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THE ORIGIN OF THE KHOJĀHS  
AND  
THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE TODAY

by

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## Abbreviations.

EI	Enzyklopaedie des Islam
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
RHE	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
MM	Revue du Monde Musulman
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

## I. The Origin of the Khojāhs traced through their Imams or Religious Heads.

The Khojāhs<sup>1</sup> of India belong to the important Shī'a sect Ismā'īliyya and have as their religious leader (Imām) His Highness the Aga Khan. Owing to his modern tendencies and important social position in Europe the Khojāhs have attracted more attention from European scholars than their sister sect of the Bohrās or the other Moslem sects of India. The Ismā'īlis have also played a very important rôle in the history of Islam both as a religious sect and as a political power. Under their Imams, the Fātimid Caliphs, they threatened the Abbāsīd monarchs, under the guidance of their leader Rāshīd al-Dīn Sīnān they murdered in Syria Christian knights and with the foundation of the order of the Assassins in Alamūt they made the Persian monarchs tremble on their thrones. Since the conquest of Egypt by Saladin from the Fātimids and the destruction of the Order of the Assassins by the Mongol Prince Hulagu Khan the Ismā'īlis have been existing merely as a religious sect without any political significance. The Khojāhs of India were converted from Hinduism to the Ismā'īli faith by missionaries sent down from Alamūt, and in spite of centuries of orthodox Moslem and Hindu influences the Khojāhs have preserved many of the Ismā'īli doctrines. In order to obtain an insight into these doctrines and practices of the Khojāhs, therefore, it is necessary to have some knowledge of early Ismā'īlism as propounded by its founder 'Abd-Allāh Maimūn al-Kaddālī, the Fātimid monarchs and the Grand Masters of Alamūt. Unfortunately we have very few sectarian writings on Ismā'īlism, and the Sunni historians, not being initiated into the mysteries of the sect, knew very little of its doctrines and practices<sup>2</sup>). In the present chapter no attempt is made to give a

history of Ismā'ilism; it is limited to bringing into relief those facts alone which would help us to understand the religious beliefs and practices of the Khojāhs<sup>2</sup>).

The Shī'a movement began immediately after the death of the Prophet (May peace of God be upon him) and it centered round 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, his cousin and son-in-law. He is the most important figure in almost the Shī'a sects; the most moderate among them looked upon him only as the rightful heir after the death of the Prophet while the extremists considered him as a divine incarnation<sup>3</sup>). The Ismā'ilīs held him to be the Companion (Asās) of the Prophet (Nāṭik) Mahomed, and although, according to their original teachings, his mission was to explain the Koran allegorically and to reveal the secrets of the religion which the Prophet had divulged to him alone, in later Ismā'ilism he became more important than the Prophet himself<sup>4</sup>). Thus Mahomed was compared to Sinai and 'Alī to Mecca<sup>5</sup>). This might seem strange, especially when we remember with what emphasis Mahomed had declared himself to be the Seal of the Prophets, but the whole of Shī'ism is based on the assumption that prophecy has not ended with him<sup>6</sup>). Apart from that many insignificant people gain importance in Ismā'ilism, as for example Salmān al-Fārisī, "historically only a miserable barefooted slave of Mahomed"<sup>7</sup>). According to later Ismā'ilism 'Alī existed before the reation, the creation was made only for his sake, he is the Āyat al-Nūr (sign of light), he is the incarnation of God, nay he is God himself<sup>8</sup>).

This conception of 'Alī as divinity exists in exactly the same manner among the Khojāhs: "He is God" ('Alī Khudā che), "he is the perfect divinity" ('Alī kharekhar Khudā chhe), he is the tenth stainless (Niskalanki)<sup>9</sup>) incarnation (Avatār) of Viṣṇu. H. H. the Aga Khan, however, holds a slightly modified view. Replying to a question put to him by some of his followers, the Imām said: "If one who knows the truth (Ma'rīfāt) calls 'Alī God, it does not matter. From the Shī'a he is an unbeliever (Kāfir) who calls 'Alī God. It all depends upon your faith"<sup>10</sup>).

By giving 'Alī the appellation Niskalanki Avatār (the Hindu Messiah), the Khojāhs have diverged from the orthodox Ismā'ilī teach-

ings, according to which either Ismā'il, or Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, or 'Ubaydallāh, or Ḥākim, or Mu'izz li Dināllāh, or Ḥasan 'Alī dhikrihi al-Salām was the expected Mahdī, for 'Alī has nowhere been conceived as the Messiah who would bring justice into the world, protect the rightful and slay the unbelievers, or, to put in the words of the Shughnani Ismā'ilīs, as the one "who never will take off the riding-boots (chakma) and whose first game will be the wild as (gor khar)"<sup>11</sup>). But as we shall see later on, the Ismā'ilī missionaries had to adopt many of the teachings of the Hindus whom they wanted to convert, in order to make the new faith more inviting. The expectation of the Messiah in India dates back to a pretty early period and by saying that the Messiah has already appeared in the shape of 'Alī the missionary succeeded in giving a familiar touch to the new faith which in its orthodox form differs so widely from Hinduism<sup>12</sup>).

The Ismā'ilīs put forward many traditions to show that the Prophet had nominated 'Alī as the rightful heir to the Khilāfat<sup>13</sup>). This is not the place to consider in detail the question of his right to succeed Mahomed. It is sufficient to say that in the assembly where the succession after the death of the Prophet was discussed, 'Alī's case did not come up at all<sup>14</sup>). His party was too small for that and besides 'Alī was certainly not so ambitious as his wife Fātima who seems to have been more conscious of the rights of the holy family<sup>15</sup>).

Nothing can be said definitely about 'Alī's attitude towards the extremists (Ḡulāt), who considered him to be a divinity and who, according to some historians like Ibn Ḥazm, were by 'Alī's order either burnt or choked to death<sup>16</sup>). Friedlaender considers these accounts false and maintains that they were fabricated to show that 'Alī himself rejected these sectarians<sup>17</sup>). This explanation seems to be very probable, particularly as Ṭabari, Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Athīr and the minor historians are silent on this point. In any case, it seems difficult to believe that 'Alī, the first Moslem (among males), could have conceived himself to be an incarnation of the Deity. But even if it could be proved beyond all doubt that 'Alī disliked the Ḡulāt and even punished them, the Khojāhs would maintain

that he had done all this to test the faith of the believers. It was his *Lila* (play), they would maintain, and with our poor intellect it is not possible for us to grasp the action of the Deity<sup>29</sup>).

Hasan was universally recognized to be the next Imām after 'Ali. In all the *Shī'a* books, whether *Ithnā'ashariyya* (Twelver), *Ismā'īliyya* or any other sect, he appears as the second Imām by virtue of being the eldest son of 'Ali by his wife Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet. But it is very curious to observe that in all the pedigrees of the Imāms to be found among the *Khojāhs* excepting the most recent one published in 1905<sup>30</sup>) Hasan's name is nowhere mentioned as an Imām. In the pedigree found among the *Ismā'ilis* of Shughnan as well, Hasan's name does not appear as an Imām. He is on the contrary mentioned as a *Hujjat* (Proof) that is to say companion of Husayn who takes the place of the second Imām. There may be two reasons for this: firstly because an Imām whose posterity was not also Imāms cannot be authentic<sup>31</sup>). In the "Book on the Recognition of the Imām", we find: "Hasan is accepted as an Imām but is given an inferior position to Husayn"<sup>32</sup>). The second reason may be that Hasan had sold his *Khilāfat* to Mu'āwiya for a pension of two million Dirhams for his brother<sup>33</sup>) and of five millions and the income for life time from a district in Persia for himself<sup>34</sup>).

Compared with Husayn, his younger brother, who became the Imām after his death, Hasan seems to have been always a weakling<sup>35</sup>). „Er war ein charakterloser Mensch von der Sorte, bei welcher eine übertriebene Frömmigkeit mit Trägheit und vor allem Sinnlichkeit Hand in Hand geht: al-Mutlak „der Ehescheider“ war sein Spitzname, weil er mit den gesetzlichen vier Frauen nur auskam, indem er sich alle Augenblicke von einer oder der anderen Frau schied und eine neue heiratete. Er soll es auf diese Weise im Ganzen auf etwa 70 Frauen gebracht haben; jedenfalls waren Gebet und Harem die einzigen Dinge, welche für ihn Wichtigkeit beizusäßen“<sup>36</sup>).

Husayn is recognized by almost all the *Shī'as*. He is their hero who was martyred at Karbalā' and every year at the Muharram festival thousands of *Shī'as* all over the world mourn over his martyrdom. *Shī'ism* had its origin in the political field of Medina, but

it took its true colouring in later centuries when the martyrdom of Husayn began to be solemnized<sup>37</sup>). The orthodox *Khojāhs* are perhaps the only people among the *Shī'as* of the world who do not take part in the Muharram ceremony<sup>38</sup>).

The next Imām of the *Ismā'ilis*, 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (Ornament of the adorators of Allāh), the son of Husayn, plays no rôle in the history of *Shī'ism*<sup>39</sup>). He was a peace-loving person and when the Medinites wanted to revolt against Yazid he kept himself aloof from the movement. His mother was the daughter of Yazdegird, the last Sassanid king of Persia. The Persians, consequently, venerated 'Ali Z. 'Ā. and his descendants, the Imāms, not only as children of Fātima and as having the blood of the Prophet in their veins, but also as the representatives of their royal family. The importance of this fact has been fully emphasized by Browne<sup>40</sup>) and will be considered in the present paper when dealing with the introduction of *Ismā'ilism* into Persia. 'Ali Z. 'Ā. is renowned in the early history of Islam as an extremely religious person and Ibn Khallikān says that "it was observed by al-Zuhri that he never met a member of the tribe of the Kuraysh possessing nobler qualities than he"<sup>41</sup>). He is supposed to be the author of a book called *Sahifa kāmila*<sup>42</sup>.

Muhammad Bākīr<sup>43</sup>) the next Imām of the *Ismā'ilis* was the son of 'Ali Z. 'Ā. To him are attributed several sectarian writings<sup>44</sup>). It is, however, not certain who wrote them at all, for Shahrastāni tells us that the *Shī'as* very often referred their beliefs to their Imāms and passed them off as their writings<sup>45</sup>). Muhammad Bākīr is supposed to have been the first who said: "Because He bestows knowledge on the knowing, it is said that He is One who knows, and because He bestows power on the powerful, it is said that He is One bestowed with power. So then He is One who knows, One possessed of power, in the sense that He bestows knowledge and power, not in the sense that knowledge subsists in Him, and power, or that He is qualified with knowledge and power"<sup>46</sup>). Muhammad Bākīr was held in high esteem even by the Sunni Moslems<sup>47</sup>).

Those who refused to believe in Muhammad Bākīr's death and maintained that he would come back are called *Bākiriyya*<sup>48</sup>).

The majority, however, believed in Muhammad Bākir's death and recognized Ja'far Sādiq, Muhammad Bākir's son as the next Imām. He is one of by far the most important Imāms of the Shī'as: Ta'rikh-i-Guzida considers him to have been the most learned among the twelve Imāms of the Ithnā'asharis with the exception of the first 'Alī<sup>(26)</sup>. The Persian called him Ja'far-i-Buzurg or Ja'far the Great<sup>(27)</sup> and a very large number of the Shī'ite Hadiths are made to go back to him. He was in fact a great scholar, with a good knowledge of Hadith, supposed to have taken interest in astrology and alchemy, written a commentary to the Koran and the mysterious book called 'Jafr' containing a record of all past and future events "from the creation to the resurrection"<sup>(28)</sup>. His name figures permanently in Shī'ite literature as an authority for every thing bearing on religious doctrine. Then Khattābiyya, one of the most extreme sects of the Shī'a were his main admirers who worshipped him as a Deity and there were others who made regular Hajj to him<sup>(29)</sup>. There were many who did not believe it when he died and asserted that he had only disappeared to come back again<sup>(30)</sup>. The moderates protested against these beliefs and Ja'far himself is said to have cursed these extremists. Thus, once when Ja'far was told that an extremist called Bazig had been killed, he exclaimed: "Praise be unto Allāh! There is surely nothing better for these Mughiriyya than to be killed, for they will never repent"<sup>(31)</sup>. He is supposed to have protested against interpreting the Koran allegorically. "Someone said to Ja'far 'It is reported in the name that 'wine', 'maysir', 'images' and 'arrows' (Koran 5, 92) stand for certain persons! He replied: 'Allāh would certainly not have told his people something that they could not know (i.e. understand by mere allusion)'"<sup>(32)</sup>.

Although Ja'far played no rôle in politics Ibn Khaldūn maintains that the Dā'is (missionaries) of Ja'far Sādiq had spread the propaganda of the Bāṭiniyya<sup>(33)</sup> in Maghrib, which prepared the soil for the expected Mahdi and which was later on made use of by Ubaydallāh al-Mahdi, the founder of the Fātimid dynasty in Africa<sup>(34)</sup>.

An extremely important schism occurred after the death of Ja'far Sādiq. He had according to different historians four, five or six sons. The eldest Ismā'il died during the life-time of his father. "The Shī'a say: 'The impeccable Imām is Ja'far'. He had nominated his son Ismā'il as his successor but afterwards Ismā'il drank an intoxicating drink. Ja'far Sādiq disapproved this action. It is narrated that he said: 'Ismā'il is not my son: it is a demon which has taken his shape.' According to another version he is said to have said: 'God has changed his opinion regarding Ismā'il. I nominate my successor to Imāmat my other son Mūsā'<sup>(35)</sup>).

Ja'far had taken all possible precautions to get authenticated the death of his son Ismā'il but to no avail. "Ja'far summoned the Governor of Medina in the names of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs as well as a great number of distinguished persons and Sheikhs and showed them the dead body of Ismā'il which was brought on the shoulder of four persons from the small market-town of Urayd situated at four parasangs from the city and where he had died. Then, Ja'far drew up a statement of his death which was signed by all the witnesses, and the dead body was buried in Bakī"<sup>(36)</sup>.

The zeal of the adherents of Ismā'il, however, was unabated and they refused categorically to believe in his death<sup>(37)</sup>. They also refused to believe Ismā'il's repudiation by his father maintaining that even if Ismā'il had drunk wine it was not a sin, for the Imām is infallible and free from sin<sup>(38)</sup>.

Thus the Shī'a became divided and all the sons of Ja'far obtained adherents; the majority recognized Mūsā, the second son in whose favour Ja'far had repudiated the nomination of Ismā'il. These were called Mūsawiyya who later on became the Ithnā'ashariyya and who now represent the official religion of Persia and to these the Shī'a Moslems of India with the exception of the Ismā'ilis such as Khojās, Bohrās and the Maulais of Hindukosh belong.

Those who had refused to believe in the death of Ismā'il were called the Ismā'iliyya<sup>(39)</sup> and whatever may have been the relative numerical strength of these two parties at the time of the schism, they represent today the second powerful sect of the Shī'as, the

first being that of the *Iḥnā'ashariyya*. A further cism occurred among the *Ismā'ilis* themselves at the same time. A number of them maintained that *Ismā'il* was really dead but that his *Imām* was to be recognized and carried on to his son *Muhammad b. Ismā'il*. He was now to be recognized to be the rightful *Imām* as opposed to *Mūsā*, the second son of *Ja'far*. All these sects which recognized *Ismā'il* some way or other received different titles at the time of the schism but later on the name *Ismā'iliyya* was given to all of them. *Khojāhs* and *Bohrās* of India are called *Ismā'ilis* in that they believe in the *Imām*at of *Ismā'il* after *Ja'far* and then of his son *Muhammad b. Ismā'il* and so on<sup>52</sup>).

It is very curious indeed that nothing is known about *Ismā'il* himself under whose name such a great sect was born. If *Ḥasan* is counted as an *Imām*, *Ismā'il* thus becomes the seventh *Imām* and as such he should be considered a *Nāṭiq* (prophet). Considering the important rôle *Nāṭiqs* play in *Ismā'ili* theology, it is but natural to expect some legends about him such as are so abundant about even lesser religious heads. But there are none except that five years after his death he was said to have been seen in a marker in *Basra* where he cured a paralytic and gave sight to a blind man<sup>53</sup>). In a *Khojāh* pedigree of the *Imāms* he is mentioned as having left *Medina* soon after his appointment to the *Imām*at by his father and as having gone over to *Egypt*. In fact, although the *Khojāhs* call themselves *Ismā'ilis*, he himself does not occupy any important position in their theology.

Great mystery surrounds the next three *Imāms* who are called by the *Ismā'ilis* "hidden *Imām*"<sup>54</sup>). The *Shī'a* say that *Muhammad*, son of *Ismā'il*, was the seventh and the last visible *Imām* and the first of the hidden *Imāms*. By the word hidden they mean to signify those who conceal themselves (from the eyes of their enemies) and who manifest their authority by means of *Dā'īs*. They consider *Muhammad al-Maktūm* (the hidden), son of *Ismā'il* as the first hidden *Imām*, his son *Ja'far al-Musaddik* as the second, and his son *Muhammad al-Ḥabib* as the third<sup>55</sup>). *Muhammad b. Ismā'il* left *Medina* after the death of his father for *Salamiyya* in the *Damawand* Canton in *Persia*. The quar-

ter *Muhammadābād* in *Rāy* is supposed to have been named after him<sup>56</sup>).

Before dealing with *ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdi* the next revealed *Imām*, it would be better to describe briefly the life of *ʿAbdallāh Maymūn al-Kaddāh* who is supposed to have systematized the teachings of *Ismā'ilism* and contributed to it his knowledge of philosophy. It is he who gave to *Ismā'ilism* the impetus to organize itself from a merely religious sect into a political power to be ultimately directed against Arab rule in *Persia*.

The place *Ahwāz*<sup>57</sup>) in *Persia* where he was born was already full of heretic and antislamic teachings. His father belonged to the *Twelver* sect of *Shī'ism*<sup>58</sup>) and he gave his son *ʿAbdallāh* a good training in its teachings to which the latter added several *Zoroastrian* dogmas introducing them into the superior degrees of initiation. He is also supposed to have taken some pantheistic principles from *Indian philosophy*<sup>59</sup>). According to *Akhū Muḥāsīn* he had to shift from place to place (from *ʿAskar Mukram* where he had come from his native village, to *Ṭhabāt Abi Nūh*, thence to *Basra* and thence to central *Syria* from which he turned his steps towards *Salamiyya* near *Emessa* in order to cover his retreat) on account of his antislamic teachings of *Ta'īl* and non-observance of moral laws. He gained the sympathies of *Dandān* (or *Zaydān*), another staunch hater of Arab rule who is supposed to have given him two million *Dinārs* by means of which he sent missionaries to the different districts of *Ahwāz*, *Basra*, *Kūfā* and to *Ṭalakān* in *Khurāsān* to spread the new teachings.

According to *Abu 'l-Fida'* he is the author of a book called "The Balance" which is written in conformity with the principles of *Zoroastrianism*<sup>61</sup>). He is, however, not so much to be remembered as a sectarian writer but as the founder and the organizer of a religious party with political motives. It is not possible to know for certain what exactly his teachings were, since the historians have confused the later teachings of the sect with his and attributed them all to him. Nor is it necessary here to make a distinction between the earlier and the later doctrines; we shall mention only in short what *Maḳrīzī* takes to have been his teachings. "ʿAbdallāh knew



perfectly all the religions and sects. He instituted a number of doctrines divided in seven degrees of instruction or initiation through which the proselyte was to pass successively till, shaking off the yoke of all religion he became a real materialist, recognizing no more either the existence of God or any rule of morality, expecting neither recompense nor chastisement after death and remaining convinced of the truth of this doctrine. . . He called people to recognize Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far Sādiq as the Imām<sup>62</sup>). He is also supposed to be the founder of the doctrine of the seven prophetic cycles: "Since the creation there have been six religious periods marked by the incarnation of prophets: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomed have been the prophets of these periods. Their mission had been to call man to the religions more and more perfect one after the other. The seven Imāms of the posterity of 'Alī whom you venerate are the interpreters of the hidden sense of the religion of Mahomed. They are the precursors of the most perfect religion of which the triumph is at hand: the religion of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. We are entering the seventh and the last period of the world during which justice and truth will reign. And just as seven Imāms have succeeded after Mahomed, there will be seven pontiffs after Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. I am the first of these pontiffs<sup>63</sup>).

It is very curious indeed that the founder of Ismā'ilism who took on the modest rôle of Pontiff of the Prophet Ismā'il (compared to Ḥākim and Mu'izz who considered themselves to be incarnations and divinities) does not appear in the list of the Imāms and their companions in vogue among the Khojās of India and the Ismā'ilis of Shughnān. In the list of the Khojās one Muḥammad Maṣṣūr is mentioned as the Ḥujjat; in the list of the Ismā'ilis of Shughnān one Sayyid-i Kūnūr (or Sayyid Rukn al-Din, or Zayd Rukn al-Din)<sup>64</sup>). If Muḥammad b. Ismā'il be taken as a prophet (Nāṭiq), and 'Abdallāh as his Asās or Imām, we have even then no better results, for in all the lists Muḥammad b. Ismā'il appears as an ordinary Imām. In short poor 'Abdallāh has no place in any list; one has to search him in that of the Druzes. The reason for cutting out 'Abdallāh from the list of the Imāms and the Ḥujjats of the Ismā'ilis may

be that the Ismā'ilis wanted to avoid the suspicion of the Sunni writers who considered Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh, not as a descendant of Ismā'il but 'Abdallāh.

The origin of 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī, the next revealed Imām of the Ismā'ilis is doubtful<sup>65</sup>). According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ja'far Sādiq had sent missionaries to Maghrib saying that it was an uncultivated soil and that it ought to be watered in expectation of the person who would come to sow the seed<sup>66</sup>). It was, however, on hearing that Muḥammad al-Ḥabib was dead and while dying had nominated his son Mahdī as successor with the words: "Thou art the Mahdī: after my death thou shouldst take refuge in a distant country where thou shalt have to submit to hard trials<sup>67</sup>), that the news was spread by the Ismā'ili missionaries in Africa that the Mahdī had appeared<sup>68</sup>). The two chief missionaries Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Muhtasib and his brother Abū 'Abbās al-Maktūm had already made conquests in Maghrib and they requested the Mahdī to appear on the scene where he was expected. In the meantime the news of his advent had spread so widely that the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Muktafi (according to Maḥrizī already during the reign of his predecessor Mu'taḍid<sup>69</sup>) had ordered a strict vigilance to be kept throughout all his empire and the arrest of 'Ubaydallāh. The latter, however, managed to reach Maghrib accompanied by his son but was discovered by the Governor of Sijilmāsa who threw both father and son into prison. Abū 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh's main supporter, hurried up matters and raised a revolution against the last of the Aghlabid princes who was ruling in the name of the 'Abbāsīd monarch in Raḡḡāda<sup>70</sup>). Sijilmāsa was then conquered by Abū 'Abdallāh, and 'Ubaydallāh and his son were set at liberty<sup>71</sup>). "On coming out of the prison, al-Mahdī was clothed with gorgeous dress; a mantle was thrown on his shoulders, and he was paraded with great pomp, while his liberator proclaimed him as the Imām<sup>72</sup>). Success followed quickly and in a short time he had his throne firmly established.

Apart from the people who had doubted the authenticity of the Mahdī's descent from Fātima, there now arose people who doubted the Mahdīship of 'Ubaydallāh, Abū 'Abdallāh began preaching



among the Kitāma Berbers: "We have been deceived about this person: the Imām whom we had announced has signs in order that people might recognize him. He has to come performing miracles and imprinting his seal on stones just as an ordinary person does it on sealing-wax"<sup>72</sup>). A sheikh of the Kitāma Berbers was sent as the head of a deputation to 'Ubaydallāh demanding him to show his divine miracles<sup>73</sup>). 'Ubaydallāh did so but in a manner entirely unexpected by the Berbers. He simply put the poor Sheikh to death. Abū 'Abdallāh and his brother were also sentenced to death and after the execution was over 'Ubaydallāh wrote the following letter to his companions: "You know what position was occupied by Abū 'Abdallāh and his brother Abū 'l-'Abbās in Islam (i.e. the faith in the Mahdī). But Satan having made them stumble I have purified them by my sword"<sup>74</sup>).

Historians are silent about the changes in religious matters brought about by 'Ubaydallāh. Ibn Ḥammād alone gives us a few details: "He cut out prayer in the month of Ramaḍān for the sake of rest and ordered that it should be proceeded by two days of fast." Apart from the slight modifications in the prayer-call he ordered that the following should be added to it: "May God save you, O, our master, you who are the guardian of good order in this world and religion, you who keep the Moslems in the spirit of Islam. May He save through your power the followers of your faith and exterminate by your sword those that rebel. May He be pleased with you, with your pious ancestors and glorious descendants. Eternal prayer till the day of the last judgment; and the end of our prayer is: Glory to God, the Lord of the worlds"<sup>75</sup>).

How far the religious expectations of the Ismā'īlis, who had hoped with the advent of the Mahdī for the disappearance of injustice and the establishment of a Utopia, were fulfilled cannot be judged now, but 'Ubaydallāh was certainly not the bold type of Mahdī like Ḥākim or Ḥasan 'alā Dhikrihi al-Salām who, according to the expectations of the Ismā'īlis, abolished all religious practices, allowed them to eat and drink in the fasting month of Ramaḍān and declared that the day of resurrection (to be understood allegorically as meaning the appearance of the Mahdī) had come. 'Ubaydallāh was a modest

Mahdī and although he abolished Ḥajj in the seventh year of his reign. Fātimid historians, eager to paint him as an orthodox Moslem, try to prove that the carrying off of the black stone of Ka'ba by the Karmatians was not done by his order<sup>77</sup>).

The next six Caliphs of the Fātimid dynasty Kā'im, Manṣūr, Mu'izz, 'Aziz, Ḥākim and Zāhir are recognized by the Ismā'īlis as Imāms but otherwise have no religious significance for them. Mu'izz had his pretensions to be a divinity and in the Fragments of Guyard we get an insight into his beliefs about religious matters<sup>78</sup>). If Muḥammad b. Ismā'il is taken as the seventh prophet and three hidden Imāms are counted between him and 'Ubaydallāh, Mu'izz becomes the last Imām of the last cycle. Thus the next Caliph 'Aziz must have found himself in a very difficult situation and we do not know how he met it. We know only that during his time "missionaries were not seen spreading in different countries. The feeble spirited 'Aziz did not know how to get out of the deadlock"<sup>79</sup>).

But his successor Ḥākim was bolder. He went even further than Mu'izz and declared himself to be the last incarnation of God on earth<sup>80</sup>). He found people who believed in it and thus the religion of the Druzes was founded. In the religious book of this sect we find such adoration for Ḥākim that God has to disappear from the scene. In the whole history of Ismā'ilism nobody has claimed greater adoration from his followers than Ḥākim<sup>81</sup>). There are elements in the religion of the Khojāhs taken from the Druzes which will be mentioned in the chapters on the religious beliefs and practices of the Khojāhs.

Excepting in a few solitary instances, great religious tolerance was practised during the reign of the Fātimid Caliphs. "The Ismā'īli doctrines were publicly taught in the richly donated universities provided with libraries and crowds gathered there to listen to the most distinguished professors"<sup>82</sup>). Mu'izz even permitted the Christians to discuss religious matter with the Moslems openly<sup>83</sup>).

"It was in Cairo, under the dominion of the Fātimid Caliphs that the religious system of the Ismā'īlis, with its secret lodges, its many stages of initiation and its somewhat mystic ceremonies, was matured and perfected"<sup>84</sup>).

After the death of Mustanşir, the grandson of Hâkim, the most important schism occurred among the Ismâ'îlis. Those who recognized his eldest son Nizâr as the rightful Imâm were called the Nizâris, those recognizing his second son Musta'li, who actually gained the throne, were called the Musta'lians. The Khojâhs belong to the first division, the Bohrâs to the second.

It seems that Mustanşir had nominated his eldest son Nizâr to be the Imâm after his death but he is said, later on, to have revoked it in favour of his second son Musta'li. The reason for this repudiation is even more mysterious than that of Ismâ'il by his father Ja'far. Nuwayri tells us that Nizâr, on seeing his brother Musta'li seated on the throne, said that he had a written document from his father authorizing him to be the Caliph<sup>65</sup>. Ibn al-Athîr relates a conversation in which Hasan Şabbâh is authorized by Mustanşir to carry Ismâ'îli propaganda in favour of Nizâr into Persia<sup>66</sup>. Musta'li was backed by the powerful commander-in-chief Amîr al-Juyûsh and Nizâr finding Cairo too hot for him ran away to Alexandria. He fought several battles against Amîr al-Juyûsh but was ultimately captured and "shut up between two walls till he died"<sup>67</sup>. Juwayni puts the situation after Mustanşir's death as follows: "After the death of Mustanşir the Dâ'is of the Imâm of the sect divided into two parties. The one supported the right of Nizâr under the pretext that respect was due to the first nomination. The Ismâ'îlis i.e. the Malâhida of 'Irâk, Syria, Kumm, and Khorâsân belong to this party and they are called Nizâris. The other party affirmed that Imâmât belonged to Musta'li; these are the Ismâ'îlis of Egypt and dependencies and they are called the Musta'lawi. During the reign of Mustanşir Hasan Şabbâh preached openly in Daylam (in favour of Nizâr). The term Mulhid "Heretic" has been attributed to the sectarians of the first party on account of the fact that following the precepts of Hasan Şabbâh they have abrogated the legal precepts of Mahomed and have regarded illicit actions as permitted<sup>68</sup>. Regarding the sectarians of the party of Musta'li they have not revolted against the external sense of law and they conform to the traditions of fathers and ancestors"<sup>69</sup>.

With the death of Nizâr the seat of the Imâmât is transferred from Cairo to Alamût in Persia. Nothing is known about the Imâms from Nizâr till Hasan 'alâ Dhikrihi al-Salâm. According to the different pedigrees there were one, two or three between Nizâr and Hasan<sup>70</sup>.

We have mentioned that Hasan Şabbâh was authorized by Mustanşir to carry on Ismâ'îli propaganda in favour of Nizâr in Persia. Although his name does not appear in the list of the Imâms and Hujjats, as founder of the "Order of the Assassins" and the most important champion of the Nizâri branch of the Ismâ'îlis we shall briefly describe his life and contribution to Ismâ'ilism.

Formerly it used to be taken as a matter of course that Shî'ism in its origin was Persian and that in order to find out the source of its teachings one had to go into the old Iranian religion at the time of the Arab conquest of Persia<sup>71</sup>. In spite of the immense difficulties in the way of understanding the religious development of Shî'ism to which Friedlaender draws our attention<sup>72</sup>, we can safely say that the doctrines of Shî'ism are not all derived from Persia<sup>73</sup>. This is, however, not the place to go into its origin or to find out the religions which contributed in forming it into a real sect: our task here will be only to mention the causes which made it so welcome to Persia.

