

## THE BOHRAS OF EAST AFRICA

BY

HATIM AMJI

(University of Massachusetts, Boston, U.S.A.)

### INTRODUCTION

The Bohras are among the earliest Asian immigrants to East Africa and are found mainly in the larger urban areas as shopkeepers, landlords, craftsmen, artisans and professionals. They belong to the Mustajilian Isma'ili sect of Islam and were converted from several Hindu castes, some eight hundred years ago. The name Bohra (also Bohora) denotes a "trader, merchant" (from the Gujarati *vohorva*, "to trade") and records the occupation of the first converts to Islam 1).

Ancestors of the present Bohras came to East Africa in the nineteenth century from Gujarat particularly from the district of Cutch and Kathiawar, though some Yemeni Bohras from Southern Arabia have also settled here. Out of an estimated half a million Bohras scattered all over the world, the majority being in India, East Africa has about 15,000 2). Although a small minority, the Bohras have succeeded in preserving their identity, and religious and cultural traditions. Like other minorities in East Africa they are organized into an exclusive endogamous group, locally known as a 'community'. So far very little has been written about this interesting entrepreneurial and religious group.

The present study is a survey of the origins and migration of the Bohras to East Africa and their religious beliefs and organization. It is based on the author's lengthy experience of living with the Bohras

1) A. A. A. Fyze, Bohras, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (hereafter E.I.2) Vol. I, Leiden, 1960, 1254; J. Spencer Timmingham, *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford, 1964, 105.

2) A. O. Habibullah, *A Brief Biographical Sketch of His Holiness Sardar Doctor Sayedna Taher, Sayyidun Sahab, Dai al-Mutlak of Dawoodi Bohras*, Bombay, 1947, 1. The figure of 15,000 for East Africa was obtained from internal census conducted by Central Council of the Dawoodi Bohra Jamats of East Africa in 1967.

in East Africa, Musta'lian Isma'ili literature, records kept by Bohra congregations, court reports from Bombay and Zanzibar, consular dispatches, and unstructured interviews conducted by the writer in 1968 and 1969.

#### ORIGINS OF THE BOHRAS

Secitarianism started early in the history of Islam, soon after the death of prophet Muhammad (632 A.D.) when the Muslims broke up into two major groups over the question of his successor to the political and religious leadership of the community. While the majority, following the principle of elective leadership, accepted Abu Bakar as Muhammad's successor, a minority championed the claims of Imam Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet and later came to be known as the Shia. Thus Shi'ism began as a political protest, but it could not remain so for long, since in Islam any political movement invariably takes on a religious character. Gradually it acquired its own rituals and dogma, especially its doctrine of Imamate and the crucial role of Imams in the affairs of the community. It became a permanent 'heresy' against Orthodox Sunni Islam.

In subsequent centuries the doctrine of Imamate provided many further occasions for factional disputes and the breaking away of dissenting sects. The dissenters could not deny the existence of the Imam since the idea of an inherited spiritual leadership was entrenched as the cardinal principle of Shi'a theology. Instead they tended to disagree about the succession to the office. It was over disputed succession in the eighth century A.D., at the time of the death of the sixth Imam, Ja'far-as-Sadiq (d. 765), that the Isma'ilis broke off from the main orthodox Shia group and formed a separate sect 3).

The majority followed Musa-al-Kazim and through him five other Imams, thus making twelve Imams of the sect known as Twelvers (in Arabic Ithna 'ashariyya) who are represented in East Africa by the Khoja Shi'a Ithna 'ashari community. Their last Imam, Muhammad al-Muntaza (also known as al-Mahdi), went into hiding in 878 and is expected to reappear once again 'in fullness of time to bring justice and peace on earth where it has been filled with evil and inequity'.

The minority after Imam Ja'far's death upheld the claims of the

house of the eldest son of Ja'far-Isma'il, who had been designated as the next Imam. However, for reasons which are not quite clear but may be related to Isma'il's alleged intemperance (according to Sunni and Ithna-'ashari sources), and his association with extremist (Gulat) circles, he was disinherited. Isma'ilis accepted Mohammad, Ismail's son (Isma'il himself having died in 760) as their Imam on the grounds that Imam Jafar could not have revoked the nomination he once made since the Imam, being infallible, could not make a mistake 4).

In spite of the progress made since the discoveries of Ismaili sources in India and Yemen, very little is known about Isma'ilism for the next hundred and fifty years. Isma'ili Imams and their followers were constantly hunted by the Abbasid secret police and in general were detested by all Orthodox Muslims. While the Imams remained concealed, their message was preached by a well organized hierarchy of Da'is (missionaries), who succeeded in establishing strong footholds in Yemen, parts of Southern Iraq, Persia, and North Africa. Their missionary organization, Da'wa, was one of the most spectacular achievements of the Isma'ilis. A critical study of this institution, its methodology and organization is yet to be made 5). The mode and content of Isma'ili preaching varied from place to place, but in general there was syncretism and accommodation to indigenous beliefs and customs. It was during this period of secret preaching and persistent fear of discovery and persecution that the Isma'ilis adopted the practice of *taqiyya*, a permissible dissimulation of real religious beliefs by a process of mental reservation and accommodation. *Taqiyya* is still practiced by the Mustalian Isma'ilis (Bohras) and Nizari Isma'ilis (Khojas) in East Africa 6).

As we shall see later, this flexibility greatly facilitated the task of Isma'ili Da'is when they preached in North and Western India. They were able to adapt and incorporate in their teachings various Hindu beliefs and customs.

In 909 the Isma'ilis achieved their first major success; the Hidden Imam came into the open as Al-Mahdi (the expected one), and inaugurated the Fatimid Caliphate in Tunis (North Africa). From

4) W. Ivanow, Ismailis and Quarmatians, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (hereafter J.B.B.R.A.S.), New Series, Vol. 14, 1949, 57.

5) On Da'wa, see M. Canard, *Da'wa, E./2*, 168-170.

6) J. Schacht, Notes on Islam in East Africa, *Sudan Islamic*, (hereafter S.I.) Vol. 23, 129.

3) For the controversy over the founder and early history of Ismailism, see: Zahid Ali, *Tarikh Fatimiyyin-i-misr*, Hyderabad, 1968, 47, 502, 562; W. Ivanow, *Isma'ili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, Calcutta, 1942, 8.

North Africa Ismailism continued its astounding success and in 969 the fourth Fatimid Caliph, Al-Mu'izz, conquered Egypt. By the middle of the next century the Fatimids were acknowledged as the political and religious leaders of a large area of the Muslim world including North Africa, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz and Yemen. Thus for the first time in the history of Islam a powerful dynasty ruled without recognising the titular leadership of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad, and, indeed, claimed to be the rightful Caliph of Islam 7).

But this very success brought with it the seeds of rivalry, dissension and schism, not only amongst the senior religious and political functionaries, but even in the family of the Imam. At the end of the long reign of al-Mustansir (d. 1094) the community split over the problem of succession, one group following al-Mustali, the younger son of the previous Imam who had succeeded to the Imamate. But a minority, mainly in Persia and Syria and led by Hasan ibn Saba, recognized the rights of Nizar and his descendants to the succession 8). In the next few years, as a result of conflict between the Nizaris and the Mustalians, and the menace from the Seljuqs and the Crusaders the Ismaili Da'wa (mission) which had been united and powerful disintegrated and lost much of its influence and organization in Egypt and other countries. Only Yemen under Sulahids remained loyal to al-Mustali and his descendants 9).

Al-Mustali's successor, Amir bi Amrillah, the twentieth Fatimid Imam, was assassinated, probably by Nizari emissaries, in 1130 A.D. But before his death he had designated his infant son, al-Tayyib, as the new Imam and established a regency council of Da'is in charge of spiritual affairs including the propagation of Isma'ilism. He also appointed an administrator, Abdul-Majid, (Amir bi Amrillah's cousin), to look after the secular affairs of the state.

After Bi Amrillah's death, the deputy Abdul-Majid usurped the Imamate and the Da'is, sensing threat to the Imam's life, took Al-Tayyib into concealment or occultation (*satr*) 10). The presence of

7) P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Fatimid Theory of State*, Lahore, 1957, 21 ff.

8) For a discussion of Nizari Mustalian Schism see M. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, the Hague, 1955, 62-69.

9) Husain al-Handani, *The Life and Times of Queen Saiyidah Arwa, the Sulahid of the Yemen, Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. 18, 1931, 514-515.

10) S. M. Stern, *The Succession to the Fatimid Imam Al-Amir, The Claim of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate and the Rise of Taiyyibi Ismailism, Oriens*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1951, p. 196-202.

the Imam on earth and his ultimate reappearance in public are the most important beliefs of the Bohras. However, unlike Ithna-'asharis, Bohras do not hold that al-Tayyib is still alive and would reappear as the Mahdi, rather that the Imam who will usher in the period of *sa'har* (visibility in physical and spiritual sense) will be one of his descendants.

While Isma'ilism was gradually snuffed out of Egypt under her new masters the Ayyubids, it survived in Yemen and continues down to the present. Many Ismaili missionaries and religious officers found refuge in Yemen and took with them most of the Isma'ili literature of the Fatimid period. The Cairo traditions of the Isma'ilis prospered in Yemen and were later transferred to India and then to East Africa. The Sulahid Queen of Yemen, Hurratul-Arwa bint Ahmad, took an oath of allegiance to the concealed Imam, al-Tayyib, and propagated his Da'wa. This branch of Isma'ilism henceforth became known as the Taiyyibi Da'wa 11). She also appointed Dhaib Bin Musa as the Da'i-al-Mutluq (the absolute summoner) before her death (1133) to carry on the mission of the Imam. The Da'i-al-Mutluq is a lesser dignitary in Isma'ili hierarchy, but since the loss of political power and disappearance of the Imam, the Da'is is considered as the pivot of Taiyyibi Isma'ili religious organization. From al-Dhaib to the present Da'is, Sayedna Muhammad Buranuddin, there have been fifty-two incumbents to this office 12).

