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decline of the Khojki script

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Abstract

The Khojki script is an Indian script whose origins are in Sindh (now southern Pakistan), a region that has witnessed the conflict between Islam and Hinduism for more than 1,200 years. After the gradual occupation of the region by Muslims from the 8th century onwards, the region underwent significant cultural changes.

This dissertation reviews the history of the script and the different uses that it took on among the Khoja people since Muslim missionaries began their activities in Sindh communities in the 14th century. It questions the origins of the Khojas and exposes the impact that their transition from a Hindu merchant caste to a broader Muslim community had on the development of the script. During this process of transformation, a rich and complex creed, known as *Satpanth*, resulted from the blend of these cultures. The study also considers the roots of the Khojki writing system, especially the modernization that the script went through in order to suit more sophisticated means of expression. As a result, through recording the religious *Satpanth* literature, Khojki evolved and left behind its mercantile features, insufficient for this purpose.

Through comparative analysis of printed Khojki texts, this dissertation examines the use of the script in Bombay at the beginning of the 20th century in the shape of Khoja Ismaili literature. It concludes that due to the Islamization of the Khojas in colonial India, the script began its decline in the following decades when the production of texts in Khojki stopped. Finally, in the middle of fundamental political changes on the Indian subcontinent, Khojki struggled to survive as a living script until it gave way to its definitive replacement by Gujarati and Arabic in the regions of Gujarat and Sindh, respectively.

Acknowledgement

Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

Muslim conquest of the Indian subcontinent mainly took place between the 12th and the 16th centuries. Nevertheless, early incursions made their way into modern-day Pakistan as early as the 8th century.

This dissertation reviews the history the Khojki script, a North Indian script from Sindh, a region located at the western limit of the Indian subcontinent. Sindh has witnessed throughout its history the birth and death of civilizations like the Indus Valley Civilization; the active commerce of cities like Banbhore; and numerous invasions by the Aryans, Mongols or Turks. However, this study does not delve into earlier invasions but focuses on those that occurred more peacefully in the 14th century with the arrival of the Muslim *pirs* and *sayyids* from Persia.*
The Sindh region, and others such as Punjab and Gujarat, were the first places that received gradual Muslim incursions into Hindu communities, starting 1,200 years ago.

Language and writing constituted the first barrier to religious conversion. It is believed that one prominent *pir* was most active inside the Hindu Lohana community, a caste of merchants and traders. Therefore, the *pir* adopted the Lohānākī script of this community as a way to approach and transmit the teachings to the people. The converted came to be known as the Khojas caste. Nevertheless, the script was unrefined and rudimentary, limited to mercantile uses. For this reason, in order to record religious literature the script needed to go through several refinements during its history. The result is what we know as Khojki script.

Significantly, a totally different creed, known as *Satpanth*, grew inside the community after the blend of these cultures. Academic interest has been stimulated by the special nature of *Satpanth* literature and its place in the Indian subcontinent. It has emerged as a fascinating example of an Islamic religious movement expressing itself within a local Indian religious culture to guide seekers.[1] The evidence of the existence of Khojki is found in manuscripts with *Satpanthi* poetry and hymns, commonly known as *gināns*.

The Khojas were of significant importance in the region. Thus the history of the script cannot be told without examining their history. Then, one must ask what was the role of the script, born from such a peculiar mixture, in the creation of modern Khoja identity.

Nowadays, different versions regarding the ownership of the script are in dispute. The Nizari Ismailis, Muslims from the Shia branch of Islam, claimed that the script, as well the teaching of the *gināns* by the *pirs*, were used to convert the Lohanas from Hinduism to Shia Ismailism. This version is refuted by other scholars, mostly from the Francophone convention, who state that this perspective was first publicly articulated in the 19th century.

Defining Khoja identity continues to be problematic for academics. For this reason, this dissertation questions the origins and exhibits the tension between critical perspectives of agnostic scholars on the sources used by adherents of the religion. Furthermore, the term *Satpanth* has been historically used by Ismailis that claim to be Muslim, as well as by adherents of subgroups that claim to be Hindu. Plurality in identity has been a prominent characteristic of the Khojas.

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* *Pirs* and *sayyid*s were priests entrusted with propagating Muslim doctrines in India by Imams residing in Iran.

1 KASSAM, TAZIM R. "Preface". *Essays on Ismaili Hymns of South Asia.* 2010. p. 10.

These confusions lead to important conflicts and schisms within the community in the 19th century; therefore the life of the Khojas would change dramatically, especially with the arrival of Hasan Ali Shah (the Aga Khan) to Bombay in 1842, who came to re-order the community as their Shia Imam (leader). As part of his interventions, he replaced some customs and suggested more participation in Shia rituals; in contrast, the community socially functioned as a Hindu caste[2] with *Satpanthi* creed.

The presence of the Imam upset some traditional groups, leading to intense disputes in the British courts of Bombay. In the aftermath of the famous 'Aga Khan Case' in 1866, the Khojas who remained loyal to the Aga Khan came to identify themselves as Ismailis. During that trial, the *Satpanthi* literature, as well the Khojki script, had a significant role in the resolution of the case.

Hence, under the status of being the official script of the Ismaili Khojas, the publication of religious literature in Khojki was centralized and brought under the direct control of the Aga Khan, who introduced a programme of reforms through the official Khoja Sindhi Printing Press to align the process of identity transformation from an Indic caste to a Muslim denomination.[3] The texts were standardized, and independent presses were discouraged. This was one of many reforms of Islamization of the creed lead by the Aga Khans among the Khojas, making their Indic traditions soon incompatible with an evolving Islamic identity.[4]

During the first half of the 20th century, the script gradually began its decline when the presses stopped the production of texts in Khojki. The script gave way first to the Gujarati script, and later on to Arabic. What are the factors that lead to the death of the script? The polarization and tense atmosphere in the British colonial rule, which narrowly demarcated 'Hindu' and Muslim', pressured the Khoja to reshape their identity. Ismaili plurality was then difficult to sustain against prevailing modernity.

The encounter between Hindus and Muslims generated the creation of the script centuries ago. Later on, and due to the polarizing forces of religious nationalism in the Indian subcontinent, was it this same encounter which caused its final demise?

In this dissertation we will see the process of transformation in the Khoja community and the effort of the Khojki script to survive under these circumstances. Thus, as an Indian script, its death was inevitable in a community that responded with equal survival instinct to the growth of Muslim nationhood, a scheme to which they began to be part of when they removed their Indic roots.

2   ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim*, 2010. p. 4.
3   Ibid. p. 3.
4   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 11.

Figure 1   The map shows the regions in the Indian subcontinent with current political borders in bold lines. After partition
in 1947, Punjab straddles the border created after the division. [Illustration by Juan Bruce. Not to scale]

2   ORIGINS

The probable origins of the script ultimately lead us to the region of Sindh, now south of Pakistan (Fig. 1). There are reasons to believe the various communities of this region had an important impact on the way the Khojki script evolved; especially after the encounter between Muslim teachings and the ancient traditions of the Hindu people of Sindh, Punjab and Gujarat.

After the fundamental changes in the identity of the Khoja community from the 19th century onwards, most of the information is found in the Muslim tradition, more specifically, among the Nizari Ismailis. Notwithstanding the Indic traditions were very strong in the region and the community form which the script took form was the Hindu Lohana caste,[1] an Indian caste of merchants and traders. For this reason, different approaches and versions of the origins are presented in this chapter.

The evolution of this caste, thus the evolution of the Khojki script, is the story of the Khoja community and its transition from the pre-Islamic Indic past to a broader ethnic Muslim community.

2.1. Castes and communities

Hindu Lohanas and the Muslim pirs

The exact origins of the community are unclear. Nevertheless, it is believed that the Khoja community originates in northern India, more precisely, from Kashmir and Punjab (Fig. 1).

During the 15th and 16th century (scholarly estimates vary from the 12th to the 14th centuries as well), 'saints' that came from Iran undertook missions of conversion. These were established in several parts of south Asia: North Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh, Kutch and Gujarat, and others. These Muslim preachers, that had the honorific title of *Pir (Dāʾī* in Ismaili tradition), such as Pir Sadruddin (d. 1290–1367 C.E.), "are depicted as personages with spiritual powers of an exaggerated nature, and overshadow the Imams living in obscurity in the distant land of Iran."[2] The Mission is largely recorded through the *ginās,* the writings of these communities, mostly in the form of poetry and hymns. These texts contained, among other things, tales of the leading missionaries, however, the narrative in the *ginās* provide few concrete details of their lives since their main protagonists are largely treated as legendary characters.[3]

Over the course of the following centuries, these communities migrated following the Indus River until they reached the Sindh region. For this reason "it is likely that the Khoja are descendants of two groups. The principal group being Kashimiri-Punjabi Hindu, known as Caka, and the other group the Lohana."[4] The latter, however, is the one that generates more consensus regarding the Khoja's likely ancestry. Like many Indian castes, this merchant group are a "form of Indic communal organization that historically was tied to an economical activity, characterized by endogamy, and had particular religious rituals and beliefs that were shared by its members."[5]

It is most likely that Pir Sadruddin established his headquarters in Uch, a then important town in the south of Multan, now Pakistan. "From Uch he extended the work of the Mission perhaps into Gujarat, but certainly

1   POLLOCK, SHELDON. "Sindhi Literary Culture." *Literary cultures in history,* 2003. pp. 622–625.
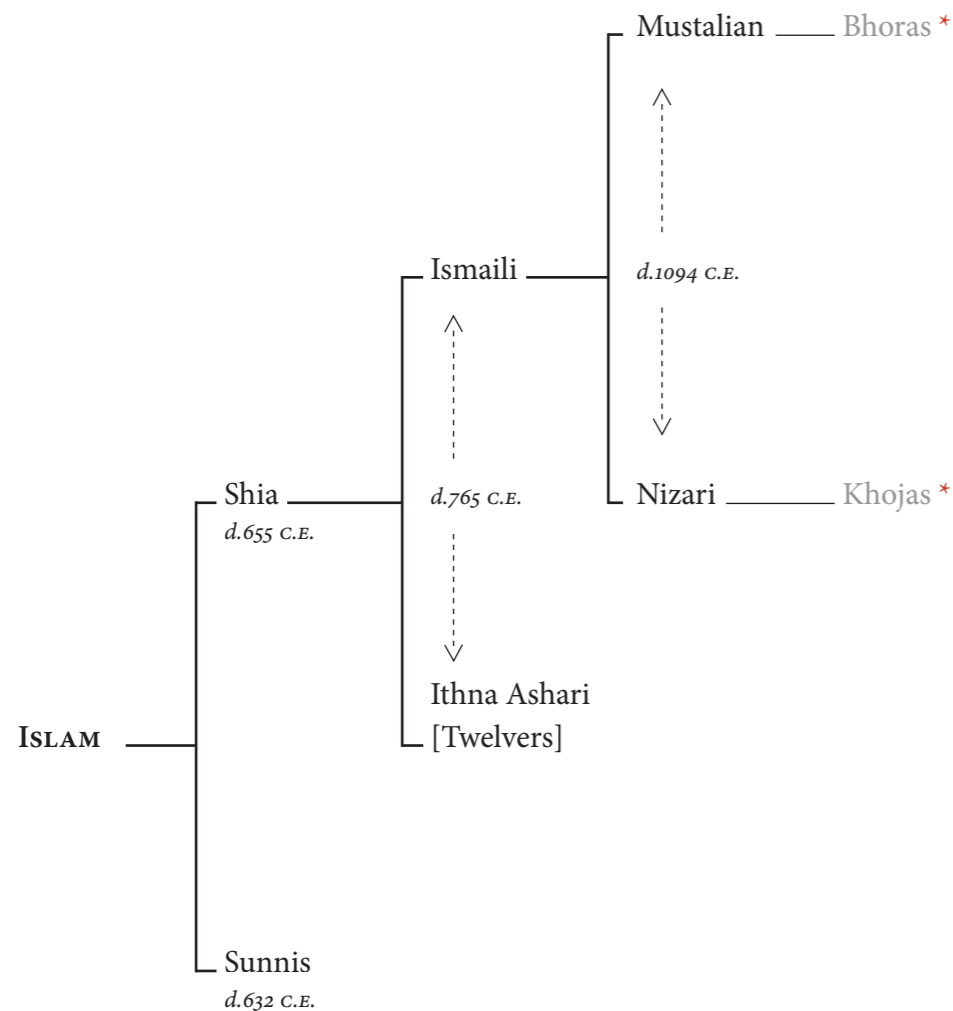2   MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2000. p. 6.
3   Ibid. p. 6.
4   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African,* 2012. p. 41.
5   Ibid. p. 21.

in Sindh, where he succeeded in converting the trading caste of Lohanas, whose traditional title *thākur* 'master' he transformed into its Persian equivalent *khwāja*, hence Khoja."[6] Likewise, it is said that Pir Sadruddin lived for some time amongst these *thākur*, the rich Hindu Lohana landowners. He studied their way of life and worship. The *thākur* believed that the god Vishnu had lived through nine incarnations on this earth. They were waiting for the tenth. Pir Sadruddin managed to convince them that Hazrat Ali (Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law) was the *Dasmo Avatar* of Vishnu, thus 'The Tenth Incarnation'. He converted quite a number of the *thākur* into this resulting faith called *Satpanth* (True Path) a peculiar admixture of Sufi-Hindu ideas.[7] Part of this version of the story is shared in the Ismaili tradition, as according to the Ismaili poet and biographer, Ghulam Ali Allana, the Lohana community was one of the groups in which Pir Sadruddin was most active in this mission and he "bestowed the title Khoja on Lohana converts to Ismaili Islam."[8] However, according to other authors, their followers identified themselves as *Satpanthis* rather than Ismailis.[9]

The Khojas

The history of the Khoja community remains the subject of a complex scholarly debate.

For instance, even understanding just the Muslim element of their history involves mapping the various schisms and disagreements that mark the line of succession from the Prophet Muhammad. The Ismailis, active participants in the history of the Khojki script, are a branch of Shia Islam (Fig. 2). The Shias long ago (d. 655 c.e.) separated from the Sunnis upon the right of Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, when he was not chosen to succeed as leader of the Muslim community. The Shia, 'the party of Ali', believed he and his descendants to represent the divine figure of the Imam (leader) who possessed worthy authority. After a quickly ended revolt, the Imams were exiled to Iran, stripped of political power but with the loyal support of their Shia followers. In the same line, a further division within the Shias was generated from another dispute about succession (d. 765 c.e.). One resulting group is the Ithna Ashari, also called 'twelvers', as they believe in twelve divinely ordained leaders, or twelve Imams. The other group of Shias is the Ismaili (d. 1094 c.e.), whose adherents believed that the true succession had passed to Jafar al-Sadiq's elder son Ismail. Within the Ismailis, there are two other sub-groups: the Mustalian and the Nizari. The Nizari Ismailis refer to their Imam also with the title of Aga Khan.[10]

As mentioned before, the Khoja Ismailis also claim that the name *khōjā* is a corruption of the Turko-Persian *khwāja*, however, according to Iqbal Akhtar, a scholar studying the evolution of the Khoja identity in East Africa, this "narrative of corruption is plagued with internal linguistic inconsistencies."[11] He states that "the singular or plural proper noun *khōjā* and its derivatives, can be traced to the transitive verb in Sindhi *khōjanu* ('to search for')"[12] Likewise, "this verb is common to many Indo-Aryan languages from Pali to North Indian modern vernaculars; it is a robust argument for the Indic etymology of *khōjā* rather than it being a Persian corruption."[13] Furthermore, it seems quite unlikely that such corruption would occur in the initial conjunct syllable from *khw* to *khō*. Persian and Arabic terms are often seen in Indo-Aryan languages, such as Gujarati,

6   moir, zawahir and christopher shackle. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2000. p. 7.

7   "History of the Khoja Shia Ithna Ashari Shia Muslims." *www.imamreza.net.* Web. (retrieved 16 August 2015)

8   allana, ghulam ali. *Sindhi Suratkhati*, 1962. pp. 19–23. In asani (2002) p. 126.

9   asani, ali s. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 2.

10 moir, zawahir and christopher shackle. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2000. p. 3–5.

11 akhtar, iqbal. *The Oriental African,* 2012. pp. 41–42.

12 stack, george. *A Dictionary Sindhi and English,* 1855. p. 82. In akhtar (2012) p. 41.

