taken away. His language of "rights" was not striving to subvert traditional hierarchies and moral order at the dargah but rather trying to safeguard it against acts that he considered were subverting traditional norms. He states:

> Bhitai himself handed over this haveli to our ancestor faqirs in his lifetime. We have been looking after it for centuries, organizing *raag, rung and langar* [music, devotion and free meals] every day. ("Standoff at Bhitai's Shrine" 2015)

Ali Dino Tamrani's statement in the press alleged that the Sajjada Nashin had not only suspended him from his office but also replaced him with a member of his own family, that is a Saiyid. The new khalif, Zulfiqar Ali Shah, not only became the new khalif but was also given control of Bhitai's four-acre haveli near the shrine and, reportedly, a 100-acre farm (("Standoff at Bhitai's Shrine" 2015). In making this statement, Tamrani also alleged that the Sajjada Nashin is strategically keeping the haveli within his family. When the faqirs filed a petition in the court, they provided the document prepared by Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir as evidence of Ali Dino Tamrani's ancestral rights within the waqf.

The publication of different allegations by Ali Dino Tamrani and his supporting faqirs show that the public media in Pakistan was relatively transparent in bringing the case to the eyes of the general public. One however is left to wonder how a faqir like Ali Dino Tamrani, who is not literate and speaks only in Sindhi (unlike other faqirs who can also speak in Urdu) was able to access the English-language press? Upon scrutiny, one finds that Nazan Saeein, the uncle and rival of the present Sajjada Nashin supported Tamrani.

Nazan Saeein's Mediating Role in the Dispute

Nazan Saeein has alleged that the 11th Sajjada Nashin Nisar Hussain illegally took the haveli away from the faqirs. The same newspaper article also mentions that Nazan Saaein/Gada Saeein had filed a case four years ago claiming that his father and his uncle were the rightful heirs to the *gaddi* (seat) of the Sajjada Nashin, alongside stating in

the press that haveli should be taken over by the Auqaf and turned into a museum or a heritage site. He further accused the Sajjada Nashin of selling books of Latif that were the property of the Auqaf Department. Nazan Saeein challenged not only Waqar Hussain's Sajjada Nashini but also his authority to suspend a khalif and to take custodianship of the haveli. In a press conference, Nazan Saeein also accused the Sajjada Nashin deviating from the teachings of Shah Latif and urged government officials, intellectuals and writers to act as arbiters to settle the dispute between the Sajjada Nashin and Ali Dino Tamrani, stating that "It's unprecedented for a Sajjada Nashin to fire a khalifa this way and evict them from the Haveli, which was given to faqirs by Bhitai." In response, however, the Sajjada Nashin shared two past cases where his father had suspended Ali Dino Tamrani in 2006 and Faqir Jumman Shah in 2010 to argue that his move was not "unprecedented" (Ali 2015).

Additionally, Nazan suggested that the 12th Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Waqar Hussain Shah's inter-faith work was a case of "selling out" to his non-Muslim donors in the press. Two other articles were published in the on May 30th, 2015, a month after the suspension of the khalif. These two articles were titled "Deviating from teachings: Descendants of Bhitai continue tug-of-war" and "Teaching issues: Descendants of Bhitai continue tug-of-war" and included additional allegations by Nazan towards the Sajjada Nashin. On May 30th, 2015, Nazan Saeein organized a press conference in Bhitshah to state that the Sajjada Nashin had deviated from the thought and philosophy of Bhitai:

> The Sajjada Nashin is promoting Christianity. It is a conspiracy against the shrine and even the philosophy of Bhitai…Waqar has deviated from the thought and philosophy of Bhitai with his attention fixed over Christianity ("Teaching Issues" 2015).

He further alleged that the Sajjada Nashin is following the agenda of his foreign donors, who fund his non-profit organization, the Shah Abdul Latif Foundation: "For a small amount of money, he is using Bhitai's name to promote Christianity. A cross has also been put up on the entrance of the shrine," said Nazan ("Teaching Issues" 2015). Furthermore, he criticized the publication of a book by Roohani Ramz published by the foundation that is written by a Christian and creates a dialogue between the message of Christ and Bhitai.

These allegations show that Ali Dino Tamrani's access to public media and to civil justice was supported by a wealthy member of the pirzade family, namely Nazan Saeein, who was successful in invoking the sympathies of members of the progressive elite in Sindh towards Ali Dino's suspension. This support raises the stakes in this case and it is possible that if the case stirs again in the future, Ali Dino Tamrani will receive more support from members of the public. As a result of this positive press, Ali Dino Tamrani has not gone unnoticed in civil society.

From another angle, one can also consider this conflict within waqf to be not just between a faqir and the Sajjada Nashin but as a re-orchestration of a conflict between rival groups within the *pirzade* family who are contesting the throne of the Sajjada Nashin. It also shows the extent to which public media and Pakistan's civil society is a pawn, whereas actual power continues to reside in sacerdotal hierarchies. In this power struggle, I see Ali Dino as a victim whose ancestral rights are at stake because of th upper-class sacerdotal struggles within the *pirzade* family.

The Perspective of Sajjada Nashin and his Supporters

Whereas from the khalif's perspective, the issue is about the ancestral rights over his position as a khalif and administration of haveli, from the perspective of the Sajjada Nashin and his supporters, the issue pertains to the "ownership of the haveli" and the "authority of the Sajjada Nashin" to govern the faqirs and the khalifs. For example, when I spoke with the supporters of the Sajjada Nashin, the allegations made by Ali Dino Tamrani was interpreted as his attempt to take "ownership" of a waqf property. The perspective offered by the faqir supporting the Sajjada Nashin was that Ali Dino presumed that the Sajjada Nashin is removing him from his hereditary position as a khalif "permanently" and replacing him with Zulfiqar Shah. But an informer, who would like to stay anonymous, told me, Zulfiqar Ali Shah was put in his position only temporarily.

Similarly, the Sajjada Nashin asserts his authority to the press stating that he had the authority to remove the faqirs from their duty at the shrine when he sees malpractices. He gave examples of other Sajjada Nashins in Sindh who have done the same. "If Pir Pagara can remove his four khalifas then why can't I? I removed Tamrani because he did not participate in the shrine's rituals and kept repeating mistakes" ("Bhitai's haveli at the heart of…" 2017). Additionally, speaking with a faqir who wishes to stay anonymous and

supports the stated that Sajjada Nashin had suspended Ali Dino Tamrani because he was not carrying his responsibilities as a khalif well, and the Sajjada Nashin had given him warnings at different points but he did not take them seriously. Therefore, he was suspended for a month, but it was not the case that he was removed permanently from his position as a khalif. If Ali Dino had excused himself and apologized and made amendments, he would have been reinstated, said the faqir.

