ABSTRACT

Author: Azim Nanji

Title of the Thesis: The Spread of the Satpanth Ismā'īlī Da'wa in India. (To the fifteenth century).

Department: Islamic Studies, McGill University

Degree: M.A.

This thesis is concerned with tracing the rise and spread of that section of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Da'wa which eventually gave rise to what has come to be known as Satpanth Ismā'īlīsm. The spread in turn involves studying the activities and identifying the various dā'īs or pīrs who came to India and spread the Satpanth doctrine. It is fundamental to the study of movements like Ismā'īlism, that the historical context in which they spread be understood clearly and it is only in this way that one can hope to understand the intellectual assumptions of the movement, in relation to the technique of propagation adopted by the da'wa. Hence the thesis is also concerned, in as far as possible, to set out systematically the historical context within which Satpanth Ismā'īlism spread, in order to establish some sort of an identity for it.

Azim Nanji

THE SPREAD OF THE SATPANTH ISMĀ'ĪLĪ DA'WA IN INDIA

THE SPREAD OF THE SATPANTH ISMĀ'ĪLĪ DA'WA IN INDIA.
(To the fifteenth century)

by

Azim Nanji

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies & Research, McGill University, September, 1969, in partial fulfillment of the M.A. degree in Islamic Studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since my studies here at the Institute of Islamic Studies would not have been possible without the generous grant of the Rockerfeller Foundation, it is to them that I express my initial thanks.

I am very thankful to Dr. Richard Frye and Dr. Hamiduddin of Harvard University under whose guidance I had prepared the initial outline of this thesis in the summer of 1968 at Cambridge. At McGill, Dr. R. Verdery and Dr. Ismail Poonawala offered constant encouragement and advice in the formulation of the thesis, and also went painstakingly through the draft; to both I stand greatly indebted. I was also able to show a draft of the thesis to Dr. S. M. Stern of Oxford University during his recent visit to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and he had some extremely valuable and constructive suggestions to make. I am very grateful to him for agreeing to see me and discuss the thesis.

Among my colleagues here at the Institute, I must single out for special thanks, Khalid Masud and Aftabuddin Ahmad for their constant help in clarifying certain Urdu, Arabic and Persian texts that were beyond me. The former also went through parts of the thesis before its submission. G. Bowering's help proved invaluable when I had to make references to works in German, and though I mention only a few, I am conscious of many others who directly or indirectly have had something to contribute in the

formulation of the thesis.

During the course of this work, the entire staff of the Library of the Institute has been extremely co-operative and very helpful whenever I had the occasion to ask for any help - to them all, my sincere thanks.

Last and by no means least, for the innumerable little and large sacrifices and for being a constant source of inspiration throughout, I reserve my warmest gratitude for my wife Razia.

TRANSLITERATION, DATES, AND ABBREVIATIONS.

With only a few exceptions, I have adhered strictly to the transliteration scheme of the Institute of Islamic Studies. These exceptions are primarily of Arabic proper names, which have become fairly common in English. Thus Islam, not Islām; the Yemen, not al-Yaman; Oman, not 'Umān etc. Where Sanskrit and Gujarāti words are used I have attempted to define them upon their first appearance in the text and their transliteration is on the lines indicated in Benjamin Walker's The Hindu World, (see the bibliography). On the whole frequently recurring words such as da'wa, gnān, dā'ī etc., are underlined only upon their first appearance to preserve the attractiveness of the manuscript.

Dates, unless otherwise indicated, are in the Christian era.

The names of a few frequently cited journals and reference works have been abbreviated. They are:

BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
EI[1] - Encyclopaedia of Islam, Old Edition.
EI[2] - Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.
IC - Islamic Culture.
ICO - International Congress of Orientalists.
JBBRAS - Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRCAS - Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.
SEI - Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1866 public attention was drawn by a case in the Bombay High Court, which came to be known as the "Aga Khan Case".[1] A certain minority section of a group from among the Khōjās,[2] was seeking to obtain a decree of the Court, to remove the Āghā Khān[3] from his position and authority as spiritual head and hereditary Imām of the Khōjās.

After passing judgement in favour of the Āghā Khān and his co-defendants, the Judge, Sir Joseph Arnould described the Khōjās as:

> "a sect of people whose ancestors were Hindus in origin, which was converted to and has throughout abided in the faith of the Shia Imami Ismailis and which has always been and still is bound by ties of spiritual allegiance to the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis".[4]

The case had necessitated resorting to historical evidence in considerable detail by both sides,[5] and the legal judgement in fact established the Khōjās as part of a wider community of Ismā'īlīs scattered over the world. The interest of scholars and Western Orientalists in particular was further stimulated by the case and since then the historiography about the Ismā'īlīs has evidenced a steady increase. Much of the legend and myth that had been built around them has now been cleared and we have now a considerably clearer perspective of

their development in Islamic history.[6]

One of the more interesting points raised in the case was with regard to the origin of the Khōjās and their conversion, thus highlighting the extraordinary institution of the Ismā'īlī da'wa.[7] We know enough now of the outlines of Ismā'īlī history to trace the work and role of the da'wa against the changing background and fortunes of the movement itself.[8] When active, the institution remained as the most vital instrument, not only for propagating Ismā'īlī ideas to others, but also for holding together and organizing widely scattered sections of the community. Before the rise of the first Ismā'īlī state under the Fāṭimids, the da'wa had sown the seeds of support in North Africa, which them became the seat of the first Caliph 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī.[9] As the Fāṭimids neared the end of their rule, pockets of the da'wa were already preparing to establish another centre in Persia[10] and even after the Ismā'īlīs split over the issue of succession upon the death of al-Mustanṣir in 1094,[11] sections of the da'wa had already aligned themselves to propagate in favour of their respective choices.[12] Which in turn brings us to the furthermost theatre of activity of the da'wa - India.

This thesis is concerned then, with tracing the rise and spread of that section of the da'wa which eventually gave rise to what has come to be known as Satpanth Ismā'īlism.[13] The spread in turn involves studying the activities and identifying the various dā'īs or pīrs[14] who came to India and spread the Satpanth doctrine. It is fundamental to the study of

movements like Ismā'īlism that the historical context in which they spread be understood clearly and it is only in this way that one can hope to understand the intellectual assumptions of the movement, in relation to the technique of propagation adopted by the da'wa. Hence the thesis is also concerned, in as far as possible, to set out systematically the historical context within which Satpanth Ismā'īlism spread, in order to establish some sort of an identity for it.

The background study is important because other forms of Ismā'īlī activity were present in the area.[15] The various strands thus need to be sorted out to provide a proper frame of reference within which such an identity can be formulated.

W. Ivanow has attempted a study of the movement, the first of its kind using the original Satpanth sources by a western writer.[16] Though sketchy, it is very helpful in aiding the student to approach the subject. Hence, even if this thesis strikes out on a somewhat vaguely treated subject, it is hoped that the present work will facilitate a deeper, more detailed analysis of the movement, not only in terms of its historical development, but also its structure of religious thought.

Survey of the sources

Notwithstanding the increase in the availability of genuine Ismā'īlī sources, there is however one aspect in which they have proved somewhat disappointing - the paucity of historical information contained in them.[17]

This in many respects is equally true of Satpanth Ismā'īlism. The following analysis of the sources is meant to cover both the pre-Satpanth period and the rise and spread of the Satpanth da'wa itself. The Satpanth sources themselves present interesting problems to the student which raise at this stage certain complications, as we shall see, in making use of them. The spade work already done on the pre-Satpanth period however makes the task of covering that period somewhat easier.

The pre-Satpanth period.

Sources for this period can be divided into two: the original Ismā'īlī sources that have come to light and which contain references to the work of the da'wa in India, Secondly there are the writings of contemporary and medieval Muslim historians of India, and the geographers and travellers in whose works can be found references to the Ismā'īlīs.

Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān, the Ismā'īlī jurist and scholar[18] who wrote his Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa wa Ibtidā al-Dawla in 957 A.D.[19] refers to the da'wa's beginnings in Sind. Further references are also found in another of his works, the Kitāb al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt.[20] The account in the former is corroborated in accounts preserved in the work of the fourteenth century Ismā'īlī Yemenite dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn; the 'Uyūn al-Akhbār.[21]

The above sources are supplemented by references in the work of other Muslim writers on India. References to the contemporary state of affairs are found in the

work of the traveller al-Muqaddasī.[22] Further references are also found in Al-Bīrūnī[23] and the anonymous geographical work of Ḥudūd al-'Ālam.[24]

Among the works of historians of the period in India the following are among the more important in their occasional reference to Ismā'īlīs in India:

(1) Tabaqāt -i- Nāṣirī by Minhāj al-Sirāj Jūzjānī, completed in 1260.[25]

(2) Tā'rīkh -i- Mubārak Shāhī by Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad Sirhindī, written between 1428 and 1436.[26]

(3) Tā'rīkh -i- Firishta by Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta written in the early part of the seventeenth century.[27]

It must be remembered that references in the medieval Muslim sources are only incidental within the context of the main narrative. Whereas they help us to identify and cross-check other references, they contain no other information that would help to establish the real identity of the groups mentioned. Furthermore references are always to the Qarāmiṭa[28] or Malāḥida. Indo-Muslim historiography of the time did not wish to concern itself with the "base and lowly" and spoke more of the deeds of great men.[29] Consequently accounts of the Ismā'īlīs tend to be coloured by this attitude.

Among secondary works by orientalists are two excellent monographs on the early period of Ismā'īlī activity in India. S. M. Stern's article on the da'wa in Sind[30] and Abbas Hamdani's work[31] developing the subject further, lay down the broad lines along which

the movement spread and the work in this thesis related to the period, is based in the main on the groundwork they have already laid.

The Satpanth period.

There is at the moment, preserved among the Khōjās a body of literature which is given the collective appelation gnān.[32] In the community's tradition these are attributed to the various pīrs who propagated the da'wa in India. The origins of this literature raises special problems. From the "Aga Khan Case" we know that it existed in a written form quite prior to 1866.[33] Ivanow thinks they could possibly have been written down during the time of Akbar.[34] It must be emphasized that the analysis of the Satpanth literature undertaken here is aimed more at posing problems of the historical methodology that needs to be applied to them; it is not a survey in the sense of evaluating them in their entirety. This is because, firstly there are available to me at the moment only a few of the gnāns from the entire literature,[35] and secondly, the problems involved in fuller analysis must await a much more detailed investigation and field research. However, this in no way makes it impossible to utilize the sources for our present purpose, because in any case they represent the oldest statement of affairs from the community about its own origin.

If we were to classify the literature typologically, we should label it as part of oral tradition,[36] inasmuch as what is preserved now was handed down in the community

orally until it came to be written down. Most of the Satpanth literature can be classified further as belonging to the category of poetry. They are meant to be recited, either formally or as an act of personal devotion. Each gnān is set to a rāga.[37] This quality of the gnāns is particularly valuable for the historian, for it enables him in his analysis to perceive at least one possible common factor underlying the gnāns. Thus, if the process of transmission was helped by the gnāns having this musical quality, it raises the question of how much distortion is possible within the framework of a particular rāga, presuming of course that it remains constant throughout. In other words a major textual distortion would lead to a distortion of the rāga. This in fact can be studied best where the ethnographical condition of the group still retains similar cultural characteristics as its predecessors.

Tied up with this is of course the question of linguistics. It is said that forty-two languages and dialects were employed in composing the gnāns and words ranging from Arabic, Persian, Sindhī, Punjābī and Gujarātī[38] are to be found among them. We know for instance that the languages of early Muslim Sind were both Arabic and Sindhī.[39] There are specimens available of fourteenth and fifteenth century Gujarātī.[40] The application of historical linguistics, therefore, to establish links and thereby origins, promises to be quite productive. Another factor to be considered in this respect is migration. The community, owing to pressures of persecution and schisms, did not remain

static.[41] In the process it seems extremely likely that this would have affected the transmission of tradition. Ivanow thinks that there were translations from the original after the spread.[42] However it would be premature to pass such a judgement, until it is determined what common basis the material preserved among the scattered groups has, and then to analyse the changes that took place. This however does not rule out the possibility of additions to it in the course of the da'wa's history in India, or interpolations by various dissenting groups.[43] The process of composing gnāns continued among preachers of the community and we have specimens composed as late as the last century.[44] With regard to the content of Satpanth literature, Ivanow labels it as "popular". He goes on to add that it "never developed learned theological study, interest in the history of the community.....".[45] Historians often tend to be impatient and even intolerant when confronted by such "popular" phenomena as Satpanth. However this only serves the purpose of enabling superficial cognomens to be attached to the group instead of a serious attempt being made at understanding the internal function of such "popular" literature, and permitting the more constructive attitude of analysing the testimony with a view to distinguishing the purpose of such traditions. In the case of Satpanth it is always important to remember that the dā'īs functioned in a generally Hinduistic environment. The paramount need was to establish a basis for communication. The means were therefore vital as a channel for achieving the end. Furthermore, the

tradition in the absence of any full-fledged organization helped to serve as a focal point for group feeling and activity. To take for instance one example, that of the miraculous conversion by one of the pīrs, as represented in the garbīs attributed to Pīr Shams.[46] Besides the artistic value of the form of the narrative, it can also serve many other purposes for the readers. The questions that really need to be asked are how effective a means of preaching and propagation is the narrative? What function does the "exaggeration" serve as a means of enhancing the present "converted" state of the reciter, as opposed to the previous state of "ignorance"? What purpose also do the symbolic expressions and stereotypes within the narrative serve? What the questions here are meant to suggest is an attempt to get at an understanding of the tradition as a means to studying attitudes reflected by the testimony and hence to arrive at a picture of the narrative reflected in terms of historical development.

To sum up therefore, the attitude that would seem to be most constructive in approaching the Satpanth sources, is that the historian confronted by oral tradition is in the same situation as one who studies written sources inasmuch as both must interpret and evaluate the facts to form a coherent picture of the past. In the case of oral tradition certain necessary auxiliary disciplines complicate the task of the historian and place a heavier burden on him.[47] The process of evaluation needs to be detailed and exhaustive and in the meantime one must proceed with caution to sift whatever is available to make the task

easier. Material, as in Satpanth literature, may be extremely sketchy in terms of history, yet when the value of oral traditions as a means of historical evidence is analysed and understood, at least an assessment of probabilities can be made.

