

TO
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WHO, through the Hakimia Coronation High School, Burhanpur, has rendered pioneering and yeoman service to the cause of education of the Dawoodi Bohra Community, for over half a century and **Who**, undaunted, braved the persecution of the Priest Class to play a leading role in the struggle for emancipation of the community.

This book is dedicated as a token of respect and gratitude with a fervent prayer that May God grant him health and strength to complete century.

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BISMILLAH AR RAHMANIR RAHI

In the name of God the Most Gracious & Merciful

Dawoodi Bohras

They are Shia Mohomedans of the Ismaili Sect, richest, best organised and most widely spread Population class of Mohomedans. They being chiefly traders and having originally started their propaganda in Gujarat on the teaching of Arab preachers of Ismailia Sect (Abdullah and Ahmad, A. D. 1067) sent by Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, they derive their name from the Gujarati word "Vehru" (trade).

It is interesting to know the origin of their system of association and the details of their organisation. They are chiefly residents of :

1. Bombay Presidency : (Now Gujarat & Maharashtra)
Ahmedabad, Cambay, Jamnagar, Sidhpur, Palanpur, Surat, Bombay, Poona, Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Ranala, Amalner, Bhusaval, Jalgoan, Godhra, Mandsore, Mandvi, Cutch-Bhuj, Karachi &c.
2. Nizam's Territories : (Now Andhra Pradesh)
Hydrabad, Nizamabad, Gulbarga, Aurangabad, Jalna &c.
3. Central Provinces and Berar : (Now Maharashtra & Madhya Pradesh)
Nagpur, Amraoti, Burhanpur, Jabulpore, Khandwa &c.
4. Central India : (Now Madhya Pradesh)
Bhopal, Ujjain, Indore, Shahjahanpur, Sironj, &c.

5. Rajputana : (Now Rajasthan)
Ratlam, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur &c.
6. Other Parts of India :
Madras, Calcutta, Ceylon and Rangoon.

As traders they are spread over other parts of the world in places as under, but keep their females in their residential places :

1. In Arabia : Aden, Yemen, Hejaj, Muskat and Mesopotemia.
2. Africa : Cairo, East and West Africa and Mombasa.
3. In Asia : Ceylon, Rangoon, British ports in China and the Archipelago.
4. In Europe : London.
5. In India : All over the different provinces of India.

The Bohra population according to the last census of India was about only 2,00,000* but the figure is unreliable as most of the Bohras returned themselves as Shias and a large number got themselves confused with the Sunni Bohras. The best census is from the tax register of the

*Bombay Presidency	1,30,000
Central India	35,000
Central Province	5,000
Rajputana	10,000
Nizam's territory	5,000
Other parts of India, Burma, Ceylon &c.	15,000
	2 00,000

For Bombay Presidency the figures are according to the last census & for other places these numbers are based on census figure they are not accurate.

Head Priest at Surat. A poll-tax is collected every year in the month of Ramzan (Fasting month) by the deputies of the Head priest at the rate of 4 annas per head of every male and female. Children are not excepted. Even an embryo in the womb is not excluded. Bohras living in distant places pay their poll-tax as a religious duty. The Head Priest's register is not open for public inspection, but the population according to the register is believed to be about two lacs excluding Sunni Bohras and dissenters.

2. Of the position of Dawoodi Bohras amongst the Mohommedans, they are Shias, Ismailies
Origin of their faith and Musta'lvies. Like other Shias, as is a well-known fact to historians, they consider Moulana Ali-bin-Abutalib(s), son-in-law of the Prophet, as a holy and legitimate successor or vicar (wasi) of the Prophet and say that the first three Caliphs were usurpers. Like other Shias, Bohras agree in their veneration for Ali(s) and in their recognition of the IMAMS of the house of Ali and Fatima (daughter of Mohommed(s)) and consider these Imams like Ali, the chosen representatives of God, supernaturally gifted and Devinely appointed leaders, whose right to the allegiance of the faithful is derived directly from heaven, and not from any election or agreement from the Church (Ijmaul-ummat). All Imams are infallible according to their Faith. In short as far as their faith in the Imams of the line of Ali and Fatima is concerned, Ismaili Bohras may be described as the supporters of the principle of Divine rights, as opposed to the principle of democratic election. In this note my object is to show why this sect of the best organised Shias in India; call themselves Ismailias, Musta'lvias and Dawoodies.

Besides Ali(s) they believe in the following
 Their 21 Imams 21 inspired Imams who succeeded Ali
 according to the principle of Divine
 right :

- 1 Molana Hasan(s)*, son of Ali (41-49 A.H.)
- 2 Molana Husain(s), son of Ali (49-60 A.H.)
- 3 Molana Ali Zain-ul-Abidin(s) son of Husain (60-94 A.H.)
- 4 Molana Mohomed Baqir(s), son of Ali Zain-ul-Abidin (94-112 A. H.)
- 5 Molana Jaferu-us Sadiq(s) (the veridical) son of Molana Mohomed Baqir (112-148 A. H.)
- 6 Molana Ismail-al Wafi(s), son of Jaferus-Sadiq (148-149 A.H.)
- 7 Molana Mohomedul-Makhtum(s), son of Ismail-al Wafi (149-195)
- 8 Molana Abdullah-ur Razi(s), son of of Mohomed (195-225)
- 9 Molana Ahmadul-Wafi(s), son of Abdullah (225-240)
- 10 Molana Husain-ut Taqi(s), son of Ahmed (240-270)
- 11 Molana Abdullah-Mahdi(s) son of Husain (297-322) from 90-97 was hidden.
- 12 Molana Mohomed - al - Kayam(s), son of Abdullah (322-334).

} Grand sons
 of the prophet

} Lived a hidden
 and secret life

*S. means Salawatulaho "may the peace of God be on him."

- 13 Molana Ismail-al Mansur(s), son of Mohommed (334-341)
- 14 Molana Moayid-al-Muiz(s), son of Ismail (341-386)
- 15 Molana Nizar enil Aziz(s), son of Moayid (365-386)
- 16 Molana Mansur-al Hakim(s), son of Nizar (386-411)
- 17 Molana Ali-as-Zahir(s), son of Mansur (411-427)
- 18 Molana Muayid-al-Mustansi(rs), son of Ali (427-487)
- 19 Molana Ahmadul-Mustali(s), son of Moayid (487-495)
- 20 Molana Mansur-al-Amir(s), son of Ahmed (495-524)
- 21 Molana Abulqasim-at-Tayeb(s) (524-526).

No. 11 to 21 were Caliphs of Egypt or democratic rulers. The Bohras believe that the 21st Imam At-Tayab(s) disappeared being persecuted by his disloyal regent Abdul Majid, who usurped the government of Egypt. This regent, known as Abdul Majid Maimoon-al-Hafiz le-Dinillah, reigned from 526-544 A. H. Amir-Billah, the 20th Imam was murdered by Nizarian insurgents in Cairo and he left Imam-At Tayab aged two years as Imam and Caliph of Egypt as his nominee-Mansur-successor under the guardianship of Abdul Majid, who was given the title of Al-Hafiz le-Dinillah (The protector of religion of God) for this very purpose. Then Hafiz turned disloyal and Imam Tayab's relatives took the minor Imam away from Cairo, to a secret place of protection somewhere near the Dais Propagandists) of Al-Amir, where Imam Tayab lived a secret life like the three fore-fathers of Mahdi-Billah No. 11. His secret Dais or propagandists preached his holy mission in Yemen (Arabia Felix) and thence in India as will be shown in the following paras. Bohras believe that Imam Tayeb died leaving his successors just in the same

way as No. 6 to No. 10 lived secret lives and continued to nominate their successors who though being secret and hidden were always in communion with their Dais. They believe that the 21st Imam Maulana Tyab(s) who disappeared in 526 A. H. 810 years ago was succeeded by his lenient descendants, one after the other according to the principle of Nas, inspired appointment or Divine principle of nomination and these Imams always remained in communion with the Dais or their propagandists, all over the Muslim world where Ismaili faith is prevailing. They still believe that one of the successors of Moulana Imam Tayab(s) is somewhere secretly guiding the destinies of the faithful and is in communion with their Dais in India. Every day after the morning, noon, and evening prayers, a Bohra invokes the Divine assistance of the Prophet, his Vice Moulana Ali(s), his daughter Lady Fatima(s) and the 24 Imams noted above. All the 24 names are repeated with the prayers 4 or 5 times a day. Vide Taqarrur intercession prayer at page 37 of Sahifatus-Salat*. The unknown successor of Moulana Imam Tayab(s) is believed to be living in some part of the world and the Dai or his Propagandist is in communion with him and takes oaths of allegiance for him from the Bohras. Every neophyte before initiation is made to take oath of allegiance in the prescribed form which is known as (Ahdul-Auqaf vide App, B) For details of this and other interesting matters the reader is referred to De-Sacy's Exposé vol. 1, page 135-143. These Dutch authors had some monographs of the time of Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt and they give full details than what an average Bohra himself knows of the

*Vide App. G. 10

doctrines of Ismailia Shias in Egypt, Africa and Persia. After the disappearance of Moulana Imam Tayab(s) the spiritual character of the caliphate disappeared and successors of Abdul-Majid only reigned for 21 years, when Nurrudin Atabik of Syria A. D. 1145-1173 succeeded in overthrowing the Fatimite dynasty for Saladdin, a Turk. Bohra theologians and religious leaders do not make much of the worldly pomp of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt. They believe that the Imams were the inspired successors of the great Prophet. They did not care for the worldly power, but whenever they took up the secular power, it was to put right those who misused it, and to show to the Muslim world that good government is possible with strict observance of the doctrine of Islam, the above ten Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt showed this practically to the world. The history of the ten Fatimite Caliphs referred to above can be found in detail in the books of several English authors, I have to show only in the following extracts that part of the government, which supports the belief that they were inspired spiritual as well as secular governors in these dark days. (295-526 A. H. or 923-1146 A. D.) Their characteristic motto is summarised in the following verse:

Truth and right are always might.

Darkness must give way to light.

Golden age of Islam

Note of good government of the inspired Imams.

When Mamun, the 7th Abbasside Caliph (198-218 A.H.) was led astray by his courtiers of Baghdad, Ahmed bin Abdullah(s) the 9th Imam got 52 Risalas or treatises of

Ikhwanus Safa written in popular style through his Dais who were spread in Persia, Syria and Arabia and they were kept anonymously in the mosques of Baghdad. These Risalas were practically the Encyclopedias of philosophy and scientific learning of the time and reconciled the principles of Islam to the science and philosophy as it was understood in those days. These Risalas are now translated in several languages and commented on by English and German writers.

Mamun had consoled himself with the idea that he and his predecessors had exterminated the progeny of Ali by murdering or interning the Ali's family, and that there was no spiritual leader of the prophet's family living who could appear as his rival. It is said that these secret Risalas convinced him that there was an Imam living. (vide appendix A. and page 303, Mousam Bahar vol. iii)

(b) The ten Imams then did appear and reigned in Egypt from 297-526 A. H. or about 229 years as theocratic rulers.

✓ Fatimides are described by European writers as best theocratic rulers whose just and beneficent rule was proverbial. The period of rule is described as an era of prosperity, splendour and tolerance such as the East will never enjoy. (Dr. Brown's Literary History of Persia page 394).

The same writer comparing this rule with the rule of Abbasides says as under, in the words of Al-Fakhri. "Know," says that charming Historian Al-Fakhri, "that the Abbaside dynasty was a treacherous, wily and faithless dynasty, wherein intrigue and guile played a greater part

than strength and energy (Page 292 Literary History of Persia by Dr. Browne.)

(c) In Cairo under the dominion of the Fatimide Caliphs the religious system of the Ismailies with its secret Lodge, its many stages of initiations and its some what mystic ceremonies was matured and perfected. (I. L. Reporter Bombay vol xii page 337)

(d) The following extract from the eminent English writer shows the improvements made by these Fatimi Imams in Egypt, Syria, and North Africa in the domain of science, philosophy and literature. About their Libraries, it is said, that all important books from different parts of the world were purchased for the Cairo Libraries at a tremendous cost.

The collection thus acquired sometimes became very large. Thus the Fatimite Library of Cairo contained 1000,000 volumes elegantly transcribed and bound. Amongst these there were 6,500 manuscripts on astronomy and medicine alone. The rules of the Library permitted the lending out of the books to students residing in Cairo.

It also contained 2 globes, one of massive silver and one of brass, the latter was said to have been constructed by Ptolemy, the cost of the former was 399 golden crowns. As to the original works, it was the custom for the authorities of colleges to require their professors to prepare treatises on prescribed topics. Besides, these, there were books on all kinds of subjects :-history, jurisprudence, politics, philosophy, biographies, not only of illustrious men, but also of celebrated horses and camels. These were issued without any censorship or restraint, though works on

theology required a licence or (raza)* for publication. Books on reference abounded, geographical, statistical, medical, historical, dictionaries, or even abridgement or commentaries of them. The ancient sciences were greatly extended, new ones were brought into existence. The Indian method of Arithmetic was introduced. Algebra or universal Arithmetic the method of calculating, indeterminate quantities, or investigating the relations that subsists among quantities of all kinds, whether arithmetical, or geometrical was developed from the form that Diophantus had left. They also gave to trigonometry its modern form substituting signs for chords, which had been previously used; they elevated it into a separate science.

In astronomy they not only made catalogues but maps of the stars visible in their skies, giving to those of the larger magnitudes the Arabic names which they still bear on our celestial globes. They ascertained as we have seen, the size of the earth by the measurement of a degree on her surface, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, published, corrected tables of the sun and the moon, fixed the length of the year, verified the precision of the equinoxes. The treatises of Albategnius on "The science of the Stars" is spoken by Laplace with respect. He also draws attention to an important fragment of Ibne Junius, the astronomer of Hakim, the caliph of Egypt (16th Imam) A. D. 1000 as containing a long series of observations from the time of Al-Mansoor (13th Imam) of eclipses, equinoxes, solstices,

* Under the Dawat System of India this Censorship or Raza System was systematically & considerably elaborated for self-protection under the adverse Hindu & Mohomedan rules Vide para 15.

conjunctions of planets, occultations of stars—observations which have cast such light on the great variations of the systems of the world. The Arabian astronomers also devoted themselves to the construction and perfection of astronomical instruments, to the measurement of time by clocks of various kinds, clepsiras and sundials. They were the first to introduce for this purpose, the use of the pendulum.

In the experimental science, they originated chemistry—they discovered some of its most important re-agents—sulphuric acid, nitric acid. They applied that science in the practice of medicine, being the first to publish pharmacopoeas or dispensatories, and to include in them mineral preparations. In mechanics they determined the laws of falling bodies, had ideas, by no means indistinct, of the nature of a gravity; they were familiar with theories of the mechanical powers. In hydrostatics they constructed the first table of the specific gravities of bodies, and wrote treatises on the flotation and sinking of bodies in water. In optics, they corrected the Greek misconception, that a ray proceeds from the eye and touches the object seen, introducing the hypotheses that the ray passes from the object to the eye. They understood the phenomena of reflection and refraction of light. Alhazen made the great discovery of the curvilinear path of ray of light through the atmosphere, and proved that we see the sun and moon before they have risen, and after they have set.

The effect of this scientific activity is plainly perceived in the great improvements that took place in many of the industrial parts. Agriculture shows it in better methods of

irrigation, skilful improvements of manures, the raising of improved breeds of cattle, the enactment of wise modes of rural laws, the introduction of culture of rice and that of sugar and coffee. The manufacturers show it in the great extension of the industries of silk, cotton, wool; in mining, casting, and various metallurgic operations; in the making of the Toledo blades. In the graver domains of literature they took delight in many admirable compositions of such subjects as the instability of human greatness; the consequences of irreligion, the reverses of fortune; the origin, duration and end of the world. Sometimes not without surprise, we meet with ideas which we flatter ourselves, have originated in our own times. Thus our modern doctrines of evolution and developement were taught in their schools. In fact they carried them much farther than we are disposed to do, extending them even to inorganic or mineral things.

✓ (d) During the time of Fatimide Caliphs or Imams' reign of about 230 years, primary education was given in Arabic all over Egypt so thoroughly and systemetically that the whole rural population of Egypt changed its colloquial language, and today the mother tongue of every one in Egypt is Arabic. None of the great conquerors of Egypt were able to change the language of the country so completely. And this is considered to be one of the Divine manifestations of the rule of Imams.*

(di) Syed Amir Ali writes in his 'Spirit of Islam' regarding these spiritual rulers as under :

✓ "Under the Fatemides of Egypt Cairo had become a new intellectual and scientific centre.... For the first time

* Vide no. 4 & 14 of App. G.

in the history of humanity a religious and autocratic Government is observed to ally itself with Philosophy, preparing and participating in its triumphs. Every city in the empire sought to outrival the other in the cultivation of Arts and Sciences. Even Christians from remote corners of Europe attended their colleges. During the reign of Almuiz's and his first 3 successors (i. e. Imams nos. 14-15 & 16) the arts and sciences flourished under the special and loving protection of the sovereigns (Imams). The free university of Cairo, the Darul-Hikmats or Scientific Institute established by Al-Muiz(s) anticipated "Bacon's ideal with a fact."

(E) Regarding Maulana Muiz-Billah the, 14th Imam. (952-975 A.D. or 341-365 A.H.) Dr. Brown writes as under :

"As regards the rule of the Fatimite, it was on the whole, despite occasional acts of violence (inevitable in that time and place), liberal, beneficent and favourable to learning." "The (Ismaili) Doctrine," says Guyard, "were publicly taught at Cairo on universities richly endowed and provided with libraries, where crowds assembled to listen to the most distinguished professors. The principle of the sect being that men must be converted by persuasion.

✓ The greatest tolerance was shown towards other creeds. Muiz (The 14th Imam and the 4th Fatimite Caliph, reigned A.D. 952-975) permitted Christians to dispute openly with his doctors a thing hitherto unheard of; and Severus, the celebrated bishop of Ushmunayn availed himself of this authorisation. Out of the funds of the treasury, Muiz rebuilt the ruined church of St. Mercurious at Fustat, which the Christians had never hitherto been permitted to

restore. Certain Musulman fanatics endeavoured to prevent this, and on the day when the first stone was laid, a Shaikh leaping down among the foundations, swore that he would die rather than suffer the church to be rebuilt. Muiz, being informed of what was taking place caused this man to be buried under the stones, only spared his life at the instance of the Patriarch Ephrem. Had the Ismaili doctrine been able to maintain itself in Egypt in its integrity it would have involved the civilization of the Muslim world. Unfortunately as an actual consequence of this liberal doctrine, a serious change was about to take place in the sect." (Vide page 399 L. H. P. by Dr. Brown.)*

(f) Maulana Aziz-Billah, the 15th Imam. (365-386.)

Maulana Aziz-Billah, the 15th Imam laid the foundation of a university at Cairo named Jamai Azhar and organised for its permanent maintenance by state endowments so well that in his time 10,000 students got Arabic education in Jamai-Azhar with free lodging and food. Even now after 900 years inspite of the vicissitudes of fortune and change of kings and dynasties, this oldest university or college of the world has 10,000 students on the roll and the election of the Mashaikhs, professors, and managers (Mutawallies) is still on the same devout principle as was laid down by Aziz-Billah and thus keeps up the sacred memory of its founder, the spiritual leader of the Ismailies.

(g) The 16th Imam, Maulana Hakim-Billah. (386-411 A. H.)

* A celebrated mosque built in Cairo in the time of this 14th Imam and named after him as Masjide Muajid is still one of the famous buildings of Cairo. (Vide page 6 A).

He was successfully able to enforce the doctrines of Islam most vigorously. English writers say that Al-Hakim was considered by Egyptians and other African subjects of his, a most perfect manifestation or incarnation of the Deity; even now an important sect of Druzes is found in Syria who believe that : Hakim-Billah was a perfect manifestation of God and that he will reappear again. Druzes who are numerous and active in Syria are anxiously waiting the return of Hakim-Billah (vide Desacy's Religion de Druzes vol. 1 pages 148-163).

(h) Maulana Mustansir Billah, the 18th Imam. (427-487 A. H.)

Nasiri-Khusraw, who was at Cairo in the middle of the 11th century of our era, during the reign of Al-Mustansir, the eighth Fatimite Caliph (18th Imam), gives an equally favourable picture..... "Every one" says he, "has perfect confidence in the Sultan (Imam) and no one stands in fear of myrmidens or spies, relying on the Sultan to oppress no one and to covet no one's possessions. There I saw wealth belonging to private individuals such that if I should speak of it, or describe it, the people of Persia would refuse to credit my statements. I could never limit nor define their wealth, and no where have I seen such prosperity as I saw there. There I saw a christian who was one of the richest man in Egypt, so that it was said that his ships, his wealth, and his estates surpassed computation. My object in mentioning him is that one year the water of the Nile fell short and corn became dear. The Sultan's Wazir summoned this Christian and said, "the year is not good, and the Sultan's (Mustansir Billah's) heart is weighed down with anxiety for his people.

How much corn would you supply, either for a price or as a loan?" The Christian answered, "thanks to the fortune auspices of the Sultan (Imam) and the Wazir, I have in store so much corn that I could supply all Egypt with bread for six years." Now the population of Egypt at this time was certainly, at the lowest computation, five times that of Nishapur; and any one versed in statistics will readily understand what vast wealth one must possess to such an amount, and what security of property and good government a people must enjoy amongst whom such things are possible, and what great riches; and without either did his subjects keep anything hidden or concealed (vide page 400 L. H. P. of Dr. Brown.)

The various schisms of the Bohra Shias are attributed to disputes in the succession of revealed Imams. Their schisms Isna-Ashria, Druzes,* On the death in 763 A. D. of Mustaulias, Nizarias Jaferus Sadiq, the 5th Imam, his second son Ismail, born of a lady, being direct descendent of the first Imam Hasan, was accepted as Imam. Ismail was MASTUR or hidden at Basra, being afraid of the persecution of Mansur, (136-158 A.H.) the second Abbaside Caliph and died a year after leaving Mohamed his son aged 45 as his successor (as 7th Imam).

Some Shias taking advantage of the absence of Ismail from Madina recognised Musa Kazim, youngest and last son of Jaferus-Sadiq aged 22, as Imam. The supporters of Musa got great encouragement from the Bowide Amirs of Persia, after their last and 12th Imam disappeared from

*Regarding Druzes vide Para 9 G.

the interment at Samaria near Bagdad, and formed a strong community as Isna-Asharias or twelvers, who are numerically stronger even now in Persia.

The supporters of Mohommed, the 7th Imam, started as a distinct body under the name of Ismailies, and extended their mission widely through the agency of well-organised Dais, or propagandists who had started their work even in the life time of Imam Jaferus-Sadiq.

They rose to great power in Egypt. They remained united till A. D. 1094, when on the death of Al-Mustansir Billah (18th Imam) the succession was disputed. Al-Mustansir the second son was nominated as his successor by Mustansir-Billah. Nizar, the elder brother, who was passed over, disputed the succession. The stronger party, called Mustalvias prevailed and supporters of Nizar, called Nizarians, had to give way; but they conspired to murder Amir Billah, the 20th Imam and instigated Hafiz Billah to be disloyal to the minor Imam Tyeb (21st Imam) the last of the revealed Imams and thus were at the bottom of the down fall of the Fatamides in Egypt. The Nizarians started a strong mission in Persia under Hasan-bin-Sabah (1072-1094 A. D.). Hasan-bin-Sabbah and his successors in Persia inaugurated the rule of secrecy so essential to the Ismaili doctrine and transferred the Imamate or revealed pontiffship to themselves from Fatimides. The first of their propagandist in India, Nur-i-Sataguru came to India in 1163 A. D. and his followers preached a religion, which was an admixture of Hinduism and Islam; and the Khojas of the present day under Sir Agha Khan are the Nizarian Shia. (For details see 12 Bombay I. L. reporter Page 339.)

The author of Mosame Bahar at page 24 of volume 1 says that as early as about 270 A. H. Dawat or about 880 A. D. and even before the reign of Mahdi-Billah, the eleventh Imam Ismaili Dai Abul Quasim sent one Haisham to propagate in Sindh and he commenced his mission there India.

Unfortunately we have very little authenticated account of this first mission of Haisham in the province of Sindh where Mohomed bin Quasim a Mohomedan invader had prepared the ground about 200 years ago for Mohammedan conquest and this Haisham's mission may be the harbinger of the subsequent Ismaili Mission of Abdullah and Ahmed in the same way as Mohomed bin Quasim's entry in Sindh was the fore-runner of the subsequent Mohomaden conquest of India by sword.

However when the last Fatimite Caliphs were busy with internal civil wars and disorders, their Dais in Yemen were more successful than ever. Ali, Son of Mohomad as-Sulahi (453-456 A. H.) subjugated the whole of Yemen. *Even after the overthrow of the Fatimite Caliphs the successors of these Dais were allowed to preach Ismaili Doctrines openly, as the province of Yemen was long way off from Egypt, the Turkish conquerors of Egypt, did not think it worth the while to meddle in Yemen affairs and in the public exposition of the Ismaili doctrines. Long before the arrival of Nur-Sataguru, the first Khoja missionary in India and even before the death of Mustansir-Billah (the 18th Imam) two missionaries were sent named Ahmad and Abdullah at about 1067 A. D. by a Dai (in Yemen) of Mustansir-Billah. They landed at Cambay.

*vide app. G. 17.