From Yemen the Taiyyibi Da'wa came to Western India. Its spread was facilitated by the use of the doctrine of *taqiyya* and the hostility shown to Hinduism in Gujarat under Jain supremacy. For the first converts, Taiyyibi Isma'ilism probably meant no more than a personal attachment to the missionaries who tried to convert them to the new faith. Isma'ili teachings were modelled to suit the psychology, economic, social and religious background of the Gujarati Hindus. Many of the old Hindu rituals, customs and beliefs not inconsistent with fundamental tenets of Isma'ilism were incorporated in Bohra religion. According to Bohra traditions, the first missionaries were Abd Allah (d. 1168) and Ahmad (d. 1165) who landed at Khamhat (Canby) in 1067 A.D. Abd Allah, purportedly an active preacher, first converted a peasant couple, Kaka (Gujarati-uncle) Kila and Kaki

11) Stern, *op. cit.*, 196; Hodgson, *Assassins*, 109-110.

12) A short biography of Dhaib Bin Musa, the first Da'i-al Mutluq, is found in Husain al-Handani, *op. cit.* 515. For a chronological list of the Da'is of the Bohras, see appendix.

(Aunt) Kili, as a result of a miracle which produced water in a parched well at the height of the dry season. Bohra chronicles report that news of the faith and the miracle led first to the conversion of the Solhaki, king of Gujarat, Siddharaj Jaisingh (1094-1143), several of his courtiers including Bhamal and Tarnal, and later to that of many Brahmins (Indian priestly caste) and Rajputs (soldier caste). Interestingly enough, both Khoja Ismaili and Memon Sunni traditions also claim Siddharaj Jaisingh as their convert<sup>13</sup>) Perhaps there is no historical reality to these legends.

Bohra sources credit their founding fathers with long lives and numerous miracles. Both Abd Allah and Ahmad are supposed to have given services to the faith for over a century and were buried at Patan where their tombs are still much venerated. No religious sect is complete without its martyr and the first Gujarati martyr of the Bohras was Mawla'i Fakhr-ud-Din, son of Tarnal, one of the ministers of Siddharaj. He was murdered while on duty as a missionary in the desolate frontier zone which separates Gujarat from Malwa. He was canonized by the thirty-seventh Da'i and his Mausoleum at Galakot is the most important centre of Bohra pilgrimage in India. Thousands of Bohras from all over the world including East Africa gather at this shrine every year to commemorate his *wrs* (death anniversary)<sup>14</sup>).

The Taiyyibi Da'wa in India was so successful, both in terms of numbers and wealth, that by the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. its importance exceeded that of Isma'ilism in Yemen. For centuries the Yemeni headquarters were supported by contributions from India. Several Indian savants had occupied high religious offices in Yemen including the position of Da'i. Najmuddin bin Sulaimanji

13) Bohra traditions concerning their early missionaries are preserved in: *Abdul-Husain, Gulsar-e-Da'wat*, Buhapur, n.d., 31-32; Mohammed Ali, Jiwabhai, *Mausam-e-Bahar*, 3 vols. (written in Gujarati with a mixture of Arabic terms in Arabic script), The well known East African Bohra families of Karimji Jivanjee and Esmatiji Jivanjee claim descent from Bhamal. However, according to Indian historians, King Sidhraj Jaisingh never changed his faith. He died a Hindu. See R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, Vol. 5, Bombay 1957, 75-76.

14) Names of Bohra Imams and Da'is, their death anniversaries and places of burial, are printed annually in the official Bohra calendar which is widely circulated in E. Africa. The anniversaries of death of the more important Imams and Da'is are commemorated by communal feasts and recitation of doxologies; see also: *Abdul-Husain, op. cit.* 113; *Mohammed-Ali Jiwabhai, op. cit.*, Vol. III, 336-337.

(1539-1567) was the first Indian to reach Da'iship in Yemen. With the increasing importance of the Indian sector of the Da'wa it was inevitable that sooner or later the headquarters would be moved to India. The Turkish and Zayidi (sunni Muslim) persecution was the immediate cause for the transfer of the seat of Da'wa to Ahmedabad in 1567, during the reign of the twenty-fifth Da'i, Seyyed Jalal bin Hassan. While the Da'is resided in Yemen, Indian affairs were administered by a local *wali* (deputy).

This move, accomplished by Seyyed Jalal b. Hassan, was one of the important causes of the dissent and eventual secession of a significant minority in the community which occurred on the death of the twenty-sixth Da'i, Du'ud b. A'iyab Shah (1588 A.D.), over the problem of succession to the Da'iship. The deputy in Yemen, Sulcainan bin Hassan challenged Da'ud bin Qutb Shah's (successor of A'iyab Shah) accession to Da'iship by producing documents purporting to validate his own claim to the office. Most of the Bohras recognized Da'ud b. Qutb Shah (d. 1621 A.D.) as the rightful successor and came to be known as Da'udies. A small faction in India and majority of Taiyyibi Isma'ilis in Yemen upheld the claim of Sulaiman b. Hassan (1597 A.D.) and are known as Sulmanis. It was primarily an Indian-Yemeni quarrel and led to the final break away of the Indians from their coreligionists in Yemen<sup>15</sup>). All the Bohras in East Africa belong to the Da'udi sect.

#### BOHRA MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN EAST AFRICA

From time immemorial, the natives of the Western coast of India have played an important role in the maritime intercourse between India, South East Asia, the Persian Gulf, Southern Arabia and East Africa. The earliest source describing the East African coast, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (a maritime guide to the Indian Ocean written about 60 A.D. by a Greek sailor from Alexandria) mentions Arab and Indian ships sailing up and down the coast trading with the Swahili peoples. More than one thousand years later, a Chinese work on commerce and geography mentions small settlements along the coast of East Africa of peoples speaking Gujarati, the language of North West India. Recent archaeological discoveries have confirmed a settlement of Wadebulis along the coast. Wadebulis are believed

15) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 9, part II, 27.

to have originated from the Muslim port of Daybul near the mouth of the Indus River in North West India 19).

The Bohras as prominent traders of Western India must be ranked among the pioneer Indian visitors and settlers to East Africa, but there are no written records to substantiate this claim. With few exceptions, most sources on East African history lump all Indian castes and religious groups together. They are commonly referred by the terms "Banyans" and "Hindis".

Communal traditions preserved among the Bohras relate that the early traders did not come with the intention of settling. They were transients who having sold their goods then returned to India with ivory, beeswax, gum copal, and other articles of local produce 17). The commercial intercourse was facilitated by the prevailing monsoon winds blowing down from the northeast in the months of December-January and February and blowing back from the southwest from April to September 18). Thus between the monsoon season from December to September there was a transient fluctuating population of Bohras and other Indians on the coast and the islands off shore.

It was merely a matter of time before some Bohras began to stay for longer than a season and eventually a few families settled permanently. Such permanent settlements served the dual purpose of facilitating disposal of goods for those traders wishing to leave Africa as soon as possible and also helped in the evolution and centralization of a marketing system.

The first recorded Bohra settlement was established on the north west coast of Madagascar around 1750 19). A little later, Bohras began to form trading colonies on the coast and the islands off shore between Lamu and Pate. These early pioneers were of the Surti and Jafari sects

16) Neville Chittick, Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago, *Ázania*, 2, 1967, 43-52. See also Sir John Gray, The Wadepuli and Wadha, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, (hereafter T.N.R.) 36, Jan. 1954, 31-32.

17) Interview with Hassan Ali Hassuji, April 8, 1969, Zanzibar; see also *A Short History of the Bohra Community of Zanzibar*; typescript found in file labeled Community History Project, Da'udi Bohra Central Jamat Archives, (hereafter DBCJA), Tanga.

18) B. A. Datto, Misconceptions about the Use of Monsoons by Dhows in East African Waters, *East African Geographical Review*, No. 8, April, 1970, 1-10.

19) John Kirk to Foreign Office Jan. 14, 1871 F.O. 84/1344, No. 12, Public Records Office (hereafter P.R.O.) London; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 105. Trimingham mentioned without disclosing the source that the Bohras first settled at Zanzibar in 1748. His assertion probably is based on misreading of Kirk's letter to the Foreign Office.

and not the Da'udi sect to which the present Bohra population belongs. The Surtis and Jafaris brought textiles, beads and copper wire from Surat, Bhrooch and Khambat (Cambay) and were followed by Da'udi Bohras from Cutch and Kathiawar at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The goods brought from Cutch and Kathiawar were much cheaper than those from Surat and the Surti and Jafari Bohras left the field to the Da'udis 20).

These traders, together with their compatriots belonging to other Muslim sects and several Hindu castes, particularly the Bhatias, were responsible for introducing the Indian system of weights and measures and the Indian rupee as currency. While much is known about their commercial influence in East Africa, there is little information on their social impact. It is quite probable that, much like the early Arab and Shirazi colonizers of East Africa, the Indians also interacted with the local population and contributed in forming the distinctive architectural, religious and cultural elements of the cosmopolitan Swahili civilization of East Africa.