Also preserved among the Khōjās is a genealogy of pīrs who allegedly preached the Ismā'īlī da'wa right from its inception. This forms part of their dū'ā' or ṣalāt which the community's tradition asserts, was prepared for the Khōjās in their own language by Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn.[48] Genealogies in general must be regarded as highly suspect in terms of distortion of historical material, "because they form the ideological framework with reference to which all political and social relationships are sustained and explained".[49] In a close knit community like the adherents of Satpanth, rent as it was by schisms and prone to considerable secrecy[50] in the face of persecution, the importance of maintaining such a genealogy with which it could be identified, in the absence of a more corporate identity, cannot be underestimated. Hence it was naturally fitted in to lay down a chronology that could be harmonized with the ideological framework. It is therefore with a great deal of care that such genealogies must be used for the purpose of historical knowledge. In the same vein is another category of sources unearthed in his work on a breakaway branch by Ivanow. This consists of historical works on the Imām Shāhī sect written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The work was undertaken by leaders of the sect who claimed descent from the earlier pīrs through

Imām Shāh and called themselves Sayyids. The emphasis is on the period after the end of the fifteenth century, merely touching upon the earlier da'wa. Together with these are the various Shajaras (genealogies) preserved by the Mutawallīs (overseers) of the alleged shrines of the various pīrs.[51]

Reference to various pīrs in historical and hagiographical works on Muslim India are extremely scarce, but where found, help considerably to check information in the Satpanth sources. Among these are the Mir'āt -i-Aḥmadī of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān[52] and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's Akhbār al-Akhyār fī asrār al-Abrār.[53]

The secondary literature particularly in Gujarātī that has cropped up during the course of the last seventy five years or so also deserves mention. The first was the Khōjā Vruttant first published in 1892.[54] In it the author used the corpus of Satpanth literature available to him and also incorporated traditions about the History. Furthermore he was also able to secure the papers of one Pīr Umedali, a sayyid of the sect who had intended to write such a history.[55] The work however reflects a certain confusion in the use of material obtained from Muslim historical sources.

In 1905, a complementary work to balance the latter was published, called Khōjā Kōmnō Itīhās (The history of the Khōjā community).[56] A further, more comprehensive work called the Noorum - Mubin (Nūr al-Mubīn) which covered the history of the Imāms from 'Ali onwards, was published in 1936.[57] The Aga Khan

Case had thus stimulated a process of awakening within the community too, and these works represent an attempt to come to terms with a new self-image which had emerged after official recognition had been accorded to them by the 1866 judgement. Often, therefore, idealization creeps into the works in an attempt to interpret history.

One final source of information needs to be pointed out. It has been stated earlier that the da'wa needs to be studied within the general context of Ismā'īlism and not as an isolated, unconnected phenomenon. Such a study has now been considerably helped by the availability of a number of Nizārī sources, and a parallel study is now possible of the mainstream of the Nizārīs and of its sister movement in India.[58]

In summation, with regard to the above survey of the sources, it needs to be re-emphasized that though the combination of sources at our disposal may enable a general outline of the da'wa to be drawn, ignorance about a considerable body of the movement still remains. Stern's remark in connection with a study on an earlier phase of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa holds equally true for this study: "What we know is negligible in comparison with what we do not know".[59]

CHAPTER II

PRE-SATPANTH ISMĀ'ĪLISM IN INDIA

Among the earliest contacts that Ismā'īlī elements had with India is one mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh. In his history of the Ismā'īlīs prior to the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, he states that one wing of the da'wa was to work in "Sind and Hind" and then later cites more specifically that among the sons of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, some had established themselves around Khurāsān, and Qandahār in Sind.[60] Stern has shown that in Rashīd al-Dīn's accounts of the da'wa there is a certain amount of confusion[61] and though we may not credit all of the details contained in them, at least we can be certain that Sind must have represented one of the targets for the da'wa even in its earliest days.

Ismā'īlī sources on the other hand make first mention of the da'wa's work in Sind, in relation with the arrival of a dā'ī there in 883. He was al-Haytham, sent by the well known Yemenite dā'ī Abū al-Qāsim bin Ḥawshab, otherwise known as Manṣūr al-Yaman.[62] There is no further mention of the succeeding seventy years or so beyond the fact that the "da'wa is still existing in Sind", in the Iftitāḥ (which was written in 957). It had also apparently spread to neighbouring areas like Gujarāt.[63]

Earlier travellers like al-Mas'ūdī who visited

Multān in 912 and al-Iṣṭakhrī, who wrote ca. 930-933 speak of the rulers of Multān as being Quraysh, of the line of Banū Sāma.[64] so presumably the da'wa had not yet attained any political success.

Further Ismā'īlī sources however introduce us to a dā'ī who had success in winning over one of the rulers of Sindand established a Fāṭimid principality over the area. The dā'ī however adopted a permissive attitude towards converts to Ismā'īlism in the area and certain un-Islamic practices were retained by them. This caused concern in the Fāṭimid court in North Africa, where the Caliph al-Mu'izz was placed in a predicament regarding the course to be taken in dismissing the dā'ī. A riding accident to the dā'ī ended the dilemma and a new dā'ī, Ḥalam (or Ḥalim) b. Shaybān was appointed. He was instrumental in furthering the Ismā'īlī cause and victorious in his attempts to offset opposing elements. He also adopted a stricter line towards undesirable practices, and destroyed an idol,[65] building a mosque in its place. A letter to the above Ḥalam from the Caliph al-Mu'izz, congratulating him on his work is dated 965; and Stern places the events surrounding the undesirable dā'ī around 958-59.[66]

Al-Muqaddasī who visited Multān in 985, pointed out that the city was Shī'a and that the Khuṭba was recited in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph. Also that they conducted their affairs according to the instructions from Egypt, whither they sent continous envoys and gifts.[67]

It is interesting to conjecture at this point the

various attractions that Sind had in terms of Fāṭimid plans for spreading their influence. Two factors emerge clearly. One is the geographical position of Sind vis-a-vis the operational da'wa centre of the area of the time - the Yemen.[68] Oman, so Rashīd al-Dīn tells us, was one of the objectives of the da'wa,[69] and that may well have served as a stepping-stone to spreading Ismā'īlī influence eastwards. The relatively independent status of the principalities before the Fāṭimid take-over also needs to be considered. Though in al-Muqaddasī's time, al-Manṣūrah, which he calls the capital of Sind, was still under a ruler paying homage to the 'Abbāsids, on the whole, the area still remained relatively independent and remote from the centres of power in the Muslim world.[70] Here, then, was an opportunity to establish a principality that would serve as a secure foothold in the eastern Muslim world. The second factor, which is equally important, was that of trade. By the fourth century and during the heyday of Fāṭimid rule under al-Mu'izz economic activity in North Africa flourished considerably.[71] Lewis has tried to show that the Fāṭimids were attempting to wrest the India trade out of the hands of Baghdād,[72] and Goitein, from his studies of the Geniza papers, has revealed the predominance of merchants from North Africa in the India trade.[73] Admittedly, the little that we know of the history of economic activity in Islam and its influence on the political conditions of the time does not permit any substantial conclusions. But we can be certain however, that with the India trade becoming the backbone of the international economy in the Islamic World,[74]

that economic and social factors were important in Fāṭimid expansionism towards Sind.[75]

Another aspect of the da'wa in Sind in terms of problems of unifying doctrine in Fāṭimid territories, which Stern has dealt with in some detail, also helps to throw more light on the nature and function of the da'wa's role in the Ismā'īlī polity, and may bear comparison later with the work on the Satpanth Da'wa. From a study of works like the Da'ā'im al-Islām of Qāḍī al-Nu'mān,[76] it is possible to trace the attempts of the Fāṭimid Caliphs to provide a common basis for their heterogeneous and widely-scattered adherents. The diversity of such adherents was potentially a seed-bed for the rise of a wide variety of heterodox beliefs, particularly in the case of Sind where the converts brought with them a deeply-rooted background of varied practices. In view of the diverse nature of existing faiths in Sind at the time, the problem must have caused considerable anxiety.[77] The da'wa, though it worked in close co-operation with the central authority, yet for practical purposes functioned independently in the various Fāṭimid spheres of influence, and much depended on the dā'ī in charge. The policy of al-Mu'izz, insofar as it is possible to determine, seems to have been one of emphasizing the Islamic tradition and not compromising with what were regarded as un-Islamic practices.[78] By establishing a principality, linked to a thriving trade and cemented by a common ideology and allegiance, the Fāṭimids hoped to build their cohesive confederation of states; in this light it is easier to understand why the insistence on a strict

adherence to a common system of beliefs was so important and necessary.

The subsequent history of the principality is virtually unknown until such time as Maḥmūd of Ghaznah put an end to Ismā'īlī rule in Multān. The ruler of Multān, Abū al-Fatḥ Dā'ūd b. Naṣr had had friendly relations with Amīr Sabuktigīn. Nevertheless Maḥmūd, the latter's successor, apparently in order to enforce orthodoxy, marched against him, in 1006. The enforcement was particularly cold-blooded and hundreds of Ismā'īlīs were said to have been slaughtered.[79] After a short lull, Maḥmūd revisited Multān and delivered the coup de grace, completely subjugating the province.[80] Hamdani argues that, at the time of this persecution, the Ismā'īlīs may have gathered around al-Manṣūrah and allied with its Habbārid rulers. Maḥmūd, however, put paid to the rule in al-Manṣūrah too, in 1025.[81] Stern feels that "the later phases of the history of Ismā'īlism in Sind and in India stand in no direct connection with this first successful attempt to establish territorial rule in Sind".[82] However, in due course we find that though Ismā'īlī sovereignity had been broken, their adherents still continued to persist under the adverse conditions. Furthermore there is the curious resurgence of the Sūmrā dynasty in the political life of Sind, which reveals definite Ismā'īlī tendencies, albeit in a quite transformed fashion.[83] That the Ismā'īlī Da'wa had not ceased its activity in Hind, we know from certain letters of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (who ruled from 1036-94) to the Ismā'īlīs in Yemen. Two of the letters establish that in fact dā'īs to India were

being appointed and replaced at death, all the time.[84] Also, that Ismā'īlism was still a factor of some consequence is attested to by the fate of a Wazīr of Maḥmūd, Ḥasnak who was put to death by Mas'ūd, Maḥmūd's successor, on a charge of having Ismā'īlī sympathies.[85] The exact nature of the da'wa's work and its relations with the Fāṭimids in Egypt remains obscure. No doubt, the purging of the Ismā'īlīs must have led to a change in policy by the Fāṭimids in Sind, and it is quite probable that links were maintained through their allies, the Ṣulayḥids of Yemen, and da'wa was kept alive in India.[86]

The task of defining the role and nature of the Sūmrā dynasty, as Elliot has remarked, "is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India".[87] They are first mentioned in an epistle written in 1033 by the Druze leader Muqtana' to one Shaykh Sūmar Rājibāl chief of the unitarians and seems to indicate a considerable following. Whether in fact this Sūmar Rājibāl was the head of the da'wa in Sind is difficult to say. He must certainly have had Ismā'īlī affiliations nonetheless, since Muqtana', after exhorting the leader to accept the Druze creed, asks him "to publish the hitherto secret doctrines of the sect".[88] There can thus be no doubt that some variety of Ismā'īlīsm was surviving covertly after the purges of Maḥmūd. Further accounts can only be culled by piecing together information we have from later sources. Continued "Qarmaṭian" activity is mentioned by the thirteenth century writer Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh. After the death of Sulṭān Mas'ūd in 1040,

they are said to have revolted in Multān under the son of Dā'ūd "whom the Carmathians called the Sheikh". When faced with the Ghaznawīd army however, they fled to al-Manṣūrah.[89] The writer seems very susceptible on minor points of historical accuracy; the exact details, therefore, may remain open to question.[90] If the "Sheikh" mentioned above were the same as Shaykh Sūmar of the Druze epistle, then it would confirm further the connection between the Ismā'īlīs and the Sūmrās. This can further be tied up with the account by Mīr Ma'ṣūm of an uprising of the "men of Sumra" who placed a man named Sūmrā on the throne. This was during the reign of 'Abd al-Rashīd around 1051.[91] Since Hamdani has already made an attempt to reconstruct the history of the Sūmrās,[92] it would be repetitious to go over the details again, and here we can only note the continuity of Ismā'īlī activity in the area, and go on to examine certain incidents relating to the subsequent period, which may help to throw further light.