Even before Hasan Şabbâh had made his position sure and vigorously started the propaganda of Ismâ'ilism, there was quite a large number of both Twelver and Ismâ'îli sects among the Persian population not only among the intellectuals but also among the illiterate masses<sup>74</sup>. With the capture of Alamût by Hasan<sup>75</sup> the movement took on a great impetus and with the organization of the Assassins<sup>76</sup> it became a terror to the orthodox Moslems.

As Browne remarks the founders of Ismâ'ilism propagated it not because it was Persian but being Persian it strongly appealed to their minds<sup>77</sup>. The conquered Persians could not find their spiritual satisfaction in the simple and particularly democratic religion of the Semites. «On disait hautement: il n'y a point d'autre dieu qu'Allah; mais dans son cœur on disait: si ce n'est le dieu de nos pères<sup>78</sup>. Mahomed is the Prophet of Allah and unfortunately he has insisted

too much that he is the Seal of the Prophets. Would it not be nearer to our heart to have Behram-Amavand of our fathers, if not as a prophet, at least as the promised Messiah?<sup>99</sup>) That is how the Persians thought, still clinging to their cherished desires which were so cruelly neglected by the Arab conquerors. "To them the idea of electing a Caliph, or spiritual successor to the Prophet, natural enough to the democratic Arabs, could not appear otherwise than revolting and unnatural, and in the case of 'Umar, the second orthodox Caliph, there was also an element of personal hatred against the destroyer of the Persian Empire, which though disguised under a religious garb, is nevertheless unmistakable"<sup>100</sup>). To them the idea of the divine element descending from king to king is more familiar and it is but natural for them to look upon Hasan, Husayn, 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin and their children as rightful heirs after the holy Prophet. Moreover the mother of 'Ali Z. 'A. was the daughter of the last Sassanid King Yazdegird III. and "hence the remaining Imāms of both the great Shī'ite factions represent not only the prophetic but the kingly right and virtue, being at the same time descended from the Prophet Muḥammad and from the House of Sassan"<sup>101</sup>).

The Arabs were hated by the Persians for the unequal treatment they received from them and the latter considered the simple Arabs as nothing better than savages and upstarts<sup>102</sup>). «Les mécontents se rattachent tout naturellement aux partis d'opposition»<sup>103</sup>). Thus the "House of the Prophet" which was considered to be wronged in the hands of orthodox Islam became the "centre of all dissatisfaction — economical, political and religious"<sup>104</sup>). 'Ali suffering under the first three Caliphs (whom every orthodox Shī'a curses whenever he names them or hears them mentioned) became the symbol of Persian suffering under Arab rule, Husayn became the hero, the martyr of Karbalā', Hasan the perfect saint of peace and devotion and Fātima, in imitation of Mary, received the appellation Batūl (Virgin)<sup>105</sup>). It was the intense hatred of a subject nation that burst out from the lips of the father of 'Abdallāh Maymūn al-Kaddāh in the following words: "I have a terrible hatred of the religion of Mahomed but I have no soldiers with whom I could fight against it. I have no

fortune either but I have such cleverness and stratagem that if some one were to help me I would completely destroy the religion of Mahomed"<sup>106</sup>).

Almost the same words are supposed to have been used by Ḥasan Ṣabbāh against the government of his time. "Alas! If two persons like myself were to unite with me I would be able to make a topsyturvy of the government"<sup>107</sup>). It was his hatred of the Prime Minister Nizām al-Mulk more than any thing else which made him so vigorous in his propaganda against the state<sup>108</sup>).

Ḥasan b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ṣabbāh al-Himyari<sup>109</sup> was an inhabitant of Ray<sup>110</sup>) and his father belonged to the sect of the Twelvers<sup>111</sup>). As a young man he came in touch with the Ismā'ili missionaries who profoundly influenced him and ultimately he gave his oath of allegiance<sup>112</sup>) to the third of these called Mu'min, who was an authorized missionary of 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh (the chief Fātimid missionary in Irak)<sup>113</sup>). This Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh had come to Ray in the year 469/1076—77 and evidently noticing the zeal of Ḥasan ordered him to go to Cairo, the centre of Ismā'ili activities. Accordingly Ḥasan went first to Iṣfahān, thence to Syria and finally to Egypt in the year 471/1078—79. "He was honourably received by the chief Dā'i Bū Dā'ūd and other notables, and was the object of special favours on the part of al-Mustansir whom, however, he was not privileged to see in person, though he remained at Cairo for eighteen months"<sup>114</sup>). Ibn al-Aṭhir, on the other hand, describes a conversation between Ḥasan Ṣabbāh and al-Mustansir in which the latter authorizes Ḥasan to carry on propaganda in the name of his eldest son Nizār<sup>115</sup>). According to Ḥasan: "The Amir al-Juyūsh or the commander of the armies which post he (the Amir) had gained by force and who exercised on him (Mustansir) an absolute authority was the father-in-law of his younger son Musta'li whom the Caliph had declared his successor by a second proclamation. But I, conforming to the fundamental principles of the doctrines I professed, preached in favour of Nizār. Due to this Amir al-Juyūsh became adverse to me and he prepared himself to do me harm. His enmity went so far that he ordered that I should be placed in a ship sailing for Maghrib"<sup>116</sup>). As the sea was

rough the boat was thrown on the Syrian coast<sup>117</sup>). Thence he returned to Ḥafāhān by way of Aleppo, Baghdād and Khūzistān. He remained at Dāmāghān for three years and from that place he sent missionaries to Andkhirud and other places in the vicinity of Alamūt. He was, however, careful to avoid Raiy, for the Prime Minister Nizām al-Mulk had given orders to his son-in-law Abū Muslim, the Governor of Raiy to arrest him<sup>118</sup>). By means which were not quite fair he at last captured the fort of Alamūt in the year 483/1090—91<sup>119</sup>). Other similar strongholds were captured in quick succession and soon the Order of the Assassins was strongly established.

As we shall see later on in the part dealing with the teachings of the Ismā'ilis, there existed among them, from an early period, grades of initiation. Ḥasan Šabbāh modified them to a certain extent. Next to the Imām came the Grand Master (at that time naturally Ḥasan)<sup>120</sup>) who was followed by superior missionaries and missionaries of a lower order. These were naturally all initiated into the aims, activities and secrets of the Order. "Next to them were Lāṣiḳs or adherents who had yielded the oath of allegiance without much comprehension of what it involved and lastly Fidā'is or 'self devoted ones', the 'Destroying Angels' and ministers of vengeance of the Order and the cause of that far-reaching terror which it inspired — a terror which made kings tremble on their thrones and checked the angry anathemas of outraged orthodoxy<sup>121</sup>).

The Fidā'is who can alone rightly be called assassins although not initiated into the secrets of the Order formed in fact its backbone and were chosen with special regard to quality — bold young men who would blindly obey the orders of their leader at the risk of their own lives<sup>122</sup>).

The first victim of the Assassins was Nizām al-Mulk and on account of the hatred Ḥasan had for him it is generally asserted that the assassination was committed by his order<sup>123</sup>). It must, however, be remembered that Nizām al-Mulk was a confirmed anti-ismā'ili and it is quite possible that he was murdered, not at the instigation of Ḥasan, but of one who wanted to take revenge for all the repressions of the Ismā'ilis ordered by him. Some time after his assassination, his two sons Nizām al-Din (the Minister of Maḥmūd

the son of Malik Shāh) and Fakhr al-Mulk (at first the Minister of the fifth Seljuk king Barkiyaruk and afterwards the Minister of the sixth king Muḥammad Daulat) were attacked by the Fidā'is.

To continue the activities of the Assassins in the words of Juwaynī: "By means of the Fidā'is Ḥasan killed one after another generals of armies and famous persons. Those who showed any sign of enmity for him were killed by his order. The list of his victims is too lengthy to be mentioned<sup>124</sup>).

The quotation from Juwaynī is in perfect conformity with the opinion of the other historians of his age, but it must be remembered that all of them were written at least 150 years after the death of Ḥasan and that they make him responsible for all the assassinations committed in his time and even those ordered by his successors, the Grand Masters, on account of his being the founder of the Order. It is curious to notice that Juwaynī who is never tired of cursing Ḥasan by "be he cursed by God, the angels and all men", says that he was religious in outward life and had both of his sons sentenced to death, one for alleged murder and the other for drinking wine. Mollā Möbad is more eulogistic<sup>125</sup>) and mentions him as Sayyidnā (our Lord, an onorific used for Ḥasan only by Ismā'ilis) and says: "Our Master strove at perfection of rectitude and piety, and the zeal of this lord in upholding the law was carried to such a degree, that he drove out of the fort an individual who played a flute. During the time of his government, he went no more than twice to sit upon the terrace of his house, and never was seen at the fort, always occupied with the direction of the affairs of the state and of religion. In his time<sup>126</sup>) the Fidā'is destroyed a great number of the great and noble adversaries of his sect." When mentioning the death of an individual, Moslem writers either beg blessing for him or curse him, and in the case of Ḥasan, whereas the historians all join in sending him to hell, Mollā Möbad keeps aloof and merely says: "At last death transferred our Sayyid from this world of vexations to the gardens of Paradise."

The present writer agrees with the author of the article on Ḥasan Šabbāh in the Encyclopaedia of Islam in maintaining that although Ḥasan is taken as the founder of the Order of the Assassins, it

cannot be asserted that he was an unscrupulous fanatic whose ideal was to increase his personal authority by means of ruthless ascension. There is not sufficient proof for that<sup>127</sup>).

The propaganda started by Hasan Šabbāh was called the "New Propaganda" as opposed to that which already existed in Egypt, Syria and Persia. The salient features of the New Propaganda was the refusal to admit the independence of human intellect and the assertion that true knowledge can only be acquired by blind obedience to the teachings (ta'lim, hence the term Ta'limiyya which from the time of Hasan began to be used for the Ismā'ili sect) of the Imām. Goldziher in his learned introduction to the „Streitschrift des Ḥazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte" sums up the teachings of the Ismā'ilis, before Hasan Šabbāh's contribution, in the following words.

„Die ursprüngliche Lehre der Bāṭiniyya (Ismā'iliyya) drehte sich zunächst um die Bearbeitung ihrer an die neuplatonische Emanationslehre und den iranischen Dualismus angelehnten Weltauffassung; um die zyklische Konstruktion ihrer Imāmatstheorien; um ihre Theorie vom Fortschritt der Offenbarung; um die utilitarische Auffassung des alten Prophetentums; um die allegorische Deutung der heiligen Texte und die religiösen Gesetze und die damit zusammenhängende Auflösung des islamischen Formalismus; um die spiritualistische Wegdeutung der positiven Glaubenssätze von jenseitiger Vergeltung und leiblicher Auferstehung<sup>128</sup>. . . Selbstverständlich nimmt auch in dieser ursprünglichen Lehre der Imām als Verkörperung des Weltintellekts die höchste, für andere Menschen unerreichtbare Stufe im Wissen der geheimen Dinge ein<sup>129</sup>).

Hasan Šabbāh's contribution to Ismā'ilism is, as already mentioned, the teaching of Ta'lim. He is the author of several sectarian books, one of which, at least, dealt with this doctrine and was considered by him as having the greatest importance. These books were burnt by order of the Mongol conqueror Hulagu<sup>130</sup>) but Šah-rastāni, who wrote shortly after the introduction of the doctrine, gives a summary of it in his book on sects. Juwaynī and Mollā Mōbad also give a synopsis of it in their books *Jahān Guṣṣā* and *Dā-bistān*<sup>131</sup>). According to these writers the above-mentioned book

of Hasan was divided into five chapters. In the first chapter is shown the necessity of a teacher; in the second the necessity of a good teacher; in the third the necessity of obtaining instructions from him and getting them assured by an authorized and learned Šādiḳ (it appears to designate here the Imām, the Dā'i or the acknowledged spiritual guide among the Ismā'ilis); in the fourth the necessity of acknowledging the Imām and accepting his Ta'lim. The fifth chapter is introduced only to strengthen the fourth.

At the time of Ḥazālī the doctrine of Ta'lim was rather a new tendency but nevertheless the kernel of the New Propaganda and the major part of at least one of his polemics is directed against this doctrine<sup>132</sup>). Although written from the orthodox Sunni point of view, the book is of great interest for those who want to obtain an insight into the doctrines of the New Propaganda. In this connection it may be mentioned that although the orthodox Moslems considered the Ismā'ilis as heretics, Ḥazālī is more tolerant towards them and distinguishes between those Ismā'ilis who can rightly be called "Unbelievers" and those who can be said to be erring in their religious opinions.

Hasan Šabbāh was followed by Kiā Buzurg Ummid Rūdbārī who was in turn followed by his son Muḥammad b. Buzurg Ummid as Grand Masters of Alamūt<sup>133</sup>). Both of them lived up to the precepts of Hasan Šabbāh and strengthened the Ismā'ili sect. Although they believed in the doctrine of Ta'lim, they were strict (according to Mīr Khwand at least outwardly) in observing the laws of Islam and the religious practices based on Ḥadīth<sup>134</sup>). Muḥammad's son Hasan 'alā dhikrihi al-salām (peace be on him on the recital of his name)<sup>135</sup>) studied as a young man the doctrines of the Ismā'ilis and specially those propounded by Hasan Šabbāh. As opposed to his father who was a quiet man without any deep knowledge of the sect, he was eloquent and charming in manners. Many of the Ismā'ilis were struck with his capabilities and began to think that he was the revealed Imām after the period of unrevealed Imāms between him and Nizār. His admirers asserted that he was not the son of Muḥammad, but the son of a son of Nizār who was supposed to have been sent to Alamūt by the Fātimid Mustanşir in the

time of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ<sup>138</sup>). According to them this son of Nizār, whose descent was unknown to anybody but Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and the person who had brought him from Egypt, used to live at the foot of the Alamūt fort and "when he arrived at the age of virility he had connexion with the lawful wife of Muḥammad, the son of Buzurg Ummid<sup>137</sup>) and Ḥasan ḡh. s. was the fruit of it"<sup>138</sup>). According to others the son of Nizār, the neglected Imām, had married a modest woman of the village at the foot of Alamūt fort where he lived and a son was born to him. On the same day a child was born to Muḥammad b. Buzurg Ummid and three days afterwards a woman was seen mounting up the fort of Alamūt carrying some thing under her veil<sup>139</sup>) and entering Muḥammad's house. "By decree of divine wisdom" there was nobody present at the side of the newborn child and the woman placed the child of the Imām in the place of Muḥammad's son and took him away under her veil. Ḥamdallāh al-Mustawfī, Juwaynī and Mir Khwand refuse to give credit to either of the versions<sup>140</sup>).

When Muḥammad b. Buzurg Ummid heard that the admirers of his son were considering him to be an Imām he sent for the Ismā'īlīs and said to them in public: "This Ḥasan is my son, and I am not an Imām but his missionary. Whoever does not listen to it and believe in it is an invidel and heathen." He did not, however, feel satisfied with merely saying it, but put it into action by sentencing 250 followers of Ḥasan to death and expelling another 250 out of the fort. Ḥasan regretted his conduct and evidently gave up all pretensions to Imāmat but secretly continued drinking wine. This, according to Juwaynī<sup>141</sup>), was interpreted by many of the Ismā'īlīs as a sign of the appearance of the Imām<sup>142</sup>) and when, in fact, after Muḥammad's death Ḥasan became the Grand Master, they showed him most excessive veneration and accepted him as the Imām after a period of non-revealed Imāms between him and Nizār<sup>143</sup>). Ḥasan also did something which none of his predecessors had dared to do. The Grand Masters of Alamūt and those belonging to the higher order of the sect observed the Shari'a outwardly and insisted very strongly that lay men should not be allowed to break any of its principles. Ḥasan took the rôle of the

Mahdi at whose advent the Shari'a is supposed to disappear. "He convoked all the chiefs and nobles of his dominion in Budat al-Ikḥāl and ordered that, in the meeting place of that fortunate fort, a pulpit should be placed towards the Kibla, and four flags, one red, another green, the third yellow, and the fourth white, should be fixed to the four corners of the pulpit. On the seventh day of the blessed Ramaḍān of the said year, he ascended the pulpit, and unfolding the tongue of prodigious speeches, he said; 'I am the Imām of the age; and I took off the hardship of the ordinances and prohibitions from the inhabitants of the world, and I held the commands of the law for nothing; now is the period of the lord of the resurrection, the creatures are to be bound by ties of love to God, and enjoy the external things in whatever manner they like.' He then descended from the top of the pulpit, and having broken fast, ordered that, in the manner of a festival, all should occupy themselves with mirth and cheerfulness, and playing and gambling and this fortunate day was entitled 'the Festival of Resurrection'<sup>144</sup>). Ḥasan propounded the "Doctrine of Resurrection" according to which, just as during the centuries of Shari'a one had to observe the formalities of religion and should not consider piety and devotion as things purely spiritual, in the same way after the introduction of the "Doctrine of Resurrection" no one should observe the Shari'a and outward practices of religion; "one should always be with God in heart and have his soul turned towards Divinity for that alone means true prayer." Mir Khwand relates that he was told by one Yūsuf Shāh Kātib who had heard it from a reliable person that he had seen the following couplet on the library of Alamūt<sup>145</sup>):

„Mit der Hilfe Gottes hob  
Des Gesetzes Banden auf  
Der Gebietende der Welt,  
Ueber dessen Namen Heil"<sup>146</sup>).

It seems that most of the Ismā'īlīs accepted the "Doctrine of Resurrection" but a number of people, according to Mir Khwand "who had love for Islam preferred to leave their country; others



who had not the courage to go away submitted themselves to sharing the ill-fame of the Alamūtians and remained where they were<sup>(147)</sup>.

But Hasan had to pay dearly for his boldness. He was stabbed to death in the castle of Lamsir by his wife's brother, Nāmwar, who, according to Mir Khwand, had preserved the faith of and attachment to Islam<sup>(148)</sup>.

The Khojāhs of India and other Ismā'īlis of the Nizārī sect recognize Hasan 'alā dhikrihi al-salām as the rightful Imām after the non-revealed Imāms who followed Nizār<sup>(149)</sup> and there is even a tradition among the former that Hasan d.h.s. had sent the first missionary to India who converted them from Hinduism to the Ismā'īliyya faith. His Highness the Aga Khan, the present Imām of the Khojāhs of India and Zanzibar, of the Ismā'īlis of Persia and Shughnān, traces his lineage from 'Alī through the seventh Imām Ismā'il, the Fātimid Caliphs, Nizār and Hasan 'alā dhikrihi al-salām<sup>(150)</sup>.

Muhammad, the son of Hasan d.h.s. is the next Imām of the Ismā'īlis. After he had succeeded his father he put to death Nāmwar, the murderer of his father, and his family. He lived up to the principles expounded by his father and was supposed to have been poisoned by his son Jalāl al-Dīn Hasan who disliked Ismā'īli faith and objected to the irreligiousness of his father.

Jalāl al-Dīn Hasan, known as the "New Moslem", is the next Imām of the Ismā'īlis. According to the historians he returned to orthodox Islam, ordered the people not to break the precepts of the Shari'a, to build mosques in every village of Rūdbār and to say Friday prayers. He sent ambassadors to the Caliph of Baghdad Nāṣir l-dīn Allāh and to several princes in Irak with the message of his return to Islam. The orthodox Moslems of his time were satisfied with his conduct and he was given the title "New Moslem". But the people of Kazin, "who were enemies of the Ismā'īlis and had always fought against them"<sup>(151)</sup>, refused to believe in the sincerity of Jalāl al-Dīn. In order to convince them he burned the original sectarian writings of Hasan Ṣabbāh preserved in the Alamūt library, and uttered curses against his ancestors in

public. He sent his mother on a pilgrimage to Mecca and when she arrived at Baghdad, the Sultan Nāṣir l-dīn Allāh received her with great pomp and ordered that in the pilgrimage the standard of Jalāl al-Dīn should be carried before those of all other princes.

We do not know what attitude the Ismā'īlis took towards the conduct of Jalāl al-Dīn, but it can be assumed that in accordance with the doctrine of Ta'lim they did not protest against his return to orthodox Islam.

'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad, the son of Jalāl al-Dīn Hasan, the next Imām of the Ismā'īlis ascended the throne on his father's death when he was only nine years old. He suspected many of his near relations of having poisoned his father and ordered them to be put to death<sup>(152)</sup>. According to Mir Khwand the Ismā'īlis believe that there is no difference between the childhood, youth and old age of the Imām, he being always infallible. They did not, therefore, hesitate to obey the orders of the Imām although he was then only a boy of nine. As 'Alā' al-Dīn disapproved of the conduct of his father in religious matters and accepted his grand-father's religion, "the Ismā'īlis in whose hearts Islam was not yet ingrained, returned to their old religion of Ismā'ilism"<sup>(153)</sup>. 'Alā' al-Dīn had himself bled without physicians' advice and due to too much loss of blood his brain was affected and he developed melancholia<sup>(154)</sup>. The disease grew worse from day to day and at last it reached such a stage that whenever anybody told him anything unpleasant regarding the government, the army or the people he received "as reply nothing but death or chastisement"<sup>(155)</sup>. Everything concerning the government was hidden from him and a "total ruin affected the empire, finances and his home"<sup>(156)</sup>. It is curious to notice that according to Mir Khwand 'Alā' al-Dīn recognized a certain learned man, an 'Alid called Jamāl al-Dīn Gil (or Gili), as an Imām<sup>(157)</sup>. 'Alā' al-Dīn had declared that his eldest son Rukn al-Dīn should be the Imām after his death and a number of people began showing extreme respect to the latter and made no difference between the orders of the father and the son. 'Alā' al-Dīn became irritated at the conduct of his son and his admirers and declared that another son of his should succeed him after his death. But



the Ismā'ilis, in accordance with the principles of their religion, maintained that the first declaration of 'Alā' al-Dīn was to be recognized as valid<sup>158</sup>). Rukn al-Dīn found his life in danger on account of his father's hatred for him and thought of running away to a safe fort and take shelter there. In the same year rulers of the state conspired to kill 'Alā' al-Dīn and having received the consent of Rukn al-Dīn murdered him while sleeping in a drunken state<sup>159</sup>).

Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh, the next Imām of the Ismā'ilis ascended the throne after his father's death and according to Ta'rikh-i-Guzida sentenced the murderer of his father Ḥasan Māzandarāni and his children to death in order to remove the suspicion of having participated in the murder of his father. It was during his reign that the power of the Assassins was destroyed by the Mongols led by Hulagu Khān, the grand-son of the famous Čengiz Khān. History knows but too well what the Mongol invasion meant which "in the space of a few years swept Japan to Germany"<sup>160</sup>). "In its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its appalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless cruelty, its irresistible though short-lived violence, this outburst of savage nomads, hitherto hardly known by name even to their neighbours, resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history"<sup>161</sup>). Hulagu ordered Rukn al-Dīn to surrender himself and instruct his chiefs in other strongholds to surrender themselves also. The weak-willed Rukn could not make up his mind for a long time and guided by the traitor, the famous Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī and by the bad advice of his harem he at last did so after obtaining a written guarantee of safety from Hulagu Khān. The chiefs of the forts of the Assassins had to surrender too and in a month's time fifty forts were captured and demolished. The inhabitants of the forts, in spite of the promise of safety, were ruthlessly massacred as soon as they gave themselves up to the Mongols. Even women and children were not spared and, according to Mir Khwand the sons, daughters, brothers, sisters and relations of Rukn al-Dīn were murdered. Hulagu Khān carried out the order of his brother Mangu Khān to annihilate the Ismā'ilis thoroughly and the Persian branch of them was almost completely rooted out<sup>162</sup>). It was at that time

that the Alamūt library was set to fire after the historian Juwayni had had permission to go through it and take out those books worthy of being possessed by the Mongol invader.

Rukn al-Dīn was at first received cordially by Hulagu Khān and even married a Mongol girl. He was then sent to Mangu Khān<sup>163</sup>) who, however, did not even permit him to appear before him and ordered his execution. He was made to descend to the bank of Jihūn under the pretext of being served with a meal and was then killed by the Mongol soldiers<sup>164</sup>). Although a vast number of the Ismā'ilis perished under the sword of the barbarous Mongols, the sect, deprived of its political power and of the terror it had for the Moslems, survived in Persia and is to be found even today recognizing H. H. the Aga Khan as its Imām<sup>165</sup>). The period between Rukn al-Dīn, the last Grand Master of the Assassins and the great grandfather of the Aga Khan is entirely dark and we know absolutely nothing about the religion of the Ismā'ilis of this period<sup>166</sup>). All that we have are pedigrees of Imāms between Rukn al-Dīn and the present Imām which differ from one another. Travellers mention now and then that they met Ismā'ilis but do not give any information about their religious life<sup>167</sup>). We know, however, from the tradition of the Khojāhs that a missionary of Islām Shāh (a great grandson of Rukn al-Dīn) called Šadr al-Dīn converted the Lohan tribe and other Hindus to the Ismā'ili faith and gave them the name Khojāh. But whatever little we know about the Imāms of this dark period is all derived from the Khojāh sources and the Persian historians are quite silent about it. As these Imāms belong more to the Khojāhs than to the Assassins we shall mention them in the chapter on the Khojāhs.

Although we know something about the political power and the spread of Ismā'ilism as a sect through the Arabic and Persian non-Ismā'ili historians, we know much less about their doctrines which were obstinately kept secret by the sectarians even when there was

persecuted at the hands of the orthodox possession of more sectarian writings on the Sunni writers who, very often, tion and pass off all kinds of heretic in all probability, belonged to the e can safely say that before 'Abdallāh ized the teachings of the Ismā'ilis and of doctrines from different religions, merely a subdivision of the Shī'ites and sly in recognizing Ismā'il as the seventh smā'ilis occupied the same position as ng neither so liberal as to accept the <sup>[176]</sup> nor so extremist as to consider ulāt. But from the time of 'Abdallāh verged from its original doctrines that the Shī'ites themselves, who denounced nbrace it<sup>[176]</sup>.

sumé of the Ismā'ili doctrines as pro- ūn al-Kaddāh and his followers: neither be asserted that He exists nor or that He is knowing nor unknowing, less, and so on in all attributes, for if d it leads one to comparison between ) which is forbidden in Islam<sup>[176]</sup>. The oy a single command the Universal ine attributes in it and which is, so to the attributeless Deity and since prayer being without attributes it has to be Reason. The Universal Reason created h the essential attribute is life just as : Universal Reason is knowledge. The ect tries to attain the Universal Reason a movement takes place by virtue of and elements move. The Universal ter the essential attribute of which is ore primitive beings were manifested

namely Space and Time. The earth was the last emanation and under the influence of the superior emanations, the elements combined themselves and gave birth to animals, vegetables and minerals<sup>[177]</sup>.

We can now quote the description of Guyard which is by far the best exposition of the Ismā'ili doctrines we have:

«Quant à l'apparition de l'homme, elle s'explique par le besoin qu'éprouve l'Âme universelle d'acquiescer la science, afin de s'élever à la nature de la Raison universelle, de la reproduire. Et, lorsque ce but sera atteint, tout mouvement cessera, puisque le mouvement résulte de la tendance de l'Âme vers la Raison; alors la création entière et la Raison elle-même rentreront dans le sein de Dieu. L'Âme universelle vient donc sur terre et se répand à la surface sous forme d'âmes individuelles. Mais, comme elle ne pourrait réussir seule à atteindre à la perfection, puisque son essence est imparfaite sous le rapport de la science, et que, par suite, elle oscille constamment entre son principe spirituel, la Raison, et le principe matériel, la matière première, la Raison universelle envoie sur terre son effusion incessante (fayd), ou intellect actif, qui pénètre les âmes individuelles et y engendre l'intellect acquis ou la raison humaine. Mais, en outre, la Raison universelle et l'Âme universelle viennent s'incarner tout entières pour diriger les âmes individuelles dans la voie du salut, car pour faire son salut, c'est-à-dire pour retourner dans le monde supérieur, il faut acquiescer ici-bas la science qui ne peut venir que de la Raison ou de son incarnation, le Prophète, à la suite duquel se succèdent les Imāms<sup>[178]</sup>. Thus the five principles were manifested in the world as follows:

- a) The Universal Reason manifested in the Nāṭiq (Speaker or Prophet),
- b) The Universal Soul manifested in the Asās (Foundation, Root or Origin) or the first Imām<sup>[179]</sup>,
- c) Primal Matter manifested in the Ṣāmit (Silent) or Imām.
- d) Space manifested in the Hujjat (Proof) who has to prove the mission of the Asās to the people,
- e) Time manifested in the Dā'i (Missionary) who goes to different places to proselytize<sup>[179]</sup>.

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dox Moslems. Till we  
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The following is a  
pounded by 'Abdallāh  
God is attributeless.  
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Him and other things  
attributeless Deity or  
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speak, the exteriorization  
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the Universal Soul or  
the essential attribute  
Universal Soul being  
which is perfect and  
which the celestial  
Soul produced Primordial  
passiveness. At last

The Universal Reason manifests itself seven times in the world by seven prophets after whom the world comes to an end. Each prophet is followed by seven Imāms of whom the first is called Asās and each Asās has twelve Hujjats or Proofs. Thus Adam was the first prophet with Seth as his Asās<sup>175</sup>) (and he was followed by six Imāms), the second prophet Noah with Shem as his Asās, the third Abraham with Ishmael, the fourth Moses with Aaron, the fifth Jesus with Simon Peter<sup>176</sup>), the sixth Mahomed son of 'Abdallāh with 'Ali b. Abi Tālib as his Asās. He was followed by his descendants, the six Imāms namely Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, Muḥammad Bāqir, Ja'far Šādiq and Ismā'il. The seventh and last of the prophets was Muḥammad b. Ismā'il and 'Abdallāh Maymūn al-Kaddāh was his Asās. The true religion, according to the Ismā'ilis, is not revealed at any particular time to one particular person but it began with 'Adam and became more and more perfect until with Muḥammad b. Ismā'il the seventh prophet it reached perfection<sup>177</sup>). Although the Imāms, according to the Ismā'ilī doctrines, are manifestations of Primal Matter they became with the development of Ismā'ilism nothing less than incarnations of God. The doctrine, so foreign to Islam, was at first held by the Ghulāt "who believed in the divinity of Adam and the prophets after him, prophet after prophet, down to Mahomed, then in the divinity of 'Ali, then in the divinity of al-Ḥasan, then of al-Ḥusayn, then of 'Ali b. Ḥusayn, then of Muḥammad b. 'Ali, then of Ja'far b. Muḥammad, and here they stopped"<sup>178</sup>). We have seen, while dealing with the contribution of Ḥasan Šabbāḥ to Ismā'ilism, that he preached that man, in order to arrive at salvation, must follow the teachings of the infallible Imām of the age. It is very likely that as proof of the Imām's infallibility he had to be considered as a divinity.