Bohra settlement received great impetus in the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of the southward shift of the economic interest in the Indian Ocean trade area, first by the Omani Arabs and later by the British, American and German merchants. The establishment of the British Consulate in Zanzibar in 1841 also contributed to the development of Asian settlement by giving the Asians who were British protected subjects a sense of security and expectation of protection in their dealings with the Arab aristocracy. In 1840 Seyyid Said moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. Said encouraged the Hindu and Muslim Indians who had served as financiers and merchants in Muscat to migrate to Zanzibar. These Indian financiers had the capital and entrepreneurial skills necessary to the development of Said's trading empire. Also, as an alien group, uninterested in political power the Indians were a much safer group with whom to entrust economic power. He extended full religious toleration to both Hindus and Shi'a Muslims although the Sultanate of Zanzibar was an Ibadhi State (a rather zealous and puritanical sect of Islam) 21). As Seyyid

20) John Kirk, Administration Report of Zanzibar Agency, 1870, published in *Correspondence Relating to Slave Trade*. Cmd. 385, London, 1871, 17; J. R. Pearce, *Zanzibar*, London, 1920, 25-26; G. S. P. Freeman-Granville, *The French at Kilwa*, Oxford, 1905, 82, 107, 114, 181, 221.

21) This sense of security was extremely important in the growth of the Indian population in East Africa. Prior to the 1890s, Indian traders were subject to periodic harassment and financial exortions by local rulers. See F. W. Owen,

Said encouraged the cultivation of cloves and sending of trade caravans into the interior, the trade and economic prosperity of Zanzibar increased dramatically, and so did the number of Indian settlers.

By 1861 Zanzibar City alone had an Indian population of five to six thousand, consisting mainly of Banyans, Khojas, Bohras and Memon chiefly from Cutch, Jamnager and Surat. The Indians worked as merchants, clerks and financiers in the great commercial houses of Zanzibar and provided banking facilities to the wealthy Arab landowners. Almost all the retail, wholesale and foreign trade passed through their hands<sup>22</sup>).

In his 1861 annual report for Zanzibar the British consul, C. P. Rigby, commented on the importance of the Bohras, Khojas and Hindus to the economy of Zanzibar. He also noted the important fact that, unlike Hindus, the Bohras and Khojas had become "permanent settlers". They brought their wives and children with them. "They are a very thrifty and industrious people; a new quarter of the town inhabited by these Mohammedan Indians has recently sprung up and is rapidly increasing. Each sailing vessel from Cutch brings a number of Khoja and Bohra families as settlers"<sup>23</sup>).

The 1873-74 report of the British Consul General at Zanzibar gives a statistical breakdown of the Indian communities residing in the Sultan's dominions. There were 314 Hindus in Zanzibar and 500 on the opposite coast. There were almost no Hindu women. The Bohra community numbered 318 in Zanzibar and included 109 males, 78 women and 138 children and 225 elsewhere in East Africa. We do not know how these figures were obtained. They may possibly lack accuracy. However, they do reflect the permanency of Bohra settlement in East Africa<sup>24</sup>).

<sup>22</sup> *Narrative of Voyages to Explore Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*, Vol. 2, London, 1833, 150-151; also G. S. P. Freeman-Granville, *The East African Coast, Select Documents*, Oxford, 1962, 199-200.

<sup>23</sup> On Indian population in nineteenth century East Africa, see the author's forthcoming biography of Sir Thartha Topan; see also Sir John Kirk's evidence before the Sanderson Committee on Indian Emigration to British Dominions and Colonies, in Cmd. 5192-5194, 3 vols., London, 1910, 237-39.

<sup>24</sup> C. Russell, *General Rigby and the Zanzibar Slave Trade*, London, 1935, appendix I, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Pridaux to Derby, Administrative Report of Political Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar for the year 1873-1874, L/P & S/9, Vol. 1, India Office Library (hereafter I.O.L.), London; in 1870-71 Sir John Kirk counted 240 Bohra males, 135 females and 213 children, making a total of 588 in the Sultans dominions with just about one half being in Zanzibar. See *Recent Correspondence Relating to Slave Trade*, Cmd. 385, London 1871, 18. Both the Kirk and Pridaux figures are probably less than reliable. In 1887, Major MacDonald estimated the

There was still, however, a paucity of Bohra females particularly outside Zanzibar, probably due to insecurity, and lack of social and communal life. As a result many immigrants married African and Arab women. The progeny of these marriages were considered legitimate. This early prevalence of mixed (Chotara) marriages is still noticeable in the physiognomy of a number of pioneer Bohra families. However, when the community became better organized and increased in size the early custom of mixed marriage became less popular<sup>25</sup>).

The increase in Bohra population, although dependent on the growing economic prosperity of Zanzibar and helped by regular and better travel facilities (the British India Steam Navigation Company's monthly service from India to East Africa started in 1873) was also partially due to the decline of traditional village handicrafts, population pressures in India and recurrent droughts and famines in Cutch, and Kathiawar<sup>26</sup>). Thus factors both in India and East Africa contributed to this migration.

Among the pioneer settlers were Nurthai Budhai-bhai, Ebrahimi Waljee, and Pirthai Jivanjee. These are a few of the very successful Bohras whose names are recorded as a result of their trade relations with American merchants. Pirthai Jivanjee, whose father had first migrated to Zanzibar in 1820 and who later became the progenitor of two of the most reputed business houses of East Africa—the firms of Messrs Kartmji Jivanjee & Co., and Messrs Ismailjee Jivanjee, had extensive dealings with American merchants and particularly the firms of John Bertram of Salem, Massachusetts and Arnold Hines of New York<sup>27</sup>).

Although nineteenth century sources do not give a great deal of information on the internal workings of the Indian community in Zanzibar,

Bohra population to be 1430, just a little more than double the 1873-1874 figures. See Major J. R. L. MacDonald, *Census of British Indian Subjects in the Dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar*, Dec. 19, 1887, in F.O. 84/1854, P.R.O., London.

<sup>25</sup> Pridaux to Derby, *op. cit.*, 72; Kirk to Derby, dispatch No. 155, Nov. 9, 1875, L/P & S/9, Vol. 1, I.O.L., London. Kirk observed mixed marriages among Bohra families in Tanga.

<sup>26</sup> Frere to Granville, May 7, 1873, enclosing "Memo regarding the Banians or Natives of India in East Africa", F.O. 84/1391, P.R.O., London. On famines in Cutch and Kathiawar, see B. M. Bhatia, *Famines in India 1860-1945*, London, 1963.

<sup>27</sup> For examples of business deals between the American and Bohra merchants see: Richard Waters Papers, Boxes I and IV; Charles Ward Papers, Zanzibar Account Book 1848-49; Ropes Papers, Box IV, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

several sources do state that despite the enormous economic influence and power of the Indians, they were unable to use this power adequately. The major reasons seem to be factionalism and sectarianism. As J. Christie noted, even the three Muslim communities of Khojas, Bohras and Memons each existed as a separate corporate entity. There was little rivalry between them since they selected different branches of trade and commerce and settled in different sections of the city and on the mainland. Each group maintained its own separate mosques, settled disputes within its own group and had its peculiar dress, food and manners. They preferred to be separate even in death, for each maintained an exclusive cemetery for its own use 29).

While little information is available on the Bohras of Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, there is even less on those who settled on the mainland. Most of the settlers seem to have moved from Zanzibar to the mainland as commercial agents for firms in Zanzibar or as shopkeepers for the small but prosperous entrepôts of Kilwa, Bagamoyo, Mombasa, Malindi, Tanga and Dar es Salaam. As more links were established between the coast and the interior in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the number of Bohra on the mainland increased. From a small figure of 120 in the 1870s the Mombasa community reached a size of 300 by the end of the century.

The mainland of Tanganyika appears to have made a rather unfavourable impression on Bohra traders. Evidently there was a demarcation of spheres of influence between the Bohra and Khoja traders. While the Khojas were confined primarily to Zanzibar and the southern coast of East Africa, the Bohras were concentrated mainly in the northern ports from Tanga to Kisumu. However, the family of Sheikh Amiji claims that their ancestor was the first Asian to settle in Dar es Salaam in 1859. Amiji had gone there with the assistance of Seyyid Majid the Sultan of Zanzibar who was interested in developing this little village 29).

28) J. Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*, London, 1876, p. 335-336. In Zanzibar most of the tin smiths, iron mongers and dealers in marine stores were Bohras. Besides Zanzibar, Bohras were mainly concentrated on Madagascar, Nossi Bey, and Northern coast of East Africa between Tanga and Mogadisho. See Frere, "Memo on Banians...", op. cit. 100; see also Kirk, "Recent Correspondence Relating..." Cmd. 385, London, 1871, 18.

29) Tanganyika HERALD, May 6th, 1935, 13. There was also a small Bohra congregation at Bagamoyo for much of the 19th century, but in the 1890s with the shift of the capital of German East Africa to Dar es Salaam and the consequent decline of Bagamoyo, most Bohras left for greener pastures.

Most of the Bohras in Tanga came from Kathiawar. In 1875 Sir John Kirk noted twenty-two Bohra families and six Hindus in Tanga. The number of Bohras was much larger because each household consisted of wife and family while the Hindus lived alone. Kirk also noted that the trade of Tanga was "wholly in the hands of British Indians. It consisted of exports of native millet, oilseed, ivory and butter. The total amount was £12,000 for the year 1875" 30). During the German era, 1884-1918, Bohra businesses like those of Messrs. Mohammed Ali Jafferjee and Hassanali Gulamhussen acted as agents for leading German firms and missionaries.

The expansion of Bohra merchants into the interior of East Africa followed the establishment of British and German rule. Both the British and Germans needed the kinds of commercial and financial skills the Bohras and other Indians possessed. Hence they were encouraged to set up businesses inland. They moved into the interior opening small shops (*dukas*), first in the administrative centres, then along the newly opened roads and railway lines and finally into the less accessible rural areas. As their businesses prospered and as Zanzibar's economic importance declined, the Bohra traders broke their links with Zanzibar and dealt directly with business firms in Europe and India.