Abdulla who was a man of great learning is said to have stayed some years at Cambay studying the people. Several stories are told of his first missionary success. According to the story he gained a cultivator's heart by filling his dry well with water. According to the other, by dashing to the ground an iron elephant hung in the mid-air in one of the Cambay temples, he won over some of the priests... After this the missionary is said to have travelled towards Anahilwada Patan at that time the capital of Gujarat. The story goes that the ruler of the city, Sidhraj Jaisingh, (A. D. 1094-1143) anxious to see the stranger, sent a force of armed men to bring him to his capital. Finding the saint surrounded by a wall of fire, the troops retired. Then the king himself came and in obedience to the stranger's command the fire opened and the king then passed. Full of wonder the king asked for one more sign that the new religion was better than the old. His wish was granted. One of his holiest idols declared that the Arab's was the true religion. Hearing these words the Hindu king and his subjects alike, struck with astonishment, embraced the new faith. The third story is that when Abdullah landed in Cambay, the people of Gujarat were ignorant of Islam. A Hindu saint was the object of the general faith. The Mulla considering open opposition to this saint dangerous and impossible joined the number of his disciples. His intelligence soon attracted the saint's notice. After mastering the language of the country, he studied the saint's holy books and so worked upon his mind as to convert him to his views. Many of the saint's chief followers adopted the new faith. At last news that his minister was also converted reached the Raja's ears. The Raja finding his minister at his prayers asked what he was doing. 'Searching

for a snake' said the minister. Miraculously snake appeared in a corner and the Raja became a convert though he kept it a secret till on his death bed he ordered his body to be buried. Though Sidhraj (A. D. 1094-1133) would seem to have died apparently a Hindu, his fondness for religious discussion and tolerance might, without giving up his own religion, have led him to patronize the Bohra missionary. Both of Sidhraj's successors Kumarapala (A.D. 1143-1174) and Ajayapala (Yakub) (A. D. 1174-1177) and Sidhraj's great Jain teacher Hemacharya Tarmal, at a time when there are no recorded Musulman invasions are said to have been converted to Islam. (Ras Mala 172, and 344; and Tod's Western India 184, and 191; and again Ras Mala 344).

The tombs of both these missionaries in Cambay and of their first converts the owner of the well and of wife, are revered and occasionally visited by the Bohras of India.

These new converts continued increasing considerably and for two centuries and half from 1130 A. D. to 1380 A. D. there was little in the history of Gujarat to check the progress of Ismaili faith. The Dais of the Mastur (hidden Imams) in Yemen sent their deputies to the towns and tracts of India where Ismaili Shias were spread. These deputies collected the tithes (Zakat) for the Dai in Yemen and preached the Ismaili-Faith more freely than their co-religionists were able to do in Yemen, Persia and Syria.

When Muzaffar Sha's (A. D. 1390-1413) power was established in Gujarat, he noticed with great envy and jealousy the spread of the Ismaili Shias. He being a new Rajput Sunni convert encouraged vigorously Sunni doctrine

and the Bohras and the Ismaili Shias were suppressed, persecuted and forcibly converted to Sunnism.

The chief Bohra persecutions during the period or the rule of the Mugal Empires and other bigoted Mohomadan rulers were under Sultan Ahmad (1411-1443 A. D.) son of Muzaffar Shah, and Mahmud II (A. D. 1536-1554) rulers of Gujarat. Every Mulla or Deputy of the Dai had to pretentiously (as Takia)* observe certain Sunni formalities for self-protection. Even under the more liberal reign of Delhi Emperors, the Gujarati Bohras were also involved in difficulties of concealment and suffered much persecution at the hands of the wicked murderers, i. e. Sunni Subordinate Musalman officers invested with wide powers. In the time of Aurangzeb, one of his governors at Ahmedabad publicly, executed to death one of the Bohra Head-Priests (Dai) Sayedna Qutbuddin, the thirty second Dai (1054-1056 A. H.) for not accepting the Sunni Faith.

Let me go back to the origin of the mission at Yemen.

When Molana Amir-Billah, the 20th Imam, Their Dais or was murdered in Cairo his lieutenant or Sayednas. Dail-Balag, Yahya, son of Lamak, the governor of Yemen had just died leaving in charge Hurratul-Malakah, a lady of great learning who was one of the Hujjats (proofs) of Imam and this lady being conversant with the secrets of the Ismaili Faith, had obtained the title of Bilkise-Islam and held a position which was superior to that of a Dai. For various degrees of Fatami Lodge, I would refer to para 12 they are.†

*For definition vide L. R. Bombay vol. XII page 337.

† For full particulars of these high posts vide books referred to in the App. F.

- a. Hujjat-Laili. (Senior Pontiff)
- b. Hujjat-Nahari. (Junior Pontiff)
- c. Dai-Balag.
- d. Dai-Mutlaq.

When Maulatana Hurratul Malakah was Hujjat Sayedna Khattab was her Dai-Balag and Sayedna Zoeb was her Dai-Mutlaq. Posts a, b, c, were attached, to Imam's Court which disappeared with the Imams and it is said that Molatana Hurratul Malakah on her death in 532 A. H. left as her Dai-Mutlaq Molana Zoeb, son of Musa, the first Dai of Yemen, who acted as a lieutenant of Imam Tayeb, Mastur (hidden), and kept up the propaganda of Ismaili mission in Yemen and Hind (India) including Sindh. According to the Bohra Ismaili Faith, the succession* of a Dai is governed by Divine right of Nas (Inspired by Imam) and not by inheritance or democratic election. The best and the most learned member of the community is chosen by the Dai before his death, and if his choice is approved by Divine inspiration from Imam, the nomination is publicly declared in an assembly of the faithful, and such nomination and declaration is technically known as Nas. After Molana Zoeb up till now not less than fifty Dais have succeeded to this religious high post, and the present Dai Sayedna (Sardar) Tahir Saifud-din (T. U.)† is the 51st Dai. As I have already said the Dawat

* Regarding the policy adopted in case of succession vide Syedna Najmuddin's autobiographic note referred to in the letter to Mr. Free, agent to Governor General in Appendix J.

† T. U. means Tawwalulaho Umroho "may God give him a long life."

or propaganda of Ismailies started just before the death of Molana Jaferus-Sadiq. Dais were spread all over the Muslim world before the advent of Molana-al-Mahdi, the 11th Imam. During the reign of 11th to 21st Imam they worked under the direct orders of the Imams and their Pontiffs or Hujjats.

After the down fall of Fatimi dynasty in Egypt and the disappearance of the 21st Imam, these Dais used to work independently. In the province of Yemen these Dais had the best opportunity of extending their preaching and preserving it in its purity on account of the secluded character of this portion of Arabia, and in the absence of the luxuries of the wealth. The descendent of Imam Tayeb is believed to be still living and is believed to be in communion with the really inspired Dai (Dail-Haq). It is said that till the time of Idris Imamud-din, the 19th Dai (832-872 A. H.), the Imam had secret correspondence with the Dai in writing. The Dais whose list is given below claimed to be the only Dais of the Fatimi Imams, who have preserved in tact the esoteric doctrines of the Epyptian Fatimi Lodge as their poet Sheikh Sadiq ali sings:-

Mustafani Al chhe Pinhan Satarna darmian, Hind
ma Tanha Rahyoo chhe Haq ni Dawat noe Nishan.

The Imams (descendants of the Prophet) are hidden for fear of enemies and according to Bohra belief their rightful preaching through their Dais can only be traced in India alone.

In other parts of the Islamic world the secret missions of the Fatimi Lodge worked wonders as for instance the Druzes of Syria, the Fidais of Hasan-bin-sabbah but

is urged that they have lost the chain and have disappeared. However, the Dais of Bohra Daudi sect, claim that unlike their brother Dais in Turkish and Persian territories, their true doctrine has survived the persecutions on account of the timely appearance of the just and equitable British rule in India and they will be able to welcome the expected Imam as the only Dais who have preserved the esoteric doctrines and Fatimi Lodge in tact during the storms of 9 centuries.

According to Christians, Daniel's prophecy is that Christ will reappear in Syria, Bohras say that their 11th Imam Molana Abdullahul-Mahdi appeared after 152 years of satar in Syria, Druzes believe that Hakim-Billah, the 16th Imam, will reappear in Syria and the Daudi Bohras believe that the direct lineal descendant of Molana Imam Tayeb, the 21st Imam, who is now guiding their destinies and whom they pay hundreds of rupees every year as Nazar *Mukam through their Dais, will reappear, one day, and they pray daily for that.

8. Their 51 Dais are as under with the years of successions and deaths.

1. Sayadna Zueb (K)† son of Musa. (532-546 A. H.)
2. " Ibrahim (K) son of Hasan-al-Hamid. (546-557 A. H.)
3. " Hatim (K) son of Ibrahim-al-Hamidi. (557-596 A. H.)

*For details of Nazar Mukam vide para 17

† K means Kuddasullaho ruhaho "may his soul be

4. " Ali (K) son of Hatim Shamsud-din I. (596-605 A. H.)
5. " Ali (K) son of Molana Mohomed bin Walid. (605-616 A. H.)
6. " Ali (K) son of Hanzala. (616-626 A. H.)
7. " Ahmed (K) son of Mubarik. (626-627 A. H.)
8. " Husain (K) son of Ali-bin Mohomed-bin Walid. (627-667 A. H.)
9. " Ali (K) son of Husain-bin-Ali. (667-682 A. H.)
10. " Ali (K) son of Husain-Ali-bin-Hanzala. (682-686 A. H.)
11. " Ibrahim (K) son of Husain-bin-Ali-bin-Mohomad-ul-Walid. (686-728 A. H.)
12. " Mohomed (K) bin-Hatim-bin Husain. (728-729 A. H.)
13. " Ali Shamsud-din (K) II son of Ibrahim. (729-746 A. H.)
14. " Abdul-Muttalib Najimuddin (K) I son of Mohomad bin Hatim. (746-755 A. H.)
15. " Abbas (K) son of Mohomed-bin-Hatim. (755-779 A. H.)
16. " Abdullah Fakhruddin (K) I son of Ali. (779-808 A. H.)
17. " Hasan Budruddin (K) I son of Abdullah Fakhruddin. (808-821 A. H.)
18. " Ali Shamsuddin (K) III son of Abdullah Fakhruddin. (821-832 A. H.)

19. „ Idris Imamuddin (K) I son of Hasan-bin-Abdullah. (832-872 A. H.)
20. „ Hasan Budruddin (K) II son of Idris Imamuddin. (872-918 A. H.)
21. „ Husain Husamuddin (K) I son of Idris Imamuddin. (918-935 A. H.)
22. „ Ali Shamsuddin (K) IV son of Husain. (933-933 one month A. H.)
23. „ Mohomed Izzuddin (K) I son of Hasan Budruddin. (933-942 A. H.)
24. „ Yousuf Najmuddin (K) II son of Suleman. (942-974 A. H.)
25. „ Jalal Shamsuddin (K) V son of Hasan (974-975 A. H.)
26. „ Daudji Burhanuddin (K) I son of Ajabshah (975-999 A. H. 1588 A. D.)
27. „ Daudji Burhanuddin (K) II son of Kutubshah (999-1021 A. H.)
28. „ Shekh Adam Safiuddin (K) I son of Tayabshah (1021-1030 A. H.)
29. „ Abdul-Tayab Zakiuddin (K) I son of Daud-bin-Kutubshah (1030-1041 A. H.)
30. „ Ali Shamsuddin VI son of Husein bin Idris (1041-1042 A. H.)
31. „ Kasamji Zainuddin (K) son of Pirkhan (1042-1054 A. H.)
32. „ Kutubkhan Kutbuddin (K) son of Daudji Kutubshah (1054-1056 A. H.)

33. „ Peer Khan Shujauddin (K) son of Ahmedji (1056-1065 A. H.)
34. „ Ismailji Badruddin (K) III son of Mulla Raj bin Moulay Adam (1065-1085 A. H.)
35. „ Abdul Tayeb Zakiuddin (K) I son of Badruddin (1085-1110 A. H.)
36. „ Musa Kalimuddin (K) son of Zakiuddin (1110-1122 A. H.)
37. „ Nurmohomed Nuruddin (K) son of Kalimuddin (1122-1130 A. H.)
38. „ Ismail Badruddin (K) IV son of Shekh Adam Safiuddin (1130-1150 A. H.)
39. „ Syadna Ibrahim Wajihuddin (K) son of Abdulqadir Hakimuddin (1150-1168 A. H.)
40. „ Hibtullah Muayid-fid-din (K) son of Wajihuddin (1168-1193 A. H.)
41. „ Abdul Tayeb Zakiuddin (K) II son of Badruddin (1193-1200 A. H.)
42. „ Yousuf Najmuddin (K) III son of Zakiuddin (1200-1213 A. H.)
43. „ Abdeali Saifuddin (K) I son of Zakiuddin (1213-1232 A. H.)
44. „ Mohomed Izzuddin (K) II son of Sheikh Jeewanjee (1232-1236 A. H.)
45. „ Tayeb Zenuddin (K) II son of Sheikh Jeewanji (1236-1252 H. A.)
46. „ Mohomad Badruddin (K) V son of Saifuddin (1252-1256 A. H.)

47. " Abdulqadir Najmuddin (K) IV son of Tayeb Zenuddin. (1256-1302 A. H.)
48. " Abdulhusain Husamuddin (K) II son of Tayeb Zenuddin. (1302-1307 A. H.)
49. " Mohomed Burhanuddin (K) III son of Najmuddin. (1307-1328 A. H.)
50. " Abdullah Badruddin (K) VI son of Husamuddin. (1323-1331 A. H.)
51. " Tahir Saifuddin (T) II son of Mohomed Burhanuddin Present Head Priest aged 32.

Out of 51 Dais :—

6 were Shamshuddins	2 Zakiuddins
6 were Badruddins	2 Zainuddins
4 were Najmuddins	2 Izzuddins
3 were Hushamuddins	2 Hushamuddins
3 were Burhanuddins	2 Saifuddins.

No. 1 to No. 24 lived in Yemen in the cities of Horaz, Hos, Hamdan, Sina, Hisan etc. from 526 A. H. to 946 A. H. (1039 A. D.). At this time Ismailies in Yemen became less zealous for religion on account of the political troubles due to the success of Turks in Aden (1537 A. D.). Seeing the great success of his deputies in India, and the large amount of Religion tax collected there, Sayadna Yousuf Najmuddin II son of Sayadi Suleman the 14th Dai was tempted to come to India, and settled temporarily at Sidhpur (Sindhia's territory). No. 25 to No. 33 had their head quarters at Ahmedabad

A short note regarding the 51 Dais.

from 974 to 1065 A. H. and after the assassination of Sayadna Qutbuddin No. 32 the head quarter was removed to Jamnagar from 1065 to 1150 A. H. by No. 34 to 38. Dais Nos. 39 and 40 had their head quarters at Ujjain in Malwa, and No. 41 had his head quarters removed to Burhanpur C. P. (1193-1200 A. H.). This change of Head Priests quarters from place to place was due to the persecutions by the Sunni Mohomadan rulers, and the inevitable consequence of this persecution was the cessation of converting mission which changed into a protecting one. Nearly all the residential and cultivating Bohras had to change their sect, and what was left to the Bohra Community was the Society of trading nomads but with the advent of the benign British rule, the persecution ended, and the Head Priest settled in Surat, in 1785 A. D. Sayadna Yousuf Najmuddin III the 42nd Dai had complete freedom to preach his esoteric doctrines, and his followers mostly nomadic traders flourished under the British rule, and the income from religious tax of the Head Priest went up from a few thousands to lacs and lacs. Regarding the origin and the principles of the Dawat System vide para XI and books No. 17 of App. G.

The succession to the Head priests position was not also free from internal intrigues and Their Schisms on conspiracies and there arose several account of the disputes schisms as under, even in India in the time of 18th, 26th, 28th, 40th and 49th Dais as under :

In the time of Sayadna Ali son of Abdullah the 18th Dai (821-832 A. H.) Jafer had gone to (a) Jafferias Yemen to study for priesthood. On his return in 494 A. D. Jafer without taking

the necessary sanction from the local priest of Ahmedabad i. e. Sayadi Hasan began to lead prayers and practice as priest, for this he was reprimanded and asked to apologize. This he refused and in revenge he became a Sunni, and went to Patan, and preached Sunnism under the patronage of the local Sunni ruler and converted a large number of Bohras to Sunnism. The separation of Jafar was a great blow to the Ismailia sect. The descendent of Muzaffershah at Ahmedabad found a good opportunity to convert Ismailia Bohras to the orthodox faith of Sunnism through this Jafar. About 80 per cent of the Ismailies separated at this time.

Sayadna Daud son of Ajabshah the 26th Dai sent one Suleman from India to Yemen as his deputy priest. In 1588 A. D. the Head Priest died duly nominating before his death as usual Daud son of Kutubshah (27th Dai as his successor). Suleman disregarded this nomination and at Yemen claimed to be a Dai on the strength of a letter from Sayadna Daud son of Ajabshah. His claim was not up-held in India. However he obtained a large number of adherents in Yemen and some from India. His followers (Sulemanias) who are in limited number in India can be counted on finger. They are advanced and reformed men like Badruddin Tayebji's family in Bombay and Haideri's family in Hyderabad having recognized Daud son of Kutubshah as their 27th Dai the present Bohras are known as Daudies as opposed to Sulemanias.

Sayadna Shaikh Adam Safiuddin the 28th Dai (1021-1030 A. H.) had a grand son named Ali son of Ibrahim, who aspired for the Head Priest's post. But Sayadna Shaikh Adam passed him

over and appointed one Sayadna Tayeb Zakiuddin as his successor. Ali started a new schism claiming for himself the position of a Dai, but a very small number joined in support of his claims and the majority accepted Sayadna Abdul Tayeb Zakiuddin. These Alias live in Baroda only and like Sulemanias they do not inter-marry with the Daudies and also do not differ from them in appearance or custom. This sect was formed in 1624 A. D.

This schism was formed in 1789, from the Alia sect.

Their founder was ex-communicated by (d) Nagoshias the Alias because he had certain peculiar doctrines, the most prominent among which was that to eat animal food was a sin. From this his followers were called Na-goshias or Non-flesh eating Bohras. Their strength in 1897 A. D. in Gujrat had fallen to four house-holders only, all in Baroda. They inter-marry with the Alias and not with Daudi Bohras.

This schism was started in the time of the 40th Dai Sayadna Moayiddin (1168 - 1193 A. H.)

(e) Hiptias Sayadi Lukmanji who had seen the Darbar of three Dais No. 38, 39, 40, was renowned for his learning. He was given the title of Shamse Oloma-i-Natiq by Sayadna Moyaddin. One of his disciples Ismail, son of Abdur Rasul, and the latter's son Hibtullah were learned and able scholars of Sayadi Lukmanji. In 11th century A. H. both the father and the son pretended that they were in direct communication with the Imam of the time, through Abdullah bin Haris the Dail-Balag. They urged that they saw the Imam, and Hibtul'ah went to the extent of claiming that he was appointed Hujjati-La'ili (senior proof) of the then living Imam. They commenced

their separate propaganda in Ujjain but were hot patronised, on other hand they were badly persecuted by the Bohras who were in those days in the good books of the then ruling chief of Ujjain (Sindhia).

Their vehement persecution from place to place by the orthodox Bohras as far as Lunawara near Ahmedabad prevented them from preaching their propaganda in or near Ujjain. When they returned to Ujjain Hibtulla's nose was cut by the orthodox fanatics of Sayadna Moayid's Fidais. Hibtullah however attracted a few followers and his propaganda did not prosper. His followers who are called Hiptias are not numerous in Ujjain and do not inter-mix or inter-marry with other Bohras.

For further and full details vide pages 486-519 Mousame Bahar volume 3.

Apparently the mania of the orthodox Bohra fanatics of Ujjain for cutting the nose of a dissenter is getting hereditary and recently they have cut the nose of a suspected dissenter who had joined the Mahdibag camp.

At about the year 1897 A.D. in the time of the 49th Dai Syedna Burhanuddin a large number of Bohras from all parts of India were attracted to Nagpur by a petty merchant of Bombay, named Abdul Husain son of Jiwajee. He was a bright young man of extraordinary intellect and charming character. He urged that he was in direct communion with the Imam i. e. the successor of Imam Tyeb, and was the Hujjat or proof of Imam, holding the position superior to the Dai certain UNFORTUNATE circumstances in the affair of Dawat favoured the pretention of Abdul Husain. At this time some learned men (Mashaikhs) of the sect suspected the

unbroken chain of succession to the DAIS by Divine right and held that from the time of Syedna Najmuddin, the 47th Dai, the Head priestship had lost its Divine character and was a Nizamat or managementship of the class organization. The alleged reason for this doubt was the fact that Syedna Mohomad Badruddin, Syedna Najmuddin's predecessor died suddenly at an early age apparently from the effect of poisoning, two days before the date appointed by him for public declaration of the name of his successor. (vide Mousame Bahar, vol III page 717). On the death of Syedna Badruddin a society of leading Mashaikhs (learned men) of the time & headed by Shaikh Imaduddin* took an oath of allegiance to Syedna Najmuddin, No. 47, swearing to his superiority in learning, piety, and administrative ability† and Syedna Najmuddin was proclaimed as Dai in the same way as Cardinals elect a Pope,‡ For the first time at this stage of the community the superstitious and firm belief in the supernatural and Divine character of the Dawat (i. e. mission) was slackened (vide page 519 Mousame Bahar vol. III). Besides a verse in the Diwan of a celebrated Bohra poet Shaikh Sadiq Ali at page 103 of the second volume of 1233 edition which runs as under :-

“Dai Zoeb pehla ne chhe Badruddin khitam”

Dai zoeb was the first in order and Badruddin was the last. This was construed to be a prophecy as Shaikh Sadiq Ali had died before the death of Syedna Badruddin, however this verse which was made much of, was, I think a misprint and was corrected in subsequent editions.

* Council of Hilful-Fazail.

† Vide Appendix H. for details.

‡ Vide page 110, vol. III Popular Encyclopedia.

Syedna Tahir Saifuddin the present Dai also refers to this, much talked of suspicion of Inqitae-nas and ably refutes it in his celebrated book 'Zue-Nure-Haqqul-Mubin' at page 99-103.

However Syedna Najmuddin in his long rein of 46 years (1256-1302) was able to keep up the humour of his superstitious followers and of the learned Mashaikhs who were consoled by the idea that their leaders were consulted in his selection.

Syedna Najmuddin met the situation so unfortunately created very tactfully, he increased the number of Mashaikhs without any test so profusely that the degree and title of Shaikh lost its original value amongst the learned. This degree of Shaikhs which was originally given to the most learned few after a course of long training in Arabic at Surat (vide para 14) was now conferred on the undeserving. He gradually laid the foundation of suppressing the Surat school. He gave the degree of Shaikh to any man who happened to have any worldly influence or wealth, as for instance scores of rich merchants and ignorant bigots became Mashaikhs without training, one Hasanali officiating D. S. P. Bilaspore C. P. was made a Shaikh though he did not know Arabic and was promoted to the post of D. S. P. from the lowest grade of a constable. Such was the indiscreet distribution of this High literary and spiritual degrees of the sect. The inevitable consequence of this policy was that the leading Mashaikhs who took part in the council of Imaduddin or the learned members of their family lost their influence or value on being merged in the crowd of ignorant Mashaikhs. This policy of merger and dilution succeeded very well and in 1297 A. H. the attempt

for the revival of the council of Hilful proved futile (vide page 749 Mos. Bahar vol. 3.) and at the time of his death in 1302 A. H. Syedna Najmuddin IV was able to appoint his brother Syedna Hushamuddin II as his successor and dictate the policy of succession in his family without opposition.

This caused much discontent amongst the then living prominent learned Mashaikhs and they are said to have secretly encouraged the new schism, and some learned young Mashaikhs also joined the Mehdi bagh party for motives well known to them. Their example was followed by several rich and enterprising merchants. Abdul Husain started a separate colony at Mehdi bagh at Nagpur. Only a short experience showed to learned men of the sect that Abdul Husain was a pretender, a man of very poor knowledge and the whole of his affair was a pretence to organise an assembly for wordly gain. The learned Mashaikhs soon left the Mehdi bagh camp and the whole organisation proved to be a purely worldly and joint stock association for the advantage of the selected few. There was nothing of the esoteric or spiritual teaching in their mission. On the death of Abdul Husain he nominated one Gulam Husain (Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak) as his successor who guides the destinies of about 100 Bohra adherents living at Mehdi bagh in Nagpur. They live in a secluded colony of their own and do not inter-marry or inter-mix with other orthodox Bohras.

11. Dais of the Ismaili Shias and their Head Missionaries.

(Their origin and the principle of their appointment)

Before giving further details of the tenets and customs of this important sect it is necessary to give some idea of

their Dais or their head Priest's exact position and the history of the origin of their post.

One would like to know what a Dai is according to the Ismailia faith. The literal meaning is one who invites his principle duty is defined in the well-known verse of The holy Quran* para 14 (21) appropriately quoted and commented by His Holiness Syedna Tahir Saifuddin on pages 3-4 of his celebrated book 'Zua Nurue Haqqi Mubin' (1335 edition) or in other words "invite the people to the right path of God by modestly preaching the virtues and philosophy of Islam. The system of sending out to distant places these missionaries was devised and developed by Jafar-us Sadiq the 6th Imam (112-148 A. H.). At this time the Mohomaden faith was widely established through-out Asia and Africa from Indus to the Atlantic ocean. According to the Ismailias the duty of the Imam was to see that the spiritual teaching was according to the strict principles of Islam without interfering with the worldly powers or secular government. The Imam himself was the object of most frantic persecution by the secular rulers. These Dais secretly preached the esoteric doctrines of the Fatimi faith. They were also the object of persecution by the Abbaside and Ommayyads. Their sanctity and self-abdication was most admirable. Dr. Brown writes, thus, in his book "Literary History of Persia" (page 411) "The Dai commonly adopted some ostensible profession, such as that of a merchant, physician, oculist or

* 14th para of the 21st Ruku of the holy Quran "Ud, oo, Ila Sabile Rabbika, bil Hikmat Wal muazatul Hasana."