The number seven of the seven cycles of prophets and of the seven Imāms plays a very important rôle in Ismā'ilism<sup>179</sup>). Mysterious meanings were attached to it and in a less degree to the number twelve<sup>180</sup>). Thus there are seven planets and twelve zodiacal signs, seven days in the week and twelve months in the year, seven palms which are said to make the height of a man, seven climates,

seven seas and according to the Koran (31, 26): "If all the earth were pens, and God should after that swell the sea into seven seas of ink the word of God would not be exhausted."

For salvation the Imām of the age, whether revealed or unrevealed, has to be recognized and his orders have to be blindly carried out. The recognition of the Imām is an article of faith (Rukn, Pillar) with the Ismā'ilis as vitally important as the orthodox Moslem's recognition of the unity of God and the prophethood of Mahomed. We have an exposition of this Ismā'ilī Rukn in a sectarian writing. It runs as follows: "Know that man is the soul which was created long before the body. When the soul appeared in the corporal shape it began to meditate and reason in order to understand, through the medium of the body, theologic sciences i.e. to recognize the Imām of the age and of the time. Then when it has recognized the Imām it ascends towards the luminous world, in the manner as God has revealed: Then we shall save those who fear and we shall make the sinful descend to the hell. Consequently as long as the soul has not recognized the Imām of the age and of the time it will return to the world of birth and death, of bodies and abode of suffering<sup>181</sup>) till it has recognized the Imām of its age and submitted itself to him<sup>182</sup>). As soon as it has recognized him it will be purified, it will be saved and made to ascend. But if it does not recognize him it will not cease to come and go till it has recognized him after a long duration of centuries<sup>183</sup>). A certain sage said to his son: 'O, my son, exert thyself to deliver thy soul by a single sojourn in the body and not by a second sojourn in a new body'<sup>184</sup>).

This article of faith of the Ismā'ilis has to be borne clearly in mind for, as we shall see later on, with the Khojāhs it is the first and the foremost of all religious principles.

The scriptures are to be interpreted allegorically. "O my brother", says an Ismā'ilī, "know that hell is separation from God, the earthly sojourn, the world of bodies, the world of birth and death whereas heaven is nearness to God, the world of sanctity, the place of rest for souls and lights<sup>185</sup>). Its reach equals that of heaven and earth, according to the word of Almighty God: 'A garden the breadth of

which is as the heaven and the earth, prepared for those who fear (Koran 3, 127)<sup>186</sup>). "Heaven is the repose of bodies from all distresses: Hell is the torment of bodies by distress"<sup>187</sup>). The Day of Resurrection is the day of the manifestation of the Imām and his doctrines, the triumph of his religion and abolition of all other sects. When God says in the Koran (91, 1): "Perdition overtake both hands of Abū Lahab", the hands mean Abū Bakr and 'Umar<sup>188</sup>). Every time God speaks of Pharaoh and Haman He means Abū Bakr and 'Umar again. In the words of the Koran (2, 63): "God bids you slaughter a cow" the cow means 'Ā'isha<sup>189</sup>). Dead animals, the blood and flesh of swine are figuratively used to signify the horror one should have for Abū Bakr and 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiyā<sup>190</sup>), and the Obligations which God imposes in the Koran metaphorically designate certain persons to whom the believers should be attached, namely 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and their children<sup>191</sup>). The Shari'a is meant for people belonging to the lower stages of spiritual development and has only pedagogical value. It prevents them from cruelty and tyranny; if the Shari'a were not there, "the world would be devastated by them and there would be no advantage for the people of degrees." The writer of the Book on the Recognition of the Imām says: "The adversaries (non-Isma'ili Moslems) are compared to an obstinate mule and the Shari'a to a chain and rope. As an obstinate animal is led along the road with the help of the rope and chain, so the adversaries can be led along the (proper) way with the help of the Shari'a"<sup>192</sup>).

By those belonging to higher degrees, the Shari'a is to be understood metaphorically. Thus prayer means following the invitation of the Imām. In the verse "Prayer forbids sin and wrong" (Koran 29, 44), the word prayer means the Nāṭik who guards the believers against the evils<sup>193</sup>). Fasting means keeping silent as to what the Imām does, not trying to find his faults, and recognizing all his actions as just even if they are blameable and impious<sup>194</sup>). Hajj or Pilgrimage denotes going and seeing the Imām and the seven circuits around the Ka'ba are to be devoted to him. Jihād or holy warfare is the scrutinizing of the arguments of those who are repugnant and the bringing to naught their sayings by intellectual proofs

and decisive arguments. Ghusl or bathing is a renewal of the covenant. Zinā or sexual intercourse with a strange woman is equivalent to divulging the mysteries of the religion; Adhān or call to prayer is the master's summons to follow him as guide<sup>195</sup>).

Zakāt or alms-giving is the second most important pillar of the Isma'ili Arkān al-Din, the first being the recognition of the Imām. Although interpreted allegorically as meaning the sanctifying of life by means of the understanding of mankind, in practice it means the giving of one fifth of one's earnings to the Imām or to one of his deputies<sup>196</sup>). Great stress was laid on it and special books were written to justify its payment. "The Book on the Recognition of the Imām" for example, does not lay stress on any of the principles of Isma'ilism except the necessity of recognizing the Imām and devotes an entire chapter to the question of tithe<sup>197</sup>). The author of the book is not very modest in his demands. He does not claim on tenth of the believers income, the payment of which he scorns as merely acting according to the Shari'a, he claims everything one possesses. Goeje also tells us of a manuscript in the Leyden University Library attributed to Ja'far, the chief of the Karmatians of Yemen, which deals with the allegorical interpretation of Zakāt<sup>198</sup>). The Isma'ili missionaries are not, however, the only people to demand Zakāt for the Imām; we know of other religious leaders of the Shi'a who demanded one fifth of the devotee's income. The collection of Zakāt for the Imām was by far the best organized among the Karmatians<sup>199</sup>) where one fifth of every sort of income was paid with such rigorosity that we hear of a woman paying even one fifth of the thread she spun<sup>200</sup>). The Karmatian leader Abū Tāhir and his successors used to send the collection to 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdi, the revealed Imām of the Isma'ilis and the Karmatians. Zakāt was also used as a criterion to judge the sincerity of a neophyte. If he refused to pay what the missionary demanded he was not initiated to the higher degrees of the sect but was left by him to his fate<sup>201</sup>). A very characteristic Zakāt is paid by the Isma'ilis of South Arabia to their chief for reserving them a seat in Paradise, two ells in length by one ell in breadth. Griffini tells us that he was assured

that very tall persons have to pay a super-tax for a more spacious seat<sup>202</sup>).

There was, however, always the risk that whenever an Ismā'ili openly broke the *Shari'a* or expressed one of his heterodox doctrines, for example the negation of physical resurrection and beatific vision, he was liable to persecution at the hands of orthodox Moslems. In the Sunni faith a believer is allowed to deny publicly his religion when threatened by unbelievers but in *Shi'ism* it is the obligatory duty of an Ismā'ili to observe *Takiyya* (concealment) and if he does not do so it is considered a sin on his part to endanger his own life and the security of his sect<sup>203</sup>).

The Ismā'ili missionaries were given special training and Browne comparing them with European missionaries finds the former superior<sup>204</sup>). The missionary commonly adopted some ostensible profession, such as that of a merchant, physician, oculist or the like, and in this guise arrived at the place where he proposed to begin operations. In order to impress his neighbours with a high idea of his piety and benevolence he was constant in observing the prescriptions of *Islām* such as prayer, alms-giving, fasting etc., till he gathered round him a number of admirers. To these and specially such as appeared most apt to receive them, he began gradually and cautiously to propound his doctrines, striving especially to arouse the curiosity of his hearers, to awaken in them a spirit of inquiry, but prepared at any moment to draw back if they showed signs of restiveness or suspicion. His method of creating doubts about the pillars of the religion was to ask about the detached parts of a *Sūra* or about canonical injunctions. "What for instance is the meaning of the detached letters in the first *Sūra* and of the command about fasting, a menstruous woman, the command of prayers, and why the necessity of bathing with regard to sperm and urine, the number of the sacred inclinations of the head, which according to some are four, according to others three and perhaps two: which number is right"<sup>205</sup>? If any of the hearers showed his curiosity to learn more, the missionary told him that such mysterious teachings could not be imparted to anybody and everybody and that if sincerely desirous of knowledge, he should take the oath of alle-

giance. «Engagez-vous» he said to the proselyte «en frappant de votre main droite dans la mienne, et promettez moi avec les serments les plus sacrés et les plus inviolables, que vous ne divulgerez point notre secret, que vous ne prêterez assistance contre nous à qui que ce soit, que vous ne nous tendrez aucun piège, que vous ne nous parlerez que pour nous dire la vérité, et que vous ne vous lierez contre nous avec aucun de nos ennemis<sup>206</sup>». The neophyte is then slowly initiated into the higher degrees of Ismā'ilism<sup>207</sup>).

In the second degree the neophyte is taught the necessity of learning the inner teachings of *Islām* from the *Imām* who alone knows the secrets.

In the third degree the neophyte is instructed as to the nature and number of *Imāms*, and is taught to recognize the significance of the spiritual and the material worlds, of the number seven which they also represent<sup>208</sup>).

In the fifth degree he is further instructed in the science of the numbers seven and twelve. He learns to discard many of the traditions and looks forward to the abolition of the *Shari'a*.

In the sixth degree he is introduced to the allegorical interpretation of the *Shari'a* and is taught that its observance is no longer necessary for him.

In the seventh degree the Ismā'ili is "introduced into the dualistic doctrines of the Pre-existent (al-Mufid, al-Sābik) and the subsequent (al-Mustafid, al-Tāli, al-Lāhik) which is destined ultimately to undermine the proselyte's belief in the doctrine of the Divine Unity"<sup>209</sup>). Only the leading missionaries were initiated to this degree.

In the eighth degree "the doctrine last mentioned is developed and applied, and the proselyte is taught that above the Pre-existent and the Subsequent is a Being who has neither name, nor attribute, of whom nothing can be predicted, and to whom no worship can be rendered"<sup>210</sup>). Doubt exists about the teachings imparted to the Ismā'ilis in this degree but to quote the words of Nuwayri "those who adopted them could no longer be reckoned otherwise than amongst the dualists and materialists"<sup>211</sup>).

"Arrived at the last degree, the Ismā'ili knows of no religion, nor submission to any other authority but his own, and is left to himself for choosing among the systems of philosophy the one he likes best"<sup>212</sup>). "Often", says Nuwayrī "he embraces the views of Manes or Bardesanes; sometimes he adopts the Magian system, sometimes that of Plato or Aristotle: most frequently he borrows from each of these systems certain notions which he combines together, as commonly happen to these men who, abandoning the Truth, fall into a sort of bewilderment"<sup>213</sup>).

The Ismā'ilis were very often persecuted by the orthodox Muslims who considered fighting against them as sacred as fighting against the non-Muslims. The conversion of Sindh from Hinduism to Islam was entirely due to the personal sanctification of the Ismā'ilis and we hear of no instance where force was employed. The Ismā'ilis who came down from Ghazni to preach the faith of Ismā'ilism were specially trained for the struggle and they gained their sustenance by accepting themselves as the spiritual shepherds and by leading a simple and pious life.

The Muslim historians have written a good deal about the introduction of Islam into India, and Arnold gives us an excellent survey of these traditions. But we have very little information about the preaching of the Ismā'ilis in India. The Karvatians were undoubtedly the descendants of the Ismā'ilis, and the very name of Karvat is said to mean the end of the path (Karvat). Al-Buhārī tells us that in the middle of the fourth century A.H. (about the century) a number of Karvatians accompanied by Ismā'il b. Shāhīd entered in conquering the city of Multan in Sindh, which was the capital of the Arab prince. The Ismā'ilis began to convert by attacking the idols of the gods, smashing all their work by the violence of Mahom and by mutilating the statues, and the temple, which was built of brick, and situated on an elevated spot, between the grand mosque in the place of the old one, which was almost the centre of the town, began to be demolished. During whose rule it had been constructed, and before the Karvatians could establish themselves

## II. History of the K̲hojās and their Religious Beliefs.

The Semitic religion of Islam came in touch with an Aryan religion for the first time in Persia, and as a result we have the peculiar transformation of Shī'ism, originally merely a political party, into a mystical religion with a metaphysical background and the rejection of religious observances such as prayer and fasting — so important in Islam. In India again Islam came in touch with a highly developed Aryan religion and as a result we have here also curious mixtures of both of them in many sects chiefly in Western India. Thus we find Malkana Rajputs, originally Hindu Kshatriyas, with Moslem names, going to Hindu temples and inviting Brahmin priests perform their marriage ceremonies; we also find Hindu sects fasting during the month of Ramaḍān. Sometimes it is impossible to ascertain whether a sect is Hindu or Moslem, the mixture being so complete. At the same time there are Moslems in India who have kept up the faith of Islam in its pure form and Madrasas of Deoband and Rampur have produced wonderful works on theology, particularly in Hadīth branch. The majority of the Indian Moslems belong to the Hanafite sect and the Shī'is. Ithnā'ashari and Ismā'ili together form only a very small number of the huge Muslims population. Shī'is and Sunnis live peacefully side by side, and Muharram, the most important festival of the former, is celebrated by the latter with great pomp and show<sup>2</sup>). In Assam the Lunis celebrate the Muharram festival, carry Ta'ziyas, beat their breasts with their fists as a sign of mourning, and adopt all the other practices observed by the Shī'is of Lucknow, where Shī'ism exists par excellence. While in Arabia Ghazālī condemns to death Ismā'ili women taken prisoner in war<sup>3</sup>), and Ibn Taymiyya considers jihād against the Ismā'ilis as one of the most meritorious and sacred deeds<sup>4</sup>), Indian Sunnis elect H. H. the Aga Khan, the Imām of the Ismā'ilis, as president of the Ali India Muslim League<sup>5</sup>). And he, in his turn, joins the Right Hon'ble Sir Syed Ameer Ali in protesting against the abolition of the post of Caliph<sup>6</sup>) — a post which from the Shī'a point of view symbolizes the usurpation of



the rights of the Prophet's family represented by H. H. Aga Khan today.

Although we hear now and then of conversion by force, it is asserted by as great a scholar as Arnold that Islam was spread in India by peaceful means rather than by sword and fire. His arguments are very satisfactory and confirmed haters of Islam are possibly the only people today who talk of the spread of Islam by "the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other"<sup>6</sup>). Heterodox sects of Islam, at all events were all spread by entirely peaceful means and their success lay in the activity of the zealous missionaries. The sectarians were very often persecuted by the orthodox Moslems who considered fighting against them as sacred as fighting against the non-Muslims. The conversion of *Khojās* from Hinduism to Islam was entirely due to the peaceful penetration of the missionaries and we hear of no instance where force was employed. The missionaries who came down from Alamūt to preach the faith of Ismā'ilism were specially trained for the purpose and they gained their success by adapting themselves to the local conditions and by leading a simple and religious life.

The Moslem historians have written a good deal about the penetration of Islam into India, and Arnold gives us an excellent survey of their literature. But we have very little information about the preaching of the heterodox sects in India. The Karmatians were most probably the fore-runners of the unorthodox sects<sup>7</sup>) and the first missionaries came to Sind towards the end of the ninth century<sup>8</sup>). Al-Birūnī tells us that in the middle of the fourth century Hijra (tenth chr. century) a number of Karmatians commanded by Jalam b. *Shāibān* succeeded in conquering the city Multan in Sind, which was the capital of an Arab prince. *Shāibān* inaugurated his conquest by breaking to pieces the famous idol of the Sun, respected till then even by the Moslems of Multan and by massacring its ministers; and the temple, which was built of brick, and situated on an elevated spot, became the grand mosque in the place of the old one which was closed on account of the hatred borne against the Umayyad Caliphs, during whose rule it had been constructed. But before the Karmatians could establish themselves

firmly the famous Mahmūd of Ghazni in his fourth expedition (396/1005) crossed the Indus for the first time and conquered Multan from the hands of the then chief Abu'l-Fath Dā'ūd. In spite of the severity of Mahmūd in exterminating the Karmatians, they survived in the Indus Valley, and we find in the collection of the Druz books a letter addressed by them in the year 425/1033 to their associates living in North West India. From the letter one gathers that quite a large number of the Druzes, an off-shoot of the Ismā'ilis, lived at that time in Multan<sup>9</sup>). Firsihta tells us that, due to the decline of the Ghaznavite dynasty, the Karmatians again took possession of Multan and ruled till 571/1175—1176 when it was conquered by Muhammad Ghori<sup>10</sup>). From that time on we do not hear of Ismā'ilis having any political power in India. The Karmatians are next mentioned by Minhāj al-Sirāj in *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* who wrote in 1259. According to him "among the incidents which occurred at the beginning of the reign of Queen Ridiyya this was the most remarkable, that the Karmatians and heretics of Hindustan, being seduced by a person with some pretensions to learning, who was called Nūr Turk, flocked to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustan: such as Gujrat, Sind, the environs of the capital, and the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. They assembled in Delhi, and, making a compact of fidelity to each other, they, at the instigation of this Nūr Turk, declared open hostility against the people of Islam. When Nūr preached the rabble used to gather round him. He used to say that the learned Sunnis were Naṣibiyya and called them Murji'a. He endeavoured also to inflame the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abū Ḥanifa and Shāfi'ī ... but finally after an attack on the Jami' Masjid on a Friday in March 1237 (Rajab 634) when many Muslims were killed, they were routed by the brave officers of the Queen Ridiyya ... They plied their swords on the heretics and the Karmatians; and the Moslems who had gone for refuge to the top of the mosque hurled down stones and bricks till every heretic and Karmatian was sent to hell, and riot was quelled"<sup>11</sup>).

According to the *Khojāh* tradition one Nūr Satgur was the first Ismā'ilī missionary sent by Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi al-salām, the fourth

Grand Master of Alamūt, to Gujrat, when the country was governed by a Hindu prince. He made a number of converts by ordering the idols of a Hindu temple to speak and bear testimony to the truth of his mission. He is said to have returned to Persia shortly after secretly converting the Hindu ruler of Patan to his faith. On his second visit to Gujrat, he married the daughter of Raja Surchand, Chief or Governor of Nawsari near Surat. His success as a proselytizer and his wealth exciting the envy of his followers, he was killed by Chach, one of his two leading disciples, while absorbed in Samādhi or contemplation. Khān Bahādūr Lutfallāh, the writer of the article on the Khojāhs in the ninth volume of the Bombay Gazetteer, tries to identify Nūr Satgur with Nūr Turk of Queen Rādiyya's time. Titus considers it "barely possible that the riot at Delhi in A.D. 1237 which included certain heretics rather than Karmatians, was an expression of the activity of some of the dispersed Ismā'iliyya from the region of Alamūt; and indeed that this Nūr Turk was none other than the first Ismā'iliyya missionary (Nūr Satgur) of the Khojāhs"<sup>12</sup>). If the Khojāh tradition that Nūr Satgur was sent as a missionary by Hasan 'alā Dhikrihi al-salām be true, it seems rather improbable that the Nūr Turk of Delhi was the Nūr Satgur of the Khojāhs. Hasan D.h.s. died in 1166 and the riot of Delhi took place in 1237. Taking the missionary to be at least 20 years old when he was appointed by Hasan D.h.s. he must have been 91 years old when he led the riot in Delhi, and such activity can hardly be expected from an oriental of that age<sup>13</sup>). Moreover as mentioned above Khojāh traditions make Nūr Satgur killed, not in any riot, but while absorbed in Samādhi. It is also to be noted that the Ismā'ili missionaries never tried to obtain success by force; their method as described already was of peaceful penetration through observance of pious life. The present writer, therefore, finds no reliable argument by which Nūr Turk and Nūr Satgur could be considered as the same person.

Nūr Satgur is said to have converted the Kanbis, Kharvas and Koris, low castes of Gujrat, to Ismā'ilism. The adoption of the Hindu title Satgur (from Sanskrit Sat and Guru, meaning the true master) by Nūr al-Din (which seems to have been his original

name) and his practice of the Hindu Samādhi shows the process by which the first Ismā'ili preachers succeeded in converting the Hindus. The soil, as well, had already been prepared by the Karmatians and the Ismā'ilis (prior to the foundation of the Order of the Assassins), and thus the missionary from Alamūt had less difficulty than the early preachers of orthodox Islam in India. We shall see later on that the Khojāhs believe in the doctrine of rebirth, and incarnation of the Deity. These doctrines were already familiar to the Hindus (most probably the Ismā'ilis are indebted for them to the Buddhists of Afghanistan and Persia of the time of Maymūn al-Kaddāh), and the Ismā'ili missionaries had therefore naturally less difficulty in proselytizing than the orthodox Moslems whose tenets are so entirely different from the Hindus. Nūr Satgur appears in the list of the Hujjats (Pirs, Companions of the Imāms) of the Khojāhs as the fifth Hujjat.

Shams al-Din is supposed to have been the second missionary to come from Irak and settle down at Uch in Bhawalpur, about eight miles south of Multan where his shrine still exists. According to Khojāh accounts Shams al-Din was the disciple of Nūr Satgur whom he served under the name of Chote. The twentieth Hujjat of the Khojāhs is one Shams al-Din. It is possible that the second missionary Shams al-Din and this Hujjat are the same person.

By far the most important was the third missionary Sadr al-Din who according to Khojāh traditions, was sent to India as head of the Kashmir, Sind and of the Punjab Ismā'ilis by Ismā'il Shāh, the grandson of Rukn al-Din Khurshāh, the last Grand Master of the Assassins<sup>14</sup>). Shams al-Din converted the Lohānas to Ismā'ili faith, who according to the tribal legends preserved by the Khojāhs are descended from Lava, the elder son of Rāma and founder of the tribes of the Rāthors to which the Lohānas belong. "The title Khojāh (Persian Khwājah) meaning Lord which they received on conversion to Islam from Pir Sadr al-Din," according to Lutfallāh, "seems to be a translation of the title Thākkar or Thākūr by which Lohānas are addressed"<sup>15</sup>). Sadr al-Din was the first Pir to found a Khāna or Khojāh religious lodge<sup>16</sup>). He conceived the idea of taking all the Khojāhs of India to visit the unrevealed Imām in

Persia. The huge army of pilgrims travelled till they reached Guzrat in the Punjab. At Guzrat, to test the faith of his headmen the Pir betook himself to the house of a prostitute seemingly forgetful of the sacred errand on which he had persuaded his followers to start. Two of the headmen lost faith in him but Trikam the Sind Mukhi, though vilely repulsed, satisfied the demands of the prostitute and took the Pir with him to the camp of the pilgrims. At the next encampment the fate of the followers was still more rudely tested. The Sind headman alone passed the ordeal unscathed. In the end the Pir went alone to the Imām incarnate, returned to Uch, died and was buried at a village called Jetpur near Uch.

From the Ismā'ili lodge he had established at Kotda in Sind, Ṣadr al-Dīn started the first tithegathering wallet (evidently for the Imām in Persia) on its round from the Himālayas to the Vindhya ranges. He is supposed to have written the most sacred book of the Khojāhs called *Das Avatār* (Skt. *Dashavatāra*) or the Ten Incarnations. It was written to procure conversion by adopting as in great part true the religious standpoint of the intended converts. It assumes the nine incarnations of the Hindu god Viṣṇu to be true as far as they go, but not as the whole truth, and then supplements the imperfect Vaiṣṇava system by superadding the cardinal doctrine of the Ismā'ilis, the incarnation and coming manifestation of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib as the tenth Nakalanki Avatār (Stainless Incarnation). When the book is read in the Jamā'at Khānas of the Khojāhs to his tenth part alone serious attention is given. The Imām of the age, Āghā Ṣadr al-Dīn was made the incarnation of 'Alī and Nūr Satgur the incarnation of the Prophet. Among the Maṭhapanthis (a tribe which Ṣadr al-Dīn had converted to Ismā'ilism) each of the four Yogas or epochs has its preacher, devotee or Bhakta. To the first epoch is assigned as bhakta Prahlāda, to the second Harishchandra, to the third Yudhisthira. Instead of the fourth being Balibhadra<sup>17</sup>), Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn added his own name. He appears as the 23rd in the list of the Hujjats of the Khojāhs and as the 25th in the list of the Shughnāni Ismā'ilis.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was followed by Kabīr al-Dīn who appears as the 24th in the list of the Hujjats of the Khojāhs and as the 26th in the

list of the Shughnāni Ismā'ilis. According to a Khojāh pedigree of the Imāms he was appointed by the Imām Muḥammad, son of Islām Shāh, who had sent Ṣadr al-Dīn to India.

Imām al-Dīn, known in Gujrat as Imām Shā, succeeded Kabīr al-Dīn. He founded a new sect in Gujrat with doctrines differing in some minor points from those of the orthodox Ismā'ili faith. The Khojāhs possess to this day a hymn composed by Imām Shā, called *Janāza* or *Bier*, in which he describes his journey to the heavens through the power of the Imām, and his meeting the Hindu heroes Prahlāda, Harishchandra, Yudhisthira, Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn and others. Owing to the deviations of his teachings from the doctrines laid down by the older Khojāh Pirs and owing to his denouncing the Khojāh practice of levying *Dassondh* or tithe, Imām Shā was excommunicated by the Imām of the age 'Abd al-Salām, the grandson of Islām Shāh. This may be the reason why his name does not appear in either of the lists of the Hujjats. "In Gujrat after the death of Pir Imām al-Dīn active proselytizing ceased. About A.D. 1594 Kapura Lohāna and some other Khojāhs carried their Zakāt to the Imām 'Abd al-Salām in Persia." The Imām wrote a book called *Pandyād-i-Jawān-Mardī* (Maxims of Fortitude) for their guidance and said to them: "This is your Pir, do what this book says"<sup>18</sup>). The Khojāhs, therefore, venerate the book as a Pir and it occupies the 26th place in the Khojāh list of the Hujjats<sup>19</sup>).

"About the middle of the sixteenth century the backsliding of the Punjab Khojāhs to Sunnism showed the need of a vice-pontiff in India. The Imām summoned one Dāwūd or Dādu, a descendant of a powerful family of the Sind Khojāhs, and invested him with the mantle of Pir." He made conversions among the Lohānas of Kathiawar and in Bhuj the capital of Kachh, where he is said to have performed a miracle by bringing down rain at his command. Dādu is the thirtyfirst Hujjat of the Khojāhs. The corresponding place in the list of the Shughnānis is occupied by one Āghā Bābā Ḥashim Shāh. It might have been the full Islamic name of Dādu. Pir Dādu died in 1844, and was succeeded by his son Sādik, after whom the title of Pir became extinct. Henceforth the Imāms appointed their

Vakils or deputies for the Indian Ismā'īlīs, till in 1845 the grandfather of the present Imām, the first Aga Khan left Persia and settled down in Bombay.

Thus we see that through the *Khojāh* literature and the *Pirs* of the Imāms we know very little about the Imāms themselves from Rukn al-Dīn *Khūrshāh* down to the first Aga Khan. In the *Khojāh* case Arnould tells us of the grandfather of the first Aga Khan, Abū'l Hasan, who was the governor of the important city of Kirmān under the Zend princes. On quitting that office he went to reside in the district of Mehilātī<sup>20</sup>), where the family appears to have long had considerable possessions and whence the Aga Khans derive their territorial title. Two European historians, Rousseau<sup>21</sup>) and Fraser<sup>22</sup>), give us some information about the father of the first Aga Khan called Shāh Khalilallāh who took up residence at Yazd<sup>23</sup>). We have a curious account of the respect in which he was held by the *Khojāhs*. Mirza 'Abd al-Razzāk who was in touch with Khalilallāh during his stay at Yazd tells us that, one day while he was paying a visit to the saint, the latter was busy during the course of the conversation cutting his nails. The Mirza picked up the clippings from the carpet to throw them away. But an Indian of the sect who was in the room seated at a respectful distance prevented him doing so with a meaning gesture. When he left the room the Indian followed him and begged him for the pieces of nail as a most precious possession. These, the Mirza, smiling to himself at the man's superstition, finally gave him. In this way the clippings of his hair, water in which he washed and similar objects were preserved as precious relics by his sectarians. Instead of paying his servants wages, he often gave them one of his old robes which they cut up and sold at a high price to the pilgrims who came to visit the saint<sup>24</sup>.

He was murdered with several of his household in 1817 by the Mullas of the town who had grown jealous of his popularity both among the sectarians and among the *Ithnā'ashari Shī'īs*. "The news of this event," says Watson, "was received with the greatest concern by Farhāllāh, the Shāh of Persia who dreaded lest he should be held responsible by the dangerous sect of the Ismā'īlīs for the death of their sacred chief." "The Shāh accordingly caused severe

punishment to be inflicted on all the chief assailants in this murderous fray, and he conferred on the young Aga Khan (the first), the successor of his father, in the Imāmat, large pensions in addition to those which had descended on him through his ancestors, the government of the entire district of Koom and Mehelati, and the hand of one of his daughters in marriage. From this period till 1838 nothing is recorded of Aga Khan. In 1838 he raised the standard of revolt and seized the government of Kirmān where his grandfather had once presided and where he himself had adherence. Making Kirmān his head-quarters he appears to have kept up the fight with various fortunes through the years 1838, 39 and part of 1840. In the latter year, overpowered by numbers, he was forced to take flight and with difficulty made his escape, attended by a few horsemen, through the deserts of Baluchistan to Sind where he appears to have been hospitably received by the Talpur Amirs. The *Khojāhs* of Sind have always been among his most zealous adherents, and from them and his other *Khojāh* devotees in various parts of India and the East, there can be no doubt, he received ample supplies. In 1845 Aga Khan came to Bombay where he was received by the cordial homage of the whole *Khojāh* population of the city and its neighbourhood<sup>25</sup>). He settled down there and since then Bombay has become the seat of the Imām of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs.