In Kenya, the first Indian merchant to settle any distance from the coast was a prominent Bohra resident of Mombasa, Adamji Alibohy, who opened a shop at Machakos about 250 miles west of Mombasa in the 1890s. Alibohy moved to Mombasa from Zanzibar in 1862 and had prospered as a contractor to the Imperial British East Africa Company, to the Christian mission stations and as a recruiter of porters for numerous European explorers and travellers then visiting East Africa. Alibohy was the first person to introduce the rupee currency into the interior, his biggest customer being the I.B.E.A.C. 31).

Perhaps the most successful and well known of the early settlers was A. M. Jivanjee who settled in Nairobi in 1895. He was the contractor to the Uganda railway for recruiting coolies in India and provisioning them. At one time 32,000 coolies were involved in constructing the rail-

30) Kirk to Derby, Dispatch no. 55, Nov. 9, 1875, L/P & S/9, Vol. 1, I.O.L., London.

31) Testimonials by officers of the Imperial British East Africa Company in the possession of Mohammed Ali E. Adamjee Ali Bhoj, Mombasa, Kenya. Sir Frederick Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa*, London, 1930 (First Edition), reprinted London, 1969, 145; *The Kenya Daily Mail*, July 9, 1937.

way. Jivanjee's firm was also responsible for building a large number of government buildings and railway stations between Mombasa and Nairobi. Having made his fortune, Jivanjee acquired considerable property interests particularly in and around the Indian bazaar of Nairobi. A descendant of the family claimed that in 1913 one third of Nairobi's total revenue from municipal rates was paid by Jivanjee. The family demonstrated its loyalty to the new town and the Kenya government by donating the municipal market built at a cost of £6,000, and the Jivanjee public gardens for enjoyment by the citizens. Jivanjee also played a leading role in the politics of Kenya until his death in 1932<sup>32</sup>).

Thus the economic effects of the Bohra traders on the development of East Africa are fairly obvious. Given the scarcity of historical information other effects are less clear. One area in which the Bohras claim to have played a role in the propagation of Islam in the interior. It is well known that in several parts of East Africa the growth of Islam paralleled the dispersion of Muslim traders. Carl Becker has suggested that one clear incentive for the trader to proselytize was the increased consumption of the cloth which conversion to Islam brought<sup>33</sup>). Several Bohras in Uganda and Tanzania were engaged in informal missionary work. However they converted people to Sunni Islam and not to their own Bohra Ismaili faith<sup>34</sup>). The contribution of Bohra traders in the spread of Islam has not been studied and more investigation is necessary to clarify a number of uncertainties.

By the end of the First World War Bohra settlement in East Africa had been well established. Bohras regarded East Africa as their permanent home and since 1918 very few Bohra immigrants have come to East Africa. Wherever Bohras went in East Africa they organized themselves as a congregation with separate mosques, Jamatkhanas and cemeteries. A certain amount of residential segregation was also practiced. All Asian groups preferred to live in their own quarters of the town near their mosques and Samat khanas or temples. Even

32) "Jivanjee property at Nairobi", Kenya National Archives, Nairobi, File No. 120/1913. On Jivanjee's political career, see: Sadler to Elgin, Nov. 31, 1906 C.O. 533/18; May 20, 1909, C.O. 533/59, P.R.O. London; Girourd to Harcourt, March 17, 1912, C.O. 533/102, P.R.O. London.

33) Carl Becker, "Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa," translated by B. G. Martin, *T.N.R.*, Vol. 68, Feb. 1968, 41.

34) Interview with Hakim Lookman, past President of DBJ Corp., Kampala, July 19, 1967. See also J. Schacht, Notes on Islam in East Africa, *Swahili Studies*, Vol. 22, 92.

today the Sokomohogo Street in Zanzibar and the area around Levene House in Mombasa are mostly inhabited by Bohras. In this exclusive and insular environment Bohras found comfort and familiarity. They were able to preserve and nurture many of their traditional religious beliefs, rituals and social customs brought over from India.

#### RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THE DAUDI BOHRA COMMUNITY

The religious organization of the Da'udi Bohra community is similar to that of the Ismaili Khojas since it originated from common Fatimid traditions. However, since the concealment of the Imam E-Zaman (Imam of the Age) the visible spiritual head of Bohras is the Da'i-al-Mutlag<sup>35</sup>). The political authority of the Da'i ended after the fall of the Fatimids in Egypt and the Sulhaidis in Yemen. Thereafter the Da'i and his followers were a persecuted minority for almost 600 years, i.e. until the establishment of British rule in India.

The Da'i, who is both the administrative as well as the spiritual head of the community commands unquestioned obedience from his followers. He is the ultimate authority<sup>36</sup>). It is Bohra belief that while the Imam remains occult, the Da'i has all the rights, attributes, and prerogatives of the Imam including his infallibility and sinlessness<sup>37</sup>). This is reinforced when every Bohra boy and girl at puberty gives an oath of allegiance to the Imam al-Taiyib, all the concealed Imams, as well as the visible deputy on earth, the Da'i. This oath is called the *misqa*. Many devout Bohras take the oath every year at a special ceremony<sup>38</sup>).

The Da'i maintains discipline among his followers through personal devotion, prestige of his office or fear of excommunication. Among devout Bohras every word and act of the Da'i is holy law. Even the

35) On the Role and Status of the Da'i in Fatimid Missionary Organization, see W. Ivanow, "Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 15, 1939 1-35; M. G. Hodgson, "Da'i", *E.I.*, Vol. 2, 97-98.

36) The Dawoodi Bohra Jamat Corporation, *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1967, 2, 17, 21. The Constitutions of all the Bohra Jamats (congregations or communities) in East Africa are uniform.

37) The Dawoodi Bohra Friendship Guild, *The History and Faith of the Dawoodi Bohras*, Bombay, 1964, 5-6; Judgement in Civil Suit no. 32 or 1925, (Burhanpur Dargah Case), Burhanpur, 1931, 49-50; *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1967, 1-2.

38) *Misqa* is a ceremony of recommitment and renewal. On its significance in Ismaili Creed; See, W. Ivanow, *Creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay, 1936, 14.



food he touches is holy. He is considered as a divine link between the community and the Imam in seclusion. If a person is excommunicated, he is immediately excluded from religious and other communal activities and becomes an outcast among his Bohra friends and kinsmen. In addition, all observant Bohras will boycott his business.

The Dai's power of excommunication was tested by a lawsuit which occurred when India was still a part of the British Empire and the final court of appeal was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In this suit, the Burhanpur Durgah case, the powers, prerogatives and duties of the Da'i were elucidated. The lawyers for the defendant claimed that because the Da'i was in contact with the Imam, he therefore possessed similar attributes such as being sinless. This closeness to the Imam also assured his authority to make final decisions (39). The office of the Da'i is primarily one of nomination. The incumbent Da'i nominates his own successor theoretically "the best and most worthy person endowed with the superb qualities befitting the position, i.e. piety, virtue, a liberal education, perfect knowledge of holy scripture, esoteric doctrine, theology, thorough understanding... and nobility of descent" (40). Thus, it is not necessary for the Da'i to appoint a son or relative but in practice this usually happens. The Da'i is supposed to nominate his successor as a result of inspiration from the Imam.

The extent of the Da'i's power and authority to control the religious and social affairs of his followers have been bitterly disputed in both India and Pakistan for some time. Since 1965 this controversy has spread to East Africa. As a result the local congregation in every major East African town has been strife-torn between the 'progressives' and 'traditionalists'. This will be discussed at greater length in the subsequent section dealing with the secular organization of the Bohra community. (41)

The entire Da'wa is run by the Da'i and his personally selected assistants. The next ranking officials are the heir apparent, the Ma'dhun (the licensed one), and the Mukasir (one who settles arguments and disputes with the opponents) who is in charge of routine

39) Judgment in Civil Case No. 32 of 1925, Burhanpur, 49-50; see also *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1.

40) S. V. Mohvi, *An Authentic Account of the Pontifical Office of Da'is at Mulbag*, Bombay, 1914, 122.

41) On dissent among the Bohras in India, see *Summary of Dispute in Dawoodi Bohra Community*, Bombay, n.d.

administrative affairs of the Da'wa, and also happens to be the head Amil of Bombay, the largest centre of Bohra population in the world and the official residence of the present Da'i. Next come the Masha'ikh or Hudud who constitute the *walima* (religious scholars) of the community. These Masha'ikh usually number eighteen and are often sons or close relatives of the reigning Da'i. They differ in rank but all are well versed in Ismaili doctrines and Arabic, having been trained by the Da'is themselves or in the Sayfi Dars at Surat (42). The *dars* (seminary) was established by the forty-third Da'i Abdu'l-Ali-Sayfi '21-Din in 1809 and is considered one of the best institutions of Islamic studies, particularly in Ismaili history, theology, philosophy and literature in India. It contains some of the most rare and valuable Ismaili manuscripts. The seminary is maintained by the Da'i's treasury and offers free education to any qualified Bohra candidate (43). The Masha'ikh, appointees of the Da'i, are addressed as Bhai Sahibs (Reverend Brothers). In East Africa there are two Bhai Sahibs, one acting as the Head Amil (agent) of East Africa with headquarters at Mombasa and the second one has been appointed as Amil of the Nairobi congregation. These Amils, one for every Bohra centre with a population greater than fifty families, were first sent to Zanzibar and Mombasa at the turn of the last century.

The Amil, who has been educated for at least eleven years in Islamic sciences at the Sayfi Dars in Surat, is initially appointed for a period of five years. If his congregation so desires, he may be retained for a second tour upon approval from the Da'i's headquarters. Consent of the congregation and sanction of the Da'i are aimed at preventing the Amil from creating a local power base which might prejudice the interests of the Da'i. Despite these safeguards, some East African Amils have remained in office for several decades and have thus accumulated handsome fortunes. A few have even become local citizens under the new nationality laws which were enacted when the three East African countries became independent.

