

Evolution and re-evaluation of the Du'a (Prayer) of the Nizari Ismailis in the subcontinent following the Declaration of the Great Resurrection in Alamut.

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Introduction:

Prayer, known as Du'a, is one of the main tenets of Ismailism. It includes all the basic tenets of the Nizari Ismaili faith since it was composed. Through centuries the format and the text have been shortened but the principles have all remained the same. This paper is on the Du'a which was recited by Shia Imam Ismailis Nizaris in the subcontinent through centuries. Namaz and Du'a have coexisted since the very beginning of Islam. Ummul Kitab, arguably, a book reporting Farmans made by Imam Baqir (733 C.E.) to regular private gatherings of some level of initiation confirms the existence of religious practices outside the officially known practices such as Namaz/Salat within the mosquesⁱ. During the time of Imam-Calife al-Hakim, according to a Farman of the Aga Khan III (Karachi 7th Feb 1951) prayer gatherings were started a midnight and Mijlases were conducted for men and women. Makrizi writes on the authority of al-Musabbihi in his al-Khitat that there was no fix formula, genuflection etc, during the prayers in the Mijlas al-Khassaⁱⁱ.

It is related that the Ismailis began to recite their own Arabic-Persian Namaz known as Kalimatul Haq in Alamut and that that prayer was possibly later practiced by Ismailis in Syria, Iran and Central Asia.

The father of Pir Shams, Pir Hasham Shah (14th Pir 1013-1066 C.E) talks in one of his ginans of drinking the Holy Water.

He says the following in his ginan "*Chit ma dolo rikhisaraa man saachaa*"ⁱⁱⁱ

Munivar karore aanadh mali mali amiras pio ji 13

Translation: O Believer, gather with happiness, partake in Holy Water.

In another such ginan "*Tran tran jug vartiyaa munivaraa*"^{iv} he talks again of *Amiras* (Holy Water).

We can safely assume therefore that the ceremony of Gat Pat necessary to produce Holy Water which is closely related to the Asal Gat Pat ji Dua was already present during the time of Pir Hasham Shah (he was Pir during the time of Imam Zahir and Imam Mustansirbillah) and that though the term Du'a may have not been used, there was some kind of Du'a for initiated followers in private gatherings, co-existing at that time already with the Namaz recited in mosques.

When did the word Du'a started to be used for prayers in the Ismaili community in the subcontinent? Did it evolved through centuries to forsake basic tenets of Ismailism or were the changes of a more cosmetic nature? This is the question that has been explored here.

Chapter 1: The origin of the Ismaili Dawa in the Indian Subcontinent

The Ismaili da'wa started in the Indian subcontinent well before the Fatimid times, well before Ibn Hawshab had sent al-Haytham (C.E.884) from Yemen. In fact Mowlana Jafar Sadiq sent there two dai's, Musa bin Abdullah Mahz and Abdullah bin Mohammed bin Abdullah Mahz. They were sent to build the foundation for the future Da'is to come and expand upon. During the time of Imam Ismail, at least three more Da'is were sent to the Subcontinent: Da'i Abdullah b. Maymun, Da'i Halvani and Da'i Abu Suffiani.

This created an Ismaili base and paved the way for Imam Ismail himself to come and stay in Multan for 10 years after becoming Imam. While the orientalist sources based on Arabic and Persian writing are limited to the theory that Ismail, the son of Imam Jafar Sadiq, died before his father, sources in other languages differ. These sources speak of Imam Ismail having lived and converted locals in Multan and other areas for 10 years as Imam (from 765 to 775 C.E.) One such source^v says that most of those converted by Imam Ismail reverted to Hinduism and were converted once again by Pir Satgur Nur. Imam Muhammad bin Ismail (Imam from 775 to 813 C.E) who also had the title of "Satgur Nur" as 7th Pir of Ismailis during his stay in the subcontinent, may have been referred to here instead of the 15th Pir Satgur Nur (1034-1066). In Du'a book's lineage of the Pirs, the name Muhammad bin Ismail and the title Satgur Nur have been used interchangeably for the 7th Pir.

Pir Shams, in his Man Samjani Moti writes^{vi}:

Chapter 152:6	Shah Ismail Jug me aawiyaa
152:7	Apni Jayja kar aya
152:10	So Ali ke takhat par aaviyaa
152:11	Shah Ismail esaa kahiye

Translation: *Shah Ismail came in (that) era*
He came in the midst of cheers
He came on the Throne of Ali
Such was Shah Ismail

Re Tunhi: So huvaa Padshah ke thaam
Baraa uskaa naam re
Takhat par betha he
Padshah ke thaam re.

Translation: *That was the seat of the King*
Great was his name
He sat on the Throne
In the place of a King.

Chapter 153:11	Das varas huvaa Takht par
153:12	Hindu aya un vakhat saar
153:14	Hindu bohota Kalma bhanrta

*Translation: For ten years, he sat on the Throne.
Hindus came at that time
Many Hindus recited the Kalma*

Chapter 154:3 Shah Ismail jaaher kitaa
154:4 Ketak Hindu din maan litaa
*Translation: Shah Ismail declared himself
He brought countless Hindus to faith*

These verses make clear that when Imam Ismail sat on his Throne for ten years, he was already Imam. Pir Shams further says in Man Samjani Chapter 153 that many Hindus were converted in that time but reverted back up to the time when Pir Satgur Nur came and brought them back to the faith. There are at least 3 Chapters of 20 verses dedicated to Imam Ismail's stay in the Subcontinent.

The Fatimid time Mosque built by Ismaili sympathisers in Bhadreswar bear testimony that some sort of congregational prayers (Namaz or Du'a) and rituals were performed by Ismailis in the region at that time. And it is highly probable that up to some point in time the prayers recited in the Fatimid Empire or some adaptation was recited in Multan, Gujrat and other parts of the subcontinent. This being said, from existing documents, the word Du'a was not used in the time of Pir Satgur Nur, only the word Namaz.

Chapter 2: Timeline:

Here are some important dates that will put into context the time of the use of the word Du'a in the Subcontinent:.

719 C.E. *Imam Ismail* was born in Medina between 719 C.E. and 722 C.E, he died 775 C.E.

775 C.E. Imam Muhammad b. Ismail born in 775 C.E. He was also known as 7th Pir with the title Satgur Nur in the lineage of Pirs of the Asal Du'a (Pir and Imam from 775 – 813 C.E. in Hind)

1013 C.E. Pir Hasham Shah father of Pir Satgur Nur was appointed 14th Pir.

1095 C.E. 15th *Pir Satgur Nur*: came to India from Alamut in Daylam in the period of Hazrat Imam Mustansirbillah, when Sidhraj Jaysingh was ruling over Gujrat. Pir Satgur Nur converted King Sidhraj who died in 1095 C.E.

1164 C.E. The Great Declaration of Alamut happened on 8 August 1164 C.E.

1200 C.E. *Pir Shams* Shamsuddin Sabzwari arrived in Multan in early 1200 C.E. and died 1278 C.E. or later as according to some sources his life was 115 years. ^{vii}

1256 C.E. Ismaili reign in Alamut ends in 1256 C.E.

1290 C.E. *Pir Sadardin* was born 1290 C.E. and died at Utchh and was buried at Trinda Gorgej about 15 miles from Utchh in the Bhawalpur State where his mausoleum stands today. According to Shajara the date of death is 1380 C.E..

Chapter 3: The impact of the Declaration of the Great Resurrection in Alamut by Imam Alazikrihis Salam and other such Declarations of subsequent Imams.

The Great Declaration of Alamut by Imam Hassan Alaa Zikrihis Salaam, which abolished the Shariah as practised at that time including the five time Namaz, was proclaimed on 8 August 1164 C.E.^{viii}

There are 2 important parts in that Declaration. First that Mowlana, the *Qaim al Qiyamah* is beyond existential determination and secondly the Shariah is abolished. These two elements came to play strongly in Ismaili circles of the subcontinent and in the formulation of their prayer subsequently.

There are 4 decades between the date of the Great Resurrection and the presumed arrival of Pir Shams in Multan), possible few more as per some sources.

Historically speaking, in the sub-continent, the first Du`a and the term Du`a was used following the Declaration of the Great Resurrection. We can see that the Du`a was recited in the time of Pir Shams before the time of the fall of Alamut in 1256. He also talks in several of his Ginans and Garbis of the "Amiras" (Holy Water) which is the main *raison d'être* of the Gat Pat ji Du`a. The Holy Water was known under various names: Amiras, Abe Safa, Noor, Pawal, Khak Safa, Nyaz and so on. Three generations later, in the 14th century during the time of Pir Sadardin, the Du`a may have been extended and was read with minor modifications up to 1956.

The expression Quaim al Qiyama has been used in the Asal Du`a. The concept of he who has seen the Imam with his own eyes has evolved a step higher than Shariah is a concept culminating in the expression "Shah jo Didar" in the Asal Du`a, an expression still used centuries later in the present Arabic Du`a. And the divinity concept of the Imam beyond existential attributes from the Alamut Declaration made its way in a repeat manner in the Asal Du`a and the Kalma therein.

The first mention of the compulsory recitation of the 3 times Du`a can be found during the time of the 23rd Pir, Shams Sabzwari Multani:

Pir Shams says in his *Chaoud Ratan*^{ix}

Eji Dasmu ratan to trann vakhat duaa
ma chukore moman bhaai,
to aapanne saahebj-e khari dashond
sahi farmaai

Translation:

*The tenth jewel is the Du`a (prayer) to be recited 3 times
Which you should not miss, o believers,
Then only our Lord will consider your dassond (tithe) as true,
As per his true Farman.*

Some sources such as Mumtaz Ali Tajjdin say that the Du`a recited in the time of Pir Shams was in Sairaki language. Since Pir Shams was a great traveller having visited many regions, even opening 84 Jamatkhans in

China and appointing *Mukhis* and *Kamadias* there^x, he may have written the Du'a in several languages according to places he visited.