The other important assertion that the Sajjada Nashin made in the press was that Tamrani and his supporters had attacked him and his followers, and for this reason they, "banned him from singing at the shrine or entering the haveli." Moreover, it was after these violent clashes between the faqirs and Saiyid Waqar Shah's supporters that Ali Dino's family along with two others, were expelled from the haveli, and the police took control of the premises.

In response to the allegation made by the uncle, the Sajjada Nashin stated that he had placed the cross at the dargah, and also received funds from UNDP and the London-based NGO NJ Arts, but these actions was aimed towards promoting religious harmony. "Bhitai's message transcends any religion. It is universal," said the Sajjada Nashin. He also mentioned that he has been attending events and activities of Hindus and even organized a Hindu convention in Bhitshah to promote interfaith dialogue. According to him, the cross and a saying of Jesus Christ had been put only within a space within the shrine that is a medical camp set up at the shrine's entrance, while Karachi-based Christians were providing medicine for the camp. Therefore, the cross was put up to show their contribution to Bhitai's devotees. He also mentioned that the book in question was written by Zafar Francis, a Karachi-based religious writer and that his foundation also supports him by publishing his work.

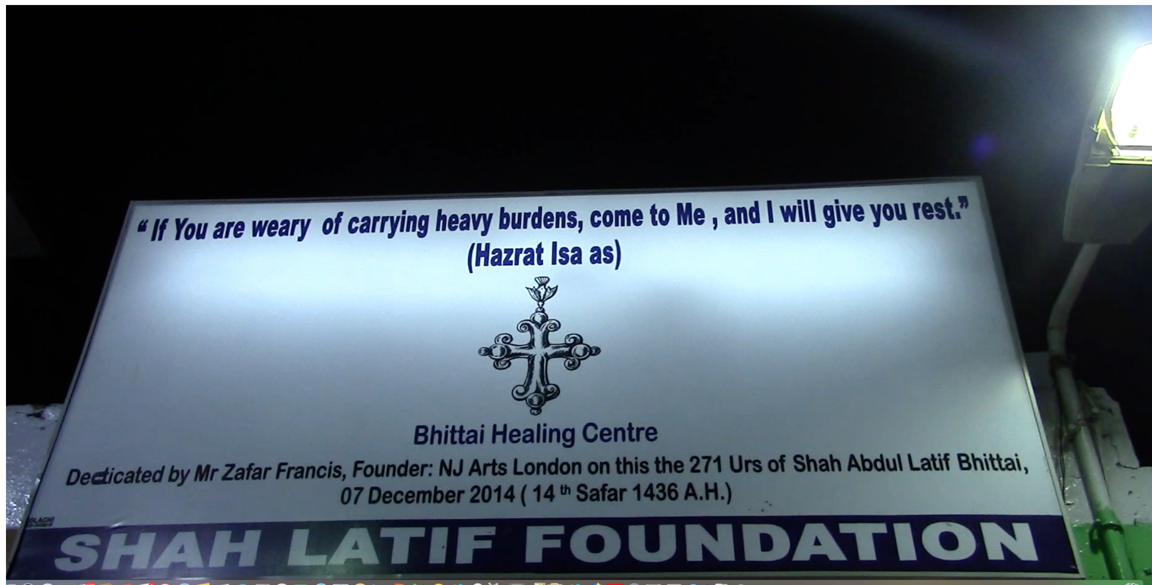

Figure 29: The image of a cross at the dargah of Shah Latif

State, Governmentality and Categories of Civilian Justice

The conflict between Ali Dino Tamrani and the Sajjada Nashin at the dargah of Shah Latif shows the extent to which regulation of waqf and the language of law create ambivalence and challenges for not only tradition bearers but also the state authorities. One aspect in the language of law that I analyze with regards to this dispute is the use of the word "ownership" and "possession," categories that emerge from modern forms of private property and quite different from the pre-modern concept of land endowment encapsulated in the concept of "waqf" that is particular to the Islamic context. As described in the past few chapters, no individual owns or possesses the waqf and the land is considered available only for religious purposes i. A family typically administers waqf, or an appointee made by the waqif, in this case the family of the Sajjada Nashin for the main dargah and the family of the khalif for the haveli.

The legal categorization of the "ownership" of waqf property of the haveli found in the petition document given to me by the advocate Arshad Pathan, and his own repeated use of the word "possession" shows that the agents fighting the case for Ali Dino Tamrani are educated in new legal rationalities but do not have command over the traditional institutions such as the waqf and its administration. They are not able to discern the ways in which the role and position of the administrator, in this case, the

khalif, is competing with that Sajjada Nashin as the custodian of the dargah because waqf legislation recognizes the latter but not the authority of the khalif.

I attribute violence at the dargah that was reported in the press to be a result of the ambiguity within the Waqf regulation and administration of waqf that created legal complications within the case. In late January 2017, the matter of the haveli emerged once again, when on the judicial orders, a civil judge and judicial magistrate in Matiari district ordered the police to hand over possession of the haveli to Tamrani, who was the petitioner in the case. "We removed the picket and gave the haveli's keys to Tamrani on the judicial magistrate's order" ("Bhitai's haveli at the heart" 2017). As a result, Ali Dino Tamrani and his companions re-entered the haveli upon police approval. However, within a few hours, the Sajjada Nashin challenged the order in the district and sessions court, the court granted a stay order on his plea and the police was directed to have the haveli vacated and take back its possession: "We have taken back the keys and the picket has been set up again," said the police officer called the SHO[47] ("Bhitai's haveli at the heart" 2017). The Sajjada Nashin told the press that he respects the judiciary and will accept the court's order after his petition is heard.

Ali Dino Tamrani's petition in the court filed in 2015 for the haveli was eventually rejected in 2017. This can be seen as an example of how modern forms of knowledge and governmentality and its categorization of pre-modern forms of land endowments creates maladministration, misinterpretations, and injustices. The court stated that the basis for their rejection of Tamrani's petition was "factual controversy." According to the court, the claim that the haveli was in the "possession" of Ali Dino Faqir and from which he was dispossessed is an "oral assertion" that is not supported by evidence. Therefore, based on Article 145, the court dismissed the petition saying that the property is a disputed matte and it cannot proceed without evidence.[48] The court did not recognize the ancestral claims over the haveli by the Tamrani elders nor did it recognize the claim that Shah Latif had handed the haveli to them.

When I spoke with the advocate Arshad Pathan who was supporting Ali Dino Tamrani in this case, he mentioned that Tamrani had succeeded in being able to get court

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[47] SHO is an abbreviation for Station House Officer.
[48] Please see Appendix for a copy of court order

orders to enter the haveli in early 2017 because according to Section 145 CRBC, if a person was in possession for 60 days prior to the dispute and is able to show that he was in possession, then it is considered sufficient evidence of possession. However, the Sajjada Nashin filed a petition to take back the possession, and eventually Ali Dino Tamrani's petition was rejected by the session's court.