As the Ghūrid power eclipsed that of the Ghaznawīds, so the latter's domination in India also came to an end.[92] The Ghūrid ruler Shihāb al-Dīn, relates Jūzjānī, "led his forces to Multān and delivered that place from the hands of the Qarmatians," in 1175[93] Previously, we are told, during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn (who ruled from 1149-61), "Mulāḥidah emissaries came to him from Alamūt and he treated them with great reverence". His successor Sayf al-Dīn, however adopted a harsher policy towards them.[94] Shihāb al-Dīn's policy in Sind therefore can be construed to be a continuation of this

trend of rooting out Ismā'īlīs, wherever they could be found. Presumably, the object of his attack was a successor of Sūmar Rājibal. 'Alā' al-Dīn was assassinated in 1206. Jūzjānī lays the deed at the door of the Malāḥida but there is considerable confusion surrounding the many reports that are available about the assassination.[95] The Nizārī Ismā'īlī power in Alamūt to which Jūzjānī evidently refers was often made the scapegoat for a number of assassinations, and in view of the writer's affiliations it is apparent that this was one more case in kind.[96] It seems more likely that the incident had no bearing on Ismā'īlī activity in India at all. This becomes further evident in the reporting of another episode that took place in 1236 during the reign of Queen Raḍīyah. A group of Qarāmiṭa and Malāḥida, under one Nūr Turk gathered at Delhi from the surrounding regions of Gujarāt and Sind. They attacked the Masjid one Friday and a general melée ensued. The rebellion was eventually put down.[97] Hamdani connects this Nūr Turk with one of the Sūmrā leaders Muḥammad Tōr, and it is also thought that he may be the same person as Nūr Satgūr, traditionally recognized as the first of the Satpanth missionaries in India.[98] The latter point can be postponed until our discussion on the movement itself but here it must be pointed out, as Khāliq Niẓāmī has sufficiently demonstrated, that Nūr Turk had nothing to do with Ismā'īlīs and that the "real nature of the event has been obscured by the conflicts and controversies that marred the relations of Nūr Turk with the Sunni 'ulama of the day".[99]

We are fortunate enough in possessing some valuable testimony on the make-up and cultural habits of the Sūmrās from Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, the fourteenth century Arab traveller. He labels them "Sāmirah" and states that they had been entrenched in the area for a long time. They were exclusive in their eating habits and also in matters of marriage. Their centre was a place called Janānī and their leader was Wanār. He himself was a Muslim but governed over both Hindus and Muslims.[100] What in fact Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's observations confirm is the existence of vestiges of converted groups from among the Ismā'īlī principality in Sind, and the existence of Hindu customs may either represent an inward orientation after the Ismā'īlī expulsion or else a reflection of taqīyah. Various factors prevalent after the downfall of the Ismā'īlī state in India, complicate the defining of the da'wa's activity in India. Firstly there was the break-up of the Fāṭimid da'wa itself into two, after the death of al-Mustanṣir. While the reports we have covered mention clashes with the Nizārī elements in areas west of Sind, there is no specific evidence to establish any links between the Nizārīs and the Sūmrās in Sind at this time. On the other hand the Must'alian branch and then later the rise of Ṭayyībī Ismā'īlism with its affiliation to Yemen bring another dimension to the issue.[101] The Ṭayyībī Da'wa is said to have continued its activities in India, through its adherents in Yemen, but again we are at a loss for evidence to connect them with the Sūmrās.[102] A further major factor is the complex of military invasions and power struggles between warring groups like the Ghaznawīds and the Ghūrids in India. The instability this must have caused

would have precluded any attempts to centralize and unify scattered groups of Ismā'īlīs. Consequently one suspects that a group like the Sūmrās attempted to isolate themselves and work out a different identity within the complex alignment of forces. Their Ismā'īlism would have either to be disguised or dispensed with altogether if they were to escape being associated with the Malāḥidah, and hence persecuted. This also explains why in the course of time, such groups could have been absorbed into the Sunni faith by Ṣūfī saints.[103] A somewhat later, but nevertheless interesting, episode is related in Ismā'īlī tradition about the unsuccessful attempt of a sixteenth century dā'ī called Dādu to win back Ismā'īlīs in Panjāb who had become Sunnis, but he was expelled from Sind and had to take refuge in Gujarāt.[104]

Hamdani has suggested that after 1094 the Sūmrās may have struck out on an independent line,[105] but as we approach the main portion of our subject, it must be admitted that until some more material comes to light, the various strands of Ismā'īlism that were developing at this time must remain very much tangled up. Perhaps the most significant element is that Ismā'īlī activity in the area was far from having been obliterated, an indication of a tenacity of purpose one aspect of which was to lead to the rise and development of Satpanth Ismā'īlism.

CHAPTER III

THE SATPANTH ISMĀ'ĪLĪ DA'WA

General Background

The invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah into India, and subsequent Muslim incursions, had certain far-reaching effects on the nature of the political, social and religious structure of the area. The following digression, prior to the mainstream of the study of the Satpanth Da'wa is by way of tracing certain general trends related to the situation in India after Maḥmūd's invasion and up to the thirteenth century. Here, though somewhat belatedly, it must be emphasized that the term "India" is used quite loosely - in the sense in which medieval Muslim geographers saw it - representing their definition of Sind, and also including areas like Panjāb, Gujarāt and Kashmīr.[106]

Perhaps the single most decisive effect of the waves of Muslim invasion of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and succeeding dynastic wars between the Ghaznawīds and the Ghūrids, was a disruption of the power structures prevalent in the area at the time.[107] The scattered Hindu kingdoms, particularly in Northern India, succumbed within an extremely short period. A wide variety of reasons have been put forward to explain their collapse.[108] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Dihlī Sultanate was beginning to entrench itself in Northern India, consolidating the advances

made possible by the Indian campaigns of the Ghūrids, its predecessors. The beginning of a more centralized power structure over Northern India, to replace the political fragmentation of the area, was in the making.[109]

Another factor which accompanied Muslim entrenchment in the area, was the growth of a Muslim society, co-existing in a now more pluralistic society, with the indigenous people. Once a free and uninterrupted intercourse was established between areas like Sind and Panjāb and the Muslim countries to the north and north-east, immigration of Muslims helped to swell numbers and bring about the rise of an Islamic society.[110] The most important of these in terms of attempts to convert and breach the conflicting nature of the two cultures were the Ṣūfīs. Earlier of course, there had been conversions of Hindus on a large scale, as in the Ismā'īlī case and the Sūmrās.[111] All the same, the differences of belief and the instinct of communal self-preservation of the Hindus on the one hand and that of proselytization by the Muslims on the other, cannot have failed to generate considerable friction. If al-Bīrūnī is to be considered any judge of the attitudes that came about, the invasions were accompanied by the "most inveterate aversions" on both sides.[112] Though contemporary accounts of how the actual conversions took place are scarce, once the mystics gradually began to organize themselves into silsilahs, the part they must have played in their more intimate and spiritually sensitive policy of inter-mingling with the people, cannot be underestimated.[113]

The response of the indigenous peoples to the growth of a foreign dominated, plural society still needs to be studied in detail. The caste system continued, and the essential features of their social and religious systems continued without much change.[114] What is more difficult to surmise is the attitude that developed among the various Hindu groups to the new power structure. There may have been a tendency towards isolationism, bordering on apathy.[115] We are told that even the ṣūfīs showed an aversion to contacts with the state.[116] At best, perhaps, what the pluralistic society was leading to was a mosaic of isolated communities either tied together by caste affiliations, or, as in the case of the ṣūfīs, attached to a ṭarīqah. Notwithstanding the ruling and the military classes, the broad base of social order must have been these groupings, both socially and religiously unintegrated and furthermore alienated from what might, for lack of better terms, be called the military ruling class. (In addition there were the 'Ulamā' whose role depended on the functions they served inside or outside the state machinery).[117]

The age-old, well-established commercial links were further solidified by increased contacts with the wider Islamic world. The sea route between Aden and India created important links with Gujarāt,[118] and al-Idrīsī testifies to a thriving trade between Muslim merchants and the ruler of Gujarāt.[119] The overall picture that one gets from an admittedly very sketchy outline serves to emphasize that the complex society

of medieval India, like that of medieval Islam, defies any single cut-and-dried definition. It reflects an intricate and changing pattern of varying élites, vested interests, and classes, mirrored against a plurality of social, ethnic and religious groups.

Simultaneously with the period of flux in India, the Ismā'īlīs outside India too were undergoing considerable change of fortune. After the split between the supporters of Nizār and Must'alī in 1094, three major spheres of Ismā'īlī activity took shape. The first was the puppet Fāṭimid Caliphate which continued at Cairo, until it was finally ended by Saladin in 1171.[120] The second was the Ṣulayḥid dynasty of Yemen, which in turn associated itself with the adherents of Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism, and, as mentioned earlier, maintained contacts with India.[121] The third was the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, who, under the leadership of Ḥasan -i-Ṣabbāḥ, entered in Lewis's words "a period of intensive development both in doctrine and in political action and for a while played an important and dramatic role in the affairs of Islam".[122]

In the Saljuq dominion and the Iranian highlands there existed a number of Ismā'īlī cells that had been established earlier under the Fāṭimid Da'wa. The so-called new da'wa of the Nizārī, set about to construct a state based on a confederation of these "cells", aiming at a decentralized pattern. This atomization of power, as Hodgson has suggested, was appropriate to the times as, after Malik Shāh's reign, the Saljuq dominions were parcelled out to the individual commanders.

Thus if the Ismā'īlīs wished to overcome the Saljuqs they had to subdue them piecemeal.[123] Two important developments relating to the Nizārīs and the Islamic world in general need to be clarified here. The first is violent confrontation, not only at the political level,[124] that their state generated, but also the tremendous religious antipathy that they aroused in orthodox circles.[125] Jūzjānī as we have earlier noted exemplifies this attitude in many ways in his accounts of them.[126] The Nizārīs, realizing perhaps, after the Fāṭimid failure, the futility of their aspirations of "universalism", adopted a more inward-looking attitude, intensified no doubt by the rejection of the rest of the Islamic world. This then represents the second development, an interiorization of aspiration directed more in devotion to the Imām and as such the whole religious outlook of the Nizārīs was becoming more personalized - even "sūfic".[127] It has been necessary to point out these trends for the important reason that since Satpanth tradition claims to have originated from the Nizārī Da'wa, a study of the latter would seem imperative if it in fact were possible to link the two in any way. The broad features resulting from the coming of Islam to India, and corresponding trends in Ismā'īlism, therefore serve both as a background and a point of departure in the investigation of the beginnings of the Satpanth Da'wa.

First Phase: Entrenchment

Satpanth tradition provides us with a variety of accounts with regards to its origin in India. The various testimonies that surround the tradition typify

some very characteristic features of its oral tradition. As such they provide us with an excellent opportunity to analyse them in terms of the historical methodology that needs to be applied to such testimony and also that of assessing their value in terms of historical content.

Taking the corpus of the gnāns that we have as a whole, rather than representing any fixed chronological order for the moment, we find that the figure associated with the beginnings of Satpanth Ismā'īlism in India is Nūr Satgūr.[128] Two episodes are related whereby Nūr Satgūr established himself in Pātan and Navasāri in Gujarāt.[129] The first is where he enters a temple in Muslim dress and descrates it, by placing his foot on one of the idols. The temple attendant remonstrates, only to have Nūr Satgūr challenge the "reality" of the idol and then at his command make the stone images dance and play music. Eventually the king whose name is given as Jaysimha[130] hears of the goings on and makes his way to the temple with his own magician preceptor. Nūr Satgūr performs more miracles in their presence and furthermore outdoes and humiliates the king's preceptor. Eventually the king and his subjects, convinced of Nūr Satgūr's power are converted to the new faith.

The second episode traces his activities in Dhārnagrī (now known as Navasāri). In a nearby forest, he attracts all the animals around him by his melodious singing. The king of the place Sūrchand had a daughter named Palānde who had vowed to eat venison every day

cooked by herself. On that particular day her hunter however could not find a single deer, as all had gathered around Nūr Satgūr. On coming upon the scene he informed the latter of the princess's desire. On the Pīr's order a deer gave some flesh to the hunter. When the princess sat down to taste it, she went into an ecstasy and cried out to her father that her destined husband was in the vicinity. Subsequently Nūr Satgūr was contacted and the marriage of the two performed in lavish style. Thus the king and daughter too were won over to the new faith.

In time, certain additional traditions about Nūr Satgūr also came into existence, particularly in connection with who sent him to India. In works written after the turn of the century, two divergent traditions are recorded. One that he was sent by the Fāṭimid Imām al-Mustanṣir billāh to India to preach in favour of his eldest son Nizār.[131] The second dates the event much later during the Imāmat of Haṣan alā dhikrihi al-salām - one of the Imāms of the Alamūt period.[132] There is also an attempt to claim that he was in reality the seventh Imām of the Ismā'īlīs, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. The shrine of the Pīr at the moment exists in Navasāri and gives as his year of death - 1094.[133] Of the genealogies that we have, one set associates Nūr Satgūr with Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and in the others Nūr Satgūr is traced in a line of pīrs that starts with the Prophet as the first dā'ī or pīr.[134]

The value of all the above information, in terms of historical content would appear to be almost negligible. But if we look at them as supposedly objective records of the past, we only distort their perspective and fail to grasp something of the essential function of oral tradition. To take first then, the two stories of Nūr Satgūr's arrival in India and the subsequent conversion of two rulers and attempt to relate them to other traditions. It is necessary to determine from the outset what the two traditions aim at, that is, to discover their intention and significance. It is certainly not aimed at recording history in the sense of exclusively seeking to enrich our knowledge of the past. Nevertheless it does produce a record of historical facts and as such may be construed to have a historical aim. The accounts allege that Nūr Satgūr came from Alamūt, that he came to Gujarāt and further that he was responsible for converting two rulers, one of them the famous Siddharāja. Since we know that the same claim is made by the Bohorā Ismā'īlīs in favour of one of their dā'īs and also that a Sunni saint is reported to have converted him too,[135] it becomes clear that the accounts have definite motive in mind and as such are likely to betray distortive influence. In view of this, one is forced back to the meagre historical information available to pinpoint the exact places where such distortions are clearly evident. From accounts of the reign of Siddharāja, none confirm his conversion to Islam; he by all accounts died a Hindu.[136] The account that Nūr Satgūr was sent by Mustanṣir is definitely a later interpolation for

it presumes the 1094 split. Also at some stage the Satpanth tradition must have come in touch with the Bohorā one or vice versa and both in order to justify their respective "validity" claimed that their "dā'ī" was instrumental in converting the ruler. From the letters of Mustanṣir noted above we know for certain of the activity of Ismā'īlī dā'īs in the area during his Imāmat and the Bohorā tradition seems more reliable on this point in tracing their origin back to Dā'ī Aḥmad, except that there were no distinct Nizārī or Must'alian adherents at this stage.[137] The contradiction in such an interpolation with the claim that Nūr Satgūr came from Alamūt can therefore be explained by this intention to legitimize the validity of his mission as being linked with the Fāṭimid Da'wa. We are then left with examining how valid the claim of his coming from Alamūt is. There is no reason to doubt that under Ḥasan -i- Ṣabbāḥ and his successors the Nizārī Da'wa's activity continued in the tradition as before, and particularly after the stabilization of their state.[138] Though there is no mention in their history of a dā'ī being sent to India, it is not impossible that they were conscious of continuing previous Ismā'īlī activity there, more so since they must certainly have been aware of the continuation of the Must'alian Da'wa there.[139] Hence there is no cause for rejecting the claim that Nūr Satgūr did originate from Alamūt. There is no way of determining when he arrived or which Imām sent him there, but if we accept the tradition of his having been dispatched by Ḥasan alā dhikrihi al-salām during the reign of

Bhīmā II, then it probably means that he was part of the new wave of mystics and immigrants who were coming to Gujarāt then.[140]

The traditions attempting to link Nūr Satgūr with Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, is most certainly apocryphal, and so is the attempt to place him much earlier in the genealogies than he could possibly have been.[141] All this can be explained by the attempt of later Satpanth tradition to provide the valid ideological background necessary for it to be identified with the mainstream of Ismā'īlism. However what it does tell us about the need to seek this justification is far more important. It is possible in this way even to attempt a chronology of the development of the whole corpus of tradition, particularly by studying these distortions, for they reflect on the part of its preservers a constant striving to associate Satpanth with past forms of Ismā'īlism, and seek to reflect a continuity of that tradition. Some of the traditions just telescope the activities of the dā'īs, starting with Nūr Satgūr and these, I would suggest, tend to represent earlier stage.[142] Some traditions as in the case of the two stories analyzed, betray interpolation and these are probably therefore a later development.[143] What we are thus left with in terms of precise historical data is very meagre but on the other hand, the testimony when analyzed closely reflects considerable information about the aspirations and motives underlying the tradition, and therein lies its true value.