—Call them to the path of thy Lord tactfully and by good advice.

the like and in this guise arrived at places where he proposed to begin operations. In the first instance his aim was to impress his neighbours with a high idea of piety and benevolence. To this end he was constant in alms giving and prayer until he had established a high reputation for devout living and had gathered round him a circle of admirers. To these, especially, to such as appeared most apt to receive them, he began gradually and cautiously to propound his doctrines, striving specially to arouse the curiosity of his hearers, to awaken in them the spirit of inquiry, and to impress them with a high opinion of his wisdom, but prepared at any moment to draw back if they showed signs of restiveness or suspicion. Thus he used to speak of religion as a hidden science, insisted on the symbolic character of its prescriptions, and hinted that the outward observance of prayer, the fast, the pilgrimage the alms giving was of little value if their spiritual significance be not understood. If curiosity and an eagerness to learn more be manifested by his hearers, the Dai began an explanation but broke it off in the middle, hinting that such divine mysteries may only be disclosed to one who has taken the oath of allegiance to the Imam of the time, the chosen representative of God on earth, and the sole repository of this Hidden science, which he confided only to such as prove themselves worthy to receive them. The primary aim of the Dai was indeed mainly to secure from the proselyte this allegiance, ratified by a binding oath and expressed by a periodical payment of a tribute of money."

These were the secret missionaries who undermined the power of the Ommayyades and Abbases. The best

of their dais Abi Abdulla and Abil Kasim promulgated the doctrines of Ismaili faith so well amongst the Qarmathians of north west Africa that the Imams were able to establish the Caliphate in the North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Hedjaz and Yemen. On the decline of the Fatimide Caliphate in Egypt (526 A. H.) their Dais of Yemen province had the charge of the esoteric teaching in Yemen, in Sindh and in other parts of India during the absence of Imam. These Dais of Yemen carried on their mission with the same sincerity and self abnegation as the Dais in the time of Imam No 7-8-9 and 10 used to do, with this difference that the spiritual teaching after the experience of open teaching during the Caliphate of Imams No. 11 to 21 was more systematically organised. From Zuaib No. 1 to Esuf. Najmuddin No. 24 i. e, from 533 A. H. to 974 A. H. for about 441 years, these Dais continued to send deputy missionaries (Amils) from Yemen to India, and kept up a small school for training Indian candidates in Yemen. The successes of their first deputy missionaries (Dai Ahmed and Dai Addulla in Cambay and of Dai Nuruddin in Deccan Hyderabad territories), and the large number of converts in India, besides the handsome income from the tithes were so tempting that they removed their residence from Yemen to India in 1537 A. D. In India as well as in Yemen these Dais kept up a school for teaching intelligent youths and raised them to higher posts in their lodge. Outsiders who rose to prominence were freely given the highest post of a Dai, strictly on the democratic principle of open and free competition.

Not only this but the descendants of the first Hindu Raja convert whom Todd calls Sidhraj Jaisingh and whom

Bohra historians call Bharmal were patronised and called to Yemen, trained in Arabic and some of them were given the posts of local Deputies (Amils); nay they were most assiduously and gratefully kept in close touch with the school of priest classes till after about 575 years the ninth descendant of Bharmal namely one Mulla Raj in 1063 A. H. was raised to a degree in Dawat and his son Syedna Ismailjee Badruddin rose to the highest post of 34th Dai. According to Shaikh Mohomad Ali, the author of Mousame Bahar the following are the names of Mulla Raj's ancestors.*

1. Sidhraj Jaisingh or Bharmal. (486 A. H.)
2. Ajai pal or Moulai Yakub.
3. Moulai Ishaq.
4. Ali bin Ishaq.
5. Dawood bin Ali.
6. Mulla Raja.
7. Dawood bin Mulla Raja.
8. Adam bin Dawood.
9. Mulla Raj bin Adam.

Most of these were the local amils or deputies under the dais living in Yemen some time between 532-942 A.H.

Mulla Raj's son Syedna Ismailjee Badruddin No. 34 was for the first time raised to the highest Post of a Dai in 1063 A. H. after him not less than nine members of his family graced this high post between 1065-1265 A. H.

For their names and relationship vide Dais Nos. 34,35,36,37,38,41,42,43,46 in the list.

These just and equitable Sardars never hesitated to recognise the superior qualifications of outsiders against

* Vide page 327 Mousame Bahar Vol 3 for details.

their own children. Hence it is that No. 39 & 40 of Syadi Hakimuddin's family and No. 44 & 45 of syadi Jeewanji's family intercepted the line of Mulla Raj's family. However after the death of the last of the royal family the present dynasty commenced.

Syadi Abdulqader Hakimuddin who is buried at Burhanpore was the son of a poor merchant of Rampura named Mulla Khan. He rose to the highest degree next to a Dai on account of his learning and piety, was also nominated for the Dai's post, unfortunately he died before his accession, and even after his death he is revered more than a Dai. Two of his descendants were however raised to be Dais (Ibrahim Vajihuddin 39th Dai & Hibtulla Muiddin 40th Dai).

Similarly, Shaikh Jivanji who is also buried at Burhanpore was the son of an ordinary Mulla of Aurangabad in Nizam's territories. His two sons (Syedna Mhd. Izzuddin no. 44 & Syedna Tyab Zainuddin no. 45) were raised to the highest post after no. 43 in preference to the son and other relatives of no. 43 on account of their scholastic attainments. *They were succeeded by Syadna Mhd. Badruddin son of Syedna Abdeali Saifuddin 43rd Dai. This Syedna Mhd. Badruddin, the 46th Dai, was the last of the Rajput Royal family.

Unfortunately Syedna Mhd. Badruddin, the only son of his father, and the last of the converted Royal Rajput family of Gujarat, died suddenly at a comparatively young age, from the effect of poisoning, without any issue, only

*Regarding the details of the process of election or the Nas vide note at pages 749 & 750 of Mosame Bahar vol. 3.

8 days before the date fixed for the appointment of his successor in public. (vide Mos. Bahar vol III, page 717)

Thus to the great disappointment of the Bohra community, the progeny of Sidhraj Jaising disappeared once for all, from the ecclesiastical throne.

Syadna Abdulqader Najmuddin the grand father of the present Head Priest was elected as successor and 47th Dai, he was the son of no. 45†

So Shaikh Jivanji an ordinary graduate of the Bohra Lodge had 7 head Priests in his family. (nos. 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51).

As outsiders were not allowed to compete for this coveted high post since 1256 A.H. (i.e. for the last 80 years) there has been unusual agitation, heart burning, and discontentment amongst the Bohra learned Mashaikhs (vide page 519 Mos. Bahar. vol III) and the present troubles at Bombay and Ujjain originate from similar motive. Also see the note on Mahdibag schism.

Regarding the comparative position of a Dai amongst the spiritual leaders, Syadna Hatim, the 3rd Dai has compared him to a bishop of the Roman Catholic Christian and the infallible Imam is compared to a Pope.

The author of a learned book Al-Azhar of the Zahur time has at length defined the qualifications of a Dai.

According to him the qualifications of a Dai are based on three principles.

† Regarding the short historical sketch of the sons of Mulla Khan and Shaikh Jivanji vide Shaikh Faizullahbhai's book no. 17 of ap G.

- (1) Knowledge, secular, as well as spiritual.
- (2) God fearingness, or consummation of Taqwa.
- (3) Governing skill, or administrative power.

And there is an elaborate definition of each of them in the same book.

Appendix H gives the abstract list of a few qualifications of a model Dai as given by Syadna Hatim, the 3rd Dai.

12. Religious habits, customs and tenets

Habits : They are scrupulously attentive to their religious duties. Most of them both men and women are able to read the Holy Quran without knowing the meaning. They are careful to say their prayers, to observe Mohorrum, as a season of mourning and their Amils or local Mullas regularly hold meetings and preach morals and the principal tenets of Islam and at the same time read the history of the early period of Islam specially regarding the causes which led to the assassination of Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain..and in the course of these lectures much useful knowledge is imparted to the Bohra population scattered all over India. Those who are rich among them go on pilgrimage to Kerbala and Mecca, they strictly abstain from music, dancing and from using or dealing in intoxicating drinks or drugs.

Tenets : Regarding their religious tenets their esoteric doctrines are not publicly taught They can be divided into two classes :

1. The orthodox common folk who are most assiduously taught the elementary principles of Islam in their

simplicity and are carefully led to believe in the infallibility of their Imams and the superiority of their Dais so much so that they are Fidais not inferior to the Fidais (blindly devoted followers) of the time of Hasan bin Sabbah.

2. Ulemas or the advanced folk consisting of Mullahs and Mashaikhs who are taught the Batini or esoteric doctrines of the Ismailia faith in their complexity.

The primary education of the orthodox or the Fidai class used to be very systematic, either at Maktabas or at home. This has, of late years, greatly degenerated. After reading Quran he is taught the prayer book, the book of rituals, and the books containing the simple principles of Islam. Then he is preached publicly the Islamic principles of righteousness (the rule in which to live and the hope in which to die), the association of work with charity, as for instance the virtue of feeding the poor, providing peace for the troubled, comfort for the sorrowful, in paying the religious taxes and in paynig respect with nazrana to the learned Mullas and Mashaikhs and specially to the Dais, his assistants and dependants. This with the elementary principles of the theology of Islam are most vehemently preached year after year in Mohorrum to the orthodox community members who are not initiated to the Batini school of "Tavil" and "Haqiqat" i. e. allegorical and esoteric portion of the Ismailia sect.

The second class consists of those Mullas and Mashaikhs who are taught the Bohra mysticism i. e. the hidden treasure locked in the words of God (Quran), or the mysteries in the tradition of the Prophet. In short they hold that the sacred books are filled with unfathomable

truth and unutterable mysteries and they try to fathom their depths enthusiastically. They talk of essences, far fetched analogies, quiddities, theosophies; speculation about names, letters & numbers in this connection.

This sort of hair splitting which they call Tavi and Haqiqat is in attractive and incomprehensible for a European reader but the Ismailia Shia realises their quiddities with astonishing tact and incomparable skill, and with a profound knowledge of human heart. Most of the books of esoteric teaching "Tavi" (vide list* attached) are kept assiduously concealed from public and are available in manuscript only with the Head Priest or his trusted Mashaikhs. The list attached is only of a few selected books although the literature on the subject is voluminous.

One Mohommed bin Ishaq-an-Nadim has written a book called Fihrist or index. This Fihrist is one of the most valuable and remarkable works in Arabic language. Sections of the fifth discourse "maqalat" of this book gives details of the Ismailies and the names of their books. Mr. Frugal's translation of this book would show that the book in manuscript are available to some extent in the Paris library... (vide Appendix F).

I only give short hints regarding their esoteric teaching. Fuller details of their mysticism would not interest the reader of this short note which is meant for non-Bohras; Bohra scholars should read the concealed books which they might get on permission of the Head Priest from the Bohra Mashaikhs.

*App. F

State after death : Regarding the state after death they believe in the theory of the evolution of the spirit in communion with better trained souls until they are absorbed in perfection with the Almighty. "Amongst the faithful each embodied spirit passes the term of training in communion with the soul of some good man. The disembodied spirit can suggest good or evil to the man and may be raised with him by his good deeds. When the good man dies the spirit in communion with his soul passes to more perfect man. Spirits raised to a higher degree of knowledge are placed in communion with the High Priest and on his death are with him united (by degree) to the Imam-uz-zaman and when through the Imam they have learnt what they still require to know they are absorbed in perfection with the Almighty God. (vide page 30 of Mr. Campbell's book).

The orthodox opinion is that every thing returns to its source "Inna Ilehe Raji-un" is the hope for salvation of every Muslim dying and is expressed by the relatives and the friends of the deceased on hearing of the death. The above expressed doctrine of evolution harmonizes with the doctrine of the "Fana Fil-Lah" of annihilation in God propagated by the Sufis of Persia or is similar to the doctrine of Nirvan preached by the Buddha (vide Bohra Dawat book of Balohar and Buzasuf).

A few instances of speculation or quiddities of numbers are given below.

The Ismaili doctrine hinges to a large extent on the number 7 and to a less degree on the number 12, these are the numbers which are written plain on the universe and in the body of man. Thus there are 7 planets and 12

zodiacal signs, seven days in a week and twelve months in a year, seven cervical vertebra, and twelve dorsals and so on. The number 7 appears in the heaven, the earth, the climes, and the apertures of the face and head i. e. two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, and one mouth). Corresponding with the dominant number seven there are seven degree of initiation through which according to his capacity and aptitude the candidate is successively led by the Dai. (vide para 13)

There are seven grades of appointment under an Imam.

- (1) Babul-Abwab or Prime Minister.
- (2) Hujjati Nahari. Senior Pontiff.
(There being twelve posts in this grade.)
- (3) Hujjati Laili, Junior Pontiff.
(There are Twelve posts in this grade)
- (4) Dai-ul-Balagh (number varies according to necessity).
- (5) Dai-ul-Mutlak.
- (6) Mazun (authorized to invite).
- (7) Mukasir (executor)

In short they hold that there are seven grades of existence, i. e. Intermediate between God and man are the Five principles or Emanations (the Universal reason, the Universal soul, the Primal Matter, Pleroma or Space, or Kenona or time) thus making in all seven grades of existence.

The other correspondences of these seven existences are as under.

1. The Divine world manifested in God.
2. The universal reason or (Akli Kul) manifested in the Natiq or the Prophet.
3. The Universal Soul or (Nafs-e-Kul) manifested in the Asas or the first Imam.
4. Primal Matter (Hayyula) manifested in the Samits. (silent) or other Imams;
5. Space or Pleroma (Al-Mala) manifested in Hujjat or proof.
6. Time or Kenoma (Al-Khala) manifested in Dai.
7. The material Universe manifested in Mu'min or the "believer"†

Man, they say cannot attain to the truth by un-aided endeavours, but stands in need of the teaching (Talim) of the prophets, or speakers (Natiq) who teach more fully and completely in successive ages according to the evolution of Human understanding and the spiritual truth necessary for his guidance. Six great prophetic cycles have passed (those of Adam, Noah, Ibrahim, Moses, Jesus and Mohommmed) and the cycle in which for the first time the esoteric doctrine, the inwardness of the law and the prophet was inaugurated by Moulana Jafer-us Sadiq and Mohommmed bin Ismail. The last speaker or (Natiq) was succeeded by groups of seven Imams and will so continue untill at least 14 groups are completed.

† According to Theosophy there are 7 planes between Divine world and Physical world (vide chapter v. of a text book on Theosophy by C. W. Leadbeater.)

Seven Higher degrees of Ismaili Secret Lodge and short summary of knowledge imparted in each of them : After learning the usual literature and the ordinary science a candidate is taught the theosophy of Islam with the science as detailed in the latter chapters of Ikhwanus-safa.* Then a selected few who are considered fit are admitted to the secret Lodge of Tawil and Haqiqat, and in this Lodge by degrees a candidate is taught the principles of the mystic theosophy of Islam. The following will give a rough idea of the system of these seven degrees.

Seven degrees of Ismaili secret Lodge : (1) The candidate takes an oath of allegiance and swears with the most inviolable oaths and assurances that he will never divulge the secrets, that he will not lend assistance to anyone, be it who it may be, against the society, that he will not speak to them aught but truth and that he will not league himself with any of their enemies against them.

(2) In the second degree the candidate is taught to believe that God's approval cannot be won simply by observing the prescriptions of Islam unless the inner doctrines of which they are the mere symbols be received from the Imam whom its guardianship has been entrusted, at this stage the candidate is told that the religion is a hidden science, and the outward observation of the prayer, the fast, the pilgrimage, and alms-giving is of little value if their spiritual significance be not understood.

(3) In this degree the candidate is taught the nature and the number of Imams and is taught to recognize the significance in the Spiritual and material worlds of the

* App. A.

number 7 which they also represent. He is detached thus from Isna-Asharia Shias of the sect of twelve definitely and he is taught to regard all other Imams who are not in the line of 21 Imams as devoid of spiritual knowledge and unworthy of reverence....

(4) The candidate is now taught the doctrine of the seven prophetic periods, and of the nature of Natiq. The Sus or the Asas and the remaining six samits or silent Imams who succeeded the latter, and of the abrogation by each Natiq of the religion of his predecessor. This teaching involves the admission (definitely placing the candidate outside of the pale of orthodox Islam) that Mohommed was not the last of the prophets and that Quran is not God's final revelation to man. With Mohomed bin Ismail, the 7th and the last Natiq, the Qaim (he who ariseth) the Sahib-ul-Amr (Master of the Matter) an end is put to the sciences of the ancient (Ilm-ul-Awalin) and the esoteric doctrine, the sciences of allegorical interpretation (Tawil) is inaugurated.

(5) Here the candidate is further instructed in the science of the numbers and application of the Tawil, so that he discards many of the traditions, learns to speak contemptuously of orthodox religion, pays less and less heed to the letter of scripture, and looks forward to the abolition of all the outward observances of Islam. He is also taught the significance of the no. 12 and the recognition of the twelve Hujjats or proofs who primarily conduct the propaganda of each Imam. These are typified in man's body by the 12 Dorsel vertebrae while the 7 cervical vertebrae represent the seven prophets and 7 Imams of each cycle.

(6) Here the candidate is taught the allegorical meaning of the rites and obligations of Islam such as prayers, alms, pilgrimage, fasting and the like and is then persuaded that their outward observance is a matter of no importance and may be abandoned, since they were only instituted by wise and philosophical law-givers as a check to restrain the vulgar and un-enlightened herd.

(7) To this the final degree, only the leading Dais who fully comprehend the real nature and aim of their doctrine are initiated. At this point is introduced the dualistic doctrine of the pre-existent (Al-Mufid-Sabiq) and the Subsequent (Al-Mustafid-al-Tali, al-Lahiq) which is destined ultimately to undermine the candidate's belief in the doctrines of Heaven and Hell. (vide for authority pages 391-415, the Ismailia Sect of Dr. Brown's book, and Majmu-ai Sharif-ul-Haqaiq by Ali bin Mohommed-nil-Walid. Frugal's translation of Al-Fahrist, De-Sacy's religion de-druzes).

Surat College or Daras for esoteric teaching :

14 In the time of Abde Ali Saifuddin, son of Syedna Zakiyudin, Dai no 41 whose Haveli and sepulchre in Burhanpur are well known places of adoration for Bohras and who was himself the 43rd Dai (from 1213-1232 A. H. 1785-1819 A.D.) a college for teaching Arabic was started at Surat a century ago. This college was built on a grand scale and students from all parts of India were collected from Bohra community. They were lodged and fed freely. About at least five hundred students used to read in the college and the annual cost of the maintenance was not less than Rs. 40,000. At this college which we should call

a Fatemide lodge taking the analogy of Egyptian Fatemide lodge in the time of Imams. At this college students used to be raised from the lowest to the highest degree. Ordinarily the following were the degrees conferred on the student.

1. Mullas, the guardians, they led the prayers and taught religion and chiefly earned their bread as school masters or practised some craft. They are practically the missionaries of Bohra community and are scattered all over the Bohra world.

2. Shaikh or elder. This degree corresponded to that of an English university degree and used to be conferred on those who proved to be prominent scholars and distinguished themselves for their piety and religious devoutness and it was from amongst these degree-holders that the Head priest and his two assistants.

1. Maazun-permitted to rule,

2. Mukasir-executor,

used to be selected. The selected Mashaikh is usually first raised to the degree of Mukasir then to the post of Maazun and then to the exalted post of a Dai. (vide page 32 of Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer).

A candidate after being initiated on taking the oath of allegiance (Mishaq) and after learning the Arabic literature used to be taught first the simple theology of Islam i. e. "the books of theology mentioned in para 15" then after advancing further he used to be taught the allegorical meaning of the doctrines of Islam and then followed the Tawil and Haqiqat or the esoteric teaching of the doctrines of Ismailia faith. The principle books taught for the higher degree of Mashaikhs were : 52 tracts of Ikhwanussafa,

Rahatul Aqal, Taawilud-Da'em, Majalis-e-Moaiyedi, (Mousame Bahar Vol III page 628) Mr. Campbell, author of the Bombay Gazetteer writes about the college as under :

"To train youths for the duties of a mulla, a college was in 1807-1809 A. D. founded in Surat, and is still i. e. in 1897 A. D. in existence though on a greatly reduced scale kept up at a yearly cost of Rs. 10,000. At this school from 50 to 200 boys are clothed, fed and taught Arabic, Geometry, Logic and Law. (theology). Students come from all parts of India and even from Arabia. Most of them stay for about 3 years, (vide page 32 vol ix part II Bombay Gazetteer).

For reasons stated in note elsewhere, the college has unfortunately melted away, and to-day i. e. in 1919 the said college is only a Maktab, or a primary school and that too without good and devoted teachers.

[Syadna Saifuddin, the 43rd Dai's object in starting this college on such a big scale was, to take the advantage of the religious freedom, peace, and prosperity of the British rule, and to spread higher sectarian education on an extensive scale, and open competitive system. But the same causes developed the trade, increased the wealth of the community and consequently the income and the ecclesiastical authority of the priest classes* became so very alluring that the democratic principle of the selection of the priest class by merit was abandoned, and the successors of Syadna Najmuddin IV the 47th Dai appro-

* In this note by priest classe I mean the local Amils, their subordinate Mullas, or Pesh Imams vide para 17

priated all the higher degrees of priesthood (Dai, Mazun, and Mukasir) in their own family without much regard for the literary and ecclesiastical qualifications of the incumbents.]

[The stability of this selfish policy was not possible without abolishing the open competition system, and this in its turn necessitated the gradual suppression of the open sectarian education at Surat, and this is the reason why Mr. Campbell says that the college which was on a grand scale in 1809 was run on a greatly reduced scale in 1893; and to-day i. e. in 1919 it is only a nominal school. This selfish policy, which means an undue love of self, with subordinating the interests of all others to one's own, is described, as Sin of Sins. The dangerous and retrograde policy of the priest class, i. e. of forcibly shutting of the light of knowledge and education from their followers has had the natural consequences of reactionary movements as will be apparent from the Editorial note of a Bohra Sectarian monthly Journal Gulzare Hakimi vol. 10-No. 1 of Moharram 1337 A. H. also Ap. G 16.]

Primary as well secondary schools for the secular as well as religious teaching are being started all over the Bohra world and the priest class are openly opposing these institutions.

It is feared, that all respect and curiosity for the elaborate and complicated priestly propaganda of Esoteric doctrine (Tavil and Haqiqat), which is much degenerated under the present regime since the disintegration of the Surat college will disappear, if the superstitious and ignorant followers of the head priest, who supply lacs of Rupees

for the luxury of his Durbar and the Durbar of scores of his followers & family members, (vide Appendix D.) are educated.

The fear is false, besides it is doubtful whether in these days of freedom and advancement, the cruel and frantic persecutions[‡] like those of the Papal courts of the time of Innocent III* (1198 A. D.) for the suppression of journalism and education, will be effective.

It is true that Bohras are industrious and enterprising, yet 95 p. c. of them are bigoted religionists, superstitious, and ignorant, the priest class though partially educated in Arabic support the reactionary movement against education, saying that the study of English conduces to the loss of faith in Islam. In reply to this false and groundless fear I would refer them to the learned speech of 28-12-18 delivered by Sir Ibrahim Rahmatulla, President Mohammedan Educational Conference Surat, and the renowned guest of His Holiness Syadna Sardar Tahir Saifuddin. He has proved by facts and figure that the fear is not only wrong but is a self condemning calumny on the faith of Islam. I quote Sir Ibrahim's own words. "I do not know whether these people who put forward this plea, realise the great injury they cause to the faith of Islam, which they profess to adore, By their reactionary attitude, they produce on the minds of other communities the impression how retrograde

[‡] Appendix L. gives some concise reports of the law cases "not sub judice," decided by courts showing instances of persecutions.

* Vide page 325 vol VII Popular encyclopedia for the account of Innocent III.

Islam must be when its followers's faith is believed to be so superficial that they would lose it if they are brought in contact with the present day enlightenment."

The progressive party of the Bohras welcome the autocratic spiritual rule of their Head priest, for they fully realise that this power if well & rightly directed will accustom the rude followers of his faith to the manners of Islam and the bigoted Bohras will gladly take to secular training in the primary and the secondary schools if the training is combined with religious training.

Hence the necessity of separate hostels for Bohras. And in view of this necessity a Bohra High School was started at Burhanpore (an auspicious place for Bohras where the mother of the present Head priest was born, where His Holiness's great grand father is buried where shrines of 3 Saints associated* with 18 Dais. out of 26 Dai of India. exist) and it is hoped that similar High schools at Surat, Karachi, Jamnagar, Ujjain, with a Bohra commercial and technical college somewhere near Bombay are within the scope of possibility for a rich and enterprising community like that of the Bohras.

*At Shahadra in Burhanpure 3 saints are buried in 3 separate sepulchres. After the Bohra Dawat seat was transferred from Yemen to India. Dais i. e. Dais nos 26 to 51 graced the ecclesiastical throne in India and out of these 26 not less than 18 are associated with the 3 shrines hereunder.

(a) Syadi Hakimuddin is the ancestor of two Dais nos. 39 & 40.

(b) Syadna Zakiuddin himself Dai no 41, the ancestor and descendant of 8 dais of the royal family of Mulla Raj.

(c) Syadi Shaikh Jivanji is the ancestor of 7 Dais.

15. List of books once taught for various degrees in Surat Daras

A. Literature*

1. Poetry..

The Diwans of the following Holy Poets.