> We have failed in our petition that we are in possession of this haveli since the days of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and that we are managing that haveli and performing our religious affairs over there. And that we have been dispossessed by the Sajjada Nashin of the dargah. The court states that it is to be seen whether you were in possession of that haveli in past or not. That requires evidence (Interview with Arshad Pathan, 2017).

Advocate Arshad Pathan further added that the court accepts Sajjada Nashin to be the custodian of the shrine and since haveli comes under the shrine, he is considered the administrator. The idea that Ali Dino Tamrani and his family had hereditary administration of the haveli since the time of Shah Latif was not accepted by the court and considered an "oral assertion" on their behalf.

As argued earlier, one notices a repeated use of the term "ownership" and "possession" which are foreign in the case of a dispute over waqf. The second issue that is not clear is a distinction between the spiritual authority of the Sajjada Nashin and the administrative roles at the dargah. As argued by Khalid Rashid, the dargah of Moinuddin Chishti and many other shrines in India have separate positions and offices for spiritual authority and temporal authority and these two offices are not merged. Why then are these authorities merging in the case of the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

This calls for a comparative study of waqf, the ways in which waqf legislation has been created in Pakistan as compared to India, and what accounts for oral, shared histories and chronicled histories from the Mughal period. It also raises the question of whether shrines such as Shah Latif's, where there has historically been a khalif administrator, needs a different kind of waqf legislation to institute the traditional authorities in the modern context of state regulation of waqf.

Revised waqf legislation needs to take into consideration rights of traditional authorities. In a secular workplace, if a worker is laid off from his job, he/she still has some rights with which the employer has to compensate the worker. However, this is a

ritualistic workplace, so whatever rights tradition-bearers of the ritual have, has to be ascertained, especially in the case when there are power-imbalances related with socio-economic as well as sacerdotal differences, between the spiritual leader and Sufi singers. One also has to ask what if the Sajjada Nashin fails to observe his duties, can anyone dispossess him of the dargah? What are the systems of checks and balances within the pre-capitalist economy of waqf?

For the state to reduce Ali Dino Tamrani's claim to ancestral rights to the haveli as an "oral assertion" reflects a lack of understanding on the part of the judge or magistrate to situate how the religious authorities have been legislated in the first place. The present scholarship on Sufi music and musicians is silent on the cases of waqf that involves rights of the Sufi singers, and by presenting this case, I would bring forward the attention of ethnomusicologists to study cases of conflicts within waqf that involve Muslim singers and reciters and their right to sing at the dargah.

A Subaltern Perspective: Ali Dino Tamrani speaks…

My collaborator in Sind, Ismail Mir Jat interviewed Dino Tamrani in late-2017 based on a questionnaire I had provided. By this time, the court had withdrawn his petition on the basis that Ali Dino Tamrani had no evidence to claim "possession" of the haveli. Ali Dino Faqir first introduced himself and his lineage:

> The name of my village is Mehar-faqir. It is located 4 km. from Bhitshah near the main highway. I'm 61 years old. I have been learning Raag since 1968 from Meeru faqir who was baba's [father's] friend in the style of *jhoongar*. This *silsilah* (lineage) is a duty for us, and we only do what the *tariqat* (path) of the faqirs is, that is *zikr*, *sema*, *raag*, *vairag*, etc. This lineage is given to us by Tamar Faqir, who was born from the water that Shah Sahib sipped and the prayer he gave to his mother. Just like Christ did not have a father, similarly, Tamar Faqir did not have a father. He was born from Shah's prayers. Saeein [the Sajjada Nashin] is the 12th descendant. Our lineage is also the same, and it includes fulfilling the responsibilities of the raag. We [our family] have kept that continuity (*tasalsul*).

Ali Dino asserted his lineage to Tamar Faqir as a "silsilah" and as a "duty" which was part of the "tariqat" (path) of the faqirs, showing that he also had a lineage just as the Sajjada Nashin. He also presented religious framework in which he compared Tamar Faqir to Jesus Christ. Could this be an outcome of Tamar seeking to pay homage to the

Sajjada Nashin's interfaith dialogues? What he says next shows that he was seeking a reconciliation with the Sajjada Nashin:

> This distance between myself and Saeein [the Sajjada Nashin] is temporary and will end. I will not say that Saeein made a mistake because he is our elder. I will say that it is my mistake and I will admit it. But, I will say that I will not leave the lineage (silsilah) [of khalif] that has been continuing for generations. I will keep it going. But, I'll say that he was my elder even yesterday, and he is my elder even today. And if in any way if he asks for me, I will come in his presence (*mein unke samne hazir hoon*). Whatever people are doing for their benefit and are trying to break our system, they are a misunderstanding. They will not benefit. Whenever Shah Sahib [Shah Latif] would wants, this silsilah will connect again. If it is my mistake, then I should be punished for it. But, whenever Shah Sahib would want, the silsilah will connect. We will continue to observe all the rituals and customary practices that are there, and I continue those rituals and sing at my baithak with other faqirs and sing every Thursday. This silsilah will not end (Interview with Ali Dino Tamrani, 2017).

What is evident from Ali Dino's words is that contrary to fiery statements that he made in the press, Ali Dino faqir was now speaking of the Sajjada Nashin in much the same way that other faqirs I interviewed had. This meant treating the Sajjada Nashin as an elder, and showing respect towards his authority. Moreover, Ali Dino claimed that he had made a mistake, showing a remarkable shift in his position, and suggesting that the entire episode was a "misunderstanding" that was instigated by someone else. Furthermore, he situated his close relationship with the Sajjada Nashins in the past, presenting him as a son of their family.

> I'm the son of Saeein. He's our elder. If he considers us as one of his own [*apni nisbat mein samjhein ge*], then he will not leave us. When I was learning in 1968-70, Faqir Mohammed Bux took me to Sajjada Nashin Saiyid Ghulam Shah and gave my arm (*baazoo*) to him. I kissed his hands. He kept me with him. We sang on Thursday evenings for four years. Then after his death, I sang with Saiyid Nur Mohammed Shah. I continued my duty. Whenever the murshid wants, this distance and these restrictions will end, and we will be connected with that lineage [of khilafat] again. After my father's death, I served Saiyid Ghulam Shabbir Saeein. After that, I served Saiyid Nisar Saeein for eleven years. During this time, there were no complaints about me. I know that whenever Shah Latif wants, I will be given back my responsibilities (Interview with Ali Dino Tamrani, 2017).

Ali Dino Tamrani does not mention the haveli even a single time within this interview, and yet the court case he has filed is a lawsuit against the Sajjada Nashin's "illegal activities" and control of the haveli, as evident from the court order. In the above narrative by Faqir Ali Dino, we hear between the lines that his hereditary authority was

taken away from him in an unprecedented manner. Even though the 11th Sajjada Nashin also suspended him once, Nisar Hussain Shah, he does not refer to it. The deplorable state of Ali Dino after losing the petition is such that he presents that failure in words of victory and adab.