The history of the Aga Khans in India has unfortunately not been one of unbroken peace, in spite of the fact that the majority of the *Khojāhs* have always recognized them as their Imāms. In 1829 before the arrival of Aga Khan in Bombay a number of *Khojāhs* refused to pay him Dassoondh (one tenth of a *Khojāh's* income which he pays the Imām as Zakāt). Aga Khan sent an agent accompanied by his grandmother Mari Bibi, an energetic lady who harangued the *Khojāhs* in the Jamā'at Khāna and defended the rights of her grandson. Aga Khan intended to bring a suit against the seceders in an Indian Law court to force them legally to pay his dues, but being ignorant of Indian Law, he considered it advisable to bring religious and communal pressure. He summoned them in the Jamā't Khāna and on their renewed refusal to pay he excommunicated them from the *Khojāh* sect<sup>26</sup>). In 1835, however,

they were taken back into the fold on their agreement to pay up the arrears and on their promise to pay the taxes in future.

Trouble arose again. During the stay of Aga Khan in Calcutta (1846—47—48) a fresh litigation (Sarjun Meer Ali case) divided the Khojāhs into two parties. The case concerned the inheritance of Khojāh women. The judgment of Sir Erskin Perry, based on the custom of the Khojāh community, rejected the right of the Khojāh woman to inherit. Aga Khan's party tried to prove the rights of Khojāh women by basing its arguments on the Koran, whereas the Bārbbhai party based theirs on the prevalent Khojāh customs. As a consequence Aga Khan again excommunicated the Bārbbhai and the latter were obliged to open a Jamā'at Khāna for themselves. In 1840 four of the Bārbbhai were assassinated in their Jamā'at Khāna by several Khojāhs of the opposite faction. Nineteen Khojāhs were prosecuted on charge of murder and four of them were sentenced to death. "The bodies of the four murderers, after having been given up to the Khojāh community (Aga Khan Party) of Bombay, were treated with undue funeral honours." Peace was, however, reestablished in the same year and the seceders joined the old Jamā'at Khāna and the new one was abandoned. "In 1862 Aga Khan published a paper in which he expressed his desire to bring the Khojāhs to conform to the practices of the Imāmiyya creed of his holy ancestors (i. e. Imāmi Ismā'īliyya) 'in respect of marriage, ablutions and funeral ceremonies'. He stated that, having seen in print that the Khojāhs are Sunnis, and that a certain person (meaning himself) is 'peremptorily inviting them to embrace the Imāmiyya creed' he had prepared this paper 'in order that (as under the English Government the exercise of all religions is free) the Khojāhs who believe in the Shi'i Imāmi-Ismā'īliyya faith, may now act openly according to the practice of that religion,' which their ancestors held secretly, 'specially as regards the celebration of marriages, funerals etc.' The paper ended thus: 'now he who may be willing to obey my order shall write his name in this book,' 'that I may know him'—<sup>27</sup>. The original was put in Bhendi Bazar in Bombay and 1,700 males signed it. Copies were circulated in Sind, Kathia-

war, Cutch, Zanzibar and other places and received almost unanimous support.

A number of people, however, refused to sign the paper and finally all these schisms and excommunications came to a head in the famous Khojāh case in which the seceders sought the help of the Indian law court to make all the economical and religious claims of Aga Khan over the Khojāh community illegal. The anti-Aga Khanists prayed in the fifth clause of the case that "it may be declared that the said trust premises (i. e. the public property of the Khojāh community in Bombay) are holden and ought to be applied to and for the original charitable, religious and public uses and trusts to and for which the same were dedicated, and intended so to be, and none other; and to and for the soul benefit of the Khojāh sect and none other; and that no person not being a member or having ceased to be a member of the same (and in particular no person professing Shi'a opinion<sup>28</sup>) in matter of religion and religious discipline) is entitled unto, or ought to have, any interest or share therein, or any voice in the management thereof." In the seventh clause the complainant prayed "that the first defendant Mahomed Hoosain Hooseneer (Muhammad Husayn Husayni) otherwise called Aga Khan, may be restrained from interfering in the management of the trust property and affairs of the Khojāh community, or in the election or appointment of the Mukhi (treasurer) and Kamariā (accountant); from excommunicating any Khojāhs from the said community, or depriving them of the various privileges appertaining to membership; from celebrating marriages in Jamā'at Khāna, from demanding or receiving from any Khojāh any oblation, cess, offerings etc. in the alleged spiritual or temporal capacity of him as the first defendant"<sup>29</sup>.

The question before the court, therefore, was whether the Khojāhs were originally converted to Sunnism or some form of Shi'ism. The leading counsel for the relators and the plaintiffs, Mr. Anstley put the situation as follows: "If the Khojāhs are proved in their origin to have been Sunnis, the relators and plaintiffs must succeed; if they are proved to have been originally Shi'is or Shi'i Imāmi-

Ismā'īliyya, or any way non-Sunnis, then the defendants must succeed<sup>(130)</sup>.

The plaintiffs lost the case. The learned judge came to the conclusion "that the prepondering tradition of the Khojāh community is substantially correct that Pir Sadr al-Din was a Dā'i or missionary of the hereditary Imāms of the Ismā'ili (probably of Shāh Ismā'īl Shāh) and that he converted the first Khojāhs to the Shī'i Imāmi-Ismā'īliyya form of Mahomedanism"<sup>(31)</sup>. The conclusion was based on the following grounds:

- a) That the Khojāhs pray three times a day.
- b) That they have their rosary made of the sacred dust of Karbalā'.
- c) That they place the rosary described above on the Muṣallā (prayer carpet) while praying.
- d) That they drink the Ghāt Path sacramental cup consisting of water mingled with the dust of Karbalā'.
- e) That the repeat Panē tan-i-pāk<sup>(32)</sup>.
- f) That they go on pilgrimage to Kerbalā'.
- g) That they have been paying Zakāt to the Imāmi from a very early period<sup>(33)</sup>.

Sunni customs existing among the Khojāhs which were put forward by the plaintiffs as arguments to maintain that the Khojāhs were Sunnis were refuted by the learned judge. They were according to him not the Khojāh's original customs, but were merely in accordance with their Shī'a principle of concealment (Taḳīyya).

The first Aga Khan was more a soldier than a religious head. Nothing is known about his religious life as long as he was in Persia, excepting that he is said to have maintained at that time that the number of Imāms was twelve. The present Imām H.H. the Aga Khan explained this conduct of his grandfather as a policy of concealment to which he was obliged to resort on account of the fact that the Persian court religion at that time was Ithnā'ashari. In Bombay the first Aga Khan found himself at the head of a religious sect and we see that he accommodated himself perfectly well. "His habit during this period (from his settling down in Bombay till the filing of the Khojā case) has been occasionally to preside at the

Jamā'at Khāna or Council Hall of the Bombay Khojāhs on the more sacred anniversaries of the Mahomedan calendar. At the Muharram he attends there with some state to hear the solemn recitation by Shī'a Mullas of the legend of the great martyrdom. On that occasion, at the Ramadān and the new moons, and on other stated days, he leads the Namāz or daily prayer in the Jamā'at Khāna and also presides over the distribution of water mixed with the dust of Karbalā'. Every week on Saturday he holds a Darbār (levée) in the Jamā'at Khāna in the evening when all the members of the Khojāh community who please may attend to have the honour of kissing his hand<sup>(34)</sup>.

That the first Aga Khan was held in great reverence by the Khojāhs is beyond all doubts. Writing to H. Napier on the fourth August 1844, Sir Charles Napier said: "The old Persian Prince (Aga Khan) is my great crony here: living not under my care but paid by me £ 2000 a year. He is a god: his income immense ... He is a clever, brave man. I speak truly when saying that his followers do not refuse him anything he asks ... He could kill me if he pleased. He has only to say the word and one of his people can do the job in a twinkling and go straight to heaven for the same"<sup>(35)</sup>.

The tendency of Aga Khan was to discard the orthodox Shī'i or Sunni practices which the Khojāhs used to observe. "Khalīfuhum" (distinguish yourselves from them) seems to have been his slogan<sup>(36)</sup>.

The next Imām of the Khojāhs was his son the second Aga Khan in whose life time no important event concerning the Khojāh community took place.

He was followed by his son the present Imām H.H. the Hon'ble Sir Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.G.E., K.C.I.E. etc., who was born in Karachi on the twenty fifth of Shawāl 1295 A.H. (Nov. 2nd 1877). He succeeded his father at the age of eight and was hailed by his relations and all the Nizār Ismā'ilis as their rightful leader and the Imām. Among the distinctions conferred upon him by foreign governments are the following: Grand Cordon of the Order Royal Crown of Prussia, first class, conferred by the German Emperor with the permission of H.M. King Emperor Edward VII.



Grand Cordon Brilliant Star of Zanzibar, conferred by the Sultan of Zanzibar with the consent of H. M. the King Emperor; Tanzi-i-Humāyūn, first class conferred by H. M. the Shah of Persia.

He has done a great deal for the advance of education among the Moslems in India and personally collected thirty lakh rupees (£200,000) for giving Mahomedan Anglo Oriental College university status. As mentioned before he was elected as the first president of All India Moslem League. "It has been given to no other Indian prince to wield so marked an influence on international affairs in our time as that which has been exercised by him"<sup>37</sup>). "His manifold services to the cause of international peace and goodwill led the Upper House of British India, the Council of State, to pass a resolution (Feb. 5, 1924) in connection with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, which is without parallel in the history of that endowment. By a unanimous vote the chamber recommended to the Norwegian Parliament the view that H. H. the Aga Khan 'is a fit and proper person to be awarded the Nobel Prize.' While individual members of parliaments of different countries have nominated candidates, there is no previous instance of any such recommendation by a legislative chamber as a whole"<sup>38</sup>).

His ideas as a politician and social reformer are to be found in the excellent book written by him called "India in Transition" published in 1918<sup>39</sup>).

As the present paper is meant to deal with the religious life of the Khojāhs and their Imāms we refrain from going further into the social and political activities of H. H. the Aga Khan and pass on to an exposition of the religious doctrines of the Khojāhs. Before doing so, however, we may mention here one of H. H. the Aga Khan's utterances which reminds us, although in a remote manner, the bāṭini teachings of the orthodox Ismā'īliyya, and the place he considers himself to occupy in the Khojāh hierarchy.

In the presidential address he delivered in the Mahomedan Educational Conference in 1922, he expressed the view that "the celebration of costly anniversaries, the repetition of prayer ill-understood and profuse expenditure upon pilgrimages, which are traditional forms of piety in the Islamic world, were less in accord

with the word of God and the example of the Prophet than the amelioration of the social and intellectual condition of the people"<sup>40</sup>).

The Imām who is venerated by thousands of his followers as the incarnation of God, nay God Himself, does not even consider himself to be a prophet. Asked to show miracles he replied to some of his followers: "Prophets show miracles, I am no prophet"<sup>41</sup>). When asked about the people who call him God he said "They go to hell"<sup>42</sup>).

Before an attempt is made to give an account of the religious life of the Khojāhs it is worthwhile mentioning that many of their religious doctrines were brought to India by the first Aga Khan. The second and the present Aga Khan have also contributed to them but we are not in a position to separate those beliefs which originally belonged to the Khojāhs from those contributed by the Aga Khans. It would have been extremely interesting to know what the beliefs of the Khojāhs were before the advent of the first Aga Khan, for in that case it would have been comparatively easy to distinguish those original Ismā'īli teachings which were brought by the Ismā'īli missionaries from those which the Khojāhs took from their Hindu or orthodox Moslem neighbours. As it is we can never be sure whether a certain religious belief or practice has not been introduced only recently after the Khojāhs began studying the old Ismā'īli theology.

The earliest external document of the religious life of the Khojāhs is to be found in the judgment delivered by Perry in 1847<sup>43</sup>). We quote a few lines from it:

"Although they (the Khojāhs) call themselves Musalmans, they evidently know but little of their prophet and the Koran; and their chief reverence at the present time is reserved for Aga Khan whom they believe to be a descendant of the Pir who converted them to Islam"<sup>44</sup>). But even to the blood of their saint they adhere by a frail tenure. To use the words of one of themselves, they call themselves Shi'is to a Shi'i, Sunnis to a Sunni"<sup>45</sup>), and they probably neither know nor care anything as to the distinctive doctrine of either of the great divisions<sup>46</sup>) of the Musalman world. They have, moreover, no translation of the Koran, into their vernacular language or into Gui-



rati, their language of business...<sup>46</sup>). Nor have they any scholar or man of learning among them ... and the only religious work of which we heard as being current amongst them was called Das Avatār<sup>47</sup>.

The judge further remarked:

"Indeed the caste never seems to have emerged from the obscurity which attends their present history, and the almost total ignorance of letters and of the principles of their religion and of their own status, which they now evince is probably the same as always existed among them since they first embraced the precepts of Muhammad."

The next document in which we get information about the religion of the Khojāhs is the judgment delivered in the famous Khojāh case by Arnould in 1866. There is thus a difference of nineteen years between the two judgments, a period long enough to permit Aga Khan to introduce all kinds of beliefs and practices which probably were not observed by the Khojāhs at the time of Perry's judgement. We have, therefore, no other alternative than to rely on the doctrines of the Khojāhs as propounded in the Khojāhs case and by the latter sectarian writers. We must, however, warn the reader not to believe that the Khojāhs of his time had no distinct religious beliefs and practices, for even in course of nineteen years beliefs and practices could not have been imposed on the Khojāhs by the first Aga Khan unless there was some similar theology already existing among them.

We have seen while dealing with Ismā'ili theology that the Deity was conceived as attributeless and since prayer could not be addressed to something without attribute it had to be addressed to the Universal Soul. The Khojāhs also direct their prayer to the Aga Khan and at the end of each part of their prayer submit it to him for acceptance. The orthodox Khojāhs are very reticent in communicating their beliefs and I could never gather in what relation the Aga Khan stands with the Deity<sup>48</sup>). Two of the Khojāhs, however, told me distinctly that the majority of the orthodox Khojāhs

do not believe in the existence of any other God but in the shape of the Aga Khan<sup>49</sup>).

But above all the faith of the Khojāh consists in recognizing the Imām of the age (at present H.H. the Aga Khan) as infallible. In the religion of the Khojāhs there is no limited number of Imāms as in orthodox Ismā'ilism. When an Imām dies his soul passes into his son, the next Imām, and to the end of the world there will always be an Imām<sup>50</sup>). By means of passing over of the soul of an Imām to his son the Khojāhs explain the apparent contradiction of calling both 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and the Aga Khan "tenth, stainless Avatār of Viṣṇu". The faith of a Khojāh is tested in the grave. After he is buried and the mourners have gone forty steps away, two black angels, Munkir and Nakir, come to him and ask him about his faith. If he says that he had recognized the Imām of the age he goes to heaven<sup>51</sup>); if not, we have to come back to the world 84 lacs (84,00,000<sup>52</sup>) of time in the shape of different animals till he is born again as a human being. If he does not make use of his life as a human being at this time he again has to be born for 84 lacs of time as animals till he gets another chance as a human being. This process of rebirth goes on eternally till he has recognized the Imām. Thus the Khojāhs believe in heaven but not in hell<sup>53</sup>). The punishment of the sinner is not the torture of hell but rebirth as animals<sup>54</sup>).

The intermediary place between the Imām and the faithful is occupied by Pirs (orthodox Ismā'ili Mujtāhs). There is the same number of Pirs as Imāms. H.H. the Aga Khan has no Pir; he is both the Imām and the Pir of the age<sup>55</sup>).

The metaphysics of the Universal Reason and the Universal Soul does not exist among the Khojāhs. Excepting the solitary instance to which we have already drawn the attention of the reader the numbers seven and twelve play no rôle in Khojāh theology. There have been only four prophets: Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad<sup>56</sup>) whereas orthodox Ismā'ilism recognizes seven.

More important than the prophets, even than Mahomed, are the Imāms whose names from 'Alī to the present Imām are recited by the Khojāhs in their daily prayers. The Khojāhs have pedigrees of

these Imāms and they differ from each other to a certain extent. The *Shughnāni Ismā'īlīs* also have a pedigree of the Imāms which has been published by Ivanov in *Ismā'īlīca*. But since he was in possession of only one he made no attempt at its detailed analysis. He, however, gives valuable information about the Imāms and the reader is recommended to compare his chapter on the "Lists of the Imāms and their Hujjats" with the following pedigrees. The lists of the Hujjats are rarer among the *Khojāhs* and the present writer has been able to secure only one given in the *Khojāh Vrttānt* of Sachedina Nanjiani. This may be due to the fact that their names are generally not recited in daily prayer. None of the *Khojāhs* I met knew them by heart although one of them seemed to be pretty well initiated in the orders of the *Khojāh* community.

The following are the pedigrees arranged according to their years of publication:

(The pedigrees are reproduced as they are in Gujarati and English where no transcription is followed)

**Pedigree given by Naroji M. Dumasia:**

- |                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ali                        | 21. Al-Mullah Mahdi           |
| 2. Husayn                     | 22. Hasan Ali zakarahus-Salam |
| 3. Ali Zayn al-Abidin         | 23. Alauddin Muhammad         |
| 4. Muhammad Bakir             | 24. Hasan Jalaluddin          |
| 5. Jafar Sadik                | 25. Al-Ala Muhammad Shah      |
| 6. Ismail                     | 26. Ruknuddin Khur Shah       |
| 7. Muhammad al-Wasi           | 27. Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah  |
| 8. Al-Wafi Ahmad              | 28. Kasim Shah                |
| 9. Al-Taki Kasim              | 29. Ahmad Islam Shah          |
| 10. Al-Razi Abdallah          | 30. Muhammad Shah             |
| 11. Al-Muhammad Mahdi         | 31. Mustansir Ali Shah        |
| 12. Al-Kasim bi amrallah      | 32. Abdul Abbas Shah          |
| 13. Al-Mansur bi kuwatallah   | 33. Mirza Abbas Shah          |
| 14. Al-Muizz li dinallah Saad | 34. Abu Zer Shah              |
| 15. Al-Aziz billah Nasar      | 35. Murad Mirza Ali Shah      |
| 16. Al-Hakim bi amrallah Saad | 36. Zuldiqar Shah             |
| 17. Al-Zahir li dinallah Ali  | 37. Nuruddin Shah             |
| 18. Al-Mustansir billah Maad  | 38. Saiyid Khalilullah        |
| 19. Mustafa li dinallah Nizar | 39. Ataulah Nazar Ali Shah    |
| 20. Saiyid Hadi               | 40. Abdul Hasan Shah          |

- |                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 41. Kasim Shah                | 46. Muhammad Hasan (Aga Khan) |
| 42. Saiyid Muhammad Hasan Beg | 47. Ali Shah Aga Khan         |
| 43. Saiyid Jafar Shah         | 48. Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah  |
| 44. Mirza Bakir               | present Aga Khan              |
| 45. Shah Khalilullah          |                               |

**Pedigree published by Sulayman Ghulam Husayn:**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Ali   | 24. Shah Alauddin Muhammad                                     |
| 2. Hasan   | 25. Jalaluddin Hasan   |
| 3. Hussain   | 26. Ala Muhammad   |
| 4. Ali Zainulabedin  | 27. Ruknuddin Khurshah   |
| 5. Muhammad Baqir  | 28. Shamsuddin Muhammad  |
| 6. Jafar-i-Sadik   | 29. Shah Qasim   |
| 7. Shah Ismail   | 30. Ahmad Islam Shah   |
| 8. Shah Muhammad bin Ismail                                      | 31. Muhammad bin Islam Shah                                    |
| 9. Wafi Ahmed  | 32. Mustansir billah Ali Shah                                  |
| 10. Taki Muhammad (Qasim Shah)                                   | 33. Abdus Salam Muhammad Shah                                  |
| 11. Razi Abdallah  | 34. Abbas Shah (Shah Gharib Mirza)                             |
| 12. Shah Muhammad Mahdi (Abul Qasim Md. bin Abdullah Obeidullah) | 35. Abu Zar Shah (Shah Budar Ali)                              |
| 13. Al Qasim bi Amr illah (Shah Qasim)                           | 36. Murad Mirza Ali Shah                                       |
| 14. Al Mansur bi Quatillah (Abu Tahir Ismail, Shah Mansur)       | 37. Zulfiqar Shah  |
| 15. Al Muizz li din illah (Abu Tamim Maad, Shah Muizz)           | 38. Nuruddin Shah  |
| 16. Al Aziz billah (Abul Mansur Nizar, Shah Aziz)                | 39. Sayyad Khalilullah Shah                                    |
| 17. Hakim bi Amrillah (Abu Ali Mansur, Shah Hakim Abu Ali)       | 40. Shah Nizar Ali (Ataulah)                                   |
| 18. Zahir Izardinillah (Abul Hashim Ali, Shah Zahir Ali)         | 41. Shah Abul Hasan Shah (Sayyad Ali)                          |
| 19. Al Mustansir Billah (Abu Tamim Maad, Shah Mustansir Billah)  | 42. Qasim Ali Shah   |
| 20. Shah Nizar (Mustafa Ildinillah Nizar)                        | 43. Muhammad Hasan Shah  |
| 21. Shah Hadi (Sayyad Hadi)                                      | 44. Shah Sayyad Jafar Shah (Qasim Ali)                         |
| 22. Shah Muhtadi   | 45. Baqir Ali Shah (Aga Mirza Baqir)                           |
| 23. Shah Hasan Zikrihis Salam                                    | 46. Shah Khalilullah   |
|  | 47. Shah Muhammad Hasan Shah (Hasan al-Hussain Shah Hasan Ali) |
|  | 48. Shah Aga Ali Shah  |
|  | 49. Shah Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah, present Aga Khan            |

Pedigree given by Rahimtoolah in Khojā Komai Itihās:

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ali                      | 26. Rukn al-Din Khurshah      |
| 2. Hasan                    | 27. Shams al-Din Muhammad     |
| 3. Hussain                  | 28. Kasim Shah                |
| 4. Zainal Abedeen           | 29. Islam Shah                |
| 5. Muhammad Bakir           | 30. Muhammad b. Islam Shah    |
| 6. Jafar Sadik              | 31. Mustansir Ali Shah        |
| 7. Ismail                   | 32. Abd al-Salam Shah         |
| 8. Muhammad                 | 33. Gharib Mirza (Abbas Shah) |
| 9. Abdullah                 | 34. Bhudar Ali (Bu Zar Ali)   |
| 10. Ahmad                   | 35. Murad Mirza               |
| 11. Hussain                 | 36. Zu al-Fikar Ali           |
| 12. Ubaydullah al-Mahdi     | 37. Nur al-Din Ali            |
| 13. Kaim bi amrallah        | 38. Khalilallah Ali           |
| 14. Mansur billah           | 39. Nizar Ali                 |
| 15. Muizz                   | 40. Saiyyid Ali               |
| 16. Aziz                    | 41. Hasan Ali                 |
| 17. Hakim                   | 42. Kasim Ali                 |
| 18. Zahir                   | 43. Jafar Shah                |
| 19. Mustansir               | 44. Abu al-Hasan Ali          |
| 20. Nizar                   | 45. Khalilallah Ali           |
| 21. Muhammad                | 46. Shah Hasan Ali Aga Khan   |
| 22. Hasan dhikrihi al-salam | 47. Aga Ali Shah              |
| 23. Ala al-Din Muhammad     | 48. Sultan Muhammad Shah      |
| 24. Jalal al-Din Hasan      | (present Aga Khan)            |
| 25. Ala Muhammad Shah       |                               |

Pedigree given in Tafsiri Du'a':

- |                    |                                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Ali             | 15. Aziz                              |
| 2. Hussayn         | 16. Hakim Ali Shah                    |
| 3. Zain al-Abidin  | 17. Zahir Ali                         |
| 4. Muhammad Bakir  | 18. Mustansir billah                  |
| 5. Jafar Sadik     | 19. Nizar                             |
| 6. Bin Ismail      | 20. Hadi                              |
| 7. Bin Muhammad    | 21. Muhatali                          |
| 8. Baki Muhammad   | 22. Bin Kahir                         |
| 9. Naki Muhammad   | 23. Zakaria Salam (Dhikrihi al-salam) |
| 10. Razi Abdullah  | 24. Ala Muhammad                      |
| 11. Mahdi Muhammad | 25. Jalal al-Din Hasan                |
| 12. Kaim           | 26. Ala al-Din Muhammad               |
| 13. Mansur         | 27. Rukn al-Din Khurshah              |
| 14. Muizz          |                                       |

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 28. Shams al-Din Muhammad   | 40. Nizar                  |
| 29. Kasim Shah              | 41. Saiyyid Ali            |
| 30. Islam Shah              | 42. Hasan Ali              |
| 31. Bin Muhammad            | 43. Kasim Ali              |
| 32. Mustansir billah        | 44. Abu al-Hasan Ali       |
| 33. Abd al-Salam            | 45. Khalilallah Ali        |
| 34. Gharib Mirza            | 46. Hasan Ali              |
| 35. Bhudar Ali              | 47. Ali Shah               |
| 36. Murad Mirza             | 47. Hak Maulana Aga Sultan |
| 37. Zu al-Fikar Ali         | Muhammad Shah, present Aga |
| 38. Nur al-Din Ali          | Khan                       |
| 39. Saiyyid Khalilallah Ali |                            |

Pedigree of the Imāms and the Hujjats among Shughnanī Ismā'īlīs published by Ivanov:

- | The Imāms                                  | The Hujjats                                 |
|--|---|
| The true God, Our Lord 'Alī (manifest in): | The Lord, the Preceptor, the exalted God    |
| 1. The true God, our Lord 'Alī             | The true Guide Muhammad Muqtafā             |
| 2. Husain                                  | Hasan                                       |
| 3. Zaynu'l-'Abidin ('Alī)                  | Kāsim Shāh                                  |
| 4. Muhammad Bakir                          | Jafar Shāh                                  |
| 5. Jafar Sadik                             | Zaynu'l-'Abidin                             |
| 6. Ismā'īl                                 | Amir Ahmad                                  |
| 7. Muhammad                                | Saiyid al-Kundur                            |
| 8. Wafī Ahmad                              | Andar-Imām al-Din (?)                       |
| 9. Taqi Muhammad                           | Muhammad Mansūr                             |
| 10. Radi (Ridā 'Abdu'l-lāh                 | Ghā'ib al-Din                               |
| 11. Al-Mahdi (Abū Muhammad 'Ubaydu'l-lāh)  | 'Abdu'l-Majid                               |
| 12. Al-Kā'im                               | Mustansir bi'llāhi                          |
| 13. Al-Mansūr                              | Ahmad Hādī                                  |
| 14. Al-Mu'izz                              | Hāshim Shāh                                 |
| 15. Al-'Azīz                               | Muhammad Shāh                               |
| 16. Al-Hākīm                               | Mahmūd Shāh                                 |
| 17. Az-Zāhir                               | Muhibbu'd-Din Shāh                          |
| 18. Al-Mustansir                           | Khāiku'd-Din Shāh                           |
| 19. Nizār                                  | 'Abdu'l-Mu'min                              |
| 20. Shāh Hādī (Mahdī)                      | 'Ilāmū'd-Din                                |
| 21. Shāh Muqtadī                           | Salihu'd-Din                                |
| 22. Shāh Kāhir                             | Shimā'u'd-Din (not clear in the manuscript) |

- |                           |                                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 23. Hasan dh. s.          | Nasiru'd-Din Ahmad             |
| 24. 'Alau'd-Din Muhammad  | Shihābu'd-Din                  |
| 25. Jalālu'd-Din          | Šadru'd-Din                    |
| 26. 'Alau'd-Din Muhammad  | Hasan Kabiru'd-Din             |
| 27. Ruknu'd-Din           | Taju'd-Din                     |
| 28. Kāsim                 | Fathu'llāh Jawānmardi          |
| 29. Kāsim                 | Haydar 'Ali                    |
| 30. Islām                 | 'Alau'd-Din Muhammad           |
| 31. Muhammad              | Kāsim Shāh                     |
| 32. Mustansir bi'llāhi    | Nasru-Muhammad                 |
| 33. 'Abdu's-Salām         | Aghā Bā i Hāshim Shāh          |
| 34. Gharib-Mirzā          | Muhammad-Zamān                 |
| 35. Nūru'd-Din            | Aghā Gharib                    |
| 36. Mirzā-Mirzā           | Mihra'at-Beg                   |
| 37. Dhū'l-Fiqr 'Ali       | 'Ali-Akbar-Beg                 |
| 38. Nūru'd-Dahr 'Ali      | 'Ali-Aghar-Beg                 |
| 39. Khalilullāh           | Mirza Muhammad Biskir al-Hājib |
| 40. Nizār                 | Bibi Sarkār                    |
| 41. Saiyid 'Ali           | Shāh Hasan 'Ali                |
| 42. Hasan 'Ali            | Mirzā Kāsim 'Ali               |
| 43. Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Shāh |                                |
| 44. Khalilu'l-lāh         | Shāh Abul'l-Hasan 'Ali         |
| 45. Shāhinshāh Hasan 'Ali | 'Ali Shāh                      |
|                           | Shāh-ba-Din (Shihābu'd-Din?)   |
|                           | Shāh                           |
| 46. Sultān Muhammad Shāh  | Saiyid Abu'l-Hasan Shāh        |
| Present Imām              |                                |

List of the *Hujjats* (Pirs) given by Sachedina Nanjiani in *Khojāh Vrittānt*:

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Pir Nabi Muhammad Mustafa | 15. Mahib al-Din            |
| 2. Pir Imam Hasan            | 16. Khalik al-Din           |
| 3. Pir Kasim Shah            | 17. Abd al-Mumin            |
| 4. Pir Ahmad Ali             | 18. Islam al-Din            |
| 5. Pir Satgur Nur            | 19. Salih al-Din            |
| 6. Imam al-Din               | 20. Shams al-Din            |
| 7. Muhammad Mansur           | 21. Nasir al-Din            |
| 8. Ghali al-Din              | 22. Sahib al-Din            |
| 9. Abd al-Aziz               | 23. Sadr al-Din             |
| 10. Mustansir billah         | 24. Hasan Kabir al-Din      |
| 11. Ahmad Hadi               | 25. Taj al-Din              |
| 12. Kasim Shah               | 26. Pir Pandyadi Jawanmardi |
| 13. Pir Muhammed             | 27. Haydar                  |
| 14. Mahmud                   | 28. Ala al-Din              |

- |                    |                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 29. Kasim Shah     | 37. Aga Ali Aghar       |
| 30. Nasir Muhammad | 38. Hasan Ali           |
| 31. Dadu           | 39. Abd al-Kasim Ali    |
| 32. Aga Hasan Shah | 40. Abu al-Hasan Ali    |
| 33. Muhammad       | 41. Bibi Fatimat        |
| 34. Aga Aziz       | 42. Aga Ali Shah        |
| 35. Mirab Beg      | 43. Aga Muhammad Sultan |
| 36. Aga Ali Akbar  |                         |

The present writer has not been able to grasp the attitude taken by the *Khojāhs* towards the Koran and the *Hadithes* (*Shī'i* or *Sunni*). It seems that they consider them to be holy scriptures but do not regard studying them as necessary. By the more up to date sectarians the Koran, at least, is held in some respect as can be seen from the articles regularly published in the *Ismā'ili* journals which use the Koran for supporting their contentions<sup>86</sup>. In such connections the Koran is not allegorically explained although very liberal interpretations are given<sup>87</sup>.