The Dua attributed to Pir Sadardin has used words from several languages such as Arabic, Persian, Gujarati and Kutchi/Sindhi but there is no reason to address it as the Sindhi Du'a only because the Sindhi script has been used in the ancient Khojki manuscripts.

Chapter 4: The Asal Dua and The Asal Ghat Pat ji Dua - Highlights

One would expect in the composition of a traditional prayer some praises to Allah, asking forgiveness of sins and asking for daily bread. Perhaps one could even expect some commandments, even history and prophecies. But the Asal Du'a has all this as secondary to the concept of Imamat.

The Declaration of the Great Resurrection brought the idea of God beyond all existential determination – that is, God beyond Attributes, the idea that the Qaim al Qiyamah is the Manifestation of that God, All-transcending. In order to accommodate this idea to the Asal Du'a, the composers brought some new concepts: The manifestation of the Essence beyond the Creator would be that God beyond existential determination equated with the Imams and the *Vaishnavi* would contain therefore the list of Imams and their lineage starting before the creation of the void, before the creation of time and before the creation of the universe. All considered as the Noor of Ali, Ali being the Awal and the Akhir.

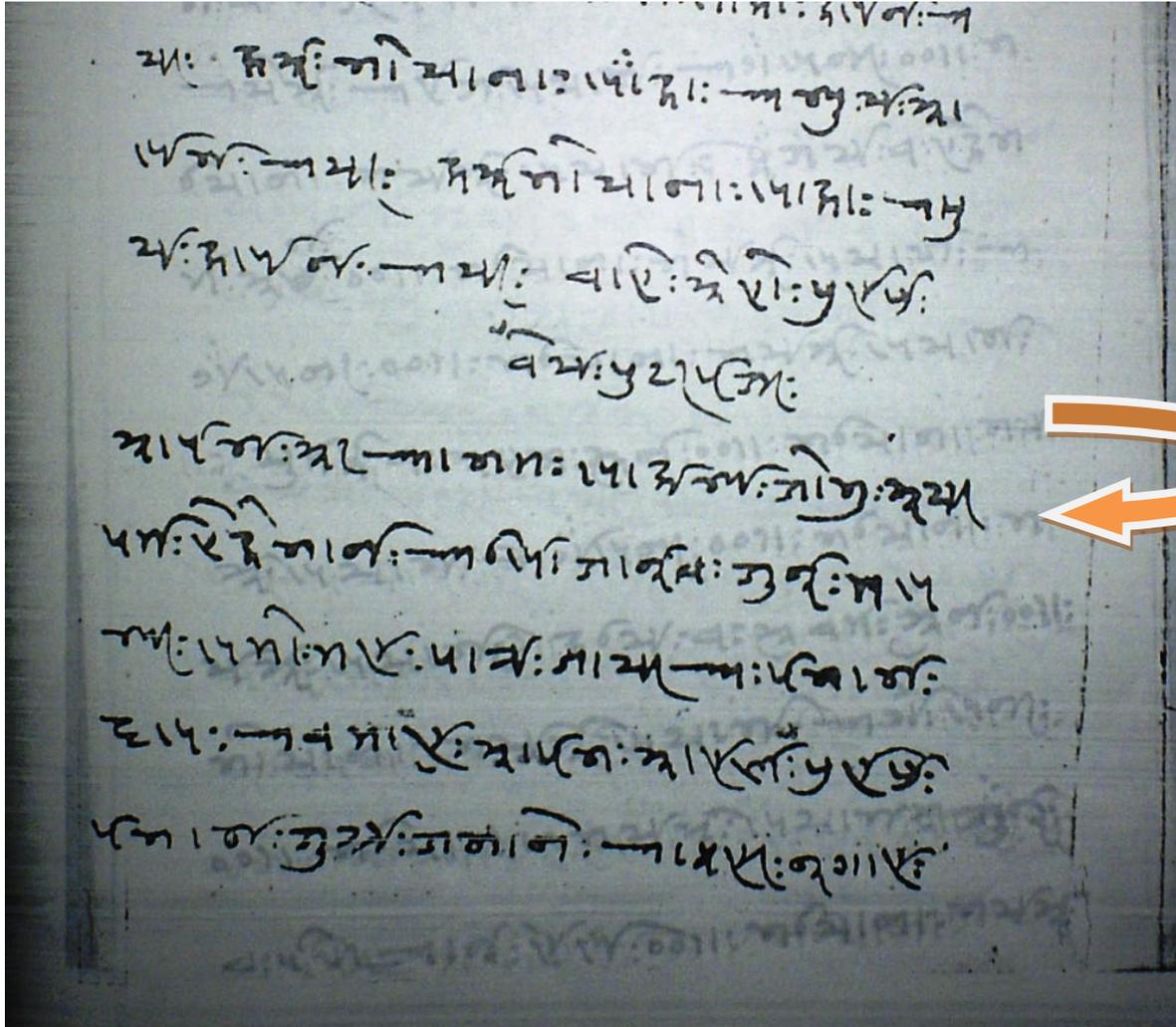
In parallel, the manifestation of the Attributes is equated to Bhrahma the Creator and the Asal Du'a will incorporate that divine entity's manifestation as the line of "Satadhari" (authentic) Pirs. That line contains manifestations of the Noor of Piratan. There are 51 names of Pirs out of which 21 names of Pirs come after Pir Tajdin in the Asal Du'a recited up its last 1960 publication. There is one lady Pir: the mother of Imam Hassanali Shah, first Aga Khan known as Pir Bibi Sarkar Mata Salamat.

The idea of 2 divine Lights is not strange in the region. The finding in Bankipore allegedly of some missing Surahs of the Quran, one of them the Surah al Nurayan (Surah of 2 Noor) is an example.^{xi} "O you who believe, believe in the Two lights. He has revealed them unto you, warning you against the torture of the Great Day -- Two lights emanating from one another, for I am the All-Hearing and the All-Knowing."

Both lineages of Imams and Pirs were recited in parallel in the Asal Du'a. The term ***Qaim al Qiyamah*** used by Imam Alazikrihis Salam in the Great Declaration^{xii} would be, for the first time in the subcontinent, incorporated into the Du'a. Though the concept of Qaim al Qiyamah is ancient and known even in times prior to the Fatimid, the first trace of the expression in an Ismaili prayer in the subcontinent is to be found after the Declaration of the Qiyamah in the "*Vel puthiyun ji*" paragraph in the 5th chapter of the Asal Du'a, a chapter which comes immediately after the lineage of the Imams ending with the name of the Imam of the Time.

This continued at least up to 1820 in the Du'a recited during the time of Aga Hassanali Shah. The expression *Qaim al Qiyamah* could not be found in the Asal Du'a at the time of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah or Imam Shah Karim (1960 Mumbai edition).

Here is part of a page (from manuscript hs0322) with that expression *Qaim al Qiyamah* in the Du'a immediately after the genealogy of the Imams up to Haq Mowlana Abu'l Hassan Shah (1730-1792 C.E.).



hs0322-pic-0130-right.jpg

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In the Litho edition of 1893 the expression *Qaim al Qiyamah* is replaced after “Ware kero purakh sirewo” by “Imam Hadi ul Mehdi” followed by “Sahebul Amr Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah Datar...” while in the Zanzibar manuscript copied for Hasham Visram (hs0167) it says “Imam Hadi ul Mehdi” followed by “Saheb ul Amr Aga Ali Shah Datar...”

Ginans detail the number of Imams and count 25,920,000 Imams during the Life Cycle and Existence of one Brahma. There has been 80,000,000 such Brahma^{xiii}:

Eji Be karodd ne ogann-saatth laakh, ane upar vis hajaar;
avtaar Hari naa etlaa thayaa, tame ginaani vichaar karjo vichaar^{xiv}

The continuity of the Light of Imam is central to Ismailism and much more to Satpanth which is the other name by which it is known in the subcontinent. So some names of Imams were bound to be

part of the Du'a, including those of the Das Avatars and even Machh Avatar! Those names would have been there perhaps even in the absence of the Declaration of Alamut as even before and after, other Imams have made such Declarations. There has been a consistence through history of the Ismailis in the Subcontinent in the doctrines ported by Ginans, Farmans and Du'a. And therefore it is not surprising that Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah says in a handwritten affidavit signed in 1899:

“..the Khoja prayers always mentioned fish and Ali... as incarnation of the “God” and part of the Universal “One”. They have accepted the theory of “Dussoatar” [sic] and Ismailis believe that Ali and others are incarnation of the One.”^{xv}

The deification of Ali is not an exclusive characteristic of Satpanth. In his study *“The Druze and Other Shiite Ghulat Sects”*, Matti Moosa writes^{xvi}: “Moreover, the Ahl-i Haqq believe in the divine pre-existence of Ali. Although they assert that God manifested himself in many forms, they also maintain that Ali is the direct incarnation of God, and for this reason they call him Ali Allah (Ali the God).”

Gibbon says: "He (Imam Hakim) ... styled himself the visible image of the Most High God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakim, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration..."^{xvii}

While the Druzes spin the interpretation of the Declaration by Imam Hakim that he is the Tenth Manifestation, in a completely different direction, Satpanth Ismailism equates those ten Manifestations to the Das Avatars. The names of the Das Avatars as Imam do not appear in the Du'a at the beginning of the Imam's lineage, rather they appear much later.