With regard to the origins of Satpanth Ismā'īlism in India, we are therefore left very much in the dark and our conclusions consequently can be at best, speculative. The evidence suggests that Nūr Satgūr was probably among the first representatives of the Nizārī Da'wa's attempts to propagate their cause in India. The Hindu milieu in which he is alleged to have acted is suggestive of a newer orientation, if we compare this with the policy of al-Mu'izz discussed earlier. There cannot, it appears, be any connection between the Sūmrās and Nūr Satgūr, there is no evidence to link them, nor, as we have marked, had he anything to do with the Dilhī revolt of 1236.[144] Yet the existence of an Ismā'īlī oriented group like the Sūmrās may have stimulated Nizārī dā'īs to win them to their fold. All in all, it must be admitted that the point of the exact origins of the movement in India, is still open to further investigation when more sources become available.

The second figure of major importance in the traditional accounts of the da'wa's activities is Pīr Shams al-Dīn.[145] Once again legends cloud his origin and life and we are left with a figure, in many ways even more enigmatic than Nūr Satgūr.

In the gnāns, we find certain dates associated with the activities of Shams in India. The first of these is the year Samvat 1178, i.e. 1122 A.D.[146] Another is where Shams makes a promise to meet two disciples in the year Samvat 1207 (1151 A.D.).[147] Of well known figures associated with him in India is

the Multāni saint Bahā' al Dīn Zakariyyā, who died in 1262, with whom Shams is said to have come into confrontation during his stay in Multān.[148] In the gnāns attributed to Shams, reference is made to Qāsim Shāh[149] as the Imām of the time. Alamūt, as is well known was razed in 1256 by the Mongols and after that the history of the Ismā'īlīs and their Imāms enters a new stage. The child of the last of the Alamūt Imāms Khūr Shāh, is said to have been taken to Adharbāyjān, and we hear of him later as Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.[150] Qāsim Shāh, in the earliest Nizārī Ismā'īlī genealogy extant is the name of two of the three Imāms that follow immediately after him.[151] Ivanow, dates the year of Imām Shams al-Dīn's death around 1310.[152] Thus if Qāsim Shāh were to be the Imām during Shams' time, it would extend the period of his activity into the fourteenth century. Further development of the tradition is attributed to another gnān where he is made the same person as Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.[153] The genealogies add another layer of confusion to the growing tradition by giving us further dates. His year of birth is given as 1165 and he is said to have died in 1276, and to have originated from the region of Sabzavār in Persia.[154]

Taken within the context of what we know of Ismā'īlī development at the time of Qāsim Shāh, it becomes possible to see some of the traditions in a clearer perspective. A little known schism took place in the community's history upon the death of Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. Two branches were formed,

one of them giving allegiance to Qāsim Shāh.[155] In all probability the attempt to associate Shams with this Imām would appear to be an assertion of the tradition in India to align itself behind Qāsim Shāh.[156] This would tend to be further confirmed by additional material growing around the figure of Shams. In the later works, he is confused with a Shams al-Dīn who gave allegiance to one Qāsim Shāh and was the founder of the Nūrbakhshīya order in Kashmīr. His activities however took place well towards the end of the fifteenth century.[157] As the growing Satpanth tradition sought to seek its earlier identity and at the same time came into contact with other Shī'ite trends, the need to find a starting point for its own origin must have been felt and subsequently its own originators were amalgmated with better known figures. This also explains to an extent how Shams also came to be identified with the master of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī - Shams Tabrīzī, another thirteenth century figure.[158] Ivanow has already helped to explain how the identification with Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad is apocryphal. Satvenji Vel, the work alleged to be that of Nar Muḥammad Shāh, one of the later figures in Satpanth history, attempts to arrange the historical material to substantiate the author's own claims to be the new Imām.[159]

Another extremely interesting, though later claim is to make Shams the descendant of the Ithnā 'Asharī Imām Mūsā Kāẓim. Though this is understandable in view of possible taqīyah being practised by the followers,

what is more amazing is that the present preservers of Shams's shrine in Multān, as well as those of Nūr Satgūr's shrine still regard themselves as staunch Ithnā 'Asharīs.[160]

The later genealogy of the pīrs puts him twenty-third in the list. This taken in conjunction with the attempt to relate him to Qāsim Shāh, probably reflects another "forcing" of genealogies to update the growing tradition.[161] As Nanjiani suggests, Pīr Dādū when he came to India during the sixteenth century, in his effort to organize the community, systematized the dū'ā' and it seems quite conceivable that at this later stage, most of the attempts to detail the lives of the pīrs as well as their genealogies took place.[162] The stratification of tradition once again leaves us very much in the dark concerning the exact details about Shams. By a process of elimination, we can conclude that aspects of his personality that led to confusing him with Shams Tabrīzī and Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad are apocryphal, but that still leaves the earlier dates, as well as descriptions of his activity around Multān. There is nothing to suggest from what we know of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā that he did have the alleged confrontations with Shams; on the other hand this is probably a symbolic way (by using a well-known figure) of portraying the process of preaching within the milieu represented by Multān. A point of interest in Shams's activities is that unlike Nūr Satgūr, he is represented as working within Muslim and Hindu groups. Furthermore there are traces in the gnāns of attempts at organization under Shams, by appointing a head over the converts

instructing them to pay tithes.[163] It is difficult to dismiss outright such traditions since they mirror no significant historical motive and are therefore probably genuine relics of such attempts at organization. On the basis then of having placed Nūr Satgūr during the period of attempts from Alamūt to extend its spheres of influence, it can be further argued that Shams represents either a continuation of activity under Nūr Satgūr, as tradition would have it, or perhaps another arm of the da'wa during the same period. Nūr Satgūr's activity is confined mostly to Gujarāt. Shams, in that case may well have struck out in the direction of Sind, the scene of the earliest Ismā'īlī activity in India. There is however an added complication, for tradition makes Shams travel through Badakhshān, Little Tibet and Kashmīr before coming to India.[164] There are instances also of him having worked in Bengal.[165] Though we know something of Ismā'īlī activity in Badakhshān, after the fall of Alamūt, there is no evidence to relate Shams to the area.[166] Since Shams is made the son of one Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was also a dā'ī and was alleged to have been descended from a line engaged in da'wa work, this would seem to be a further instance of "telescoping" activities over a long period, to that of a single dā'ī.[167] Census reports taken in the Panjāb, during the last century show remnants of a group called Shamsīs, followers of "Pīr Shams Tabrīzī (sic!) the great saint of Multān." They however were known to be paying allegiance to the Nizārī line of Imāms at the time of the census. Their number was greatest around Sialkot and the minor ethnographical details available,

like their Hindu observances, suggest evidence of possible da'wa activity in this area.[168] The question then remains of how valid are the earlier dates preserved about him. As a matter of choice, the earlier ones would be more preferable than the later ones which definitely reflect distortion. The exactness of the earlier dates must however still remain a moot point. In this case both Nūr Satgūr and Shams stand for that period of Nizārī Ismā'īlī activity in India which coincides with the Alamūt Period, extending it as the case may be, not much later than the fall of their state in 1256. It would therefore be pertinent at this stage to take stock of the spread and nature of their activities, particularly as they are reflected in the gnāns, more with a view to see if any particular trends in this development can be discerned.

The pattern of propagation related to Shams follows more or less the same structural set of events as in Nūr Satgūr. Shams performs miracles of an extraordinary nature like bringing the sun down; he is also successful in converting a ruler.[169] In the garbīs, the theme of involvement is evolved in greater detail, by making Shams participate in Hindu ritual; and having maneuvered himself into their festivities, he uses the event as a basis for spreading his ideas.[170] Having hinted earlier that this type of oral tradition reflects certain basic motifs, we can now attempt to analyse what these are as they appear in the tradition. Lévi-Strauss has argued in a study on mythical thought, that in it the argument proceeds from a

concept of structure to a fact or a set of events whose function it is to make the structure apparent.[171] In other words, mythical thought because it is not concerned with presenting any objective record of events, orients its examples more towards making the structure itself apparent. It can consequently, disregard laws of sequence, time and place and concentrate on illustrating the structure. It is this, I would suggest, that we find mirrored in the stereotypes we have of conversions and miracles undertaken by the two figures. As a possible mirage of reality, such stereotypes represent the early period of Satpanth tradition which is concerned with the interaction resulting from spreading the da'wa in India. It is also for this reason that the personalities of the pīrs have taken on the colouring of the cultural milieu they functioned in. The pīrs emerge as Hindu Yōgīs or Ṣūfī mystics, as the case may be, working almost within the forces current at the time.[172] This is a point which would help in understanding much more clearly, the development of Satpanth religious thinking as we find it reflected in the gnāns as well. I would argue then for the purposes of tracing the historical development of the da'wa, that these stories represent what may be termed the period of entrenchment, when the pīrs established the first footholds in the two major regions of Sind and Gujarāt. The exact nature of the activities following upon this early period of entrenchment is extremely difficult to determine but the traditional accounts may again serve here as furnishing further trends in the development of the da'wa. The most striking aspects of these is the

mobility of the pīrs, particularly in the case of Shams.[173] Also, there is the association of faithful disciples with the main figure[174] and if we accept the reference regarding the organization of groups under a headman mentioned earlier, then it can be surmised that the spread of the mission was undertaken by establishing such little "pockets" of followers along the route. In the absence of any centralized authority (there is no evidence to suggest that this did exist then) these "pockets" presumably continued as independent units. It must also be remembered that the identity of such groups would be extremely difficult to discover, particularly within the complex of the pluralistic society that was developing in India after the Muslim invasions.[175] Further the continuation of Hindu cultural traits acted as a cover for the Ismā'īlī tendencies and in view of the policy of persecution that we have noted earlier, there seems every reason to suppose (as it is also intimated in the traditional sources) that taqīyah was being practised.[176] In all probability these groups survived side by side with the growing silsilahs of the Ṣūfīs and in the eyes of the state, could not be distinguished as a distinct Ismā'īlī grouping.

As compared to the Fāṭimid da'wa in Sind, the most singular contrast is the development of a non-political orientation around the da'wa. The references to the conversion of rulers probably reflects the urge to revive the ambition to match the period of earlier glory in mythical terms. Most of the

conversion must have been at the popular level. Ismā'īlism had many adherents in some form or other - the Sūmrās and the Dihlī revolt of 1236 testify to this - some of these may have been reabsorbed by the new da'wa. In addition it seems that it is mostly from Hindu groups that the new converts were drawn. The agricultural and trading similes that abound in gnāns associated with Shams, hint that these were mostly the professional working castes.[177] In all this, the historical personalities of these two early pīrs remain a vague outline. The mythical character of the core of the tradition they left behind and the subsequent layering of variants that grew about their exploits, as the tradition itself went through interaction and change, all leave the historian grasping a number of strands, none of which permit a substantially coherent picture of the men who set into motion the whole tradition.

Second Phase: Consolidation

Having analysed what can be termed the initial phase of the da'wa's activity in India, we approach in the gnān literature a second phase, which is both a period of consolidation as well as something of a watershed in the institution's development. A corresponding "blank" period except for minor details is visible in the history of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs elsewhere, until such time as the so-called Anjudān revival of the fifteenth century.[178]

A "farzand" (son) of Shams is said to have continued propagating after him. His name is given as Nāṣir al-Dīn. His successor is called Shihāb al-

Dīn, also called Ṣāḥib al-Dīn elsewhere; but there are no biographical details preserved, except a remark to the effect that their da'wa was conducted in secret.[179] In the genealogies they succeed one another after Shams.[180] Ivanow discounts the validity of the da'wa being continued by an immediate descendant on the grounds that such a term implies an attempt to establish "spritual" descent and possibly to claim Shams as an ancestor.[181] On the other hand, it seems equally conceivable, once the da'wa had been set into motion, and considering the fact that after Alamūt, the possibility of a centralized Ismā'īlī head-quarters existing is fairly remote; that the organization of such a distant da'wa was made independent. In such a case then if the pīrs did have able offsprings, the task may have been entrusted to them. There are however two entirely unrelated events that may help to throw some light on the background against which this second phase was developing. The first is connected with the campaigns of Tīmūr in Persia, where towards the end of the fourteenth century, "he had the merit of extirpating a band of assassins with which the north-western provinces of Persia were infested".[182] The second took place in India during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who came to the throne of the Dihlī Sultanate in 1351.[183] During his time, he carried out a policy of suppressing extremist sectarian manifestations, among whom was a group of Rawāfiḍ.[184] There is no way of ascertaining whether this last reference may have included any followers of the pīrs; nevertheless it serves to indicate the

tension under which the da'wa worked and also ties in with the reference that the pīrs were working in secret. The persecution in Persia illustrates a similar dimension concerning the Ismā'īlīs there and, what is more important, characterises the instability of the main centre of their activity. The immediate disruptive effects of life in Persia, following upon the Mongol invasion and continual periods of uncertainity prior to and during Tīmūr's ravages,[185] must have meant that the Imāms and their adherents had to keep on the move all the time, until the period of their subsequent stay in Anjudān, where a certain degree of quiescence was achieved, and permitted the commencement of a revival.

The figure in the da'wa's development to whom the consolidation is attributed is Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn.[186] It is once again futile to look for a record of direct biographical details in the gnāns and the task of reconstructing his period of activity therefore needs to be followed along the lines adopted for the earlier pīrs. The import of having two predecessors before Ṣadr al-Dīn and after Shams, is that a genealogical continuation is being affected by the traditional sources. We have already noticed the tendency to abridge historical sequences which seems to be built into Satpanth oral tradition. There is reason to suppose that the names of some minor figures, operating under the tense conditions may have dropped out of the genealogy entirely. One cannot also discount the factor of continuity of the da'wa's activities, the

more so after the period of entrenchment and particularly after sizable groups had been won over and organized to a certain extent. The two figures that bring us up to Ṣadr al-Dīn, consequently are likely to indicate a dividing point between the "blank" period and the resurgence under a new wave of the da'wa.