Apart from Koran and *Hadith*, the *Khojāhs* have their own religious scriptures which are called *Ginans* (Skt. *gnān* or *jñān*, knowledge) and these are supposed to have been written by the *Imāms* and *Pirs*. Das *Avatār* which we have already had occasion to describe is, thus, supposed to have been written by *Pir Šadr al-Din*. It is by far the most important religious book of the *Khojāhs* although only the tenth part in which 'Ali's incarnation is described is nowadays seriously taken<sup>88</sup>.

The second important book is the *Pandiyād-i-Jawān-Mardi*, supposed to be written by *Imām 'Abd as-Salām* in Persia. There is a *Gujrati* translation of it and the *Khojāhs* often take their religious guidance from this book.

Apart from these there is mythological literature where descriptions are given of fights between the *Khojāh Pirs* and demons etc. There is also a huge mass of polemic writings directed chiefly against the *Ārya Samāj* of *Svāmī Dayānanda* and against the *Khojāhs* who have ceased to recognize the *Aga Khan* and joined the *Ithnā'ashari* sect<sup>89</sup>. These *Ginans* are generally recited in the *Jamā'at Khānas* after daily prayers.

Formerly the Khojāhs used to practice Takiyya or concealment and used to invite Sunni Mullāhs to perform marriage ceremonies and funeral rites. The first Aga Khan, in order to differentiate the Khojāhs from all other Sunnis and Shī'a sects, abolished the custom of inviting Sunni Mullāhs. It is in accordance with the principle of Takiyya, most probably, that the Khojāhs neither drink nor eat pork, for it is a well known fact that the Ismā'īlis were allowed to indulge in all kinds of drinks and food after Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi as-salām had openly broken the Shari'a. The Maulais, for example, even today drink openly and observe hardly any of the practices enjoined by the Shari'a. Drinking, however, is not strictly prohibited among the Khojāhs and it is not rare to find one of them who occasionally drinks a drop or two. Eating pork, at all events, is absolutely unknown. To a certain extent the Khojāhs practice Takiyya even today in as much as they are extremely reticent in communicating their religious beliefs and practices to non-sectarians, whom, by the way, they consider to be kāfirs or infidels. The worst of the infidels, according to the Khojāhs are those who have left the fold and joined the Ithnā'ashari sect<sup>60</sup>).

"The women" according to the Bombay Gazetteer, "generally worship Hindu gods and consult Brahmins as to the meaning of omens<sup>61</sup>". I could not ascertain how far it is true but it is a well-known fact that the Moslem women of other sects too consult Brahmins at least in ascertaining lucky moments and auspicious days.

It has been sometimes asserted that the Khojāhs, although Ismā'īliyya, no longer practice assassination. This does not seem to be true, for, we have already seen that four Khojāhs were assassinated at the time of the first Aga Khan. The following will also give an idea of the same practice in recent times.

«En 1896, Jangī Shāh, père d'un des plaignants actuels (in a civil suit against H. H. the Aga Khan) fut assassiné, aux Indes, en même temps que son fils Shāh 'Abbās à Jidda, sans qu'il ait été possible de trouver aucune trace des assassins.

Plus tard, Hāshim Shāh, fils aîné de Nūr al-Dīn Shāh et héritier possible du titre d'Aga Khan, est assassiné à Poona, par un nommé Jumma Juva, qui fut jugé à Poona et condamné à la déportation<sup>62</sup>).

There are degrees of initiation among the Khojāhs as there were among the early Ismā'īlis. They are five in number and any Khojāh irrespective of sex can join them. Even children are allowed to do so if their parents fulfill the necessary conditions. In order to enter the first order of initiation a Khojāh has to pay Rs 75/— as entrance fees and Rs 3/— to 4/— as monthly subscription. The member is then allowed to visit the Imām personally who blesses him and gives him a special Du'a' (prayer) to be repeated on the rosary. Apart from the Du'a' he also receives a Firmān (mandate) from the Imām. He is then entitled to attend the Majlis in which the regular members of the degree and those belonging to the higher degree take part. In the Majlis he repeats the Du'a' received from the Imām and takes part in other proceedings<sup>63</sup>). Almost half the Bombay Khojāh population belongs to this order. In the second order a member has to pay Rs 500/— as entrance fees and a monthly subscription of Rs 5/— to 6/— . If he has already been a member of the first degree he has to pay only Rs 425/— i.e. minus Rs 75/— which he had paid while entering the first order. Thus a Khojāh can join the second order straightaway without going through the first. In this order the member gets another Du'a' from the Imām and is entitled to the Majlis of the second order which naturally can also be attended by those belonging to the higher orders. In the third order the member has to pay Rs 1200/— (in the case of a member of the first order Rs 75/— less, in the case of one of the second Rs 500/— less) and a monthly fee of Rs 10/— . In the fourth and fifth orders a member has to pay Rs 2500/— and Rs 5000/— respectively. The same rules hold good for the last two orders, the difference being that the members receive Du'a's and Firmāns of a higher order. The whole organisation is called Motā Kāmmo Panjibhai.

Although I have compared these five orders with the nine degrees of initiation of the orthodox Ismā'īlis there seems to be very little common to both of them. From the account of the sectarians it appears that no esoteric (bāṭini) teachings are given and there is no gradual process, as in the case of the orthodox Ismā'īliyya of imparting teachings by means of which a neophyte is turned into a veteran sectarian. Moreover, the whole organisation seems to have been

introduced only in recent years and from the accounts given by Perry and Arnould it seems quite certain that it did not exist before the advent of the first Aga Khan<sup>60</sup>).

The Khojāhs have no mosques in the sense the orthodox Moslems have. The prayers are said and religious ceremonies are held in what are called Jamā'at Khānas (Assembly Hall, Guild Hall). They remind us of the Fātimid House of Wisdom in which their Majlises were held<sup>61</sup>) and although we do not hear of any such institutions among the Assassins of Alamūt we shall not be very wrong to consider the Jamā'at Khānas made in imitation of those<sup>62</sup>). The Fātimid House of Wisdom existed side by side with the orthodox Mosques and they as well as the Jamā'at Khānas remind us of the earliest Mosques founded by the Prophet in Medina which were used not only for prayers but meetings, transaction with the non-Muslims, receiving ambassadors, treatment of the believers wounded in battle etc.<sup>63</sup>). The Jamā'at Khānas are not used for all these purposes but they differ from the modern Sunni or Ithnā'ashari Mosques in many ways. For example they are used for marriage ceremonies, Majlises of the Motā Kāmno Panjibhai, realization of the Zakāt for the Imām and other religious ceremonies which will be described in the chapter on the religious practices and ceremonies of the Khojāhs.

The officers of the Jamā'at Khāna are the Mukhi (Skt. Mukhya, Headman, Treasurer, Chairman and the Kamaria (Secretary, Accountant). They are sometimes appointed by the Aga Khan, but are frequently elected.

Before going over to the next chapter the present writer would like to draw the attention of the reader to the fact again that whatever has been described in the present chapter holds good for the Khojāhs as long as the Imām does not express anything contrary to it. It he does, his words are to be given preference to any traditional belief however old it may be. The Imām is infallible and his guidance is the highest and true theology.

### III. Religious Practices and Ceremonies of the Khojāhs.

Having dealt with the theoretical aspect and some of the institutions of the religion of the Khojāhs, we shall now proceed to explain at some length its practical side. The method adopted will be to compare the Arkā ad-Din (pillars of religion) of the orthodox Moslems with the religious practices of the Khojāhs. It will be thus seen that the Khojāhs take Hajj and Zakāt allegorically and are in conformity with the orthodox Ismā'ili teachings, whereas prayer and fasting are literally carried out although in an entirely different manner. We are ignorant about the religious practices the Ismā'ili laymen used to observe in the glorious days of the Fātimids of Egypt and the Assassins of Persia. We hear only from time to time Dā'is mentioning that the laymen should be asked to observe Shari'a like other Moslems and we know for certain that the first three Grand Masters of Alamūt lived according to Shari'a. We have also seen that Hasan b. Sabbāh had his son sentenced to death for having drunk wine and we know that the fourth Grand Master of Alamūt, Hasan Dh. s. broke all laws of Shari'a in public and allowed his followers including laymen to eat and drink wine in the day time during the Ramaḍān month. With the exception of such solitary instances, however, we have no detailed information about the religious practices of the Ismā'ili laymen. The Khojāhs today are like the other Moslems of India in their ordinary religious life in so far as they believe prayer, fasting and some other observances detailed below to be obligatory.

#### 1. Prayer.

The Khojāh prays three times a day and all of the prayers are said between sunset and sunrise<sup>64</sup>). They are a) Sanjihi Du'a' (evening prayer) said immediately after sunset (which is the usual time for the Sunnis, the Ithnā'ashariyya pray a little later), b) Sonnejhi Du'a' (bedtime prayer) which is said between sunset and midnight before going to bed and c) Subhoji Du'a' (morning prayer) which can be said at any time between midnight and sunrise, usually bet-

ween 4.30. to 5. These three prayers correspond to the *Salāt al-Maghrib*, *Ishā*, and *Fajr* respectively of the Sunni Moslems. The *Khōjāh* prays squatting on the floor and it is not necessary for him to face Mecca<sup>2</sup>). The prayer is said in Kachchi dialect and although broken Arabic sentences come in now and then, regular *Kirā'a* (reciting a part of the *Koran*<sup>3</sup>) which is obligatory in an orthodox prayer) does not occur. Unless a person happens to be ill or too old, according to orthodox theologians, he has to say a part of his prayer standing<sup>4</sup>). The *Khōjāh* says the whole prayer sitting after having placed a rosary on the place where the forehead would touch the ground while doing the *sijda* (bowing down to the ground). The rosary is made of glass, amber or moulds of *Karbalā* earth. On entering the *Jamā'a* at *Khāna* the *Khōjāhs* says: "Ya 'Alī madad" which amounts to: I begin with the help of 'Alī'. The prayer is addressed to the *Imām* and although *Khudā* (God) and *bandegi-i-Khudā* (worship of God) occur from time to time it is the *Imām* who plays the most important rôle<sup>5</sup>). The prayer is divided into eighteen parts and at the end of every part and the beginning of the next the *Khōjāh* entreats the *Aga Khan* to accept his prayer by saying: "O, amara ghani *Āgā Sultān Muḥammad Shāh dātar* (O, my lord, *Sultān Muḥammad Shāh*, the benevolent)." The first part contains the naming of the prayer (*Sanjiji*, *Somneji* or *Subhoji* as the case may be) and the begging for divine blessings and ends with "O, *Shāh* (i. e. the *Aga Khan*)! In your divine essence (Skt. *Sattva* and *Rūp*) accept my evening (morning or late evening as the case may be) prayer, O, My Lord *Āgā Sultān Muḥammad Shāh*!" After that the devotee bows to the *Aga Khan* so that his forehead touches the rosary placed on the ground. The second part contains nothing important. In the third part the devotee remembers the *Niskalanki Avatār*, begs for forgiveness, and asks the *Imām* to accept his prayer. In the fourth part the devotee recites the name of the *Aga Khan*, (*Ḥakḥ Yā Shāh*! O, Lord of Truth!) on the rosary. He then names the seventeen shapes of the Hindu god *Viṣṇu*. They are a) *Ahmad*, b) *Alakh*, c) *Namnil*, d) *Anil*, e) *Sun*, f) *San*, g) *Nan*, h) *Ginan*, i) *Nūr*, j) *Tej*, k) *Jāl*, l) *Kamala*, m) *Adbhudh*, n) *Jag*, o) *Tattva* p) *Premtattva*, q) *Adpurush*<sup>7</sup>).

The commentary of the *Khōjāh* prayer book here gives an explanation which runs as follows: In the *Adpurush* Shape (the seventeenth shape), *Khudā* (evidently *Viṣṇu*) took physical form<sup>8</sup>).

The devotee then remembers the ten incarnations of *Khudā* in four *Kalpas* (Skt. a certain number of years). They are a) *Hav*, b) *Kav*, c) *Dharam*, d) *Keshava*, e) *Tavnad*, f) *Uttarā*, g) *Haritak*, h) *Pururava*, i) *Antatit*, j) *Premrūp*<sup>9</sup>). After *Premrūp* God took the following ten forms<sup>10</sup>):

- a) *Matsa* (sic) *Matsya* (Fish) who had eight *Pātras*<sup>11</sup>),
- b) *Kormbho* (sic) *Kurma* (tortoise) who had eight *Pātras*<sup>12</sup>),
- c) *Varāha* (Boar) who had eight *Pātras*<sup>13</sup>),
- d) *Narasimha* (Half lion) who had eight *Pātras*<sup>14</sup>),
- e) *Vaymen* (sic) *Vāmana* (Dwarf) who had eight *Pātras*,
- f) *Phadsiram* (sic) *Parashu Rāma* (*Rāma* with the axe or *Rāma* *Jamadagneya*) who had seven *Pātras*<sup>15</sup>),
- g) *Rām Rām Dāsharathi* who had seven *Pātras*<sup>16</sup>),
- h) *Shrikrṣṇa* who had seven *Pātras*<sup>17</sup>),
- i) *Budh* (sic) *Buddha* who had seven *Pātras*<sup>18</sup>).

After the twenty *Pātras* of *Buddha*, *Shāh Maulānā Murtaḍā 'Alī* came as the tenth *Avatār* of *Viṣṇu*<sup>19</sup>).

The prayer is then continued with the recital of the names of the *Imāms* from 'Alī to H. H. the *Aga Khan*, after which the devotee addresses a prayer to the *Imām* of the age and bows down to the ground<sup>20</sup>). The fifth and sixth part contain a prayer in Arabic addressed to 'Alī in which the wellknown sentences *īyyāka na'budu wa īyyāka nasta'in* (Thee we serve, and Thee we ask for aid) from the opening *Sūra* of the *Koran* appear. The devotee then recites the fundamental Islamic formula of faith: "God is one, and *Muḥammad* is his prophet" to which he adds: "Alī is the *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Lord of the believers) and the supporter of God." This is followed by a prayer to the *Aga Khan* and the devotee then bows to the ground. In the sixth part the devotees clasp one another's hands and say "Shāh didā (may you have the merit of having



seen the Imām")<sup>22</sup>). The seventh part contains a prayer which begins with the confirmation that 'Ali is God (Ali Khudā chhe) and ends with a prayer addressed to the Aga Khan to have mercy on those who love him and on the Panjibhāi. The devotee then bows to the ground. The eighth part contains another prayer to the Aga Khan, at the end of which the devotee bows down to the ground and in that posture addresses the Imām by "O, King, O, Protector etc." and begs for forgiveness. The ninth part contains a prayer in Arabic addressed to God in which the formula "God is one etc." comes in and the assertion that 'Ali is the Amir al-Mu'minin. A verse is also recited,

"'Ali sivae koi shūrvar nathī,  
Zulfikar sivae koi talwār nathī"

which translated would mean: "There is no hero except 'Ali, there is no sword except Dhu 'l-Fikār (given by the Prophet to 'Ali)." The tenth part contains a prayer to the Aga Khan and ends with the devotee's bowing to the ground. In the eleventh part he prays for the Pirs and recites their names. To name all the Pirs is, however, not obligatory; any five names from the list (which is given in the preceeding chapter) may be mentioned and after them that of the Aga Khan who is both the Imām and the Pir of the age. Then follows a Sijda. The thirteenth part contains Tasbīh (recital of a formula, a name or names on the rosary) of Pane tani-i pāk i.e. recitation of the names of Mahomed, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Hasan and Husayn, and ends with the devotee's bowing to the ground<sup>23</sup>). The fourteenth part contains a prayer addressed to 'Ali to protect the religious Panjibhāi, the descendants of 'Ali etc., and the devotee then bows down to the Aga Khan. In the fifteenth and sixteenth part while he is bowing down to the ground he begs of God, 'Ali and Mahomed to drive away his evils and to bless Pir Sadr al-Din and his family. He bows to the ground fifteen times and every time begs for something. He then takes the rosary in his hand and recites the name of Shāh Ḥarīb Mirzā<sup>24</sup>). In the seventeenth and eighteenth parts he first recites: "Yā Shāh muṣṭakīl aḥsan kar (O, King, make my difficulties easy)" hundred times on the rosary.

Then after bowing down to the ground he recites fourteen times "Yā 'Ali", counting on his fingers. Then follows the recitation of "Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Maḥammadin wa 'alā āli Maḥammadin (O, Allāh! make Mahomed and the followers of Mahomed successful etc.)" fourteen times which is offered to the Aga Khan for acceptance. The devotee then bows to the ground and after getting up prays to the Aga Khan to keep his intentions pure (Du'ā' niyyat khair) which is again followed by a Sijda in which he asks for the assistance of the Aga Khan. He then rises and begs help of the Pirs and Mahomed. Then with his mouth he first blows to the right and then to the left. Then he says to others who are saying prayers: "Hai Zinda (O, you living one!)" to which they reply: "Kā'im pāyā (I found him safe)" or vice versa<sup>25</sup>). The devotee then bows to the ground and says: "Bhul chuk Maulā baḥḥāḥ (O, Master i.e. Aga Khan, forgive the mistakes I may have committed in the prayer)."

If the prayer is said in a Jamā'at Khāna the Imām (not the Aga Khan, but the person who leads the prayer) at the end says a special prayer begging for forgiveness for the devotees.

The Khojās have both congregational and individual prayers although in the former the leader of the prayer (Imām) plays no important rôle. In the Bombay Jamā'at Khāna the Imāms are generally students of the Sindi school selected by the teacher in turn<sup>26</sup>). In a congregational prayer after the devotees assembled for prayer have sat down, the Imām appointed for the day says to the Mukhi: "Mukhi Sāhib Amar? (Mukhi Sāhib, do you permit me to begin the prayer?)" to which the Mukhi replies: "Amar Shāh Pirjo (the Imām Aga Khan permits)" The Imām then says the prayer aloud which the others repeat mentally, at the end of which he says a special prayer on behalf of the assembly. Apart from these he has no other duties to perform.

Ghāt Path Mantra (now-a-days called Ghāt Path) is a special prayer and is longer than an ordinary one. It was adopted from the Shakti Panthis who were converted to the Ismā'ili faith by Pir Sadr al-Din. Formerly it used to be recited only three times a week, now-a-days it is said every day in the morning and in the evening

of the new moon (*chāndrāt*)<sup>29</sup> and in it the Imām of the prayer plays an important part. Before the prayer begins the Jamā'at-bhai (the Jamā'at Khāna keeper) hands over to the Imām a bundle consisting of a big bowl, small cups and saucers. The Imām begins saying the prayer and at the same time opens the bundle and arranges the cups. With every action he recites a special prayer, holding a piece of cloth in front of his mouth to avoid spit falling into the bowl and the cups containing the holy water<sup>27</sup>). As he arranges the cups he says a special prayer, as he mixes clay of Karbalā' with water he says another and so on. During the whole process the devotees say their individual morning prayers, at the end of which they come forward one by one and lifting up one of the cups, into which a portion of the Karbalā' clay mixed with water has been poured from the big bowl, drink it at a gulp and retire<sup>28</sup>). If the Ghat Path is said on the evening of a new moon, the devotee pays a silver coin for the drink which is called Niyāz (gift). In the meantime the boys of the Sindhi school go and stand in the door-way and recite the Ginans being joined sometimes by such others as can recite them<sup>29</sup>). After the ceremony is over, articles of food brought by the devotees for distribution are sold by auction at three to four times more than the real price and the amount collected is dropped into the Trijori (a box in which all collections made in the Jamā'at Khāna for the Imām the Aga Khan are put)<sup>30</sup>).

Apart from the prayers described above the Khojāhs say the two prayers of 'Id al-Fitr and 'Id al-Duḥā in the orthodox Shī'a manner. But since the Khojāhs do not know enough of the Koran or the Daruds by heart they do nothing but imitate the leader of the prayer in kneeling, bowing down to the ground etc. At the end of the prayers they embrace and shake hands with one another like the Moslems of all other sects.

## 2. Fasting (Ṣaum).

Fasting as understood by the orthodox Sunni and Shī'i Ithnā'aṣḥari Moslems and as prescribed by the Koran does not exist among the Khojāhs. Pandiyād-i-Jawān-Mardī, the religious book of the

Khojāhs prescribes regarding fasting as follows: To fast one day out of the thirty days (of Ramaḍān) is customary, there is no need to fast anymore<sup>31</sup>). Khojāhs follow this precept and fast on the twenty first days of the month of Ramaḍān. The fasting, however, consists in not eating and drinking from going to bed till twelve o' clock noon next day (roughly about twelve hours) that is to say, they sacrifice a breakfast. The whole month of Ramaḍān is considered sacred by the Khojāhs and specially the nights from the nineteenth to the twenty third<sup>32</sup>). These nights are reserved for a sort of confession<sup>33</sup>). The ceremony takes place in the Jamā'at Khāna. The confessor kneels in front of the Mukhi or Kamaria and says: "Yā 'Alī". The Mukhi (or Kamaria) takes a little of the holy water mixed with the mould of Karbalā' and sprinkles it on the confessor's forehead. The confessor then pays a silver coin and retires<sup>34</sup>). No recital of the sins as understood by the Catholics takes place. Performance of this ceremony is supposed to bring forgiveness of all the sins committed during the past year and the opportunity is open till the twenty third night of Ramaḍān on which the Jamā'at Khāna is illuminated.

Sambha is another day on which the Khojāhs fast. If a chāndrāt happens to fall on a Friday, the Friday of the following week is called Sambha. The manner of fasting is the same as on the twenty first day of Ramaḍān<sup>35</sup>).

## 3. Pilgrimage (Hajj).

From all we know about the Ismā'ilis, it is clear that they never believed in going to Mecca and performing the ceremony as enjoined by the Koran. The orthodox Shī'i go to Karbalā and Shāhī Najaf where Husayn and 'Alī are supposed to be buried. Formerly the Khojāhs used to send their relatives to these places for burial. At the present day, however, they do not make any pilgrimage and believe that visiting the Aga Khan amounts to Hajj. We have a tradition among the Khojāhs that Pir Ṣadr al-Din attempted to take the converts to Persia to visit the Imām of the day but failed. Among the European travellers MacDonell Kinnier remarks that

the Ismā'ilis of India used to go to visit the Imām who was at that time living in Khek in Persia<sup>35</sup>). Rousseau gives us a more detailed description and says, "I have, moreover, come to know with surprise that they have to this day their Imām who, according to them, descends from Ismā'il and whose residence is at Khek, a small village in the district of Khom. This Imām named Shāh Kḥalilallāh has succeeded his uncle... I would add that Shāh Kḥalilallāh is revered almost as a god by his devotees... There are Ismā'ilis as far as India and they are habitually seen coming from the banks of the Ganges and Indus to receive at Khek the blessings of the Imām in exchange of pious and magnificent offerings which they bring for him"<sup>37</sup>).

We have the next report in the Kḥojāh case. "Not only were the Kḥojāhs from the first in the habit of transmitting contributions to the Imāms of the Ismā'ilis, but it was also, from the origin, a frequent practice with them to make pilgrimage to Persia for the sake of beholding and doing homage to these their spiritual chiefs. This practice also (called pilgrimage to Dur Kḥāna i. e. the principle residence for the time being of the Imām) is shown...<sup>38</sup>) to have been, according to uniform tradition in the caste, a practice observed by the Kḥojāhs from the earliest times of their existence as a separate community: 'From all times our fathers used to go on pilgrimage to Dur Kḥāna.' One witness gave a narrative of a pilgrimage of this kind that he made in 1836-37 to Kirmān where Aga Khan at the time happened to be residing... After they had arrived in Kirmān they were lodged, at the expenses of the Imām, in a large rude building, built round three sides of a great open court. They stayed in Kirmān for about a month or six weeks, during which period, having first made their offerings, they were admitted ten or twelve times to the presence of the Imām. 'The Aga (the first Aga Khan)' says the witness 'sat on his Masnad (throne, cushion); we beheld his face, kissed his hand and retired.' It was for that they had come and with that they were all satisfied".

The Ismā'ilis of Shughnān come on pilgrimage to visit the Aga Khan in Bombay. Semenov mentions it in his: „Aus dem Gebiete der religiösen Vorstellungen der Ismā'iliten von Schughnān" as fol-

lows: "The Pirs connect (the devotees) with the Aga Khan, to whom in Bombay they go every two years with offerings; the folk belongs to them (or the Aga Khan?) with body and soul"<sup>39</sup>). Ivanov also narrates about the Ismā'ilis of Shughnān who go to visit the Aga Khan: "As I was told by the travellers in the region of the Upper Oxus the sectarians living in that part of Asia very strictly observed the two chief material forms in which the worship is expressed, i. e. payment of one tenth of their income (dah-yak) and, in the case of well-to-do people, performance of the pilgrimage to the Deity". Among the Persian Ismā'ilis, however, instances of the pilgrimage to the Aga Khan are rare<sup>40</sup>). The Ismā'ilis of Zanzibar, Mascat, and Hindukosh sometimes perform this pilgrimage.

In this connection we might mention here the lesser pilgrimages (visiting of holy shrines etc.) in which the laymen and chiefly women take part. The custom of visiting the holy shrines exists among all the Moslems of the world, Indian, Afghan, Persian, Egyptian etc. although every nation has its own way of showing its respect. The custom of the Kḥojāhs, in this respect does not differ in form from that of the other Moslems of India. One of the places considered universally sacred by all the Kḥojāhs of Gujrat is the Minbar (pulpit) of Shāh 'Abbās 'Ali, situated outside the former Jamā'at Kḥāna of Bombay which ranks next to the Minbar of the Aga Khan and of Imām Husayn situated inside the Jamā'at Kḥāna. A Kḥojāh woman in distrees would invariably go to the Minbar of Shāh 'Abbās 'Ali and make a vow in the case if her son would regain health or in the case of a childless woman if she is blessed with a child. The fulfilment of the vow consists in distributing food to the poor or filling up with milk the large hole in front of the Minbar which can contain about three maunds of liquid<sup>41</sup>). The milk like other food brought to the Jamā'at Kḥāna is distributed among the poor.

#### 4. Legal alms giving (Zakāt).

Although Zakāt occupies only the fourth or the fifth place in Islamic theology, among the Kḥojāhs it occupies the first. So that

the foremost duty of a Khojāh is to pay the one eighth of his income regularly to the Imām. We have seen while dealing with the orthodox Ismā'ili theology that although interpreted allegorically as meaning the sanctifying of life by means of the understanding of mankind, in practice Zakāt meant the giving of one fifth of ones earnings to the Imām. The religious book of the Khojāhs, Pandyād-i-Jawān-Mardi also threatens saying: "If one does not pay one tenth of his income to the Imām, the one tenth turns into fire and the other nine parts into wood and they together burn every thing he has to ashes"<sup>42</sup>). The Khojāhs used to pay their Zakāt even in the days when their Imāms used to live in Persia. We have already mentioned that in about 1430 from the Ismā'ili lodge he had established at Kotda in Sind, Pir Šadr al-Din started the first tithe gathering wallet in its round in India for the Imām. In about 1594 Kapura Lohāna and some other Khojāhs carried the tithe-wallet of the Indian Ismā'ilis to Kekk in Persia, the residence of Aghā 'Abd al-Salām, the unrevealed Imām. In all the other pilgrimages we have mentioned in the part on Hajj, the Khojāhs brought for their Imām what they considered due to him als Zakāt. We do not know how far it is true when Dumasia says that "the Ismā'ilis of Hindustan and Turkestan used to pay their Imām Zakāt, or religious dues and whenever they were unable to remit the money collected, they actually threw it into the sea"<sup>43</sup>), but, it at all events shows the religious mentality of the people. Ivanov also tells us that the Shughnāni Ismā'ilis "very strictly" observe the payment of Zakāt.

The practice today among the Khojāhs is to pay one eighth (the term dasondh, one tenth, is even now used for one eighth), not one tenth as was formerly the case, on Chāndrāt (new moon day). Enthoven remarks that dasondh is not regularly paid<sup>44</sup>). It is not possible to get very exact information on the matter but as far as the present writer's information from the sectarians goes it seems certain that it is regularly paid. At the time of the first Aga Khan, at any rate, it was paid very willingly as would appear from the following account taken from the Khojāh case: "The mass of evidence adduced on this point (Zakāt) is too strong to be resisted. Even the witness called for the relators and plaintiffs (i. e. the anti-

Aga Khan party) were compelled to admit, that, according to the uniform reputation and tradition in the Khojāh caste, their fathers 'from the beginning' had been in the habit of making voluntary contributions to the fathers of Aga Khan. They pay it 'as a matter of Dhurm or religious duty' 'I pay them for the Aga, if I knew they went to any one else except our Murshid (spiritual head) I would not pay anything at all'<sup>45</sup>).

It is also, however, true that numbers of Khojāhs have been excommunicated in the past for having refused to pay the dasondh<sup>46</sup>).

Beside the dasondh the Khojāh pays about sixteen minor contributions to his Imām. Khojāh Vrtānt gives the names of some of the chief dues<sup>47</sup>). On my inquiry I was told that some of them are not paid now-a-days and the others could not be explained by the sectarians. The following are mentioned by the Khojāh Vrtānt:

a) Chartar, b) Leko, c) Choko, d) Chopado, e) Samar Chhanda, f) Marnu Parnu, g) Chandranu Pirnu, h) Bhai Bhukhi, i) Darya Bakas, j) Chhati Mandu, k) Gulfu, l) Phoda Phodi, m) Mata Salami, n) Mohur, o) Sadamaji, p) Kango<sup>48</sup>).

The other contributions paid by the Khojāhs will be mentioned while dealing with their other important religious ceremonies.

### 5. Some of the important religious ceremonies of the Khojāhs.

Chhati<sup>49</sup>): The Chhati or sixth day ceremony after the birth differs from that performed by regular Gujrat Moslems. Near the bed of the mother is placed a bajot or wooden stool, on which after the child and the mother have been bathed and dressed, on the evening of the sixth day, are placed a reed pen, an inkstand, a blank book, a knife<sup>50</sup>) and a garland of flowers. The pen, ink and paper are intended for the goddess of fortune who is believed to write the destiny of the new born child. A charmukh, foursided butter-fed<sup>51</sup>) dough lamp is also placed on the stool and lighted and close to the lamp is set a box of Chinese crackers. As each of the female relatives of the family comes in she strews a little rice<sup>52</sup>) near the

stool, lays on the ground her present or gold or silver wristlets and anklets for the child and, bending over the mother and her new born babe takes their balayen or ills upon herself by passing her hands over them and cracking her finger-joints against her temples<sup>57</sup>). The little one is then laid on the ground on the strewn rice and the mother rises and worships the child by bowing towards it and to the charmukh lamp on the stool. Crackers are then let off and the child is laid on its mother's lap<sup>58</sup>).