- Moulana Ali.
- Syedna Tamim Ibne Moulana Muizz (14th Imam).
- Syedna Husain bin Amin (Dai of Moulana Hakim, 16th Imam).
- Syedna Muayad Fid-din Hujjat of Mustansir Billah, 18th Imam.
- Syedna Abdullah, Dai no. 3.
- Syedna Khattab, cousin of Hurrat-ul-Malika.
- Syedna Ali bin Walid, Dai no. 5.
- Syedna Idris Imad-ud-din Dai no. 19.
- Syedna Adeali Saifuddin Dai no. 43.
- Syedna Abdul Qadir Najmuddin, Dai no. 47.
- Diwan-i-Mutanabbi.
- Diwan Mohomed bin Hani.
- Sabai Muallaqat.
- Kalila Damna.
- Qasidai Burda.
- Qasidai Hamzia.
- Qasidai Karrari.
- Sabai-Alaviyyat by Ibne Hadid, author of the commentary of Nahjul-Balagh.

2. Prose :

- Hadis-i-Bani Israel.
- Kitabut Torat.
- Kitabuz-Zabur.

* Most of the books on literature are printed.

Nahjul-Balagh by Moulana Ali
Akalm-i-Amirul Muminin, Ali
Shahabun-Nabavi
Khatabate-Rasulil-Lah
Kitabut-Tazkirat
Baloher and Buzasuf.

B. Historical books.

1. Seven Volumes of Uyunul-Akhbar by Syedna Idris, 19th Dai.
2. Seven Volumes of Azher by Hasan bin Nuh of Syedna Idris' times.
3. Kitabe Rozatul Akhbar by Syedna Idris.
4. Kitabe-Nazhatul Akhbar by Syedna Idris.
5. Four volumes of Sharaul Akhbar by Seydna Qazi-un-Noman.
6. "Syedna Qazi-un-Noman was the Pontiff and Qazi-ul quzzat of Molana Muiz (14th Imam) and Molana Aziz (15th Imam 341-386 A. H.)"
6. Kitabe Iftita-hud-Dawat by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.
7. Kashfiz-Zilam fi Istitaril-Imam by Qazi-un-Noman.
8. Sirate (biography) Quaidul-Quad Johar by Qazi-un-Noman.
9. Sirate Jsfer-ul-Hajib.
10. Sirate Ustad Juzar* (Auto-biography).
11. Sirate Muayidiah " "

‡ Qaidul Quad Johar was the commander-in-chief of Muiz bil-lah, the 14th Imam.

* Najibud-dawlah Abul qasam Ali bin Ahamad Juzar was the Prime Minister of Imams No. 17th & 18th from 418 to 436 A. H.

12. Kitabe Istitarul Imam by Ahmed Nahapuria, Dai of Aziz Billah, the 15th Imam.

13. Mijalisi-Hatimi by Syedna Hatim, Dai No. 3.

14. Tarikhi Mohommed bin Ishaq and Miqrizi† are also read.

15. Mumtazul Akhbar.

C. Fiqah or books on Theology.§

1. Daimul-Islam two volumes, by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

2. Mukhtasir-ul-Asar, 2 volumes by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman,

3. Kitabul Yanbu fil Fiqah by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

4. Kitabul Akhbar by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

5. Kitabe Manbawl-Faraiz by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

6. Kitabe Rahat wat Tasali by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

7. Risalai Zatul Bryan by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

8. Taqwimul Ahkam by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

9. Kitabul-Havashi by Syedna Qazi-un-Noamn.

10. Mafanihum-Niamat by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman

11. Majmaul Fiqah by Syedna Yusuf, Dai No. 24.

12. Kitabe Asimah li Nafs-il-Muhtadin by Syedna Idris.

13. Tanbihul Ghafilin by Syedna Ibrahim bin Husain, Dai no. 11.

† Al-Mawaiz wal Aiytibar, is the name of the history of Fatimides written by Miqrizi.

§ The lists of theological books given in this para was obtained by me from ex-students of Surat college and can be used for comparison with the books mentioned in Frugal's book, the Fahrissat.

14. Tanbihul Hadi by Syedna Hamiduddin Saheb.

15. Majmu-ai-Masail by Syedna Hatim.

16. Majmuat-Tarbiah by Syedna Mohomed bin Tahir.

D. Book on Tawil and Haqiqat are too numerous to be mentioned.

A. Tawil or allegorical interpretation of the precepts or Arkan of Islam.

1. Tawil-ud-Dayaim by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman.

2. Ishrina Masail fit-Tawil by Syedna Mohommed bin Tahir.

3. Tavile Manasekul Haj by Syedna Abde Ali Imadud-din.

HAQIQAT

These books are divided in four classes :

1. In the first class he is taught the philosophical portion of the literature and is shown how philosophy can be reconciled with religion.

52 risalas of Ikhwanus-Safa by Moulana Ahmed bin Husain, 9th Imam, are taught for the subject vide appendix A (1)*

2. In the Second class are taught the following books.

(a) Esoteric books written by Syedna Qazi-un-Noman, a well known Hujjat of Moulana Aziz Bil-Lah, the 14th Imam (427-487 A. H.)

(b) Books by Syedna Jafer-ul-Mansur.

(c) Books by Abi Yaqubi Sajistani.

(d) Books by Abi Hatim-ur-Razi.

* The contents of Ikhwanus Safa are rendered accessible to the European readers by Professor F. Dieterici's numerous publications on this subject.

3. Books of the following authors are taught in this class.

(a) By Syedna Muayad Shirazi, Babul - Abwab or Chief Pontiff.

(b) By Syedna Abi Barkat.

(c) By Syedna Badre Jamali.

4. In this class are taught the books of Syedna Hamid-din Babul-Abwab or the chief pontiff of three Imams, 15, 16, and 17th. For details of these books vide appendix F attached.

Fuller details of these books can be found in Section 2 of the 5th discourse of Dr. Frudal's translation of the Fahrist written by Mohommed bin Ishaqan Nadim and some of them are available in manuscript in Paris Library.

16. Their Present Dai Syadna Sardar Tahir Saifud-din

Their Present Dai : He was born in 1886 A. D. and is about 33 years old now. The Dai or whom the Bohras call Syadna (our LORD) is their ruler in social and religious matters. He is also ex-officio first class Sardar of the Bombay Presidency. ‡He is religious

‡ The title of the first class Sardar was first offered by the benign Government to Syadna Izzuddin II the 44th Dai and then to Syadna Zainuddin II the 45th Dai, both these Dais thankfully refused the honours saying they cared little for worldly honours but requested the Government to continue to show favour to their followers.

The same hereditary honour was however again offered in 1866 A.D. by His Excellency, Sir Bartley Friere, Governor of Bombay and was accepted with thanks by Syadna Najmuddin IV, the 47th Dai vide Appendix G no. 19.

head of about 2 lacs of Bohras of India and Yemen in Arabia, lives in much state and entertains his guests with most profuse liberality. He is treated with greatest respect. Non Bohras address him as "Vara Mullaji or head Mulla, and amongst his followers bigoted religionists believe him to be the direct representative of the Imam (Imam being an inspired representative of the Prophet).

He appoints Amils or Mullas, or deputy priests for all the Bohra settlements. These deputy priests as well as Religious teachers for Maktabas are paid from local subscription, and not from Syadna's princely income. Since the degeneration of the school at Surat, most of these local Mullas and Amils have lost their reputation as literary men, however, the old customs or the rules of organization are much respected, and the local Mullas, inspite of their ignorance, still exercise great influence over the ignorant and fanatically orthodox followers of Syadna.

On ceremonial occasions the Syadna sits on his gadi and in token of his power has the fly flappers (chanvers) held before him and flying over him. As the Bohras enter, many of them make three prostration (sijdas) before him, close their hands and stand before him. To such as are worthy he says "be seated" to others "stand".

Once a year on the 18th of Zilhejja (yome-gadir) usually every orthodox Dawoodi Bohra lays his hand on the palms of Syadna or on his local Mulla's hands and takes an oath of allegiance (Misac) vide appendix B. This covenant is in favour of the Imam of the time through the Dai.

There is an elaborate system of controlling and monopolising all the religious and social functions, as for instance none can lead the prayers without permission or Raza from the head priest.

Aqiqa or sacrifice for the newly born child, giving of public feasts, opening of schools, celebration of marriages, funeral ceremonies, for obsequial ceremonies, (Tijia, Chahlum, Barsi etc.) all require the Raza or permission of the head priest or his local Amil.

All public feasts on other occasions require similar permission. No religious book can be published or translated without such permission.

This controlling system is the pivot of the good organization of this community and it is this system of control which has kept this community in tact in spite of the vehement persecution of Mohommedan rulers in India.

Strictly speaking this system of control and monopoly has not the Scriptural sanction, but Islam can adapt to such exigency.† Most of these customs are purely Indian, as for instance the feasts of obsequial ceremonies, and they were introduced by the Dais from time to time to meet the requirements of the time and were never misused.

† Just in the same way as the control, monopoly or censorship on the export, and import of the goods is not consistent with the principles of the free trade, but under special circumstances they are resorted to for administrative convenience and are removed when circumstances do not require them, or when there is danger of their being misused for selfish purposes.

although the bigoted religionists obeyed them as gospel words of the inspired Imams through their Dais without questioning the philosophy of such orders. Unfortunately the imperfect training of the priest classes and their misuse of the religious customs for selfish motives has caused much agitation amongst Syadna's followers, and the unfortunate events leading to litigation at Bombay, Amreli, Ujjain, Bhopal, and Burhanpore, go to expose the mismanagement and incompetency of the priest classes.

Moreover, the open opposition of the priest classes to the systematic education both in Arabic and English is rather inopportune and is sure to recoil on the opponent and bring about reactionary movement which has already commenced.

Unfortunately the shortsighted priesthood under the present Syadna are under the wrong impression that the party craving for reform can be kicked out as dissenters in the same way as Popes did in dark ages. In these days of liberty, freedom and democracy the bona-fide reformers do not claim any rival spiritual position or divine inspiration as Jafer, Ali, Suleman, Hibtulla, or Abdulhussain of Nagpore did, but respectfully and humbly pray Syadna to restore the systematic teaching of the Esoteric doctrines of the Fatemide Lodge, as his predecessors did and raise his followers in the estimation of their fellow brethren of other communities by encouraging secular education amongst his followers and spending a few lacs out of ten to 13 lacs of his income on education.

It is regrettable that the reactionary movement of the priest classes against education has gone too far and in a recent defamation case,

Khan Bahadur Fakhruddin

verses

Shaikh Tyabali, (Syadna's maternal uncle) and 5 others for excommunicating the secretary Burhanpore High School, the sessions judge has in a Revision case No. 53 of 1915 casually remarked that the Head priest is supporting the orthodox reactionary majority of his unintelligent followers against the progressive party and that the orthodox party have a right to remain uneducated so long as they are supported by the majority. (vide para 9 of the judgement)

The implication of Syadna is not based on conclusive evidence, as to the support of the majority, the idea itself is perhaps reactionary, and is probably a resort to the mob for administrative reforms in recent days."

The subordinate priest classes under Syadna are principally responsible for the protest of the bigoted religionists against education and in this connection I would draw the attention of these organisers of foolish opposition against certain facts, which no student of history can dare deny.

(a) The perusal of the history of Anti-Slavery Legislation between 1843-1876 A. D. will show that even the slaves of Africa protested against the abolition of Slavery Act.

(b) The superstitious and bigoted Hindus protested against the abolition of Sati.

(c) Even now the ignorant villagers protest against the free and compulsory Primary Education Bill.

If the subordinate Amils take undue advantage of the old established customs and misuse their ecclesiastical

powers, a day will come when the Bohra Reformers will find it necessary to codify the customary rules of this extraordinary sect and apply for legislation to protect the sect, from the arbitrary whims of the subordinate Amils and from its consequent dismemberment.

However, I have full confidence that before the Government interference becomes necessary and the matters come to the extreme, His Holiness, the present Syadna, who has the reputation of being the great advocate of learning, as well as of being considerate and highly educated, will mend matters, and check the subordinate priests.

I am glad to note here that according to Shaikh Fazullabhai B. A. His Holiness, the present Syadna, has already started an educational policy based on modern principles which promises to bear good fruits vide Appendix G. no. 19 (Amin)

17. Tithes Collected by the Dais and His Deputies or Amils or Naib Mullas.

The Dai or the Head priest who lives luxuriously in palaces has the following sources of income to meet his expences and those of his assistants and relatives.

- (A) Taxes collected as religious dues.
- (B) Special subscriptions.
- (C) Fines.

Under the head A religious dues come the following.

(1) Zakatus-Salat (prayer tax) is a poll tax collected at 2 annas per head for every Bohra. *

* This is now raised from 2 annas to 4 annas per head by the Head priest. This income has gone upto about 1 lac.

(2) Zakatul Fitra (fasting tax) another poll tax at 4 annas per head.

These two taxes* are regularly collected and devoutly paid every year through Amils in the month of Ramzan. Total estimated collection per year amounts to Rs. 75,000/.

(3) Haq-qun-nafas, a tax on the soul of the deceased. A relative of every dying man has to pay Rs. 119, or any multiple of 119, silver or gold coins according to his means, for the evolution of the soul of the deceased. Poor men pay nominal sums & sometimes nothing. The income from this head is estimated at Rs. 50,000 a year.

(4) Marriage or Nikah dues. This is collected usually at the rate of Rs. 11 per Nikah, Rich persons pay more according to their means and the tax is increased for second or third Nikah. The estimated income from this head is about Rs. 50,000 a year.

(5) Salame-Syadna or the cash offerings to Syadna or Head priest.

(a) In his absence in any part of India, on special ceremonial occasions and on the birth-day ceremony of the Head Priest, cash presents are sent to him through the Amils. This is not less than Rs. 25,000/- a year.

(b) In his presence this Salam or cash offering is on a large scale, and amounts to about Rs. 50,000/ a year.

6. (a) Zakatul-dawat or an income-tax for keeping up the Dawat administration. Nothing is collected from

* There is a mention of these Zakat in Daaimul Islam in the Babuz-zakat, these Daaims are not yet printed but are available with learned men of the Bohras.

servants, private or government. Merchants have to pay two and a half per cent of their income per year. This is the chief source of Syadna's income and is collected once in a year or two. Trusted assistants of Syadna go about from place to place for the collection. They are usually near relatives of Syadna and are known as Sahibud-dawat. At every place they are luxuriously entertained. The demand register of the tax for every Muffasil place is prepared once for all and at every trip Sahibud-dawat records changes after inquiry. Only the most bigoted religionists give their correct income. Local Bohras also pay the personal offerings (Salams) besides the fixed tax to tax collectors (Sahibud-dawat) The total collection is not less than six lacs a year.

(b) Khumas, literally means the 5th share. In the time of the Mohammedan rule, every faithful was bound to pay one fifth share of his booty in the war in the public treasury. Bohra theologists have twisted the order to suit their position under the foreign rule, they advise the faithful to pay one fifth share to Syadna of the unexpected income.

(a) like unforeseen (tarka) or inherited property from a distant relative,

(b) the hidden treasure,

(c) one of the five sons,

The fifth son is sent to Syadna for training or for service. In view of the treasure Troce Act and the free and liberal British Government, the income under this head is insignificant or nil, vide page 33 F. G. vol. IX part II. QURAN. part 10 first line.

(c) Kafarat* for fasts (Roza), and for prayers (Namaz).

* Vide 2nd vol. of Daimul Islam, chapter on Kafarat.

This is cash substitute paid for fasts and for prayers by rich persons who cannot perform all the fasts and prayers in Ramzan on account of idleness or ill health. According to the religious books this ought to be paid to the poor, but it is often paid to the priest classes and the latter accept this ostensibly for distribution to the poor and the deserving.

(7) Nazare-Muqam or (offerings to the hidden Imam).

Every orthodox Bohra when he goes out for any adventurous work, or when he is in trouble, vows to pay a certain sum for this offering through the Dai. He scrupulously keeps this sum and presents this to the Dai when he visits his place or sends it to him through the Amil or a reliable visitor. The estimated income under this head is not less than Rs. 1,25,000.

Thus the average annual income of the Head Priest is not less than Rupees* 11 lacs a year. During the last 4 years of war, when the Bohra merchants earned exceptionally big sums in profiteering business, Syadna had also an increased share in his income.

This is raised to meet extraordinary demands on the purse of the Head Priest for instance,
(B) Special sub- (1) the cost of communal litigations
scriptions. such as those which are now in progress
in different parts of the Bohra settlements.

* (1) Zakatul Fitra 50,000	(2) Zaktus Salat 50,000
(3) Nikah dues 50,000	(4) Salamo Syadna 175,000
(5) Zakato Dawat 6,00,000	(6) Khummes Uncertain
(7) Kafarat Uncertain.	(8) Nazar Mukam 1,25,000
Total 10 1/2 to 11 lacs.	

(2) The cost of special constructions and special institutions.

(C) Fines : The head priest has to use autocratic power in the matter of social and religious organization over a bigoted population of two lacs of rich traders. He often threatens dissenters, reformers with excommunication and taking full advantage of the free, liberal and non-interfering British Raj realises social fines.

Amils : These are the deputies of the Head Priest throughout the Bohra world. In big cities and towns they are of the grade of Shaikhs and in small villages and towns they are Mullas. These assistants of His Holiness, the Syadna, scattered all over the Bohra world kept up the Dawat-propaganda in tact very skilfully of late since the deterioration of the Surat college these deputies have become deplorably of inferior quality. Formerly they were paid from the tithes collected from the community, but now they are remunerated not from the princely income of the Head Priest, but from local subscriptions raised by the local Jamaat.*

Their fixed allowance (vazifa) is not tempting, ranging from Rs. 10 to 15 a month. Besides they get liberal salams or cash offerings on all ceremonial occasions. As for instance.

* Due to certain refractory habits on the part of his Amils observed during the recent communal disturbances, His Holiness has revised the system of collection and payment of Amil's remuneration, time will show how the new system works.

- (1) On the first day of the month.
- (2) At the public feasts of all descriptions.
- (3) At the time of prayers on the 2 Id[§] days.
- (4) After the oath of allegiance on Idul-Gadir.
- (5) At the time of marriages.
- (6) At the time of Aqiqa. (sacrifice for the new born)
- (7) New comers at the time of the first visit.

Thus the deputy Mulla or Amil's income is not less than Rs. 100 a month in a town of moderate size and his position is of considerable influence over the local Bohras.

In exceptionally lucrative places like Bombay, Karachi, Sidhpur, Ujjain and Burhanpore the Amils are usually near relatives of the Head Priest, next to them the most lucrative post in that of the Diwan of Syadna. As he supervises the appointments and transfers of Amils he possesses considerable influence and is thus able to collect a very large income.

In big places where there are more than one Bohra mosque, each mosque has a separate Mulla or Paish Imam of its own. This Mulla leads prayers and sometimes teaches Quran to the children. His income is from Salams (cash presents) on ceremonial occasions and from school fees.

Local Jamat subscription referred to above is in various shapes...

(1) Trade tax at a certain rate on the quantity of articles received or sold, known as Sabil.

(2) Tax on organised burial grounds.

§Idul fitra i. e. after fasting, and Iduz-zuha or Bakra Id.

(3) Collections from the charity box kept in the sepulchres of local saints. These are spent on the following:

- (a) Payment of Amil's allowance.
- (b) Feasts etc. on the occasions of the anniversary or Urs of the saints etc.
- (c) Rarely on primary education.
- (d) Stipendiary allowances or (wazifas) to destitute Bohras, and to poor dependants of the deceased Mullas & Mashaikhs.

If the local funds be not sufficient the last mentioned expenditure is met from Syadna's income.

Bohras have always been as a community very rich and their club houses, primary schools, feast houses (Jamatkhanas) sepulchres of saints, mosques, rest houses &c. have always been endowed with rich waqaf property, but of late, there has been apparent mismanagement of the waqaf property, and a litigation pending in the Bombay High Court will decide once for all the arbitrary powers of the greedy and autocratic priest classes to appropriate the waqaf property with immunity.*

* Those who are interested in the history of the management of the Waqaf property in British Raj, are referred to the literature which led to the abolition and enactments of the following acts (Statutes) :

- (a) Regulation 7 of 1817 of Madras }
- (b) Regulation 19 of Bengal of 1810 } Repealed in 1863
- (c) Act 20 of 1863 Religious endowment.
- (d) Act VI of 1913 Mosalman waqf validating act.

18. Ceremonies and Customs.

(I) Birth : After the first pregnancy and on the conclusion of the seventh or the ninth month, a party is given by the husband and the parents of the girl. This celebration is known as Aghanni. At the time of the feast by the husband small presents of sugar toys &c. are given to young girls who attend the feast with the pregnant girl. These presents are given at the husband's house both by the parents of the wife and the husband. The first confinement usually takes place at the house of the parents of the wife.

After the birth, on the naval chord being cut, the first thing done is that Azan* is cried out loudly in the right ear of the child and Iqamat is cried out in the left ear.

After birth the relatives of the wife and husband go to see the child and give cash presents to the child or the mother of rupees one to five. On the seventh day the child is named by the relatives of the husband, and if a boy, the circumcision takes place on the 7th, 14th or 21st day, if possible, and in case of both girl and boy a goat is sacrificed on the 7th, 14th, or 21st day. There are certain set forms of prayer to be read, for which a mulla is called and he gets his salam. If circumcision is not performed during the first three weeks after the birth it is postponed till the seventh or ninth year and rich persons give feasts on such occasions. Birth-day or Salgirah is celebrated every year with a feast according to the means of the man.

* For details of Azan and Iqamat vide Ape. G. No. 10.

(II) Marriage : This is strictly performed in accordance with the Mohamaden law. The marriage is practically a civil contract. The law on this subject is given in the second volume of Daemul-Islam. Bohra theosophist strictly follow the rules at the time of Nikah ceremony. The bride and bridegroom, if not of age, are represented by "Walis" or sponsors. Like Hindus they take out the bridegroom to bride's house in procession with music, tomtom, fireworks, and in case of rich persons with illumination. Although four wives are allowed by law, a Bohra seldom marries more than one. He never keeps a concubine or a mistress, they are not fond of fixing high dowries, the minimum is usually Rs. 40/- and the lower, the amount fixed the better, and it is usually deferred.

The Bohras do not take to Muta form of marriage so often resorted to by Ishna Asheri Shias and according to their doctrine it is prohibited.

Divorce is allowed but it is very seldom resorted to and usually a woman, if divorced, is looked down in the community. Widow marriage is freely allowed. Relations with whom marriage is prohibited are as enumerated in the Holy Quran.

(III) Deaths : When a Bohra dies or is at the point of death some specific chapters of the Holy Quran are read aloud near the bed, and a few drops of honey are dropped in the mouth of the dying, the Azan (Allaho Akbar) & Iqamat are loudly repeated in the ears of the dying. After the life is extinct information is given to the local priest, who gives order to some Mulla for washing the dead body for carrying the bier (Janaza) to the graveyard of the community; the local priest arranges for reading the prayer

at the time of washing, for calling the faithful to carry the bier on the shoulders and for funeral prayers at the graveyard in the mosque and near the grave after the body is buried. After the dead body is washed, a note containing some verses of Holy Quran is put in one hand of the dead and a prayer for pity on the soul and body of the deceased is put on the chest. For the original text of this prayer known as Chithi vide pages 66-72 of Sahifatus Salat 1898 edition, and the English translation by Mr. Campbell vide Appe. C. This letter of prayer is signed by the local priest and is an occasion for collecting the Haqqun Nafs, or the tax of soul, for the Head Priest. After the death, a feast is given on the third day (Tijia), on the 9th (Noamia), on the 30th day (Masma), on the 40th day (Chahlum) and finally on the anniversary (Barsi) and on all these occasions the local priest reads prayers for mercy on the deceased. Local Amil's raza or permission for all these feasts is necessary and if a man is rich these are the occasions for collecting the maximum amount of Haqqun Nafs and other religious dues. Reformed party is resisting the forcible collection of these spiritual dues and are the object of interdiction, And the priest class will have to adapt themselves gradually to the circumstances of the time, in order to avoid reactionary movements.

Bohra graveyards have everywhere a pleasing appearance and are quite separate from other Mohomadan graveyards. Rest houses, mosques and gardens attached to these graveyards are constructed and kept up from donations, subscriptions and a small tax in the form of tomb tax. The tombs are constructed in shell lime and are

fairly handsome erections. The tomb of their Dais and saints have beautiful domes constructed over them.

Bohras consider themselves superior to other Mohomadens and are taught to live separate from them. They do not intermarry with other Mohomadens.

19. Their Profession, Customary Ceremonies, Prejudices etc.

(I) Professions : Except the inhabitants of a few villages in Dholka and in the north of Gujarat, who are peasants and some who have risen high in Govt. services like Abde ali Kajiji, High Court judge, Abdula Esufali, Commr. in U. P. service, and a few in provincial and medical service, almost all Dawoodi Bohras live by trade, some are merchants having large dealings with Arabia, China, Siam and Zanzibar. One Aniq, son of Shaikh Mohamad Ali Aniq, has export business in London and was last year Worshipful Master of London Masonic Lodge. They are mostly local traders in hardware, silk, hides, horns, and live-cattle but most of them are town and village shopkeepers selling hardware, cloth, stationary books, groceries and spices, and a few in Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and Bombay are confectioners and hotel keepers.

The women do house work, sewing, spinning, weaving, Knitting and embroidery work.