The duties of the Amil are connected with the religious affairs of the community. No religious or communal ceremony such as *akika*,

42) Madhun, Mukasir, and a few of the senior scholars, (*hudud*) constitute a sort of inner cabinet of the Da'wa. However, knowledgeable Bohra sources in East Africa informed the author that the absolute power of the Da'i is shared by a triumvirate consisting of the Da'i, his brother, and his uncle.

43) J. Schacht, "Notes on Islam in East Africa", p. 128; *History of the Dawoodi Bohra*, p. 12; K. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817 to 1830*, London 1957, 271.

*khawta* (circumcision), feasts on Saints' Days, funerals, marriages, etc. are valid without his permission<sup>44</sup>). Bohra critics claim that the emphasis on receiving the Amil's permission nowadays relates to the riches that can accrue by giving such permission. For each licence that the Amil grants he receives a fee either directly or indirectly in the form of a cash gift known as a *salaw* (so called because when passing the gift, the devotee kisses the hand of the Amil).

In East Africa this offering, which would be given by the ordinary Bohra adult two to three times a year, would average about twenty shillings, part for the treasury of the Da'i and the rest to the Amil. In addition, the Amil also receives a fixed salary, free lodging, and other emoluments depending on the wealth of his congregation. The post in East Africa is one of relative prosperity, relative to what Amils receive in India, and therefore is highly prized<sup>45</sup>).

Not only the religious life but also, in part, the social and economic life of the community revolves around the Amil. A devout Bohra would bring problems other than religious to him. In religious matters his word would be final, although each Bohra has the right to appeal to the Da'i in Bombay. Other concerns of the Amil are collecting dues for the Da'i, administering the *misqa* and of course, instructing the community in religious precepts and history. The latter is accomplished through sermons (*wa'iz*) and classes held during the months of Muharram and Ramadhan, the same contents repeated year after year. By and large the East African Amils have not yet grasped the political and economic problems facing the local Bohra communities. Their traditional education and general exclusiveness make them conservative and impervious to change. The Amils are supposed to keep contact with Bombay and from time to time the Da'i sends out high officials, mostly his close relations, on inspection tours of East Africa. At this time religious obligations such as *zakat*, *khums*, etc. are collected on behalf of the Da'i. The present Da'i himself has visited East Africa twice,

44) For a brief analysis of the Amil's functions and position in Islamic history, see A. A. Duri, Amil, *E.I.2*, Vol. 1, p. 435-436; *Constitution*, Nairobi, 13, clause 28.

45) This is especially true of the major urban centers of East Africa, such as Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala and Tanga. In these towns the Amils generally enjoy an upper class living standard, and upon termination of their contracts, they also receive cash bonuses and gifts from local community members. In small villages or settlements where the expenses of an Amil might be too heavy for the local community, a Mulla is often appointed as the religious head of the community. He is normally a local trader with an independent income and performs his function voluntarily, without any monetary remuneration.

once in 1963 as the heir apparent with his father and in 1969, a few years after his coronation.

The Mulla is the lowest ranked member of the Bohra religious hierarchy. The number of *Mullas* depends on the size of the community. Often they tend to be local citizens who have served the community well and have been awarded *Mullaship*, in recognition of their contribution. *Mullas* have some knowledge of Arabic and Ismaili religious literature and are delegated some of the functions and authority of the Amil, and in towns where there may be more than one Bohra mosque, *Mullas* lead prayers with the permission of the Amil. There are also *Mullas* from India trained at the Bohra seminary at Surat in order to give religious instruction in the local schools.

Religious instruction starts at grade one and continues up to grade seven. It includes some elementary study of Islamic and Ismaili history, rote learning of passages from the Qu'ran, the daily prayers and instruction in the principles of Bohra religion. Ismaili studies are controlled by the Dai. Since the beginning of Islamism, the study of esoteric philosophy has always been very secretive and the permission of the Da'i or his representative is absolutely necessary in order for one to study any advanced religious book. Consequently very few Bohras know the higher teachings of their faith. More than likely they take consolation in the fact that only the learned can understand them. Initially, the reason for this secrecy and necessity for permission may have been to protect the doctrines of the faith from the hostilities of Orthodox Muslims, but now it functions as an instrument of control and censorship. Thus the traditional spiritual affairs of the Bohra community in East Africa are cared for at many levels within this elaborate and centrally controlled hierarchy. However, Bohra religious leaders have been slow to recognize and understand the problems of nation building in post-independent East Africa.

#### RELIGIOUS DUES

Each year during the month of Ramadhan the religious obligations of *zakat*, *sadaqati yfir* and *khums* are collected on behalf of the Da'i

46) The payment of *Zakat* is one of the well recognized pillars of Islam. Among the Suni Muslims, every believer can disburse the *Zakat* as he wishes, usually to the poor and needy, however, Bohras must pay their *Zakat* to the Da'i or his representative. The Da'i, of course, cannot force a recalcitrant or a nonobservant Bohra to pay the *Zakat*. The local Jamat Council can and does

by the Amil or his deputy. The full *zakat* is calculated at 2½ percent of all net profits for the year. Normally, most pay a random sum arrived at after some haggling with the Amil (46). The obligatory rate of *khums* is one fifth of all leftover profit but usually the Amil and the believer work out a compromise.

Other offerings include the '*majar maqam*', collected for redeeming a vow a Bohra may have taken, the *salam* (voluntary offering), and numerous license fees. A portion of each goes to the Da'i's headquarters. On occasion there are special fund drives in order to construct new schools or put new golden '*zaris*' (coverings) on the tombs of Hazrat, Ali at Neif and Imam Hussein at Kerbala, or any other purpose for which the *Dai* might need funds.

The contributions collected are normally used by the Da'i to run the various administrative departments of the Da'wa and educational institutions provided for the Bohras in India, such as the Sayfi Dar at Surat. In addition a few businessmen have profited from the Sayfi Foundation which was established by the late Da'i (47).

Besides these obligatory religious dues a small graduated tax known as '*sabit*' is levied by the Jamat Council. Each year the head of every family is supposed to pay this tithe. If one is in arrears, which is often the case despite '*sabit*' being considered sacred, this person must settle his bill before he can receive permission from the Amil to hold any religious or communal functions (48).

The Jamat Council also has an independent income from endowments and its real estate holding. By and large, council funds benefit the local community and are used to maintain Bohra schools, Jamat Khanas, rest houses and to pay salaries of the Amil and the Jamat Council clerk. Funds left over are invested in new property or are used on feasts held on Saint's Days to which the entire community is invited.

insist upon prompt payment of its own due known as the *Sabit*. Non-payment, or accumulation of arrears for six months or more may result in the refusal of the Amil to perform routine religious ceremonies. See minutes of meetings of D.B.J.C. Dar es Salaam, April 13, 1961, and Oct. 30, 1965. Bohra Secretariat, DAR; *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1967, 7, clause 5, (IV); *The History of the Dawoodi Bohras*, 14.

47) 'The Proposed Endowment to H.H. Dr. Syedna Taher Saifuddin Memorial Foundation', Mombasa, July 15, 1968, 3-4.

48) *Sabit* is assessed on the basis on the financial situation of each Bohra family by the Jamat Council and a list is published every year with names of payees and assessed amount. In some Jamats, for example Dar es Salaam, there is a penalty for latepayment or accumulation of arrears, see footnote no. 46.

#### BOHRA DOCTRINES AND RITUALS

The official Ismaili Da'udi Bohra doctrine consists of visible precepts (*zahir*) and their counterparts esoteric (*batin*) commandments. The *zahir* form of religion is quite similar to the Orthodox Sunni and Shi'a Ithna Ashari practices; strict observance of all the traditional principles of Islam such as prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, holy war, and paying alms (*zakat*) are obligatory even upon those who possess the highest esoteric knowledge. In addition the Bohras observe two important commandments: *tahara*, ritual purity in the physical and spiritual sense, and *iman*, an esoteric concept difficult to translate but which can be rendered as faith or belief (49). Concern for purity is evidenced by separate sets of white clothes used only for prayers and importance attached to ritual bathing especially on big festivals and saint's days. This custom is rarely practised among other Muslim groups. Covering the head during prayers, study, meals, or religious functions is also a well-known Bohra tradition. Many devout Bohras wear a cap even at home and women cover their head with a shawl. The concept of ritual purity also extends to prohibition of cinema going, secular dancing, cosmetics, intoxicants and tobacco. However, the younger generation seems unconcerned about these taboos.

Unlike Nizari Ismailism, the Bohras do not usually emphasize the *batin* or the esoteric aspects of their religion except for complete (unswerving) conviction in the mission of the Imam and his visible deputy on earth, the Da'i. The office of the Imam is the central theme of the Tayyibi Ismaili creed. All other doctrines revolve around the interpretations of this theme.

In contrast to Prophethood, the office of the Imam is a permanent institution in the world and a sure sign of the continuation of the Divine message. It is confined only to the descendants of Fatima and Ali through Mohammed ibn Ismail. In theory succession to the Imamate passes from father to son through designation (*nass*), the Divine light for which the Imam's body is the repository and which was first given by Muhammad to Ali passes to the New Imam (50). This idea is very similar to the Hindu and gnostic concept of transmigration of the soul.

The Imam's most important function is that of interpreting the

49) Schacht, "Notes on Islam in East Africa", 130; Al Quadi al Nu'man, *Da'watun al Islam* (ed. A. A. A. Fyze) Cairo, 1951, 5.

50) *Da'watun* (Fyze edition), *ibid.*; preamble to *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1967.