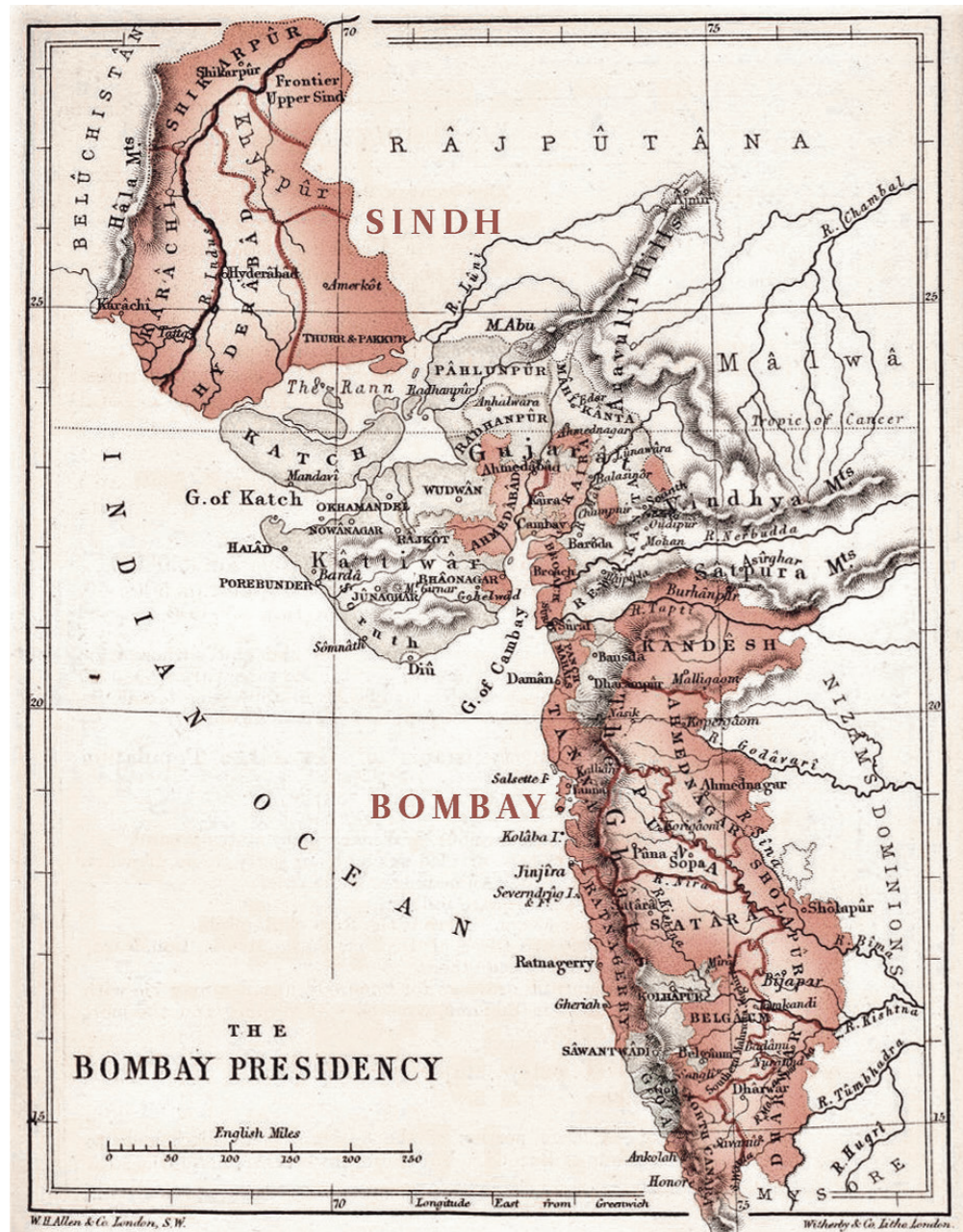13 akhtar, iqbal. *The Oriental African,* 2012. pp. 41–42.

Figure 3   Indian map showing the British India's Bombay Presidency in red. Sindh was added in 1847. [Photo: Wikipedia]

however, it rarely sees a modification of the original term, and when there is a modification, it is an addition of a suffix, leaving the noun unaltered.[14]

Irrespective of the role of Pir Sadruddin, the Khoja community is most easily understood as an amalgam of those Hindus of Sindh, Punjab and Gujarat who converted during this missionary period. 'Khoja' is seen from this same perspective in the Francophone convention, as they use the term for the entire caste, including the Ithna Asharis Khoja community and the Sunnis Khojas, both branches very different from the Ismailis (Fig. 2). In fact, the mission of conversion was more complex than Khojas transformed to Ismailism. Zawahir Moir and Christopher Shackle in their book *Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, state that "The Khojas are not coterminous with the Nizari Ismaili followers of the Aga Khan as a whole, since the activities of the mission had also produced other groups of converts. The most remote of these are the Ismailis of Hunza and Chitral, in the far north of Pakistan".[15]

In Punjab there were also converted Khojas, and according to Reginald E. Enthoven, author of several publications related to India, "Khojas are the major Muslim trading caste of western India. The Khojas of the Punjab are Sunni and are largely derived from the Hindu caste Khatri. The Khojas of Bombay, however, derive largely from the Hindu Lohana caste in Sindh, and they are Shia and followers of the Aga Khan."[16] Francophones, actually, use the term Āgākhānī ('Aga Khani') to refer to the Ismaili community as they follow the Aga Khan.[17] The Khoja Ismailis, conversely, never refer to themselves in those terms.

Hindu and Muslim identity

By the 19th century, the Khojas had spread all over Kutch and Gujarat. Some had also moved to Bombay and Muscat. They paid their dues to the Ismaili *jamatkhana* (place where they gather) and lived quite harmoniously within their society. With the arrival of Hasan Ali Shah (Aga Khan I) to India in 1842, a greater degree of centralised control was exercised in the affairs of the community. This led to certain groups dissenting and being ousted from the *jamatkhana*.[18] According to Iqbal Akhtar, "until the mid–19th century the religion of the Khoja community was caste specific, employing regional Indic practices and rituals interspersed with eclectic Muslim cosmologies."[19] This duality in their identity was not easy to bear for the Khoja.

However, what it is certain is that in the mid–19th century the religion of the Khoja and the identity of the caste witnessed a fundamental transformation with a series of litigation cases in which 'The Aga Khan Case', also known as 'The Khoja Case', had a primary role.

The affair began in 1847 with two separated litigation cases in Bombay concerning the disinheritance of two daughters, one from the Khoja community and the other from the Memon community of Gujarat. Both claimed that as Muslims the Koran guaranteed them a share in their fathers' estates, while the defendants pleaded that in their communities there was a 'custom' in which inheritance for daughters was never upheld. During this trial, Erskine Perry, who was the Supreme Court Justice of Bombay during this period of British rule, in order to clarify the existence of those customs, verified these claims by demanding testimony from each community. After having established the truth of the customs,

14   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. pp. 41–42.

15   MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2000. p. 10.

16   ENTHOVEN, REGINALD E. "Khoja." *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*. 1921. pp. 218–230.

17   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 9.

18   "History of the Khoja Shia Ithna Ashari Shia Muslims." *www.imamreza.net.* Web. (retrieved 16 August 2015)

19   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 10.

46th Imam of the Nizari Ismaili Muslims Mahomed Hoosein Hoosanee, also known as Hasan Ali Shah, the first Aga Khan. (1804 in Kahak, Iran – 1881 in Bombay, India). He was the first of the Nizari Ismaili Imams to migrate from Persia to the Indian subcontinent. [Photo: *Ismaili.net*]

these cases established norms not only for how inheritance would be decided in Bombay, but also set legal precedents regarding the origins of the communities and the meaning of the term 'Khoja'. It was officially established after this trial that Khojas and Memons were the converted from Hinduism under the influence of Ismaili *pirs* and Sunni *sayyids*, respectively.[20] He also noted that community members of the Khoja were "not educated in Arabic or Persian and that they did not have translations of the Koran in Gujarati."[21] This anecdote (later determinant) highlights the difficulties the Khoja had in maintaining a caste identity, as "this idealized vision of Islam is inherently in conflict with Khoja identity, for Muslim is functionally defined as Arab and Persian in form, leaving little room for their ancestral Indic heritage."[22]

The 'Aga Khan Case'

A few years later, in 1866, Hasan Ali Shah (Fig. 4) undertook a series of legal cases to acquire the communal property of the Khoja caste[23] by claiming he was the Imam of the Khoja, therefore their Aga Khan. "At stake was access to the caste's extensive trading networks and control over its considerable financial resources."[24] The plaintiffs argued that the Aga Khan had no authority over the community, as Pir Sadruddin was a Sunni Muslim, therefore the Khojas were Sunni. The Aga Khan's attorneys, in reply, argued that the Khoja community had a long history of loyalty to the Aga Khan and his ancestors, the Shia Imams. They presented letters from as early as 1793 from the Aga Khan's father to the Khoja *Jamaat* in order to demonstrate that the Khojas had paid remittances to the Aga Khan and his ancestors.[25]

The key in the outcome of the case was when the defendants exhibited one of the most popular *ginān* of Pir Sadruddin, *Das Avatar*, to prove that he served the Aga Khan's ancestors and not the Sunnis. "While the first nine chapters of the *ginān* focus on Hindu avatars, the final chapter focuses on Ali (the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law and the first Imam in Shia Islam) and regards Ali as *Nakalanki*, the tenth avatar."[26] It is not possible to know when these texts and hymns were fixed, nor to what extent the oral transmission modified the content through the centuries,[27] however, this work was a tremendous help for the defendants, as with this, the Aga Khan's attorneys argued that *Das Avatar* was both a uniquely Khoja and uniquely Shia Ismaili work. It was also ancient written evidence of line of worship from their founder to the Shias, and therefore of the Aga Khan's previous connection with the Khojas via Pir Sadruddin.

Furthermore, the defendant lawyers nullified the argument that the Khojas had been Sunnis, arguing that the Khojas were disassociated from 'classical Islam' by citing Perry's 1847 ruling that 'they possessed no translation of the Koran', and asserted that since they had been identified as 'Muslim' by Perry, this indicated then that they were Shia, as Perry had called them "Hindus with a Muslim cultivation and Muslim development of their creed."[28]

The judgement was significant in that it legally established the status of the Khojas as a community referred to as Shia Imami Ismailis, and of Hasan Ali Shah as their Aga Khan and spiritual head of the community.[29]

20 PIRBHAI, M. REZA. "Reconsidering Islam in a South Asian Context." *Social Sciences in Asia*. 2009. pp. 128–129.

21 Ibid. pp. 128–129

22 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 12.

23 Ibid. p. 10.

24 Ibid. p. 10.

25 PUROHIT, TEENA. *The Aga Khan Case*, 2012. p. 48.

26 Ibid. p. 60.

27 BOIVIN, MICHEL. "*Gināns* and the management". *Essays on Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, 2010. p. 25.

28 PUROHIT, TEENA. *The Aga Khan Case*, 2012. p. 48.

29 DAFTARY, FARHAD. *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 1990. pp. 503–516.

2.2 History of the script

Persecution and clandestinity

The field of Khoja studies, is a young academic discipline that is divided essentially between two positions regarding the theological orientation of the Khoja. On one hand, we have the Francophone convention, and on the other hand, we have the Nizari Ismaili position. The second position presumes that the Khojas were always Ismaili, hidden for five centuries in the subcontinent to avoid persecution and that the script served for the hermetic preservation of the *ginānic* literature.[30] In this respect, Khojki may have served the same purpose as other secret languages, such as the so-called *balabailan* language, utilized by Muslim mystics to hide their most esoteric thoughts from the common people.[31]

From the 11th century onwards, Muslims dynasties gained power in the North-West part of India. "Sunni rulers deemed it necessary to physically eliminate Ismailis, whom they considered to be heretics and political dissidents."[32] The author Ali S. Asani, Professor of Indo-Muslim Religion and Cultures at Harvard University, during various research trips to the subcontinent, found that many of the Ismaili *pirs* buried in Punjab and Sindh are considered by the general population to have been Sunni *sayyids* of Sufi orders. "In many instances, to avoid persecution, Ismaili *pirs* appear to have adopted the guise of Sufi teachers"[33] he says. "The blurring of Sufi and Ismaili boundaries is also evidenced by the strong mystical character of the *Satpanth* Ismaili literature. And yet relations between Sufi and Ismailis were not always positive, for we also have evidence of an intense rivalry."[34] The author completes this idea by mentioning that, for example in Punjab, near Multan and Uch there existed a strong tension between Sufi *sayyids* and Ismaili *pirs* as a result of the competition for adherents.[35]

The oldest thesis articulating this position of persecution was published by Syed Mujtaba Ali in 1936. He presumes that the Khojas were "the spiritual descendants of the refugees who fled the destruction of Alamut in 1256 by the Mongol emperor Hülegü."[36] However, he provided little textual evidence.[37]

From the Ismaili perspective, the origins of Khojki script are separated from other similar Indian scripts developed in Sindh, promoted as a unique script and appropriated exclusively as the "script of the Nizari Ismaili Muslim community of Sindh, Gujarat and Punjab".[38] Notwithstanding the Arabic script was equally employed in Sindh by that time,[39] the oldest surviving documents of the Khoja are in Sindhi and written in Khojki. This "would be a strong indication of the community's cultural and religious identity as foundationally Indic rather than Islamic."[40] Moreover, "the absence of concrete textual evidence regarding the presence of a Nizari Ismaili *da'wa* (Ismaili practice of the Shia Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt of the 10th century) in Khoja religious texts before the mid-19th century itself becomes proof of its 'esoteric' existence."[41] Within this position, being Khoja, an ethnic caste identity, is synonymous with being Ismaili, a religious identity.[42] Nevertheless, it seem more appropriate to refer to the Khoja as a community belonging to a geographical region, with common cosmologies and economic activities, rather than a specific religious branch.

30 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012.

31 NANJI, AZIM. *The Nizari Ismaili Tradition,* 1978. p. 68.

32 Ibid. p. 68.

33 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 4.

34 Ibid. p. 4.

35 Ibid. p. 4.

36 ALI. S. MUJTABA. *The origins of the Khojas*, 1936. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 51.

37 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 52.

38 ASANI, ALI S. *The Khojki script,* 1987. pp. 439–449

39 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 53.

40 Ibid. p. 53.

41 Ibid. p. 53.

42 ASANI, ALI S. *The Khojas of South Asia,* 2001. pp. 155–168. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 52.
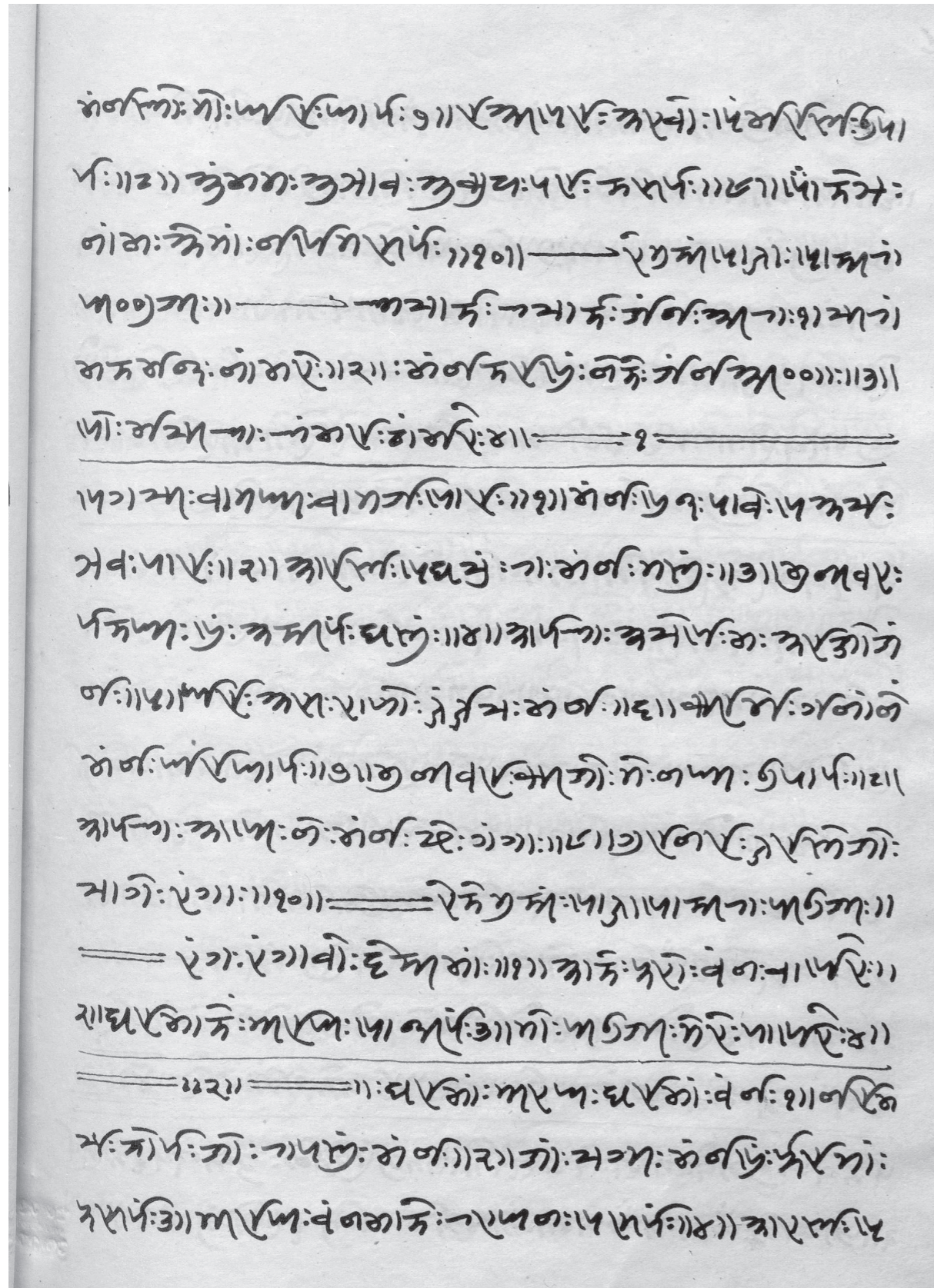
Figure 5   Excerpt of *ginānic* handwritten Khojki by the scribe Dāhyāsurji, who states that he commenced copying these treatises for 'Abd Allāh Rāmaji in Chaitra, 1852 C.E.
[Manuscript OR 1238, folio 81. © The British Library Board, d.1852 C.E. Original size: 10 x 7.5 in. Scaled to 75%]

Khojki for the Khojas

During the period of colonial rule, the British quickly noted that religion in the region was marked by mutual tolerance and intensive exchange between Hinduism and Islam. The Hindus worshipped Muslim saints and sometime, the reverse happened.[43] In the middle of the 19th century, Richard Burton wrote that Imam Hasan Ali Shah, the first Aga Khan, had Hindu followers who venerate him as if he belonged to the same caste.[44]

Khojki is considered historically special by the Nizari Ismailis, as they state that was used exclusively by their Khoja Ismaili people. It was the script in which the *gināns* were composed and belonged to a small number of scripts that evolved into vehicles of literary expression through refinement of their writing system. In contrast, according to authors of the Francophone convention, appropriating the Khoja religious literature as exclusive to the Nizari Ismaili is a reinforcement of this Islamic genealogical narrative that has been critical to maintaining the institution of the Aga Khan for more than a century and a half,[45] "without which the authority over the Khoja is perceived to be weakened."[46] The Nizari Ismaili tradition, now practiced by the majority of Khoja worldwide, can be understood as a modern phenomenon from the late 19th century, where a newly revived tradition was initially introduced to the Khoja of Bombay by Hasan Ali Shah, the Aga Khan I.[47] The Khoja Ismaili, therefore, needed to consolidate their identity after the trial. Thus the script became uniquely Khoja Ismaili only after the mid-19th century, when it underwent a radical transformation in its identity. In this sense, this script, which had unified their people across history, and whose hermetic preservation serve to keep the tradition from persecution, was what they needed for a cohesive sense of community. In this regard, the Khojas were closer to "Hindus that became discretely Muslim in the 19th century. Religious definitions of nationhood became solidified through political and social discourse as well as case law ('Aga Khan Case')."[48]

The gināns and their religious past

The *ginān* tradition are devotional hymns or poems that has been quintessential to *Satpanthi* and Khoja identity. They were originally an oral tradition among the Muslim *pirs* that travelled to West India. This rich poetic Hindu-Muslim heritage that comes from the Sanskrit word *jñan*, meaning contemplative knowledge, has been central to the lives of Nizari Ismailis and was mostly written in Khojki script. It is believed in the Ismaili tradition that the Khojki script was created by Pir Sadruddin himself (14th century), yet the oldest evidence of the script in a written form dates to 1736.[49] The manuscripts are mentioned as being copied from older ones, this may indicate that the practice of writing *gināns* began earlier. According to Azim Nanji the tradition of written transcription in Khojki may have begun around the 16th century.[50] The lack of material of its earlier existence can be explained by the fact that manuscripts were very hard to conserve due to the regional weather conditions.