The biographical data for Ṣadr al-Dīn is provided by the Shajara which gives 1290 as his year of birth and 1380 as that of his death.[187] Other dates in later preserved tradition vary, one set being closer to the above, while the other puts his death as far back as 1416.[188] Basing our analysis of these dates on the structural "telescoping" evident in the genealogical details, one can conclude that they are the outcome of a much later attempt to bring some time perspective to the activities of the da'wa as a whole.

The Imām associated with Ṣadr al-Dīn throughout the gnāns attributed to him, is Imām Islām Shāh.[189] Some concrete evidence as to the existence and period of such an Imām is afforded by the existence of archeological evidence in Anjudān. The inscriptions on the mausoleum, at least, enable us to date the period of Islām Shāh to around 1480.[190] The surname Islām Shāh, however is one connected with a number of Imāms, all apparently representing the period of settlement, before and around Anjudān. Furthermore, according to Abū Isḥāq, who is our earliest Nizārī source besides the inscriptions for listing the Imāms of that period, there are six Imāms between Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who as we have seen, lived around 1310,

and the Islām Shāh of around 1480.[191] Thus, assuming that each Imām represents a generation, we would have a total of eight generations within a period of 170 years or so, a distinct feasibility. Such a chronological reconstruction of course assumes that the data we have about the Imāms, at least in Abū Isḥāq, has more validity in terms of historical detail than the corresponding genealogy preserved in the Satpanth tradition. Such an assumption, it can be argued, is more acceptable, because Abū Isḥāq is not only earlier but also much nearer the main centre of Ismā'īlī activity and hence less likely to display distortion.[192] The gnāns also indicate an awareness of the main centre of activity in their references to places where the Imāms resided. Nonetheless, these references themselves reflect a growing adjustment. The general term used is Sahetar-dīp, literally referring to the "Northern Continent", a traditional appelation in Hindu cosmology applied to Persia and Irāq.[193] Earlier, in gnāns relating to Nūr Satgūr's activities, we have noted references to Alamūt specifically, but in the gnāns attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn, other specific places indicated are Kahak and later Shahr-i-Babak.[194] We know for certain of an Imām buried in Kahak during the early part of the eighteenth century and also of a later Imām residing in Babak, in the second half of the same century. The important thing to note about Kahak is its relative contiguity to Anjudān.[195] What in fact this does tell us about the Satpanth tradition as a whole is a closer awareness of its roots, due to growing links with the Imāms in Persia, particularly

during this later period. This ultimately reflects onto the gnān literature in as much as we find a constant "updating" both of names and places. The clue that this provides about the activities of Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and its relationship with Persia are however slightly tenuous, but give us enough grounds to speculate on. The somewhat precise dates we have in the genealogy try to bridge the "blank" period by making Ṣadr al-Dīn a direct descendent and appear consequently to be "forced". I would therefore agree with Ivanow's very generalized placement of him between the second half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries;[196] but add a qualification, that the emphasis should be around the turn of the fifteenth century, possibly coinciding with the period in Persian Ismā'īlī activity, when the Imāms were just beginning to find breathing space after Tīmūr's ravages.

The most significant aspect of Ṣadr al-Dīn's work that we can glean from the gnāns and the traditional material is the establishment of Jamā'at-Khānahs in India, and his preaching of the da'wa openly.[197] Three such Jamā'at Khānahs were built, one in Kōtda in Sind, the second in the Panjāb and the third in Kashmīr, and the names of all three heads of these communities are also preserved. The centre of the da'wa's activities is said to have been Ucch.[198] The extent of the organization indicates a considerable growth in the size of the community and also hints at a less covert approach in the da'wa's activities. One possible explanation of the latter phenomenon is that

after the thirteenth century as the activities of the Ṣūfī saints intensified and a parallel revival in the shape of the "Bhakti movement" began to emerge,[199] the need for secrecy was felt to be less imperative. Someone like Ṣadr al-Dīn, could either shape a movement on his own, as eventually seems to have been the case, or begin by associating with a group, establishing himself and then setting up an organization of his own. All the same, a group of Nizārī Ismā'īlīs could well merge under the guise of a khānqah with similar organization so abundant at the time.[200] The state of the Dihlī Sultanate also underwent considerable change, following upon the invasion of Tīmūr's armies in 1398. Disintegration set in and this may to an extent have lessened the policies of persecution that had been undertaken earlier by the likes of Fīrūz Shāh.[201]

Another pointer to a restructuring of Ismā'īlī adherents under Ṣadr al-Dīn is an alleged visit to the Imām to submit collection of tithes from India.[202] This raises an interesting question with regard to the economic organization of the da'wa's followers. One gnān contains a substantial amount of guidance concerning trading matters and, though Ivanow has some reservation about these,[203] it would appear likely that, in urban areas and particularly if there were Ismā'īlīs participating in the coastal trade of Gujarāt, these references provide clues to establishing not only a religious unit but also of giving it a strong economic basis. It was also perhaps in this, that the attraction for some of the converts may have

lain. On somewhat firmer grounds, we have some evidence of the methodology of Ṣadr al-Dīn's preaching, in the cognomens by which he is designated in the gnāns. Three appelations are mostly used, Harīshchandra, Sahādeva and Bārgūr.[204] Each symbol may tell us something about his activity particularly as later tradition saw it, and also simultaneously illustrate the setting of the da'wa. The first two establish Ṣadr al-Dīn as working within the Hindu framework.[205]

If we also consider the tradition which makes Ṣadr al-Dīn the founder of the Khōjās from the Lōhāṇā caṣte, then we can probably conclude that the main object of his preaching was the conversion of Hindus rather than drawing Muslims to the Ismā'īlī fold,[206] The concept implied in Bārgūr is that of portraying his immense success in converting a large number to the "right path".[207] Another relevant question about his activities is whether he was sent as is alleged by the Imām from Persia,[208] or whether he was really a convert who continued the preaching of the dā'īs who converted him. We have some interesting evidence in Nizārī sources of the Imāms entrusting the da'wa work to their relatives and even descendants.[209] In this case it might well prove to be that tradition is right in asserting Ṣadr al-Dīn's kinship with the Imām of his time, particularly as we know that because of the conditions of the time, the da'wa was not really centralized and that only the most trustworthy could be chosen to continue propagation to maintain a unified policy. Ṣadr al-Dīn has a shrine in Jetpūr

near Ucch where again the Sunni overseers of the shrine regard their pīr as a Sunni and call him Hājī Ṣadr Shāh.[210]

The history of the next figure, Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, the son of Ṣadr al-Dīn, brings us on to comparatively solid ground, since he is the only dā'ī to have been mentioned in any detail in Muslim hagiographical works.[211] To begin with the gnāns first; he is pictured as taking over his father's work, again propagating openly.[212] Incidentally the name of Imām Islām Shāh is also linked with the activities of Kabīr al-Dīn.[213] He is said to have been born in Ucch and a date Samvat 1386 (1330 A.D.) is also preserved.[214] There is a variety of other dates with regard to the year of his death, and Ivanow feels that the ones around 1470-71 are probably accurate.[215] Our first non-Satpanth source also gives the date of death as 1490, and cites the tradition whereby Kabīr al-Dīn is supposed to have lived for 180 years.[216] On the one hand, the longevity attributed to the pīr can be explained away as a possible reflection of attempts to establish descent from Shams;[217] yet on the other hand, even if we discount the exaggeration in all the testimonies that point to an unusually long life, it is difficult to dismiss entirely the common purport of these basically similar suggestions, that he may quite possibly lived longer than normal. On the basis of the above dates, we can at least determine that he died sometime towards the end of the fifteenth century.

In the traditional accounts, he is also reputed with having even more converts than his father, and

the fact that he was instrumental in converting many kuffār is also vouched for by the Akhbār al-Akhyār.[218] The same account also complements the reference to his abilities as a preacher and a performer of miracles, and what is even more significant is that the account speaks highly of his activities particularly in contrast to the "innovations and worldly temptation" that his descendants fell into, a possible reference to the schisms and claims to the imāmah of later figures related to the da'wa.[219] Having one added source to substantiate the material we already possess in the tradition facilitates considerably our attempts at determining the response of the Muslims in India to the activities of Ismā'īlī dā'īs and to judge by the above account, there seems to be no trace of bigotry or animosity. This may be due firstly to the tolerant attitude taken towards mystics generally and also reflects a genuine sentiment for possibly remarkable achievements in the field of conversion.[220] Nevertheless it serves to emphasize that the da'wa at this time was working in favourable circumstances and aimed at conversion with no manifest subversive political overtones. Movement is a factor also associated with Kabīr al-Dīn's activities. Though there are no specific details besides the reference that he too had his centre at Ucch, there is mention of a visit to Badakhshān.[221] Considering the rise in the level of organization, it seems quite conceivable that attempts were being made to systematize da'wa activity in all the scattered Ismā'īlī communities, by attempting to keep them in touch with Persia. The reference specifically states

that he undertook this mission after visiting the Imām in Persia. An instructive myth is preserved regarding a visit, which is more a personal, emotive account reflecting a sort of "Pilgrims Progress" in a ṣūfī vein, and hence provides no indication of the route taken or places visited.[222]

This second phase of organization and consolidation, in comparison to the first phase of entrenchment, though not very revealing in detail, at least serves to enable us to trace the gradual development of the whole movement. The most significant aspect in this second phase is the establishment of a more corporate organization of the scattered communities, as the establishment of Jamā'at Khānahs indicate. Further, the visit to the Imāms denote an attempt to relate the identity of the groups in a way differing from other typical ṣūfī silsilahs, inasmuch as the communities in India were not being regulated as "closed" groupings. Rather, though within its own milieu, the pīrs continued to foster in the community of India, a consciousness that gave these dispersed groups a sense of solidarity and united its allegiance to a common vision and ideology. For these reasons it was important to the da'wa that the symbols used by the pīrs for themselves and for their role, must be seen in the context of Ismā'īlī ideas that were developing in Persia.[223] The central concept of the ḥujjah took on a more esoteric meaning, than it had in Fāṭimid times.[224] The ḥujjah had under him the dā'īs who carried on the work of propagation.[225] Some of the significations of these

ideas carried over into India, and the usage of the symbols and terms like "Mūkhī" (for the heads of the Jamā'at Khanāhs) probably reflect a transference of the organizational system of Persia to India.[226] At the same time it needs to be emphasized that the da'wa itself maintained its vitality by remaining flexible. There was no fixed system any particular da'wa was bound to implement because in a sense the very nature of the movement itself and the varied circumstances it functioned in, precluded the implementation of any uniform system. In constrast to the Fāṭimid polity where both the weight of political power and the need for uniformity required al-Mu'izz to insist on the need for a unified system,[227] the pattern of decentralization evident in Alamūt and post-Alamūt times, meant that the central authority had to be much more flexible in its approach towards the application of the doctrine among distant followers. These and other considerations particularly when the context of our study is widened to include the constant state of flux and development that both Ismā'īlism and the Islamic world at large were going through, lead to a much better comprehension of the dynamics of a movement like the Satpanth Da'wa. The imputed lack of historical data about the movement need not constrain us from giving serious attention to other aspects, and in the end when we view the da'wa in India in a time perspective and analyze its function, what emerges as truly significant is that the Satpanth Da'wa, and perhaps the Ismā'īlī Da'wa as a whole, cannot be studied in a rigid framework, but must be seen as a creative institution, that adapted and regenerated

itself to accomodate the changing circumstances of which it too was a part.

In order to round off the second phase of the da'wa two further episodes need to be considered, which may help to delineate the period under review more clearly. Upon the death of Kabīr al-Dīn, some disagreement appears to have arisen with regard to his successor. The genealogies indicate that his brother Tāj al-Dīn succeeded him and it is also stated that he was invested with the charge of the da'wa by the Imām. Kabīr al-Dīn had many descendants, some of whom took exception to Tāj al-Dīn's appointment; the consequent discord caused him to commit suicide.[228] The result of the suicide was that in due course a somewhat startling novelty was introduced into the structure of the da'wa. The Imām dispatched a book of guidance called the Pandiyāt -i- Jawānmardī to replace the ḥujjah or dā'ī, and eventually the book found its way into the genealogy of the pīrs.[229] It may be possible to date this new turn by comparing the tradition associated with the book, with some concrete evidence about the Imāms in Persia who are said to have sent the books. The author of the "advices", Imām Mustanṣir, died around 1480.[230] Satpanth tradition states that an Imām called Mustanṣir dispatched the book to India, but this Imām, it can be demonstrated, may have been another Imām with the same title who died in 1498.[231] It appears therefore that the last decade or so of the fifteenth century was a very eventful one in the da'wa's history, as it seems that we can tie up coherently all

the important events like Kabīr al Dīn's death, Tāj al-Dīn's suicide and the dispatching of the Pandiyāt within that duration. A meaningful picture emerges of a crisis of no uncertain proportions in the community's development, and it is fitting that the beginning of a new phase hinging upon this outcome, should bring us to a climax of the period under review. The dénouement must, properly speaking, form the subject of another study.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The emphasis in the foregoing pages has been on an historical account of the spread and propagation of Satpanth Ismā'īlism; and here by way of a few concluding remarks, the more important factors are reiterated and a few questions raised with regard to the methodological treatment necessitated by a phenomenon like Satpanth.

"Ismailism," in Bernard Lewis's words, "evolved over a long period and a wide area, and meant different things at different times and places".[232] Satpanth represents one such facet and underlines further this growing realization about the nature of Ismā'īlism as a whole.

Of the Satpanth da'wa, as an institution compared to the Fāṭimid one in India, one thing can be said with reasonable certainty. It had eventually taken on a more subdued role politically, and set aside attempts to create an Ismā'īlī state. This quiescence can be related to the general period of pacifism that Nizārī Ismā'īlī fortunes lay in, after the fall of Alamūt in 1256. More than this perhaps it also involved a recognition of the fact that in its previous attempts Ismā'īlism had been unable to reverse or overthrow the existing order entirely. In the face of this the best way for them to survive was by isolating spiritually

within the framework of the Islamic society in India; and by not drawing attention upon itself, prevent the constant threat of persecution from materialising. This also meant that the da'wa had to concentrate on perpetuating an Ismā'īlī ideology shaped to suit both the exigencies of the time and society it worked in.