During the first Ismailia Association Mission Conference held in Dar es Salam on 20 July 1945, Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah took a strong stand on the issue of the Das Avatar (starting with Machh - Fish Avatar) and the concept of Ali Allah in the Asal Du'a - We read, in the minutes of the Conference^{xviii}, the following:

"Number two: In 1905, Juma Bhagat, one of our great missionaries who had rendered great services to me, and other very very pious Ismailis, came to me---that is exactly forty years ago---and said that in the Dua the word which referred to 'fish' should be withdrawn. I said to them: Do you intend to drop one of the foundations of the Faith? When there was nothing but fish on earth, God stood as witness and you must have no doubt to that kind of witness from above. And of course they understood and dropped it.

"In Bombay , eight years ago, many of our people came to me and requested to add just one word in the Dua and then, they said, everything was all right. I asked what was that one word. They said that instead of 'Ali Allah' to say 'Aliyun Waliyullah'. So I said: "You better drop the whole Dua if you want to alter that word. You are ignorant. It is your ignorance and not that 'Ali Allah' is wrong.

Of the initial period of 3 Karans, In the chapter named “Vishnapuri” , we learn the names of 17 Imams, many having a symbolic connotation and few to be found in the names of Sumerian deities. We find names such as Alakh (indescribable), Namnil (Without Name), Gnan (Knowledge), Tej (Light) - This is described at length in Nargis Mawjee’s recent book^{xix}.

From the subsequent period of the four Kalaps, we find 10 names of Imams preceding the Das Avatar in the 4 *jugs* of the Khalifa Kalap. Names of Imams are mentioned for the period of the 4 jugs (the 4 jugs were created in expanding the last 4 “*Gadis*” totaling 90 minutes of the Khalifa Kalap.) The duration of the 4 *jugs* is 10 x 432,000 years. There is a smooth transition in the lineage of the Imam between the end of the Cycle of ninth Budhh Avatar (Imam Honayd^{xx}) father of Adam and the next Imam, first of the new Cycle: biblical Imam Seth (Shish), the son of Prophet Adam. The Du’a says Imam Shish followed Imam Budhh. So Adam is a bridge between 2 Imams and between 2 cycles, from Imam Budhh Avatar (Mowlana Honayd) to Shish leading to the cycle of Hazrat Ali, the tenth Naklanki Avatar. Adam is also the bridge between the third *Duapur Jug* and the fourth *Kaljug*.

Reference is made to 77 names of the Imam up to Hazrat Ali considered as the tenth Avatars after which we have the familiar genealogy of Imams after Hazrat Ali. The Imamate of Hazrat Ali is given legitimacy with the expression “Vatchan Abu Talib vali” – legitimacy from the name of his father’s Imamate, not from the events and declaration by the Prophet at Ghadir e Khum.

Among the 77 “*patra*” names of Imam before Hazrat Ali, to be noted is the name of Malik ul Salam. Malik ul Salam, also known as Melchisedek,^{xxi} was the father of Prophet Ibrahim and grandfather of the next Imam, Ismail son of Abraham^{xxii}. The supplication ***Ya Mowlana Malik ul Salam*** exists in the Du’a from the time of Imam Nizar II and at least up to the time of Imam Hassanali Shah (Aga Khan I) – we find 3 times that supplication in the 5th Chapter of the Du’a of the fragment from the time of Imam Nizar II and we know that this supplication for peace continued during the 19th Century in the fifth chapter named “Panj Pati where it is found 8 times – including two repetitions - as follow: (Phonetic transcription from Khojki script)

“Ali Allah hum

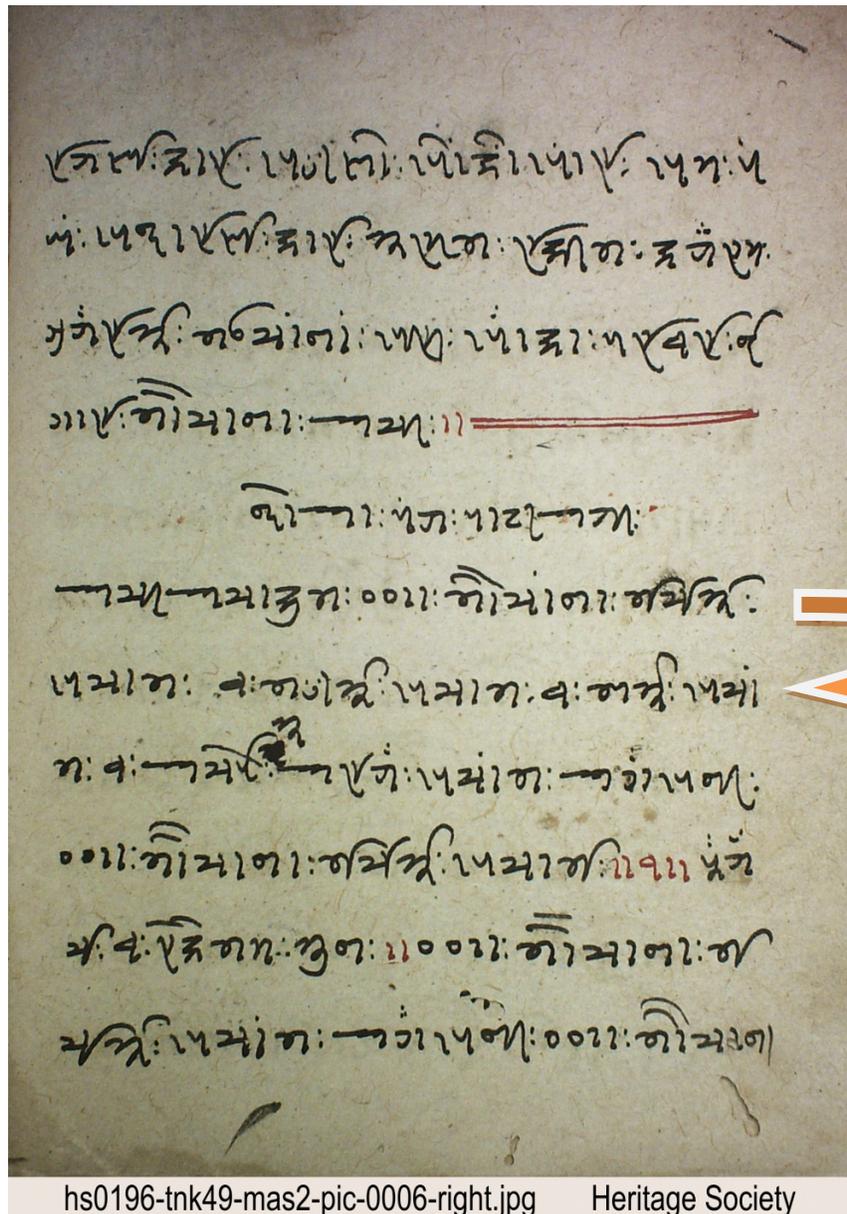
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** wa mahek salam wa bhiki salam wa alaik alfa salam agasni
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** wa rujal wa rahemi kun
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** wa minki salam wa alaiku alfa agasani
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** Allah hol wa kuwat kun
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** wa mahek salam wa bhiki salam wa alaik alfa salam agasni
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** ma jud jud fariad ras
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** wa mahek salam wa bhiki salam wa alaik alfa salam agasni
- **Ya Mowlana Malik Salam** Alahum sayadiya mowlana adhke mardati dar mude aam karaur sabhabhi rahemat wa hurmat.

Sacho Mahammad arbi, Ali Mahammad yak khudah, haq shanasi dafe bala, lahailla ellahlah wa Mahammad rasullaha.”

This chapter ends with the Shahadah and follows the chapter containing the lineage of the Imams. The list of Imam is being updated with the name of each new Imam according to time.

The Du'a evolved in the context of the Satpanthi doctrines and takes us way before time was created. We can see that the Imams' lineage is taken to the very beginning with several names of Imam cited during each cycle and that concept of Eternal Imam was central therefore to the Asal Du'a which brought us also names of biblical figures^{xxiii} such as Shish, Malikul Salam , Aaron, Shamun al Safa (Peter) etc... as Imams before Ali.