Samar Chhanda: A ceremony which has been considered interesting by the Bombay gazetteer, Menant, Enthoven and other writers on the Khojāhs is not in reality peculiar to the Khojāhs. It exists among the Moslems of all sects in India and the present writer has seen it being practised even in Afghanistan. The difference lies in making use of water mixed with the clay of Karbalā' instead of the holy water of the Zamzam fountain of Mecca. The ceremony takes place when the Khojāh is lying in agony. The Kamaria is asked by the relatives of the dying person to perform the ceremony and now-a-days he charges from rupees fifty to rupees thousand on behalf of the Imām. It is supposed by all the Moslems of India that on the death-bed a person always has terrible thirst and that at that time Satan comes to test his faith. Satan, it is said, holds him out (the dying person sees all this in his agony) a glass of water and promises to give it to him if he will acknowledge him to be God. Unless the lips of the dying person are made wet with the water mixed with the clay of Karbalā' (in case of the Sunnis water of Zamzam, in case of the Ismā'ili Bohrā Moslems a few drops of honey) it is thought that his thirst makes him forget his faith and he acknowledges Satan to be God<sup>59</sup>). The holy water mixed with the clay of Karbalā' is also sprinkled all over the body of the dying person. All this time a Khojāh who knows how to read the Sindi Das Avatār is reading it loudly by the bedside. The Khojāhs believe it to have the efficacy as reading the Sūra Yā Sin (the thirty sixth Sūra of the Koran) which is recited by the Sunni Moslems.

As already mentioned formerly the Khojāhs used to send the dead bodies of their relatives to Karbalā' and Shāh Najaf for burial. The dead body used to be kept in a mosque (Jamā'at Khāna) for some

time (in Bombay) and then sent to Karbalā' via Baghdad. "From all parts of Asia and at all periods of the year a constant stream of Shī'a pilgrims flows towards these holy tombs (of 'Ali and Husayn). Nor is it the living only who crowd there; the fondest wish of wealthy and pious Shī'is at the approach of death is to be buried in the sacred dust that surrounds the tombs of 'Ali and Husayn; and from the river bank long strings of camels may be seen traversing the sands towards the holy places, laden with the coffins of the devout votaries who are thus making their last pilgrimage to Najaf or to Karbalā' (Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter fifty)<sup>60</sup>).

Alle the Imām from the fortythird (Muhammad Hasan Shāh) till the fortyeighth (Shāh Āgā 'Ali Shāh) are buried either in Shāh Najaf or in Karbalā' excepting the fortyseventh who lies buried in Husaynābād in Bombay where, according to the Khojāh, also Husayn, the son of 'Ali lies buried<sup>61</sup>). Now-a-days the Khojāhs do not send their dead to Karbalā' or Shāh Najaf for burial as they believe that in the divinity of the Āgā Khan they have everything the soul can hanker after and consequently there is no necessity to consider any particular place as especially holy.

Naurūz<sup>62</sup>) or New Year's Day, kept according to the Parsee calendar<sup>63</sup>), is a day of great festivity among the Khojāhs. A huge table laden with fruits and different eatables is placed in the Jamā'at Khāna hall. These are sold by auction at impossible prices but the buyers do not get their possessions. The dead ancestors of those who buy them are supposed to get the merit of these offerings<sup>64</sup>) and the collection made, together with the collection from a second auction, goes to the Imām. The buyers at the second auction are entitled to take possession of what they buy, which they take home with great respect as something sacred. The first auction is called Thar Sufro and the second Nandi. About Rs 20,000/— are easily collected on that day as the Khojāhs consider it an extremely meritorious action to take part in these auctions and in order to outdo one another offer fabulous sums.

Birth-day of the Imām: One of the most important festivals of the Khojāhs is the birthday anniversary of H. H. the Āgā Khan.

It is, however, not an honour shown only to the present Imām but the birthday of both his father and grandfather used to be observed too. Before the first Aga Khan came and settled down in India the Khojāhs used to celebrate with great éclat the coronation of Dādū, one of their last Pirs of whom we had already occasion to speak. On the birthday of H.H. the Aga Khan the Khojāhs of Bombay gather in the Jamā'at Khāna and then go to pay their respects to Mātā Salāmat (the holy mother of the Imām) who comes to the Wāri (the place where the followers of the first Aga Khan who came to India with him settled down and where their descendants now live) to receive them. The mother blesses the devotees by saying: "Khāna Wādār" (be happy). A fair is also held there.

Muharram: It may appear strange that the Khojāhs who are Ismā'īlīs and therefore Shī'īs do not celebrate this great festival as do all other Shī'īs everywhere in the world<sup>(61)</sup>. The Khojāhs maintain that they have no reason to mourn over the martyrdom of 'Alī; Ḥasan or Ḥusayn as the present Imām has the soul of all of them in him, and that they are only too fortunate to have him as their Imām, Sāhib az-zamān (Lord of the Age), the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu. All they do during the ten days of Muharram is to go to the Jamā'at Khāna and hear the recital of the story of Ḥusayn and his family during the first ten days of Muharram in Karbalā'. As the story of the first day of Muharram in Karbalā' ends, the recital stops for the evening and on the second evening it begins with the story of the second day and so it goes on till the tenth day ('Āshūrā'<sup>(62)</sup>). On this day they do not have any procession, Ta'ziya or Tābūt<sup>(63)</sup> like the orthodox Shī'īs or go about the street bare-footed, bare-headed and beating their breasts. They go to the Jamā'at Khāna as usual and weep over the last part of the recital a little and at the end they distribute shārbat (cold drinks) among the devotees<sup>(64)</sup>. Some of them go to Husaynābād where a passion play depicting the story of Imām Ḥusayn in Karbalā' is staged by the descendants of the Persian emigrants who had come over to India with the first Aga Khan. Some Khojāhs, however, join the procession of the orthodox Shī'īs and go to the Imāmbarā' (the building in which Muharram festival of the orthodox Shī'īs takes place) with them. But

the staunch Khojāhs do not join either the Shī'ā procession or even the recital in the Jamā'at Khāna. The first two Aga Khans used to attend the Jamā'at Khāna and hear the recital of the Karbalā' tragedy but the present Imām does not take part in Muharram festival.

According to the Bombay Gazetteer the Khojāhs formerly used to celebrate the following festivals. Some of them are no longer observed, those celebrated have been already described in detail.

- |   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| a) Two 'Ids,                                |                             |
| b) Katal (Assassination of 'Alī)            | on the 21st Ramaḍān,        |
| c) Lailat al-Qadr                           | " " 23rd Ramaḍān,           |
| d) 'Id-i Ghadir <sup>(65)</sup>             | " " 18th Dhū l-Hijja,       |
| e) 'Āshūrā                                  | " " 10th Muharram,          |
| f) Chihilam                                 | " " 21st Šafar,             |
| g) Katli (Assassination of Ḥasan)           | " " 29th Šafar,             |
| h) 'Id-i Maulūd (Ḥasan's birthday)          | " " 17th of the First Rabī' |
| i) Naurūz or Vernal Equinox <sup>(66)</sup> | " " 21st of March,          |
| j) Birthday of H.H. the Aga Khan.           |                             |

Apart from these, the Bombay Gazetteer observes, the Khojāh rests for a day when he hears of the death of one of the leading members of his sect<sup>(67)</sup>.

## Notes.

## CHAPTER I.

1) Literature on the *Khojās*: Judgment by the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Arnould in the *Khojā* Case, otherwise known as the Aga Khan case, heard in the High Court of Bombay, during April and June 1866. Judgment delivered 12th Nov. 1866, Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1866; *Frere, The Khojās: the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain*, Macmillan Magazine, vol. XXXIV, 1876; *Sachedina Nanjiani, Khojāh Vīstānt*, Ahmedabad, 1892; Bombay Gazetteer, vol. IX, pt. II, 1896-1904; *Naroji M. Dumas, A brief History of the Aga Khan*, Bombay, 1903; *Jafar Rahimsoola, Khojāh Komai Itihās*, Bombay, 1905; D. Menant, *Les Khojās du Guzarate*, RMM, 1910, vol. XII, pp. 214-232, 406-424; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd Ed., 1913, pp. 274 f.; E. J. Vartelji, *Hazar Imāmi Hidayat and Munaficono Duragraha* (Counsel of H. H. the Aga Khan and obstinacy of the hypocrites, being a reply and an explanation with full particulars of the conversation between H.H. the Aga Khan and his followers), Bombay, 1917; Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 1920; *Motā Das Avatār*, Bombay, 1923; *His Highness the Aga Khan in the Celebrities of Modern India*, Selwyn, 1924; *Karim Goolam Ali, An open Letter to H. H. the Aga Khan*, G.C.S.I. etc., Karachi, 1927; M. T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, pp. 101-104.

2) Sectarian writings published so far are: E. E. Salisbury, Translation of two unpublished Arabic Documents relating to the Doctrines of the *Isma'īlīs* and other *Bātinian* Sects, with an Introduction and Notes, JAOS, 1851, vol. II, pp. 25 ff.; St. Guyard, *Fragment relatifs à la Doctrine des Isma'īlīs avec une Traduction complète et des Notes*, 1874; W. Ivanov, *Isma'īlītica, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1922.

3) The *Khojās* have pedigrees of the Imāms from 'Alī to the present Imān H. H. the Aga Khan all of whom are male lineal descendants. The account of the *Isma'īlīs* in the present chapter is traced through these Imāms. When the name of an Imām is mentioned the reader is recommended to look up the list given in the end of the chapter and to notice the place he occupies in the chronological order of the Imāms.

4) 'Alī was most probably deified in imitation of the deification of Christ who was known among the Arabs as the Soul of God. There were sects which even deified Mahomed. For details see I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shī'ites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm*, JAOS, 1907, vol. 25, pp. 1-50 and 1909, vol. 29, pp. 1-153. Ibn Hazm's exposition of

the Shī'ite sects is by far the best among those given by Sunni writers. Cf. further M. de Slane, *Les Éléments d'Ibn Khaldūn*, traduits en Français et commentés, 1863, vol. I, p. 404.

5) Cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, zweite umgearbeitete Auflage, 1925, p. 158, Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 110; Friedländer, in the index under 'Alī.

6) *Schefer, Kitāb-i Bayān al-Adyān* of Abul-Ma'ālī Muhammad b. 'Ubayd in *Chrestomathie Persane*, 1833, vol. I, p. 159.

7) Cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 243 f.

8) The author on "The Book on the Recognition of the Imām" (published and translated by Ivanov in *Isma'īlītica*) shows the importance of Salmān by asserting that "the Prince of the believers, 'Alī, observed the commandments of Shari'a and after the death of the Prophet took the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr although he did not allow Salmān to do the same." Ivanov, *Isma'īlītica*, pp. 11 f., 40 f.

9) "Arab authors inform us that the first person who is said to have attributed divine honours to 'Alī was 'Abdallāh a Jew from Yemen." Hirschfeld in his criticism on *Le messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, JRAS, vol. 25, 1904, p. 150; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* 1886 vol. I, p. 300; *Isma'īlītica*, p. 9; Abul-Fath Muhammad al-Shahrastāni, *Religions-Partheien und Philosophenschulen zum ersten Male vollständig aus dem Arabischen übersetzt und mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen von T. Haarbücker*, 1850, vol. I, p. 200. The Prophet himself is said to have said to 'Alī "Tu sei come la Ka'bah, alla quale si viene e che non va da nessuno". Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 1905, vol. X, p. 404.

10) I have translated *Nikālanki* (or *Nikālanki*) by Stainelß. The word comes most probably from the Sanskrit word *Kalki*, the tenth expected Avatār of Viṣṇu. There is a tendency in Indian vernaculars to add an unnecessary nasal sound between two consonants. Thus *Kalki* became *Kalanki* which means "one with the stain" i. e. "blameable". In that case it signifies something bad and therefore the prefix "ni" is added to give the word a good meaning, namely "stainless". Cf. *Motā Das Avatār*, p. 82.

11) Cf. Vartelji, *Hidayat*, p. 1. Seen even from the orthodox point of view 'Alī has at least one qualification which was not possessed by any of the other three preceding Caliphs. „Man spendet seinem Namen ausnahmsweise *karraa* 'lāhu wajhahu. Die Begründung dieses Vorzugs damit, daß der vierte Chalīf, trotzdem seine Jugend ins Heidenthum hineinreicht, dennoch niemals Götzen angebetet habe, verursacht den Orthodoxen mit Rücksicht auf Abū Bakr nicht wenig Not und Schweiß." Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner*, ZDMG, 1896, vol. 50, p. 123; for the rôle 'Alī plays in the *Khojāh* prayer cf. the chapter on religious practices of the *Khojās*.

12) Ivanov, *Isma'īlītica*, p. 57.



13) Das Avatar makes a mistake in naming the mother of 'Ali as Zayishā. Her name was Fātima. Cf. Motā Das Avatar, p. 81; El under 'Ali.

14) For the tradition regarding 'Ali see Caetani, *Tradizioni varie sulle sue vicende dopo la morte di Maometto e sul suo Califato* in *Annali*, vol. X, pp. 404-417; under 'Ali in: A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition, alphabetically arranged by A. J. Wensinck, 1927; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes*, vol. I, pp. 404-417.

15) Müller, *Islam*, vol. I, pp. 208 f.

16) „Charakteristisch ist, daß 'Alis Weigerung Abū Bakr den Huldigungszug zu leisten gleich nach Fātima's Tode endete. Sie scheint eine sehr ehrgeizige Frau gewesen zu sein und den Grund gelegt zu haben zur Präsumption des Hauses 'Ali.“ De Goeje, *Al-Balādhurī's Ansāb al-aṣṣḥāf*, ZDMG, vol. 38, p. 388.

17) Cf. Friedlaender, *Heterodoxies*, vol. I, p. 65; vol. II, pp. 98, 100; Kitāb al-Bayān al-Adyān in Blochet's *Messianisme*, p. 145; S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, 1838, p. XXIX; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. I, p. 404.

18) Friedlaender, vol. II, pp. 100 f.

19) The idea that the incarnate God often tests the faith of the devotee is common in India. Whenever any one objects to the sexual liberties taken by the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, the Vaiṣṇavas maintain that it was all his Lila and that we are not in the position to judge the action of the Deity. There are also hundreds of stories in which Dharma (God of Truth, Religion) takes human shape and tests the faith of the believers. The idea existed among the Arabs too though in a slightly different form. Ibn Ḥazm narrates: "They (the Ghulāt) came to 'Ali b. Abi Tālib and said in his face: 'Thou art he!' He asked them 'Who is he?' And they answered 'Thou art Allāh.' 'Ali, however, took the matter very seriously and gave orders to kindle a fire and burnt them in it. While they were being thrown into the fire, they started shouting 'Now we feel certain that he is Allāh. For none but Allāh punishes by fire.'" Friedlaender, vol. II, p. 66.

20) Pedigree prepared by Sulayman Ghulam Husayn with the assistance of Sheikh Abd al-Kādir Sarfaraz, Karachi, 1905. I am of the opinion that Ḥasan's name has been inserted deliberately and against the traditions of the Khojās. This was done most probably to make H. H. the Aga Khan the 49th Imām. To be the 49th Imām has the advantage that it is seven times seven which entitles an Imām to be a Nāṭiq or Prophet.

21) cf. Ivanov, *Ismailitica*, p. 70.

22) *ibid.*, p. 29; cf. further, "Lorsqu'on objects aux Ch'rites l'exemple d'Ḥasan, fils d' 'Ali, qui fut Imām, de l'accord de tous les Ch'rites, et dont le ils ne fut pas, ils répondirent: 'Son Imāmāt était mis en dépôt, c'est-à-dire, qu'il n' était pas stable, et qu'Ḥasan ne l'avait qu'en prêt et en dépôt. Tandis que l'Imāmāt d'Husayn, fils d' 'Ali, était immuable, et que

le verset 'Or, une demeure stable et un lieu de dépôt (Koran, vi, 109) est allusion à cela.' Juwaynī, translated by M. Defforey in *Essai sur l'histoire des Isma'élites ou Bāṭiniens de la Perse, plus connus sous le nom d'Assasins*, JJA. 5. Série, tom. 8, 1856, p. 365.

23) There is at least one Arab historian who says that during the lifetime of Ḥasan a number of people refused to recognize him as Imām owing to his having sold the khilāfat to Ma'wiya, cf. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥā al-Naubakhi, *Die Sekten der Schi'a*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul, 1931, p. 21.

24) El, under Ḥasan, vol. II, p. 291; Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*, translated from the Arabic by de Slane, 1845, vol. IV, p. 249.

25) 'Ali soll sie (Ḥasan und Husayn) folgendermaßen charakterisiert haben: Ḥasan ist ein Verschwender, den Freuden der Tafel und der Gastlichkeit zugetan; Husayn dagegen ist von meiner Art, wie ich von seiner.' El, under Husayn, vol. II, p. 360.

26) Müller, *Islam*, vol. I, p. 335; the only occasion in which Ḥasan seems to have shown some courage is the following: 'Als Abū Bakr einmal predigte, rief der junge Ḥasan: 'Steige ab vom Minbar meines Vaters.' He must have found the courage to do so on account of his father's presence there in the Mosque. Al-Balādhurī, ZDMG, vol. 38, p. 388.

27) cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 201.

28) See under Muḥarrām in the chapter on the Religious practices of the Khojās.

29) cf. Blochet, *Messianisme*, pp. 7-11.

30) A Literary History of Persia from the earliest Times until Firdawī, 1909, vol. I, pp. 130-134, 229, 392.

31) Ibn Khallikān, vol. II, p. 209; for an eulogistic poem on 'Ali Z'Al, cf. Schefer *Ch. Persane*, vol. I, pp. 185 f.

32) The book is called Zubūr al-Muḥammad, cf. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, *Orientalische Studien*, Th. Noldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag, 1906, I, pp. 314 f.; *Vorlesungen*, p. 214, 358<sup>pp</sup>.

33) It must be remembered that with the death of almost every Imām there were differences of opinion concerning the rightful Imām to follow. Account of these schisms are to be found in Ibn Ḥazm, *Shahrastāni*, and Naubakhi. "Muḥammad Bākir received the appellation al-Bākir (the ample) because he collected an ample fund of knowledge. Others say that he was called al-Bākir because he kept open (bakara) knowledge, that is, he scrutinized it, and examined into the depths of it". Ibn Khallikān, vol. II, p. 579; for the miracles said to have been done by him see Blochet, *Messianisme*, p. 12.

34) Two of them have been translated by Salisbury. See note 2. In the Umma 'I Kitāb (Manuscript No. 1 of the Zaroobin collection in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences) various religious matters are discussed in the form of dialogues between the Imām

Muhammad Bākir and his disciples. cf. W. A. Ivanov, *Isma'ili MSS. in the Asiatic Museum*, Petrograd, 1917, JRAS, 1919, p. 431.

35) cf. *Shahastāni*, vol. I, p. 189; further, "Ja'far Šādiq is reported as saying that all the extravagant views to be found in the writings of his father's (Muhammad Bākir's) followers are forgeries of Mughīra". *Friedlaender*, vol. II, p. 80.

36) *Shahastāni*, vol. I, p. 222.

37) "Er war ein ausgezeichnete Mann aus dem Geschlechte der Nachfolger (Tābi'ūn, die nach der Generation der Genossen kamen), ein hervorragender Imām (im Sinne eines Gelehrten), über dessen Vortrefflichkeit allenhalben Uebereinstimmung herrscht; man zählt ihn unter den Fuḳahā' (Gesetzgelehrten) der Stadt Ma'dīna." Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 212.

38) *Shahastāni*, vol. I, p. 188.

39) *Ḥamdallāh al-Mustawfi*, *Ta'riḫ al-Guzida*, Gibb Memorial Series, 1911, p. 49.

40) Blochet, *Messianism*, p. 15; Ibn *Khallikān*, vol. I, p. 300.

41) For the different meanings of the word 'Ja'f' see *Friedlaender*, vol. II, p. 104.

42) "The Ghulāt of Kūfa arrange a regular Hajj to Ja'far with all due requisites, including attire and religious exclamations, Labbaik (with thee, O Ja'far)." *Friedlaender*, vol. II, p. 107.

43) Ibn *Ḥazm*, vol. I, p. 76.

44) "Er (Ja'far) verwarf alles, wozu einer der Ghulāt in Beziehung stand, und sagte sich von ihm los und verfluchte sie und war rein von den Eigenrümlichkeiten der Lehren der Kāfida und von ihren Torheiten, als da sind die Behauptung der Verborgenheit (des Imāms) und der Wiederkehr, der Sinnesänderung (Gottes), der Seelenwanderung, der Einwohnung (Gottes) und der Verähnlichung." *Shahastāni*, vol. I, p. 189; *Friedlaender*, vol. II, pp. 90, 96; *Juwaynī*, JA, 1856, p. 367 f.

45) *Friedlaender*, vol. II, p. 14 (27-36).

46) Those who maintained that the Koran and other scriptures should be interpreted allegorically were originally called *Bāṭiniyya* (esoterists, those believing in deeper inner meanings) and are to be regarded as forming a school in Isma'ilism. *Shahastāni* defines them as those who accept that every outward expression has an inner meaning and that every place in the Koran has an inner allegorical sense. Ibn *Khaldūn* gives a curious meaning to the appellation *Bāṭiniyya*. According to him they are those who believe that there were unrevealed (bāṭinī) Imāms between Isma'il and 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī. Apart from the appellation *Bāṭiniyya* the Isma'ilis were loosely called *Karāmita*, *Haramiyya*, *Sābiyya*, *Babakiyya*, *Khurramiyya*, *Malāhida*, *Muhammariyya* (*Mu'ammariyya*, *Tālimiyya*, *Mazdakiyya*, *Haḥshīyya*, *Fāṭimiyya*, *Wāḥidiyya* (?), *Mubārakiyya*, *Khālifiyya*, *Mu'ayyadiyya*, *Sinbādī*, *Kawliyya*, *Mughān*; cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die*

*Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, 1916, p. 37; *Browne*, vol. I, pp. 407 f.; *Shahastāni*, vol. I, p. 221; *Salisbury*, JAOS, 1851, pp. 259 ff.; *Friedlaender* vol. II, p. 51; Blochet, *Messianism*, p. 50; Schefer, *Ch. Persane*, vol. I, p. 180.

47) Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, traduit de l'Arabe par M. le Baron de Slane, Alger, 1852, vol. II, pp. 506, 508.

48) *Juwaynī*, JA, 1865, p. 360 f. *Ivanov* has gone into the details of the question and treated the matter in a special article (*Journals and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1923-24). He finds it puzzling to ascertain the real causes of the repudiation of Isma'il by his father and gives the three following possibilities: a) Ja'far's personal dislike for his son Isma'il preferring Mūsā, b) Isma'il's popularity amongst the extremists (Ghulāt), who in their fanatic zeal threatened to expose the whole of the Shī'ite movement to grave danger, and c) Isma'il's alleged intrigue against his father. An additional explanation is suggested by the same writer in *Isma'ilica* (p. 61, note 37). He mentions Ṭabari and 'Umdatul 'Ulūlī and says that if it can be proved that Isma'il was lame (al-'A'raj) as the two authorities maintain we might consider it as an additional disqualification. "For", according to *Ivanov*, "it is a well-known fact that one of the most essential and primitive beliefs in the worship of the deified chiefs, pontiffs etc., is that they must not be sick and in particular they must have no bodily defects. The early Shī'ite extremist ideas about the Imāms were not rarely inclined to their deification. In such archetypal organism, on the existence of which depends the life of the whole world, nothing may be wrong, otherwise great calamities may befall the universe. These ideas in a moderate form are still alive in Muhammadan countries and it would not be quite wrong to keep in memory this possibility. In the atmosphere of rivalry and intrigue which was not uncommon among the pious 'Alides, this pretext, quite possibly without its clear formulation, could be used against Isma'il." This argument, however, does not appeal to the present writer, for Molla Mobad while writing the biography of 'Alī al-Dīn (on whom we shall speak presently) mentions his bodily defect and tells us of a curious of the Isma'ilis. According to him "The Isma'ilis say, that prophets and saints cannot live free from bodily defects; thus Mūsā (Moses) was a stammerer, Shayib (Jethro) was blind, and Ayyūb (Job) was full of plague." Dabistān, or School of Manners, translated from the Original Persian, with Notes and Illustrations by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, 1845, vol. II, p. 447.

49) *Juwaynī*, JA, 1856, p. 361.

50) Ibn *Ḥazm*, vol. I, pp. 44 f.

51) Cf. Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Prolegomènes*, vol. I, p. 409; *Berbères*, vol. II, pp. 504 ff.; *Shahastāni*, vol. I, pp. 193, 221 f.; *Dabistān*, vol. II, p. 389; *Browne*, vol. I, p. 393; Blochet, *Messianism*, p. 56.

52) They were originally called Stationary Ismā'īliyya because they refused to go further and recognize his son's Imāmat. See under the title: *Stehende Ismā'īliyya in Shahrastānī*, vol. I, p. 193.

53) Nawbakhtī tells us of a sect which did not believe in Ja'far's death and maintained that he would come back as Mahdī. This sect was called after the name of its founder N. N. ibn N. N. al-Naus. See *ibid.*, p. 57.

54) Juwaynī, JA, 1856, p. 363.

55) The genealogy of these Imāms can only be discussed in connection with the table of the Khojāh Imāms.

56) Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbers*, vol. II, p. 505; Ibn Khallikān, vol. II, p. 77.

57) Cf. Juwaynī, JA, 1856, p. 363. According to a Khojāh pedigree of the Imāms he lies buried in Muhammadīyād. Cf. further Blochet, *Mossesisme*, p. 89. According to Dastūr al-Munajjimīn he had taken refuge in India. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein et les Fatmides*, 1856, p. 84. Juwaynī also mentions that the children of Muhammad b. Ismā'il went away to Kandahar (in Afghanistan) which according to the same writer was a part of India. JA, 1856, p. 364.

58) For the different versions regarding 'Abdallāh's birth place cf. Fihrist, ed. Flügel, 1872, vol. II, p. 77.

59) Abu 'l-Fidā' calls him azandik — a materialist. See Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, 1790, p. 311. By profession, according to de Sacy, both the father and the son were oculists. cf. de Sacy, pp. LXIX, CCCXLII.

60) It would be interesting to know how far Indian philosophy was known among the Persians at that time. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī mentions Abū Rihān who had, according to him written a book called *Arā' al-Hind* in which the religions of India are said to be fully described. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī further mentions Pātanjali, Gita, Mahābhārata, Samkhya, and curiously enough Vāsudeva and Arjuna as two books. Schefer, *Ch. Persane*, *Kitāb-i Bayān al-adyān*, p. 138.

61) cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 311.

62) de Sacy, *Exposé*, p. LXX.

63) St. Guyard, *Un grand Maître des Assassins au Temps de Saladin*, JA 7 Série, Tome 9, 1877, p. 330 f.

64) See Ivanov, *Ismaïlisme*, pp. 66, 68.

65) St. Guyard, *Un grand Maître des Assassins au Temps de Saladin*.

66) cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbers*, vol. II, p. 508.

67) *ibid.*, p. 518.

68) 'Ubaydallāh declared himself a descendant of Ismā'il the seventh Imām. Those who made him descend from 'Abdallāh Maymūn al-Kādhāb naturally do not believe in this narration.

69) cf. Cherbonneau, *Documents inédits sur 'Ubaydallāh, Fondateur de*

la Dynastie Fātimite; traduits de la chronique d'Ibn Hammād, JA, 5. Série, Tome 5, 1855, p. 545.

70) cf. Ibn Khaldūn *ibid.*, p. 519.

71) Ibn Khallikān, however, says that it is narrated that when al-'Isa heard about the approach of 'Abdallāh towards Sujīmāz he put al-Mahdī to death. 'Abdallāh on entering the place in which the Mahdī was confined found a servant of his, a devoted follower, staying by the corpse of the murdered master. Apprehending that all his plans, hitherto so successful, would come to ruin if the troops learned what had happened he brought the servant out to them and said 'This is the Mahdī'. Ibn Khallikān, vol. II, p. 78. Wüstenfeld is inclined to believe in this narration, and says: 'Wir tragen kein Bedenken, diese Erzählung für eine Erfindung der Gegner zu halten'. Fātimiden, p. 351.

72) Cherbonneau, Ibn Hammād, p. 534.

73) *ibid.*, p. 536. Ibn Khaldūn who occasionally quotes from Ibn Hammād is rather eager not to go into the unpleasant question of 'Abdallāh's rebellious preachings. He ascribes 'Abdallāh's miscontent to 'Ubaydallāh's absolute autocracy and refusal to allow both the brothers to have any political power. *Berbers*, vol. II, p. 521.

74) Cf. J. Walker, under al-Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh in *El. Lieferung* 39, p. 129.

75) De Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 67 quoted from Arib's Bayān.

76) Cherbonneau, Ibn Hammād, p. 542 f.

77) Mahdī is even said to have written a letter to the Karmatian chief to send the holy stone back to Mecca; cf. Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, Übersetzung von S. Beck u. M. Färber, 1914, vol. I, pp. 335 f.

78) The name of the book has already been mentioned. For understanding Ismā'ilism of the Fātimid period it is of extreme importance.

79) Guyard, JA, 1877, p. 337.

80) Carra de Vaux gives a good account of Hākim's psychological development from extreme religiousness to the pretension to divinity. Cf. *Penseurs de l'Islam*, 1926, Tome 5, pp. 56 f.

81) One of the greatest Ismā'ilī writers, Ahmad, b. 'Abdallāh Hamid al-Dīn Kirmānī who lived at the court of Hākim wrote a mass of literature supporting the pretensions of Hākim. He explained allegorically even Hebrew scriptures to prove Hākim's divinity. Cf. Paul Kraus, *Hebräische u. syrische Zitate in ismā'ilitischen Schriften*, *Der Islam*, vol. 19, 1931, pp. 245 ff.

82) Guyard, JA, 1877, p. 335.

83) Cf. Browne, *Cairo under the Fātimids*, vol. II, p. 422; Huart, vol. I, p. 334.

84) Arnould, *Khojāh*, Case, p. 7.