Which in turn, brings us to a consideration of the figures who represented the da'wa in India. Our analysis of the tradition surrounding them has shown that the accounts reflect a concern, more with the institution itself, and the individuals, as a result, lend themselves to stereotyped descriptions. Nevertheless, the little that filters through, shows the pīrs to be truly remarkable personalities. The vague outline that emerges, portrays highly committed figures in a foreign, distant, and at times hostile environment, striving to bridge the gap between two often widely contrasting faiths, restrained by circumstances from giving a free flow to the ideals they held, and yet working constantly to reshape and rechannel them in order to offer some meaningful experience to their converts. Until the Satpanth literature has been adequately explored, we cannot be certain of the meaning and import of their work, but on one point we can rest assured, that their success was due in a large part to the deeply emotional appeal in terms of religious experience that they were able to give to their teachings. In practical religious terms therefore, the most significant achievement of the pīrs must lie in their missionary

work and their contribution to the spread of Islam in India.

The work of the pīrs also reflects for us the continuing aspiration of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in their preoccupation with maintaining a foothold in India. On the one hand this can be seen against the background of their conflict with the adherents of Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism and the desire to offset the latter's attempts to entrench themselves in India too. Perhaps this was reflected more in the period immediately following upon the 1094 split, as we do not have any evidence of conflict in the later period.[233] Rather the regular sending of dā'īs and attempts at consolidation of the community in India, indicates a possible long term policy of revival and resurgence of Nizārī Ismā'īlī ambitions and may be related to the Anjudān revival mentioned before.[234] This is further emphasized by the fact that notwithstanding the distance, the pīrs continued to maintain contacts with the Imāms in Persia. Though most of their work appears to have been carried out independently, it is possible the da'wa was being organised in conjunction with directions received from the Imāms in Perisa. A written form of guidance like the Pandiyāt -i- Jawānmardī taking the place of a pīr in the case of a conflict among the distant community, lends more weight to the argument that the converts in India were viewed as an important, integral part of the whole movement and needed to be kept loyal to the central authority, if Nizārī Ismā'īlism was to make headway in its aspirations there.

These aspirations as they revealed themselves in India, can best be studied by examining the identity the pīrs were able to foster among the converts and one very important clue to this identity is the traditional literature that has survived, and which represents the self-image that the community was attempting to create for itself. In addition to the remarks already made about the methodological treatment necessary to investigate traditional material a few more cautionary suggestions are made here in connection with what must eventually form the next stage of a study of Satpanth Ismā'īlism - an investigation of its structure of religious thought.

One salient feature of oral tradition as evidenced in this study, is that oral tradition is conditioned by the society in which it flourishes; consequently it follows that it cannot transcend the boundaries of the social system in which it exists. Historical information contained in oral tradition is always of a limited nature and reflects a certain bias, but the far more significant value of oral tradition is that it is a mirror of the society's thought and it is in this field that the gnān literature is rich. The gnāns represent one major development in what we may term the intellectual history[235] of Ismā'īlism. For this reason a purely synchronic study of the tradition would be much less fruitful, than a more comprehensive, diachronic study that would take into account concurrent, Nizārī Ismā'īlī developments elsewhere. The more so, since this intellectual history is directly related to an

institution - that of the da'wa - and would further permit a sifting out of superficial correlations resulting from the limitations of environment, from deep attachments between institutional complexes persisting over the full period and space of the da'wa's activities.[236]

Another aspect of Satpanth that demands a careful approach is its heterogeneity.[237] Ivanow has tried to argue that what in fact the Satpanth dā'īs were doing was to separate Islam from its Arabic shell, and in the process adopting familiar terms of Hinduism to explain their ideals.[238] Yet, well-founded as this explanation may be, it still begs the question and implies some vague, unilateral concept of Islam or Ismā'īlism as the standard being used to evaluate the validity of Satpanth as a related phenomenon. The problem returns us once more to the crucial issue of appreciating such mythologically oriented movements like Satpanth. Lévi - Strauss's explanation of mythological thought as analogous to what he defines as "intellectual bricolage" may serve as useful here, because at the bottom of his argument lies the conviction that the heterogenous repertoire of mythical thought uses images and signs to lead to concepts which are being continually reconstructed.[239] That is to say, in relation to an analysis of Satpanth thought what this implies is that when Satpanth is viewed within Ismā'īlī thought in a time perspective, and as a structure with an ordered pattern of possibilities and potentialities rather than a rigid framework, we can distinguish

between ephemeral and deeply ground associations in the symbolism and imagery that is evident in the gnāns. A case in point would be the oft-mentioned Das Avatār, where 'Alī is equated with the expected tenth incarnation of the deity.[240] Here we have two concepts, that of the Imām in the Ismā'īlī doctrine and the avatār in the Hindu one,[241] fused to symbolise one entity. The symbol acts both as the point of departure for the convert in his quest to comprehend a new teaching in familiar terms, as well as permitting the dā'ī to lead the convert towards a realization of the functional value of the symbol, as a means of understanding through Satpanth - the way of Truth - the unity of the concept. This obviously raises the problem of the ṣūfic and Hinduistic sources of inspiration that Satpanth dā'īs utilised. Since the problem of the exact relationship between Hinduism and ṣūfism itself is still a vexed issue,[242] it would only complicate matters further if one were to make the derivation of sources, a starting point of a study of Satpanth thought. The important thing is not to treat it as a closed system. The Satpanth tradition developed over a period and changed as the society it flourished in underwent change. Our ideas must therefore, if we are to do justice to the intellectual manifestations of Satpanth, take into account the historical processes and social changes not only within the immediate society of Satpanth, but also at the level of Ismā'īlī and Islamic society as a whole.

All the same it also remains to be seen whether Satpanth had any specifically independent characteristics and what new directions, if any, was it able to give to the now restrained energies of Ismā'īlī hopes in India.

Until this is done we can, in a final analysis, make at least one unqualified generalization. The history of the Satpanth da'wa represented amidst the fluctuating fortunes of Ismā'īlism a regeneration of its religious message in a conscious attempt of the da'wa to work towards maintaining a continual flow of religious activity, not tied to any political ambition but adapting and recreating its faith, surviving and succeeding by the very fact that its nature was fluid enough to accomodate a change of circumstance.

NOTES

[1]For the issue involved and subsequent judgement in the Case, see Asaf A. Fyzee, Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan (Oxford: 1965), pp. 504-549.

[2]The word Khōjā, it would appear is the name for a caste. At present there are not only Shī'a Ismā'īlī Khōjās, but also Ithnā 'Asharī and Sunni Khōjās too. In the Ismā'īlī community's tradition the term is derived from the Persian Khwāja meaning Lord or Master, an honorific title given to the converts by Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn. The Ismā'īlī Khōjās, it must be noted, form only a section of the adherents to that faith in India. Jaffer Rahimtoola, Khōjā Kōmnō Itihās (Bombay: 1905), pp. 1-19 has an interesting discussion on who the Khōjās actually were. See also the art. "Khodja," SEI (Leiden: 1961), p. 256.

[3]Properly Aqā Khān, a title given originally to Imām Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh by Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Qājār, the Persian ruler. See H.A.R. Gibb, "Agha Khān," EI^2, I, p. 246.

[4]Fyzee, Cases, p. 545.

[5]As instanced by an address delivered by one of the Counsels for the defence. See The Shia School of Islam and its branches, especially that of the Imamee-Ismailies, a speech delivered by E.I. Howard Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, in the Bombay High Court in June 1866. (Bombay: 1895).

[6]For a study of this development see M.G.S. Hodgson, The Order of Assassins (The Hague: 1955), pp. 22-33 and Bernard Lewis, The Assassins (London: 1967), pp. 1-19.

[7]See E. Tyan, "Da'wa" EI^2, II pp. 168-172, for a general discussion.

[8]W. Ivanow, The Rise of the Fatimids (Calcutta: 1942), p.27ff. Also Samuel Stern, "The early Ismā'īlī missionaries in North West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania", BSOAS, XXIII (1960), pp. 56-90. For the Fāṭimid organization, W. Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", JBBRAS, Vol. XV, (1939), pp. 1-35. For the later phase of the Fāṭimids, Husain F. al Hamdānī, "The History of the Ismaili Da'wat and its Literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire," JRAS, (1932), pp. 126-136; and for the Nizārī Da'wa, Hodgson, Order, p. 69ff.

[9]A thorough, well-documented study of the rise and development of the Fāṭimid state in Urdu, utilizing many still unedited Ismā'īlī sources, is Zāhid 'Alī's Tā'rīkh -i- Fāṭimiyyīn Miṣr (Hyderabad: 1948), chs. 8 & 9. See also M. Canard, "Fāṭimids," EI^2, II, p. 852.

[10]See 'Atā Malik Juvaynī, The History of the World Conqueror, tr. by J.A. Boyle (Manchester: 1958), Vol. 2, p. 662.

[11]Hodgson, Order, pp. 62-64.

[12]For the conflict between what remained of the Fāṭimid state and the Nizārīs and subsequent development see the two articles of S.M. Stern:
1) "The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al Āmiriyya); its date and its purpose," JRAS (1950), pp. 20-31.
2) "The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fatimids to the Imamate and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism" Oriens, Vol. 4, (1951), pp. 193-225.
Juvaynī speaks of the "new propaganda" (Da'wat-i-jadīd), Vol. II, p. 666.
See also R. Levy, "The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the Jami'al - Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah," JRAS (1930), p. 532.

[13]Satpanth, lit. "The way of Truth" is the most frequently used term in reference to the preaching of the pīrs in the traditional sources themselves. References are too numerous to be quoted, see for instance "Some specimens of Satpanth Literature," tr. by Vali Mahomed N. Hooda in Collectanea (Leiden: 1948), Vol. I, p. 56, 70, 72 etc.

[14]For Dā'ī see M. Hodgson, "Dā'ī" EI^2, Vol. II, pp. 97-98. It is not certain when the word pīr was first adopted by Ismā'īlī dā'īs and in India could most probably have been as a result of ṣūfī usage. Note however that there is a sixteenth century Nizārī work incorporating substantial discussion on the subject of the pīr. "Risāl'i Khayr - Khwāh-i-Harātī," in Taṣnifat Khayr - Khwāh-i-Harātī, ed. W. Ivanow (Tehran: 1961) pp. 1-75.

[15]The Ṭayyibī Da'wa was one of those active in India. A general account can be found in J.N. Hollister, The Shi'a of India (London: 1953), p.265ff.

[16]W. Ivanow, "Satpanth" in Collectanea, Vol. I (Leiden: 1948), pp. 1-54. Hollister, Shi'a of India also has an outline of the movement, pp. 339-363. An earlier work is Syed Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojāhs and their Religious Life to-day (Bonn: 1936). A more recent work incorporating some traditional material will be found in S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat (London: 1964).

[17]Lewis, Assassins, p. 18.

[18]For his life and works see A.A. Fyzee, "Qāḍi an-Nu'mān, the Fatimid Jurist and author," JRAS (1934), pp. 1-32.

[19]W. Ivanow, Ismaili Literature. A Bibliographical Survey (Tehran: 1963), No. 76. As I understand it, an edition of it is in the press.

[20]Ibid., No. 79.still unedited but the relevant passages are to be found in S. Stern, "Ismā'īlī propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind," IC, XXIII (1949), pp. 304-307.

[21]Ibid., No. 270 still unedited but again the relevant portions have been published by S.M. Stern, "Heterodox Ismā'īlism at the time of al-Mu'izz," BSOAS,

XVII (1955), pp. 24-28. In addition to this further passages from Al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt are also given, pp. 28-33.

[22]al-Muqaddasī, Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm. ed. M.J. DeGoeje (Leiden: 1906).

[23]Al-Bīrūnī, Kitab al Hind, ed. by E. Sachau (London: 1887), tr. by E. Sachau (London: 1888). Complementing this are the observations on India of a later period by another traveller, Ibn Baṭṭūtah, Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah, Vol. III, ed. and tr. by C. Defrémery and B. Sanguinetti, (Paris: 1949).

[24]Ḥudūd al 'Ālam, tr. by V. Minorsky (Oxford: 1937).

[25]Al-Jūzjānī, Ṭabaḳāt -i- Nāṣirī, tr. by H. Raverty, 2 Vols. (London: 1881).

[26]Aḥmad Sirhindī, The Tārīkh -i- Mubārakshāhī, tr. by K. K. Basu (Baroda: 1932).

[27]Muḥammad Firishtah, Tā'rīkh -i- Firishtah, (History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India) tr. J. Briggs (London: 1829).

[28]As a background to the study of the association of the Qarāmiṭah and the Ismā'īlīs and the controversy surrounding the issue see:
a) S.M. Stern, "Ismā'īlīs and Qarmaṭians" in L'Elaboration de l'Islam (Paris: 1961), pp. 99-108,

b) W, Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians," JBBRAS, XVI (1940), pp. 43-85.
c) W. Madelung, "Fatimiden and Bahrainqarmaten," Der Islam, XXXIV (1959), pp. 34-88.

[29]P. Hardy, "Some studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography," in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. C.H. Phillips (London: 1961), p. 126.

[30]Stern, Ismāʿīlī Propaganda, pp. 298-307.

[31]Abbas Hamdani, The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India (Cairo: 1956).

[32]From the Sanskrit Jnāna meaning "meditative or contemplative knowledge". See Benjamin Walker, "Knowledge," in The Hindu World, an Encyclopaedic Survey of Hinduism (New York: 1968), Vol. I, p. 555.

[33]Howard, Shia School, pp. 73, 78.

[34]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 17.

[35]For a full list see Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, pp. 176-181.

[36]An excellent study on oral tradition and its relationship to historical methodology is Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition, tr. H.M. Wright (Chicago: 1965), from which the ideas that follow are mostly drawn.

[37]B. Walker, "Rāga," in The Hindu World, Vol. II, p. 266.

[38]Collection of Ginans composed by Pir Sadruddin, ed. Ismailia Association for India (Bombay: 1952), Introduction, p. 4.

[39]Ibn Hawqal, Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ (Beirut: 1963), p. 280.

[40]H.H. Dhruva, "The Gujerati Language of the Fourteenth - Fifteenth century," ICO (London: 1892), p. 315ff.

[41]Howard, Shia School, p. 71.

[42]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 40.

[43]Such an admission is made even by the Khōjās. Collection of Ginans composed by Syed Imam Shah, ed. Ismailia Association for India (Bombay: 1954), Introduction, p.5.

[44]Ibid., See section "Sayyid Gulāmali Shāh," Introduction, p. 7.

[45]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 40.