Surat Bohras are more shrewd, more pushing and fond of show and good living, but less contented than that of north Gujarat. As a class all are quiet, clear, tidy, hardworking and sober; specially in Surat they are pros-

perous, many of the rich and the bulk are well-to-do. The poor are thrifty and free from debt, and the unfortunate are maintained by rich class. Both men and women are exceptionally clever. There is a proverb "one who is more clever than a Bohra is a mad man."

(II) Dwelling houses : Dawoodi Bohras are noted for their fondness for living in large and airy houses and for their love of display in house ornaments and furniture. The Gujarati proverb says, 'Vohra no mal roda ma jai,' the Bohras ruin themselves in mortar. [Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1823 A. D. that Bohras brought in European improvements in constructing their houses and furniture.]

The following gives a true account of a rich Surat Bohra house "The house is raised on a plinth 6 or 7 feet above the level of the street. It is three storeys high, of brick faced with richly carved timber and is built round a court about 18 feet square. Passing through a dark and untidy entrance and up steep and narrow wooden stairs in the front part of the first floor, is a sitting room about 12 feet square. The ceiling is closely hung with European metal lamps and glass chandeliers and the windows have, inside of their regular frames English made plates of stained glass decorated with verses of Quran. The floor is richly carpetted, cushions are set round the walls and in the middle are tables covered with ornaments. Between the front and the back rooms the walls of the passage are bright with groups of brass plates and saucers and drinking vessels. On the second floor in the back part of the house, a large room about 30 feet by 16 feet has the walls coloured, the floor richly carpetted, and along the walls, rows of closely packed sofas and chairs. Above is a third

public room full of furniture with a large German organ in the place of honour; and let into the walls niches and cabinets stocked with Chinese and Japanese cups, English vases, and Constantinople mugs of gilt streaked glass. Along the walls above the cabinets, are rows of China dishes.

(III) Their features and dress : Though active and well made few Dawoodi Bohras are muscular or even robust. Their features are regular and clear, the colour olive; the expression gentle and shrewd. They shave the head, wear long thin beards and cut the hair on the upper lip close. Many of the women are said to be beautiful and fair skinned with delicate features. Following the precept and to some extent the example of the Prophet, they are careful to keep their eyelids pencilled with missi an astringent powder and the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet reddened with henna. Their home tongue is Gujarati marked with some peculiarities of dialect and the use of several Arabic words well pronounced even by women who have not learned Arabic. Except a few, who, having performed a pilgrimage to Karbala or returned from a voyage to China or some foreign countries have of late years adopted the Arab costume. A Dawoodi wears at home a silk of cotton white skull cap, a jacket of white cloth, a shirt falling below the knee, and trousers of white or stripped cotton cloth loose above and tight near the ancles. Out of door he wears a small white turban, a Hindu shaped coat (anhrakha) trousers as those worn in the house, and long shoes (called Ujjainis). The Dawoodi women wear a red dark blue or yellow cotton or silk scarf (oadhni), in north Gujarat, a light

tight fitting silk boddice and in south Gujarat a silk jacket (kapza), a silk petty coat and shoes of leather, and of wood at home. Their holiday dress is very rich of embroidered silk and brocade. Out of door over the dress they wear a large dark coloured silk veil robe (burqa) passing over the head. This covers the face, leaving small net openings in front of the eyes, and drapes in loose folds to the ground shrouding the whole figure. Both Hindu and Musalman ornaments are worn, with latest improvements in them.

Their turbans. There are four Dawoodi turbans.

1. The Ahmadabadi worn by the Head Priest is more raised and loose. The Ujjaini is much like the Kayest head dress, is smallest and most neatly wound. The Surat, higher and fuller; and the Kathiawari is conical in shape with a strip of gold cloth arranged in the hallow of the cone. The boy's turban is of the same as the man's, but of orange ochrey or dark brown instead of white.

(IV) Their food and their public dinners : They are very sparing in what they eat, taking care that nothing is wasted. At night they always eat Khichri of rice and pulse with cheap pulse soup.* They are fond of giving public dinners, amongst the rich almost every important family event from birth to death is an excuse for a public dinner though they are not required by law to do so. Even the poor classes show, specially, at marriages and death, most keen and ill-advised rivalry in giving large and costly

* This soup is made delicious with spices in various ways and is a characteristic soup of the Bohras, being cheap almost every Bohra uses it in the evening with the Khichri.

feasts. A public feast to males alone is known as "mahmani" and to males and females both as "Ghamsai". Invitation is given through a public crier who goes about loudly crying in the quarters of the community. A public dinner of either of the two kinds is usually given by a middle class or a rich man on the following occasions :—

- 1 At marriage on Nikah day.
- 2 At marriage or consumation day.
- 3 Aqiqa or sacrifice for a new born child.
- 4 Obsequial ceremony dinner on the third day or Tijia.
- 5 Obsequial ceremony dinner on the ninth day or Noumia.
- 6 Obsequial ceremony dinner on the fortieth day or Chahlum.
- 7 Obsequial ceremony dinner on the Anniversary or Barsi.

Feasts are given by public or specially selected rich-men on the following occasions :

- A. During nine days of Moharram.
- B. On the 27th day of Moharram being the anniversary of Bava Fakhruddin, cousin of Sidhraj Jaisingh, first Bohra Raja convert, who was martyred at Galiakot (Rajasthan).
- C. On the birth day ceremony of the ruling Imam (Sahibuz-zaman).
- D. On the birth day ceremony of the ruling Dai,
- E. Anniversary of Kutbuddin Shahid, the 32nd Dai,
- F. On the night of Lailatul Qadr in Ramzan,
- G. On the night of Idul Gadir.

H. On the night of 17th, 19th and 21st of Ramzan.

I. On the anniversary of all other saints and deceased Dais locally buried.

The most favourite dishes are.

1. Biryani, 2. Pulao, 3. Zarda.

Biryani is the first and best chosen dish regardless of cost and consists of saffronned rice cooked with clarified butter and mutton.

Pulao is a cheaper dish of rice with mutton. It is eaten with curd or mutton and vegetable soup.

Zarda is saffronned and sugared rice with sultana raisin and almonds. Loaf (Nan) mutton soup and rice is an ordinary food of a usual dinner. Regarding sweets the Bohra cookery is famous for its flavour and delicacy. Almost every feast day and holiday has its own dish. The first night of Moharram, the Shabe-barat, the Idd days, the 18th of Zilhaz, have special dishes.

(V) Vows & Mannat. The vows which are strictly in accordance with the letter and spirit of Islam are the following and are allowed by the learned members of the community and are offered only by the strictly pious members.

Religious vows or Mannats are :—

1. To fast for a certain number of days,
2. To repeat a certain number of prayers,
3. To give in charity a certain sum of money,
4. To feed a certain number of persons,
5. To found some religious building,
6. To found some charitable building,

7. To found some useful institution like a rest house in a Dargah or a school.

Bohras on the whole consider the vows offered to the Tazias, Zaris, Taboots and Sawaries as idolatrous and they abstain from these shows on Moharam days.

However, they have full faith in the efficacy of vows offered to their dead saints, Martyrs of Karbala, Dais, Imams and Prophets. In these vows the instrumentality of the dead saints is admitted. Richer persons among them visit the shrines out of India at Madina, Karbala, Najaf, Cairo and Jerusalem. Rest houses at these places and on the way to them are constructed by subscription and by public spirited persons (in some places they were constructed by the Late Sir Adamji Peerbhai) for the comfort of the pilgrims.

Other shrines of note in India which are frequented are the following:—

1. Shrines of Dais nos. 25 to 33 and their assistants at Ahmedabad.
2. Shrines of Dais nos. 42 to 46, 48, 49 and 50 and their assistants at Surat.
3. Shrines of Dais nos. 34, 35, 36 and 38 and their assistants at Jamnagar.
4. Shrines of Dais nos. 39, 40 and 47 and their assistants at Ujjain.
5. Shrine of Dai no. 41 and his assistants at Burhanpur. (vide note)
6. Shrines of the first missionaries (Dai Abdulla and Ahmed; at Cambay).
7. Shrines of an ancient missionary (Sayedi Nuruddin) at Takedongaon (Aurangabad).
8. Shrine of a martyred missionary at Galiakot in Dongerpur state.

This is the most ancient and revered shrine of the

Bohras in India of considerable historical importance. About 14,000 pilgrims assemble here at a time every year.

Here is buried Syedi Fakhruddin, son of Tarmal, a teacher and minister of Bharmal, the first Raja convert. He was sent by Dai Abi Abdulla for training to Mustansir Bil-lah, the 18th Imam, and on his return to India he commenced missionary work in Western Rajputana. On his way he was murdered by the Bhils and was buried in this place. Until the time of the 37th Dai (1122-1130 A. H.) his sepulchur remained in partial oblivion, when Syedi Hakimuddin going to this place explained the historical importance of the martyrs buried there.

9. Shrine of a Dai no. 37 at Mandvi (Kutch)

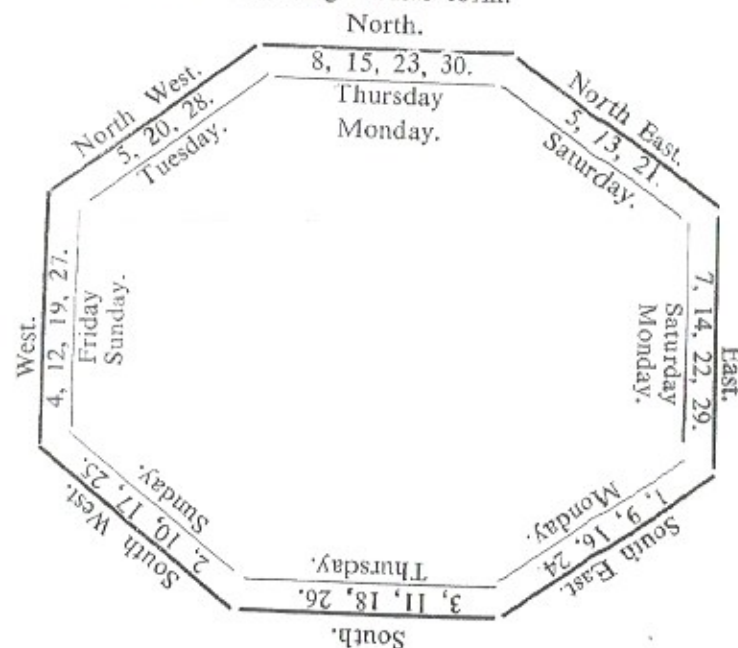
At all these places there are rest houses and at some of these there are messing arrangements provided for visitors. At these and at other shrines cash boxes are kept for collecting charity money. The collections in many places are very large. Even in an ordinary shrine like the shrine of Chandabhai Seth at Bombay, the income has been several thousands a year. A portion of this collection is utilised for Urs (Anniversary) celebrations and the appropriation of the rest is very irregular. The priest class have been of late claiming this income. But the reformed party contest their arbitrary power to appropriate this Wakf property and charitable or religious endowment property, and a case now pending before the Bombay High Court will decide the right of the Priest class over all the Charity boxes in hundreds of Bohra shrines in India.

(VI) Calendars : They calculate their months according to Lunar Calendar and unlike other Mohommedans do not depend on seeing the moon for starting a new year or a new month. They have got a big literature on the subject but appendix D with explanation will show

their perpetual and hundred years calendar as prepared by Mr. Tahirali of Hakimia School, Burhanpur.

To one who is anxious to read the theosophy and philosophy of the lunar calendar of the Bohras, I would refer him to the learned Risala "Uyun-il-Maarif" by Shaikh Sharafali printed at Matbai Mohomedi, Bombay in 1297 A. H. This book is written in Arabic and is not yet translated.

(VII) Omens : Like other Mohomadens, the illiterate Bohras draw omens from the cry of birds and animals. The orthodox consider it as inauspicious to travel on certain direction on certain days and dates, For details vide page 331 of the Bohra Sahifat-us-Salat 1896 edition I give it in the following tabular form.



* Like other Mohommedans of Gujarat each day of the week is believed by the orthodox Bohras to be marked for certain acts and unsuited for others for instance :

Sunday : good for naming a child, eating a new dish, wearing new clothes, learning new lessons, beginning service, and tilling land.

bad to buy a house, to set out on a journey.

Monday : good for taking a first bath after recovery from illness, for sending a bride to her husband's house, for laying the foundation of a house, for entrusting any thing to a person, for bartering an animal.

Tuesday : good for eating a new dish, taking a recovery bath, giving any business in charge.

Wednesday : good for sending a bride to her husband's house, naming an infant, putting on new clothes, shaving, eating a new dish, learning a new lesson, tilling the land, laying the foundation of a house, changing the residence.

bad for buying a cow.

Thursday : good for the same work as Wednesday.

bad for buying an elephant.

Friday : good for the same work as Wednesday.

bad for buying goats.

Saturday : good for the same work as Wednesday.

bad for buying a camel.

20. Conclusion

(I) Their Law : Regarding the law which the Bohras follow anent Waqf, Will, Gift, Sale, Pre-emption, Inheritance, order of inheritance and succession &c. they follow

the law as laid down in their theosophical books principally vol. 1 and vol. 2 of the Daimul Islam and it is not much different from the ordinary Mohameden law...

Usually when a Bohra girl is married to a rich man, she does not claim any inheritance from her father's property against her brothers. and is satisfied with whatever presents she gets in the form of jewellery, clothes etc. etc.

However, there are several decided cases in which a Bohra girl has claimed and got her full share, according to Mohameden law, from her father's property.

(II) General Remarks : It is a universally admitted fact that the great strength of Islam lies in:-

(a) its simplicity.

(b) its adaptability.

(c) its high but perfectly attainable ethical standard..

Bohras have got the reputation of having attained a comparatively superior ethical standard for the mass of their population.

The simple precepts of Islam are systematically and repeatedly preached to the mob in the stereotyped lectures on the Moharram day, their secret and esoteric doctrines are reserved for a selected few who are raised in their secret Lodge and are considered fit to learn the theosophical, and philosophical principles underlying the teachings of Islam. They have adapted their ceremonies and external religious habits to the necessities of time so well that they were able to protect themselves and their preaching from the Turkish oppression, Hindu opposition & Mogul persecutions for 700 years.

Their ceremonies and religious customs have had the force of law in the community, though they had no legislators or executive authority, yet religious bigotry helped them in the enforcement of their customs.

The orthodox belief is that the Dai is the representative of Imam, who is a representative of God on earth and the following verse of the Holy Quran and similar other verses are so interpreted as to give scripture a legal tone to all orders passed by the Dais.

The first line of the 3rd Ruqu of 11th chapter of Quran.

In-na-l-la hashtara minal mumminina anfivsahum va amwalohum be-anna la humul jan-nah.

God purchased from all the faithful their souls and their property in consideration of the Paradise.

This is so thoroughly impressed on the minds of the bigoted religionists that no Bohra can dare criticise any action taken right or wrong by the Dai or his assistant or Amil.

So long as the subordinate Amils were kept in proper control, so long as the rules of class organisation were strictly used for the protection of Islam, and not misused, self-aggrandisement; so long as the priest classes who administered these rules were educated and free from corruption, the community maintained its ethical superiority in the Islamic world.

Regarding the present day degeneration, the responsible priest classes throw the blame on others and attribute it to western education. Who would believe this in the face of the observations of experienced Arabic scholars like Mr. Brown who says,

"That the ethical standard of Islam is perfect that it has its strong-hold even on the minds of those who are imbibed with European culture and learning."

Recent agitations and litigations expose the mis-managements of the priest class and their inferior education or their total inability to adapt the precepts of Islam to the changed circumstances of the time.

2. With an earnest prayer to Syadna Sardar Tahir Saifud-din for whose long life I as his humble follower, always pray, I conclude this note and beseech His Holiness to mend matters by encouraging higher religious education amongst the priest classes and secular commercial education amongst his followers so that they may keep pace with the advancing world.

An Apology

The writer is prepared to apologise for mistakes, or objectionable expressions, and to correct the mistakes if pointed out to him.

The writer never claims to be an Arabic scholar and the information he collected was from the books referred to and some of the remarks are based on personal observations and authenticated documents which I read from time to time. Any suggestion or correction for the 2nd edition will be thankfully recieved.

21. Appendices

- A. List of subjects in the Ikhwanus-safa.
- B. Translation in English of the oath of allegiance or Ahdul-Aulia.
- C. Translation in English of Ruku Chithi or a letter of prayer for pity on the dead body.

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- D. Geneological table of the present Dai with a list of his relatives.
- E. Lunar Calendars (1) Perpetual (2) hundred years.
- F. List of books of Zahoor time.
- G. List of books referred to in this note.
- H. A map showing the extent of Imam's rule at its zenith.
- I. Qualifications of a Dail-Mutlaq as given by Syadna Hatim in Mojazatulkafia.
- J. Autobiographical note by Syadna Najmuddin to Mr. Free, Agent to the Governor-General.
- K. Enquiry in to the claim of the deputies or Amils of the head priest to the property of a Bohra dying intestate. (Mr. Candy's letter to the Political Agent).
- L. Abstracts of the instances of persecution by the priest classes during the recent excommunication storm. (Abstract of recent cases).

21. Appendix A

List of Subjects of Ikhwanussafa

Vide page 303 of Mosame-Baher vol. II also page 379 of Dr. Brown's Literary History of Persia. Referred to in this book.

I. Mundane Studies

1. Reading and writing.
2. Lexicography and grammar.
3. Calculation and computation.
4. Prosody and the poetic art.

5. The Science of Omens and Portents,
6. The Science of Magic, Amulets, Alchemy and Legerdemain.
7. Trades and Crafts.
8. Buying and selling, Commerce, Agriculture and cattle farming.
9. Biography and Narrative.

II. Religious Studies.

1. Knowledge of the Scripture (i. e., the Quran).
2. Exegesis of the Scripture.
3. The Science of Tradition.
4. Jurisprudence.
5. The Commemoration of God, Admonition, the Ascetic Life, Mysticism (Sufism), and the Ecstatic or Beatific Vision.

The philosophic studies properly so called include,

III. The Philosophic Studies

1. Mathematics, Logic &c. (ar-Riyadiyat, wa'l Mantiqiyyat discussed in Tracts I-XIII (vol. I) which treat of such things as Number, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Arithmetical and Geometrical Relation, Arts and Crafts, Diversity of Human Character and the Categories.
2. Natural Science and Anthropology (at-Tabi'iyat wa'l Insanyat) discussed in Tracts XIV-XXX (vol. II) which treat of Matter, Form, Space, Time and Motion; Cosmogony; Production, Destruction and the Elements; Meteorology; Mineralogy; the Essence of Nature and its Manifestations; Botany; Zoology; Anatomy and Anthropology; Sense-perceptions; Embryology; man as the Microcosm; the Development of the soul (Psychical evolution); Body and

Soul, the True Nature of Psychical Pain and Pleasure; Diversity of languages (Philology).

3. Psychology (an-Nafsanīyyat) discussed in Tracts XXXI-XL (vol. III) which treat of the Understanding, the World Soul &c.

4. Theology (al-Ilāhiyyat) discussed in Tracts XLI-LI which treat of the ideals and methods of the Ikhwanus-safa, the Esoteric Doctrine of Islam; the Ordering of the Spirit world; the Occult Sciences.

The Ikhwanus-safa were essentially synthetical and encyclopaedic, seeking, as Dieterici says (Makrokosmos P. IV), "to correlate all the materials of knowledge, so far as these had reached them; and to construct a synthetic view of the material and spiritual worlds which would guarantee an answer to all questions, conformable to the standpoint of the Culture of that time." In general the topic discussed by them may be divided, according to Dieterici's plan into.....

(1) The Macrocosm, or the Development of the Universe as the Evolution of Plurality out of Unity, an Evolution by Emanation from God through Intelligence, Soul, Primal Matter, Secondary Matter, the World, Nature and the Elements to the final Products or "Threefold Progeny," i. e. the Animal, Vegetable and Mineral Kingdoms.

(II) The Microcosm (Man), or the return ("Remanatio") from plurality to Unity.



Appendix B

English Translation of the covenant†

(Misaq nama or "Aihd-ul-Aulia")

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I ask God's help in all the matters

All praises are due to God, who created the creatures for His worship and was pleased with their worship, united with the belief in His Unity and He connected that belief with rendering His obedience compulsory and who began His creation of all His servants by one whom He made His Caliph on the surface of the Earth and asked His angels to worship him and made it compulsory to curse one who became proud. And God, the most exalted of all the speakers, says: "When we said to the angles worship Adam they all worshipped except Iblis; he refused and was proud and became of the ungodly." If God wished He would have created the whole World in the very moment in which He created him. As the most exalted of the speakers says: "Creating you and rising you is nothing but like that of one single soul." But God, dear and exalted, intended that progeny may continue from him and there be obedience in the world for him alone. In it there is wisdom, which He made firm and an argument, which He put before His world. He did not leave them scattered,

† This is the form of covenant as it is used at present and the text though not identical with the one referred to by the Arabic Historian Miqrizi and detailed by De-Sacy in his book 'Expose' vol. I, it is said to be similar in spirit. I got the text with its translation from a reliable source.

neglected, misguided and blind. Nay, He made for them a general who brings them together, a guide who leads them (to the right path). God gave Adam such a knowledge that he did not become needy towards anybody except God. He (God) made him a male for a female (i.e. He married him with a female) and from them He spread many men and women over the world.

And for the guidance He made an entrance by which one can reach Him and made a ladder to climb to Him and He made a path leading to the ladder and it is a statue of His obligation and His covenant. This covenant gives respect and protection to the people and it is to be protected from the undeserving. Then who so breaks the covenant, God will punish him and whoso fulfills what he promises, God will reward him. So He took covenant upon Adam (peace be on him) and He made it a custom among his descendants, as He says, "And verily we took covenant from Adam before" and He says addressing His worldly worthy creature, Mohommed, His messenger, "And when we took bonds from the prophets, from you, Noah, Moses and Jesus, the son of Mary and we took from them the firm bond." Then God made for every prophet a guilty enemy as He made Iblis an enemy of Adam. This is a custom started and a wisdom. There is no alteration in it, as its beginning gives proof for its end, and its past becomes an argument for its future. Now thanks to God who made everything, created good, and remained Himself alone in His Unity, there being no partner for Him, being not in need of His whole creation, He is Almighty eternal in everp step. Eyes cannot see Him and He sees them. He is subtle and knowing. I bear witness that there is no God except Allah and He is alone

having no partner. And I bear witness that Mohommed is His servant, and His prophet who came with everything complete, giving reward and gift abundantly, and he is merciful for the whole world and a light, for the remaining period shinning. To respect the prophet He kept Imam in his descendants up to the day of judgement. His sons, who become heir for his rank of Imam are like the suns in the darkness. They inherited this Imam in the way (son after father). May God bless Mohommed, the Head of all the prophets, Imam of the Godfearing persons and true of tongue (speech). He was sent at the end of the time towards the men of a nation which was altogether ignorant and kept aloof from the guides. They worshipped idols, obeyed the Satan regarding him as a master. Thus (at this time) he (prophet) spoke with a loud voice and declared the orders and message from Him (God), adventuring, suffering and having patience, thus he became the first towards the belief for which God praised him in His book, saying "Those who are the first are the first and near in the paradise." Further God says, "Surely for the sake of the prophet, God accepted the repentance of Muhajirin and Ansar who obeyed him in the time of difficulty." Thus the first, the first of the first among males is Ali, the son of Abi Talib, the Amir of the believers and his (prophet's) honest caliph; and among females, Khadija, the daughter of Khawaled. Then those who became believers in him (may God bless him and his descendants) followed him. He took according to that their Ahad (covenant) and made it firm continuing the customs of the past prophets and following their traditions. This custom will be continued till the great future. Afterwards the successor of the prophet, Ali, the son of Abi Talib, followed his steps and then

afterwards the Imams from their descendants, whose obedience is made compulsory by God, is connected with His obedience and that of His prophet, peace be on him and his descendants, call towards, God their lord, and make the covenants and bonds firm upon him who answers them following the law of God, the great for his servants. Verily, only for this reason He has created them and for it He ordered them. According to that He made them. If any one of you wish and desire that the curtain of the favourites of God should be shifted away and endeavour to enter the society of the favourites who have no fear, do not grieve, believe in our signs and are Muslims, than he should come forward opening his heart; with presence of mind give ears to the hearing of God's covenant by which His skies and earth are standing, conjoin his soul with it, obeying and desiring and not going against what he expresses, because He has reproached him who is of this condition. He says "And when they meet those who believe they say, we believe; but when they are apart with their devil they say, verily we are with you; we only do mock. God shall mock at them and continue them in their rebellion, blindly wandering" and He says "When the hypocrite come to thee they say, we bear witness that verily thou art the apostle of God; and God knows that verily thou art His apostle but God bears witness that verily the hypocrites are liars. They take their oaths or a cloak and they turn aside (others) from the way of God." Praising those who are faithful to their oaths of fealty, He says "And he who fulfills what he has covenanted with God, He will give him a great reward." And He says "And those who fulfill the covenant when they covenant, and have patience in adversity and hardship and in time of violence, there it is

who are true and these they are the pious." And he who knows that his heart is against it (Ahad) or is unmindful or is not fully desirous of, should go away until God makes him right otherwise he should mix in the society of those who think themselves independent of God and God is all independent and glorious.

You heard my words, are pleased with my conditions and made your soul such as to adopt it, run towards it having in view the Deen and not the wants of the world, and not to play a trick in order to deprive some of you of his rights. If it is so, say "NAAM" (yes), (when they say NAAM tell them, "Hear what I read to you").