Qur'an. Every verse in the holy book has both an esoteric and an exoteric meaning. The exoteric aspect deals with practical religion while the esoteric is concerned with the deeper meaning of religion and is known only to the Imam because of the divine light inherited from his predecessor. It is Bohra belief that salvation can be achieved only through the intercession of the Imam. In orthodox Islam, the concept of salvation through an Imam is of course foreign since there is no intermediary between God and the believer. However, 'folk Islam' even of the Sunni persuasion strongly adheres to salvation through *baraka* or *mana* of the holy men and saints.

Closely connected with the theory of 'teacher Imam' who acts as a link between God and man is the concept of his infallibility and sinlessness. Being divinely appointed and in possession of the deeper mysteries of the universe, the Imam cannot make a mistake (51). Thus, the institution of Imamate emerges as the most important foundation of Tayyibi Bohra Ismailism. It is reinforced by the two important obligations of *walaya* (love and devotion) and the *taslim* (complete and unconditional obedience to the Imam in both spiritual and temporal matters). These two duties, obligatory upon all believers, determine their faith (*iman*) as contrasted to general Islam which is attainable by all who practice the ordinary five religious principles. A cardinal principle of Bohra belief is that while the Imam remains in seclusion his visible deputy the Da'i "enjoys and exercises all the powers, attributes and authority of the Imam" (52).

#### PRAYERS AND MOSQUES

Each Bohra community, no matter how small, has its own separate mosque. In large towns such as Mombasa, Zanzibar, Tanga, Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam the mosques are large and spacious buildings. Frequently a madresa (religious school), a Musafar Khan (lodging house for Bohra travellers) and the Dar-ul-Emirat (residency of the Amil) are attached to the mosque. Larger centres sometimes have more than one mosque. Zanzibar, with its Bohra population of about 1500, has three mosques, Mombasa three and Tanga two (53). In villages and small townships or in areas where the Bohra population

51) *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1-2; Judgment in Civil Suit no. 32 of 1925, Burhampur, 1931, 49.

52) *Constitution*, Nairobi, 2; Schacht, Notes on Islam in East Africa, p. 128-129; J. Spencer Trimmingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 104.

53) *Report of Bohra Jamat Properties in East Africa*, Mombasa, 1967, DBCJA, Tanga.

is small, as mosque may be no more than a badly lighted, musty room or more often a part of the local general store.

Observant Bohras pray three times a day, at dawn, midday, and just after sunset. All public prayers are said in Arabic from memory and often appear rather mechanical. The three obligatory prayers (*namaz* or *salat*) are said in congregation led by the Amil or his authorized deputy. Unlike orthodox Sunni Islam where every believer can conduct the prayers, in the Bohra community the permission of the Amil or his authorized deputy is necessary before an ordinary person can lead prayers. The congregation forms a series of rows (*safs*). Only those who reach puberty and have taken the *misqa* can pray in *safs* with adults. Children form their separate lines usually at the rear of the adult congregation.

Besides the obligatory prayers there are other extra prayers on special holidays and festivals. Every prayer is preceded by ritual ablutions of hands, feet, ears, face and head. During the ablutions the person expresses the intent of the ablution which is for a specific prayer. At the centre of prayer (*namaz*) lie two devotions, the Creed and the Service. These two devotions are fairly short and must be said in Arabic. The argument against the use of any language but Arabic is that the Qur'an, as "the uncreated word of God", is untranslatable and must be learned in the original. An important feature of Bohra mosques in East Africa and elsewhere is the absence of *mimbar* (pulpit) (54). This is due to the convention of not reciting the *khutba* on Friday and 'Id prayers, inherited from the days of the Yemete Da'wa. The practice of dropping the *khutba* was adopted after the occultation of the twenty-first Imam, al-Tayyib (1130) mainly as a sentimental gesture that since the *khutba* was a special prerogative of the Imam, and no one else could recite it. There is no formal prohibition in Bohra legal compendiums against reciting the *khutba* but the convention has become binding. In Orthodox Muslim law, the *khutba* of the Friday midday prayer (the most important prayer of the week) reduces the usual prayer by half, two *rak'as* instead of four. It is obligatory for a Muslim to offer the full four *rak'as* if he misses the *khutba* and the congregational prayer. The Bohras observe the same injunction. They perform the ordinary midday prayer of four *rak'as* on Friday, but on big festivals such as 'Ids, two additional *rak'as*, known as Iwadu'l Khutba, (in lieu of *khutba*),

54) J. Schacht, *op. cit.*, 129.

are offered. At the end of the prayer the leader stands up facing the *qibla* (the prayer niche) rather than the congregation as he would do if delivering the *khutba*. He prays for forgiveness for the sins of his parishoners, their health, happiness and peace and asks God to end the period of *satr* (occultation) by manifesting the Imam. The daily obligatory prayer does not last more than thirty-five to forty minutes.

#### FESTIVALS AND HOLY DAYS

Bohras celebrate two great holy days, the Id-al-Fitr, celebrating the end of the month of fasting, Ramadhan, and Id-al-adha (also known as Bakri-Id) which is observed on the tenth of Zul-Hajja, to commemorate the conclusion of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Numerous saint days, mostly commemorating the anniversaries of the death of the Imams and important *Da'is* also provide occasions for feasting and religious get togethers. For example the tragedy of Kerbala is remembered with doxologies (*majalises*) and due solemnity from the second to the tenth of Muharram, the first month of the Muslim calendar. On the tenth of that month is the commemoration called Ashura 55).

On this holy day even those Bohras, who ordinarily never enter the mosque, somehow manage to crowd their way into a congregation for at least an hour or two. This is especially true in the afternoon, when the story of the *Shahada* (martyrdom) of Imam Hussein is retold. Ashura which is a public holiday, is also a day of atonement—a day of austere solemnity, when the believer is supposed to confront his Maker face to face. It is a day of asking forgiveness but also a day of joy and triumph because, according to Bohra and general Shi'a belief, Hussein's sacrifice and martyrdom saved Islam.

Everyone, even small children, abstain from food and drink from sunrise to sunset on Ashura. The community spends the whole day in the mosque listening to stories of Hussein's family and small band of followers who paid for their faith through suffering and the ultimate sacrifice—death. The stories are told in such a way to make the audience cry and beat their breasts with their palms. Crying and beating of breasts in unison are public exhibitions of grief and are supposed to enhance the religiosity of the performers. They also add to the solemnity of the occasion.

A conspicuous feature of most Bohra festivals is feasting together; the number of feasts has now decreased considerably, due to the high

55) Von Granbaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, New York, 1957, 84-94.

cost of living, although there are still occasions on which the whole community is invited to luncheons and dinners. The feasts are financed either from special endowments or from communal funds. Feasting is considered a religious act. Of late there have been organized attempts by younger, more educated Bohras to abolish feasting and use financial resources thus saved to better educational facilities and provide social welfare for the community. These attempts have been opposed by the religious hierarchy and 'traditionalists'. Sociologically, feasting together, no doubt, serves to reinforce community values and fellowship.

#### I DU'Ā GHADIR AL-KHUM—RENEWAL OF MISAK

According to Shia belief, the Prophet appointed Ali as his successor. This appointment is celebrated on the 18th of Dhul-Hijja. On this day all Bohras fast and after the noon prayers may renew the covenant or oath of allegiance to the Imam. This oath is called the *misak*. It is also a ceremony for initiating new members of the community who have reached the age of majority, fifteen years, into the ranks of the believers (*mu'minin*). The *misqa* which consists of an oath of allegiance to the Bohra Imams, the concealed Imam Taiyib and all succeeding Imams in his line as well as his deputy on earth, the *Da'i*, is administered by the *Amil* on behalf of the *Da'i*. The person taking the oath also swears to refrain from any act which would prejudice the interests of the *Da'i*.

The covenant is the legacy of a Fatimid rite by which the neophytes swore allegiance to the Imam or the *Da'i* of the age. It involved a promise of unconditional obedience to the command of the Imam and the *Da'i*. If necessary this could mean the sacrifice of one's property, soul and life in the service of the *Da'i*wa. The secrecy surrounding the oath and the severe punishment offered if its contents were divulged to non-Isma'ilis, probably had political significance when the Fatimids were trying to establish their political power and social importance in Yemen and India at a time when Bohras were under threat of persecution. Today, the oath remains important, although its former social and political significance is no longer relevant. It probably functions to strengthen communal solidarity and identity. However, religious Bohras still believe that the *Da'i* can invoke the punishments and obligations contained in the oath 56).

56) "Why *Misqa* for whom and to whom", *Dawoodi Bohra Bulletin* (in Gujarati) March 18, 1961, 261; *Constitution*, Nairobi, 21, Clause 2.

## BOHRA CALENDAR

Another peculiarity of the Bohras which differentiates them from both the Shia and Sunni Muslims is their calendar. The Bohras follow what they call the Mis'ri calendar, another legacy of the Fatimid age. It is a lunar calendar based on the astronomical calculation of the new moon. It was first used during the Fatimid rule in Egypt, when due to the popularity of Greek science, it found favour in the Court (57). The calendar was adopted in Yemen after the demise of the Fatimids and was later carried to India and East Africa.

It is a fixed and definite calendar, with six months of thirty days and six months of twenty-nine days, each alternating with the other. This assures that the month of Ramadhan always has thirty days. Every third year there are seven months of thirty days. One extra day is added to Dhul Hijj, the last calendar month, which otherwise would have twenty-nine days. The fixed nature of the calendar did not make much difference in either Egypt or Yemen, since the new moon was sighted on the same day as it was calculated to appear. In East Africa and India, however, Bohra dates usually appear a day or two ahead of the general Muslim calendar. This means that the Bohras cannot celebrate their festivals ostentatiously, particularly, the 'Id following the Ramadhan fast, for often when the Bohras are fasting the rest of the Muslims are still fasting. Therefore, the Bohras are cautioned by their leaders to observe *taqiyah*.