The fused manner in which the *gināns* employed Hindu mythological and theological concepts (a prominent characteristic in *Satpanth*) has raised questions about its Islamic character. Likewise, we know that *gināns*, as religious documents, are very important in the history of the script and the Khojas as they "were at the core of the Khoja religious heritage"[51]

43 BOIVIN, MICHEL. "*Gināns* and the management". *Essays on Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2010. p. 26.
44 BURTON, RICHARD. *The races that inhabit the Indus.* 1988. In BOIVIN (2010) p. 26.
45 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African,* 2012. p. 53.
46 Ibid. p. 53.
47 Ibid. p. 54.
48 Ibid. p. 54.
49 MOIR, ZAWAHIR. *Catalogue of the Khojki manuscripts,* 1971. In ASANI (2002) p.129.
50 NANJI, AZIM. *The Nizari Ismaili tradition,* 1978 p.10–11. In ASANI (2002) p.130.
51 BOIVIN, MICHEL. "*Gināns* and the management". *Essays on Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2010. p. 47.

and "became a crucial stake in the process of identity construction",[52] as mentioned above in the 'Aga Khan Case' chapter.

"Some of the Khoja *ginān* written in Khojki are deemed 'esoteric' and 'Ismaili' rather than being understood within their own geographical and cultural context as an expression of a vernacular *bhakti* shared by other Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim communities."[53]

The Hindu Lohanas were predominantly speakers of Kutchi dialect in Sindh and the Khojki script was caste specific. Literacy was low among the first Khoja communities and existed almost exclusively among men.[54] By the time the Hindu Lohana were converted by Muslims *pirs*, the religious literature of the *gināns* was written in Lohānākī,[55] the script of this caste and from which Khojki evolved. Ismailis assert that the *pirs* used the local Lohānākī script to record the *gināns* as an attempt to make religious literature more familiar to the population. The adoption of a 'local' script for preservation of religious literature appears to have been a regular occurrence in medieval India.

Nevertheless, a growing number of studies have implied that Khojki origins are later than the arrival of the *pirs* to the subcontinent. In fact, recent research ascribe the period from 1500 to 1850, the 'age of the *sayyids*', to the creation of the *gināns*. These studies, as well as others regarding the origins of the Khoja community, or the script itself, tread delicate ground where the results of scholarly research are in open conflict with the truth claimed by religious tradition.[56]

52 BOIVIN, MICHEL. "*Gināns* and the management". *Essays on Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2010. p. 47.
53 PUROHIT, TEENA. *Formations and Genealogies,* 2005. p. 1–24. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 53.
54 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African,* 2012. p. 94.
55 TAJDDIN S. A., MUMTAZ. "Khojki". *www.ismaili.net.* Web. (retrieved 3 September 2015)
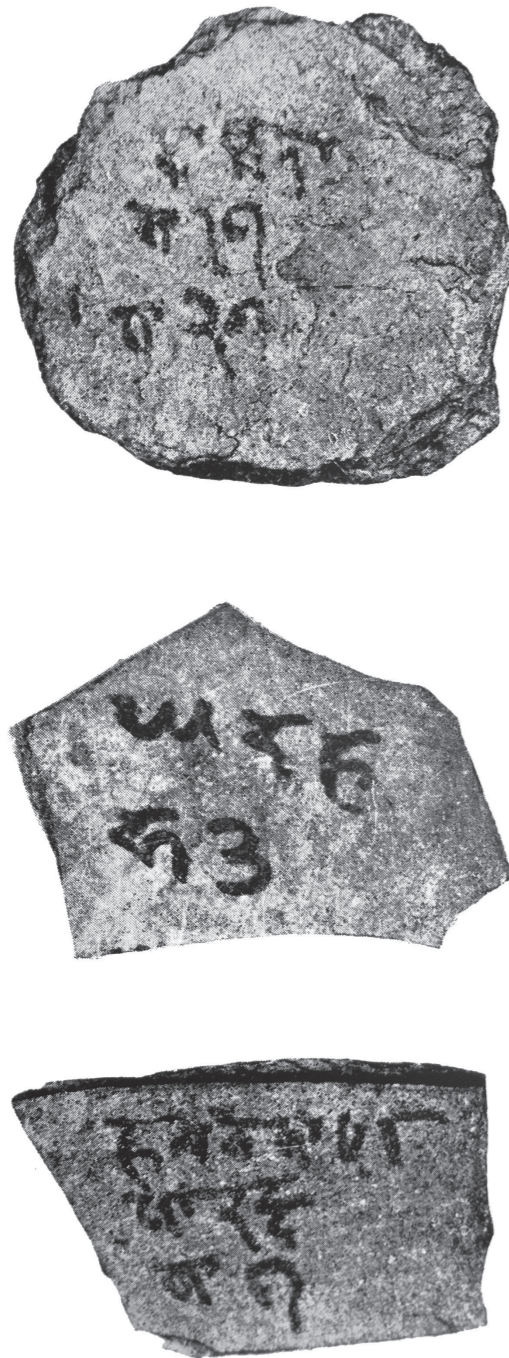56 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 2002. p. 86.

Figure 6   Inscriptions found in the ancient city of Banbhore, near Karachi in the south of Pakistan, by the archaeologist F. A. Khan. The excavation started in 1958 and presumably the script found in this pottery corresponds to the Lohānākī script of the pre-Muslim period. [Photo: KHAN, F. A. *Banbhore*, 1963. p.29]

3   WRITING SYSTEM

Khojki (also Khwājā Sindhi or Khwajki)[1] belong to a group of north-western Indian scripts that have been classified by the Irish linguist George A. Grierson as part of the Landa alphabets in Sindh, also known as *Baniyā* or *Wānikō*.[2] These scripts were used by several trading castes in Sindh and Punjab for commerce from at least the 10th century onwards.

It is considered to be a refined version of the Lohānākī script and was one of the earliest forms of written Sindhi, among the oldest tongues of the subcontinent. It was also used to write Gujarati, Kutchi, Hindustani, Punjabi, Arabic and Persian.

3.1   Roots of written Khojki

Lohānākī and the city of Banbhore

Very little textual and historical evidence exists regarding the process from which Khojki evolved from a rudimentary commercial script of the 8th century to a more complex medium of expression. Not only the study of the script is its early stage, but many Khojki manuscripts, the most important source of information about the script, have yet to be catalogued. Another serious obstacle is the absence of any pre-18th century samples in existing collections. It must have been customary to destroy old manuscripts in poor condition once they had been re-copied by scribes.[3]

The strongest thesis regarding the origins of Khojki are based on palaeographic evidence of its Nagari roots, which could give some clues regarding the script from which Khojki evolved. This theory is based on material of a 'Proto-Nagari' script (Fig. 6) that was uncovered in the ruins of a pre-Muslim period in the ancient city of Banbhore by Dr F. A. Khan in 1958.[4] The city was located in Sindh and corresponds to the Hindu-Buddhist period dating from the 2nd to 8th century C.E.[5] Banbhore was a medieval port city deriving its wealth from imported ceramic and metal goods. It was considered an industrial sector as well as a centre of trade. The city was strategically located at the mouth of the Indus, linking its commerce with international traders in the Indian Ocean. Banbhore was later controlled by Muslims from the 8th to the 13th century after which it was gradually deserted due to changes in the course of the Indus river.[6]

The lettershapes found by F. A. Khan, were inscribed in pottery with characters remarkably similar to those found in modern Khojki. The script has been identified as Lohānākī or Lāri, the script of the Hindu Lohana community, predecessors of the Khoja. According to Allana, it is virtually certain that Khojki is a refined version of Lohānākī script.[7]

Unfortunately the volume of such evidence is too meagre to allow reconstruction of the entire script as it existed in ancient Sindh. The most likely explanation for the scarcity of surviving evidence of this script is the Arab invasion that swept away all traces of the Hindu culture.[8] In the period following the invasion, Sindh changed dramatically in every respect; culturally, socially and politically. As a consequence, while almost all the North and west Indian Scripts could easily be traced to Brahmi origins, scripts from Sindhi have never been that fortunate.

Moreover, there is still a mystery as to how and when Brahmi in Sindh drifted towards Sarada script. A general belief is that the script of Ancient Kashmir Sarada is the mother of North western Indo-Aryan Languages.[9]

1   POLLOCK, SHELDON. "Sindhi Literary Culture." *Literary cultures in history*, 2003. pp. 622–625.

2   GRIERSON, GEORGE A. *The Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. VIII, 1919.

3   ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p.107.

4   KHAN, F. A. *Banbhore*, 1963.

5   UNESCO. *Port of Banbhore*, 2012.

6   Ibid.

7   ALLANA, GHULAM A. *Sindhi Suratkhati*, 1962. p.20. In ASANI (2002) p.101.

8   LAKHANI, RAKESH. "Forgotten Sindhi scripts: Waranki." *hindusofsindh. wordpress.com*. 2013. Web. (retrieved 2 August 2015).

9   LAKHANI, RAKESH. "Forgotten Sindhi scripts: Waranki." *hindusofsindh. wordpress.com*. 2013. Web. (retrieved 2 August 2015).
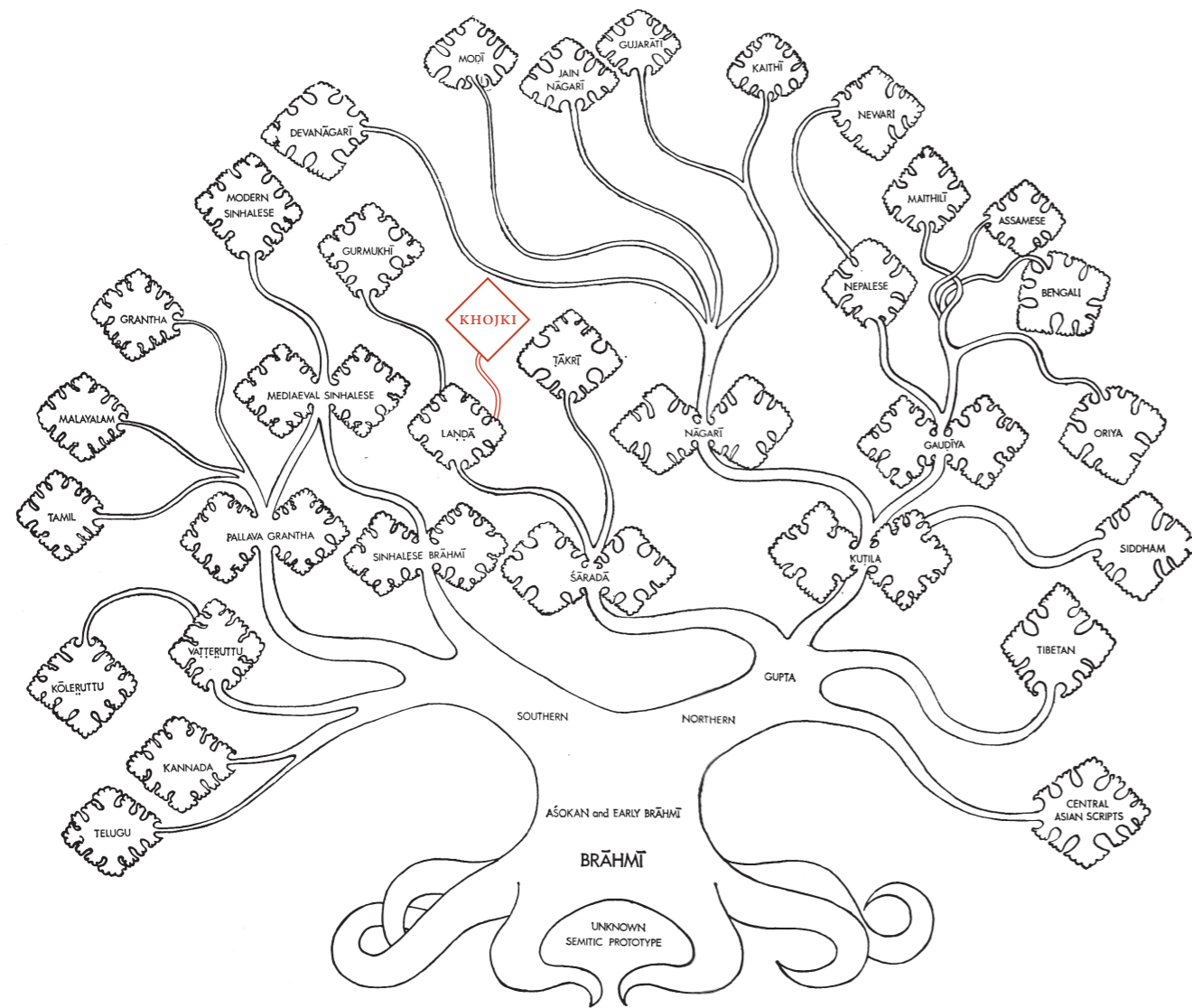
Figure 7 The origins of the Indian scripts from the Brahmi branch. Khojki derives from the Sarada and then Landa family. [Diagram borrowed from Fiona Ross]

Roots in Sarada and Landa

The recording of religious literature in medieval India (and before) required complex and advanced scripts. "The intensive cultivation of linguistics in ancient India resulted in a considerable sophistication of the writing system used to record as accurately as possible the vast sacred Hindu literature which was composed in Sanskrit."[10] The Brahmi system, however, had also generated some much simpler scripts than Devanagari or Bengali (Nagari and Gaudiya branches, respectively), that were designed for commercial purposes (Fig. 7).

Likewise, Khojki most likely derives from the Brahmi-based scripts of the Sindhi branch of the Landa family, some mercantile scripts related to Sarada (or 'Sharada'). Sarada is descended from Gupta Brahmi through the Kutila script and was the principal inscriptional and literary script of Kashmir from the 8th century C.E. until the 20th century. The name is derived from that of the tutelary deity of Kashmir, Sāradā, the goddess of knowledge and the arts, and another name of the Hindu goddess Sarasvatī. In fact, in many European sources Sarada is referred to as 'Kashmiri'. Further evolution of Sarada resulted in the emergence of new scripts such as Takri, Landa, and Gurmukhi. In the same way, it is the progenitor of a major sub-family of Brahmi and is a sibling of the Nagari and Proto-Bengali families.[11]

10 MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Draft notes on the Khojki script.* [unpublished].

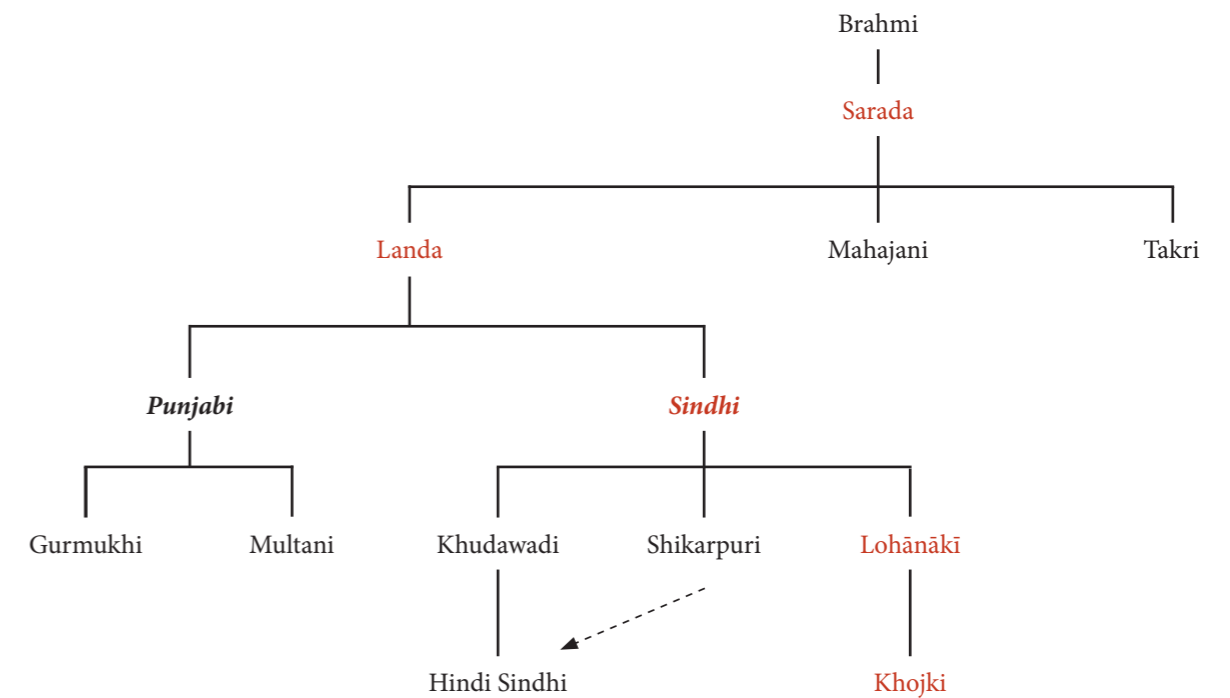11 PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Sharada Script*, 2009. p. 1.