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the merciful

You took upon yourselves as a duty and made firm upon your necks the covenant of God which is asked for and confirmed; and His bond which is stout and tight, with your obedience and pleasure, owing to (your) inclination; and not for the sake of fear. You shall not dissemble, use tricks and deceive it. But it should be with true intents, clear purposes, good mind, pure conscience, and sincere secrets. You should refrain from dissembling and treacherous attack (going against what your tongues utter) at the hearing of what you covenant me for the servant of God, his favourite, the Imam Tyeb Abil Qasim Amirul Muminin, peace be on him, his sincere forefathers and his respected sons who are expected (to come one after another) till the day of Deen, but your words should be according to what is hidden in your hearts and what is coiled in your limbs. You bear witness that there is no God except

Allah. He is alone, there is no partner for Him. He is the creator of the skies and the earth and what is between them, and lie within them. And verily Mohommed is His servant and prophet and verily Ali, the son of Abi Talib, is his successor-heir to his position, owner of His hidden knowledge, and the master of the male and female believers after him (prophet). Then from their descendants are Imams who are chosen by God one after another. There can be no time without Imam. And (you) bear witness that Imam Tyeb Abil Qasim Amirul Muminin is your Imam, whose worship is compulsory on whom their (Imam's) will has reached and on whom their blessings are continued.

Say NAAM.

And every body from his descendants or he who will come next whom he will appoint by Nas, or whom he will point out, is Imam whose obedience is compulsory upon the people of his time.

Say NAAM.

And the paradise is true, and the fire (hell) is true, and the moment that will come is true, and God will raise all who are in the graves.

Say NAAM.

You will be regular in time in prayers, give Zakat (tax) properly, keep fasts in the month of Ramzan, in which God has sent the Quran, go to the Baitullah-il-Haram if any one of you can do that, visit the tomb of the grand father of the Imam of your time Mohommed, Peace be on him and his descendants, fight in the cause of God, fulfilling the duty of Jihad (religious war) and will sincerely obey the Imam Tyeb Abul Qasim Amir-ul Muminin, peace be on him, who is your Imam.

Say NAAM.

And you will obey every one whom he will order to obey and you will hear him, will not disobey him, will

not deceive him by false pretence, will not be treacherous, will make him true and not false, will help him and not leave him, will act uprightly and not turn from him, will not change what he will bring to you, will not find faults in him whom he (Imam) will be pleased to choose as a messenger, and will carry out what will be ordered by your Imam Tyeb Abdul Qasim Amir-ul-Muminin, peace be on him.

Say NAAM.

And you will love him whom he (Imam) loves and fight with him whom he fights with, and with him who breaks the covenant, whether he be a principal or a common man, a relative or a distant.

Say NAAM.

You will have no connection with his enemy by letter, message, hint, signal, sign, inclination or trick i. e. with one of the reasons and causes.

Say NAAM.

You will fight sincerely in their Jihad with your wealth and lives when you will be called by Imam or the Dai for that and will not become sluggish and you will not disclose to any one among you separating from what you gave oaths to the Imam Tyeb Amir-ul-Muminin, peace be on him, but you will put it before him (Imam) or one to whom the knowledge will be parted from you.

Say NAAM.

You will not refrain from helping the Imam of your time i. e. the Imam Tyeb Abul Qasim Amir-ul-Muminin, peace be on him, from following him, from his favours, accepting him as Imam, sincerely in his service, and his sincere advice. You shall not be misled from what you covenanted by one gone astray and shall not be turned by a changer notwithstanding you spend at the time of your grand covenant and Missaq by your words NAAM, "We

heard and we agree" which is equal to an oath. God knows your conscience and your secrets in your believing, adopting and fulfilling it. You will not be deceitful and cheating and playing tricks until you meet God on the day of meeting as those who have fulfilled their covenant and preserved their Imam. Say NAAM.

You will conceal what you heard and what you will hear by reading Quran and performing religious rites; you will not disclose what is to be hidden, protecting the religion of God and preserving the laws of the prophet of God, peace be on him, and his descendants. You will not oppose anything with any reason concealing it until you meet God on the day of meeting, while you have concealed what you have been ordered to conceal, so that he may be pleased with you. Nothing false should keep you away from the right because God will not accept from you but with the fulfillment of Ahad (covenant). Say NAAM.

You will be pleased with what will be ordered among you, exalting, degrading, gift, forbidden, refusal, reward, punishment, pleasure and displeasure. Say NAAM.

If any one of you will separate from what I have made firm upon his soul secretly or openly or deceiving in any manner, and in every interpretation, then he is cut off from God, the Creator of the skies and the earth who ordained him (limbs) and blessed him with good health. And he is cut off from Taurat (pentateuch); the gospel; Psalms of David; Quran, the great, and the perfect words, truly and justly. Say NAAM.

All the properties, wealth, movable and immovable properties, capital, jewels, goods, cattle, animals for load and riding, or slaves or whatever he has earned from the

world, these all are alms for the poor Muslims, nothing of which can be regained by any contrivance. Say NAAM.

Whatever he will earn in his remaining life is forbidden to him but by the fulfillment of the covenant which has been taken from him. Say NAAM.

And every slave male or female who is in his possession is free in the cause of God. He has no right for them. Say NAAM.

And all his present wives or those whom he shall marry in future then they are as divorced thrice like the divorce of "Al batah," one kind of divorce (by this divorce the wife is utterly prohibited to the husband and he can never re-marry her) and that of Farz and Sunnat which can be performed at the time of menses. It is the divorce which cannot be regained. Say NAAM.

And he is to go to the old house of God at Mecca to perform thirty pilgrimages on bare foot. God will not acknowledge even that but with the fulfillment (of the covenant). Say NAAM.

Upon him lies God's curse with which God curses the devil. Heaven is forbidden to him and the Fire will burn him. And he will see God on the day of meeting while he is unbeliever. He denies (his existence); and he is separate from the power of God, taking shelter under the power of his conscience. God's curse and wrath upon him and his situation (in the Hereafter) will become worst. Say NAAM.

He inclines away from the worship of God, who is merciful and compassionate, to the worship of idols and he holds what the misled and disobedient people keep hold

of. God will refuse His mercy to him on the day when he will require it. He will not assist him and will quicken his abjectness and his departure towards the fire of hell in which God has no mercy. Say NAAM.

There is no outlet to separate from the obedience of which I have taken oath upon you, and God is sufficient for the evidence. Say NAAM

You heard my words and are pleased with my conditions, have taken upon your necks the firm covenant of God and His stout and tight bond for Moulana Imam Tyeb, peace be on him, and his fathers and sons expected to continue up to the Day of Deen, you agree to fulfill the covenant? Say NAAM

Be cheerful with your covenant with which you swore fealty, while God says, "Verily, those who swore fealty to you do but swear fealty to God, the hand of God is over his hands; then he who perjures himself does not perjure against himself and he fulfills what he has covenanted God, He will give him a great reward." Through his mercy and benevolence, may God make it permanent and not temporary. May God help you the swearers of fealty and ourselves to fulfill the covenant; and may he make us firm to obey him, His prophets and His favourites () and through His mercy may He make us persevering and make our ends better.

All praises are due to God, the one, the omnipotent, peace be on Mohommed, the chosen, on Ali, his successor, the assistant, and on his family the generous, the noble, and the pure. God is sufficient for us. He is good support, good Master and good Assistant. There is no power and strength but with God.

A M E N

A M E N

Appendix C

Translation of Ruku CHITHI which is put in the hand of the deceased, for details of other funeral prayers vide pages 63-71 of Sahifatus-Salat 1896 Edition.*

I seek shelter with the great God and with his excellent Nature against Satan, who has been overwhelmed with stones. O God, this slave of yours who has died and upon whom you have decreed death, is weak and poor and needs your mercy. Pardon his sins, be gracious to him and raise his soul with the souls of the Prophets, and the truthful, the martyrs, and the holy, for to be with them is good. This is Thy bounty. O God have mercy on his body that stays in the earth and show him thy kindness so that he may be freed from pain and that the place of his refuge may be good by your favourite angels; by the serene angels; by your messengers the Prophets, the best of the created; and by the Chosen Prophets, the choice Amin Mohammad, the best of those who have walked on earth and whom heaven has overshadowed; and by his successor Ali, the son of Abi Talib, the father of the noble Imams and the bearer of heavy burdens from off the shoulders of your Prophet; and by our Lady Fatimah-zahara, and by Imams, her off-springs Hasan and Husain, descendants of your Prophet; and by Ali son of Husain; and by Muhammad, son of Ali; and Jafar son of Muhammad and Ismail son of Jafar and Mohamed son of Ismail; and Abdullah-ul-mastur; and Ahmed-al-Mastur; and Husain-al-

*For the Arabic text vide printed Chithies sold in Bazar and for the translation vide of Mr. Campbell's book, Appendix G. I

Mastur and our Lord Mahdi; and our Lord Kaim and our Lord Mansur; and our Lord Muizz; and our Lord Aziz; and our Lord Hakim and our Lord Zahir; and our Lord Mustansir; and our Lord Mustaali; and our Lord Amir; and our Lord the Imam al-Tayyib, Abul Kasim Amir-ul-Mominin; and by their deputies and their representatives; and by the apostles; and by the Kaimi-Akhir-al-Zaman (a) and his representatives; and by the religious Imams of his time. May the blessings of God be upon them and by the apostle Dai (b) for the time being our Sayad and Lord (c) and our Sayad the deputy of his Lordship (d) and our Sayad the neighbour of his Lordship, (e) and the ministers of law who are learned and just. God is the best representative and the best defender. There is no power nor virtue but in God.



- (a) Title of the Mahdi, the coming Imam.
 (b) Title of the High Priest or Mulla Saheb.
 (c) This blank is for the name of the High Priest.
 (d) Blank for the deputy's name.
 (e) Blank for the neighbour's or Assistants' name.

Appendix E (I)

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★ A HUNDRED YEARS CALENDER ★																			
★ From 1301 to 1401 A. H. ★																			
1308	1324	1340	1356	*1369	*1377	1385-93	30 Moharrum	29 Safer	30 Rabi ul aveel	29 Rabi ul akhir	30 Jamadi ul aveel	29 Jamadi ul akhir	30 Rajeb	29 Saban	30 Rumazan	29 Saavai	30 Ziikad	29 Zilhajj	
1316	1332	1348	1364	1372	1380	1401	7	2	3	5	6	1	2	4	5	7	1	3	
1301	*1314	*1330	1346	1362	1378	1394	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	6	1	
*1306	*1322	1338	1354	1370	1386	*1399	3	5	6	1	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	
1307	1323	1331	*1344	*1360	1376	1392	3	5	6	1	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	
1315	*1328	*1336	*1352	1368	1384	1400	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	6	1	2	4	
1305	1321	1337	1353	1361	*1374	*1390	6	1	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	
1313	1329	1345	*1358	1366	*1382	1398	6	1	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	
*1303	*1319	1335	1351	1367	1383	1391	4	6	7	2	3	5	6	1	2	4	5	7	
*1311	1327	1343	1359	1375	*1388	*1396	4	6	7	2	3	5	6	1	2	4	5	7	
1304	1312	1320	*1333	*1349	1365-73	1389	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	
*1309	*1317	*1325	*1341	1357	1381	1397	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	
1302	1318	1334	1342	*1350	*1363	1379-87	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	
1310	*1326	*1339	*1347	1355	*1371	1395	2	4	5	7	1	3	4	6	7	2	3	5	

No. 1					
Sun.	1	8	15	22	29
Mon.	2	9	16	23	30
Tues.	3	10	17	24	
Wed.	4	11	18	25	
Thurs.	5	12	19	26	
Fri.	6	13	20	27	
Satur.	7	14	21	28	

No. 2					
Sun.		7	14	21	28
Mon.	1	8	15	22	29
Tues.	2	9	16	23	30
Wed.	3	10	17	24	
Thurs.	4	11	18	25	
Fri.	5	12	19	26	
Satur.	6	13	20	27	

No. 3					
Sun.		6	13	20	27
Mon.		7	14	21	28
Tues.	1	8	15	22	29
Wed.	2	9	16	23	30
Thurs.	3	10	17	24	
Fri.	4	11	18	25	
Satur.	5	12	19	26	

No. 4					
Sun.		5	12	19	26
Mon.		6	13	20	27
Tues.		7	14	21	28
Wed.	1	8	15	22	29
Thurs.	2	9	16	23	30
Fri.	3	10	17	24	
Satur.	4	11	18	25	

No. 5					
Sun.		4	11	18	25
Mon.		5	12	19	26
Tues.		6	13	20	27
Wed.		7	14	21	28
Thurs.	1	8	15	22	29
Fri.	2	9	16	23	30
Satur.	3	10	17	24	

No. 6					
Sun.		3	10	17	24
Mon.		4	11	18	25
Tues.		5	12	19	26
Wed.		6	13	20	27
Thurs.		7	14	21	28
Fri.	1	8	15	22	29
Satur.	2	9	16	23	30

No. 7					
Sun.		2	9	16	23 30
Mon.		3	10	17	24
Tues.		4	11	18	25
Wed.		5	12	19	26
Thurs.		6	13	20	27
Fri.		7	14	21	28
Satur.	1	8	15	22	29

DIRECTIONS

Take the year for which you want to know the day of the week on a particular date. Then take the number in the same line under the month in the reference table. Then consult the week-day table of that number and you will get the day.

Example.

What day of the week will be on the 1st day of Mohorrum of 1337 A. H.

In the same line with 1337, no. 1 is the number under Mohorrum and in the week-day table no. 1 1st of Mohorrum is on Friday.

Reply-Friday

No. 1					
Sun.	1	8	15	22	29
Mon.	2	9	16	23	30
Tues.	3	10	17	24	
Wed.	4	11	18	25	
Thurs.	5	12	19	26	
Fri.	6	13	20	27	
Satur.	7	14	21	28	

No. 2					
Sun.		7	14	21	28
Mon.	1	8	15	22	29
Tues.	2	9	16	23	30
Wed.	3	10	17	24	
Thurs.	4	11	18	25	
Fri.	5	12	19	26	
Satur.	6	13	20	27	

Week-day Tables

No. 3					
Sun.		6	13	20	27
Mon.		7	14	21	28
Tues.	1	8	15	22	29
Wed.	2	9	16	23	30
Thurs.	3	10	17	24	
Fri.	4	11	18	25	
Satur.	5	12	19	26	

No. 4					
Sun.		5	12	19	26
Mon.		6	13	20	27
Tues.		7	14	21	28
Wed.	1	8	15	22	29
Thurs.	2	9	16	23	30
Fri.	3	10	17	24	
Satur.	4	11	18	25	

No. 5					
Sun.		4	11	18	25
Mon.		5	12	19	26
Tues.		6	13	20	27
Wed.		7	14	21	28
Thurs.	1	8	15	22	29
Fri.	2	9	16	23	30
Satur.	3	10	17	24	

No. 6					
Sun.		3	10	17	24
Mon.		4	11	18	25
Tues.		5	12	19	26
Wed.		6	13	20	27
Thurs.		7	14	21	28
Fri.	1	8	15	22	29
Satur.	2	9	16	23	30

Week-day Tables

No. 7						
Sun.		2	9	16	23	30
Mon.		3	10	17	24	
Tues.		4	11	18	25	
Wed.		5	12	19	26	
Thurs.		6	13	20	27	
Fri.		7	14	21	28	
Satur.	1	8	15	22	29	

DIRECTIONS

Take the year for which you want to know the day of the week on a particular date. Then divide the number by 210 and take the remainder in the year table. Then take the number in the same line under the month in the reference table. Then consult the week-day table of that number and you will get the day.

NOTE : For examples and explanations vide page 149.

The asterix against the numbers in the reference table in the 100 years calender, and under line in the perpetual calender, show that the month of Zilhajja is a leap year with 30 days (Kabisa) Vide page 326 of the Sahifatus-Salat, G-10.

Explanation and Examples for Appendix E (II).

Number 30 represents the maximum number of days in a lunar year. Number 7 is the principal number which gives the names to the sect and on which hinges several quiddities and speculations of Isma'ili doctrine. (vide page 397-402 of the Mousam Behar Vol. III). The product of the two factors 7 and 30 i. e. 210 represents the maximum number for which the calculation is provided in the foregoing table hence it is that the Hijri year is divided by 210 and the remainder shows the number which is to be consulted in the table.

Examples

1. Moulana Imam Husain was martyred on the 10th Mohorram.....

60 A. H. happens in the 6th of the year table line. In the reference table under Mohorram opposite to the number 60 is number 4. In number 4 we find that the 10th Mohorram was Friday. This corresponds with the historical fact.

2. Moulana Aziz-bil-Lah 15th Imam died on 28th Ramzan 386 A. H. According to the calculation the 27th happens to be Tuesday and this corresponds with the day given by Miqrizi. also see page 119 Khulafai-Bani Fatima by Shaikh Zakir Husain Jafari.

3. Syedna Qutbuddin Shahid, Dai no. 32 of Ahmedabad was martyred on 27th Jamdi-ul-Akhir in 1056 A. H. Divide 1056 by 210. The remainder is 6. In the same line with 6 in the reference table under Jamdi-ul-Akhir is the no. 7. In the week-day table no. 7 the 27th is Thursday. This corresponds with the historical fact. Vide page 302, Vol. III, Mousam-i-Bihar.

Appendix F

List of Books of Zahoor time*

(1) By Syadna Hamidud-Din Pontiff.†

(a) Kitabul-masabin fil Imamah.

(b) Kitab Rahatul-Aqal.

(c) Kitab Mizanul Haqiq.

(d) Kitab Aqwaluz zahablah.

(e) Kitabul vaziyah.

(f) Kitab Tanbihul Hadi.

(2) by Syadna Muaid Shirazi.†

(a) Majalisul Irshad fi Tohid va Mabdao Maad.

(b) Kitabun-Nubuwwat, val yasayer, val Imamah.

* For further details the reader is referred to section II of the fifth discourse (Mogalat) of Mohammed bin Ish-haq an-Nadim's book, the Fihrist, Flugel's edition, some manuscripts are available in

(I) Paris Library (II) Kuprulu-zade Library

(III) Viena Library (IV) Leyden Library.

These books are in manuscripts scattered in the libraries mentioned. Those in possession of the Head Priest and the Mashaihs can be available to the Bohras only on permission from the Head Priest.

† Sayedna Hamid-ud-Din Kirmani was a well-known Pontiff of Hakim-Bil-Lah, the 16th Imam.

† Sayedna Moayid Shirazi, son of Hamid-ud-Din was a senior Pontiff of Mustansir-Bil-Lah, the 18th Imam. He died in 470 A. H. (For his description vide Mousam Behar Vol. II Pages 412 and 413. Appendix G. II)

- (3) By Syadna Jafer binel Mansuri Yemen.*
 (I) Rivayate Syadna Jafer.
 (II) Kitabul Faraiz va Hudud-ud-din.
 (III) Kitabur Riza fil Batin.
 (IV) Kitabus-shavahid val Bayan.
 (V) Kitabe Taviluz zakat.
 (VI) Kitabe Tavile Suratun-nisa.
 (VII) Kitakul Kashfa.
 (VIII) Kitabe Sarairun-nutaqa.
 (IX) Kitabe Israrun-nutaqa.
 (X) Kitabul Alim val Gulam.
 (4) By Syadna Abi Hatimir Razi.
 (a) Kitabul Alamun-Nubuwat.
 (b) Kitabuz-Zinat.
 (5) By Syadna Abil Barakat of Mustansir-Bilahi's time.
 (a) Majalis-sutun fil Hikmat.
 (b) 3 vol. of Risalate Majmua fil Haqaiq.
 (c) Majalis fi Marifatun-nafs.
 (d) Risalatus sharifa fi ajsame latifa.
 (6) By Syadna Badre Jamali:†
 (a) Majalise Mustansiria.
 (7) By Syadna Abi Yaqubis-sijistani.
 (a) Kitabul-Iftikhas. (b) Kitabul Asbatun-Nubuwat.
 (c) Kitabul yanabi. (d) Kitabul Maqalid.

* Sayedna Jafer bin Abul Qasim alias Mansur-ul-Yemen was a Dai of Moulana Moiz-Bil-Lah, the 14th Imam and was superior in rank to his contemporary Sayedna Qazi-un-Noman. (Vide Behar, Vol. II Page 587)
 † Badre-Jamali (407-487 A. H.) commander in chief and minister of Moulana Mustansir-Bil-Lah, who suppressed a rebellion in this Imam's time. (Vide page 161 of Tarikhi Fatimi. Appendix G. 9)

Appendix G

Printed books referred to in this Note.

1. Bombay Gazetteer Vol. IX part II by Mr. Campbell I. C. S. and Khan Bahadur Faridi Ast. Comr. Bombay.
2. Literary History of Persia by Dr. Browne M. A., M. B. Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.
3. Gibbon's Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire.
4. Syed Amir ali's History of the Saracins.
5. Syed Amirali's Spirit of Islam.
6. Ethnographic Survey of Central Provinces vol. XVII by Mr. Russell.
7. Todd's Western India.
8. Rasmala by Todd.
9. Khulafai-Fatimin Tarikhe Islam Series no. 55 by Shaikh Zakir Hussain.
10. Sahifatus-salat, 1896 edition printed in the Matbae Tyabi Bombay.
11. Mosame-Bahar by Shaikh Mohamedali Jiwabhai and printed in the Matbae-Safdari Bombay Vol. II & III.
12. Majmua Nasayah by Shaikh Sadiq Ali 1326 A. H. edition.
13. Ockley's History of the Saracins.
14. Gulzare Fatimi printed by the Gulzare Hakimi Press.
15. De-sacy's Religion de Druzes.
16. Vohra Kelwani printed by Gulzare Hakimi in 1338 A. H.
17. Historical Sketch of the Bohra High Priests by Shaikh Faizullahbai B. A. a renowned Arabic Scholar Printed in 1916 A. D.
18. De Sacy's Expose.
19. Tarikhe Miqrizi Al-Mawiz-wal-Aitehar.
20. Report of the Educational Commission of 1882 A.D.
21. Uyunul-Maarif by Shaikh Sharafali.

Appendix I

Qualifications of A Dai-ul-Mutlaq*

As given by Syedna Hatim, the 3rd Dai in his Risala of Mujazat-ul-Kafia, which is an abstract from an extract of the 2nd volume of the seven Historical volumes of Al-Azar her by Hasan bin Nuh (noted in this book). Again Hasan bin Nuh says that he took the extract from Dai Ahmed bin Mohomed Neshapuri of the time of Mustansir Bil Lah; the 18th Imam.

There are in all 94 qualifications detailed in 94 paras which are sub-divided into 4 major heads as under :

A. Educational qualification in 12 paras :

1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 26, 28.

B. Administrative qualifications in 27 paras :

3, 4, 9, 10, 30, 36, 43, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94.

C. Moral and Theocratical qualifications in 27 paras :

5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 51, 52, 53, 91, 97, 93.

D. Family and personal qualifications in 28 paras :

25, 27, 34, 35, 38, 41, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.

1. Dais should have the qualities of the Doctors of Law and Divinity, because Dai is Faqih (doctor of Law and Divinity) outwardly and inwardly (temporal as well as spiritual) (A).

2. Dais should possess the qualities of judges, because a Dai is a judge of outward and inward matters (i. e. temporal and spiritual affairs), so he must possess the following qualifications of a judge :

* The original historical book is in Arabic and in manuscript. The English translation is from the pen of a renowned Arabic scholar. The classification is mine.

Patience; Knowledge; Steadiness (firmness); sound opinion; Prudence; Intelligence; Chastity; Politeness; Fortitude; etc. (A)

3. A Dai should possess the qualities and conditions of a Governor and an Administrator, with mannerliness because he is the ruler of Din over its followers (B).

4. He should have the qualities of observation because he is the witness against the Din and its followers. (B)

5. He must possess the qualities of a Leader in prayers i. e. of a Faish Imam; because he is the Leader of real Namaz and of those who are below him in rank. (C)

6. He should possess the qualities of a Muazzin (inviter), because he is the inviter of the people towards the real Namaz and salvation. (C)

7. He should possess the qualities of trustees and trustworthies, because he is the trustee of the religion of God, His treasures, and the souls of His followers. (C)

8. He should possess the qualities of Mujahids (religious warriors), because he is the Mujahid in the cause of God. (C)

9. He should possess the qualities of a Physician i. e. mildness in the treatment of the patients, because he is the Physician of the Soul. (B)

10. He should possess the qualities of an Astronomer, because he is the Astronomer of Din, he knows it (Din), and is the Mathematician of the wisdoms. (B)

11. He must know the rules of compilation and Mathematics, because he is the compiler of the Logical terms and the words of Wisdom. (A)

12. He must know how to cultivate the ground, i. e. the peculiarities of the soil, the time of sowing and of watering etc. because he has to cultivate the fields of Din using the real ground and dig out the channels for the real water to flow through, and it is the knowledge of the pre-requisites and training. God says "Whoever wishes for cultivation for the after life, we prosper his crops" (XXV 4) A*

* To all quotations from the Holy Quran are attached brackets like this (XXV 4) which means 25th para 4th Ruku.