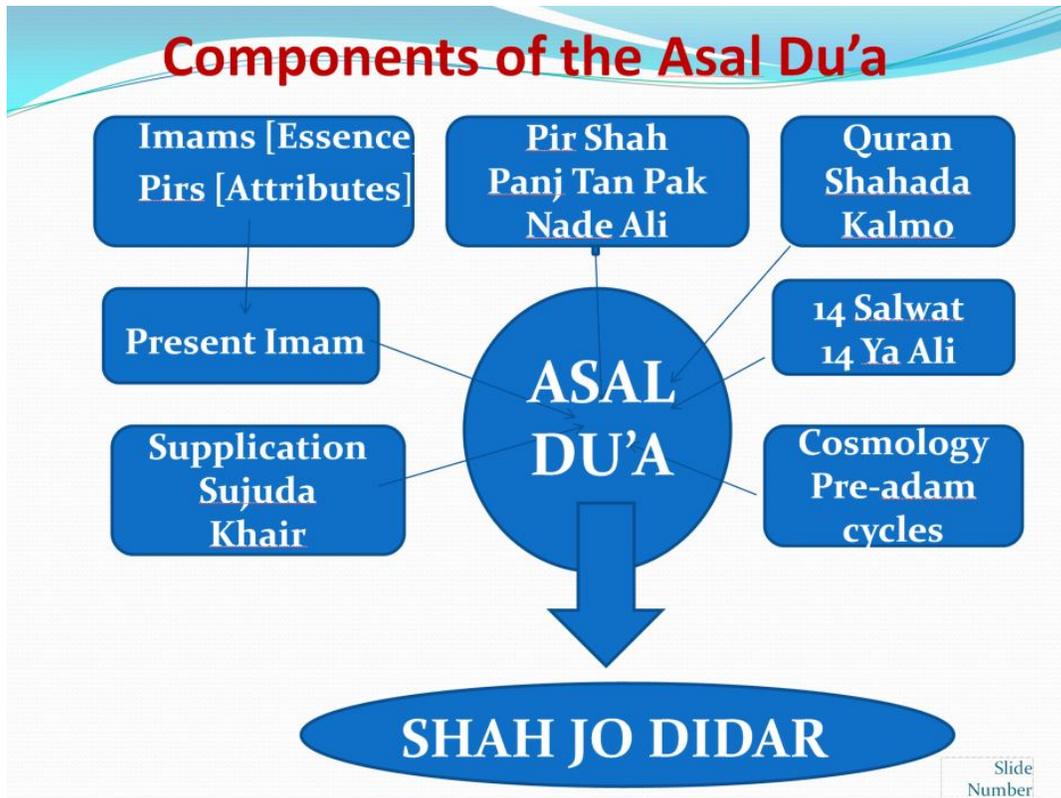
Here below Khojki manuscript hs0196 *Panjpati*, chapter 5 of the Du'a of 1820 containing the supplication to Mowlana Malik ul Salam quoted above.



To summarize, the Asal Du'a contains all the concepts of Ismailism found in the ginans and other Ismaili works of the subcontinent but with a twist, both points of the declaration of Alamut (Divinity and abolition of Shariat) have influenced it so much so that Imamatus became central to the Du'a and Namaz was

abandoned. Furthermore, concepts and vocabulary of the Declaration such as *Qaim al Qiyamah* were incorporated in the prayer, culminating in the expression “Shah jo Didar” - Vision of the Imam. (The Alamut Declaration says: “Whosoever has laid eyes upon the Essence in person, has gazed upon the whole of the signs and clues of all revelations.) Through centuries, the expression “Shah jo Didar – Vision of the Imam” has survived first in the Asal Du’a, then in the Arabic Du’a. In fact these three words are the only words in Sindhi inside the current Arabic Du’a, thus surviving even the change of language and the shortening of the long Du’a.

**Content and purpose of the Du’a and how it climax with the wish for the Divine Vision of the Imam:
Shah jo Didar!**



The Shahada: It included both standard declarations of Muslims in general but further added many declarations which were brought back to three plus four only in the present Arabic Du’a. In Asal Dua they were three plus eight in total and that up to the last 1960 edition of the Asal Du’a in India. The present 7 Kalma in the Arabic Du’a and the 11 Kalma in the Asal Du’a were recited both in parallel between 1956 and 1960.

Pir Satgur Noor who lived in the Fatimid times has written a gnan starting with the words “recite the Kalima” - *Kalmo kahore momino^{xxiv}* where he also defines the base of the Ismaili Kalmo as having the first 3 elements of the short Ismaili version given below. He says that the Kalima itself is Namaz (prayer) and Bandagi (meditation) [verse 2] and he makes its recitation a condition for the soul reaching the Noor (Light) and gaining salvation.[verse 29] – It may therefore well be that the

Namaz recited in the subcontinent during the time of Pir Satgur Nur was but the entire long Kalmo of 14 declarations below:

Short Ismaili version in Old Du'a

1. La illaha illallah
2. Muhammad Rasullulah
3. Amirul Mominee Ali (Sahi) Allah

Additional 11 + 3 declaration in the Old Du'a:

4. La illaha illallahul Hayyul Qayyum
5. La illaha illallahul Malikul Haqqul Mubeen
6. La illaha illallahul Malikul Haqqul Yaqeen
7. La illaha illallahul Malik Yaumeddin
8. La illaha illallahul Aliyyul Azeem
9. La illaha illallahul Halimul Kareem
10. La illaha illallahul Rabi as Samaawate Sabia
11. La illaha illallahul Allah hu Akbar

The last declarations numbered 8, 9 10 and 11 are absent in the new Arabic Du'a of 1956 however in some manuscripts, we find three more declarations. One such manuscript adds the following under the title "**Haqiqat jo Kalmo**" (The name is similar to Kalimatul Haq which is purported to have been coined by Hassan bin Sabbah):

12. La illaha illallahul Wasiyul Kareem
13. La illaha illallahul Rehmanal Kareem
14. La illaha illallahul Rehmanal Raheem

Chapter 5: Du'a during the time of Imam Nizar II (1585-1628)

Syed Abdal Nabi who lived during the time of Imam Nizar II says in his ginan *Eji Venati karun chhun saahab moraa*^{xxv}

Verse 6: Eji Kaayam saami shaahaa kahek maanhe betthaa,
 ne Ali rupe avataar ji;
 paatr satoter Imaam chaalis,
 paratak Shaaho Nijaar ji 6

Translation: *The ever-living Lord and Master has his seat in Kahek,
 Manifest in the form of Ali.
 He is the seventy-seventh vessel and fortieth Imam,
 made manifest as Shah Nizar.*

A khojki manuscript fragment was found with a few pages of Du'a which describe Imam Nizar in very similar words:

Du'a first chapter: Satoter Patra Imam challis das avatar
 Delam Desh, Pacham Desh
 E Shri Salam hajar jomoun
 Ware kero purakh sreviye

Translation: Seventy seventh vessel and fortieth Imam, Ten Avatar
 (From) the country of Daylam, the country of the West
 Lord of Islam, Present Manifestation
 Praise the present Lord

Though only parts has been recovered, the Khojki manuscript shows that in the tradition of reciting the genealogy of the Imam in the Du'a, each name was preceded by the expression "Haq Imam" even during the time of the 40th Imam Nizar II, as well as containing the expression "Ali Allah". It also contains the Du'a of Panj Pathi as found in much later manuscripts. This shows that the Du'a always stayed close to the tenets of faith as portrayed by ginans and other Ismaili literature of its time.

Generations later, during the time of Mowlana Abul Hassanali Shah (1730-1792), we find in Khojki manuscript KM/S No31 dated 1826 C.E. catalogued by Zawahir and collected in Sind yet another Du'a and Gat Pat ji Du'a with the same concepts and keywords: Satoter Patra, Khand Erak, Das Avatar, Haq Mowlana Shah Abul Hassanali Ware kero purakh, Ali-Allah and Ali Sahi Allah in the Kalmo, names of pre-Ali Imams etc...

As a matter of comparison, here is a later paragraph of the same, during the time when Aga Hassanali Shah was still in Iran, from another Khojki manuscript. It does show that only minor changes were brought in the previous 6 generations: (Manuscript HS0250 of The Heritage Society)

Extract: Satoter patra, das avatar, chetalis Imam,
 Dailam Desh, Pacham Desh,
 Mankha Wesh, Khand Erak
 wase Pir Shah Hassan Ali Noor Pak Mowla Ali.

Translation: *Seventy seventh vessel, Ten Avatar and forty-sixth Imam*
 (From) the country of Daylam, the country of the West
 Manifest as a human in the Region of Irak
 There resides Pir Hassan Shah, Light of Ali, Pure Lord Ali

Besides being present in the Asal Du'a, the prophesies of the Imam from "Pacham Desh, Khand Erak" are also found in ginans of Pir Shams. The reading also confirms that fundamental principles of Ismailism such as the continuity of Imamatus and the status of Imams as Manifestations of the *Noor* (Light) expected to come from the West were spread in the Ismaili communities of the subcontinent through Du'a, Ginans and other such religious literature.

In his “Ismaili Pirs, Vakil and Sayeds of South Asia Regions” Mumtaz Ali Tajddin mentions (p.83) that Imam Khalilullah Ali asked Pir Dadu, the chief Vakil in 1554 C.E. to make some modification to some religious practices and to the Dua. These changes can only be marginal as we can see there is substantial consistence between the version from the period of Imam Nizar II and the time of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah.

Traditionally Du’a manuscripts were copied from older manuscripts. In one such manuscript HS0087 copied during the time of Aga Hassanali Shah (Aga Khan I) the scribe says that he is copying the Gat Pat ji Du’a from the “Chopri” of Guli and Hassam. When copying the Du’a from older manuscripts the scribe would then update the list to include the name of the Imam of the time as well as that of the Pir of the time.

Chapter 6: The Dua recited by Pir Shihabuddin Shah under Imam Aga Ali Shah.

In the period of 39th Imam Khalilullah Ali (d. 1585C.E.), few major changes were made in India. He consigned the task to Pir Dadu (d. 1596 C.E.) to revise the Sindhi Dua of Pir Sadruddin and finalised it in 18 chapters.

This Dua continued till the arrival of Imam Hassan Ali Shah in India in 1843 C.E. - Aga Ali Shah was raised to the status of “Pir” by Imam Aga Hassanali Shah. In fact Aga Ali Shah made more farmans as Pir perhaps than he made as Imam due to his long Piratan and short Imamt. But Aga Ali Shah did not stop in both his positions to encourage the community to recite the Du’a.

For instance in a Farman dated the 3rd day of the month of Bhadar Asoud of the Samvat calendar (1878 C.E.) , “Pir” Aga Ali Shah made the following Farman:

“Du’a is more elevated than all Ibadats. The name of all the Saints, Prophets and pure Imams are included in the Du’a. This is why there is no Ibadat more elevated than the Du’a. ... Come always to Jamatkhana to recite your Du’a. Whether we are in Bombay or Puna, regardless of where we are, we always send our blessings to those who recite Du’a. On the day of Judgment, Prophets will bear witness for all.