> I won the case on the outside (*bazahir*), but I did not win. I have this small struggle, but I will still say that whenever the Sajjada Nashin commands me and it is my prayer, and I am not far from him, and whoever wants something negative for us and wants to break us, Inshallah, they will be eliminated (*sunaboot ho jayein ge*). This is my prayer (Interview with Ali Dino Tamrani, 2017).

Ali Dino Tamrani's manner of talking about the Sajjada Nashin and what happened is markedly distinct from his voice in the press that shows how the results of the court order have placed him in a vulnerable situation. Since the haveli has been at dispute for about two decades, the recent attention it in the civil society may have given Tamrani the impression that he will win the case. His defeat places him in a situation where he does not have any choice but to compromise.

Conclusion

The language of law, particularly waqf legislation in Pakistan creates barriers for Sufi singers because it does not acknowledge the position of the khalif and their rights to govern the waqf. At the dargah of Shah Latif, where the khalif also holds a "Gaddi Nashini" (lineage) as the Sajjada Nashin, the two positions are competing and require a neutral regulator to mitigate power imbalances and suspension of the khalif from his office. In this case, a revised waqf legislation that specifically pertains to the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is needed. The state also requires a more uniform approach to deal with waqf property and the release of a few properties that have created local disputes within the dargah need to be given added consideration in terms of the question of how the state can regulate this non-income generating properties and prevent local disputes.

Faqir Ali Dino Tamrani's court petition was a subversive act that is subversive to the traditional forms of dispute resolution within the political economy of waqf. However, what he was fighting for was not subverting traditional hierarchies but seeking to preserve them. When his position of khalif was being given to a Saiyid, as he claimed in the press, he was making a case for aberration in tradition. According to him, he was

not the one subverting the tradition but instead it was the Sajjada Nashin, and here subversion did not insinuate more equitable distribution of powers as modernity promises but a worsening of power hierarchies so that those like khalif Ali Dino merely become invisible. While he was conforming to the normative order, the other faqirs who did not support him found him subverting the moral hierarchies at the dargah because he did not offer an apology for the reasons he was suspended and instead aggravated the situation by going to the court.

On the other hand, what made Ali Dino's action of reaching the court possible is evidence of the transformations that have taken place in the political economy of waqf. With the state regulation of waqf, what one notices is ambiguities and ambivalence that have invalidated traditional forms of authority at the level of the subaltern. The dispute that arose over the haveli was a result of the release of properties, brought about by the faqirs' appeal to the chief minister in the 1960s, which created the internal dispute within the dargah. While Ali Dino Tamrani was able to receive a paper from the 10th Sajjada Nashin confirming his ancestral rights, this paper was not a legal document and was thus rejected by the court in the recently filed petition. This case shows how the rationalities of modern governmentalities perpetuate the inequities in the pre-capitalist economy of waqf in ways that, while there is a promise of justice, the legal language does not actually support the faqir. It also shows the limitations of the state in mediating the power imbalances in local disputes. In this respect, this case makes us re-think the relationship between state and sacerdotal powers and raises the question of whether the rationalities they support are similar or conflicting. What kind of justice mechanisms does the state offer for the subaltern?

In this respect, I raise further questions for research and community engagement: What are singers/musicians' rights over their tradition, and in a case where they find their rights trampled upon, what kind of legal support is there to recognize their rights? How far has restorative justice in the Islamic context dealt with cases involving singers and what role does their lower class/caste played in bringing them justice? These are unaddressed questions in ethnomusicology, Islamic studies, and subaltern studies. hat Ali Dino Tamrani's case teaches us is that this is an overlooked area that deserves attention in the scholarship of religious sounds.

Part II Conclusion

The processes of modernity, mainly the shift in governmentality from colonial to post-colonial has brought about shifts in the administration of waqf with regulations and civilian code of justice. These processes have introduced new forms of knowledge in form of new categories and rationalities that are foreign to the system of waqf. In an attempt to regulate the waqf, the post-colonial state has also impacted local relationships; however, this aspect of the administration of waqf has not been of interest to the scholars of waqf since the scholars have mainly been concerned with the maladministration of the income of waqf and the court cases that ensued as a result. In taking an ethnographic approach to understanding how shifts in the administration of waqf have shifted the local relationships, in particular between the Sufi singer and the spiritual authority, I have discussed the traditional place of the Sufi singer and of the Sajjada Nashin within waqf and built that context in its specificity by bringing the case of the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. This ethnographic angle allowed me to show that the Sajjada Nashin's spiritual governance has intersected with these new rationalities to create a departure from the traditional role that confined the Sajjada Nashin as a spiritual leader in a special relation with the devotees. Today, the Sajjada Nashin engages with neo-liberal governmentality with his non-profits and creates an inclusive context for non-Muslim groups within Sindh to participate in the rituals at the dargah of Shah Latif. While, his opponents within the pirzade family resent his new role, the Sajjada Nashin continues his work by aligning with the UNESCO and reaching out to international funding organizations such as the USAID.

From the perspective of the faqirs, the new rationalities that have led to initiation of empowerment programs such as the wazifa (stipend), housing and the Shah jo Raag school for the uplift of faqirs have provided new opportunities to perform outside the dargah. The faqirs, however, negotiate this new role while maintaining a reverence towards the Sajjada Nashin by observing a moral etiquette (adab) towards the spiritual authority as well as other faqirs who are older in age and experience in the Shah jo Raag tradition. Men from non-hereditary backgrounds are also actively engaged in learning the Shah jo Raag at the Shah jo Raag school and taking the title of the faqir. However, the leadership and administrative role of the faqirs at the dargah is not legally recognized by

the waqf legislation. And in case of conflict with the Sajjada Nashin, when the faqir is suspended from his duty, there is no protection other than community justice and the support of other faqirs in being reinstated. The faqirs therefore are in a humble situation at the dargah in modernity where they have to maintain their traditional place and attitude while negotiating with processes of modernity.

Part I opened a new discourse in ethnomusicology which pertains to the rights of singers and musicians within the pre-capitalist economy of religious sites, in particular Muslim Sufi shrines that are based on the religious endowments called the waqf. Waqf has witnessed regulation and governmentality in modernity, and this part pioneers a discourse about the cultural rights of singers within this traditional economy by pointing towards the administrative roles that musicians have played traditionally at these religious sites and suggests policy recommendations to form more localized waqf legislations in Muslim countries that takes into account specificities of different dargah and their tradition in order to uplift local music communities to the Muslim states that are using the monetary offerings in a liberal manner for socio-economic uplift of the communities.