Figure 8 Detailed diagram of the Landa alphabets deriving from Sarada. [Based on the diagram in PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *A Roadmap for Scripts of the Landa Family, 2009.* p. 2.]

Figure 9   Scripts of the Sindhi language
[GRIERSON, GEORGE A. "North-Western Group: Indo-Aryan Family." Vol. VIII. *The Linguistic Survey of India*, 1919. pp. 15–17]

Merchant scripts

These merchant scripts used by these merchant castes, were classified by Grierson into a group of scripts dominant in the region called Landa, or 'clipped', as they were very hard to decipher (Fig. 9). They had problems such as the absence of vowel signs, the use of a single letter for representing an aspirated and unaspirated consonant pair, the absence of word spacing and punctuation, and other shorthand practices.[12]

They were more than two hundred scripts according to travellers, and mostly used in Punjab and Sindh. Grierson suggest that the scripts of the Landa group, and also Takri and Mahājani, are in fact descendants of one original alphabet that was current over the whole of north-western India.[13] As the Landa group, in turn, is related to a large family of alphabets commonly used by the mercantile classes, Khojki, consequently, shows close affinity to two members of this family. The first one is Tankrī (or Takri), a crude script system used in its many varieties by uneducated shopkeepers in the lower ranges of the Himalayas and the Punjab hills. The other one is Mahājanī (or Mārwārī), originated in Mārwār and popularized among trading classes all over North India by the Mārwārī traders.[14] These origins may explain why Khojki was not well suited for literary purposes.

"Varying in form from one script to another, these merchant scripts were designed for speed rather than absolute accuracy. Since they skip many vowels and do not always bother about fine distinctions of consonants, they are shorthands which are better adapted to jotting down entries in ledgers than to the careful record of poetic composition."[15] Indeed, the omission of all vowels, except when initial, was the norm in ordinary mercantile correspondence. "Not surprisingly, there are numerous stories about the misreading of these mercantile scripts."[16] Nonetheless, the inconvenience of these omissions was not felt in the limited scope of mercantile written communication.

The poorly developed vowel system constitutes the major deficiency of the Landa scripts. They are also "handicapped by consonants that are far from being clear and that vary greatly from place to place. On most of them a single letter could often represent a number of different sounds."[17] As Grierson observed, "it is seldom legible to anyone except the original writer and not always to him".[18]

Alternatively, these scripts appear to have been influential in the development of authenticity and unity within the communities; and particularly for Khojki to those members residing not only in Sindh, Punjab and Gujarat, but also to those in East Africa (after a diaspora emerged in the 19th and early 20th centuries).[19] Moreover, and as mentioned before, the "use of the Khojki script may have also served to confine religious literature within the community –this precaution being necessary to avoid persecution from outsiders not in agreement with the community's doctrines and practices."[20]

3.2 The Khojki script

Evolution and development

By the 19th century, there were still many scripts in Sindh due the mercantile character of the zone, which was a problem for trade and

12 GRIERSON, GEORGE, A. *The Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. VIII, 1919. In ASANI (2002) p. 126.

13 Ibid. p. 126.

14 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 102.

15 MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Draft notes on the Khojki script*. [unpublished].

16 GRIERSON, GEORGE, A. *The Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. VIII, 1919. In ASANI (2002) p. 103.

17 Ibid. p. 103.

18 Ibid. p. 103.

19 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 125.

20 NANJI, AZIM. *The Nizari Ismaili Tradition*, 1978. p. 9. In ASANI (2002) p. 43.

Figure 10 Table of seventeen scripts used to write Sindhi language in the region of Sindh. 'Khwajas', i.e. Khojki, occupies the 13th position.
[STACK, GEORGE. *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, 1849. pp. 3–8]

established authorities, as many misunderstandings were cause by their ambiguity. George Stack, in his *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, published in 1849, tabulates seventeen scripts systems, including Khojki, which were in use for transcribing Sindhi (Fig. 10). His table reveals that the scripts used in Sindh varied from one geographical region to another, and that different religious and caste groups favoured distinctive script styles.[21]

During the second half of the 19th century the scripts of Sindh were unified into one script based, mainly, on Khudawadi (and Shikarpuri in minor scale), which was a well regarded and clear script. After this, Khudawadi (officially called 'Hindi Sindhi' by the Government of Bombay) proved short-lived due its lack of significant appeal to the community.[22]

Whereas Khudawadi evolved primarily because of government intervention in the 19th century, Khojki is an example of efforts that were undertaken to improve these merchant scripts by other means. As Asani states: "for Khojki the upgrade came much earlier as it was affiliated to a religious community",[23] specifically, to suit the more complex religious work of the *Satpanthis*.

These improvements usually involved the addition of signs to indicate medial and final vowels, as well as to better distinguish the independent vowels. The most successful of these adaptations, due the necessity of recording religious literature, was the Gurmukhi script used by the Sikh Community, which is now the standard alphabet used in Punjab.

The adoption of a unique script is a great contribution to the development of cultures and the consolidation of a religion.[24] As S. S. Gandhi points out, "only by adopting a script of their own could the Sikhs develop a literary culture that was suited to their faith and language."[25] The Khojki script a time enjoyed an importance among the Khojas similar to that which Gurmukhi had among the Sikhs in Punjab, until its modern replacement by the Gujarati script.[26] Significantly, Gurmukhi, like Khojki, is a refined version of a Landa alphabet.

However, this does not only apply for religious targets as this practice seems to reinforce, generally, cohesion and self-identity. "The political and cultural ascendancy of the Marathas, the major rivals to Sikh power in late Mughal India, was also marked by the selection of a single and uniform script for the Marathi language. This script, the Modi, was purportedly invented by the secretary to the great Maharashtrian hero, Shivāji."[27] In this manner, Khojki, like the Gurmukhi and Modi scripts of the Sikhs and Marathas respectively, is another example of an Indic alphabet used to enhance communal and ethnic solidarity.[28]

For Khojki was different considering that it was a Muslim community who adopted an Indian script and improved it. For this reason, the Ismaili tradition presumes that the scripts was invented by Pir Sadruddin. This attribution seems inaccurate, as we have seen prototypes of Khojki associated with the script of the Lohana community in the 8th century, yet, the *pirs* arrived in the 14th century. Moreover, scripts evolve slowly as they are the product of cultures, as opposed to individuals. Therefore, this development can only be understood as a practical implementation and a positive evolution resulting from this peculiar mix of cultures.

In this regard, two technical developments made possible a new range of expressions in Khojki. "First was a system of medial vowel marks called *lākanā*. In the region of Sindh, Khojki was the only Landa script to

21 STACK, GEORGE. *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, 1849. pp. 3–8.

22 MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, 2000. p. 35.

23 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 104.

24 GANDHI, S. S. *The Sikhs Gurus*. 1978. pp. 174–175.

25 Ibid. pp. 174–175.

26 MOIR, ZAWAHIR and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE. *Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, 2000. p. 35.

27 GUPTE, B. A. *The tt character*, 1905. p. 28.

28 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 125.

Figure 11
In PANDEY (2011)

Consonant letters of Khojki, Khudawadi, Gurmukhi, and Devanagari.

	KHOJKI	KHUDAWADI	GURMUKHI	DEVANAGARI
KA			ਕ	क
KHA			ਖ	ख
GA			ਗ	ग
GGA			—	ग़
GHA			ਘ	घ
NGA			ਙ	ङ
CA			ਚ	च
CHA			ਛ	छ
JA			ਜ	ज
JJA			—	ज़
JHA	—		ਝ	झ
NYA			ਞ	ञ
TTA			ਟ	ट
TTHA			ਠ	ठ
DDA			ਡ	ड
DDHA			ਢ	ढ
NNA			ਣ	ण
TA			ਤ	त
THA			ਥ	थ

	KHOJKI	KHUDAWADI	GURMUKHI	DEVANAGARI
DA			ਦ	द
DDDA			—	ड़
DHA			ਧ	ध
NA			ਨ	न
PA			ਪ	प
PHA			ਫ	फ
BA			ਬ	ब
BBA			—	ब़
BHA			ਭ	भ
MA			ਮ	म
YA			ਜ	य
RA			ਰ	र
LA			ਲ	ल
VA			ਵ	व
SHA	—		ਸ਼	श
SA			ਸ	स
HA			ਹ	ह
LLA			ਲ਼	ळ
RRA	—		ੜ	—

Vowel letters and signs of Khojki, Khudawadi, Gurmukhi, and Devanagari.

	KHOJKI	KHUDAWADI	GURMUKHI	DEVANAGARI
A			ਅ	अ
AA			ਆ	आ
I			ਇ	इ
II	—		ਈ	ई
U			ਉ	उ
UU	—		ਊ	ऊ
E			ਏ	ए
AI			ਐ	ऐ
O			ਓ	ओ
AU			ਔ	औ

	KHOJKI	KHUDAWADI	GURMUKHI	DEVANAGARI
-A	—	—	—	—
-AA			ਾ	ा
-I			ਿ	ि
-II			ੀ	ी
-U			ੁ	ु
-UU	—		ੂ	ू
-E			ੇ	े
-AI			ੈ	ै
-O			ੋ	ो
-AU			ੌ	ौ

have sustained and perhaps even developed the use of this medial vowel system."[29] Stack remarks that while he had been informed that the medial vowel marks were also used with other Sindhi scripts, he had not been able to locate any corroborative examples.[30] This characteristic made the script suitable for its extensive use in recording literature, particularly the *ginān*s. Rather than inventing the script, Pir Sadruddin may have been responsible for introducing the *lākanā* and possibly other refinements.[31] But even this seems unlikely.

The second set of improvements "concern its capacity to retain the individuality of contiguous words written on the same line. In mercantile scripts, it is not only the omission of vowels which is responsible for the propensity to misread and misinterpret but it is also the non-separation of words."[32] The rule in mercantile scripts is that the writing is continuous. Because of this, adjacent words are often joined erroneously, leading to alterations in the meaning of sentences. "The 'mess' is due to the arbitrary reconstruction of a group of letters by the readers. This peculiarity, when combined with the absence of medial vowels, can be particularly fatal."[33] A popular misreading quoted in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, tells the story of a Mārwārī merchant who went to Delhi; his agent wrote: *'Bābū Ajmer gayo barī bahī bhej dīje'* (The Babu has gone to Ajmer, send the big ledger) but the letter was read as *'Bābū aj margayo, barī bahū bhej dīje'* (The Babu died today, send the chief wife [to perform his obsequies]).[34] To prevent such misreadings, Khojki adopted the use of colon-like punctuation to demarcate the ends of individual words.

However, according to Ali S. Asani, the Khojki script never evolved into a entirely satisfactory script system in spite of these refinements[35] (Appx. A).

Syllabary
From an abugida alphabetic writing system, the general structure of Khojki is similar to that of other Indic scripts based upon the Brahmi model. It is also written from left-to-right and includes *mātrā* reordering, use of *virāma*, independent vowels, consonants conjuncts, and so on.[36]

Virama
The Khojki ◌੍ *virama* is identical in function to corresponding characters in other Indic scripts. It is written to the right of a consonant letter.[37]

Independent vowels
Also characteristic is its smaller repertoire of independent vowel letters compared to other Brahmi-based scripts. Some independent vowel letters may be represented using a combination of a base vowel letter and a dependent vowel sign.[38]

Dependent vowels
The repertoire of dependent vowel signs is larger than that of independent vowel letters. There are separate signs for 'i' and 'ii', but no form for 'uu', the single sign ◌ being used for both short and long forms. The ◌ vowel sign 'o' is often written by placing the ◌ element above the consonant letter, e.g. ◌.[39]

Consonant letters
Regarding consonant letters, there is considerable variation in character-glyph assignments and several combinations of consonant letters and

29 STACK, GEORGE. *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, 1849. p. 2. In ASANI (2002) p. 104.
30 STACK, GEORGE. *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, 1849. In ASANI (2002) p. 119.
31 ALLANA, GHULAM ALI. *Sindhi Suratkhati*, 1962. p. 24. In ASANI (2002) p. 104.
32 DIRINGER, DAVID. *The Alphabet*, 1968. p. 290.
33 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 105.
34 GRIERSON, GEORGE A. *The Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. VIII, 1919. In DIRINGER (1968) p. 291.
35 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 111.
36 PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p. 4.
37 Ibid. p. 4.
38 Ibid. p. 4.
39 Ibid. p. 4.

Consonant-vowel combination

◌ᒋ Vowel sign 'i'
It is written in character that have descender on the right. e.g.:

ᒌ *ca* + ◌ᒋ = ᒎ *ci*

ᑗ *va* + ◌ᒋ = ᑘ *vi*

Also those characters in which its right terminal sits on the baseline. e.g.:

ᛗ *ka* + ◌ᒋ = ᛝ *ki*

ᚱ *da* + ◌ᒋ = ᚳ *di*

ᛉ *ha* + ◌ᒋ = ᚴ *hi*

The variant ◌ᒉ is used with characters that have rounded right edges. e.g.:

ᣞ *nga* + ◌ᒉ = ᣟ *ni*

ᛡ *dda* + ◌ᒉ = ᛢ *di*

ᛌ *ra* + ◌ᒉ = ᛍ *ri*

◌ᒍ Vowel sign 'ii'
It is used with characters that have rounded right edges. e.g.:

ᒪ *cha* + ◌ᒍ = ᒫ *chī*

The variant form ◌ᒏ is written with characters with right descenders. e.g.:

ᛗ *ca* + ◌ᒏ = ᛝ *cī*

ᛟ *na* + ◌ᒏ = ᛠ *nī*

ᛗ *ka* + ◌ᒏ = ᛝ *kī*

ᛉ *pha* + ◌ᒏ = ᛝ *phī*

ᚳ *ha* + ◌ᒏ = ᚷ *hī*

◌ᒓ Vowel sign 'u'
This sign is generally written as an extension of the basic final stroke of a character. e.g.:

ᛟ *ka* + ◌ᒓ = ᛠ *ku*

ᒪ *cha* + ◌ᒓ = ᒫ *chu*

With characters with right descenders, it is written at the terminus of the stroke. e.g.:

ᛍ *ca* + ◌ᒓ = ᛍ *cu*

ᛝ *gha* + ◌ᒓ = ᛝ *ghu*

ᚳᚱ *ya* + ◌ᒓ = ᚳᚱ *yu*

It is attached to the bottom in character with rounded shapes. e.g.:

ᛤ *ttha* + ◌ᒓ = ᛤ *thu*

ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ *alai-hi as salām* 'peace be upon him.

ﺻﻠّﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﻭ ﺳﻠّﻢ *sallā allāhu 'alai-hi wa salam* 'God bless him and grant him salvation'. It corresponds to the Arabic ligature ﷺ *sallallahou alayhe wasallam*.

'	◌	VOWEL SIGN A + NUKTA	ع	ARABIC LETTER AIN
'	◌	LETTER A + NUKTA	ع	ARABIC LETTER AIN
'	◌	LETTER E + NUKTA	ع	ARABIC LETTER AIN
qa	◌	KA + NUKTA	ق	ARABIC LETTER QAF
kha	◌	KHA + NUKTA	خ	ARABIC LETTER KHAH
ġa	◌	GA + NUKTA	غ	ARABIC LETTER GHAIN
za	◌	JA + NUKTA	ذ	ARABIC LETTER THAL
za	◌	JA + NUKTA	ز	ARABIC LETTER ZAIN
za	◌	JA + NUKTA	ض	ARABIC LETTER DAD
za	◌	JA + NUKTA	ظ	ARABIC LETTER ZAH
ṭa	◌	TA + NUKTA	ط	ARABIC LETTER TAH
fa	◌	PHA + NUKTA	ف	ARABIC LETTER FEH
śa	◌	SA + NUKTA	ش	ARABIC LETTER SHEEN
sa	◌	SA + NUKTA	ص	ARABIC LETTER SAD
ḥa	◌	HA + NUKTA	ح	ARABIC LETTER HAH

Consonant Conjuncts

Atomic Ligatures
There are four consonant conjuncts that are written in Khojki as atomic ligatures. They are represented as:

Consonant + virama + Consonant

ᒡ *ksa*   ᛟ *ka* + ◌ *virama* + ᛝ *sa*

ᒤ *jña*   ᒧ *ja* + ◌ *virama* + ᒨ *nya*

ᒩ *tra*   ᛝ *ta* + ◌ *virama* + ᛌ *ra*

ᒪ *dra*   ᚷ *da* + ◌ *virama* + ᛌ *ra*

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40 PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p. 5.