85) Cf. Ibn Khallikān, vol. I, p. 160; Wüstenfeld, *Fātimiden*, p. 272.

86) Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, 1863, vol. IX, pp. 304 f.; Brown, vol. II, p. 200 f.

87) Cf. Browne, vol. II, pp. 199 ff.; Juwayni, JA, pp. 52 ff.; Ivanov, *Isma'ilica*, p. 71; Dabistān, vol. II, p. 430; Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjoukides*, *Extraite du Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, ou histoire choisie d'Hamdallāh Mustawfi, JA, 4. Série, tome 15, 1849, p. 27; Wüstenfeld, *Fätimiden*, pp. 271 ff.

88) There are other historians who maintain that the Ismā'īliyya were given the appellation *Malāhida* or heretics par excellence after the fourth Grand Master of Alamūt had publicly broken the *Shari'a*.

89) Juwayni, JA, 1860, p. 153. The Bohrās of India maintain that they differ from the *Khojās* in as much as they try to bring about a perfect harmony between the *Shari'a* and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran while the *Khojās* lay emphasis only on the latter. As an example they mention *Khojās* praying three times a day and their five times. For studying the Musta'li branch of the Ismā'īlī see Griffini, *Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, ZDMG, vol. 69; Bombay Gazetteer, vol. IX, pt. 1, 1899, 'Ali Muhammad Khān, Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, vol. II, p. 87; D. Menant, *Les Bohorās du Guzarate*, RMM, vol. 10, pp. 456 ff.; Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1920; 'Abd al-Husayn, *Gulzar-i-Di'udi*, 1921.

90) Cf. the pedigrees of the Imāms.

91) The remarks of Ivanov in this connection are worth noticing: "The nature and the spirit of these (Ismā'īlī) ideas, as well as of the whole Ismā'īlī system, were very often taken by many scholars as being typically Persian. I am afraid it does not seem very convincing to me. The whole system of degrees of initiation, mysteries in everything, the worship of a dynasty of incarnated Gods, even the divine-natured priest — *Hujjat* etc., all this has little to do with the plainness of Zoroastrianism, which is rather poet in fantasy and invention (The poet Tagore also mentions the lack of ritualism in Zoroastrian religion, cf. *Visva-Bhārati Quarterly*, Oct. 1923, pp. 193 f. — Author). But we are at once at home with the Ismā'īlī doctrines as soon as we are again in Syria and Egypt with all their dynasties of incarnated deities, the mysteries of their complex cultus, etc., Lydia, Phrygia, Babylonia and specially Phoenicia and Egypt were the ancient seat of all these beliefs which in some parts of these countries were existent still as late as the tenth century A.D. No wonder that Ismā'īlism springs up in Syria, and acquires its decisive success in North Africa, where the almost savage tribes of Berbers could easily preserve in the slow tempo of their life much of what they inherited from the Egyptians as well as Phoenician colonial civilizations. It seems that the stress on the „Persianism“ of this creed is due to a large extent to the alleged Persian descent of its reputed founder 'Abdullāh Maymūn al-Kaddāh. But we must remember that the pious Mahomedan writers almost invariably credit all the

heresiarchs of note with a foreign origin. Even if they were not foreigners, they must have been Zindiks or Jews. On the other hand although Shi'ism undoubtedly was very popular amongst the Iranian peoples, it is also a fact that the best minds of Persia took a leading part in building up the strict orthodox Sunnism, and even now the Sunnī Iranian greatly outnumber their Shi'ite brethren." *Isma'ilica*, p. 64.

92) Friedländer, p. 6.

93) Notice the progress made in the study of Shi'ism from de Sacy's *Exposé* published in 1838 to Friedländer's *Heterodoxies* in 1909. Compare also the bold generalizations of Müller in *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande* in 1886 with the extremely cautious statements of Goldziher in *Vorlesungen über den Islam* in 1910 and of Ivanov in *Isma'ilica* in 1922.

94) According to Goldziher Ghazālī in his *Streitschrift „Legt des öfteren Gewicht auf die volkstümliche Verbreitung der Bāṭiniyya“*, „auch die ersten Versuche der Bāṭiniyya, die Propaganda der Karmaten, hatten ja zu allererst im Bauernvolke Wurzel gefaßt“. *Streitschrift*, pp. 23, 24.

95) The fort of Alamūt in Persia was captured by Hasan b. Šabbāh in 438/1090–91 and remained the headquarters of the eastern branch of the Ismā'īlīs till its overthrow by the Mongol conqueror Hulagu Khan.

96) The word *Assassin* is now universally recognized to have come from the Arabic word *Ḥašīshīyyūn* i.e. people who made use of *Ḥašīsh* (*Cannabis Indica*) called *Bhang* in Indian languages. It brings intoxication and regular indulgence in it tends a person to lethargy, mental weakness and impotency. The drug is well-known in India and Afghanistan but is not made use of as a regular drink. The correct etymology of the word was first pointed out by de Sacy. Cf. Browne, vol. I, pp. 204 f. Modern religious historians do not believe that the Assassins used to experience the joy of Paradise by making *Ḥašīsh*. „Daß sie (die Assassinen) im Rausch (des *Ḥašīsh*) die Freuden des Paradieses zu erleben geglaubt oder auch, in die die Feste (Alamūt) umgebenen Garten gebracht und dort wieder zum Bewußtsein gekommen, tatsächlich einen Eindruck davon bekommen hatten, ist freilich wohl Fabel.“ Clemens, *Die nichtchristlichen Kulteureligionen in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustand*, vol. II, 1921, p. 98.

97) *Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 407.

98) Guyard, JA, 1877, p. 325.

99) For the great political and religious rôle the Persian Mahidism has played in Islam see Blochet, *Messianisme*, ch. XVII. The writer goes so far as to maintain: "Le Chi'isme iranien qui a traversé tout l'Islam en provoquant des révolutions sans nombre, depuis les frontières de Chine jusqu'aux grèves Lintaines que viennent battre les flots de l'Atlantique, est né de la réaction du génie messianique iranien contre l'esprit sémitique, dont le but était justement d'ancrer la croyance au Messianisme." (p. 126); cf. further Ibn Hazm, p. 36.

100) Browne, vol. I, p. 130.

101) *ibid.*; vol. II, p. 194.

102) Cf. the interviews between the Persian general Rustum and the ambassadors of Sa'd on the eve of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in al-Fakhrī's narrative quoted by Browne, vol. I, pp. 194 ff.

103) Guyard, p. 326.

104) Friedländer, vol. I, p. 2.

105) "Même au sein de l'orthodoxie, Fātima passe pour 'la reine des femmes du Paradis', après Mariam, fille de Imrān." Lammens, *Fātima et les filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 130.

106) Schefer, *Ch. Persane*, p. 159. The political reason why the Persians disliked orthodox Islam has been put in very clear terms by the Spaniard Ibn Ḥazm: "Says Abū Muhammad (Ibn Ḥazm): the reason why most of these (Shī'ite) sects deserted the religion of Islam is, at bottom, this. The Persians originally were the masters of a large kingdom and had the upper hand over all the nations. They were in consequence possessed with such mighty self-esteem that they called themselves 'nobles' and 'sons', while the rest of mankind were regarded by them as slaves. But when they were visited (by God) and their empire was taken away from them by the Arabs, — the same Arabs who in the estimation of the Persians possessed the least dignity of all nations, — the matter weighed much more heavily upon them and the calamity assumed double proportions in their eyes, and thus they made up their mind to beguile Islam by attacking it at different periods. But in all this Allah makes truth come to light. When they saw that to entrap Islam by trickery was more profitable, some of them outwardly professed Islam and won the sympathies of the people with Shī'ite inclinations, by feigning affection for the members of the prophetic family and by condemning the injustice done to 'Alī. Thus they led them about on various paths, till at last they carried them away from Islam." Ibn Ḥazm, vol. I, pp. 35 f.

107) Juwaynī, JA, 1860, p. 177; cf. Dabistān, vol. II, p. 429; Ta'rikh-i Guzida, JA, 1849, p. 28.

108) The three great men of the period of Hasan b. Šabbāh are the prime minister Niẓām al-Mulk, the famous poet 'Omar Khayyām and Hasan himself. They are supposed to have been pupils of the great theologian Imām Mawaffak as boys and to have entered into a covenant that whichever of them attained success would share it with the other two. When Niẓām al-Mulk became the prime minister of the House of Seljuks, he granted an annual pension of ten thousand Dinars to the poet 'Omar Khayyām. He also introduced Hasan into the court of Malik Shāh but Hasan instead of being thankful began plotting against him in order to bring him into disgrace with the king. The king found it out and Hasan had

to leave the court. According to most historians Niẓām al-Mulk brought Hasan into disgrace by unfair means.

109) According to Khwārd Mir who quotes the prime minister Niẓām al-Mulk, Hasan pretended to be by origin an Arab from the family of Šabbāh Himyari from the town Kūfa but in reality he belonged to the peasantry. Hasan Šabbāh is, however, said to have ordered the pretentious genealogy prepared by his admirers, showing him to be a descendant of Šabbāh Himyari, to be cancelled by saying: "I prefer being a simple privileged servant of the Imām to being his degenerated son". Cf. Mirkhond, *Le Jardin de la Pureté*, ed. Jourdain, 1812, p. 39; Dabistān, vol. II, pp. 423 f.

110) Ray is a town about fifteen miles south of Tehran.

111) After the conquest of Fort Alamūt, the seat of the Grand Masters of the Assassins, by the Mongols about a century and a half after it was taken possession of by Hasan Šabbāh, the conqueror Hulagu ordered its Ismā'ili library to be burnt down. Before burning it, however, he ordered his minister Juwaynī to take out those books for the conqueror which were worthy of preservation. Juwaynī while going through the huge number of books collected by the Ismā'ilis during 166 years found one called *Adventures of Our Lord* (i.e. Hasan Šabbāh) in which Hasan relates the activities of his life. Juwaynī quotes from this book in his history called *Tā'rikh-i Jahān Gušā* (Gibb Memorial Series, No. 16, in preparation). The part containing the life of Hasan Šabbāh has been translated by C. DeFrémery in JA, 1860, pp. 160 ff. In our narrative we shall mainly follow this account.

112) A neophyte had always to give an oath of allegiance when he embraced Ismā'ilism.

113) For details cf. DeFrémery, JA, 1849, p. 27; Browne, vol. II, p. 202.

114) Browne, vol. II, p. 203; cf. Mirkhond, p. 40.

115) See page 6.

116) For the miracles Hasan is said to have done on board of the ship see Mirkhond, p. 41; Dabistān, vol. II, p. 431.

117) Juwaynī, JA, 1860, pp. 162 f.

118) Mirkhond gives a more detailed account of Hasan's itinerary; cf. p. 41.

119) For details cf. Ta'rikh-i Guzida, JA, 1849, p. 29 f. The historians dealing with the Order of the Assassins are full of details about the conquest of fort after fort by Hasan and the Grand Masters who followed him and the attempts of the Seljuk kings to crush them. Those interested in these details will find them in the historical works already cited.

120) Ibn Khaldūn is entirely wrong when he calls Hasan Šabbāh an Imām. Cf. *Berbères*, vol. II, p. 302.

121) Browne, vol. II, p. 206.

122) It was these Fida'īs who assassinated Christian knights of Crusade. "Colonel Yule enumerates twenty three of the more notable murders and

attempts at murder attributed to these emissaries between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. None are enumerated but princes and Viziers." The list begins with Nizām al-Mulk and "closes with the attempt to murder Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward I, nearly two centuries later, at Acre, A.D. 1272. Two attempts are recorded to murder the great Saladin, and Raymond, Count of Tripoly and Conrad of Montferrat, titular king of Jerusalem, were among the Christian victims. Philip Augustus of France, is said to have instituted a royal guard of Sergens d'armes, the first Royal Guard of France to defend him against the oriental emissaries of Christian rivals, and a similar origin is claimed for the Sergeants-at-arms of our (British) sovereign." Frere, *Mc. Magazine*, XXXIV, p. 347.

123) Most of the historians ascribe the assassination of Nizām al-Mulk to Hasan Šabbāh's fidā'i. Only Nim al-Dīn al-Rāwandī says that the assassination was incited by Tāj al-Mulk who was appointed minister by Malik Shāh after he had dismissed his old minister Nizām al-Mulk and against whom Tāj bore a grudge. *JAS*, 1902, p. 599; Juwaynī, *JA*, 1860, pp. 176 f; Dabistān, vol. II, p. 437; *Tārīkh-i-Guzida*, *JA*, 1848, p. 32 f.

124) *JA*, 1860, pp. 180 f.

125) While introducing the biography of Hasan Šabbāh in his book Dabistān Molla Mobad remarks that "since the account of Hasan b. Šabbāh has been traced in the histories with the pen of partiality, I shall endeavour to make a statement such as obtains credit among the Ismā'īlīs concerning him" Dabistān, vol. II, p. 425.

126) Molla Mobad mentions once again the assassinations at the time of Hasan Šabbāh but on that occasion too he says: "at the time". In the whole narration of Hasan, he never commits himself to saying that the fidā'īs committed murder at his command.

127) Cf. E. I. under Hasan b. Šabbāh.

128) Physical resurrection was first denied by the Mu'tazilites.

129) Streitschrift, p. 12.

130) See note 111.

131) Shahrastānī, vol. I, pp. 225-30; Juwaynī, *JA*, 1860, pp. 166-172; Dabistān, vol. II, pp. 410-416.

132) Goldziher, Streitschrift, p. 12.

133) The eight Grand Masters of Alamūt were:

Hasan b. Šabbāh	438-518 (1090-1124)
Kāz Buzurg Ummid Rūdāri	518-532 (1124-1138)
Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid	532-557 (1138-1162)
Hasan b. Muhammad	557-561 (1162-1166)
Nūr al-Dīn Muḥamad	561-607 (1166-1210)
Jalāl al-Dīn Hasan	607-618 (1210-1220)
'Alī al-Dīn Muhammad	618-653 (1220-1255)
Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh	653-654 (1255-1256)

134) Mirkhond (p. 52) relates that when Sulṭān Sanjar sent an envoy to Muḥammad b. Buzurg Ummid to get definite information about the religion of the Alamūtīs, he, the envoy, was told about their religion in the following words: "Voici quelle est notre doctrine: il faut croire à l'unité de Dieu, et reconnaître que la véritable sagesse et le sens droit consistent à agir conformément à la Parole de Dieu et au commandement de son envoyé, et à régler sa conduite sur les lois de la sainte religion, ainsi qu'elles sont exposées dans le livre de Dieu; comme aussi il faut croire à tout ce qui est contenu soit dans l'Al-Koran, soit dans les paroles du prophète, touchant l'origine des choses et la vie future, les récompenses et les châtements, et le jour du jugement et de la résurrection; il n'est permis à personne de s'en rapporter à son propre jugement relativement à aucune des lois de Dieu ni de changer une seule lettre." This seems to be rather exaggerated, for if Muḥammad b. Buzurg Ummid sincerely believed in the above confession of faith he cannot be called an Ismā'īlī in any sense of the word. One would be inclined to think, that Muhammad played the part of a hypocrite to satisfy the religious feeling of Sanjar so that he may not wage war against the Alamūtīs. It is also possible that Muhammad was acting in conformity with the principle of Taqiyya.

135) This appellation was given to Hasan in imitation of Mahomed the prophet, to whose name all Moslems, whether Sunnis or Shi'is add "May peace of God be upon him". According to Juwaynī (*JA* 1860, p. 208) the surname 'alā dhikrihi al-salām' was originally attributed to him through a prayer which the sectarians used to say among themselves during his lifetime. Later on the prayer became a surname so well-known, that Hasan was no longer designated by his proper name. He is held in great respect by the Ismā'īlīs of Persia even today. Cf. Ivanov, *Ismailitica*, p. 6.

136) According to *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* Nizār is said to have given the son to Hasan Šabbāh himself who brought him to Alamūt. Cf. *JA*, 1849, p. 25, 39.

137) According to Juwaynī some maintain that it was not the son of Nizār but his grandson, according to yet a third party it was Nizār's great grandson who had sexual relations with Muhammad's wife. Cf. *JA*, 1860, p. 208.

138) Ismā'īlīs maintain that the action of the Imām is not only sinless but laudable. Thus although from the point of view of the Shari'a the wife was illegitimate it has to be accepted as an Imām. Molla Mobad who respects the sentiment of the Ismā'īlīs simply says: "Although this action be legal it was not necessary". Dabistān, vol. II, p. 44.

139) By veil is meant ḡdar which is used by Moslem women while going out on the street under which a small object like a child can be carried without its being noticed by others distinctly. Cf. Mirkhond, p. 56, Footnote 1.

140) *Hamdallāh al-Mustawfī* (*Ta'rikh al-Guzida*, JA, 1849, p. 40) says that "Both the stories merit little confidence". Juwaynī (*Ta'rikh al-Jahān Gushā*, JA, 1860, p. 206) considers "the second version more shameless than the first". Mir *Khwānd* (*Raudat al-Ṣafā*), p. 56) says that "Common sense cannot but laugh at such fables".

141) JA, 1860, p. 196.

142) „Es ist erwähnenswert, daß in einer alten Darstellung der begleitenden Erscheinungen und Wirkungen des Erscheinens des Mahdi hervorgehoben wird, daß von jener Zeit an Weingenuß im Islam freigegeben sein wird." Goldziher, Vorlesungen, p. 175.

143) Pedigrees between Nizār and Ḥasan *dh.* s. are different:

First <i>Khōjāh</i> Pedigree	Second <i>Khōjāh</i> Pedigree	Third <i>Khōjāh</i> Pedigree
Nizār	Nizār	Nizār
Ḥādī	Ḥādī	Ḥādī
Mahdī (sic)	Muhtadī	Muhammad
Ḥasan	Ḥasan	Ḥasan

Fourth *Khōjāh* Pedigree Pedigree of the Ismā'īlīs of *Shughnān*

Nizār	Nizār
Ḥādī	Ḥādī
Mothālī (sic)	Muhtadī (sic)
Kāhīr	Kāhīr
Ḥasan	Ḥasan

Pedigrees given by Juwaynī  
1st Pedigree

Nizār	Nizār
Ḥādī	Ḥādī
Muhtadī	Muhtadī
Kāhīr	Ḥasan
Ḥasan	

2nd Pedigree

144) *Dabistān*, vol. II, p. 445. According to the Ismā'īlīs and the Druzes the day of resurrection signifies the manifestation of the Imām. Cf. De Hermyer, JA, 1849, pp. 41 L. Footnote, 1. According to Juwaynī (JA, 1860, p. 209) the sectarians of Ḥasan understood by resurrection the union of the beings with God. According to *Ta'rikh al-Guzida* (JA, 1849, p. 41) the Moslem *cali* *Ḥijr* was discarded and a new one was introduced from the day of the "Festival of Resurrection".

145) *Raudat al-Ṣafā*, pp. 54 f.

146) The couplet is translated by von Hammer in *Geschichte der Assassinen aus morgenländischen Quellen*, 1850, p. 169.

147) *Mirkhond*, pp. II, p. 446.

148) Cf. *Dabistān*, vol. II, p. 446.

149) By Ismā'īlī we shall henceforth understand the Nizārī branch of the Ismā'īlīs and particularly those who believe in the Imāmat of the Aga Khan, that is to say, the *Khōjāhs*, Maulais, the Ismā'īlīs of *Shughnān* and of Zanzibar.

150) In the *Khōjāh* Case (which we shall have occasion to describe in the second chapter) the grandfather of H. H. the Aga Khan produced a pedigree in the court by means of which he asserted himself to be a lineal descendant of 'Alī through Ismā'īl, Nizār and Ḥasan *dh.* s. While delivering the judgment, the learned judge remarked: "Von Hammer drawing exclusively (the judge referred to the *Geschichte der Assassinen*), as he admits, from Sunni sources leaves the statement of paternity (of Ḥasan *dh.* s.) involved in great doubt and obscurity which is certainly not cleared by the passage extracted from the tenth book of the Persian History of which a translation was put in by the relators and plaintiffs: the mystery that hangs about the story (the judge referred to the story of the veiled woman changing the son of the Imām for the son of Muhammad b. Buzurg Ummid) seems in some degree to justify the expression of witness No. 1 when he said that he had come to doubt the validity of Aga Khan's hereditary claims ever since he had found that he traced his pedigree through this *Dhikrihi* *al-salām*. This is not the place, of course, for any attempt to clear up the obscurity of an Asiatic pedigree (a task which even Gibbon was obliged to renounce as hopeless), but it may be observed in passing that the recorded follies of this *Dhikrihi* *al-salām* are such as to make it *prima facie* not unlikely that he might really have been (underlining is mine) a blood descendant from the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt, among whom are to be found, as notably in the case of Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh, the mad Messiah of the Druzes of Lebanon, some of the most fatuous and extravagant of all the Mussalman princes who have ever ruled in any part of the East." *Khōjāh* Case, p. 9.

151) *Mirkhond*, p. 60.



152) According to Ta'rikh-i-Guzida Jalāl al-Dīn died of dysentery but some people suspected that he was poisoned by his wife and sister (JA, 1849 p. 46). Mollā Mobad does not mention any suspicion regarding his death.

153) Mirkhond, p. 62.

154) According to Ta'rikh-i-Guzida he became mad after his brain had become affected.

155, 6, 7) Mirkhond, pp. 62 ff.

156) The principle of regarding an Imām's first nomination as the valid one arose on the occasion when Ja'far Šādiq had repudiated the nomination of Ismā'īl in favour of Mūsā. Hasan Šabbāh had sided with Nizār acting on the same principle.

159) Cf. Mirkhond, p. 64; Ta'rikh-i-Guzida, JA, 1849, p. 47.

160) Browne, vol. II, p. 427.

161) *ibid.*, p. 427.

162) The Syrian branch survived for a longer period. Cf. Guyard, *Grand Maître*, JA, 1877, pp. 324 ff.

163) According to Juwayni of his free will but Browne expresses his doubts.

164) Cf. Mirkhond, p. 69.

165) For details about the Ismā'īlīs of Persia, today, regarding their distribution, social position and the state of religion cf. Ivanov, *Ismailitica*, pp. 50—55.

166) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1.

167) Cf. DeFrémery's additional notes on this period in JA, 1849, pp. 49 ff.

168) According to Ibn Khaldūn "they are the Zaydis; they do not reject the two *Shaykhs* and they do not raise any objection to recognize them as Imāms; but 'Alī, according to them, had greater right to Imāmat than they". *Prolegomenes*, vol. I, p. 402; cf. also Friedländer, vol. I, p. 22, 74<sup>10</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup>.

169) Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 8. Ibn Hāzim is of different opinion. According to him the Ismā'īlīs were from the very beginning more inclined to the Ghulāt than the liberal Shī'īs. "From these baneful roots (of the Ghulāt) sprang up the Ismā'īliyya and Karmatians, two sections who publicly renounce Islam altogether and profess not only the purest Magism but also the doctrine of Mazdak the Mobad who lived at the time of Anushīrwan b. Kabād, the King of the Persians, and who advocated the necessity of communism regarding women and property." Friedländer, p. 37.

170) As a parallel we remember Deity as conceived by Gārgi in *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*: "He is not fat, without atom, not long, not red, without shadows, without darkness etc."; cf. *Br. Upaniṣad* II, 88; *Kathupaniṣad* I, 3.15; cf. further An encyclopaedic History of Indian Philosophy, Poona,

1926, vol. II, p. 423; Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān also have the conception of the attributes Deity. Compare the excellent account of the Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān, their religious beliefs and practices given by Semenov in *Mir Islama*, No. 4, 1912, pp. 523—56, tr. by Majerczak in RMM, 1913, pp. 202—18.

171) The Shughnān Ismā'īlīs have chosen the same cosmogony described here. Cf. Majerczak, RMM, 1913, p. 205.

172) Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 11.

173) The duty of the Nāṣik is to preach religion openly, that of the Asās to explain it allegorically to a selected few. Thus Mahomed the Prophet gave the Koran to the Moslems to be read literally whereas he gave the secret of interpreting it allegorically to 'Alī his Asās. 'Alī in his turn taught it to his son and thus the allegorical teaching has been handed down from Imām to Imām and the Ismā'īlīs maintain that they are the only people who are in possession of the real deep (*bāṭinī*) meaning of the Koran. Cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 51.

174) Ghazālī tells us that in his time i. e. that of the "New Propaganda" the metaphysics of the Universal Reason, the Universal Soul etc. were no longer recognized by the Ismā'īlīs. Cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 45.

175) According to Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān there is an interesting element called *Vosita* between the Prophet and his Asās forming a liaison between the two; between Adam and Seth it was Eve and between Mahomed and 'Alī Fāṭima. Cf. Majerczak, RMM, 1913, p. 207.

176) For Peter cf. Kraus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 251 f.

177) It seems from the account of Semenov that the Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān believe only in six cycles and consider all Imāms after Ja'far Šādiq as unrevealed so that Muhammad b. Ismā'īl is neither a prophet nor a revealed Imām. Cf. Majerczak, RMM, 1913, p. 207.

178) Cf. Ibn Hāzim, vol. I, pp. 34, 68; for the exaggerated views held by the different sects of the Shī'a on the divinity of 'Alī and the Imāms see *ibid.*, under Imām. Cf. further Blochet (*Messianisme*) where Darazi the chief admirer of Hākim, asserted that the soul of Adam passed into 'Alī and that 'Alī's soul passed through all the ancestors of Hākim an at last stopped with him. According to Goldziher even the most moderate Shī'a thinks somewhat in the following manner: "Seit Schöpfung Adams geht eine göttliche Lichtsubstanz von einem ausgewählten Nachkommen Adams in den andern über, bis daß sie in die Lenden des gemeinsamen Großvaters des Muhammad und des 'Alī gelangte; hier spaltete sich dies göttliche Licht und gelangte teils zu 'Abdallāh, dem Vater des Propheten, teils zu dessen Bruder Abū Tālib, dem Vater des 'Alī. Von diesem ist dies göttliche Licht von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht auf den jeweiligen Imām übergegangen. Die Anwesenheit des präexistierenden göttlichen Lichtes in der Substanz seiner Seele macht ihn zum Imām seines Zeitalters und gibt ihm ganz außerordentliche, die Linie des Menschlichen weit überragende geistige Kräfte; seine

Seelensubstanz ist reiner als die der Sterblichen, frei von bösen Regungen und geschmückt mit heiligen Formen", Vorlesungen, p. 206; cf. further Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes*, vol. I, p. 404.

179) According to Friedländer the conception of seven as a mysterious number goes back to the Pseudo-Clementines. For details see *Heterodoxies*, vol. II, 84<sup>th</sup>, 86<sup>th</sup>, 89<sup>th</sup>, 104<sup>th</sup>, 24, 127<sup>th</sup>. According to Shahrastānī the Arabs of the Age of Ignorance and the Indians had seven temples after the seven stars of the Ursa Major. Milal, vol. I, p. 336; further de Goeje, *Carmathes*, pp. 166 ff.

180) For the importance given to numbers seven and twelve cf. sectarian writings, Guyard, *Fragments*, No. III, p. 126.

181) The doctrine of rebirth existed among many of the early Shī'is. Cf. Friedländer, vol. II, p. 122<sup>nd</sup>. Shahrastānī and others mention a special sect called Tanāsukhiyya for their belief in rebirth (tanāsukh). Milal, vol. I, pp. 12, 63, 199, 27 ff.; Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, pp. 46 f.

182) The Ismā'īlīs of Shūghnān believe that the soul of the sinner does not go directly to hell. It passes into the body of an animal, then into a plant, then into a stone — always descending to lower and lower orders of creation — till at last it enters hell, a dark subterranean region full of serpents and lizards and other creatures. The sectarians belonging to higher order, however, do not believe in Heaven and Hell. What happens to the soul of a sinless child, is, according to the Shūghnānī Ismā'īlīs, only known to the Imām. Majerzák, *ibid.*, pp. 203, 9, 16.

183) Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 221; cf. further the Fragment No. 17 which expounds the doctrine that whereas for the orthodox Muslims there are only five Pillars of Religion, there are seven for the Ismā'īlīs. They introduce Walāya and Imāma i. e. the obligation of recognizing a leader temporary and spiritual who is the Imām.

According to the Shī'is there were originally two more Sūras in the Koran in which Allah reveals the legitimacy of 'Alī's khilāfa after Mahomed. One of them is called al-Walāya and reveals the obligation of recognizing 'Alī and his descendants as Imāms. For details cf. St. Clair Tisdall, *Shī'a additions to the Koran*, *Moslem World*, 1913, III, pp. 227 ff.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 1920, p. 271.

184) All these ideas of rebirth are well-known among the Khojās. It is however, not possible to say with definiteness how far the Khojās received them from the Ismā'īlī sources and how far from their Hindu neighbours.

185) To the laity, however, the sectarian writer described Heaven and Hell in orthodox manner, with murmuring rivulets of honey and wine, with carpets and silk and brocade, Huris etc. We have a delightful description of Heaven by an Ismā'īlī writer in Fragment No. XXVIII in Guyard. The Ismā'īlī laity of Shūghnān have a Heaven watered by four rivers, the first

of oil (raughan), the second of milk (khuff), the third of honey (saaf), the fourth of kharma, a special drink made of dates. Holy spirits patrons and protectors of men, angels and fairies of both sexes are the inhabitants of Paradise. Cf. Majerzák, *ibid.*, p. 209.

186) Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 215.

187) Dabistān, vol. II, p. 410. Speculation as to the nature of Heaven and Hell was rife among the Shī'is. For example, there were some who believed that Heaven and Hell will decay with their residents. Cf. Ibn Hazm, vol. I, p. 54; vol. II, pp. 73 f.

188) Cf. St. Guyard, *Le Fatwa d'Ibn Taymiyyah sur les Nosairis*, JA, p. 186. Ibn Taymiyyah directs his Fatwa chiefly against the Nosairis but includes also the Ismā'īlīs.

189) 'A'isha, universally respected by the Sunni Moslems, is hated by the Shī'is on account of her dislike for Fātima the mother of the Imāms. For the strained relationship between 'A'isha, idealized by the Sunnis, and Fātima, idealized by the Shī'is, see de Goeje, *ZDMG*, vol. 38, p. 385.

190) Mu'āwiya was the first Umayyad Caliph hated by the Shī'is for his enmity towards 'Alī. Cf. Ibn Hazm, vol. I, p. 62.

191) Cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, p. liif.

192) Ivanov, *Ismailitica*, p. 41; cf. also Kitāb al-Bayān al-Adyān in Blochet's *Messianisme*, p. 152.