Pir Shihabuddin Shah was assigned to revise/recite the Sindhi Dua by Aga Ali Shah a couple of times, first in 1878 C.E. when he was not yet instituted as “Pir” and later on Tuesday, the 2nd of the month of Jeth of the Samvat Calendar in the year 1937 (1881 C.E.) few months before he became “Satadhari Pir” according to manuscript HS0167 on that occasion at the end of his Farman, Aga Ali Shah asked the Jamat to write the Du’a and the scribe writes that “*Dani Salamat* (the Imam) sat and in his presence “Shabuddin” Shah recited the Du’a”. The scribe then writes the Du’a as recited by (Pir) Shihabuddin Shah in the presence of Imam Aga Ali Shah. The supplication of Ya Mowlana Malik Salam could not be found in that manuscript and could have been removed in 1878 C.E..

One of the additions was to be found also in later Duas with the specific mention in chapter 16: “Recite the Tasbih of the Farman of Aga Ali Shah Datar, 14 times Ya Ali, 14 time Salwat followed by Sujido (prostration) and then say the prayer of Khair”^{xxvi} – Both these 14 times supplications were published in the 1960 Mumbai edition. The Ya Ali supplication is part of the “Arabic Du’a” printed in 1956 and being recited even today in 2021. It is recited silently 14 times in the middle of the 5th chapter.

This particular above mentioned Khojki manuscript has been copied in 1896 for Hasham Visram of Zanzibar. It also shows that the form of the Du’a changes but the principles stay the same.

Chapter 7: The Asal Du'a continues under Sultan Muhammad Shah.

After reading some passage of the Old Du'a and the genealogy of the Aga Khan therein, Justice Russel confirms in the judgement of the Haji Bibi Case:^{xxvii} "33. *This Doowa is practically the same as the one in Hassanali's time, D.H. 128, and Ali Shah's time, D.H. 129, except the necessary addition of the Aga Khan for the time being.*"^{xxviii}

Few years later, Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III made a Farman in Bombay on January 31st 1926 that "Our religion is evidenced by ancient history. It is just as it was at the time of Imam Hakim-bi-Amrillah and Imam Ala-Zikrihis Salam." This shows how important it has been for Imam to keep the continuity in faith. Therefore in the evolution of the Asal Du'a, one cannot see any rupture or sudden divorce from the past.

That Du'a was further revised about three times in the period of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah, all changes were minor. Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah is reported to have introduced the Asal Dua for the first time in Syria, and among the followers of the Central Asia, who were in close contact with the Imam. I met Sheikh Khodr Hamawi, a Syrian Ismaili author from Lebanon several times during his trip to Canada in the 1990s and 2000s' and at one occasion he started reciting the old Asal Dua (Dua paro, Dua paro..) saying that he still remembers it by heart. In his recollection, that long Asal Du'a was well known amongst the wise Ismailis of Syria as far back in time as he could remember.

Up to 1948, the Ismaili Du'a and the Kalima contained without ambiguity the expression Ali Allah and Ali Sahi Allah. As can be seen in the Harvard Ms Indic 2534 the expression Ali Sahi Allah and Ali Allah were used in the Du'a interchangeably in the early 1900. The 1948 twelfth edition was prepared by V.N. Hudda for the Ismailia Association and contained instead the expression Ali Allah, the same goes for the Asal Ghat Pat ji Du'a 13th edition the same year in Mumbai printed in 5,000 copies. A couple of years later in 1950 the Ismailia Association for the three East African counties (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika) published 10,000 copies of the Asal Du'a having the expression Aliyullah which was to be integrated in the Arabic Du'a in 1956.

In May 1953 the pressure of translating and transcribing the Du'a into English had already started. The three Ismailia Associations of East Africa came with the first edition of a book containing the Asal Du'a in English transliteration and translation but also with a Swahili translation, a language prominently used in coastal countries of Eastern Africa. The book was titled *Du'a Prayers for the Ismailis all over the world* - The Du'a was translated into English with the help of the Ismailia Association for Bharat but printed locally by The Diamond Stationery & Printing Corporation Ltd in Dar es Salaam, then Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In the introduction, the editors attribute it to Pir Sadardin and justify the need of the use of English as "The new generation of Ismailis in Africa, Burma, Europe and abroad are not familiar with either the Sindhi-Khojki or the Gujarati Script". That edition, still with 17 chapters, while giving the names of all the 49 Pirs asked that "Only names marked with an asterisk to be recited". Asterix were added beside the first 5 names, 2 names of Pir Sadardin and Hassan Kabirdin from the middle and the last 4 names of Pirs.

In 1960, The Ismailia Association for India published the Asal Du'a with the expression Aliyullah, probably this is the last 10,000 books publication of the Asal Du'a as the replacing Arabic Du'a had already started to be published and recited in several countries at that point. But it is to be noted that the Asal Du'a was still been used in India while in Africa the new short Arabic Du'a had already been implemented.

Chapter 8: Composition and Introduction of the Arabic Dua and continuation of all the major concepts from the Asal Du'a.

In the 1950s' Professor Jawad al Muscati was given the task under Ismailia Association for Pakistan to compose a Du'a in Arabic. After receiving guidance from the Imam, he came up with a version in 1954. The project was then transferred to Arif Tamir to verify and edit. Tamir was a well known and prolific Syrian Arab Ismaili author and he drew upon the knowledge of learned men of Syria to revise Professor Muscati's version.

On 20 February 1955 during the symbolic ceremonies of the Platinum Jubilee of Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah at Hotel Semiramis in Cairo, according to late al-Waez Salim Mussa who was an eye witness to what follows: Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah (Aga Khan III) called Arif Tamir and asked him if the Arabic Du'a was completed. Tamir replied yes and showed a 20 pages Du'a. Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah took his watch in his hand and asked Tamir to recite it. After 5 minutes, the Imam said "Stop, I do not want a Du'a longer than this." The Imam asked him to bring back the papers the next day so that he can sit with Tamir to shorten his 20 pages into a 5 minutes Du'a. The result was the 6 chapters Du'a known now as the Arabic Dua. Each chapter starting with an Ayat of the Quran, ending with the words "My prostration is to Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah al Hussaini"

Prince Shah Karim and Prince Aryn were sent to East Africa to launch the new Du'a, finalised by Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah, which Prince Shah Karim recited for the first time in Madagascar. During that trip, Shah Karim who was not Imam at that time also informed the Nairobi Jamat of the new Du'a. Prince Karim made the following Farman on behalf of his Grandfather on 9 September 1956.^{xxix}

My Beloved Grandfather's Spiritual Children,

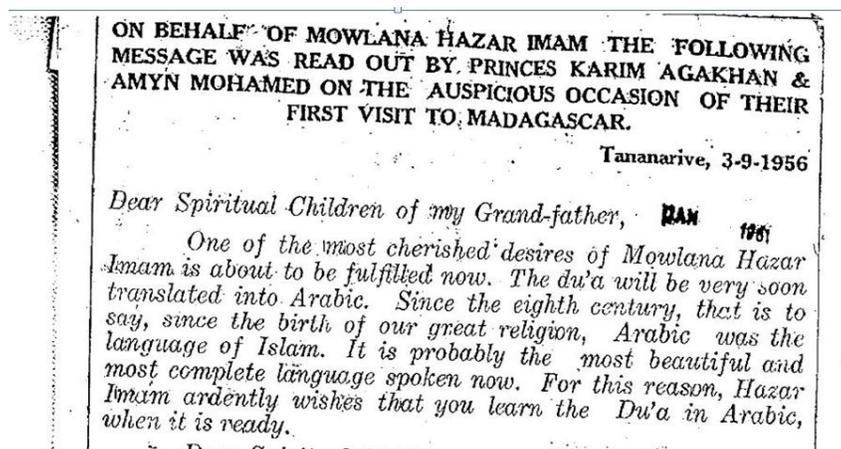
One of Mowlana Hazar Imam's greatest wishes is being accomplished now.

The Dua will soon be translated in Arabic. Since the 8th century, that is to say the birth of our great religion, Arabic has been the language of Islam. It is probably the most beautiful and most complete of all languages today. For these reasons, Mowlana Hazar Imam is very firm in his wish that you should learn the Dua in Arabic when it is ready.

...The Dua is the foundation of our faith.

... I bring you this message on behalf of Mowlana Hazar Imam and with it I bring you his warmest paternal and maternal blessings. Khanavadan.

A similar message was also read in Madagascar on 3 September 1956, few days before Nairobi.



when the New Dua was promulgated in 1956, the Ismailia Association for Pakistan prepared for publishing and printing 10,000 copies of a booklet of the Arabic Du'a for Ismailia Association in Africa. The books were printed at Aage Kadam Printery in Karachi in South Napier Road and contained the 6 chapters of the new Arabic Du'a, each chapter ending with the sentence "Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah al Hussayni li zikrihi Sujud."

The present Arabic Du'a was characterised as a "translation" of the old Du'a. What it meant in term of the Ismaili "batini" understanding was that all of the important concepts in the Old Du'a are part of the present Du'a, for example the concept of Ulil Amr could include all the Imams and Pirs mentioned in the previous Asal Du'a. And while the Du'a was shortened and words were changed, for example Ali Allah became Aliyullah in 1948 immediately after partition, the meaning stayed the same.

Another concept common in all versions of the prayer is the Concept of the Panj Tan Pak which we can find even today in the sixth chapter of the Arabic Du'a.