The shift in the administration of waqf as a result of governmentality is one aspect of how one can think about the empowerment of faqirs in modernity. The other issue at work is in the preservation of the Shah jo Raag tradition, which I address in Part II.

Conclusion

The dargah of Shah Latif presents a model for preserving tradition while embracing modernity. Despite state regulation of waqf, the rituals of the dargah have remained intact, a phenomenon not shared in other parts of the Muslim world where state ideology has impacted Sufi rituals as in the case of Egypt (Frishkopf 2017). In contrast with many other musical traditions that are experiencing extinction, the tradition of the Shah jo Raag is experiencing an expansion as a result of the progressive policies of its Sajjada Nashins since Saiyid Ghulam Shabir Shah in the 1960s who have encouraged non-hereditary singers to join the toli at the dargah.

Therefore, governance of Sufi sound and heritage of waqf at the dargah of Shah Latif is embedded in the preservation of traditional relationships and values that are observed at the dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai that are a result of the continuing leadership of the Sajjada Nashins. The Sajjada Nashins have collaborated with agents of modernity to expand this tradition and also preserve their authority in the face of state regulation of waqf since the 1960s. Their role in mediating faqirs' participation in modernity is prominent as they advocate for the faqirs to the government departments such as the Auqaf Department and the Ministry of Culture. Following Prakash who questions the idea of "bondage" in traditional relationships and thus the notion of emancipation and freedom found in European enlightenment and modernity, one also finds that the faqirs' subservience towards the Sajjada Nashin is embedded in the conception that he is a protector and an elder.

While music disciplines have discussed modern forms of preservation, what this chapter shows is a traditional socio-economic structure that has been preserving the sonic tradition of the Shah jo Raag as well as its singers, the raagi faqirs. By showing the patron-musician relationship in the context of the socio-economic structure of waqf, this chapter adds to the discussion in Ethnomusicology of South Asia by bringing forward ways in which this tradition contrasts with other traditions in South Asia where musicians' place is low because their labor of singing is considered inferior in value (Qureshi 2005). In contrast, in this tradition, singing Latif's poetry is considered prestigious, and even the Sajjada Nashins have been involved in singing the Shah jo Raag

in contrast with the tradition of qawwali, khayal and other courtly genres of North Indian music where patrons differentiate themselves from the musicians.

The traditional relationships as this dissertation showed are embedded within the sociology-economic structure of Islamic heritage of waqf (religious endowment) that creates sacerdotal and socio-economic hierarchies between those who can hold waqf, such as the Sajjada Nashin and his family, and those who do not share similar rights, example the faqirs. These hierarchies are respected via observance of adab (moral conduct). By analyzing the Muslim system of land ownership of religious property called the waqf, I showed how this system has historically constituted a hierarchical relationship based on sacred position of those who can administer a waqf, such as Saiyids and families of Saiyids who trace their lineage to Prophet Mohammed and to the saint. The chosen people from the Saiyid family, the Sajjada Nashin has a specific sacred authority that distinguishes him from the rest. Within this social structure, I positioned the Sufi singer, faqir's low position that in the case of tradition I studied was not because he was not a Saiyid but because he did not have the similar degree of sacred custodianship as the Sajjada Nashin. A key finding of my research was that faqirs could also be Saiyid and Sajjada Nashin could also sing the tradition, therefore patron-music relationship that scholars have theorized in the context of Hindustani music or in the tradition of qawwali was not altogether applicable in the context of Sind. While scholars of South Asia, including Jane Benson and others have considered Muslim system to be hierarchical so that Saiyids or those who trace their lineage to Prophet Mohammed have a high status, and faqirs literally meaning mendicants are low, in my research there are faqirs who are also Saiyids. In bringing forward this finding about Muslim social stratification, my research not only contributes specifically to the discourse of music-patron relationship in Ethnomusicology of South Asia but also South Asian studies and Islamic Studies. Within Islamic Studies, the research offers an intersectional perspective by offering a discourse about class and sacred hierarchies in the Islamic context—an approach that is significant to take into account in discussions of gender and modernity.

The research also creates a new angle to address the issue empowerment, equity and inclusion within the Muslim context of religious endowment called the waqf. In scholarly discussions about regulation of waqf in Pakistan, how local relationships are

being transformed has not been addressed. My research shows the transformation of local relationships from different vantage point; it shows how the authority of the Sajjada Nashin is being transformed as his mode of governing at the dargah is interfacing with state and neo-liberal governmentality, and how the state empowerment programs are transforming the faqiri community. Moreover, it discusses how traditional relationships are transforming as a result of transformed status of the spiritual authority as well as the Sufi singers. I argued that state interventions have created new sites of voice and silence for the subaltern because while the faqirs voice their resentments towards the state their dissent towards high-stake decisions by the Sajjada Nashin show a different response. What is intriguing In my findings derived from ethnographic work, collection of oral narratives and media analysis is that after the state regulation of the capitalist Muslim economy of Sufi shrine's land or waqf began in the 1960s, the singers began voicing their grievances. This voice became more and more empowered over the years as the subaltern singers in Sindh today arrange press conferences and protests outside the press club for greater inclusion in state sponsorship for Sufi music and about regulation of Sufi heritage of the shrine. Moreover, even in the 1990s, when the Government of Sindh introduced empowerment programs for the faqirs such as free housing and stipend, they take approval of the Sajjada Nashin to accept that offer. However, what is also interesting to note in my findings is that their voice is almost always channelled by the Muslim authority and his family. Moreover, the Sajjada Nashin support the faqirs in mediating with the bureaucracy of the Auqaf Department and the Ministry of Culture to have more faqirs registered to receive state benefits. Therefore, if there is a case of conflict with the leadership, as in the case in 2010 when the spiritual authority disapproved of singers' performance for the Coke studio, or a dispute over administration of a heritage site that led a Sufi singer Ali Dino Tamrani to file a court case against the spiritual authority, the voice of dissent diffuses into a willed silence. It is a kind of respect locally as *adab* towards the decision of the spiritual authority. In bringing sites of voice and silence of the subaltern in modernity, my dissertation hopes to initiate a discussion within Muslim authorities for greater inclusion of subaltern voices within the tradition.

These finds have implications for scholarship in many areas. Firstly, it brings into discourse in legal Ethnomusicologist and Economic ethnomusicology, the Muslim

tradition of religious endowment waqf and how it impacts Sufi singers. Secondly, it builds a discourse for greater inclusion of voice and consideration of the rights of the Sufi singers within waqf. Thirdly, it gives a more historical basis for the Muslim tradition in the pre-capitalist economy that is now being transformed as a result of neo-liberal institutionalization of dargah sites and traditions as tangible and intangible heritage. The concept of heritage, material and intangible, encapsulates transformations brought about by two distinct processes of modernity; regulation of waqf and introduction of print technology and radio in transformation of the Shah jo Raag tradition and its tradition-bearers. Since heritage is a European discourse of governmentality emerging it makes invisible the local ways of thinking about the spiritual sites and traditions. Moreover, with the neo-liberal discourse about freedom and preservation of heritage, what becomes of concern is how this top-down discourse of the UNESCO will incorporate voices of the subaltern singers and how will it take into account aspects of the tradition that are very specific. In what ways will governmentality: state and neo-liberal make invisible authorities such as that of Ali Dino Tamrani and his family's contribution to the administration of a few waqf sites such as the haveli.