41 Ibid. p. 5.

42 Ibid. p. 5.

43 Ibid. p. 5.

44 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 143.

vowel signs are represented as ligatures. Some vowel signs take contextual forms when combined with certain consonant letters (Fig. 12).[40]

Consonant Conjuncts
Consonant clusters are typically limited to two consonants and are represented in three ways: Atomic ligatures, full-form consonants plus visible *virama*, and full-form consonants plus reduced form of final consonant(Fig. 13).[41]

Geminate Consonants and Nasalization
Geminate consonants are marked by the sign ◌ *shada*. The sign is written above the consonant letter that is doubled. Nasalization is indicated by the sign ◌ *anusvara*. It is written to the top right side of the letter.[42]

Nukta
The Nukta is used for producing characters to represent sounds not native to Sindhi. It is used primarily to represent Arabic letters and sounds, which were copied from Perso-Urdu ﺔ . The superscript triple dot sign ◌ (Fig. 15) may be written with vowel letters, vowel signs, and consonant letters. Due to its close relation with Muslim culture, the Nukta in Khojki is also used in abbreviations of common Arabic benedictions (Fig. 14).[43]

Numerals
Khojki digits resemble Gujarati numerals, which are generally employed. However, some Arabic numerals were incorporated in manuscripts foliation as well (Fig. 16).[44]
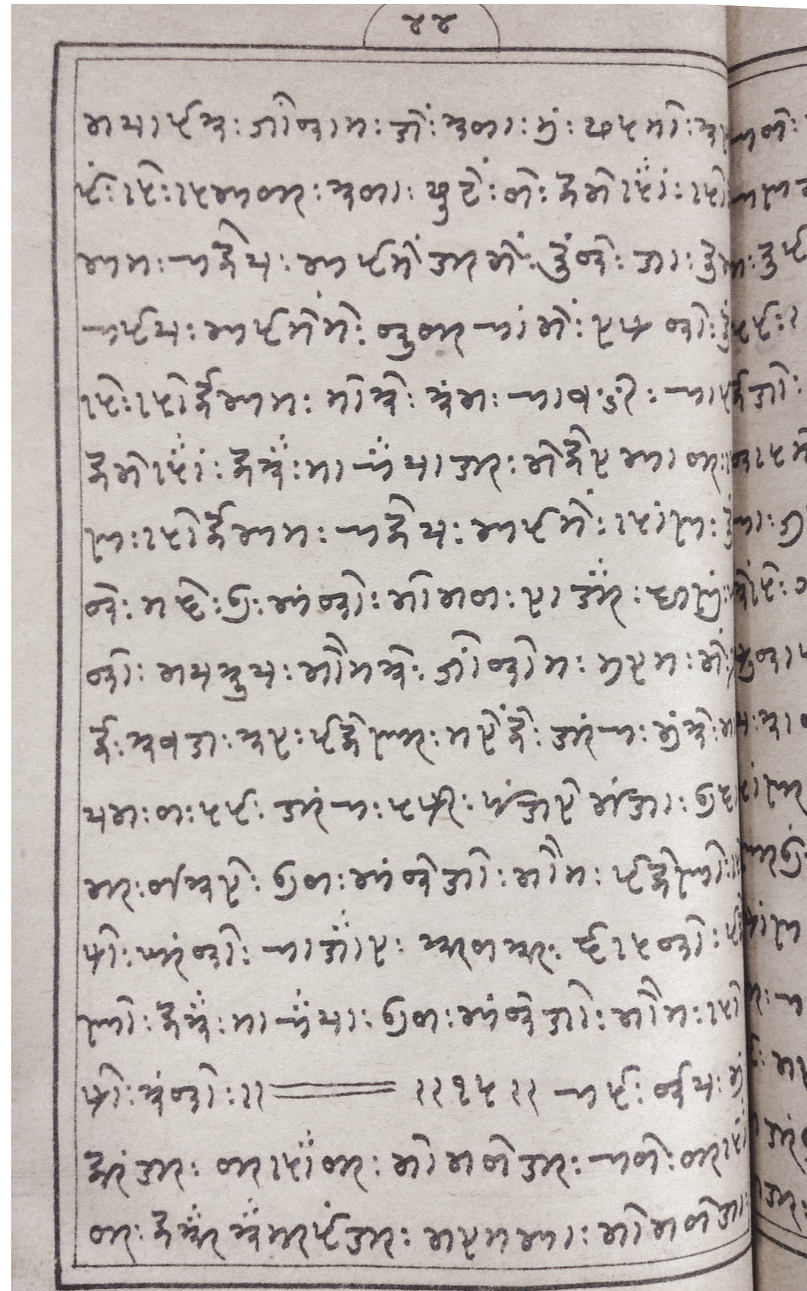
Figure 17 *Rasālō ēmām jā'aphar sādhikjō*. Printed by Datt Prasādh Press. Bombay, 1896.
[Photo: Collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies]

Fidelity to calligraphy was prized. For the printing of books in Europe lithography remained a marginal technology, but among Muslim communities of India and Southeast Asia, lithography became the premier printing technology, especially for reproducing religious texts with Arabic script. The presses required less financial investment to establish and less skills to operate.
[ROSS, FIONA and GRAHAM SHAW. *Non-Latin scripts. From metal type to digital type*. London: St. Bride, 2012. pp. 23–25]

4   PRINTED KHOJKI

The print industry in Bombay flourished from the end of the 18th century particularly with the Gujarati script. Most of the time, the metal types were cast by employees of the companies, such as with the Curier Press, the first one in the region. Later in 1812, the first vernacular press was established, and they also used Gujarati types of his own production.[1]

Alternatively, as the metal types had to be brought from Germany, the presses founded by the Khoja Ismailis with Khojki type were only established a century later. Therefore, the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th were of special importance in the history of Khojki, as by that time, at least two presses were active in the business of recording Ismaili literature in Khojki script.

Moreover, the dispute of the Khoja in 1866 became a source of growing tension and it was having significant consequences in the second half of the 19th century. Differentiation among the communities was being asserted more fiercely. In fact, the split could have stimulated the beginning of the printing presses in order to promote and spread their own literature.

The printed *ginān* texts were under extreme vigilance in order to not mistake the sources and representation of the creed. However, the Khojki script was caste specific; hence was their *Satpanth* literature. For this reason it was very hard to classify the literature of the caste within one group or another.

4.1. The printing presses

Lithography and metal types

Initially Khojki was printed by private printing presses such as Ghulam-i Husain Chapakanu in Bombay. By the end of the 19th century, various lithographs were also published in the Khojki script under the auspices of individual members of the Ismaili community (Fig. 17). One of the two examples of Khojki lithographs from this period was published in 1896 by Kasam Bhai Karim Bhagat through the Datt Prasādh Press in Bombay. The other one was published in 1900 by M. Sale Kasam through the J D. Press, Bombay.[2]

By the end of the 19th century, the Aga Khan II, Aqa Ali Shah (1830–1885), launched a campaign in Sindh, Kathiawar, Gujarat and Kutch to collect old and rare manuscripts of the *ginās*. It is also said that he delegated Lalji Devraj, a proficient Ismaili business man, to unearth them.[3]

In Gujarat there are villages that are totally *Satpanthi*, such as Pirana, near Ahmedabad. For this campaign, Devraj also went to Pirana to search *ginānic* manuscripts. Many Ismailis delivered him their collections; whether sold, donated, or borrowed. It is said that Devraj received extra encouragement from the Imam Aqa Ali Shah to start the press and finance the project. For about six months, he employed a number of scribes to make copies of the *ginās* in Khojki and then distribute them among the people of the community.[4] According to Zawahir Moir, "the printed material appear to have consisted of almost *verbatim* copies of the content of the Khojki manuscripts, particularly works belonging to the *ginān* genre, with very little editing".[5]

When the demand increased, he started with lithography printing to supply more copies, but apparently not even this media was enough. After
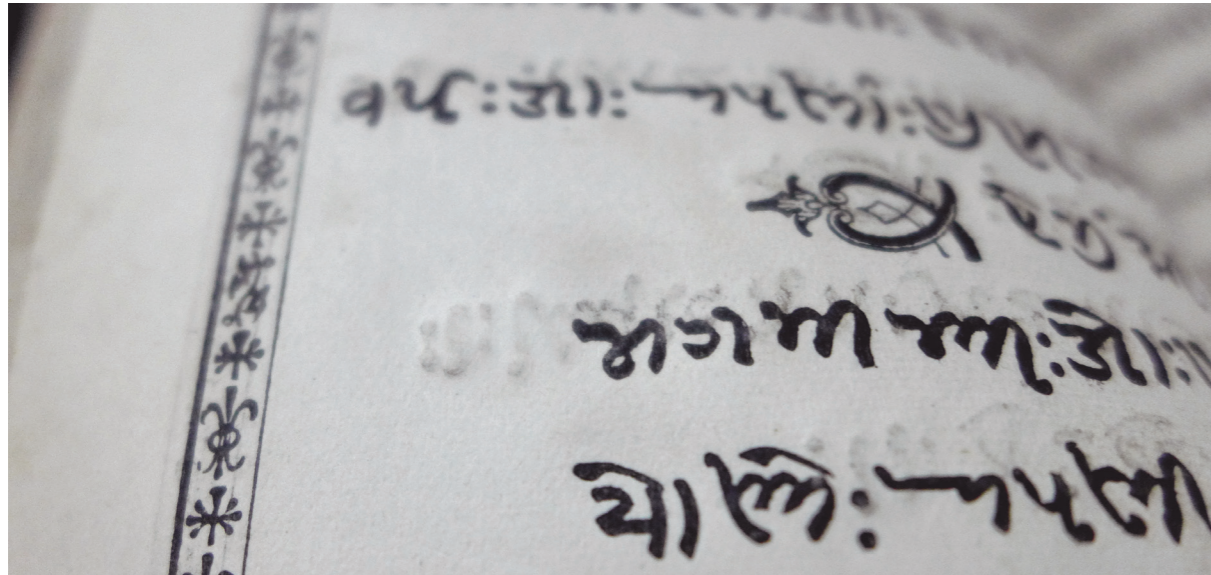
1   PRIOLKAR, ANANT K. *The Printing Press in India*, 1958. p. 73.
2   ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 108.
3   TAJDDIN S. A., MUMTAZ. "Laljibhai Devraj." *101 Ismaili Heroes*, 2003. pp. 281–287.
4   Ibid. pp. 281–287.
5   Personal communication from Zawahir Moir to Ali S. Asani. In ASANI (2002) p. 108.

Figure 18 *Satavni vadi tathaa nindhi.*
Printed by Ghulam-i Husain
Chapakhanu Press, Bombay,
1896. [Pyarali Jiwa's personal
collection. Photo by Juan Bruce]

In these pictures it is possible to
see reliefs on the paper provoked
by the pressure of metal types.
Whereas visual corroboration
might not be enough, it is clearly
evidenced by touching the paper.
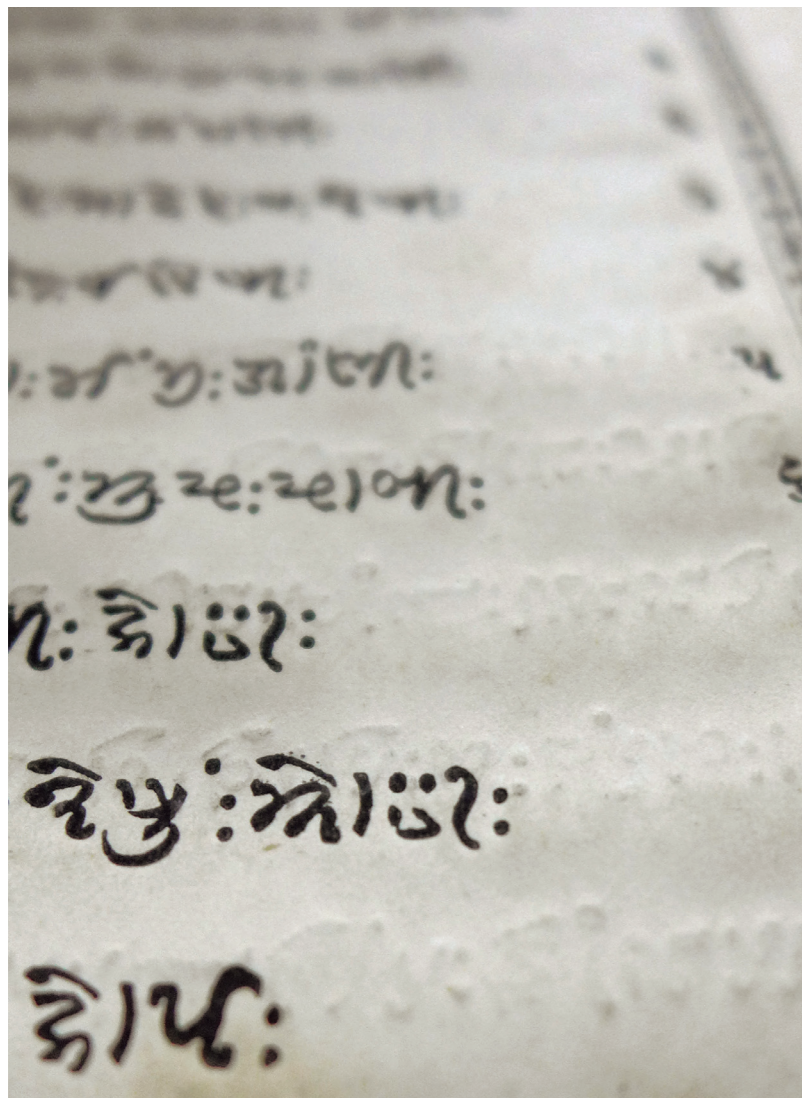
further demand from the community, he made up his mind to prepare Khojki metal types for more efficient printing.[6]

It is presumed that Devraj travelled throughout India but he could not find anyone capable of designing the Khojki type. After this failure, he read in a newspaper that a foundry in Hamburg, Germany, was capable of preparing the printing metal types of any script.[7] "He visited Germany in 1903 for a period of three months and succeeded to prepare the Khojki types for the first time".[8] After his trip, he went back to India and with a brand new Heidelberg machine, he established in 1903 the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press in Palkhi Mola, Bombay, under the auspices of being the official community press.[9]

Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu Press

This whole version of how Devraj was the first person in bring the Khojki metal type to India brings some questions to this dissertation. It is widely believed that with the development of the printing press the lithographs were gradually replaced. According to Mumtaz Tajddin Sadiq Ali, author of the book *110 Ismaili Heroes*, the press Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu, which operated from 1880, published the *gināns* in litho print. Actually, he remarks that these litho books were too costly and the Ismaili people could not afford them, and with the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press the people was finally able to afford the cost of such literature. Consequently, the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press rapidly made Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu Press obsolete due to their higher printing costs; overtaking the business of printed Ismaili literature.

Nevertheless, lithographs presses were quite popular in India and Muslim communities because they were cheaper to establish and easier to operate (Fig. 17). We know that Devraj shipped everything from Germany. Considering the weight and the distance, it is hard to find reasons why Devraj's Press was cheaper. Ali S. Asani in his essay *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim*, wrote that "to prevent the circulation of non-official versions of *ginān* texts, private publications were discouraged; the Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu, a private press which used to print lithographs of *gināns* stopped doing so in the early 20th century."[10]

It is widely presumed that Ali Ghulamhusain, the owner of the press, printed only in litho, and Asani is not the exception. In fact, this is mainly due to the sparse available literature of such information. However, a century earlier it was possible to cast Gujarati metal types in Bombay, and according to evidence found by the author of this dissertation, the Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu press, which was thought to exclusively produce lithograph printing, also used metal type sorts to print pieces of religious Ismaili literature; and at least eight years prior to the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press (Fig. 18).

Analysis on printed samples

With the literature available one cannot make solid conclusions, because the history of printing of the Khoja Ismailis is inconsistent. However, these facts highlight the thesis that Devraj's story was deliberately enhanced to propagate the texts that the Aga Khan wanted to distribute in the community. "Since Devraj had the backing of the Aga Khan, Ismaili Khojas considered his editions to be a *bona fide* and authoritative text of

6   TAJDDIN S. A., MUMTAZ. "Laljibhai
     Devraj." *101 Ismaili Heroes*, 2003.
     pp. 281–287.
7   Ibid. pp. 281–287.
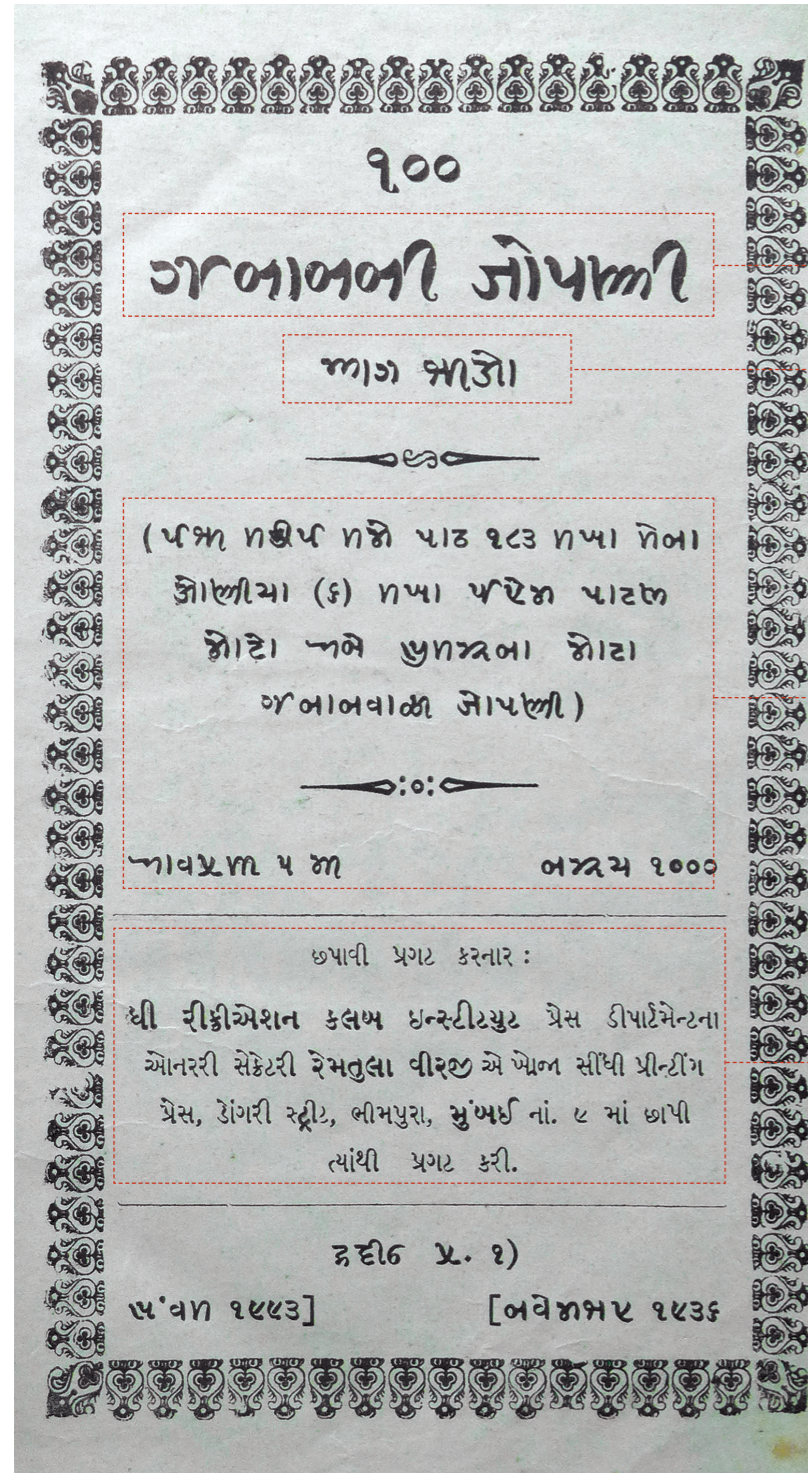8   Ibid. pp. 281–287.
9   ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*,
     2002. p. 108.
10   ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili
     Muslim*, 2010. p. 24.