## BOHRA CUSTOMS

*Marriage and Divorce*

Marriage is essentially a contract between two families. Arranged marriages are less frequent now than in the past. Polygamy is allowed by law (a maximum of four wives) but it is very rare and is looked down upon. There are only a handful of such marriages in East Africa. While there is no specific prohibition against child marriages, most Bohras marry between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. Widow remarriage, which two decades ago was looked upon with contempt, is now accepted by most except the very traditional. However, a widow during her period of mourning (Idda) still dresses like a Hindu widow in white and remains in seclusion. Only her nearest relatives and women may visit her.

57) On the Fatimid calendar, see Byard Dodge, *The Fatimid Hierarchy and Exegesis, The Muslim World*, 50 (2), April, 1960, 139.

The Amil or Wali Mulla (his deputy) performs the *nika* (marriage ceremony) which is witnessed by two trustworthy persons. The bride is represented at this ceremony by her father or another male from her family. It is at this time that the bride receives a dowry. The Amil's certificate of marriage is accepted as valid by the local East African registrars of marriage. The marriage ceremony itself is rather simple, lasting not more than a half hour. It is however, usually accompanied by feasting and numerous other rituals, many of which are of Hindu origin, such as Manduo, the knotting of the bride's and groom's clothing or the breaking of plates when crossing the threshold after the wedding. In the past ten years young newly married couples have tended to live separately from the groom's family. Thus the traditional Bohra extended families are being replaced by nuclear families on the Western model. Family planning and prenatal clinics exist in some areas. There is no religious taboo on contraception. Modern Bohra families tend to be smaller as a result of economic prosperity and greater education. In view of these changes the young Bohra couple must face the problems of marital life without the advice, supervision and guidance of their elders. Despite western influences certain traditional obligations of extended family life remain, such as the duty of a son to support other members of the family.

Divorce is extremely rare, although Bohra law provides for it. Acceptable grounds are numerous and the process itself is relatively simple. The Amil and elders of the community usually discourage, postpone, and prevent divorce as long as possible. There is mediation, "cooling off periods", and persistent efforts at reconciliation. When these methods have been exhausted, the husband in the presence of the Amil and two witnesses gives a divorce to his wife in a prescribed form. There is no need for a civil divorce after this ceremony. Marriage disputes, divorce and inheritance are settled by the Amil within the community. On very rare occasions they reach the state judiciary. These courts adjudicate Bohra disputes according to Bohra law as given in Qadi-al-Numan's *Da'im-al-Islam* (58).

*Food and Clothing*

Dietary restrictions are similar to those observed by the Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. There is no limit on food that grows from the ground.

58) J. Spencer Trimmingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 105; Schacht, J., *Notes on Islam in East Africa*, 129.

The restrictions deal with animal life, only those animals who chew cud and have slit hoofs are permitted (*halal*). These animals must be slaughtered in a prescribed manner—facing east towards Mecca, and using a single slash of a sharp edged knife in order to assure a painless death. The animals must be slaughtered by Muslims.

The rules prohibit as food a large part of animal life—birds of prey, rodents, reptiles, pigs, horses and primates. From the sea Bohras eat only those animals with fins and scales. This rule about fish eliminates food such as shrimp, oyster and lobster. For observant Bohras, a very short prayer should be said over the fish by a Muslim before it dies. At one time, in the hot climate before refrigeration, this rule obviously had sanitary implications, since it guaranteed fresh fish. However, even today many Bohras prefer to buy live fish or go on fishing trips.

In addition to the animals mentioned above, custom prohibits certain birds which eat carrion or those which are predators. There seem to be no specific rulings on insects, possibly because insects contribute little to the Bohra diet. The most popular meats eaten are mutton, lamb and goat meat. These are used to make curries at local feasts. Another prohibition, a legacy of the Hindu-Muslim rivalry and Hindu rules of caste, is the restriction on eating food prepared by Hindus. Hindu food and drink are considered illegal (*haram*) by devout Bohras. This interestingly enough is also observed by the Khoja Ithna 'asharies. These rules provide a pattern of daily eating—a pattern shared by most Bohras from time immemorial. It reinforces communal bonds and is a constant reminder of a personal identity.

#### SECULAR ORGANIZATION

Prior to 1926 all matters of social and economic importance in the community were managed by the Amil. In that year a Jamat council was formed, consisting of persons from the leading families of the community. The members were nominated by the Da'i on the advice of the local Amil, who was also the president of the council. Changes in this format came to East Africa in the early 1950s.

With the return of a number of Western educated professionals and greater legal consciousness, it was felt necessary "that all Daudi Bohra Jamats in East Africa should work under a regular, uniform and written constitution". "The Jamat was to be duly registered as a incorporated non-profit organization in accordance with the laws of the

59) Correspondence between Abdullah Karimjee and Najmuddin (rep. of the

individual territory" 59). Another pertinent reason for a written constitution was the enormous increase in property ownership by various Jamats. As a result of profits made during the war many Bohra merchants gave generously to enable local Jamats to acquire income producing assets.

In 1951 at a conference of all the Daudi Bohra Jamat Councils in Tanga, a uniform constitution for Jamats in East Africa was drafted. Five years of correspondence and negotiations between East African Bohra leaders, particularly Sir Yusufali K. Jivanjee, Abdullah Karimjee and the Da'i's representatives produced an acceptable constitution. The Da'i gave his approval and blessing to the constitution. It was adopted by all the local congregations. In spite of the emergency veto power retained by the Dai which allowed him "to override any resolution passed by the entire local Jamat or its Council if in the opinion of H. H. the Da'i the resolution was inconsistent with the tenets of the faith or was detrimental to the interest of the Dawudi Bohra community" 60); the constitution did allow for a great deal of lay control, participation, and initiative in Jamat affairs.

Under this constitution all male members of the community over the age of eighteen formed the Da'udi Jamat Corporation. The corporation democratically elected a New Managing Council every two years. The elected membership of the council consisted of four office bearers, five trustees and fourteen ordinary members. The communal property, such as mosques, jamat khana, schools, sport clubs, clinics and real estate were administered by the five trustees. Each local Bohra Jamat Corporation through these trustees was *de jure* owner of its property, unlike the Ismaili Khoja community where all communal property is vested in the name of the Aga Khan 61.) All of the communal buildings are heavily endowed by their original benefactors. One of the most noted contributors is the Karimiji family of Tanzania, which has donated almost two thirds of all communal buildings and charities over the last eighty years. This family is also well known for its contributions to the East African Muslim Welfare Society and numerous acts of philanthropy for all East Africans.

D'ai) letter dated March 12, 1954, Dawoodi Bohra Jamat Central Archives, Tanga. *Disputes in the Bohra Community of East Africa*, Bombay, n.d., 18.

60) *Constitution*, Nairobi, 1955, clause 75.

61) J. N. Anderson, *The Ismaili Khojas of East Africa*, A New Constitution and Personal Law for the Community, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1 (1) Oct. 1964, 24.

The elected Managing Council also appointed a large number of sub-committees such as education, poor relief, standing committee on marriage etc., to look after the various routine administrative affairs of the community. A number of Bohra Jinhanas (gymnasiums), volunteer corps, women's organizations, and libraries were affiliated with the Jamat Council.

The secular leaders of the community by and large functioned with diligence and dedication. All were volunteers and received little or no remuneration, despite enormous amount of work conducting delicate negotiations with various government departments and pacifying critical elements within the community, who desired to seize the positions of incumbent leaders.

Secular leadership was flexible in that any young Bohra with talent, ability and desire to work hard was accepted. In 1963, during the visit of the previous Da'i to East Africa, a new youth organization was formed. It was known as 'Shabab ul-Eidiz i Zahabi'. Its prime purpose was to encourage greater involvement of youth in communal affairs. It also tended to emphasize loyalty and devotion to the Da'i and traditions of the Fatimid Faith. 'Youth' was extended to include persons ranging in age from eighteen to fifteen years old.

'Shabab' is an elite corps of the most emotionally committed to the Bohra community and its religion. Since the controversy over the constitution, this group has acquired greater significance and authority. Indeed, at times it has acted as unofficial guardian of the faith. However, on the whole it is an extremely useful movement, since it has the capacity to provide needed help and leadership for the community in times of crisis.

In 1967 the new Da'i revoked the old constitution on the grounds that his followers in East Africa and the Da'wa needed "to be protected from activities prejudicial and contrary to the Sharia" (Muslim Law). Therefore, the Da'i deemed "it opportune, fit and proper that the Da'udi Bohra Jamats of East Africa should be governed by a fresh code of rules and regulations"<sup>62</sup>. It is not clear what the Da'i meant when referring to activities prejudicial and contrary to the Shari'a, but the result was the introduction of a new uniform constitution for all the East African Jamats. The 1967 constitution is more centralized and gives the Da'i enormous authority and power over local Jamat corporations.

<sup>62</sup> *Constitution*, Nairobi, 3.

Under clauses 8(V), 20(V), and 46(V) the Da'i could expell any Bohra from the community, dismiss a member or members of the Managing Council or the board of trustees. Similarly any sale, purchase of mortgage of community properties must receive his prior approval. Clause 50 gives the Da'i "by virtue of his position and at his discretion and pleasure authority to add, delete, amend, suspend, cancel, revoke, repeal or substitute these presents" meaning the constitution 63).

The new constitution has raised a great deal of controversy in the community between the 'progressives' who wish to maintain community control as prescribed in the 1955 constitution and the 'traditionalists', who have by and large accepted the position of the Da'i. The progressives also represent a more reformist attitude aimed at introducing social change in the community, such as reduction in the number of feasts as well as other traditional customs of the community. It must be mentioned that, the 'progressives' constitute a rather small, vocal, elite group of the community, mainly professional and wealthy mercantile elements except in Kampala, which had a long tradition of local autonomy. In Kampala almost 70% of the Bohra Jamat refused to accept the new constitution. The remaining 30%, faithful to the Da'i and his representatives, seceded from the main Jamat and established a new congregation under the 1967 constitution. They filed civil suits in local courts to recover communal properties. The matter is still unresolved.