At a much broader level, the specific findings of my research address a question that is relevant not only in the context of South Asia and Muslim sites but in any nation-state context which is: what is the ideal kind of engagement between the state and its communities? Should the state support communities to preserve their traditional heritage and at what point does the support become an unwelcome intervention that takes power away from people and communities? These questions do not have a straight forward answer and differs across different moments even within Canadian and American history of democracy which was combined with settler colonialism and distinct treatment of indigenous heritage. My PhD dissertation addresses these questions within an emerging democracy in Pakistan where I come from and in the context of a Muslim Sufi tradition that became of national significance within the province of Postcolonial Sind. Therefore, when we raise the question of when and how should the state support preservation of cultural heritage, the answer lies in taking into account an understanding of benefits for the community from the perspective of its leaders and decision makers as well as the subaltern, and how can subaltern be integrated into decision-making? We need to take

into account how local relationships are impacted and how does modernity and we as agents of modernity empower the subaltern?

I analyzed the ways in which these processes have impacted the traditional relationship between the faqir and the Sajjada Nashin—a hierarchical relationship that is constituted by the pre-capitalist economy of waqf in which tradition-bearers (Sajjada Nashin and the faqirs) work together to respond to processes of modernity that marginalizes their sacred authority. Using Foucault's concept of governmentality, I analyzed the tradition-bearers' responses by showing how the traditional forms of Sufi governmentality are engaging with post-colonial Sindhi and neo-liberal and corporate governmentality. While post-colonial Sindhi media, including print and radio, marginalized the singing voices of the faqirs, the voices of faqirs' protest in the public sphere pushed the state to initiate a stipend program, a housing scheme, as well as creating opportunities for faqirs to perform at Sufi festivals and state tours. Moreover, the state also established the Shah jo Raag School where one Raag faqir, Faqir Jumman Shah became a principle.

However, I also note that these state interventions do not make the state a benevolent actor at the dargah since the faqirs complain about their low wazifa (stipend), which is also not delivered on time. They also consistently complain about state corruption. In this context, I conclude that the recent implementation of the UNESCO's intangible heritage convention, which has led towards support for the activities of the tradition-bearers at the dargah, has enabled a re-invention of Sufi governmentality. With a collaboration between Shah Latif Foundation and the UNESCO, many institutions created by the state in the 1960s or the 1990s for example the Shah jo Raag school and the Guest Houses has a UNESCO surrogate. This shows an expansion of neo-liberal governmentality at the dargah that is empowering traditional relationships. The cultural context of faqirs also shows how they are interacting with spiritual authority in the wake of new developments at the dargah initiated by the Shah Latif Foundation, the UNESCO's Intangible Heritage convention and Sajjada Nashin's civic engagements.

The issue of empowerment and governmentality contributes to music scholarship by showing new forms of subalternity that modernity generates within pre-capitalist economies. By showing the two conflicts, one over the faqirs' performance for the Coke

Studio, and another about the administration of waqf that culminated in a court case filed by Ali Dino Tamrani, I highlight the silence of the subaltern and the ways the silence is mitigated with the observance of adab (a kind of subservience towards one's master within a master/disciple hierarchical relationship) towards the Sajjada Nashin. In doing so, I bring in a critical discourse to Islamic Studies.

Thus, I propose that the reader consider empowerment of the faqir in the context of the dargah through the logic of adab. Adab presumes observing the hierarchies and maintaining etiquette, but it does not mean being subjugated. Faqir Juman Shah asserts his difference of opinion and goes as far as to argue and discuss the topic with the Sajjada Nashin, but in the end, complies with his decision by withdrawing from further collaborations with the Coke Studio. This act in itself shows empowerment, while also showing consciousness of the limits of power. On the other hand, the act of going to the court and protesting against the Sajjada Nashin in the press is a sign of be-adabi even though the act of challenging authority is of value in the liberal idea of freedom and empowerment.

Tamrani's case is challenging because he is fighting for a right that is not formally recognized by the waqf legislation. I argue that his rights alongside that of other faqirs and their rights to administer waqf and retain control over its property, have to be legislated in order to address the ambivalence in the control of the haveli. Whether the hereditary rights of the singers and the Khalif should be subjected to the decision of the Sajjada Nashin is a question that I think faqirs would have to address and stand up for as a collective in the future, lest they are replaced by new faqirs trained in state-sponsored or UNESCOsponsored schools of the Shah jo Raag.

This dissertation has been about social stratification within the Sufi context of the dargah, but it has been written from a place of inspiration, where all the hierarchies break down. I find the power of Sufi dargah and Sufi poetry to restore this place in us. I end with two verses from Sur Sorath where Shah Latif brings beauty in the music of Beejal to a point where the singer and political ruler become one:

In modesty, he played the instrument,
The powerless king responded from the colorful palace
At an opportune moment, the minstrel unfolded his identity,
"I am Ahmed without letter M," said the supplicant.

Only few could comprehend that the two had become one (Salim 2009, 487)

When Beejal says “I am Ahmed without letter M,” it means that the power of his sound had made him the voice of Allah. Ahmad is another name for the prophet Mohammad, and Ahmed without the letter m becomes Ahad which means Unity and Divinity, one of the attributes of Allah. Thus, through the power of sound, two people of very different social standing become one, and the king was ready to give away his head to a bard considering his head worthless next to the power of his string:

O friend, I will give you my head as a greeting gift
O bard, let us be friends and go together to Junagadh,
I beseech you never ever speak ill of me,
If I had a thousand of heads on my trunk,
I would chop each for your strings,
Abdul Latif says, O mates, the king was smitten by love. (Saleem 2009, 505)

Thus, within the realm of ishq, Latif gives much higher value and power to the singer who becomes a transcendental symbol representing divinity. When he sings, words lose their conventional meaning and evoke something over and above their actual sense and sound. This is the power of the Sufi Shah jo Raag that has helped me in hearing and engaging with modernity from a critical distance. The purpose of this work is to create this place of distance in the reader, to enable them to hear the contemporary in a Muslim Sufi locale.