[46]"Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature," tr. V.N. Hooda in Collectanea, Vol. I, pp. 55-85.

[47]Vansina, Oral Tradition, p. 173ff.

[48]Howard, Shia School, pp. 78-79, where the Khōjā usage of the term is explained. The defence is

said to have produced evidence which would prove that the prayer had been long used by the Khōjās. The evidence, however, is not cited there. An edition, Peer Sadardeen Sahebe Racheli Asal Dhūa (Bombay; 1919), is available to me.

[49]Vansina, Oral Tradition, p. 153.

[50]The principle of taqīyah has a chequered history throughout Shī'ite history. See Hodgson, Order, p. 155ff. For the practice among the Khōjās, see Fyzee, Cases, p. 514ff and p. 539ff.

[51]For a discussion of the sources, see W. Ivanow, "The sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," JBBRAS, XII (1936), pp. 24-28.

[52]Mirat -i- Ahmadi, tr. M.F. Lokhandwalla (Baroda: 1965). Mirat -i- Ahmadi Supplement, tr. S.N. Ali and C.N. Seddon (Baroda: 1928).

[53]Shaykh 'Abd al Ḥaqq Dihlawī, Akhbār al-Akhyār fī asrār al-abrār (Delhi: 1913).

[54]Sachedina Nanjiani, Khōjā Vruttant, second edition (Kathiawar: 1918).

[55]Ibid., Introduction, p. 15.

[56]Jaffer Rahimtoola, Khōjā Kōmnō Itihās.

[57]A.J. Chunara, Nurum Mubin, revised by Jafferali Sufi, third edition (Bombay: 1951).

[58]For an introduction and a list of works, some of which have been edited, see Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, pp. 127-158.

[59]Stern, Early Ismā'īlī missionaries, p. 81.

[60]Rashīd al-Din Faḍl Allāh, Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, ed. by M. Dānesh - Pajuh and M. Modarresy (Tehran: 1960), p. 9, 11. Also Levy, Isma'ili doctrines, p. 518, 522.

[61]Stern, Early Ismā'īlī missionaries, pp.85-87.

[62]Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, pp. 298-299. Hamdani, Beginnings, p. 1.

[63]Hamdani, Ibid.

[64]Mas'ūdi, Murūj al-Dhahab, ed. (Beirut: 1965), Vol. I, p. 198, and al-Iṣṭakhri, Kitāb Masālik wa al-Mamālik, ed. M. DeGoeje (Leiden: 1927), p. 175. Also S. Razia Jafri, "Description of India in the works of al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hauqal and al Maqdisī," in the Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, (Aligarh:

1961), p. 2 and 10.

[65]Is this the famous idol of Multān? Both the primary and secondary sources seem confused. Al-Bīrūnī would have us think that it is the same one that Ḥalam destroyed (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 56, tr. p. 116). But al-Muqaddasī also speaks of the idol of Multān, (Al-Muqaddasī, pp. 483-484) and both descriptions appear to be similar. Hamdani thinks it was destroyed a year after al-Muqaddasī's visit, i.e. in 986. (Hamdanī, Beginnings, p. 3). On the other hand he concurs with Stern in placing the letter from al-Mu'izz to Ḥalam congratulating him on destroying the idol, in 965. (Hamdani, p. 3. Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, p. 302).

[66]The account and the Arabic edition of the source are both found in Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, particularly p. 301. n. 1, pp. 304-305. and Stern, Heterodox Ismā'īlism, p. 15ff and 23-24.

[67]Al-Muqaddasī, p. 481, 485.

[68]Zāhid 'Alī, Tā'rīkh, pp. 356-57.

[69]Rashīd al-Din, p. 9. Levy, Isma'ili doctrines, p. 518.

[70]Al-Muqaddasī, p. 485.

[71]See Canard, Fāṭimids, pp. 860-861.

[72]B. Lewis, "The Fatimids and the route to India," in Revue de la Faculté des Sciences économiques de l'Univ. d'Istanbul, Vol. 14, (1953), pp. 50-54.

[73]S. Goitein, "The Cairo Gemisa as a source for the history of Muslim Civilization," in Studia Islamica, III (1955), p. 80. Also his Studies in Islamic History and Institutions (Leiden: 1966), pp. 344-345.

[74]Goitein, Studies, p. 329.

[75]Ibid., p. 345 fn. 1.

[76]Al-'Num'ān, Qāḍī Abū Ḥanifah, Da'ā'im al-Islām, ed. A.A. Fyzee, 2 Vols. (Cairo: 1951, 1960).

[77]See Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, p. 304. Also traditions surrounding the compilation of the Da'ā'im, where the aim of systematizing the doctrines is brought out - Fyzee, Qadi an Nu'man, p. 21.

[78]Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, pp. 300-302, and Heterodox Ismā'īlism, p. 16ff.

[79]Muḥammad Nāẓim, The Life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Cambridge: 1931), pp. 96-97, and

C. Bosworth, The Ghaznawids (Edinburgh: 1963), p. 52. A reference to the massacre is also to be found in al-Baghdādī, Moslem Schisms and Sects, (Al-Farḳ Bain al Firaḳ), tr. A. Halkin (Tel Aviv: 1953), p. 130.

[80]Nāẓim, Life, p. 99. Bosworth relates Maḥmūd's persecution of Ismā'īlī elements to a general policy of placating the 'Abbāsids, who were at odds with the Fāṭimids, Ghaznawids, pp. 52-54.

[81]Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 7-8.

[82]Stern, Ismā'īlī propaganda, p. 303.

[83]For the Sūmrās generally, see Elliot and Dowson, The History of India as told by its own historians (London: 1867), Vol. I pp. 483-494, and Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 8-16.

[84]Husain al-Hamdani, "The letters of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh," BSOAS, VII (1933-1935), p. 321, 324. The Letter dated 476/1083 states that al-Mustanṣir had received letters from India and 'Umān, with requests to send deputies to fill vacancies caused by the death of their dā'īs. Another letter dated 481/1088 gives al-Mustanṣir's formal sanction to a Dā'ī's appointment to the da'wa of India.

[85]Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, pp. 88-100.

Bosworth, Ghaznawids, pp. 182-183.

[86]Husain al Hamdani, "The Life and times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā, the Sulaiḥid of the Yemen," JRCAS, XVIII, (1931), pp. 505-517, and his article above, fn, 84.

[87]Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 483.

[88]Ibid., p. 491. Bernard Lewis, "Ismā'īlī Notes," BSOAS, XII (1948) p. 600.

[89]I.M. Shafi, "Fresh light on the Ghaznavīds," IC, XII (1938), The translated version is on p. 213.

[90]Ibid., fn. 7.

[91]Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 215-216.

[92]For an account of the Ghurids see C. Bosworth, "Ghūrids," EI^2, II, pp. 1099-1103.

[93]Ṭabaḳāt, p. 363.

[94]Ibid., p. 365, 449.

[95]Ibid., pp. 484-485, and fn. 3. Tārīkh -i-Mubārakshāhi, p. 13. Also Nizami, Religion and Politics, p. 292, fn. 4.

[96]Hodgson, Order, comments on Jūzjānī's writings and contacts with the "heretics", esp. 244ff.

[97]Ṭabaḳāt, pp. 646-647. Also Tārīkh -i- Mubārakshāhī, pp. 23-24.

[98]Hamdani, Beginnings, p. 13. M. Titus, Indian Islam (London: 1930), p. 101, and D. Menant, "Le Khodjas du Guzarate," Revue du Monde Musulman, XII (1910), p. 220.

[99]Nizami, Religion and Politics, p. 294;

[100]Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah, Vol. III, p. 102.

[101]Stern, Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism, Zāhid 'Alī, Tā'rīkh, p. 366ff.

[102]Hamdani, Beginnings, p. 15, says that this is improbable.

[103]Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (Mouton and Co.: 1962), p. 47.

[104]Nanjiani, Vruttant, pp. 198-200. Rahimtoola, Itihās, p. 221.

[105]Hamdani, Beginnings, p. 16.

[106]See S. Maqbul Ahmad in, "Hind," EI^2, III, pp. 404-405.

[107]For an account of the Hindu States in Northern India to the thirteenth century, see The Struggle for Empire, ed. R.C. Majumdar (Bombay: 1957), pp. 24-101. And for the invasions, pp. 1-5, and 116-125. For the Ghaznawīds and Ghūrids in India, see the articles on the two in, EI^2, II, by B. Spuler & C. Bosworth respectively. Also Nizami, Religion and Politics, pp. 75-88.

[108]Majumdar, Struggle, pp. 125-129. Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment. (Oxford: 1964), pp. 91-93.

[109]For this development, see P. Hardy, "Dihlī Sultanate," EI^2, II, pp. 266-274. A. Habibullah, The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India (Allahbad: 1961), ch. IV.

[110]"Islamic Society," here is not meant in any definitive sense. What is more important is to underline the fact that a domain had been carved out in which Muslims settled and began the process not only of transplanting their cultural backgrounds into the new area but also the necessary corollary of integrating their way of life in a different set of circumstances. See M. Mirza, "Muslim Society in India," in Majumdar, Struggle, pp. 503-504. Also Qureshi Muslim Community, pp. 83-103.

[111]Qureshi, Muslim Community, chs. I and II. K.A. Nizami in, "Hind," EI[2], III, pp. 428-429.

[112]Al-Bīrūnī, p. 12, tr. p. 22 and generally ch. I. Views of modern Muslim and Hindu writers on the question vary. See B.P. Mazumdar, The Socio-Economic History of Northern India (Calcutta: 1960), who argues in favour of Hindu tolerance to foreigners, pp. 127-128. Also M. Munshi's "foreword," in Majumdar, Struggle, p. XVff and in contrast Mohammad Habib, "Introduction" in Nizami, Religion and Politics, p. XVff.

[113]Nizami, Religion and Politics, p. 174ff, and pp. 320-322 and Majumdar, Struggle, pp. 498-499. Also Ahmad, Islamic Culture, pp. 83-84.

[114]Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History, pp. 77-124, and also chs. XIII and XIV, where the continuation of Hindu religious activity is described. Also Majumdar, Struggle, p. 47ff, and general remarks on the religious situation, pp. 398-404, most of which are relevant to the area and period under review. A proper sociological study of the "plural society" however is a dire necessity and in particular, an inter-disciplinerian approach to the study of the complex development of Islam in India.

[115]Majumdar, Struggle, p. 399. P.N. Chopra, "Impact of Islam on India," reprint from Journal of World History, International Commission for History

of Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind (Paris: n.d.), p. 100. Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History, discusses an intensifying of beliefs in astrology and fatalism as a reflection of the people's reaction to the times, pp. 265-266. See also Tara Chand, The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture (Allahabad: 1946).

[116]Khaliq Nizami, "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the State," IC, XXIII, XXIV (1949-1950), pp. 13-21 in particular. Also Aziz Ahmad, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal India," Der Islam, XXXVIII (1962), pp. 142-144.

[117]Nizami, Religion and Politics, gives an overall picture - chs. III and IV. In addition see S.M. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan (Lahore: 1961), chs. X and XI.

[118]Goitein, Studies, pp. 348-349.

[119]Al-Idrīsī, India and the Neighbouring Territories, tr. S. Maqbul Ahmad (Leiden: 1960), p. 60. Also the translator's article "Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World," IC, XXXVIII (1964), pp. 145-148.

[120]Zāhid ʿAlī, Tāʾrīkh, p. 428ff. Canard, Fāṭimids, pp. 856-857.

[121]See sources cited above, fn. 86. The same

writer has undertaken a much more comprehensive study of the Ṣulayḥids - Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, Al Ṣulayḥīyūn wa al ḥarkah al Fāṭim īyah fī al Yaman (Cairo: 1955).

[122]Lewis, Assassins, p. 36.

[123]Marshall Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State" in, The Cambridge History of Iran (Cambridge: 1968), Vol. V, p. 440. The whole article is an excellent summation of his book - The Order of Assassins, fn. 6. The organization of these "cells" into a corporate state is discussed on pp. 439-443.

[124]For the earlier stages see Hodgson, Order, ch. IV and Lewis, Assassins, p. 50ff.

[125]Hodgson, Order, pp. 126-139, where he discusses al-Ghazzālī's response and also the rise of the legends around the assassins.

[126]Above fn. 96. Tabaḳāt, pp. 1203-1205, 1214.

[127]The whole process itself underwent several different stages. See Hodgson, Order, pp. 148-182, and p. 217ff. Also his Ismā'īlī State, pp. 463-466. In this connection too there is the work of W. Ivanow, Alamut and Lamasar (Tehran: 1960), pp. 12-30.

[128]This is vouched for by some allegedly early tradition. For instance a gnān attributed to Pīr Haṣan Kabīr al-Dīn, Anat Akhādō, ed. Ismailia Association for India, (n.d.), p. 36. See list in Ivanow's Ismaili Literature, no. 839. Also Moman chatamani of Imām Shāh, ed. by The Recreational Club Institute (Bombay: 1924), pp. 24-25. Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no. 848, and his Jannatpuri, tr. V.N. Hooda in Collectanea, Vol. I, p. 130.

[129]Pātan, one of the important towns of Gujarāt described by the Arab writers, Maqbul Ahmad, "Hind," EI^2, III, p. 407. Navasāri is the present name for Dhāranagri, see map in the art. Hind above, between pp. 428-429. The two stories are taken from a gnān Satgūr Nūr na Vīvā, attributed to Haṣan Kabīr al-Dīn, ed. Laljibhai Devraj (Bombay: 1917), and Satgūr Nūr na Putlā, in Rāgmālā, (a collection of gnāns), ed. Ismailia Association for India (n.d.), pp. 53-54. Satish Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, pp. 10-12, has culled the same accounts from another text, Naklānki Shāstra; though the possibility of the texts having different titles must not be discounted.

[130]This is the well known ruler of Gujarāt, Siddharāja Jayasimha, Majumdar, Struggle, pp. 75-76. who acceded to the throne ca. 1094.

[131]Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 215.

[132]Nanjiani, Vruttant, p. 130. Rahimtoola, Itihās, p. 219.

[133]Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 59.

[134]Asal Dhūa, pp. 19-20. Nanjiani, Vruttant, pp. 214-215. There is an interesting variation in the two genealogies preserved in the above works. Nanjiani makes Satgūr Nūr the fifth PĪr while the Dhūa list has him as the seventh. The tradition of associating the concept of Dā'Ī with the Prophet's mission is an old one in Ismā'Īlism. See the text translated in Ivanow, Organization, p. 19.