It is astonishing that the Da'i and his advisors should have tried to introduce such as controversial constitution without much local debate or airing of opinions in 1967, a time when the newly emergent East African governments were extremely sensitive to any outside interference in the affairs of their local citizens. The opposition claims that the constitution was imposed on East Africa without the authority and sanction of the Da'i, by his advisors, who were eager to control the East African Jamats and to remove the precedent of granting a "democratic constitution". The demand for a written constitution modelled after the 1955 East African constitution had been one of the major planks of the Bohra reformist groups in India and Pakistan. At times the debate over the new constitution became so heated that local forces of law and order, the press, courts and the East African government got involved in the internal quarrel of a religious and social community<sup>64</sup>).

<sup>63</sup> *Constitution*, Nairobi, 17.

<sup>64</sup> The East African press reported the conflict in the Bohra Community on



Towards the middle of 1969, the three East African governments had canceled registration of the new constitution. Despite this event, those opposing the constitution had returned to the fold between 1969 and 1970 and accepted the new constitution. The purported reason for this reversal "was harassment and unnecessary use of social ostracism (*barat*) by the Da'is local representatives and their followers". *Barat* was particularly harsh on women, who unlike women in other Muslim sects play a very large role in Bohra religious life. This is due to the fact that the social life of women revolves essentially around the community, while that of their husbands, usually businessmen and professionals, included contact with people outside the community.

Another reason for this reversal may have been the pressures of 'Africanization' and the uncertainties of recent times which may have brought the Bohras back together, into a familial communal fold and thus dissent was stifled (65). Although the one-time opposition has now accepted the constitution, many issues which arose from the controversy have not as yet been resolved.

#### CONCLUSION

The Bohra community is confronted, like other Asian Muslim communities, with the problems of living in a new East Africa. According to the 'progressives', the religious hierarchy has not yet sensed the challenge of the times. Despite its demands for absolute obedience and service, it is losing some of its former prestige and authority. Observance of religious rituals and customs have declined, particularly amongst the younger and better educated elements of the community. Many of these attend services at the mosque only on special occasions such as the tenth of Muharram and during the month of Ramadhan. This is partially a result of a world wide trend towards secularization as well as the fact that prayers and recitations are still said in Arabic, which few understand. The traditional form of religious discourses and sermon as well as the parrot-like repetition of prayer chants is unappealing to the modern generation. The modern Bohras, who are

several occasions. See *East Africa Standard*, June 23, 1967, and the *Nationalist*, July 1, and 4, 1967; In Tanzania questions were raised in parliamentary debates and in Nov. 1968 the Government of Tanzania abruptly terminated the visit of the present Da'i on charges of contravening the Tanzanian foreign exchange regulations. See *The Nationalist*, Nov. 17, 1968.

65) On 'Africanization Policy', see Donald Rothchild, Kenya's Africanization Program: Priorities of Development and Equity, *The American Political Science Review*, 64 (3), Sept., 1970, 737-753.

now better educated than their forefathers, have become increasingly frustrated at their shallow and superficial knowledge of their religion, with its incomprehensible rituals and their unchanging leaders.

A solution would be for all Muslim children to learn Arabic. However, this is hardly feasible in East Africa today, when education has become so competitive. To add Arabic on top of the overloaded curriculum of English, Swahili and in some cases Gujarati is an excessive burden on the child. Translation of religious scriptures into the vernacular has not received consideration as yet.

The Bohra community would like to have religious leaders born and bred in East Africa, who have a sound Western education as well as a thorough knowledge of traditional Islamic studies. However, the youth of the community has been most reluctant to accept the religious calling, possibly due to lack of encouragement from parents and religious leaders and to the low educational calibre of some local Amlis and Mullas.

In the past there has not been a tradition of religious or humanistic scholarship among the Bohras of East Africa. Indeed, no religious leader has ever produced a scholarly work. This is in marked contrast to the historic achievements of the Bohra Ismailis in India and Yemen.

The 'progressive' Bohras of East Africa would like new religious leaders who can play a dual role as provider of an environment necessary for spiritual renewal and satisfaction, as well as leadership to bring about adjustment to economic and social change. In spite of the failure of the 'progressive' movement the community has gradually become more secularized as the Da'i and the religious hierarchy tend to lose control over the secular affairs of their followers, particularly since independence. The exclusive Bohra sports clubs, schools, social, and medical facilities have been taken over by the East African governments and the pressure for assimilation is unlikely to diminish in the near future. As a result the Bohras, like other East African Asians, will probably lose their group solidarity and face the problems of 'modernization' alone, as individuals, rather than as members of a corporate communal and religious entity.

## APPENDIX

*Dā'īs of the Daw'ādi Bohras (6)*

## A. The Yemenite Da'wāt

- 526/1132 to 999/1591
1. Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā, 546/1151
  2. Ibrāhim b. Ḥusain al-Ḥāmidī, 557/1162
  3. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhim al-Ḥāmidī, 596/1199
  4. ?Alī b. Ḥātim, 1209
  5. ?Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd 612/1215
  6. ?Alī b. Hanzala al-Wādī'ī, 626/1229
  7. Ahmad b. al-Mubārak, 627/1230
  8. Ḥusain b. ?Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walī, 667/1268
  9. ?Alī b. Ḥusain b. ?Alī b. Muḥammad, 682/1284
  10. ?Alī b. Ḥusain b. ?Alī b. Hanzala, 686/1287
  11. Ibrāhim b. Ḥusain b. ?Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, 728/1328
  12. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Ḥusain b. ?Alī, 729/1329
  13. ?Alī b. Ibrāhim b. al-Ḥusain, 746/1345
  14. ?Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, 755/1354
  15. ?Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, 779/1378
  16. ?Abdu'l-lāh b. ?Alī b. Muḥammad, 809/1407
  17. Ḥasan b. ?Abdi'l-lāh b. ?Alī, 821/1418
  18. ?Alī b. ?Abdi'l-lāh, 1428
  19. Idrīs (?Imādu'd-dīn) b. Ḥasan, 872/1468
  20. Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan, 918/1527
  21. Ḥusain b. Idrīs, 933/1527
  22. ?Alī b. Ḥusain b. Idrīs, 933/1527
  23. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs, 946/1539
  24. Yūsuf b. Sulaimān, 974/1567
  25. Jalāl b. Ḥasan, 975/1567
  26. Dā'ūd b. ?Ajāb, 999/1591
- The Indian Da'wāt 999/1591 to the Present*
27. Dā'ūd Burhānu'd-dīn b. Qutb Shāh, 1021/1612
  28. Shaikh Adam Safiyu'd-dīn b. Tayyib Shāh, 1030/1621
  29. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn b. Qutb Shāh, 1041/1631
  30. ?Alī Shamsu'd-dīn b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs, 1042/1632
  31. Qāsim Zainu'd-dīn b. Pīr Khān, 1054/1644
  32. Qutb Khān Qutbu'd-dīn b. Dā'ūd b. Qutb Shāh, 1056/1646
  33. Pīr Khān Shujā'ū'd-dīn b. Ahmadjī, 1065/1655
  34. Ismā'īl Badru'd-dīn b. Mullā Rāj b. Ādam, 1085/1674
  35. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn b. Ismā'īl Badru'd-dīn, 1110/1699
  36. Mūsā Kalīmu'd-dīn b. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn, 1122/1710
  37. Nūr Muḥammad Nūru'd-dīn b. Mūsā Kalīmu'd-dīn, 1130/1718

60) Adapted from Asaf A. A. Fyzee, A Chronological List of the Imāms and Dā'īs of the Musta'fīan Ismā'īlīs, *J.B.R.A.S.* 19, 1934, 8-16.

*The Bohras of East Africa*

1. Ismā'īl Badru'd-dīn b. Shaikh Ādam Safiyu'd-dīn, 1150/1737
2. Ibrāhim Wajihu'd-dīn b. ?Abdi'l-Qādir Ḥakīmu'd-dīn, 1168/1754
3. Ḥabatu'l-lāh al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn b. Ibrāhim Wajihu'd-dīn, 1193/1799
4. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn b. Ismā'īl Badru'd-dīn, 1200/1785.
5. Yūsuf Najmu'd-dīn b. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn, 1213/1798
6. ?Abd ?Alī Saifu'd-dīn b. ?Abdu'r-Tayyib Zakīyū'd-dīn, 1232/1817
7. Muḥammad ?Izzu'd-dīn b. Shaikh Jivanjī, 1236/1821
8. Tayyib Zainu'd-dīn b. Shaikh Jivanjī, 1252/1837
9. Muḥammad Badru'd-dīn b. ?Abd ?Alī Saifu'd-dīn, 1256/1840
10. ?Abdu'l-Qādir Najmu'd-dīn b. Tayyib Zainu'd-dīn, 1302/1885
11. ?Abdu'l-Ḥusain Ḥusamu'd-dīn b. Tayyib Zainu'd-dīn, 1308/1891
12. Muḥammad Burhānu'd-dīn b. ?Abdu'l-Qādir Najmu'd-dīn, 1323/1906
13. ?Abdu'l-lāh Badru'd-dīn b. ?Abdu'l-Ḥusain Ḥusāmu'd-dīn, 1333/1915
14. H. H. Sardar Dr. Sayidna Tahir Saifu'd-dīn Sahab, 1385/1965
15. H. H. Muḥammad Burhānu'd-dīn Sahab. The Present Dā'ī-muḥlāq.