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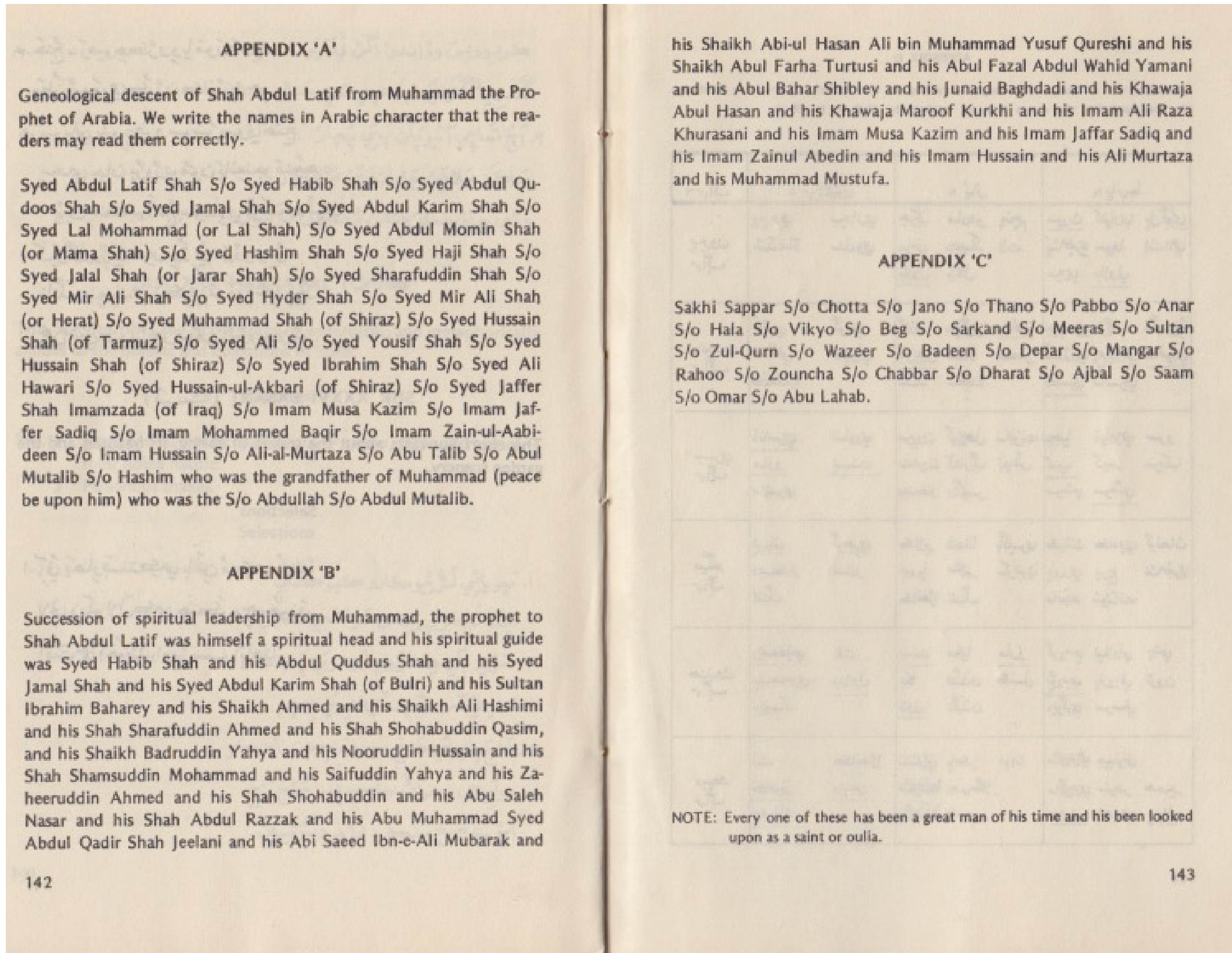
Appendix

Appendix I: Genealogy of Shah Latif



APPENDIX 'A'

Geneological descent of Shah Abdul Latif from Muhammad the Prophet of Arabia. We write the names in Arabic character that the readers may read them correctly.

Syed Abdul Latif Shah S/o Syed Habib Shah S/o Syed Abdul Qudoos Shah S/o Syed Jamal Shah S/o Syed Abdul Karim Shah S/o Syed Lal Mohammad (or Lal Shah) S/o Syed Abdul Momin Shah (or Mama Shah) S/o Syed Hashim Shah S/o Syed Haji Shah S/o Syed Jalal Shah (or Jarar Shah) S/o Syed Sharafuddin Shah S/o Syed Mir Ali Shah S/o Syed Hyder Shah S/o Syed Mir Ali Shah (or Herat) S/o Syed Muhammad Shah (of Shiraz) S/o Syed Hussain Shah (of Tarmuz) S/o Syed Ali S/o Syed Yousif Shah S/o Syed Hussain Shah (of Shiraz) S/o Syed Ibrahim Shah S/o Syed Ali Hawari S/o Syed Hussain-ul-Akbari (of Shiraz) S/o Syed Jaffer Shah Imamzada (of Iraq) S/o Imam Musa Kazim S/o Imam Jaffer Sadiq S/o Imam Mohammed Baqir S/o Imam Zain-ul-Aabideen S/o Imam Hussain S/o Ali-al-Murtaza S/o Abu Talib S/o Abul Mutalib S/o Hashim who was the grandfather of Muhammad (peace be upon him) who was the S/o Abdullah S/o Abdul Mutalib.

APPENDIX 'B'

Succession of spiritual leadership from Muhammad, the prophet to Shah Abdul Latif was himself a spiritual head and his spiritual guide was Syed Habib Shah and his Abdul Quddus Shah and his Syed Jamal Shah and his Syed Abdul Karim Shah (of Bulri) and his Sultan Ibrahim Baharey and his Shaikh Ahmed and his Shaikh Ali Hashimi and his Shah Sharafuddin Ahmed and his Shah Shohabuddin Qasim, and his Shaikh Badruddin Yahya and his Nooruddin Hussain and his Shah Shamsuddin Mohammad and his Saifuddin Yahya and his Zaheeruddin Ahmed and his Shah Shohabuddin and his Abu Saleh Nasar and his Shah Abdul Razzak and his Abu Muhammad Syed Abdul Qadir Shah Jeelani and his Abi Saeed Ibn-e-Ali Mubarak and

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his Shaikh Abi-ul Hasan Ali bin Muhammad Yusuf Qureshi and his Shaikh Abul Farha Turtusi and his Abul Fazal Abdul Wahid Yamani and his Abul Bahar Shibley and his Junaid Baghdadi and his Khawaja Abul Hasan and his Khawaja Maroof Kurkhi and his Imam Ali Raza Khurasani and his Imam Musa Kazim and his Imam Jaffar Sadiq and his Imam Zainul Abedin and his Imam Hussain and his Ali Murtaza and his Muhammad Mustufa.