Text hierarchy: Khoja Sindhi Printing Press.

Three hierarchies are used in this sample of Khojki types. The fourth corresponds to a Gujarati type.

Hierarchical Size 1:
Title Display typeface.
High contrast design

Hierarchical Size 2:
Subtitle typeface.

Hierarchical Size 3:
Text typeface.
Also found inside
the book.

Hierarchy 4:
Text typeface.
Gujarati script

Figure 19 *100 Ginān ni chopadi bhaag bijo*, 5th Edition. Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, Bombay, 1936.
[Pyarali Jiwa's personal collection. Photo by Juan Bruce] Scale: 100%.

ginānic literature."[11] Significantly, it was not the price of manufacture, but the intention to standardize the literature which provoked the distribution of independent *Satpanthi* texts to cease.

From where did Aladin Ghulamhusain get these types? Primary analysis shows that there are some differences in the design of the typeface from one press to another. However, most evidence suggests that Devraj either based his design on Ghulamhusain types, or utilised the same ones after Ghulamhusain closed his business. All these assumptions make the official version of a Khojki typeface designed in Germany difficult to believe.

In the next examples we will see a comparison of printed samples and typefaces from both Ghulamhusain and Devraj's presses.

11　ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim*, 2010. pp. 19–20.

Comparison Title Display typefaces in both presses:

The design of both presses resemble largely, but they are not the same. Proportions show some differences, as well the stress of some counters. (More samples for comparison in Fig. 29 p. 50).

Five pence coin.
Scale 100%

1,8 cm

Size 1:
Title Display

Size 2:
Subtitle

Size 3:
Text typeface
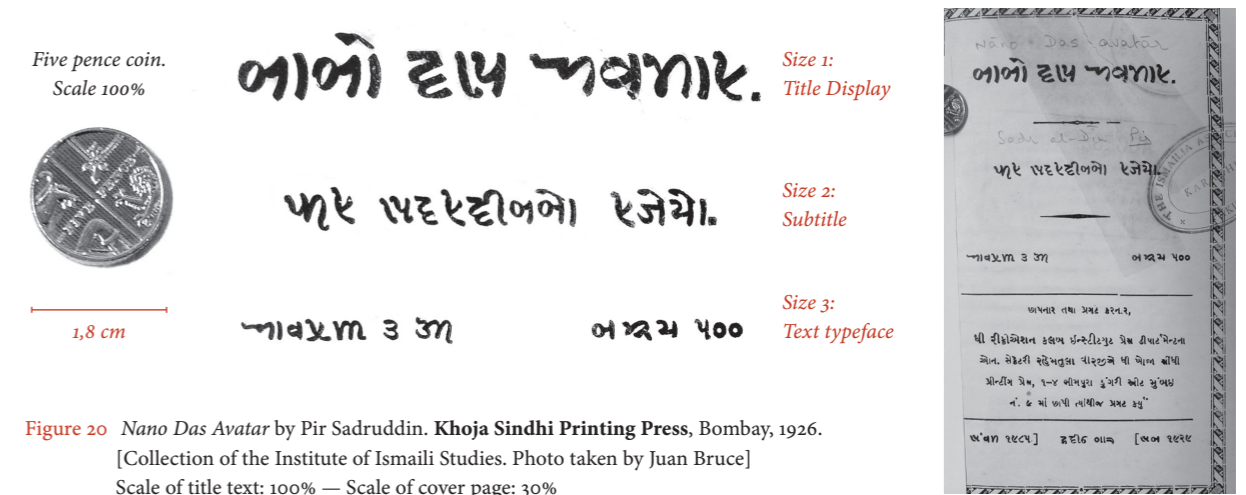
Figure 20　*Nano Das Avatar* by Pir Sadruddin. **Khoja Sindhi Printing Press**, Bombay, 1926.
[Collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies. Photo taken by Juan Bruce]
Scale of title text: 100% — Scale of cover page: 30%

Figure 21　*Satavni vadi tathaa nindhi*. Printed by **Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu Press**, Bombay, 1896. Title reordered to compare the design of the Display type.
[Pyarali Jiwa's personal collection. Photo taken by Juan Bruce]
Scale of title text: 100% — Scale of cover page: 30%

From handwritten forms to the first metal types casted in th 19th century.
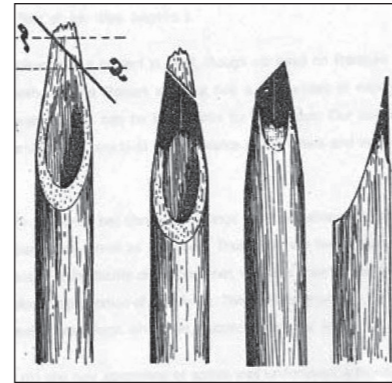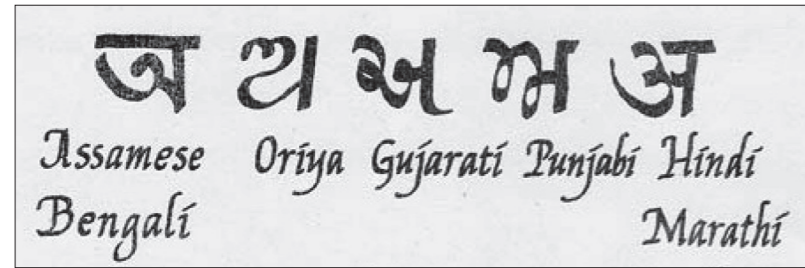

Figure 22 Tools used to write the north Indian scripts. The Khojki character is drawn at the same angle as Indian scripts.
[GHOSH. *An approach to type design and text composition in Indian scripts,* 1983]
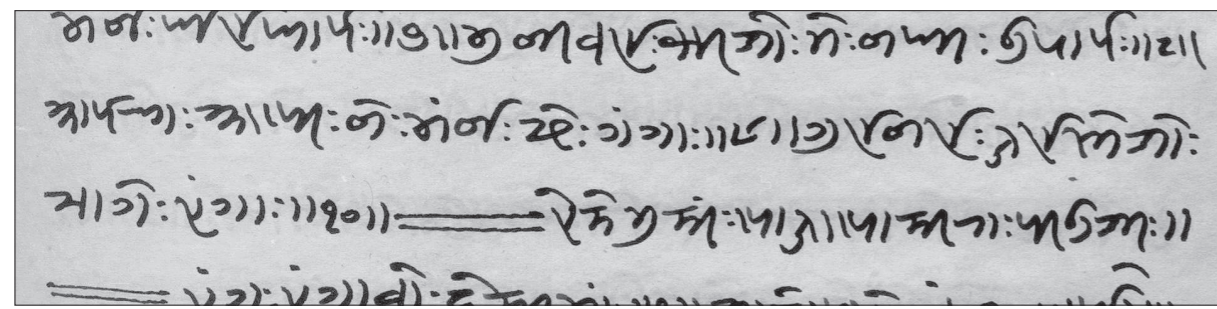
Figure 23 Manuscript OR 1238, folio 81. © The British Library Board, d.1852 C.E.
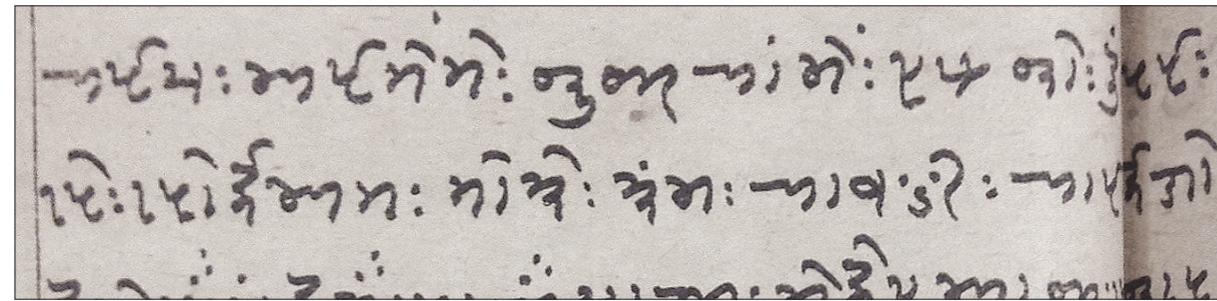
Figure 24 *Rasālō ēmām jā'aphar sādhikjō.* Litho printing by Datt Prasādh Press. Bombay, 1896.
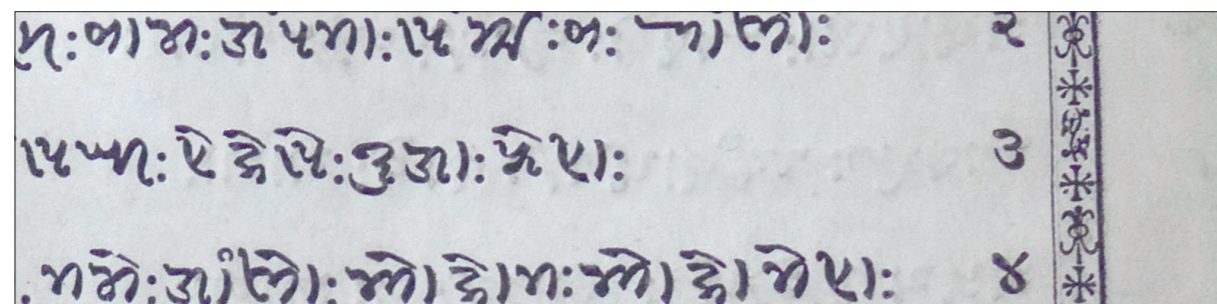
Figure 25 *Satavni vadi tathaa nindhi.* Book printed with metal type by Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu Press, Bombay, 1896.

Comparison of certain characters from manuscripts to metal type:

Manuscript OR 1238, folio 81. 1852	Datt Prasādh Press. Lithography 1896	Ghulam-i Husain Chapakhanu Press 1896	Khoja Sindhi Printing Press 1905	Khoja Sindhi Printing Press 1911	Khoja Sindhi Printing Press 1930	
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	—	dda
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	—	(char)	sa
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	ka
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	a
(char)	—	(char)	(char)	(char)	—	ca
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	ja
(char)	—	(char)	—	(char)	—	ny
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	nna
—	(char)	(char)	(char)	—	(char)	bha
(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	ba
(char)	—	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	da
—	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	(char)	ha

Figure 26 The metal type design has a very good calligraphic approach. This is especially important in Indian scripts.
Not all the character were found in the different samples, nonetheless some of them seem to have taken different forms through the years.

Figure 27 Aga Khan. Farmān: jañgbārnā: bījī: mûsāfarinā: tathā: faramān: nāîrobī:
[MS Indic 2534. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.
Printed in Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, Bombay, 1905]

4.2. Authenticity of *Satpanthi* texts

Lalji Devraj's press

We know that after the case of 1866 the identity of the resulting communities of the Khoja caste needed to be reinforced in order to differentiate from the rest. During the process of printing, some compositions were specially inspected in order to be accurate to the tradition to which they referred. However, it was very difficult to judge the authenticity of each *ginān* from hundred years ago.

In addition to printing religious texts, Lalji Devraj's press was also very busy propagandizing the new constitutions and *farmans** introduced by the Aga Khan III since 1905. *Farmans* were compiled into books to be widely accessible to Ismaili Khojas (Fig. 27). "In the eyes of their followers, the *farmans* embodied the ongoing and infallible guidance of the Imams, hence obedience to them was obligatory. Not surprisingly, *farmans* became the most significant means through which the Aga Khans mandated reform in all aspects of the Ismaili community".[12] Same as the *pirs* six centuries ago, the reforms needed to be introduced in vernacular languages and scripts. *Farmans* were printed in Khojki script and Kutchi languages. Hindustani, Gujarati and Sindhi languages were also employed. These constitutions affected the life of the Khojas significantly as they involved a variety of areas such as governance, society, welfare, health, and education.[13]

Nevertheless, the first publication of the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press was the book with the *ginān* 'Satveni'.[14] This book was controversial within the Ismaili, as after its publication its Ismaili roots were questioned.

It is believed, that the *Satpanth* Literature or the *gināns* were composed by nine Ismaili *pirs* and twenty two Sunni *sayyids* during their mission in the Indian subcontinent.[15] This is evidence that the blend of Muslim and Hindu cultures resulting in the *Satpanth* was not only between Ismailis and Hindus; Sunni Sufi *sayyids* were deeply involved. It is certain, therefore, that the Khoja inherited a much more complex creed from their ancestors.

Texts that were found irrelevant or doubtful would never be reprinted. In fact, a few of them were found to be of questionable provenance, such as the 'Chhatris Krodi', 'Dashtari Gayatri', 'Chetamani of Pir Imam Shah', and thus were never published.[16] The 'Satveni' book was however published by the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press without prior testing of its Ismaili roots. The authenticity of the 'Satveni' was challenged with evidence, which were minutely examined and resulted in the decision not to re-publish the text. The presence nature of this evidence is unknown, except that 'Satveni' contained non-Ismaili elements and suffered with interpolation.[17]

The 'Satveni' *ginān* was compiled by the Imam-Shahis sect around 1520.[18] This sect was very much attached to the Hindu part of the *Satpanth* creed, as they are known for concealing and denying any connections to Ismailism, and accentuating their Hindu beliefs and use of Hindu symbology. 'Satveni' originally contained 100 verses, however, according to Ismaili scholars, the manuscript was in a private collection of the Imam-Shahis in Pirana, and when it was brought by Devraj himself for printing, it contained 150 verses. This may indicate that at some point an interpolation occurred. This is the reason why 'Satveni' never became a standard text in Ismaili literature, and is hardly recited in the *jamatkhana*.

Devraj appealed to Ismailis through his monthly magazine, *Ismaili Satpanth Prakash,* to draw his attention to the errors, discrepancies or

Figure 28 Portrait of Lalji Devraj.
[TAJDDIN S. A., MUMTAZ.
"Laljibhai Devraj." *101 Ismaili Heroes,* 2003]

*   Directives
12   ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 19.
13   Ibid. p. 19.
14   TAJDDIN S. A., MUMTAZ. "Laljibhai Devraj." *101 Ismaili Heroes,* 2003. pp. 281–287.
15   "Fictitious Narratives in the Satveni'ji Vel." In *Amir Pir Mela in Sindh and its Origin. www.ismaili.net.* Web. (retrieved 23 August 2015)
16   Ibid.
17   Ibid.
18   Ibid.

Figure 29 Type specimen of Khojki with Gujarati transliteration. *Sindhi baal chitra bodh.* 22nd Edition. Ismailia
Association for India (former Recreation Club Institute) by B R Mohamed Rangoonwala. Printed by Ismaili
Printing Press (former Khoja Sindhi Printing Press). Bombay, 1942.
[Pyarali Jiwa's personal collection. Photos by Juan Bruce]

doubtfulness in the *gināns* that he had published from his Khoja Sindhi Printing Press.[19] The name of the magazine also testifies to the deep implantation of the *Satpanth* creed inside the community.

Notwithstanding Lalji Devraj's crucial role in the shaping of the modern *ginān* literature, there are disconcerting aspects of his work. "Lalji Devraj editions excluded perhaps as many as 300 *ginān* texts from the 'official' corpus since their contents were deemed to be inappropriate for the direction in which the Ismaili Khoja identity was evolving."[20] The Russian scholar Wladimir Ivanov, who lived in India during that time, and Azim Nanji, mention that for some strange reason most of the manuscripts used to prepare the printed editions were destroyed.[21] In fact, his team is said to have buried nearly 3500 manuscripts which they had used as bases for their editions. "The magnitude of this destruction brings serious questions regarding the methodology he employed to edit *ginān* texts."[22]

For instance, "an examination of the *Būjh Niranjan* texts edited by Lalji Devraj reveals that he introduced verses into the printed texts that are not found in the Khojki manuscripts of the poem."[23] Though it may be argued that perhaps Lalji Devraj was not directly responsible for these changes, his unreliability of his editing is beyond doubt when we consider the fate of a single line in his editions, a misreading possibly due to a faulty reading of the Perso-Arabic script.[24]

For instance, in a Gujarati edition of *Būjh Niranjan* published in 1921, a line reads *sunī grehyā yuñ karteñ bāt.* Two new changes have been incorporated into the text to change the meaning of the line to, 'the sunī [i.e., *sunnī*] group talks like this'. *Sunī*, the past participle of the Hindustani verb *sunnā* (to hear), has conveniently been mistaken for the term *Sunnī*, a popular way of referring to the majority of Muslims who uphold orthopraxy.[25]

Nevertheless, the argument behind these confusions is not relevant for this dissertation, as the author does not mean to trace the details of these corruptions, but to highlight the fact that with this exacerbated effort at differentiation, the resulting communities after the case resolution of 1866 showed that until this last episode, they were united by similar cosmologies.