13. He should have the qualities of a shepherd, i. e. of watching the sheep, giving them water, and grazing them, because he is the real Shepherd of the Soul. Moses says "I feed my sheep by dropping down the leaves for them" and the Prophet said, "Each of you is a shepherd and he is responsible for his herd." (A)

14. He must have the knowledge of trade (sale and purchase) and the qualifications for commerce, because in reality he is the Merchant. God says in the Holy Quran "Shall I show you a trade which will release you from the very hard punishment? Believe in God and in His Prophet and fight (endeavour) the way of God with your money and life. It is the best work for you if you understand." (XXVIII 10). (A)

15. He must possess the qualities of artists, because he is the man who makes dress for them to cover private parts and he is the washer man who washes out dirt from their garments. God says, "The dress of the fear of God is better" (VIII 10) God said to David, "Prepare a perfect armour and make proper iron-rings." And He said, "The dress of the fear of God is your liberty and the dress of the fear of God is your strength." (XIV 17) It is said that the Apostles of Christ were washermen. (A)

16. He must possess the qualities of a sailor because he is the sailor of a real ship.

17. He must possess the qualities of a guide in the thick horrible woods, during the very dark night, because he is the man who guides to the Sirat-ul-Mustaqim (Straight bridge) and the right path. (-)

If a Dai does not possess the above mentioned qualities in reality and is called Dai, then it is the name only without meaning. It will not benefit. It is useless to hope for any spiritual profit from such a Dai. It is simply to catch the handfuls of a gaz. The assumption of the name of Dai, for such a Dai is a sin and it is a sort of burden over him. In the Quran God says, "In the eyes of God the more respectful among you is he who is more God-fearing." (XXVI 14) Respect lies in the education and God-fearing. If the name of Dawat has no connection with the above mentioned con-

ditions, there is no respect, honour or pride for it (the name), rather it is not just, a mock and a blame for its assumed. There are found many such popular names among the people which have their meanings quite contrary. Just like Jungle which (in Arabic) is called a place of Deliverance while it is the place of Perish. Likewise "Maldeegh" (Snake-bitten) is called "Salim" (safe) and "A'ma" (blind) is called "Basir" (seeing), "Aswad" (black) is called "Kafur" (white like campher); and "Firaun" (Pharaoh) is called "Rab" (God); being useless to him. The prophet Mohammed (peace be on him) was called by the unbelievers of Arabia "Sahir" (a magician) and "Majnoon" (Lunatic) and it did not harm him at all. Among all the angels "Iblis" (Satan) was called angel; but when he committed sin, the name did not profit him.

Thereupon it is to be understood that a name does not benefit. There must also be quality and action combined with it; otherwise the name of Dai is simply to deceive and rob the people of their money and to live in luxury at the expense of others. Now we return to the condition of our mission and their explanation.

18. A Dai should believe with strong faith and pure heart in the religion to which he calls. He must believe in the Imam towards whom he calls and in the prophet of God who is the nucleus of Din and Dawat. He must believe in the unity of God; because the man whose belief is not right though he is learned and devoted, and performs the duties of Din with hypocrisy and show, his hypocrisy and his followers cannot derive any profit from his knowledge and mission. His Dawat (mission) cannot prosper and he cannot find new believers and the work of Dawat (mission) cannot be carried on properly. (C)

19. A Dai must keep Takwa (i. e. he must fear God). Fear of God cannot be put, but with the obvious and hidden knowledge. The origin of Takwa is to fear God, the exalted. He should not insert any one in the place of God, He should not attach any quality to God from among the qualities of the creatures. He should neither exalt any dignitary above his rank nor should he

degrade any dignitary below his rank. He should refrain from the forbidden things in the religion and (likewise) should be attached to what is allowed. (C)

20. A Dai must have perfectly the temporal knowledge, the spiritual knowledge, religious knowledge and the Psychological knowledge. God says, "The learned and ignorant are not equal. Verily the intellectual people remember (Him) And God says, "Rather they are miracles in the hearts of those who are given knowledge." (XXIII-15, 16) And God says, "Is he who shows the right path worthy of being followed or he who does not show the right path and is directed (by others)? What is it for you and how you govern?", (XI-9) and the prophet (peace be upon him) says, "There are four things (which are so necessary and important) that if the camels wander so much in their search that they may become lean, it would not be much. (They are as follows): 1. A man should not beg any one except his master 2. He should not fear anything except his sin 3. An ignorant person should not be ashamed of learning. 4. A learned man who does not know something about which he is asked should say that he does not know." And our master and Amir of the believers (Peace be upon him) says, "Half of the knowledge of a man who does not know is that he should say, "God knows more" i. e. he does not know. If I find a youth who does not acquire knowledge, verily I shall make him correct." And God says, "Why should not then a company from every party from among them go forth that they may apply themselves to obtain understanding in religion and that they may warn their people when they come back to them that they may be cautious." (XI-4).

And if the Dai does not know all these knowledges, then they will ask him and he will discuss with the antagonists and then they will defeat him. By that there will be a great disorder, dislike-ness and loss in the religion. Because there is a story about Yunus about his being devoured by the fish. It (the fish) is his antagonist who defeated Yunus (in discussion), sank him and caused him to fall, His being salvaged by it is what happened to him i. e. his weakness and insult to the religion and its followers for the sake of it. (A)

21. A Dai must be chaste and unpolluted. God says "They are men who repent, worship, praise God, walk (on feet), kneel before God, prostrate, order for good deeds, forbid from bad deeds, and observe the precept from God. Convey good news of the Paradise to the believers. If they are such, they are given the good news; while if they are contrary, they shall perish" (XI-3) (C)

22. A Dai must be kind to the believers, must pity them and must look at them with love. God says, "Oh Mchommed, we did not send you but as a kind of merciful (man) for the worlds" (XVII-7). Further God says, "They are merciful towards each other among themselves. You see them kneeling and prostrating. They are seeking for God's mercy and pleasure." (XXIV-12) A Dai must follow the example of God in having mercy upon the worshippers and also the examples of the prophet and the Imam in having mercy and kindness upon the followers though they be disobedient, commit sins, and trouble them (The prophet and the Imams). Further he says, "If God would have arrested the people by their deeds there would not have remained any living creature upon the surface of the earth." (XIV-14) In the same way God says, "Pardon and take the good action and turn your face from the ignorant." (IX-14) (C)

23. A Dai should be humble; he should not be proud over the believers. God says, "It is the next house where we shall allow those who do not want highness upon the earth and do not spread disorder. The next world is for those who fear God." (XX-12) Imam Jafer-us-Sadiq says, "Do not be oppressive to learned men so that your false action may not take away your good right." The prophet says, "Pride is the dress of God. If somebody wants to share it, God will break his back (i. e. punish him). (C)

24. A Dai should be perfectly wise. Wisdom is connected with knowledge, if there is no wisdom with knowledge it is a sort of burden. God says, "Its (of the Quran) meaning cannot be understood but by the learned." (XX-16) Again He says, "Verily the wise man remember (Him)." (XXIII-16) Again he says, "Eat

and graze your goats, verily in it there are signs for the wise man." (XVI-11) (A)

25. A Dai must be of the noble lineage, because in the eyes of the people there is respect for the lineage. If a Dai is of low lineage the people will refuse to sit before him and get education (from him). Owing to the humble lineage of Dai and his low occupation, people shrink from entering the Dawat. It is simply for this reason that even in the wordly rule noble lineage is given preference. People greatly respect the noble family. (D)

26. A Dai should be generous-hearted. He should not be miser. Miserliness is meanness. God says, "When they spend they do not become extravagant nor they become miser. They take the middle path. (XIX-4) If a Dai is miser the believers will assume his habit and will perish. A deserving man should be given and the man who is not deserving should also be given in order to draw him towards the religion. When it is an occasion to spend he should not act as a miser so that the believers may not be ruined. The prophet said, "God has created Generosity in the mind of a religious person." Further he says, "Generosity is a tree whose root lies in the paradise. Whosoever catches hold of the branch of this tree is drawn towards the paradise by the branch. While miserliness is a tree whose root lies in the hell. Whosoever catches hold of the branch of this tree is drawn towards the hell by that branch." It is said that a generous ignorant man is better than a learned miser man. Generosity is praised by all the people and the religion. (A)

27. A Dai must speak truth. If a Dai is not a true man people will not take his words true. And how they can accept his words and how they can have confidence in him? God says, "Fear God and remain with the true persons and those are the Imams (Peace be on them)" (XI-4). (C)

28. A Dai should be polite because politeness is the part of Imam. If a Dai gives up the politeness he will be degraded in the eyes of the believers, and all the believers will look down upon him. (A)

29. A Dai should possess modesty because modesty is a part of Iman. Modesty will prevent him from committing such things which defame the religion. Through modesty he will fulfill the hopes of the people, through modesty he can tolerate every kind of difficulty and through modesty he will treat the people with politeness. (C)

30. A Dai should have sound opinion and good policy, because without good policy the affairs of Dawat cannot be accomplished. If owing to bad policy he commits a mistake in the affairs of Dawat, it will corrupt the Dawat and the believers will be ruined and it will be most difficult to get rid of it either with reason or with any cause. It is said that there are four things which progress towards four things. Wisdom towards government; opinion towards administration; knowledge towards issuing; and mildness towards respect. (B)

31. A Dai should act according to his words because Din is by fidelity and keeping the solemn oath. Since when a Dai is faithless and deceitful the people will follow his example and act accordingly and consequently the Din will be corrupted. In the Quran God praises faithfulness saying, "Abraham fulfilled (the promise)" (XXVII-7) Further he says, "Ismail was true to his words." (XVI-7) (C)

32. A Dai should conceal the secrets, because the foundation of Din is upon concealing the mysteries i. e., the mysteries of Din. Din should not be disclosed to those who are not deserving. When he discloses the mystery he loses his religion. Some times disclosing of the mysteries of the Din brings calamities over the believers and causes the spoilation of the whole province.

33. A Dai should treat the believers kindly and mercifully. He should not be malicious and he should not be enraged with revenge, prejudice, contest and quarrel because the believers are short of knowledge and they always commit blunder and mistake; and if on their repentance they are not forgiven they become hopeless. And God says, "O my servants, whoever have committed

sins, be not hopeless from my mercy, I shall forgive all your sins." (XXIV-3) And God said to Mohommed (Peace be on him), "Adopt forgiveness, command with favour and turn aside from the ignorant people." (IX-14). And God says, "Lower down your hands for him who followed you i. e., for the believers." (XIV-6) (C)

34. A Dai's, speech should be sweet. His interpretation and language should be clear, so that men may be found of hearing his speeches. His lectures should not be such that the people may become tired of and dislike them. God says, "Good words are just like a pure tree." (XIII-16) Again He says "Pure words are raised (towards God)." (XXII-16) Prophet says, "verily the oratory is a magic." (D)

35. A Dai should be patient and mild because the men of different understandings come to him with different aims and questions. If he tremble and get angry, the people will hate him. God says "If thou (Mohammed) art hard-hearted the people will go away from you." (IV-8) And again God orders, "Be patient because your patience is for God." (X-2) He says again, "Have patience" as those of deliberate minds from among the apostles (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus) have done" (XXVI-4) There was none more patient than the prophets, Wasis, and Imams notwithstanding the people's worst natures and their disobedience. They had patience and tolerated their conditions and they looked at the sinners with the eye of mercy and love in order that they might release them from the torture of hell. (D)

36. A Dai should be a statesman, because the root of government is statesmanship. One who cannot administrate both the wordly and heavenly affairs, is not a perfect governor. It is said that every one who want Riyasat should suffer the difficulties of administration. And the Dai should rule over the people from their religious point of view and he should decorate the souls with learning so that his Dawat (mission) may be complete. (B)

37. A Dai should possess the culture of soul besides learning, because without the culture of soul there is no beauty for

It (learnings). It is not agreeable, and its possessor has no respect and no one is benefited by his knowledge. (C)

38. A Dai should be greatly bold because great affairs of Din and the world are attributed to him. God conquers the land for the Imams of His religion through the hands of His Dais and Hujjats. (D)

39. A Dai should be social and of good disposition as God says, "You should behave obligingly with the people." (IV-14) Moulana Jafar. (peace be on him) says, "behave with the people according to their natures and do not call them pigs (swine)." Again he says, "Make us beloved by the people and do not make us hated by them." (C)

40. A Dai should be acquainted with the abilities of the people. When he looks at them and hears their talks he may know whether he is appropriate for Din or not, whether he is capable to grasp the knowledge or not. He (Dai) should make his selection good and should investigate his (person's) qualities so that his position may be clear to him. (C)

41. A Dai should know the Imam's manners of living (life) and should be acquainted with the arrangements of Dawat in order that he may follow them according to their manners and customs (D).

42. A Dai should, if possible, make journey in order to visit the countries, to be acquainted with the natures of their inhabitants and see what kind of learning they have got the taste for and inclined to in order that he may choose for them such a person who can withstand their controversies. (C)

43. A Dai should know the rights of those who come to him (from other countries). He should know what they suffered from difficulties and troubles (in the way) and from parting with their family, country, and property. He should know the rights of ambassadors and visitors and he must know that they suffered in the way from fears and troubles and that every one of them is dear and respectable in his country, and that he has invested his

life and wealth and suffered the trouble only for the sake of Din. He should not esteem them lightly, should not look at them with the eye of contempt, should not despise their lords, and should not look at them like a lord and majestic, wealthy and affluent person. He should know that the hearts of the kings, Amirs, leaders, chiefs and believers can be conciliated and won only by conferring obligation upon their ambassadors. Every one of them sends with the message, one whom he respects, in whom he has confidence, and whom he has chosen for virtues which are obvious in him, though the sendee does not know. He (Dai) should know that by the obligation offered to the ambassador the sender glories, is pleased and deduces the argument that his ambassador is honoured according to his dignity and that he trusts the ambassador's words more than anything written to him. The hatred of most of (the people of) countries, Amirs, Dais and chiefs from Din and Dawat is only for the sake of lightness and annihilation recieved through their ambassadors. This is the point which the Dai should not be tired of and unmindful to for whatever will be sacrificed in this way will never be lost. (B)

44. A Dai should send to every country such a missionary who knows the language of that country, as God says, "We did not send any apostle, but he knows the language of the people (to whom he is sent) so that he might explain to them (i. e. he might explain to them the right in their language)." (XIII-13) For this very reason God gave every prophet a miracle for a thing which was claimed by his (prophet's) followers knowledge and eloquence. Thus as the followers of Abraham (peace be on him) worshipped fire his miracle was to cool it. As the followers of Moses (peace be on him) claimed for magic; his miracle was the rod. As the followers of Jesus (peace be on him) claimed for medicine; his miracle was to cure the blind from birth and lepers, and to bring the dead to life, which they were unable to do. Likewise as the Arabs boasted of eloquence and bravery, the miracle of the prophet (peace be on him) was the Quran (full of eloquence) and the sword of his Wasi (peace be on him) so that God silenced them (Arabs), humiliated and defeated them with it, (sword) (C)

45. Similarly a Dai of every province should be acquainted with the religions of its inhabitants, their sciences and their natures and with what they incline to, and long for and their intellectual capacities so that he may discuss with them and they may accept his knowledge. (D)

46. A Dai should know the positions and ranks of the learned men, should exalt and respect them and should not look at their poverty and the littleness of their magnificence; because the minds of the learned men are big and proud. They cannot endure humility and lightness. Humiliation for the learned men is a difficult thing. A slightest wound (in their hearts) makes them lie in ambush; and they select something wrong from the tongue or some mistakes in the past words and then they disclose his defect and take away the water from his mouth (i. e. disrespect him). For this same reason, the honour of the Din lies in the honour of learned men. He who respects the learned men, respects the Din, and he who annihilates the learned men, indeed annihilated himself. When the people will see the respect of the learned men they will be inclined to learning and they will learn. Thus the respect of learning will be so much increased that God, the great, will exalt him. (C)

47. A Dai should value the education and respect the educated persons, because the people will come to the conclusion that the Dai is also from among the learned men, and when they will see that the Dai believes in and confirms what he (Alim) says then they will also accept from him. (D)

48. The sittings of the Dai should mostly be with the learned, because if he is learned, it will increase his knowledge and they will learn from him and if he is not learned they will benefit him with learning. If he commits error in anything out of knowledge they will set him right before it can reach the antagonists and they reproach him and make it an antagonist against him. When he sits with the learned men he should take himself to the recitings and questioning, so that he is required to think over it and explain its meanings and then should be intent upon trying his best in thinking over and in teaching; because God says, "God promotes those who believe from among you and those who are given knowledge in ranks." (XXVII-2)

And this is addressed to the dignitaries from Mukasir to Bab, because each of them is a Dai (teacher) of him who is under him. He has the capacity of teaching but it is meant also that he utilises it. Again God has said, "Among the servants of God, only the learned men fear him." (XXII-16) (D)

49. A Dai should respect the abstinent and devotees from among the men of Din (believers) and should allow them to approach so that the people may be inclined to worship education and abstinence. (D)

50. A Dai should keep the mischievous men away after advising and admonishing them. He should not sit with them more and should not have any friendship with them because who loves a community is supposed to belong to them. The man is known by his companion. God says, "And if a person turns away from remembering the Most Merciful, then we shall prepare the Satan for him and he will be his companion. (XXV-10) And by keeping the mischievous men aloof and by reproaching them, men are prevented from doing mischief and they do not desire to do so, moreover he must more extensively reprimand them (D)

51. A Dai should not be ambitious because ambition is the origin of all the calamities. It is stated from Moulana Amir-ul-Muminin, May God bless him, that he was asked, "What is Din?" Thereupon he replied, "it is abstinence from immoralities." Again he was asked, "What is the cause of its ruin?" He said, "It is ambition." Ambition carries the Dai to take bribe in the affairs of Din. Then the first inevitable default in doing so is the breakage of the covenant because a vow had been taken from him that he should not be dishonest to the Imam of his time, neither in money matters nor in (the affairs of) Din, and if a person does so indeed he acts perfidiously; and if a man breaks the vows, certainly he goes out of the Din and he is dismissed from the office of Dawat. After that if he takes vow from anybody or he teaches secret knowledge to him, then surely this act is an adultery and debauchery there will be no goodness in it because he belongs to the person other than God, therefore he is thrown down and deprived of all Goodnesses (C)

52. The Dai should not be desirous of worldly rule, because that will carry him to falsehood, either in looking for the Riyasat with pure intent, or he may tell a lie after he has acquired the Riyasat, for the fear that the Riyasat, may not be disproved to him; and that thing will bear him to abuse that person whom he thinks fit for the Riyasat, that person being one of his friends, so that he (the person) may not reach to it; and it will compel him to think himself above all of his companions to tell a lie; and he will follow their faults and other similar things will be committed by him. And the falsehood is the root of all the reproaches. The result of telling lie is back-biting and back-biting transmits enmity, malice, separation, quarrels, etc. and on account of that the man goes out of the Din and the covenant. (C)

53. A Dai should not be greedy and licentious. Greediness and license tend to develop the body and by doing so the share in education of the soul is neglected. Greediness and license result in miserliness. Love for the money is created and ambition increases. Ambition teaches dishonesty and one who misappropriates is driven out of the religion and the covenant (C)

54. A Dai should not blame the believers falsely and have wrong suspicion in them. To have wrong suspicion in the people and distrust them is the work of mean persons and the low persons bend towards base things. This is the departure from the religion and excellence. (D)

55. The Dai should not be jesting very much because it takes away dignity and awe and transmits malice and enmity in the heart. It is said that joking is the beginning of the mischief, because if it is done with the person who is under him, it incites him to become bold, it removes awe then it ends into enmity. And if it is done with the person who is his superior, he bears grudge against him and hostility takes place between them. (D)

56. The Dai must not be obscene in speech and should not talk foolish things because it is a lie, false charge and sinful. In doing so the dignity and awe go away, and the position is degraded. It is said that if any chief dwells upon talking stupid and obscene things then it is attributed to the littleness of the wisdom and knowledge. (D)

57. The Dai must be bearing gravity of manners, dignified and wise in his tribe. He must possess excellent character. He should be elegant, graceful and pleasant so that none who looks at him may look at him contemptuously, because elegance and charming appearance produce good impressions in the hearts, produce influence and awe which is difficult without it, and for the same purpose God has said, "He increased extensively his knowledge and his body." (II-16) Similarly he must select from among the Mustajilin, him whose person is erect, he is free from all defects; because it shows the rightness of the temperament, and the rightness of the temperament shows the excellence of the conduct and selection and also shows the excellence of accepting and fulfilling capacity and plenty of virtues. Now as it is necessary on choosing the person to select a person of erect and beautiful form, so in the same way it is compulsory to see the uprightness of his character, his words and pioussness and similarly God has ordered that they should choose for presents and offerings an animal which is free from all defects, giving hints for selecting the Mustajili in the Batin. And the prophet has forbidden not to make an offer of an animal whose horns are broken wholly; not broken limbs; he ordered that the animal's eyes and ears should be seen so that they may not be blind mutilated and itchy; and also he forbade from offering a lame animal, lean and itchy from before and behind. The Tawil of whole of this is the selection of a Mustajili so that there should not be any defect in him which we mentioned; such as in his religion, his nature, his conduct and his habit. (D)

58. A Dai should be acquainted with the defects of those who come to him to be converted. If he finds anything unworthy in him, he should not take the covenant (he should not convert him). It is owing to the shortness of the power of discretion in a Dai that corruption arises in the community. (D)

59. The Dai should be free from all these faults, because as long as he does make himself upright, the people will not be set right on his hands; and for that God has said, "Protect your souls so that none who is misguided can harm you when you keep yourselves in the right way and towards God is your retreat."

(VII-4). It means that you should dwell upon improving your souls. When you have improved your souls, and even then the Mustajili whose oath of fealty you have taken, is spoiled without any fault on your side, then neither his spoilation nor his going astray will harm you. But when you have not mended yourselves and the Mustajili is spoiled by your corruption, the default will be with you and you are the man to spoil him. When the Dai chooses the Mustajili and finds him free from all the defects, then it is necessary for him that in taking the oath of fealty from him his intention must be sincere for God and His apostle. He should not have any desire except for God, such as, covetousness, rank, thanks, recommendation or kindness in worldly matters, and his favour to the Mustajili should not be for the sake of wealth and pomp, nay, it should be for the Din. The Dai should know the purpose of the Mustajili and should investigate his intention and reasons for coming into the Din. Because if his intention be for other than God, then he should not take his oath of fealty. And if his intention is for God and for the Din only, then first he should discuss with him, falsify his former creed and remove all the false tenets till there remains no objection for him; God as says. "When you meet those who disbelieve, strike off their necks until you have slaughtered them, then bind the fast bonds; then either a free dismissal afterwards or a ransom until the war has laid down its burdens" (XXVI-3) and quench him with documentary arguments just as the animal of offering is not slaughtered until the water is given to it. Afterwards when he finishes his discussion with him and desires to take the vow of allegiance from him then the custom is that he should take the oath after the Mustajili has kept fast for three days then both of them should cleanse themselves and each of them should have offered two Rakats of Namaz so that there may be more purification of him (his soul or intention). Then he should begin with praising and adorning God, with praying god for blessing, His prophet and the pure Imams, in taking from him the vow of allegiance of God, of allegiance of God, of His angels, of His prophets, of the Wasis and Imams, and that of the Imam of his own time, may God bless all of them, and the oath of faithfulness to him according to

what is prescribed for him in the covenant, and in taking the oath that he will believe in God, His angels, His apostles, and the Imams, from Wasi to the present Imam, that he will perform the outward and the inward, that he will assist the Imam of his time, and will not divulge anything of the secrets of the Din to him who does not deserve it and also to him who has not taken the covenant and also to him who has not taken the covenant, that he will that he will not be dishonest to anyone of the Mumins who are with him in the covenant, that he will love him who loves the Imams, and will be hostile to him who is hostile to the Imam, that he will take pains in advising sincerity for God, His prophet, and His favourite (i. e. Imam) and that if he will break the covenant then the same thing will be imposed upon him that is imposed upon the breakers of the oath. The Dai should call them towards the Imam of his time, ascribe the knowledge to him (i. e. Imam) and should not attribute a single word of that to himself, afterwards when he has made the oath of allegiance and faithfulness firm, then he should rear up the Mustajili with the knowledge and consolidate on him the principles according to the order. In the beginning he should not give him more knowledge because he will be confused just like the infant, when more food is given in the beginning of his life, that food kills him. He (Dai) should teach the higher knowledge to the Mustajili as much as he can understand; and at first he should consolidate on him the knowledge of Tauhid (monotheism), the belief in God, and the prophet and his obedience, the belief in the Imams and his obedience; as God says, "Obey God, His prophet, and the men of authority from among you." (W-3) Then he should promote him to the knowledge of all the Hudood (Dignitories) and their situations so that he may not exaggerate one's position, and similarly explain to him and authenticate them with the evidence of the wide world and the creatures therein as God says, "Presently we shall show them our signs in the wide world and in their own souls until it becomes clear that it is right." (XYV-1). The Dai also should know that if he has taken the solemn covenant from him, and if he has not educated him, has not consolidated the principles before him, and if he is miserly with him in that knowledge which he deserves, then he is just like

the man of whom God informs, "Those who are miserly and bid the people to become miserly." (V-3). And as he says, "Do not kill your children being afraid of becoming poor, we, shall give sustenance to them and to you." (XV-4). And also he should not be profuse in giving knowledge to the Mustajili because it will wound them severely and confuse them and it will cause indigestion and derangement to them. He should act as God has informed, "those people when they spend do not become profuse nor miserly and between them is the equity." (XIX-4), (D).

(0. The Dai should answer the man who questions him according to his power of understanding, his rank and wisdom, as God says, "We have the treasures of every thing and send them as much as is required." (XIV-2). The Prophet says, "I am commanded to talk with the people according to their wisdom." Because if a person is replied below his dignity and knowledge, he will not be satisfied by it; and if he is replied above his dignity he will not be able to bear it and thus he will be spoiled. The learned Dai is he who can know the extent of the knowledge of the Mustajili from his question when he speaks; he can also know whether the question belongs to him or to other than him. And every question is not to be answered because sometimes it happens that the question is taken from another person, or from the book, nay, the (Dai) should consider, if there is any originality of it with him then it should be answered to him according to what he deserves and if with him there is no origin for what is asked, then he will know whether his intention was to learn or to observe and point out other people's weaknesses. And it is not allowed that the questioner may be turned away, nay, he should be replied according to what he deserves, as God says, "And if the questioner comes to you, you should not scare him away." (XXX-18) The Prophet says, "Do not chide him who asks, although he comes on horse-back." And he said, "Return the beggar, though with a piece of the date." Now the beggar horse-back is he who belongs to the degree of Hujjat and Dais. The prophet said, "They did not turn him but they replied him according to his knowledge and dignity." The piece of a date is a piece of outward knowledge and it is the inner knowledge. (D)

61. A Dai should not be proud and looking round in self-admiration. God says in the Quran, 'Lugman said to his son, "Do not walk on the surface of the earth proudly. God dislikes vain and proud persons."' (XXI-II). (D).