APPENDIX 'C'

Sakhi Sappar S/o Chotta S/o Jano S/o Thano S/o Pabbo S/o Anar S/o Hala S/o Vikyo S/o Beg S/o Sarkand S/o Meeras S/o Sultan S/o Zul-Qurn S/o Wazeer S/o Badeen S/o Depar S/o Mangar S/o Rahoo S/o Zouncha S/o Chabbar S/o Dharat S/o Ajbal S/o Saam S/o Omar S/o Abu Lahab.

NOTE: Every one of these has been a great man of his time and his been looked upon as a saint or oulia.

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Figure 30: Spiritual Genealogy of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (Baig 1877, 142).

The above figure shows the connection with Twelver Shi'ism, with the genealogy of Twelver Shi'ite Imams. Shah Latif's lineage dates back to Shah Imamzada (of Iraq) who is the son of the 6th Imam Musa Kazim. Twelver Shi'ite differ from Ismaili Shi'ite in that they believed in Musa Kazim as the 6th Imam where as Ismailis believed in the elder brother Ismail. Appendix B shows spiritual kinship of Shah Latif that links his lineage with the Qadri Sufi founder Abdul Qadir Shah Jilani and the founding Sufi Junaid of Baghdad. Junaid Baghdadi's spiritual philosophy contrasted with the Sufi Mansur Al-Hallaj who is more well known because of the execution.

Appendix II: The Court Order

KHADIM HUSSAIN M. SHAIKH, J. Learned counsel for the petitioner has mainly contended that the Shrine / Dargah of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is under the management and control of Auqaf Department; Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in his life time constructed Wadi Havaili / Otaq, which is located near the Shrine / Dargah of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai; earlier Lal Dino Timrani Faqir was the Chief / Gadi Nasheen / Khidmatgar of the Shrine / Dargah of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and after his death the petitioner was appointed as Chief / Gadi Nasheen / Khidmatgar; the aforementioned Wadi Havaili / Otaq was taken over by the Auqaf Department in view of the Notifications dated 31.05.1960 and 07.11.1960, which afterwards was released; lastly, Gadi of Bhit Shah and shrine of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai was awarded to Syed Waqar Hussain Shah, who has done various illegal and unlawful acts in-collusion with the private respondents. He, therefore, requests that the acts of private respondents at the instance of Sajjada Nashin Syed Waqar Hussain may be declared as illegal and unlawful and it further be

Figure 31: *The court order, point 1*

declared that the petitioner is in lawful and legal possession of the Wadi Havaili / Otaq near Shrine/ Dargah of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

2. Learned A.A.G, controverting the arguments adavanced by the learned counsel for the petitioner, has contended that there is old dispute between the petitioner and the private respondents over the possession of Wadi Havaili / Otaq of Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai; preventive proceedings under the provisions of section 145 Cr.P.C. have also been initiated, as there was apprehension of the breach of peace; in order to avoid any mishap or untoward incident between the parties sufficient police force has already been deployed at the site and in its surroundings; and lastly the learned A.A.G. requests that the petition may be dismissed.

Figure 32: The court order, point 2 and 3

3. We have heard the learned counsel for the petitioner and learned A.A.G and perused the record.

4. Record reflects that Shahzada Syed Ali Yawar Shah Latifi had filed C.P. No.D-398 of 2006 before this Court, but the said petition was dismissed / disposed of on 12.09.2007 on account of availability of alternate and efficacious remedy to the petitioner and then said Shahzada Syed Ali Yawar Shah Latifi filed Civil Petition No.1 of 2007 before the District Court, Hyderabad; which on creation of District Matiari was sent to the District Court Matiari and it was ultimately dismissed vide order dated 30.01.2013 by the Additional District Judge, Matiari.

Figure 33: The court order, point 3 and 4

5. Admittedly the matter has chequered and chronic history relating to dispute over possession of Wadi Havaili / Otaq between the private parties i.e. the petitioner party and the Syed family, who claim themselves to be Sajjada Nasheen, earlier such dispute was brought before this Court in Constitution Petition No..D-398 of 2006, which was dismissed in the wake of availability of alternate and efficacious remedy to the petitioner Shahzada Ali Yawar Shah Latifi, who is now respondent No.16 and the present petitioner Ali Hassan alias Ali Dino was arrayed as respondent No.5 therein and then the matters were taken to the various forums including the District Court and ultimately the

Figure 34: The court order, point 5

matter was dismissed by the learned Additional District Judge Matiari vide order dated 30.01.2013. In the wake of such previous history of old litigation spreading over the period of more than two decades over the possession of the subject property between the two private parties and the nature of allegations regarding alleged illegal and unlawful acts of private respondents, manifestly intricate and disputed questions of fact, requiring serious probe and evidence, are involved in this matter and such factual controversy cannot be determined or decided by this Court in exercise of its constitutional jurisdiction under Article 199 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973. Reference can be made to case of IJAZ HUSSAIN SULERI v. THE REGISTRAR and another **(1999 SCMR 2381)**, wherein the Honourable Supreme Court of Pakistan has held that a matter necessitating inquiry into the case could not be gone into the Constitutional petition.

6. In view of the above, we are of the considered opinion that this petition is misconceived and is not maintainable which is accordingly dismissed with no order as to costs alongwith all the pending applications.

Figure 35: The court order, point 6

Appendix III: Interviews

Dr. G.A. Allana, Hyderabad, 2009
Dr. Ibrahim Joyo, Hyderabad, 2009
Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch, Hyderabad, 2009
Shaikh Aziz, Hyderabad, 2009
Hameed Akhund, Karachi, 2009
Abida Parvin, Karachi, 2009
Nasir Mirza, Hyderabad, 2014
Sajjada Nashin, Bhitshah, 2014
Faqir Jumman Shah, Bhitshah, 2014
Ismail Faqir, Bhitshah, 2014
Ustad Fateh Ali Khan, Hyderabad, 2014
Ustad Hameed Ali Khan, Hyderabad, 2014
Sainde Khan, Hyderabad, 2014
Arshad Pathan, Hyderabad, 2017
Ismail Faqir, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Ali Dino Tamrani, Bhitshah, 2017
Gul Mohammed Faqir, Bhitshah, 2017
Qambar Ali Faqir Lanjwani, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Basharat Ali Lanjwani, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Intizaar Hussain Khaskheli, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Gul Mohammed Khaskheli, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Gul Mohammed Khaskheli, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Rahim Dino Junejo, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Haji Sher Mohammed Nizamani (Hajjan Faqir), Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Qadir Bux Khaskheli, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Jumman Shah, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Nizam Ali Khoso, Bhitshah, 2017
Ustad Khabar faqir Soomro, Bhitshah, 2017
Anwer Faqir Khaskheli, Bhitshah, 2017
Saiyid Mir Muhammad, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Liaquat Ali Lanjwani, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Mir Hassan Tamrani, Bhitshah, 2017
Faqir Zulfiqar Ali Shah, Bhitshah, 2017