In the 1920s and 1930s, although the printing was still done by the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press (later known as the Ismaili Printing Press, reflecting the shift in identity from Khoja to Ismaili), the publication of Khojki material was taken over by the Recreation Club Institute (Fig. 29), which later evolved into the community institution responsible for research and publication of religious material (Ismailia Association for India).[26]

19 "Fictitious Narratives in the Satveni'ji Vel." In *Amir Pir Mela in Sindh and its Origin. www.ismaili.net.* Web. (retrieved 23 August 2015)
20 ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 24.
21 IVANOV, WLADIMIR. "Satpanth". *Collectanea,* 1948. In ASANI (1991).
22 ASANI, ALI S. *The Bujh Nirañjan,* 1991. p. 88.
23 Ibid. p. 88.
24 Ibid. p. 88.
25 Ibid. p. 89.
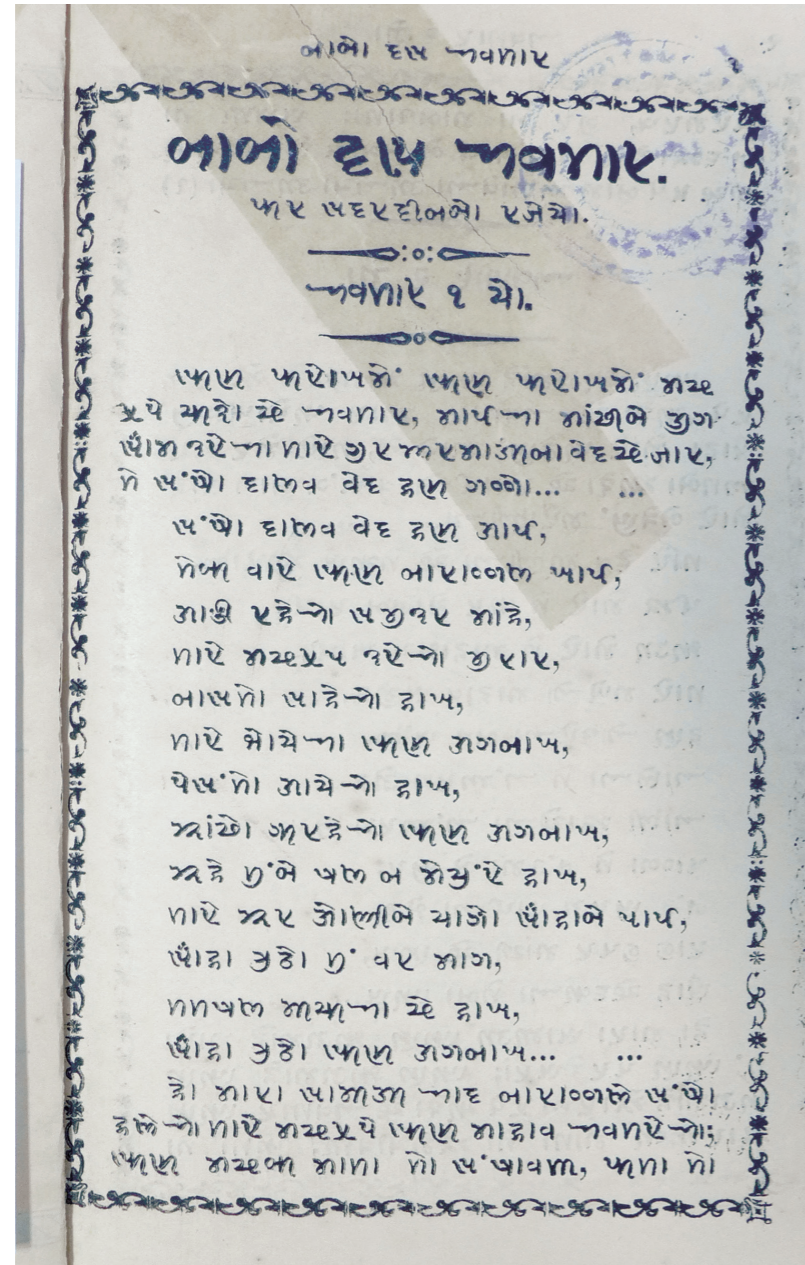26 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 2002. p. 109.

Figure 30 *Das Avatar* attributed to Pir Sadruddin. Printed in 1926 by the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press.
[Collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies. Photo by Juan Bruce]

5   DEATH OF THE SCRIPT

The schism of the Khoja after the resolution of the 'Aga Khan Case' resulted in many fractured Khoja communities that claimed exacerbated identity. Those who did not stay under the Aga Khan leadership, Ithna Ashari Khoja and Sunni Khoja mostly, played a primary role as well.

Therefore, the decline of the Khojki script, has a direct relationship with the changes that the Khoja community experienced from the mid-19th century onwards. More precisely, the transition from Indic traditions to Muslim *umma**. A so-called 'Islamization' shifted the understanding of key doctrines from local Indic frameworks to ones considered authentically Islamic, which may have influenced the decline of the Indic Khojki script.

According to Iqbal Akhtar, "this process of transmuting religious identity from the Indic to Near Eastern Islamic was relatively rapid and sometimes provoked fierce resistance from within"[1] adding that the evolution became a "systematic abolition of popular expressions of Khoja religion".[2] Ironically, the *Satpanthi* book from Pir Sadruddin *Das Avatar* (Fig. 30), who served to clarify the origins of the community and their Shia roots in the 1866 case, used to be considered a primary text for the followers of the Aga Khan, however, is no longer part of their religious education. This dismissal of Hindu cosmologies in the modern Khoja communities can be explained after an overview of its modernization into an Islamic nationhood.

This process was concluded in the second half of the 20th century: in first place, with the partition of India, and later, with the introduction of the Arabic script in the 1970s in the region of Sindh, the place where Khojki was born, and where the last vestiges of the script remained. Nonetheless, authors like Ali S. Asani, go deeper and explain also technical reasons for which Khojki might have become obsolete.

5.1   The Khoja schism

Tension within the Khoja caste

By the end of the 19th century, the Khoja had became a formidable trading community, creating elaborate trading networks throughout the Western Indian Ocean region to Karachi and Bombay; to Muscat, Mogadishu, and Zanzibar.[3] The rapid economic and geographic transition in the 19th century to the Bombay cosmopolis meant exposure to a variety of different traditions in the religious economy of the city and a new form of religious identity for the Khoja as urban transnational merchants.[4]

Concerning the caste rituals, in the mid 19th century the Khojas where distributed into multiple Indic religious traditions,[5] including *Satpanth*, *brahma samaj* and *prarthana samaj*.[6]

These traditions mark a conflict in which the Khoja community underwent a split. The competition between these religious customs, increasing communal mercantile wealth, and new ideas resulted in internal conflicts over caste authority, education, democracy, religious observances, and ownership of communal resources.[7] In the mid 19th century, as mentioned before (p. 19), a major event interrupted the reticent ways of the *Satpanthis*; this is the arrival of the Imam Hasan Ali Shah, the Aga Khan I, to settle in Bombay. Authority among the Khoja began to be contested

*   Community.
1   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 51
2   Ibid. p. 51
3   Ibid. p. 43.
4   GREEN, NILE. *Bombay Islam*, 2001. pp. 155–178. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 43
5   NANJIANI, SACEDINA. *Khoja Vrttant*. 1892. p. 262. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 43
6   SAHIB, M. Q. H. *Memoirs of Mulla Qadir Husain Sahib*, 1972. p.14–15. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 43
7   GOOLAMALI, KARIM. *A voice from India*, 1864.

which subsequently escalated leading to the judgement of 1866 in the Bombay High court, by which Khoja ethnic and religious identity began to be defined by the British colonial administration. This resulted in the fracture of the Khoja caste into multiple religious communities, including the Ismaili Khoja, Ithna Ashari Khoja, and Sunni Khoja.[8]

For the 'Aga Khani', or Ismaili Khoja, linking their medieval Indic heritage to earlier Arabic and Persian religious authorities, was one of the aspects of the enterprise undertaken after the 1866 trial. However, the growing uniformity in their new Muslim status made the followers of the Aga Khan gradually leave behind their Indian heritage.[9]

Rejection of Satpanth

"Like most sacred literature, the *Ginānic* heritage cannot be considered as an immutable literary tradition that has been created and transmitted without any change."[10] The importance of the *Satpanthis Ginānic* heritage, is essential to understanding the evolution of the script. For instance, "for a long time, the *gināns* were known only to the initiates of the *Satpanth* Khoja community. Some members called Gupti maintained their Hindu affiliations but inwardly observed *Satpanth* teachings and thus kept their Ismaili identity hidden. Their form, style and content resembles that of medieval and pre-modern *Bhakti* poetry; conversely, their unique characteristic find sympathy among several contemporary Hindu communities in Gujarat and Rajasthan. From this, one might infer a much wider affiliation to *Satpanth* Ismailism in medieval times than is indicated by the boundaries of the present Khoja community".[11]

While under the first Aga Khan's rule the *Ginānic* literature was pressured to prove its Muslimness, under Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Aga Khan III, this pressure was considerably less. In fact, from 1912 to 1923 there was growing Hindu-Muslim unity in India. Sultan Mohammad Shah, was a great supporter of this ensemble and always advocated for this cause, even when he was president of the All India Muslim conference in 1928, when relations between the groups had hardened.[12] However, this position was not without controversy. Karim Goolamali, published several pamphlets in which he accused the third Aga Khan of claiming divinity for himself and of having invented a new religion based on money.[13] Furthermore, he was the first Aga Khan to introduce the *farmans*. After his death in 1957, however, his programme of reforms was considerably intensified and accelerated by his grandson, Prince Karim the Aga Khan IV.[14]

We mentioned that some manuscripts were destroyed during the period when distinctions were being made between approved and non-approved *gināns* by Devraj. These editions had a significant impact as it altered the ways in which the communities of believers interpreted the teachings. For example, *gināns* came to be increasingly seen as commentaries on the inner meanings of the Koran.[15]

An Ismaili Sindhi Khoja who played a leading role in these debates was Hāsīm Lālū (1880-1961). He postulated that Ismailism was a form of Sufism and he tried to show that Hinduism and Sufism had similar practises and concepts.[16] After the partition of India, authors like Ghulam Ali Allana would re-employed the theory of the Sufi origins of Ismailism while downplaying the Hindu connections of the Khoja religion.[17]

8   PUROHIT, TEENA. *Formations and Genealogies,* 2005. In AKHTAR (2012) p. 43.

9   BOIVIN, MICHEL. *L'écriture de l'historie chez les Khojas,* 2008. p. 75–102.

10   KHAN, DOMINIQUE-SILA. "Rewriting the *Gināns*" *Essays on Ismaili Hymns of South Asia,* 2010. p. 103.

11   KASSAM, TAZIM R. "Preface". *Essays on Ismaili Hymns of South Asia.* 2010. p. 10.

12   SHODHAN, AMRITA. "The Entaglement of the *Gināns* in the Khoja Governance." *Essays on Ismaili Hymns of South Asia*, 2010. p. 176.

13   GOOLAMALI, KARIM. *An Appeal,* 1932. In BOIVIN (2010) p. 29.

14   ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 18.

15   Ibid. p. 25.

16   BOIVIN, MICHEL. "*Gināns* and the management". *Essays on Ismaili hymns from South Asia,* 2010. p. 29.

17   Ibid. p. 29.

In spite of these efforts, Hindu religious identities inevitably assumed an ideological orientation of a modern Islamic nation. These changes can be seen in the Khojas especially in the "elimination of their Hindu philosophies, which were carried out by the respective religious leadership of the various Khoja religious communities. Gujarati and Kutchi prayers were replaced by Arabic, hierarchical forms of religious authority were created and institutionalized, and orthodox belief replaced vernacular expressions of faith."[18]

5.2   Islamization

Modernity and dismissal

The Khoja Ismailis approached modernity by sympathising with westernization and appealing to British colonial authority, whereas the Ithna Ashari Khoja preferred to be immersed in the Islamic authority of the Near East.[19] The Ithna Ashari made important decisions that would reorient Khoja identity. First they abandoned the Khojki script for Gujarati, breaking the connection with their traditional past. This meant that the Ithna Ashari Khoja were unable to recognize the Khojki script nor capable of reading their own religious literature prior to the 20th century. The Khojki script had already begun to experiment with including Arabic characters, like the three dots over some letters (p. 37). However, when the Ithna Ashari moved from the Khojki script to the Gujarati script, "they created the first systematic transliteration system to represent the Arabic script in Gujarati, as it was heavily laden with Persian and Arabic terminology."[20] This demonstrates the transition into a more coherent orientation towards their Muslim identity; yet they kept a vernacular script. Conversely, the Ismaili Khoja also abandoned the script, but gradually. From 1910 onwards, the Gujarati script began to be an alternative for printing in the Ismaili community as well. However, "while the Gujarati script was used among the Khoja communities, particularly by Kathiawari merchants for accounting and inventory purposes, it was not the script predominantly used by Khoja communities for communicating religious knowledge well into the 19th century."[21] However, it appears that all the Khojki material was transcribed and printed in Gujarati characters. "On the basis of scanty information it appears that Lalji Devraj may have played an important role in facilitating the switch from Khojki to Gujarati within the Ismaili community. This, however, would have to be adequately researched"[22] According to an experienced teacher of Khojki, Hashim Moledina, in the next decades the printing of books in Khojki script gradually decreased in all areas of the subcontinent where the Ismaili community lived except in the region of Sindh, the home of the script.[23] The Sindhi Ismaili Khojas may have been unwilling to abandon a script so closely associated with their language, for Khojki still represents one of the oldest forms of writing Sindhi.[24]

According to Asani, the introduction of printing may have also had an impact in terms of the death of the script. Considerable expenses were apparently involved in the manufacture of the metal types for Khojki. Moreover, as mentioned before, Khojki carried some fundamental imperfections from its mercantile ancestors. "A more significant factor leading to the script's demise was the lack of uniformity in the script in

18 AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 50
19 Ibid. 92.
20 Ibid. 90.
21 Ibid. 90.
22 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 121.
23 Interview of Ali S. Asani with Hashim Moledina in Karachi, January 1982. In ASANI (2002) p. 109.
24 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 110.

different geographical areas. For example the character ⤳ represented the letter *dy* in Sindh but *z* or *j* in Gujarat; or in one region the vowel *o* would be represented by the character ⤳ᐟ, while in another area the character ᒥᐟ served the same purpose."[25] These regional variations were a serious problem considering that literature was spreading and printing becoming standardized.

Considering the influence that the Aga Khan had in identity matters, it seems plausible that political reasons also caused the production of Khojki types to cease.

The Partition of India and later events

In the time of the colonial rule, British conceptions of distinct ideologies needed to be understood as fixed entities, "with their respective adherents separated from each other by well-defined boundaries".[26] The Aga Khan, as their potential new leader, used this new context to enhanced the Muslim part of the Khoja and reorientate their identity. The British also established Christian schools and colleges to promote western models of education, which was perceived as a potential threat by some Muslims groups. In response Muslims called for a fresh interpretation of Islam and sought to differentiate from non-Muslim groups using the Koran for guidance.[27]

Eventually, in an atmosphere infused with nationalist ideologies in colonial India, Hindu-Muslim tension was unsustainable. "Some Muslim and Hindu leaders began to see religious communities as constituting distinct nations. It is this conception that led to demands for the partition of the subcontinent on the basis of the two-nation theory".[28] While Hindu Indians dominated the central and eastern part of the Indian subcontinent, Muslim Indians dominated the western part of the region (in what is now Pakistan). Although there are still Khoja Ismailis in Gujarat and Kutch, the majority of them went to Pakistan after the partition in 1947. According to Asani the script may also have been resilient to the partition, as later events increased the number of Gujarati and Urdu speakers in the region. Since these languages do not share a common script, there was still a need to have a single script in which different languages could be written, with Khojki the capable candidate.[29]

Soon after the foundation of Pakistan there were attempts to transform Pakistan into an 'Islamic State' rather than a simple Muslim homeland; the original idea of the Khoja Muhammad Ali Jinnah, its founder. The push came from Sunni religious scholars, who indeed end up terming Ali Jinnah 'the great infidel'. "In an atmosphere of growing sectarian intolerance, the identity of Ismailis also came under increased scrutiny and their position became precarious".[30] Consequently, the plurality so characteristic of the Khoja Ismaili was "progressively eroded until they came to define themselves in narrow sectarian terms deemed more appropriate to colonial and post-colonial tastes and sensibilities."[31] This was a clear sign of adaptation to the modern Muslim world. However, it seems they were more comfortable dealing with their conflicts with Hindu traditions rather than with their new status within Islam.

Nonetheless, the script was only surviving, not living. Even in Sindh the script did not lived beyond the 1970s when it gave way to the Perso-Arabic written system in which both Sindhi and Urdu are now written.[32] For a moment, Devanagari script was at the core of the discussion to

25 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 2002. p. 109.

26 ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 9.

27 Ibid. p. 10.

28 Ibid. p. 10.

29 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 2002. p. 110.

30 ASANI, ALI S. *From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim,* 2010. p. 17.

31 Ibid. p. 18.

32 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 2002. p. 129.

be the official script of Sindh, as it was more in "resonance with their religious and national identity"[33] than Arabic script. Yet, it did not succeed. For all practical purposes, Khojki no longer survived as a living script among the Khojas.