193) Different Ismā'īlī writers give different allegorical interpretation to the same passage of the Koran and other writings. Thus according to another sectarian writer prayer means "the connection of the Dīn with the House of Peace, through paternal connection, in respect to religiousness, with the Imām." Salisbury, p. 318; cf. further Ibn Hazm vol. I, p. 35 where Ṣalāt is meant to signify "the supplication to the Imām." Ghazālī also complains of the lack of conformity among the Ismā'īlīs with regard to their teachings. Cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 44.

194) According to Dabistān, Fasting means the "preservation of the mysteries of the Imām." Vol. II, p. 408. In the Fatwa against the Nosairi Ibn Taymiyyah also mentions Ismā'īlīs giving the same interpretation to Fasting. Guyard, *loc. cit.*, p. 186.

195) Cf. Tabṣirat al-Awām in Schefer, *Ch. Persane*, p. 177.

196) According to another sectarian writer, Alms is the coming of wisdom to him who is worthy and the guiding of the inquirer to the open way of truth." Salisbury, p. 315.

197) Ivanov also remarks: "It is not without significance that the author, omitting all other religious prescriptions, deals only with this. It is not impossible that the restatement of the high ideals in this respect was one of the chief reasons for the composition of the present book to remind the believers the importance of this material question." *Ismailitica*, p. 43.

198) Cf. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 65.

199) De Sacy in his *Exposé* gives a detailed account of how from one silver coin tax the Karmatians were induced to make a common fund of their coin. See pp. cxxxvi.

200) The Aga Khan receives Zakāt from his followers not only in cash but also in kind (cf. Chatelier, *Aga Khan*, RMM, 1907, p. 57). He receives a good quantity of fur from his devotees in Chinese Turkestan. The Koran orders the believer to pay from ones "possessions" without telling definitely in what form the payment should be made. The zealous Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān go so far as to send their children to the Aga Khan with whom they remain from four to twenty years as servants, sometimes for their whole life. Majerczak, *ibid.*, p. 211.

201) Cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, p. xcv.

202) ZDMG, vol. 69, v. 85.

203) Cf. Goldziher, *Das Prinzip der takijja im Islam*, ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 213—226; Ivanov, *Ismā'īlīca*, p. 43.

204) Vol. I, p. 410.

205) *Dabistān*, vol. II, pp. 404 f.

206) De Sacy, *Exposé*, xciii.

207) There were in the beginning seven degrees of initiation in Ismā'īlism which were later on increased to nine.

208) Browne, vol. I, p. 413.

209) *ibid.*, p. 419.

210) See page 32.

211) Cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, p. cxx f.; Browne, *ibid.*, p. 414; *Dabistān*, vol. II, p. 407.

212) *ibid.*, pp. 407 ff.

213) De Sacy, *Exposé*, pp. cxxxi f.

## CHAPTER II.

1) Cf. Titus, *Indian Islam*, p. 92.

2) Cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 72.

3) Cf. JA, 1871, p. 197.

4) Cf. L'organisation des Musulmans des Indes, RMM, 1908, p. 852.

5) Cf. Titus, p. 93.

6) For the spread of Islam in India see Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 254, 311; Titus, pp. 1—53.

7) It must, however, be remembered that at this early period historians used the terms Ismā'īliyya and Karāmīta as synonymous and very often they named them merely Malāhidā i. e. heretic par excellence.

8) Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the father of 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī Muḥammad al-Habīb had a missionary called Ibn Ḥaushab in Yemen who

preached the advent of Mahdī. It was he, according to the same writer, who sent the first missionary to India. Cf. *Histoire des Barbares*, vol. II, pp. 506, 9; Nuwayz quoted in de Sacy's *Exposé*, p. cccxxi; Titus, p. 95.

9) Cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, pp. cccxxi, 216 f.; Deffrémery, JA, 1856, p. 382.

10) *ibid.*, p. 389.

11) Cf. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, pp. 335 f.; E. D. Roß, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, 1921, vol. II, pp. 704 f. For literature concerning the occupation of the Karmatians in Multan see Elliot, loc. cit., p. 442 and Deffrémery, *ibid.*, p. 382 footnote.

12) Titus, p. 101. Menant also says (RMM, vol. XII, p. 220) "On pense que ce Nour Je Turc était Nour Satagour ou Nour ou Nour ad-Din."

13) Arnold makes Nūr Satgur come to India between 1094 and 1143. In that case it is of course impossible to consider Nūr Turk and Nūr Satgur as the same person. Cf. Arnold, p. 275.

14) According to Sachedina Nanjāni Pīr Sadr al-Dīn had three names: Sadr al-Dīn, Sahadev (the fifth Pāndava brother of the Mahābhārata), and Harichand (Harichandra?). The second and the third names were adopted by the Pīr to satisfy the Hindu converts. Cf. *Khōjāh Vrttānt*, p. 182.

15) The Persian word *Khawājah* means a man of distinction, a doctor, professor, teacher, a venerable old man, lord, master, eunuch. "Its full meaning as applied to the community converted by Pīr Sadr al-Dīn may, perhaps, fairly be taken to amount to this: 'the honourable or worshipped converts.'" *Khōjāh Case*, p. 12.

16) This lodge is nowadays called Jamā'at Khāna.

17) All these four are heroes of the epic Mahābhārata.

18) *Khōjāh Vrttānt*, p. 239.

19) In the Shughnāni list the corresponding place is occupied by one Fatallā Jawān Maḥdī. Since there cannot be a name written as Fatallā, Ivanov, who evidently is ignorant of the story of appointing a book as Pīr, reads it as Fathu'llāh. Most probably the Shughnāni Ismā'īlīs were not either aware of this fact and Fatallā is a result of this misunderstanding. The veneration of a book as a personality is also to be found among the Sikhs who call their scriptures Grantha Sāhib (the respected book). Sāhib is otherwise applied only to persons as an honorific.

20) Mehlati is between Hamdan and Kum, the latter a city about midway between Isfahan and Tehran, and important as the burial place of more than one of the Sāhabs of the Ṣafawī dynasty.

21) Cf. Rousseau, *Annales des voyages*, vol. XIV, p. 280.

22) Cf. Fraser, *Journey into Khorasan*, quoted by Deffrémery, JA, 1849, p. 53.

23) Cf. Arnold, *Khōjāh Case*, p. 11; Deffrémery, loc. cit., p. 53. According to Rousseau Khallāllāh lived in Khok. Cf. *Annales des voyages*, vol. XIV, p. 280.

24) History of Persia, vol. VIII, p. 192 quoted by Arnould in *Khojāh Case*, p. 11.

25) Arnould, *Khojāh Case*, p. 11.

26) The excommunicated members of the sect were called *Bārbbāi* on account of their being twelve in number (*Bār* = twelve, *Bhāi* = brother).

27) Arnould, *Khojāh Case*, p. 15.

28) Both the parties in the suit agreed that *Pir Šadr al-Dīn* had converted them from Hinduism to some form of Islam: while the Aga Khan party maintained that the *Khojāhs* were converted to *Isma'īlism*, the other party maintained that the *Khojāhs* were originally converted to *Sunnism*, and that by signing the paper in *Bhendī Bazar* the defendants have become *Shī'īs*. Although forming a small number they (the complainants) maintained that a minority however numerically small, holding fast by the original faith in which it was converted, is entitled to prevail against a majority however numerically large, which can be shown to have receded from or renounced it. Cf. *Khojāh Case*, p. 5.

29) Arnould, *Khojāh Case*, p. 3.

30) *ibid.*, p. 3.

31) *ibid.*, p. 18.

32) *Panjtānī-pāk* signifies the five holy personages: Mahomed, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan, Husayn.

33) Cf. Arnould, *Khojāh Case*, p. 6.

34) *ibid.*, p. 11.

35) Dumasia, p. 89.

36) For the meaning of the slogan cf. Goldziher, *Parisisme et Islam*, *RHR*, vol. 43, p. 3.

37) *Celebrities of Modern India*, The Aga Khan, 1917, p. 1.

38) *ibid.*, p. 4.

39) For the political and social activities of the Aga Khan cf. Chatterjee, *RMM*, 1907, vol. I, pp. 48 ff.

40) Dumasia, pp. 137 ff.

41) The other reason for his not showing miracles was expressed by him as follows: God has said that he has created Heaven and Hell and they will be full. If I show miracles every one will take faith in me and Hell will be empty. That would not work.

42) Cf. E. J. Vartelji, *Hidayet*, p. 5 f.

43) The first Aga Khan came to India in 1845. The account, therefore, belongs to a period when he had already influenced the religious life of the *Khojāhs* to a certain extent.

44) This is a mistake on the part of the judge. Aga Khan is not a descendant of the *Pir* (evidently *Šadr al-Dīn*) who converted the *Khojāhs*.

45) They might have done this only in accordance with their policy of *Takīyya*.

46) I do not think that even now the *Khojāhs* care for a Gujarati translation.

47) Cf. also Ivanov, *Isma'ilica*, p. 11: "The relation of the *Imām* to Deity is the object of the most secret speculations and is veiled in impenetrable mystery."

48) In an open letter to H. H. the Aga Khan the signatories complained that his missionaries preached that he was God. Cf. also p. 51 where the Aga Khan himself condemns those who consider him to be God to Hell.

49) Replying to a question of the *Khojāhs* as to the number of *Imāms* H. H. the Aga Khan said, "Imāms are numberless. After me my son will be the *Imām*, after him his son and so on." Cf. also Juwayni: "Le fils de l'*imām* est aussi *imām*, et son petit-fils, et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à la fin des siècles." *JA*, 1856, p. 364; Von Kremer, *Idées*, p. 197.

50) In orthodox Islam the dead has only to confess the unity of God and the prophethood of Mahomed. The testing of the faith of a person in the grave is called '*Adhāb al-kabr*' and is a fundamental article of Moslem faith. It is based on a *Hadīth* on the authority of *Abū Hurayra*. According to Goldziher "it is related that 'A'isha owned to having received the idea of the torments of the grave ('*Adhāb al-kabr*', Hebr. *ḥibbut ha'keber*) from Jewish women and that Mahomed incorporated it in his teachings." Cf. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, 1885, p. 27; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. VI, p. 656; *Talmud Babyl.*, Tractate *Ḥibbut ha'keber* II.

51) The number 84 has its importance due most probably to its being the sum of seven multiplied by twelve. We have already seen that these two numbers played a great rôle in the history of orthodox *Isma'īlism*.

52) This seems rather surprising for evidently the Aga Khan believes in a hell.

53) Cf. Note 182 in Chapter I. The *Khojāhs* do not believe in rebirth in the shape of plants and stones as *Shughnāni Isma'īlis* do.

54) Cf. Ivanov, *Isma'ilica*, p. 11.

55) The Aga Khan is supposed to have the soul of all these prophets in him.

56) The *Khojāh* women do not observe *Pardah*. Attempts are therefore always made by the *Khojāhs* to justify this conduct basing their arguments on the Koran.

57) The *Ahmadiyya* and the *Kadianis* are the other two sects in India who give very liberal, sometimes allegorical interpretations to the Koran. As a typical example we can take the following: "And when the camels are left (Koran, LXXXI, 4)" is said in the Koran to signify one of the calamities of the day of resurrection. Evidently it means that there would be such a chaos that the Arabs who value their camels more than anything would not even care for them. Muhammad Ali, an *Ahmadi*, explains the passage as meaning the time when a swifter mode of journey would be

introduced i. e. the railway system (it is surprising that he does not mention the aeroplane!) and camels would be discarded. We quote yet another passage: "And when the mountains are made to pass away (Koran, LXXXI, 5). According to Muhammad Ali "the passing away of the mountains signifies the passing away of the great men of the leaders of the opponents." The Holy Quran, ed. Muhammad Ali, Lahore, 1920, p. 1164, 2670, 1.

58) Cf. Von Oppenheim, Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf, 1899, vol. I, p. 133.

59) Goldziher remarks (Vorlesungen, p. 376<sup>223</sup>): „Die Khojās halten sich nicht an das Siebenersystem der ismāʿilīten Imāmlchre“ and gives as an example the Khojāh Ithnā ʿashari community. This is evidently a misunderstanding on Goldziher's part. The Khojāh Ithnā ʿashari as noticed in the text are those who have left the orthodox Khojāh community, and their recognizing twelve Imāms does not mean that the whole Khojāh community has accepted the Ithnā ʿashari doctrines. The quotation given by Goldziher (RMM, vol. 8, p. 491) also refers to those Khojāhs alone who have left the orthodox fold. Cf. also Titus p. 104.

60) A parallel is found among the Ahmadiyya. Those among them who refused to recognize the son of Ghulām Ahmad as the leader and formed a new sect are hated most by the others and are considered to be the worst infidels.

61) Vol. IX, pt. II, p. 87.

62) A. L. C., RMM, vol. 5, p. 529.

63) The sectarians did not explain to me what these proceedings mean.

64) The first Aga Khan was in the habit of holding darbār (the same as Majlis) when all the members of the Khojāh community who pleased could attend to have the honour of kissing his hand. It is thus clear that at that time it was not necessary to be a member of any organization like the Moī Kāmo Panjibhai.

65) Cf. de Sacy, Exposé, pp. ccxxxi, cxcvi, ccclix, III; Ibn Khaldūn, Berberes, vol. 1, p. 32.

66) The Karmatians had also their Dār al-Hijra (House of Retreat), but unfortunately we do not know what ceremonies used to take place in them. Cf. de Goeje, Carmathes, p. 47.

67) For the Hadithes and the account regarding the earliest Mosques in Medina given by Bukhārī, Ibn Hishām, etc., cf. EI, III, p. 374 ff.

### CHAPTER III.

1) The omission of the other two prayers said in broad day light may have been done in conformity with the Khojāhs' policy of concealment. As the prayer of the Khojāhs is entirely different from that of the other Moslems of India, they may have been afraid to say their prayers at day time

for fear of being detected and persecuted by the orthodox Moslems. Lutfallah tells us that it was Pir Dādū who first ordered his followers to pray three times a day. Al-Rāwandī also mentions of Ismāʿilis of Khurāsān praying three times a day. Cf. JRAS, 1902, p. 880. The Khojāhs are by no means the only people who differ from the Sunnis in praying three times. Ibn Hāzīm tells us that there were sects among the Shīʿis who were supposed to pray fifty times while others reduced the prayers to seventeen with fifteen bows in each. Cf. Friedländer, vol. I, p. 37; vol. II, p. 18. Even in the beginning of Islam there seems to have been no fixed number. „In einer besonderen Abhandlung hat erst Houtsma die Tatsache festgestellt, daß Muhammad das obligate Ṣalāt ursprünglich nur für zwei Tageszeiten eingerichtet hat, die er später mit einem dritten Ṣalāt, dem mittleren (al-wustā) erweiterte.“ Cf. Goldziher who quotes from Iets over den dagelijkse ḡalāt der Mohammedanen (Theolog. Tijdschrift XXIV, 127—134), ZDMG, vol. 52, p. 385.

2) That is facing the Ka'ba, which orthodox Ismāʿilis explained symbolically as meaning the house of the Imām. Cf. Dabistān, vol. II, p. 409; further: „Die Halle der Imāme sei die Kibla für die (rituelle) Kniebeugung und Prostration“, „Bleibe uns eine Ka'ba zu deinem Tore mögen unsere Hoffnungen die kleine und die große Wallfahrt vollziehen.“ Streitschrift, p. 8.

3) In orthodox Moslem Ṣalāt the whole of the opening chapter of the Koran has to be recited at least twice.

4) Cf. Koran, II, 239.

5) The usual Arabic formula used by the Moslems is "I begin in the name of Allāh, the kind and merciful". The Ismāʿilī dāʿīs did not make use of this formula except when they were afraid of being detected by the orthodox Moslems. Cf. Ivanov, Ismailitica, p. 25.

6) All prayers whether directed to Allāh, ʿAlī or Pirs have, at the end, to be addressed to the Aga Khan for acceptance.

7) It is impossible to identify these seventeen mythical "shapes". Some of them are Sanskrit words, one Arabic and therefore have some meaning.

b) Alakh (from Sanskrit) means unseen.

d) Anil (from Sanskrit) means not Blue.

h) Ginān (from Sanskrit jñān) means knowledge. Khojāh religious books are also called Ginān but this Ginān seems to have nothing to do with them.

i) Nūr (Arabic) means Light.

j) Tej (Sanskrit) means Power.

k) Jal (Sanskrit) means Water.

l) Kamal (Sanskrit) means Lotus.

n) Jag (Sanskrit) means World.

o) Tattva (Sanskrit) means Essence, Truth. In Bahviṣya Purāṇa IV, 25, 109 the Avatāras (incarnations) are called Tattvas.

- p) Premtattva (Sanskrit) means Truth of Love,  
q) Adpurush (Sanskrit Adī Puruṣa) means First Man or First Active Principle.

I do not know whether the Khōjāhs recite all these names in their daily prayer. I quote these from the Khōjāh prayer book. The annotation of the said prayer book does not make any attempt at explaining them.

8) This doctrine is not in conformity with the orthodox Ism'īlī one according to which "quant à l'apparition de l'homme, elle s'explique par le besoin qu'éprouve l'âme universelle d'acquiescer la science parfaite, afin de s' élever à la nature de la Raison universelle, de la reproduire." Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 11.

9) Here again is the same difficulty of identifying these evidently fictitious personages.

- c) Dharam (Sanskrit Dharma) means Religion, Eternal Law,  
d) Keshava (Sanskrit) a name of Viṣṇu,  
f) Uttarā (Sanskrit) means one belonging to the north. In Mahābhārata the wife of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna of the Pāṇḍava dynasty.  
h) Pururavā, (Sanskrit), a hero lover of Urvashi, the dancer of Indra's court.

i) Antatī (Sanskrit), means Endless, Eternal,  
j) Premrūp (Sanskrit), the Loving Form.  
10) We can identify these ten as the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the Das Avatār of the Khōjāhs. The spelling, however, is so erroneous that one can easily understand the wild fantasy of the maker of the prayer. The faulty spelling makes me suspect that originally the other names mentioned earlier were also Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian or Kachchhi names but on account of their present faulty form it is no longer possible to trace their origin.

11) As I cannot trace these eight Pātras I omit their names. It is also difficult to understand in what sense the Sanskrit word Pātra is used. Originally it means a competent person, a king's counsellor etc. It might here only mean a follower. Has it anything to do with the Ism'īlī Hujjat conception?

12) Some of these Pātras have Arabic, other Sanskrit names.  
13) Of these eight Pātras one is Gautama who appears again as Buddha. Our maker of the prayer seems to have been ignorant of the fact that they were the same person. Another of the Pātras is Khalifat (Khilāfat). What the abstract noun Khilāfat has to do with the Pātras is unimaginable. It only shows the fantasy of the saint who wanted to make a thorough mixture of Hinduism and Islam.

14) Māndhātā is one of them, Sanskrit Māndhātā (tā), a king fostered by Indra.

15) One of them is Ajaypāl, an Indian monarch and another Dashaṛatha in the Rāmāyana.

16) Yashavardhana, an Indian monarch is one of them; another Viṣṇu-deva, a name of Viṣṇu.

17) Parikshit is one of them. He is the son of Abhimanyu and the grandson of Arjuna. Another is Janamajeya who is the son and successor of Parikshit. The next is Sheshānada. Shesha is the king of the serpent races. These three have some relation with one another but the last four Satyānanda (one whose pleasure lies in Truth, no king of this name is known from the dynasty of Parikshit), Svasthāna (one's own place), Vudhasthāna and Vinvachhraj are quite unknown.

18) These twenty eight Pātras are taken from the pedigree of 'Alī. They are: Shīsh, Sām, Salām, Malkān, Islām, Hārūn, Samun Safa, Adnān, Ma'dd, Nizār, Mudar, Ilyās, Mudrika, Khuzaina, Kināna, Nazar Mālik, Fīhr (Kuraysh), Ghālib, Loway, Ka'b, Murra, Kilīb, cussay, 'Abd al-Mannāf, Abū Hāshim, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Tālib, 'Alī and as his son was born Shīh Maūlā Murtadā 'Alī. Shīsh is Arabic for Seth. Sām for Shem. From Adnān to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib the descents are universally accepted as correct by the Moslem historians. Cf. pedigree prepared by Suleiman Ghulam Hussain with the assistance of Prof. Sheikh Abū al-Kādir Sarfaraz, Karachi, 1905. The same persons have prepared another pedigree from 'Alī to Aga Khan which we have already quoted. Cf. further Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 1861, vol. I, p. cxcv.

19) Das Avatār also narrates: "His Viṣṇu's) tenth shape, spotless Nārāyana, was taken by the deity, the incarnation Shīr Maūlā Murtadā 'Alī." Motā Das Avatār, p. 82.

20) The pedigree from 'Alī to the Imām of the age used to be recited even at the time of the first Aga Khan. Cf. Khōjāh Case, p. 14.

21) The greater the number of persons he can shake hands with, without rising from his seat, the more the merit.

22) Panj tanōPāk is universally respected by all the Shī'īs of the world. The veneration of the five persons in the shape of a hand having five fingers is done especially by the Shī'īs who carry it in front of their processions. A good example of such a hand can be seen in the British Museum. In this connection we may recall that the five Pāndavas of the Mahābhārata were taken as these five personages by Sadr al-Dīn. The Sunnis have their Panj tan comprising of the Prophet and the four Caliphs. Cf. Khōjāh Case, p. 7.

23) For Sharīb Mirzā cf. p. 72.

24) The Bombay Gazetteer says that it is supposed that this conversation has the merit of making the gift of a horse.

25) Sindhi schools are evening schools situated in the Jamā'at Khāna where Khōjāh boys receive religious training and learn to read the Sindhi language in which the Gināns are written.



26) Phases of the moon play an important rôle even in orthodox Islam. Cf. Koran, II, 185; Blochet, *Messianisme*, p. 38.

27) The Parsees have the same custom. Jains do it too but in order not to destroy any living creature.

28) It seems from an account in the Bombay Gazetteer that the Aga Khan used to preside over the Ghat Path ceremony. The custom prevailed among the Carmatians too with the only difference that instead of a drink it used to be a dish of food. "Il préparait un mets excellent et d'un goût délicieux, qu'il divisait en petites portions de la grosseur d'un oveline: il en donnait une à chacun de ceux qui lui payaient sept pièces d'or, disant que c'était la nourriture des habitants du paradis laquelle avait été envoyée du ciel à l'Imâm, et que cela lui avait été donné comme des cachets." De Sacy, *Exposé*, CLXXXVII f. Cf. Further Massignon, *Et*, vol II, p. 281: "Es ist vielleicht nur eine Umbildung des geweihten Brotes, das bei den Mandäern von Wasit gebräuchlich war." Even in modern time Keshab Chandra Sen of Naba Bidhân Brâhmo Samâj adopted this custom.

29) Recital of holy scriptures is considered meritorious in orthodox Islam too.

30) Food for distribution among the poor is brought to the mosques by Moslems all over the world. But this system of selling it by auction is, at least in India, not known.

31) Cf. Sachedina Nanjiani, *Khojâh Vitrânt*, p. 240.

32) According to a *saḥîḥ* *Ḥadîth* of Bukhârî the Prophet said: "Certainly Lailat al-kadr was revealed to me but I have forgotten (its date), but search for it in the last ten days and on one of the odd days." There is, therefore, no fixed date or dates agreed upon by all the theologians of which one is the Lailat al-kadr. Cf. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, 1907, p. 2. The Koran was revealed on the Lailat al-kadr night.

33) Moslems of other sects beg for forgiveness in a ceremonial manner in death-bed which is called Tauba (tauba = to return to God, and Tauba = Recognition of sins).

34) All collections made in the Jamâ'at *Khâna* go to the Imâm. The *Murshid* (Imâm) and the Jamâ'at are identical. *Khojâh Case*, p. 14.

35) The Maulai followers of the 'Aga Khan and the Persian Ismâ'îlîs do not fast. Cf. Chatelier, *RMM*, vol. I, p. 66; *Ismailitica*, p. 57.

36) Cf. Dumasia, *Aga Khan*, p. 64.

37) *Annales*, p. 280.

38) I omit the legal terms.

39) I quote from the résumé given by F. F. S., *Der Islam*, vol. IV, 1913, p. 447.

40) Cf. Ivanov, *Ismailitica*, pp. 56 ff.

41) About 240 English pound weight.

42) Sachedina Nanjiani, *Khojâh Vitrânt*, p. 239.

43) Dumasia, *Aga Khan*, p. 64.

44) Tribes and Castes of the Bombay Presidency, p. 228.

45) *Khojâh Case*, p. 13 f.

46) The famous *Khojâh Case* rested chiefly on this money matter. The Momans split from the *Khojâh* community in the 16th century mainly on their refusal to pay the *dasonḍi*.

47) Cf. p. 224.

48) a) *Charṭar*, regular tithe, c) *Samar Chhanda*, see p. 94. The tax refers to the tax paid by the dying person. g) *Chandranu Pirnu*: On the evening of the new moon after the Ghat Path prayer the *Khojâh* drinks a kind of sacramental water which is called the *Niaz* and *Pirana*. The silver coin paid on that occasion may refer to this *Chandranu Pirnu*. h) *Bahi bhukhi* means hungry brother. It might mean some kind of payment in connection with the feeding of the poor. i) *Daray Bakas*: from *Daryâ Bakhsh* or *Bakhshish*. Offering to the sea. This is possibly a payment in connection with the ceremony performed by the *Khojâhs* when somebody undertakes a sea voyage. A special prayer is recited after which two coconuts are thrown into the sea. Coconut is considered to be a sacred fruit by the Hindus, hence the name *Shri Phal* (*Shri* = sacred, *Phal* = fruit). The idea underlying may be that the traveller may travel as smoothly as coconuts float and not get drowned even in case of shipwreck. j) *Chhati Mandu*: A payment on the occasion of the ceremony performed six days after the birth of a child. k) *Gulf* (locks): The *Khojâh* boy's head is shaved in his eighth or ninth year. On that occasion a small amount is paid to the *Jamâ'at Khâna*. Giving alms to the poor on the occasion of shaving a child's head for the first time is common among the other Moslems of India. *Mata Salami*: It might mean some kind of payment made to the mother of the Imâm who is called the *Mâtâ Salâmat* (holy mother). It might be recalled that the family of the Imâm is also considered holy. n) *Kango* is the regular subscription paid in the *Motâkâmmo Panjibhal*. "Besides these when pressed for money the Imâm sends round the *jholi* or wallet demanding extraordinary levy of the tenth or the fifth part of the whole of a *Khojâh's* possessions. This is called the *Bakkas*, a corruption of *bakhshish* or voluntary gift. Though it once caused the defection of a large number from the community the *Khojâh* have more than once cheerfully paid the *Bakkas*. The date of its last payment was 1839-1840." In "An open Letter to H. H. the Aga Khan" the signatories alleged that although the *Zakât* means 2.5% of a Moslem's income (?) a *Khojâh* pays about 50% of his income in various shapes. In the same Letter it was alleged that from Karachi alone the Aga Khan receives as much as Rs. 20,000/- per month and that once during his stay there he received Rs. 150,000/- in 26 days and on another occasion in two hours Rs. 154,000/-. The grandfather of the present Aga Khan had an income of about £ 10,000 sterling a year



\*derived from his votaries in many various, and some very remote parts of Asia." Cf. *Khojāh Case*, p. 11.

59) *Chhate* comes from the Sanskrit word *Ṣaṣṭhi* (sixth). *Ṣaṣṭhi* is also the name of the popular Hindu goddess who is supposed to take care of the children. If not the ceremony, the name at least has been taken by the Moslems from the Hindus. In orthodox Moslem families, no ceremony or worshipping of the goddess takes place. The child and the mother are given a special bath and the children of the locality are invited to a feast. It is generally supposed that the sixth day after the child's birth is dangerous for it. There are legends in many Indian vernaculars relating how the goddess *Ṣaṣṭhi* takes care of the children.

50) Has it any connection with the assassins who used to murder their opponents by stabbing with knives? Ibn Battūta also mentions Ismā'īlīs using knives for assassination. Cf. *Voyage d'Ibn Batoutāh*, éd. Defrémery, 1877, p. 167.

51) Butter is regarded as holy by Hindus and on all ceremonial occasion oil is discarded in preference to butter.

52) Rice and grass represent fruitfulness and are always used by the Hindus and even by some Moslem women in blessing a person.

53) This method of transferring supernatural power is common all over India and is done on all occasions.

54) Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, *ibid*.

55) The trial is repeated in a form of question in the grave again.

56) *Khojāh Case*, p. 6.

57) The sanctity of Husaynābād is just like the numberless *Kādam Ruzūls* (foot-prints of the Prophet) which can be found in many places in India. They are the places where the Prophet is supposed to have stepped on. Cf. *El*, under *Kādam Sharīf*. The fact that the last Imām (45th) ordered, that his dead body should be buried in Karbalā shows that he had his doubts about the sanctity of Husaynābād.

58) For *Nau Rē*: among the earliest sects of the Shī'īs and Persians see Blochet, *Messianism*, p. 35; among the Ismā'īlīs of *Shuḥnān* see Majer, *czak*, *RMM*, 1913, p. 213.

59) It is interesting to note that the calendar was first made by the poet 'Omar *Khayyām*, the supposed friend of both Hasan b. *Ṣabbāh* and Niẓām al-Mulk.

60) For sending eatables to heaven for the dead ancestors see de Sacy, *Exposé*, CLXXXVIII; it also reminds us of the *Pinda* (rice ball) offering of the Hindus.

61) Even in the earliest period of Ismā'īlism the Fātimid Caliphs used to celebrate Muharram. Cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 7.

62) Supposed to be the day on which Adam and Eve were reunited after their expulsion from paradise and on which Noah came out of the Ark. Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 115; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Principes du Droit Musulman selon les rites d'Abou Hanifah et de Chafī*, Alger, 1896, p. 41; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, pp. 652 ff.

63) Imitation of tombs made of wood, bamboo and paper to represent the graves of Hasan and Husayn.

64) *Sharbat* symbolizes the thirst from which Husayn and his family suffered in Karbalā. The Sunnī Moslems also distribute *Sharbat* on the 'Ashūrā day.

65) I do not know whether the *Khojāhs* celebrate it any more. "The only Moslem sect which celebrates the festival of Ghadir *Khumm* (the pond of *Khumm*) is that of the Shīites. They relate that 'Alī and Muḥammad being at a place of this name, lying half way between Mecca and Medina, the Prophet by a solemn declaration, appointed 'Alī his successor." Ibn *Khalikān*, vol. I, p. 160, 162; The Fātimid Caliphs also used to celebrate the festival on the 15th of *Dhu al-Hijja*.

66) This custom is observed even by the *Khojāh* *Ithnā'ashārī* who have left the *Khojāh* fold.