The *Nade Ali* prayer, well known in the Shia communities finds its way in the old Du'a but differently in the Arabic Du'a. Indeed, instead of calling in the name of Ali three times as is the custom, the new version had the quranic expression "Iyyaka nasta'in" followed by "ya Ali bi-lutfika adriki" meaning "To you alone we turn for help, O Ali, come to my help by Thy Favor!" thus retaining the concept of calling either Ali in times of difficulty (chapter 2) or in the name of the present Imam (chapter 3). We therefore assume that when shortening the Du'a, most of the Arabic component of the Asal Du'a made it to the new Arabic Du'a except rare paragraphs such as that of *La Hawla Wala Quwwata Illa Billah*. In fact even large parts of the prayer of "*Panjpathi*" made it to the new shorter version in its second chapter.

The prostration is an important part of the prayer, there were countless prostrations previously, each bringing a different kind of blessing. The concept was kept but limited to six prostrations, one at the end of each chapter of the new Arabic Du'a. The gesture of *Panjo* (hands meeting) with the persons sitting beside saying "*Shah jo Didar*" recited at the end of the fifth chapter in the Asal Du'a survived centuries and is performed even today as in the past but at the end of the last sixth chapter of the prayer.

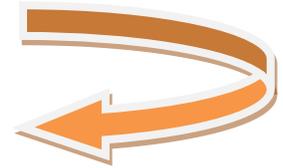
Below: First chapter from the first edition of 1956 of the Arabic Du'a in English transcription.

Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim

Al-hamdu lillahi Rabbil alameen. Ar-Rahmanir-Rahim maliki yaumid-deen. Iyyaka na' budu wa iyyaka nastaeen. Ihdinas-siratal-mustaqeem. Siratal-lazina an-amta alayhim ghairil maghzoobi alayhim walaz-zaal-leen.

Sajada wajhi ilayka wa tawak-kaltu alayka minka quw-wati wa anta ismati ya Rabbal alameen.

Allahumma salli ala Mohammedinil Mustafa wa ala Alyyinil Murtaza wa alal A'immatil-at' haar wa ala Hujjatil Amri Sahibiz-zamani wal asri Imaminal haziril maujood Moulana Sultan Mohammed Shah al-Husayni li zikrihis-sujood.



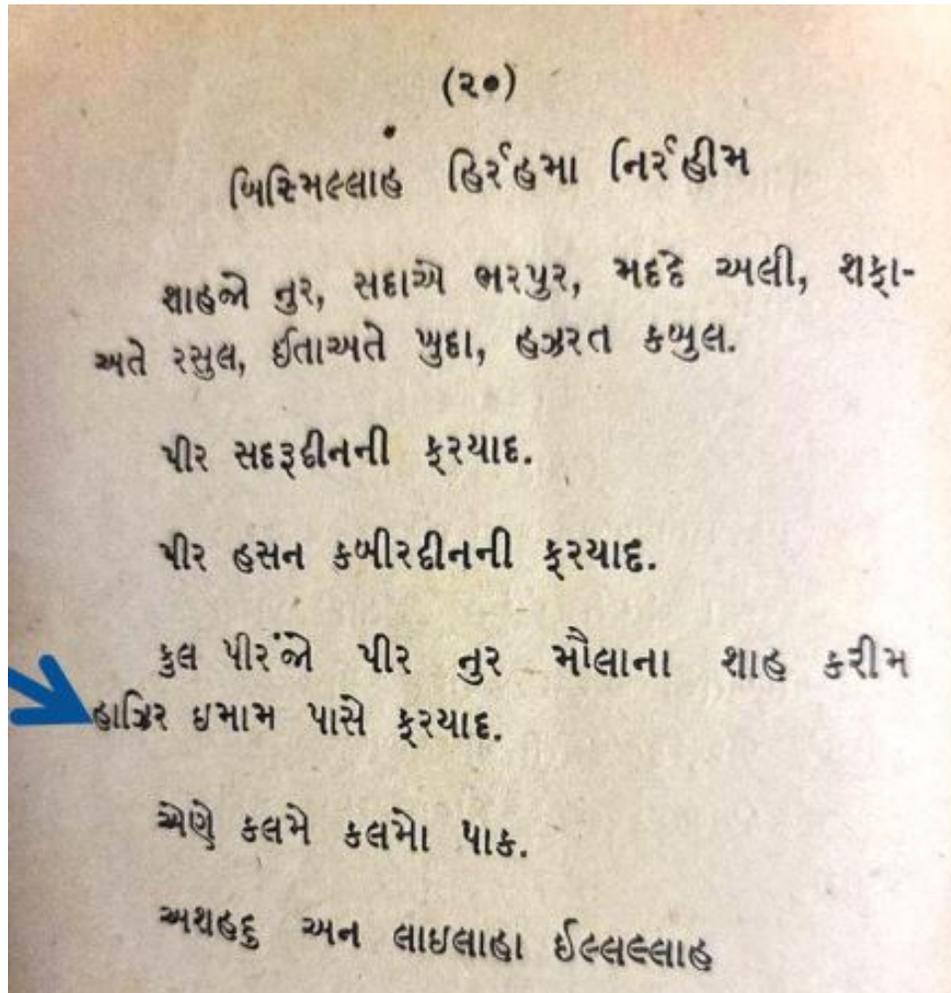
(SUJOOD)

Chapter 9: Uniformity brought to the Du'a of 1956.

The changes from Asal Du'a to Arabic Du'a in 1956 made by Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah were sent with a Talika and the present Du'a recited by Shah Karim [who was not yet Imam] to the Madagascar Jamat. That Du'a was published and recited throughout the Jamat. But there was a problem because Pakistan was emerging as a nation and the Ismailia Association at that time decided that it would not be wise to recite a Dua with a Sujudo [prostration] to the Imam. There was also a strong pressure to recite Namaz. That led to the recitation of 2 different versions of the Du'a in the Ismaili Jamat, according to their geography and culture in which they lived. The debate lasted between 1956 and 1969 when the final version was accepted by the representatives of the World Ismailia Association. However there were still influential people in the community who wanted to revert from the Du'a to the Namaz. In a correspondence between the Ismailia Association for Canada newly established and the Ismailia Association for Pakistan in the late 1970s', the Ismailia Association for Canada wrote to its sister Association that if they wanted to abandon the Du'a they should at least go for a Namaz as recited during the Fatimids times and not to choose the recitation of the common Sunni Namaz.

With new sensibilities emerging following the partition on 15 August 1947, *Amirul Momineen Ali Sahi Allah* was changed to *Aliyyun Amirul Momineen Ali Allah*, then in 1948 to *Aliyullah*. One being a title, the other being inclusive. And the edition by the Ismailia Association for Pakistan in 1954 put a veil on the names of Imams before Hazrat Ali but kept the expression “Wachan Abu Talib Walli” before the “Puthiyun” - genealogy of the 48 Imams in order to bridge the Imamate of Hazrat Ali with that of previous Imams. The expression “Ali Mohamed Yak Kuda” was changed to “Ali Mohamed Noor Allah bar Hak,” then was dropped in the Du’a of 1956.

Here below is the 20th chapter of the last book of Asal Du’a published in Gujarati by Ismailia Association for India in 1960 with the words “Kule Pire jo Pir Noor Mowlana Shah Karim Hazar Imam pase fariyad” (*Supplication to Noor Mowlana Shah Karim, the Pir of all Pirs*)



Das Avatar and the doctrine of divinity, including Abu Talib as the Imam prior to Ali were removed and replaced with a short expression of “Ulil Amr” as well as a reference in Quran 36:12 on the powers of the Imam-e-Mubeen. In the same manner in the year 1968-1969 , the expression *Fi kuliyul wujud* was dropped,

so was *Alfa salaam* however *Yarjiyu salaam* was kept (both expressions were used in the Asal Du'a) . *Panj tan pak* in the 6th chapter was dropped then reinstated a couple of time between 1968 and 1969. *Haq Mowlana* before each name of Imams was replaced by *Mowlana* but the whole list of Imams since Hazrat Ali was otherwise kept intact. At the end of the 6th chapter, the exchange of *Shah jo Didar* between praying followers sitting side by side was removed then replaced by *Ya Ali Ya Muhammad* , still recited in some areas, then again reversed back. Last but not least, at the end of each chapter during the prostration, the expression *Lizikrihi Sujud* was replaced by *Allah huma laka sujudi wa taati*. These changes between 1968 and 1969 were sent to the Jamat by the Supreme Council by way of circulars, not by the Imam by way of Talikas as in 1956. Once these variances were taken care of, all the Ismailis, wherever their jamatkhana, were reciting the Arabic Du'a in a unified format.

On a lighter note, it still happens once in a while that Ismailis, who are of some age now, recite in the genealogy chapter of the Arabic new Du'a, candidly the name "Mowlana *Khud* Jalalludin Hassan" instead of "Mowlana Jalalludin Hassan" or "*Hassan* Alazikrihis Salam" instead of only "Alazikrihi Salam" as they were reciting in the old times or it happens that someone recites the words "Fi kuliyl wujud" out of the blue in Jamatkhana during prayer recitation to the surprised and judgemental looks of the youngsters who were never informed about the history and evolution of the Du'a.

Though changes are rare, the Du'a has not been a lifeless document but like any work in progress, the Du'a is a dynamic document which, under the Imam of the Time, has been flexible in adapting itself to the constraints of time and place.