Another significant example of how Islamization left no room for Indic traditions was witnessed in 1975 during a conference that was held in Paris and chaired by the prince Karim Aga Khan IV. A resolution was passed regarding the classification of the *gināns* in three categories: the first one presented no problems as the texts did not contain Hindu elements and were to continued to be recited in the *jamatkhana*. The second category comprised the hymns that included a few Hindu terms and it was decided to replace these words by their Islamic equivalent; in this way 'Hari' became 'Ali', 'Gur' became "Pir", and so on. The third category, in which manuscripts had 'excessive Hindu elements', such as he famous *Das Avatar*, were simple banned.[34] Not surprisingly, the Khojki script is no longer of interest for the Ismaili authorities. According to the scholar Diamond Rattansi, there was no need to suppress these elements. Arguing that such changes could be harmful and, in fact, could limit the authority of the Imam and devaluing the *ginānic* spiritual tradition.[35]

33 POLLOCK, SHELDON. "Sindhi Literary Culture." *Literary cultures in history,* 2003. pp. 622–625.

34 RATTANSI, DIAMOND. *Islamization and the Khoja Ismaili,* 1987. p. 157. In KHAN (2010) p. 106.

35 RATTANSI, DIAMOND. *Islamization and the Khoja Ismaili,* 1987. pp. 160–161.

Figure 31 Diagram shows in the first row samples printed in metal types by the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press in 1903.
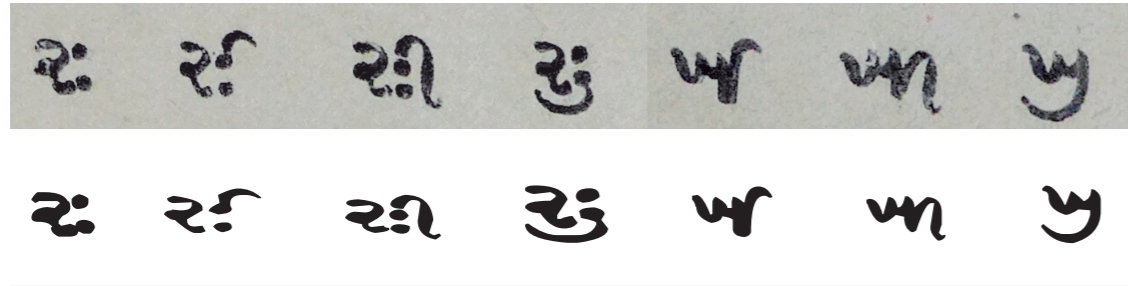The row below shows *Khojki Jiwa* typeface design by Pyarali Jiwa in 2008, based in the design of Devraj's press.

Figure 32 Code chart for Khojki in Unicode. [PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p.19]

6   DIGITAL FORM AND MODERN USAGE

While the usage of the Khojki script among the Khojas is certainly no longer in force after its death in the 20th century, as it, like many other Hindu elements it gave way to the modernization of Muslim cosmologies, there is still room to talk about its modern usage. Khojki script these days is of high interest among some scholars in the field of the Khoja studies. Moreover. Pyarali Jiwa, Chairperson of the Association of the Study of *Gināns*, is deeply involved in its preservation. Some other institutions, like the Institute of the Ismaili Studies, or even private collectors, are in constant defence of a script with great significance to Khoja history as well to the preservation of the *ginānic* heritage and the linguistic understanding of certain Indian Brahmi branches.

6.1   Digital approaches

Unicode proposal in 2014

For Khojas living outside Sindh, it is customary to refer to the script as 'Sindhi', confusing it with the language. It is common even today to find non-Sindhi Ismailis (Khojas) who profess to have knowledge of Sindhi, but who in fact know the Khojki script rather than the Sindhi language. In fact, the Khudawadi script was also know as 'Sindhi' in the region, after its short exposure in the 19th century with the official name of 'Hindi Sindhi'. This confusion is still happening in religious education classes in schools. To this day, classes providing instruction to children are called 'Sindhi', presumably a reminder of the time when a child attending religious classes learned the Khojki script. However, its existence to young Ismailis remains an obsolete legacy from the past. Most of the important religious texts are available in Roman or Gujarati transcription, yet for the scholar it is of considerable importance.[1]

As noted above, the cost in the production of metal types was a factor in the death of the script. However, this process began comparatively late, considering that the metal type business in India for other scripts was developed earlier. Nowadays, through a digital preservation, those costs are reduced significantly. The demand for such preservation is solely for scholarly purposes; cataloging and classification of manuscripts and books.

Recently, Anshuman Pandey, historian and linguist, prepared a proposal for Unicode in order to have an official way of encode the script. The work was undertaken with the collaboration of Wafi Momin –Head of the Ismaili Collection Unit at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London– who developed the keyboard. Before them, in 2008, Pyarali Jiwa contributed with the first attempt to translate the script into a digital form with the design of a typeface called *Khoji Jiwa*; used for the proposal and this dissertation. The typeface has been generated in True Type up to the present day and it was originally based upon the design of the type specimens of the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press (Fig. 31).

The table contains 61 characters and is currently allocated to the Supplementary Multilingual Plane (SMP) at the range U+11200 to U+1124F (Fig. 32). Yet, there are some characters with which readers of Khojki may not be familiar, but these should be understood as an element of the script that, at some historical period, were used in a Khojki document, and therefore, belong to the broader Khojki repertoire.

1 ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 110.

7 CONCLUSION

The story of the Khojki script was told through the story of Muslims and Hindus who coexisted in Sindh and Gujarat within a fragile system that eventually broke. It is vital area of study because Khojki was always in the middle of religious disputes; used for political purposes; sometimes to enhance identity among communities; to hide secret literature; and to be dismissed when it was no longer needed.

Like that of the Khoja community, the resilience of the script was remarkable. Ismailis were able to respond to cultural diversity by being tolerant. They were particularly skilled in adapting to different contexts, adjusting through a series of responses to the ever-changing political and social environment. According to the Aga Khan III, the Ismailis have always been fluid, and rigidity was contrary to the way of life.[1] Nevertheless, one must question some definitions. Did they change their understanding of identity by denying their attributes in favour of a broader framework of Islamism? Or were they adapting in the same way they have always done?

British understanding of complex creeds was narrow while they were ruling in India. Under a government with limited perception, the Aga Khans contributed to such scheme by defining the identity of his people. Thus the 'Aga Khan Case' is better interpreted as a political resolution rather than a spiritual clarification. What came later with the schism of the community is only a reinforcement of identity towards a specific practical direction; with the result that a group of *Satpanthis*, called the Khojas, originally members of a mercantile caste in western India, gradually transformed over a period of time into Shia Muslims.

To be consistent with their beliefs, the printed material was distributed by an official press to spread the aligned vision of their new identity. As Iqbal Akhtar states, "contemporary Khoja identities are the summation of a century of communal policies resulting in a systematic amnesia of the pre-Islamic and medieval Indic heritage of the Khoja in exchange for narratives of Near Eastern Islamic religious identity and ritual practice".[1] Soon the 'Aga Khani' Khojas realized that Islam is in inherent conflict with anything else that is not Islam, and eventually the community gradually stopped using the Khojki script as it belongs to the Indian part of their roots.

On the other hand, one can argue that the radicalization was present in the entire region and it was provoked mainly by the encounter of these pluralist creeds with the European establishment imposed in the Indian subcontinent. For all these reasons, with the occupation of India, the British were largely responsible for the 'Islamization' and also 'Sanskritization' that later lead to the Independence of India from them and the partition of the subcontinent.

Nowadays the Nizari Ismaili have found their way and have become a global community with influence all over the world: Asia, Africa, North America, Europe, etc. Due to the increasingly international and cosmopolitan nature of the Ismaili community, in 1986 the Aga Khan IV made a new constitution which marked the emergence of the Ismailis into a global Muslim community, sharing a distinctive identity and interpretation of the Islamic faith.

Globalization operates in the same way. Vernacular scripts are becoming obsoletes in favour of English language and the Latin script,

1   AKHTAR, IQBAL. *The Oriental African*, 2012. p. 51.

particularly in India. We mentioned the significant role of scripts on communities with the cases of Gurmukhi script in the Sikh community of Punjab, and Modi with the Maratha people. Communities are reinforced when they are represented by a common script; and identity, enhanced. When the Khoja Ismailis were diluted into a broader narrative of Islam, they were stripped from an element that was an essential part of their identity. They absorbed the Arabic script for liturgy, and adopted English and French as the global languages of the community. For instance, as a result of this institutional encouragement, it is now common to hear Ismaili Khojas reciting Persian or Arabic *qasidas*[*] in their *jamatkhana*. The *gināns* are still recited but they are mostly transliterated into Latin script.

Finally, under this regime, and consolidated as a Muslim community, the Khoja Ismailis do not consider the Khojki script anymore; and less and less the Indic heritage that forged them as the community they are today.

[*] Poetic form developed in pre-Islamic Arabia.

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Appendix A

Inadequacies of Khojki

[All quotes correspond to ASANI, ALI S. *Ecstasy and enlightenment*, 2002. p. 111]

The inadequacies of Khojki got extended when used in recording religious literature. According to Asani, the Khojki script had "serious limitations in three different areas. First, its vowel system, in spite of a slight refinement, was crude. Second, as to consonants, there were certain sounds, mostly of Arabic origins, for which the script had no character at all (deficiency); the same sound could be represented by different characters (redundancy); and several sounds could be represented by the same character (ambiguity)".

He also suggest that even as the late 19th century, the script was still undergoing refinements. Some important inadequacies are presented below.

The u vowel
Khojki does not distinguish between a long *ū* vowel and a short *u* vowel. "Consequently, the script relies on the reader's familiarity with a word in order to ensure that the vowel is read accordingly to its correct length". The length of the vowel is crucial in poetry since it determine the length of syllable and effects metre.

The o vowel
It is not clear what happens whith the independent vowel *o*. It is normally represented with 𑈬. George Stack uses yet another character 𑈉. In view of this confusion, it is safe to say that Khojki in early stage may have lacked a distinctive sign for independent vowel *o*.

The diphthongs
The diphthong *ai* is usually changed to the vowel *e*, while the diptong *au* is changed to *o*. Some manuscripts represent au with the character 𑈉, however, this use is obviously borrowed from the Devanagari script system.

Appendix B
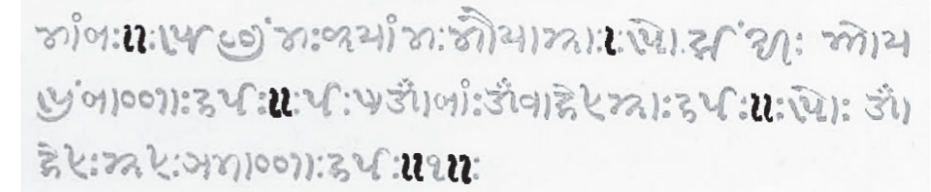
Khojki punctuation

[PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p. 9]

Word Boundaries: Khojki separates words using ꞉ as word separator.

Sentence Boundaries: The 𑂡 DANDA and 𑂢 DOUBLE DANDA are used to mark the end of sentences.

Section Mark: ▬ is generally used to mark the end of a sentence, while DOUBLE SECTION MARK ═ is used to delimit larger blocks of text, such as paragraphs.

Other Punctuation: Latin punctuation marks are used in printed Khojki.

Appendix C

Khojki consonants with Arabic equivalents.

[PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p. 5]

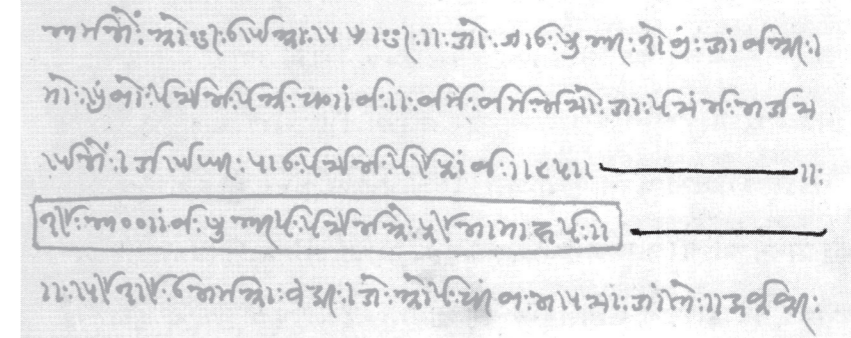| GLYPH	ARABIC EQUIVALENT	ORIGINAL PHONEME	CHARACTER NAME	OTHER USES
ง	گَ	/g/	GA	
ঽ	گّ	/ɟ/	GGA	
৩	گّه	/gʱ/	GHA	
ঌ	ج	/dʒ/	JA	
ঝ	ج	/ʃ/	JJA	
৩	ڈ	/ɖ/	DDA	
৩	ݨ	/ŋ/	NNA	
ঽ	د	/d/	DA	
ৎ	ڎ	/ɖ/	DDDA	
ঽ	ڌ	/dʱ/	DHA	
৩	ب	/b/	BA	
ঝ	ٻ	/ɓ/	BBA	
ঝ	ٻ	/bʱ/	BHA	
৪	ڙ	/ɽ/	LLA	

Appendix D

Correspondences between Khojki and Sindhi-Arabic letters.

[PANDEY, ANSHUMAN. *Final Proposal to Encode the Khojki Script*, 2011. p. 16]

ka	೫	KHOJKI LETTER KA	ک	ARABIC LETTER SWASH KAF
kha	೪	KHOJKI LETTER KHA	ک	ARABIC LETTER KAF
ga	೨	KHOJKI LETTER GA	گ	ARABIC LETTER GAF
ḡa	ঽ	KHOJKI LETTER GGA	ڳ	ARABIC LETTER GUEF
gha	৩	KHOJKI LETTER GHA	گھ	ARABIC LETTER GAF + U+06BE HEH DO
ṅa	੩:	KHOJKI LETTER NGA	ڱ	ARABIC LETTER NGOEH
ca	੫	KHOJKI LETTER CA	چ	ARABIC LETTER TCHEH
cha	੨	KHOJKI LETTER CHA	ڇ	ARABIC LETTER TCHEHEH
ja	੩	KHOJKI LETTER JA	ج	ARABIC LETTER JEEM
ḡa	੩	KHOJKI LETTER JJA	ڄ	ARABIC LETTER DYEH
ña	੨:	KHOJKI LETTER NYA	ڃ	ARABIC LETTER NYEH
ṭa	੨	KHOJKI LETTER TTA	ٽ	ARABIC LETTER TEH
ṭha	੪	KHOJKI LETTER TTHA	ٺ	ARABIC LETTER TTEHEH
ḍa	೩	KHOJKI LETTER DDA	ڊ	ARABIC LETTER DAL WITH DOT BELOW
ḍha	੩	KHOJKI LETTER DDHA	ڍ	ARABIC LETTER DDAHAL
ṇa	೫	KHOJKI LETTER NNA	ڻ	ARABIC LETTER RNOON
ta	੫	KHOJKI LETTER TA	ت	ARABIC LETTER TEH
tha	੫	KHOJKI LETTER THA	ٿ	ARABIC LETTER TEHEH
da	੩	KHOJKI LETTER DA	د	ARABIC LETTER DAL
ḍa	੪	KHOJKI LETTER DDA	ڌ	ARABIC LETTER DAL WITH THREE DOTS
dha	੩	KHOJKI LETTER DHA	ڌ	ARABIC LETTER DAHAL
na	੦	KHOJKI LETTER NA	ن	ARABIC LETTER NOON
pa	੫	KHOJKI LETTER PA	پ	ARABIC LETTER PEH
pha	੪	KHOJKI LETTER PHA	ڦ	ARABIC LETTER PEHEH
ba	੭	KHOJKI LETTER BA	ب	ARABIC LETTER BEH
ḃa	੫	KHOJKI LETTER BBA	ٻ	ARABIC LETTER BEEH
bha	੫	KHOJKI LETTER BHA	ڀ	ARABIC LETTER BEHEH
ma	੭	KHOJKI LETTER MA	م	ARABIC LETTER MEEM
ya	೦೧	KHOJKI LETTER YA	ي	ARABIC LETTER YEH
ra	੬	KHOJKI LETTER RA	ر	ARABIC LETTER REH
la	੫	KHOJKI LETTER LA	ل	ARABIC LETTER LAM
ṛa	੦	KHOJKI LETTER LLA	ڙ	ARABIC LETTER REH WITH FOUR DOTS A
va	੧	KHOJKI LETTER VA	و	ARABIC LETTER WAW
sa	੨	KHOJKI LETTER SSA	س	ARABIC LETTER SEEN
ha	੩	KHOJKI LETTER HA	ہ	ARABIC LETTER HEH GOAL

Appendix E

Articulatory phonetics chart of Khojki and Arabic.

[ALLANA, GHULAM ALI. *Sindhi Suratkhati*, 1962. p. 29. In PANDEY (2011) p. 25]

Velar

Palatal

Cerebrals

Dental

Bilabial

Implosives

Fricatives

Semi-vowels, liquids
and flaps

Rhotacised Consonants

Vowels

Appendix F

Illustration of mouth and location of phonetic articulations.

[GRAY, J. E., *Sanskrit Grammar*. SOAS in-house publication. Date unknown. In WILLIAMS, EMMA, *A comparative study of the development of the Gurmukhi script*. MA Dissertation, University of Reading, 2008]

1 GUTTURALS	2 PALATALS	3 CEREBALS	4 DENTALS	5 LABIALS
a	b	c	d	e
	BACK TONGUE	MID TONGUE	FRONT TONGUE	

A. Position of the vowel cords

B. Pharynx

C. Uvula

1. Velum (soft palate)
2. Hard palate
3. Hard palate
4. Teeth, upper
5. Lip, upper

a. Back of tongue
b. Middle part of tongue
c. Middle part of tongue
d. Blade and tip of tongue
e. Lip, lower

Juan Bruce