62. The Dai should appoint a time for the believers of high rank (who have acquired the perfect knowledge) so that these learned men may ask him questions according to their numbers in order of their degrees, and according to what is in their minds, besides the common Mustajilin, as God has informed of a Mustajili; he was present in Solomon's conference, and questions began to be raised which were above the rank of those Mustajilin. Then that Mustajili said to the whole of the Mustajilin, "Stand up, we shall go back to our Dais (teachers) and to our ranks so that our tenets may not be spoiled by what is communicated among themselves. It is above our dignity." and Solomon approved that.

Then God mentions, "An ant said, O the ants, get in your dwellings so that Solomon and his armies may not crumble you, and they do not know." (XIX-17) And God says, "When in the evening excellent studs, the Hujjats and the Dais produced their questions at the special time apart from the whole tribe." (XXIII-12). "And that birds ranged in a line" means that every one of Dais, Mazoons and Mumins in his corresponding seat, one does not intermingle with the other. (B).

63. A Dai should look to the believers and Mazoon and find out a man who is always fond of learning, who always acts according to the religion, who always pays attention to the hidden knowledge (Tawil), who is clever, and who abstains from unlawful things. He should scrutinize such a man in different ways, such as temporal and spiritual, by giving him powers, and investigate into his conditions keeping him unaware of all these things. If he (Dai) finds him perfect, he should raise him to the high ranks up to that of a Dai, in the beginning he should give him the work of teaching the new believers. If he performs it properly, he should raise him to the high rank, and should send him to town which is near and wherefrom all the news of his works can be received properly. If he discharges his duty there properly he (Dai) should

necessary for him that in taking the oath of fealty from him his intention must be sincere for God and His apostle. He should not have any desire except for God, such as covetousness, rank, thanks, recommendation or kindness in worldly matters and his favour to the mustajili should not be for the sake of wealth and pomp, nay, it should be for the Din. The Dai should know the purpose of the Mustajili and should investigate his intention and reasons for coming into the Din. Because if his intention be for other than God, then he should not take his oath of fealty. And if his intention is for God and for the Din only, then first he should discuss with him, falsify his former creed and remove all the false tenets till there remains no objection for him; as God says, "When you meet those who disbelieve, strike off their necks until you have slaughtered them, then bind the fast bonds; then either a free dismissal afterwards or a ransom until the war has laid down its burdens." (XXVI-5) and quench him with documentary arguments just as the animal of offering is not slaughtered until the water is given to it. Afterwards when he finishes his discussion with him and desires to take the vow of allegiance from him then the custom is that he should take the oath after the Mustajili has kept fast for three days then both of them should cleanse themselves and each of them should have offered two Rakats of Namaz so that there may be more purification of him (his soul or intention). Then he should begin with praising and adorning God, with praying God for blessing, His prophet and the pure Imams, in taking from him the vow of allegiance of God, of His angels, of His prophets, of the Wasis and Imams, and that of the Imam of his own time, may God bless all of them, and the oath of faithfulness to him according to what is prescribed for him in the covenant, and in taking the oath that he will believe in God, His apostles, and the Imams, from Wasi to the present Imam, that he will perform the outward and the inward, that he will not divulge anything of the secrets of the Din to him who does not deserve it and also to him who has not taken the covenant, that he will not be dishonest to anyone of the Mumins who are with him in the covenant, that he will love him who loves the Imams, and will be hostile to him who is hostile to the Imam, that he will take pains

in advising sincerity for God. His prophet, and His favourite (i. e. Imam) and that if he will break the covenant then the same thing will be imposed upon the breakers of the oath. The Dai should call them towards the Imam of his time, ascribe the knowledge to him (i. e. Imam) and should not attribute a single word of that to himself. Afterwards when he has made the oath of allegiance and faithfulness firm, then he should rear up the Mustajili with the knowledge and consolidate on him the principles according to the order. In the beginning he should not give him more knowledge because he will be confused just like the infant, when more food is given in the beginning of his life, that food kills it. He (Dai) should teach the higher knowledge to the Mustajili as much as he can understand; and at first he should consolidate on him the knowledge of Tauhid (monotheism), the belief in God, and the prophet and his obedience, the belief in the Imams and his obedience; as God says, "Obey God, His prophet, and the men of authority from among you." (V-5) Then the knowledge of all the Hudood (Dignities) and their situations so that he may not exaggerate one's position, and similarly explain to him and authenticate them with the evidence of the wide world and the creatures therein as God says, "Presently we shall show them our signs in the wide world and in their own souls until it becomes clear that it is right" (XXV-1). The Dai also should know that if he has taken the solemn covenant from him, and if he has not educated him, has not consolidated the principles before him, and if he is miserly with him in that knowledge which he deserves, then he is just like the man of whom God informs, "Those who are miserly and bid the people to become miserly." (V-3). And as he says, "Do not kill your children being afraid of becoming poor, we shall give sustenance to them and to you." (XV-4) And also he should not be profuse in giving knowledge to the Mustajili because it will wound them severely and confuse them and it will cause indigestion and derangement to them. He should act as God has informed, "those people when they spend do not become profuse nor miserly and between them is the equity." (XIX-4), (D)

60. The Dai should answer the man who questions him according to his power of understanding, his rank and wisdom.

as God says, "We have the treasures of every thing and send them as much as is required." (XIV-2). The Prophet says, "I am commanded to talk with the people according to their wisdom." Because if a person is replied below his dignity and knowledge, he will not be satisfied by it; and if he is replied above his dignity he will not be able to bear it and thus he will be spoiled. The learned Dai is he who can know the extent of the knowledge of the Mustajili from his question when he speaks; he can also know whether the question belongs to him, or to other than him. And every question is not to be answered because sometimes it happens that the question is taken from another person, or from the books, nay, the (Dai) should consider if there is any originality of it with him then it should be answered to him according to what he deserves and if with him there is no origin for what is asked, then he should give him mild reply; then he will know whether his intention was to learn or to observe and point out other people's weaknesses. And it is not allowed that the questioner may be turned away, nay, he should be replied according to what he deserves, as God says, "And if the questioner comes to you, you should not scare him away." (XXX-18) The Prophet says, "Do not chide him who asks, although he comes on horse-back." And he said, "Return the beggar, though with a piece of the date." Now the beggar on horse-back is he who belongs to the degree of Hujjat and Dais. The prophet said, "They did not turn him but they replied him according to his knowledge and dignity." The piece of a date is a piece of outward knowledge and it is the inner knowledge. (D)

61. A Dai should not be proud and looking round in self-admiration. God says in the Quran, "Lukman said to his son, 'Do not walk on the surface of the earth proudly. God dislikes vain and proud persons.'" (XXI-II) (D)

62. The Dai should appoint a time for the believers of high rank (who have acquired the perfect knowledge) so that these learned men may ask him questions according to their numbers in order of their degrees, and according to what is in their minds, besides the common Mustajilin, as God has informed of a Mustajili; he was present in Solomon's conference, and questions began to be

raised which were above the rank of those Mustajilin. Then that Mustajili said to whole of the Mustajilin. "Stand up, we shall go back to our Dais (teachers) and to our ranks so that our tenets may not be spoiled by what is communicated among themselves. It is above our dignity." and Solomon approved that.

Then God mentions, "An ant said, O the ants, get in your dwellings so that Solomon and his armies may not crumble you, and they do not know." (XIX-17) And God says, "When in the evening excellent studs, the Hujjats and the Dais produced their questions at the special time apart from the whole tribe." (XXIII-12). "And that birds ranged in a line." means that every one of Dais; Mazoons, and Mumins is in his corresponding seat, one does not intermingle with the other. (B)

63. A Dai should look to the believers and Mazoon and find out a man who is always fond of learning, who always acts according to the religion, who always pays attention to the hidden knowledge (Tawil), who is clever, and who abstains from unlawful things. He should scrutinize such a man in different ways, such as temporal and spiritual, by giving him powers, and investigate into his conditions, keeping him unaware of all these things. If he (Dai) finds him perfect, he should raise him to the high ranks up to that of a Dai. In the beginning he should give him the work of teaching the new believers. If he performs it properly, he should raise him to the high rank; and should send him to town which is near and wherefrom all the news of his works can be received properly he (Dai) should raise him to higher ranks, one after another and send him as Dai (missionary). When he has discharged the duty in the country with credit, the Dai should again investigate into his conditions properly. If his qualities are considered properly and he is found able he (Dai) should have him in his own place and make him his Caliph, as Moulana Muiz-Bil-iah says, "A Mumin (believer) will not be called a Mumin unless he prepares another man like himself." A Dai should be diligent in selecting a most worthy and fitting Dai specially when he is to be sent to the countries whereof the rulers are oppressive.

64. A Dai should not invest anybody with the authority of Dawat in reward of his services or in fulfillment of promise, or for the sake of friendship, relation, commendation or kindness, or to draw any sort of profit or being ashamed of something or to remove any inconvenience or being struck by (somebody's) awe or fear; because all of these things are out of Din and far from justice and honesty and advice for God's sake and the Prophet. Most of the quarrels which happened in the Din, took place for all these reasons.

It is related that the King of Rome wrote to Noshervan asking, "What is the thing that has made your affairs (of government) upright so that there is not found any sort of disorder in them." He (Noshervan) said, "It is because I do not appoint anybody for the sake of kindness, but for the sake of perfectness. I do not punish anybody for the sake of anger, but for crime. I do not give for friendship, but for claim, and I do not break promise." Thus the whole of the religious and worldly governments depend upon these words, though they are taken by them (Kings) from the saints of God of their times. And in its (proper) place it is beautiful. A Dai should appoint a man as a governor of Dawat for ability and not for kindness (B).

65. A Dai should not try to dismiss a Dai who is on right path in the Dawat for the sake of envy or the defect in serving him. But he should dismiss him for his dishonesty in the Din (if he is proved traitor to the mission). If he sees a man who is perfect and religious, he should employ him though he does not like him and though there is a fright between him and the man. Thus if he left righteousness and turned away from it, he oppressed, governed the oblique case, transgressed and broke his solemn vow. (B).

66. If a Dai finds dishonesty or a mistake in a believer or Mazoon, he should determine to advise him. If he does not accept the advice and his actions are such as to harm the worldly as well as the religious matters he should strongly advise. If he does not accept even that he should dismiss him and transfer him to another

place. If there be in him a fault which will not harm the Dawat, he (Dai) should conceal it. And if there be in him a fault which will harm the Dawat, he should disclose it so that it may be a warning for others and distinction between good and bad. If he sees goodness, honesty, chastity, and knowledge in a believer or Mumin, it is his duty to honour him more, praise him and to trust him more and raise him in rank so that he may be encouraged to try more and there may be temptation for others to make themselves like him the (believer). If he makes no distinction between the good and the bad the people will not desire to do good and the evil will increase (or they will be corrupted). (B).

67. A Dai should not get angry with anybody for any thing except in the cause of God. He should not make friendship with anybody, but for the cause of God. Thus God, the exalted, says, "You will find that the men of a community which believe in God and in the Last day, do not make friendship with those, who are the enemies of God and the Prophet." (XXVIII-3). The Prophet (Peace be upon him) said, "The man will be raised on the day of Resurrection with him whom he loves." (D).

68. A Dai should keep his doors open for the people and he should not be strictly secluded, because there come to him both friends and foes and when they would not approach him they will become alien and malignant; and sometimes the death approaches and they die in darkness (misguided). (B).

69. The Dai's door-keeper (warder) should be one of the men of Din; he should be worthy of confidence and faithful, and he should love the believers and respect them, so that when it is time to be admitted, he may allow them to enter with good-heartedness; and when it is not the time of a mission, he may turn them with good words and inform his master of their coming when he may approach him (master). Sometimes the children of men and their wives come to the house of the Dai, and if the warder is not worthy of confidence then it is not advisable. (B).

70. A Dai's chamberlain (Hajib) should be wise, sweet of speech, of open countenance, chaste and free from ambition, because the

chamberlain of a chief is his lieutenant. It is said that the chamberlain of a person is the sign of his management. The well-being of the subordinates (or intimate friends or domestics) is the proof of the well-being of the chief. There is nothing more injurious to the chief than the corruption of his domestics, his love for his domestics and his relatives; and his inclination being more to them are more harmful especially to a Dai. (B).

71. A Dai's clerk should be a Mumin, pious and chaste, because he knows his (Dai's) secrets and those of the religion. It is not allowed that anybody should know the secrets of the religion except the Mumin (the believer); and it is said that the clerk of a person is the pleader of his skill; and it is also said that the clerk of a person is his tongue. It is not allowed that the clerk of a Dai should be scoundrel, greedy, faithless and covetous, because he will certainly commit dishonesty in the religion and his corruption will be very great (i.e., greatly disastrous). It is said that whatso is your adversary in the Din he will never agree with you in any matter (religious) and whoso is the enemy of your religion he always tries to corrupt you and your religion. (B).

72. The domestics of the Dai should be believers and honest as it is required by Din and Dawat because in his house he (Dai) is always engaged in the exercises of mentioning the religious knowledge, and he keeps scholastic conversation. Nobody is allowed to hear that except the believer. And the children of men and their wives come to the Dai's house, therefore no one should be trusted except a chaste believer to serve the Dai especially. (D).

73. A Dai should be chaste and remain aloof from accusation. He should be served only by Zati Mohram (i.e., those with whom marriage is unlawful), or by his wife or his female slaves. (D).

74. A Dai should not take beardless youngmen (a cause of false suspicion) in his service, because the Prophet (Peace be on him and his descendants) says, "Beware of the places of false accusation." Further he says, "Whoso goes round the ditch, he is (also) liable to fall into it." and when the person who serves him

(Dai) is a matter of false suspicion then surely people will find a way to talk about. The affair of Dawat and its position is very difficult. (D).

75. The master (owner) should protect himself from every calumny. (D).

76. A Dai should not be pleased with those of his surrounding people who are addicted to drunkenness, and he should not accept the services of those by whom this (drunkenness) is committed, and not of those who are scoundrel and corrupted (quarrelsome) because the fault of that turns upon the Dai. God says, "Oh believers save yourselves and your families from the Fire whose fuel is men and stones; over which are angels, stout and stern. They rebel not against God in what He bids, but they do what they are ordered;" (XXVIII-19). We have said that the fault of the surrounding people turns upon the Dai and of course when he is incapable of managing his house and his domestics (subordinates) and of setting them right, then how can he be invested with (the authority of) setting the people of the countries and towns right, and of their management. (D).

77. A Dai in his house should spend most of the time in scholastic conversation, his domestics and companions should be religious and learned men. In his house there should be the reciting of the Quran, repeating of the prayers (at their proper times), inducing for the lawful and denouncing the unlawful. (D).

78. A Dai's sitting (conference) should be reserved, and free from jest, shameful discourse and ignoble talk, because they are the things which take away the *lus.re* (or clearness) of his face and (they take away) the reverence of the Din. (D).

79. A Dai should neither be more cheerful with everybody nor more talkative, but in learning and knowledge (he should explain the matters pertaining to knowledge more fully and profusely) because it carries away his reverence; and it is said that whoso speaks more commits more mistakes. God says, "There is no goodness in the abundance of their supplication, but in

giving also or in conferring obligation (to the end of the verse)" (V-14) (D).

80. A Dai should not be proud (arrogant), because it is the thing by which men get frightened and run away. Nay he should be complaint (humble). The Prophet (Peace be on him and his descendants) say, "There is no man who become humble for God, but God raises him." Again the Prophet says, "Pride (arrogance) is the garment of God and whose contends against God, He breaks him," And God, the exalted, says, "That is the next home (world) We make it for those who do not want elevation on the earth nor (they) corrupt (there) and the good end is for the God-loving men. (XX-12) (D)

81. A Dai should know the ranks of men and their disposition, in having intercourse (with them) and replying them, in being intimate with them, and in keeping aloof from them so that he may address every one as much as is required for his like and according to his disposition. He should not address an undeserving by more intercourse and however he should not shrink from the requisite for his like and it is the thing which imparts malice and envy into the hearts, and becomes insult for them. Certainly it is a defect through which mistake occurs. (B)

82. A Dai should accomplish the wants of the believers, do them justice for them from those who oppress them. He should intervene in what they require mediation. He should ask help from the ruler in their worldly affairs, because their worldly affairs are connected with the affairs of Din. And if any quarrel takes place among the believers, he should interpose between them and unite them according to the right and should not leave them quarrelling or going to justice to other than their Dai, because the manners of Din are before Din, and they should not go to ruler nor a judge, because their Dai is more preferable to them. Thus whoso does not obey his order he is misled, he (Dai) is angry with him who goes against him, and he with whom Dai is angry, then all the saints of God are angry with him. They (the saints) will not be pleased, but through the pleasure of the Dai. And the Dai should use strictness in and they know the words of God, "Remem-

ber the blessings of God upon you when you were enemies. He united your hearts and through His blessings you become friends (brethren)." (IV-2) As God says, "The believers are brethren." (XXVI-13) (B)

83. A Dai should always advise the men of his conference and induce them to express thanks upon what they are in (upon condition in which they are), and he should mention to them what calamities happened during all the time, and if it is the time of darkness and calamity, then he should give them solace, induce them to have patience, and give them glad tidings of ease (comfort) and the reward of what they are therein. When a calamity or loss may befall a believer, he should hear his word and complain, sympathise with him, feel pity for him, and give him glad tidings of requite and reward. And he should help him as much as he can; and if he is incapable of giving help, he should explain him his excuse and expound (show) the condition and the time, and that the time does not allow him (Dai) and that the case is at hand so that the believer may not go from him, but his soul and heart are pleased. And he should not increase his grief by paying little attention to him, harshness of his words and rebuking him. And when a misfortune befall one of the men of his conference or (there is) a bier (for him) he should accompany it and discharge his right or he should send to him his companions and the men of his conference when he cannot go and induce the believers to discharge his right. And similarly when one of the men of his conference may fall sick he should himself go and see him or he should send him some of his companions and the men of his conference who are dear to him, ask his state in the meeting, feel pity for him and pray for his recovery. And when one of the men of his conference is absent, he should inquire (after him) from his family, And one (of them) is to have marriage or has returned from journey, then he (Dai) should requite him with what he deserves. So certainly all of these are the things which a brother has to do to a Mumin brother and which please the believer and increase his eagerness for the religion. It is stated that he the Prophet, (peace be on him and his descendants) was asked, "Which

of the deeds besides Namaz is best?" He (peace be on him) replied, "To enter joy into the heart of the believer (to make a believer happy)." And incontinuation of the tradition, (it is said) that verily the worst deed is to enter sorrow and grief into the heart of a believer. (B).

84. When an ambassador from an island (country) or visitor or a stranger comes to him, he (Dai) should inquire from him according to his position, please his heart, encourage him, and give him good reward; and he should not make him hopeless, should not ask, "What brought you? Who called you? There is no reason for you to come here. The time is hard and harmful. There is no money with His Holiness to give you. The Imam, peace be on him, has turned his face away from this assembly. The Amir-ul Muminin got angry with you, is tired of you, and turned his face towards the people other than you." Thus certainly, he breaks their hearts. Their minds become weak and they become weak, and they become disappointed. Nay, his duty is to please their hearts, make them anticipate, and promise them for the kindness of Amir-ul-Muminin, peace be on him, and his mercy. And when he sends to a country and a town an ambassador, he should choose one for the message on condition that he is adequate to the wants, faithful and trustworthy, just and honest, and on condition that the ambassador of His Holiness should ask the questions pertaining to the affairs of His Holiness. Then the messenger should make mention of what is useful and harmless, and withstand the arguments of what he is asked, for and when he returns he should tell truly what he sees and hears.

And the Dai should not choose one of his companions for the sake of profit or one who is his friend, or one who is recommended, or one whom he is ashamed of, or one whom he is afraid of, because verily most of the corruption occur in Dawat on account of the ambassadors. their dishonesty, their praise of those who give them bribe, their revile of those who do not comply with their ambition.

85. A Dai should always praise the Din and its followers and show its uses and its miracles, and signs and make the Din good

in the eyes of the people and abuse all enemies of the followers of the Din, when he addresses them and explains their defects and the defects of their religion because when the Dai abuses the Din and its followers, then certainly he removes them and makes them alien to the Din. He does not call them towards the Din. (B).

86. A Dai should be engaged with the affairs of Dawat, and their arrangement and remove that (burden) away from His Majesty because the Imam, peace be on him, did not appoint him, but to manage the Dawat and to reform the affairs of the Province. When he manages the affairs and makes them right then he should not confirm them, but by the command of His Majesty, because the command is (only) for God or His favourite Imam-uz-Zaman and not for any one else. (By "any one else" Syedna Ahmed means Dai). (B).

87. A Dai should spend his own property, which Amir-ul-Muminin has bestowed upon him, in the cause of the quite necessary affairs of the mission of which it is impossible to inform His Majesty and to ask (for the money) because if it is left undone there will occur a disorder in it. And the similitudes of the Dai in the Deen along with the members of Dawat is like a mother. The man throws his sperm to her, and she preserves it, conceives it, formulates it and arranges it till it becomes a complete embryo, then she rears the boy, protects it from water and fire, then she takes care of its food, welfare and education, and upon the man is only to assist her with the expense. So similarly upon the Dai is to stand with all the affairs of Dawat, and the management of them, of the diocese, and of the mission; and upon the Imam is only to assist him with knowledge and money. Then everything which occurs in the Dawat, such as corruption, calamity, suspicion about the Din, aberration, obstinacy or disobedience, it is on the Dai to restore and amend it. If he leaves it intentionally for it, then upon him is its fault and burden. And when God will ask the Imam of anything about the affairs of his ummat, their protection and their watch, then Imam will ask him, because certainly he has put it over his neck and taken security for it, and upon him is to stand with that, and if he is incapable, then

it is upon him to express his incapability to the Imam, and retire from it, so that he (Imam) may appoint the man who can withstand it. The Prophet says, "Each of you is a shepherd, and each of you will be asked for his subject." God says, "Certainly we shall ask the true men of their truthfulness." (XXI-17) Again He says, "We shall ask all of them what they had been doing." (XIV-6) (B)

88. A Dai should not be miser upon the property of Imam, when he spends it in good deeds, because the Imams, peace be on them, acquire the wealth and the land only for the sake of the Din (i.e., for its improvement) and its constitution, and the wealth is always the preserver of the Din. And if the Dai abstains from spending something in good deeds of the Din, he leads to a great disorder in the Din. And when the Dai will not accomplish the necessity of the Din, and the Dawat, his end will be harder than that of the one other than himself. God says "O the wives of the Prophet, you are not like one of the women (XXII-1) (up to the end of the verse)." And the Prophet's wives are his Hujjats (assistants in the Din), And similarly the Hujjats of the Imam are his Dais. And God has promised them with double reward as well as double torment. (B).

89. And similarly a Dai should unite the hearts of the believers and produce love among themselves. He should unite their skirts and induce them to help each other. He should threaten them against the envy, malice, backbiting and hostility. He should prevent them from doing for a Mumin brother what is unpleasant to themselves. When any one is pronounced oppressing his Mumin brother he should prevent and admonish him and if he does not leave it, he (Dai) should circulate this matter among the believers, and expel him out of the Dawat and the conference, and become irresponsible for him so that others may take an example from it. (B).

90. A Dai should always instigate the believers to obey the Imam, to love him, to wish him welfare, and to spend the wealth and soul for his cause in his presence, in his submission and in religious war before him when he orders them. He should explain to them that the pleasure of God lies in the obedience of Imam,

and their salvation is in obeying him and pleasing him. He should explain to them that nobody has any right for anything upon Imam. If he bestows anything from worldly wants or from the knowledge upon humanity it is mercy and obligation. And if he withholds anything, it is his justice. (B).

91. A Dai should teach manners to the believers, so that they may not become burden upon Amir-ul-Muminin (Imam) with their wants. While in the case of their being helpless, they should ask (for help) through mediators at the proper time, and as much as is just required. They should not think of Imam's property as a plunder or booty and demand more. If the time may not help to accomplish their wants, there should not arise any doubt or disbelief in their hearts, as God says, "If Ihey gave them from it, they were pleased; and if they did not give them from it, they were displeased." (X-13).

The Dai should make the people agree with the actions of Imam, in his allowing for something and disallowing for something. He should make them not to criticize anything from his (Imam's) actions because when they know that the Imam is the Philosopher of his time, they should know that whatever Imam will do, he will do that with wisdom, though they may not understand the reasons for it. (C).

92. A Dai should adorn (the minds of) the believers and he should advise them if he takes one of them into his service or as a messenger for spiritual and wordly affairs, he should induce him to be faithful, and should threaten him against misappropriation, loss and illness. And if anybody from amongst them did anything from it, he goes out of Din and breaks the solemn vow and gains ill fame in this world, and the world to come, and he is rebuked and blamed and loses the profit and the matter. And if there is found out any treachery in the service of a man whom he has employed for a certain thing, then he should punish him and degrade him from rank, so that others may take an example from him. And if he finds anybody trustworthy and perfect, he should praise him and exalt him to a high rank. (C).