More than 15% of all Khojki manuscripts of the Heritage Society contain the Asal Du'a. This shows that the prayer was copied and copied again in the subcontinent and subsequently even sent to Africa in early 1800s'. From observing through time, we can conclude that the Asal Du'a went through centuries of minor changes to become the Arabic Du'a to be recited in the same manner by Ismailis of various backgrounds in the 20th century. The latest Arabic Du'a became the foundation of a unifying effort in the world Ismaili community from 1956 onward. Time changed the length and format of the Ismaili prayer but not the principles of faith it transported though ages.

Recitation of the Asal Du'a: <http://ismaili.net/source/dua/ghatpaat-dua.m4a>

Appendix 1: List of Du'a manuscripts consulted in the collection of the Heritage Society. (22)

Appendix 2: List of Du'a books consulted in the collection of the Heritage Society (23)

Appendix 3: Comparison Table of the concept of Imamate in various versions of the Du'a (33)

Appendix 4: Comparison by Mumtaz Ali Tajddin of the present Arabic Du'a with an undated early Syrian Arabic print by *Ikhwanus Safa Publication*

Endnotes

Appendix 1: Du'a manuscripts consulted in the collection of the Heritage Society

Cat. No.	Script	#Pages	Dates C.E.	Short Info on content of mss	Type
HS0025	Khojki	254	1806	Bawa Ali Muhamad. Clothe bound, various Duas and Tasbihs.	Manuscript
HS0032	Khojki	72	1953	Dua Khojki, Gujrati, Urdu 1953 received from Mumtaz Ali Tajjdin, lined paper, Black and color recent	Manuscript
HS0167	Khojki	213	1896	Ginan-Belongs To Hasham Visram of Zanzibar, Dua Pir Shabuddin Shah + 53 Pages Farmans / Dua up to Aga Ali Shah, Girbhavali and Satvenri.	Manuscript
HS0205	khojki	148	1862 C.E. (folio 28)	Dua And Tasbhis -Pg 71 Naade Ali - 1862 AD	Lithograph
HS0379	Gujrati	240	1900 estimated	73 prayers of ImamShahis. Table of contents details the name of each Duas.	Manuscript
HS0004	Gujarati	126	1896	Originally bound with HS0200, contain the Asal Ghat Paat ji Dua, Farmans of Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah, Granths such as Athar Ved Gayatri, Surbhan	Manuscript
HS0250	Gujrati	123	1893	41-63 some pages missing - History - Asal Dua and Gat Pat ji Dua.	Manuscript
HS0394	Khojki	80	1893	Amale Khaer is a 12x8cm litho of 80 pages starting with Ginan Saheter Dip me Shah Zaher Betha introduction to Dua of 3 times up to page 7 and Dua	Lithograph
HS0196	Khojki	46	1820	Received from Massani missionary from Mumbai. Contains the Asal Dua from the time when Mowlana Hassanali Shah was still in Persia. .	Manuscript
HS0376	Gujrati	200	1744, 1754 on cover	Duas, Slok, Parbhathi and Dhols of Athias. Maybe some unpublished works	Manuscript

HS0026	Gujrati	1323		Amar Shan, found in Karachi, Tapsilo (Table of Content) on page 1173, Farmans, History, Accounts, Dua, 99 names of Allah, Quran, Fal Gazal, Bhajan,	Manuscript
HS0397	Gujrati	162		Satgur Kahere followed by what looks like Asal Ghat Pat ji Dua. Found in Himatnagar. Folio 30 to folio111. No binding.	Manuscript
HS0141		80		Duas, Khasiyat etc	Manuscript
HS0012	Khojki	148		Contains Vaek of Pir Shams, ginans and and Asal Gat paat ji Dua. Some papers are damaged inside	Manuscript
HS0105	Khojki	50		Missing pages- pattern on page 35 - Dua Ganj al Arsh Khojki script	Manuscript
HS0087	Khojki	146		Manuscript found in Sinugra, Kutch - The binding is 19th Century. Beautiful legible Khojki script.	Manuscript
HS0080	Gujrati	74		Asal Dua till Sultan Muhammad Shah followed by several ginans including 3 of Bai Budhai - It also contains 2 Farmans of Aga Ali Shah. T.O.C.	Manuscript
HS0351	khojki	17		Manuscript in Khojki recent of Dua Akashi 17 pages	Manuscript
HS0046	Khojki	202		Photocopy of khojki manuscripts, may have its original.	Manuscript
HS0033C	Khojki	46		Manuscript received from al-Waez Babul Missionary. Dua Aga Hassanali Shah and Dua Guzal ji	Manuscript
HS0243	khojki	59		Ghat Paat Dua -Pg 9	Manuscript
HS0033				A,b,c traces remaining, followed by a note in Gujrati saying Aga Shah Hassan Ali Shah na Samay ni Dua	Manuscript

Appendix 2: Du'a Books consulted in the collection of the Heritage Society

Description	Type	Script	Dates
Du'a Gat Patni Asal 1912 AD	Book	Khojki	1912
Manwanta Bothguru Pir Sadardin Saheb Racheli Asal Du'a 1919	Book	Gujarati	1919
Asal Du'a ane Gujrati Meaning 1922	Book	Gujrati	1922
Asal Du'a 1923	Book	Gujarati	1923
Asal Du'a with meanings 1926	Book	Gujarati	1926
Shia Imami Ismailini Tran Vakhatni Bandagi Asal Du'a 1928	Book	Gujarati	1928
Ghatpaat ni Du'a 1938	Book	Gujrati	1938
Gat Pat ni Du'a - Ismailia Association India.1947	Book	Gujarati	1947
Asal Du'a 12th edition	Book	Gujarati	1948
Gat Pat ni Du'a - Ismailia Association India.1948	Book	Gujarati	1948
Du'a ane Tafsire Du'a - Ismaili Assoc Tanganyka, 1st edition 1950	Book	Gujarati	1950
Du'a Gatpathji 1951	Book	Gujarati	1951
Du'a prayers for the Ismailis all over the world - Ismailia Assoc Africa - English Transcription with translation in English and Swahili - 1953	Book	English/ Swahili	1953
Tafsire Du'a - Ismailia Assoc. for Bharat - 1954	Book	Gujarati	1954
Du'a Ginan Ismailia Assoc. Pakistan 1954	Book	Khojki	1954
The Ismailia Religious Knowledge (Text Book 2 & 3) English transcription and translation Ismailia Assoc. Africa.1955	Book	English	1955
Shia Imami Ismailio ni rojindi bandagi Du'a. Ismailia Association India 12th edition 1960	Book	Gujarati	1960
Du'a Prayer for the Ismaili all over the world - English transcription - Ismailia Assoc. India - 1960	Book	English	1960
Du'a (IAP) 1970	Book	Gujrati	1970
Le Guide Complet du Du'a - French transcription and translation - Ismaili Association Quebec 1983	Book	French	1983

El Du'a - Spanish transcription and translation, Ismailia Assoc. Quebec 1983	Book	Spanish	1983
Holy Du'a English Text with Translation (ITREB Canada) 2008	Book	English	2008
Asal Du'a (SMS) + Ginan n.d.	Book	Khojki	n.d.
Holy Du'a - Audio CD Version ITREB UK n.d.	Disc	Arabic	n.d.

Appendix 3: Comparison Table of the concept of Imamate in various versions of the Du'a

YEAR	Title	Source	Place	Language s	Imams	Pirs	Status of Imam	Lizikrihi sujud or Wa Taati
1816	Du'a vakhat tre ji	Manuscript KH-031 (HS0322)		Khojki/ Sindhi	17+10+77+4 6		Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1820	Dua wakhat tre ji (mss HS0196)	Manuscript belonged to al Waez Massani	Mumbai	Khojki/ Sindhi	17+10+77+4 6		Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1881	Du'a	Manuscript Hasham Visram (1896)	Zanzibar	Khojki/ Sindhi	1+47	46	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1893	Gat Pat ji Du'a	Litho		Khojki/ Sindhi	17+10+77+4 8	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1900	Gat Pat ji Du'a	Harvard Ms Indic 2534		Khojki/ Sindhi	17+10+77+4 8	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	
1909	TAFSIRE DUA Manvanta Bodhguru Pir Sadardin Shia Imami Ismaili Khojao mate racheli Dua no Tarjuma	Hassham Boga Master	Mumbai	Gujarati			Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1912	Gat Pat ni Dua	Lalji Devraj	Mumbai	Khojki/ Sindhi	17+10+77+4 8	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	
1919	Dua mss HS0080	Manuscript Karmally Munjee	Mumbai	Gujarati	17+10+77+4 8	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1919	Manvanta Bodhguru Pir Sadardin saheb Rachel Asal Dua	Mukhi Lalji Devraj for Khoja Sindhi Printing Press	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1920	Manvanta Bodhguru Pir Sadardin saheb Rachel Asal Dua	Mukhi Lalji Devraj for Khoja Sindhi Printing Press	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1922	Gat Patni Du'a	Mukhi Lalji Devraj Khoja Sindhi Printing Press	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio

1923	Shia Imami Ismaili Khojaoni tran vakhat ni bandage. Asal Dua	Mukhi Lalji Devraj Khoja Sindh Printing Press	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1926	Tarbiyat Du'a Manvanta Bodhguru Pir Sadardin Shia Imami Ismaili Khojao mate rachel rojidi bandagi "Dua" ane tene purti samajan sathe.	Name of Mukhi Lalji Devraj is missing	Mumbai	Gujarati			Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1928	Shia Imami Ismaili Khojaoni tran vakhat ni bandage. Asal Dua	Mukhi Lalji Devraj Khoja Sindh Printing Press	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1938	Gat Pat ni Du'a	Recreation Club	Mumbai	Gujrati/ Kutchhi	17+10+77+48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1947	Gat Pat ni Du'a	Ismailia Assoc India	Mumbai	Gujrati	17+10+77+48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1948	Asal Du'a	Ismailia Assoc India	Mumbai	Gujrati	48	49	Ali Allah /sahi Allah	Sijdo Dio
1948	Gat Pat ni Du'a	Ismailia Assoc India	Mumbai	Gujrati	17+10+77+48	49	Aliyullah	Sijdo Dio
1948	Asal Du'a	Ismailia Assoc India	Mumbai	Gujrati	48	49		Sijdo Dio
1950	Rojindi Bandagi Du'a ane tafsire Du'a	Ismailia Assoc E.A.	Dar es Salam	Gujrati	48	49	Aliyullah	
1951	GAT PATNI DUA	Ismailia Association	Mumbai	Gujarati	48	49	Aliyullah	Sijdo Dije
1953	Du'a Prayers for the Ismailis all over the world	Ismailia Assoc E.A.	Dar es Salaam	English/ Swahili	1+48	49	Aliyullah	Sijdo Dije
1954	Tafsir e Du'a	Ismailia Assoc Bharat	Mumbai	Gujrati			Aliyullah	Sijdo Dije

1954	Dua-Ginan	Ismailia Assoc Pakistan	Karachi	Khojki/Sindhi	1+48	49	Aliyullah	Sajado
1956	Du'a	Ismailia Assoc E.A.	Karachi & E.A.	English		49	Aliyullah	Lizikrihi Sujud
1960	Rojindi Bandagi Du'a	Ismailia Assoc India	Mumbai	Gujrati	49		Aliyullah	Sijdo Dije
1967	Meaning of Hoy Du'a	Ismailia Assoc.Tanzania	Dar es Salam	English	49			Lizikrihi Sujud
1970	Dua	Ismailia Assoc Pakistan	Karachi	Gujrati	49	49	Aliyullah	Wa Taati
1983	Le Guide Complet du Du'a	Ismailia Association Canada (Quebec)	Montreal	French	49		Aliyullah	Laka Sujudi
2005	Philosophy of Dua	Kamaluddin	Karachi	English	49		Aliyullah	Laka Sujudi
2008	Holy Du'a	ITREB Canada	Vancouver	English	49		Aliyullah	Laka Sujudi
n.d.	DUA	Ismailia Assoc. for UK	London	Guj & Eng			Aliyullah	Allahuma Laka Sujoodi Wa Taati. "LAK" in Gujarati
n.d.	DUA	Ismailia Assoc. Canada	Vancouver	Gujarati			Aliyullah	LAK Sujoodi
n.d.	HOLY DUA	ITREB ONTARIO	N/A	Eng. & Guj	49		Aliyullah	English: LAKA Gujarati: LAK
n.d.	HOLY DUA	ITREB CANADA	Vancouver	English	49		Aliyullah	Laka Sujudi

Appendix 4: Comparison of present Arabic Du'a with an early edition by Ikhwanus Safa Publication

Early Syrian Arabic Dua vs. Our Present Arabic Dua (by Mumtaz Ali Tajddin)

1. **In First Part** of the Dua, the Syrian Ismailis make prostration (sajada) after an end of the Sura Fateha, but we don't. It means, we prostrate six times, but they seven times.

At the end of the 1st part, we say *Allaahumma laka sujoodeey wa twaa'attee* and offer the Sajada. Our Syrian Ismailis recite this phrase only in the 1st part, but we say in all the six parts.

2. **In Second Part**, they say *Allaahumma ya mawly*, but we say *Mawlaanaana minka madadi wa alayka muat'amadi iyyaakanaabudu wa iyyaaka nasta'een* like us, but here they add *yaa ghaaythal mustaghytheeyn aghithnaa*, which we don't recite *aghithnaa*.

Then before the ending line, we both recite *lailaha illallaa Muhammadunr rasulullah*, then they recite *Waliyu Zamaan Noorallah*, which we don't recite. Instead, we recite *Aliyun Amirul Mominin Aliyullah*, but they recite only *Imam al-haziril mawjud*, but we recite *Mawlana Shah Karim al-Husayani*, which also does not appear in their Arabic Dua.

3. **In Third Part**, we recite *La fatailla la saifailla zulfiquar*, but this phrase is not seen in their Arabic Dua.

In addition to this, after the end of the Koranic verse (sura maida: 67), they recite *Almad al-haqul yaqeen*, but we recite *la fata Ali la saifu al-allah*, but this phrase is not seen in their Arabic Dua.

4. **In the Fourth Part**, we both recite the Koranic verse, they then offer Sajda, but we in addition say after *Maaliku yaumiden la fata illa Aliyoon sayfalla zulfiquar tawas-saloomawjood*, and do not say like the Syrians *Naadoo fish-shaduaayeed wa*.

5. **In the Fifth Part**, we both recite Koranic verse (8:27) till *wa antum taalamoon*, then we recite the tasbih, but the Syrian Ismailis do not recite tasbih.

6. **In the Sixth Part**, we both recite Sura Ikhlas, but the Syrian Ismailis do not mention names of the Imams, and make completion of the Dua.

It is said that due to passing through the Concealment Period (*Dawr-e-Satr*), in Alamut, the Ismailis recited in the Dua, known as Kalimatul Haq the phrase *lizikre-his-Salam* (peace be upon invoking him), and did not mention names of the Imams. This phrase was also added in our present Arabic Dua, but was removed as we don't live now in the *Dawr-e-Satr*.

يا لها من مرتبة نحن إليها قلوب الواصلين
نتوسل له به أن يسلكنا سبيل كماله وقد هدانا سواء السبيل
فالحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لننتهي لولا أن

مدانا الله

الحمد لله الذي من علينا بمعرفته وهدانا إلى محبته واطاعته
الحمد لله الذي قضى عناصلا كانت على المؤمنين كتابا موقوتا
ألا بوركتم ووفقتهم فسلكتهم وصدقتم بلسانكم وحفظتم
إخوانكم وحدودكم وسلمتم ورضيتم بما أرشدتم وما نورتم وبرئتم
من كل ضدّ وحدث - وأشهدتم بأنفسكم لأنفسكم بعهدهم وميثاقهم
وطاعتكم وتبليغكم وأمانتكم وتوحيدكم وسدد خطاكم
وصفت اشواقكم وبارك مسعاكم وألبسكم حلل البهاء وكرامات
الانبياء وعلوم الحكماء وخشوع الاتقياء وسعادة الأغنياء .
وجعلكم من اخوان الصفاء مع الصديقين والشهداء .
وألهكم فيضاً من العقل الفعّال وهذب نفوسكم بأنوار الحكمة .

وهو ولي الأمر والتدبير والنور والهدى

أشوقكم فقتلوا طغيانكم بالناصية
أهزمكم منازرتهم بالحق
١٧ -

شجرة المعرفة فلنتوسل بها لأنها نور الله - نور السماوات
والأرض .

(الله نور السماوات والأرض مثل نوره كمشكاة
المشكاة في مصباح - المصباح في زجاجة - الزجاجية كأنها
كوكب درى يوقد من شجرة مباركة زيتونة لا شرقية ولا
غربية يكاد زيتها يضيء ولو لم تمسه نار - نور على نور -
هدي الله لنوره من يشاء ويضرب الله الأمثال للناس والله
لكل شيء عليم)
ها لقد دارت الأروار وعادت الدائرة إلى نقطة البيكار
وقمت الهداية بالائمة الأطهار الاله

بحق الشجرة الطاهرة المباركة
بحق جميع الظهورات والتجليات
بحق هادي المستجيبين والمنتجين والمقين والمطين
بحق جميع الحدود البررة كرام سفرة
وبحق مولانا وهادينا ومرشدنا صاحب الدور والكور
قائم الزمان
الحاضر الموجود في كل الوجود
ها نحن نتوجه إلى مرتبة العرفان

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ⁱⁱⁱ Pir Hasham Shah : *Chit ma dolo rikhisaraa man saachaa* : bgh6-014 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 – Link: <http://www.ismaili.net/heritage/node/4231>

^{iv} Pir Hasham Shah: "*Tran tran jug vartiyaa munivaraa*" bgh6-001 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934"

^v Pir Shams: "Man Samjani Moti" Scanned and catalogued under number Bogg0147 at the Heritage Society.

^{vi} Pir Shams: "Man Samjani Moti" Scanned and catalogued under number Bogg0147 at the Heritage Society.

^{vii} Zawahir Noorali, "Hazrat Pir Shamsuddin Sabzwari Multani" in Great Ismaili Heroes, IAP Karachi, 1973 (<http://ismaili.net/heritage/node/8211>)

^{viii} Henry Corbin: "*Huitième centenaire d'Alamût*," *Mercure de France* (February 1965): pp285-304. (<http://ismaili.net/heritage/node/28138>)

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^{xiii} Pir Sadardin: Source: « *Eji Tunhi Gur tunhi Nar tunhi ebhi aashaa* » bhg4-020 – 600, verse 9 - Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 - Link: <http://www.ismaili.net/heritage/node/3813>

^{xiv} Pir Sadardin: "*Aad to alakh aagiyo ramiyo*" bhg1-063 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 verse 9 – Link: <http://ismaili.net/heritage/node/4070>

^{xv} Affidavit of H.H. The Aga Khan III dated Daressalam 29 Sept 1899 quoted in Alwaez Shamsuddin Bandali Haji: "The Noor En Allah Noor" <http://www.ismaili.net/.../files/NoorEnAllahNoor-1980-1.pdf>

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