[135]Mulla Abdul Husain, Gulzare Daudi (Burhānpūr: n.d.), pp. 31-32. Misra, Muslim Communities, pp. 9-13.

[136]Majumdar, Struggle, p. 76.

[137]For Bohorās, see A.A. Fyzee, "Bohorās", EI^2, II, pp. 1254-1255; and for a further account of Aḥmad's activities in a more legendary vein, K.M. Jhaverī, "A legendary history of the Bohoras," JBBRAS, Vol. IX (1933), pp. 37-52.

[138]Juvaynī testifies to the continuation of the "New Propaganda" in regions outside Alamūt and mentions the success attained in Quhistān. Juvaynī, Vol. II, p. 671, 674. Also Hodgson, Order, p. 255.

[139]More likely, this would be reflected in the conflict that arose after 1094 between the two groups and must have had repercussions wherever their adherents were represented. See Stern, Epistle, p. 20ff.

[140]Bhīmā II, another of the kings of the Chawlukya dynasty one of whom had also been Siddharāja. Bhīmā's rule is said to have extended from 1178-1239, and during this period most of Gujarāt succumbed to Muslim conquest. See Majumdar, Struggle, pp. 78-79 and J. Burton Page, "Gudjarāt," EI^2, II, p. 1123 and above p. 26.

[141]Such attempts provide interesting insight into the way oral tradition works in a society. For instance the contradictions in Nūr Satgūr having come from Alamūt and simultaneously being the same person as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, do not bother the preservers of the tradition, further emphasizing the fact that oral tradition is rarely concerned with portraying history as record of the past. The portrayal is always linked with a "self-image" the group is trying to project.

[142]Such a statement is of course very tentative and only takes into account one aspect of the whole process of analysis. Much valuable information could also be gathered from linguistic analysis. Example of such gnāns are Anat Akhādō and Momān Chetamani cited above, fn. 128.

[143]This does not however rule out the possibility of additions to an earlier corpus of tradition, and this is where place and proper names, create further confusion as they are the easiest to interpolate in such poetical works.

[144]Above p. 20, and fn. 99.

[145]In the gnāns referred to earlier he appears after Nūr Satgūr in India. See Anat Akhādō, p. 36. Moman Chetamani, p. 26. Hooda, Specimens, p. 130.

[146]Hooda, Specimens, p. 96.

[147]Nanjiani, Vruttant, p. 141.

[148]For the Saint's life and activities see K. Nizami, "Bahā' al dīn Zakariyyā," EI^2, I, pp. 912-913, and for the confrontations, Moman Chetamani, p. 28ff.

[149]Hooda, Specimens, p. 60, 68, 75, etc.

[150]The aftermath of the fall of Alamūt is discussed by Hodgson, Order, p. 272ff. For the Imāms immediately after Khūr Shāh, see Ivanow, ed. Pandiyat - i- Jawanmardi (Leiden: 1953), introduction, pp. 5-10. Some Nizārī Ismā'īlī evidence for Imām Shams al-Dīn is cited on p. 5. There is also a note in Ivanow's

article "Tombs of some Persian Ismaili Imams," JBBRAS, Vol. XIV (1938), p. 52, n.1. A traditional account will be found in Chunara, Noorum Mubin, pp. 308-317.

[151]Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, Haft bāb, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1959), p. 24, tr. p. 24.

[152]Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 30, n.2.

[153]Quoted in Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 32. Another gnān, the Jannatpūrī, however appears to cite the two as different figures, Hooda, Specimens, p. 130. Modern Nizārī scholarship discounts the tradition and admits that they were two different personalities. See Hollister, Shi'a of India, p. 353 and Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 324.

[154]Ivanow, Imam Shah, pp. 31-32. All the available genealogies are found in Misra, Muslim Communities, p. 55, and reveal variations.

[155]Ivanow, "A forgotten branch of the Ismailis," JRAS (1938), pp. 57-79.

[156]Note that there exists a fifteenth century epistle sent by the Imam to his followers to rally support to this effect. See Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no. 701.

[157]For this confusion see Nanjiani, Vruttant, pp. 143-146 and Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 326, both trying to base themselves on Firishtah. For the Nūrbakshiya and the Shams al-Dīn associated with them see Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans (Calcutta: 1959), pp. 283-288.

[158]For Rūmī see H. Ritter, "Djalāl al-dīn Rumi," EI^2, II, pp. 393-396. His relationship with Shams Tabrīzī is discussed on p. 394. This identification is apparent in an obvious interpolation in Moman Chetamani, p. 26, where Pīr Shams is said to have originated from Tabrīz. The legend seems to have its origin in the attempt to associate first Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad with Shams Tabrīzī, and then all three characters at some stage became amalgamated. See Ivanow, Satpanth, pp. 11-13, where he discusses the legend. Also an interesting article by Akhtar Ahmedmian, "Shams Tabrīzī - Was he an Ismailian?" IC, X, (1936).

[159]Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 32.

[160]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[161]Dhūa, p. 20.

[162]Nanjiani, Vruttant, p. 200, 207.

[163]Hooda, Specimens, p. 84, 96. Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 15.

[164]Moman Chetamani, p. 26 states that he travelled through twenty four countries. Also Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 325.

[165]Hooda, Specimens, p.90

[166]V. Minorsky, "Shughnān," EI[1], IV, p. 390, where he discusses the existence of Ismā'īlī missionaries and establishment of their rule in the middle of the thirteenth century in this area. Ismā'īlism is said to have spread to the area mainly by way of the work of Nāṣir -i- Khusrū. See W. Ivanow, Problems in Nasir-i- Khusraw's Biography (Bombay: 1956), p. 40ff.

[167]The name Ṣalāh al-Dīn appears preceding that of Shams in all the genealogies. Misra, Muslim Communities, p. 55. Dhūa, p. 20. In traditional accounts he is part of a line of dā'īs engaged in activities during the Alamūt period. Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 278.

[168]H.A. Rose, A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier province (Lahore: 1914), pp. 402-403.

[169]Hooda, Specimens, p. 95, 99, etc. The solar myth plays an important role in the mythology of other comparable groups too, Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 13, fn. 2.

[170]Garbīs translated in Hooda, Specimens, pp. 55-86.

[171]Claude Lévi Strauss, The Savage Mind (London: 1966), pp. 18-22. His chapter I on the whole has some very relevant remarks on the "primitive" mind.

[172]The activities of Pīr Shams for instance depend on the context he is working in. In some of the miracles the Hindu Yogi comes to the fore - Hooda, The Garbīs in Specimens, pp. 55-85. At times he is more of a Muslim mystic, Moman Chetamani, p. 28ff when he is in Multān.

[173]See fn. 164 above.

[174]Hooda, Specimens, p. 90 where these two are called Sūrbhān and Vimras, also p. 96. Two figures are also associated with Nūr Satgūr, Nanjiani, Vruttant, p. 138.

[175]The discussion above, pp. 24-25.

[176]Moman Chetamani, p. 48.

[177]Hooda, Specimens, p. 61, 63 to cite two examples. Also p. 77 where manual labour is hinted at.

[178]Ivanow, believes this revival took place after the Imāms settled in Anjūdan, late in the fourteenth century. Pandiyāt, p. 07 and elsewhere.

[179]Anat Akhādō, pp. 36-37. Moman Chetamani, p. 49, Hooda, Specimens, p. 131.

[180]Dhūa, p. 21. Misra, Muslim Communities, p. 56.

[181]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 16.

[182]Sir John Malcolm, The History of Persia (London: 1829), Vol. I, p. 295.

[183]For his reign see Riazul Islam, "Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ," EI^2, II, pp. 924-925.

[184]Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 377-379.

[185]The after effects of the Mongol invasion are discussed by I.P. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic conditions of Iran under the Il-Khāns," Cambridge History of Iran, p. 484ff.

[186]In all the traditional sources he succeeds the two above mentioned pīrs.

[187]Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 34. Other dates quoted in Misra, Muslim Communities, p. 58.

[188]Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 338.

[189]Ginans by Pir Sadruddin, p. 5, 41, 84, passim, and Hooda, Specimens, p. 106, 114.

[190]Ivanow, Tombs, p. 54.

[191]Abū Ishāq, Haft bāb, p. 24, tr. p. 24.

[192]A later Nizārī work also corroborates the list in Haft Bāb. See Kalami Pir, a treatise on Ismaili doctrine, also (wrongly) called Haft-babi Shah Sayyid Nasir, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1935), p. 51, tr. p. 44, and check note in Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no. 704.

[193]Ginans by Pir Sadruddin, p. 1; 85, passim. Also references to Alamūt and Daylām are found in Ṣadr al-Dīn's gnāns, e.g. p. 129, 204, 225 passim. For Sahetar-dīp see Hooda, Specimens, p. 111, fn. 2.

[194]Ibid., p. 75, where it occurs in the Garbīs also p. 109, 110, 111 and fn. 3.

[195]For the contiguity of all these places to

each other and details of burial see Ivanow, Tombs, pp. 56-61.

[196]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, p. 177.

[197]Hooda, Specimens, p. 131. For Jamā'at-Khānah, see Fyzee, Cases, p. 526, Mujtaba Ali, Origin, p. 62.

[198]Hooda, Specimens, p. 131; also Nanjiani, Vruttant, p. 169. Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 336.

[199]Some relevant remarks will be found in Ahmad, Islamic Culture, pp. 134-148. Also Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture (Bombay: 1957), pp. 1-13, and R. Majumdar, ed. The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay: 1960) pp. 547-555.

[200]It is worth speculating on the basis of a much later development, whether perhaps the belief of the overseers of the shrines and others, that the pīrs were really ṣūfī shaykhs, is not a reflection of the guise that the pīrs had adopted earlier on. This may mean that one group of followers or companions possibly saw them as ordinary ṣūfīs, while the other closer adherents may have been made aware of them as really being Ismā'īlīs.

[201]P. Hardy, "Dihlī Sultanate," EI^2, II, p. 270. Also Tārīkh -i- Mubārakshāhī, pp. 169-173. Ucch

was a target of an earlier invasion too in 1397, see p. 169. The ruling dynasty in Sind at this time was the Samma dynasty; the Sammas were converts to Islām and thus the alleged concentration of da'wa activity in Sind may have been the cause of the ease under which the pīrs could operate. For details see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 494-497.

[202]See the story and traditions preserved in Nanjiani, Vruttant, pp. 150-154, and pp. 170-171. En route he meets other saints, whose names vary; Nanjiani has Attar and Sinai. Also Chunara, Noorum Mubin, p. 336.

[203]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 47.

[204]All these occur throughout the gnāns attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn.

[205]For the Harīshchandra of Hindu mythology see John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature. (London: 1961), pp. 118-119, and for Sahādev see pp. 272-273. The latter interestingly enough is said to have been well acquainted with the management of cattle.

[206]Hooda, Specimens, p. 131.

[207]See Anat Akhādō, p. 37. Moman Chetamani, p. 49.

[208]Rahimtoola, Itihās, p. 220.

[209]On the recognition of the Imām (Fasl dar bayan Shinakti Imam), tr. W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1947), p. 24 and Introduction p. 11.

[210]Ivanow, Imam Shah, p. 34, n. 1.

[211]Dihlawī, Akhbār, p. 430.

[212]Hooda, Specimens, p. 131.

[213]Ibid., p. 132. Moman Chetamani, p. 56. Anat Akhādō, p. 1, 2 passim, also p. 5 where Ucch is mentioned as the centre.

[214]Gūr Hasan Kabīr al-Dīn ane Kānīpā no Savānd in Ragmālā, p. 87.

[215]See list in Misra, Muslim Communities, pp. 58-59. Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, p. 178 and in Satpanth, p. 17.

[216]Dihlawī, Akhbār, p. 430.

[217]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 17.

[218]Dihlawī, Akhbār, p. 430. Hooda, Specimens, p. 131.

[219]Dihlawī, Akhbār, p. 430. Ivanow, Imam Shah, pp. 43-45.

[220]All this is also to a certain extent illustrative of a change in policy since Alamūt times, among Sunni rulers in India and elsewhere. In most cases it appears that when the "heretic" threat died down and was no longer regarded as a political menace, the need to weed out such groups was no longer felt. Albeit this is too wide a generalization and it must be remembered that from time to time some rulers, as noted above "suppressed infidels and innovation".

[221]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 17, n. 2.

[222]Anat Akhādō, p. 4ff. Moman Chetamani, p. 57ff. The myth varies and in one case Kabīr al-Dīn at the age of six accompanies his father to obtain the Imam's "dīdār".

[223]In addition to the Hindu appelations, the role of the pīr was also compared to that of Muḥammad, more particularly in Ṣadr al-Dīn's case. See Moman Chetamani, p. 50.

[224]The concept was a very central one even in the Fāṭimid structure, W. Madelung, "Das Imamat in der Frühen Ismailitischen Lehre," Der Islam, XXXVII (1961), pp. 55-58, and 61-64.

[225]Abū Ishāq, Haft bāb, pp. 49-51, tr. 50-51.

[226]It is difficult to determine when the word Mūkhī first came into use. In the gnāns it is found in what are generally considered later compositions. Moman Chetamani, p. 51. Hooda, Specimens, p. 131.

[227]Above p. 16.

[228]In the genealogies he follows Kabīr al-Dīn, Dhūa, p. 21. The traditional account are to be found in Nanjiani, Vruttant, pp. 195-196. Chunara, Noorum Mubin, pp. 350-351.

[229]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no. 669. The development is discussed in Pandiyat, p. 01-04. In the Dhūa, it is listed after Tāj al Dīn, p. 21.

[230]Ivanow, Tombs, p. 54 and discussion in his books cited in previous note.

[231]Ibid., pp. 54-55. Pandiyat, p. o5.

[232]Lewis, Assassins, p. 138.

[233]Interestingly enough, Ibn Baṭṭūtah makes a brief mention of the Bohorās in his Reḥla, who at the time plied the inland and maritime trade in Gujarāt. Inb Baṭṭūtah, Reḥla, tr. Mahdi Husain (Baroda: 1953), p. 193 and note, and Appendix N.

[234]Above, p. 41.

[235]An attempt has been made to define the subject matter of intellectual history. See, H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society (New York: 1958), ch. I. He also discusses levels in intellectual history as being "higher" or "lower". Popular ideas and folklore he includes in the latter level, and in his words represents "what has seeped down" from the first level after a generation or two of "cultural lag".

[236]I would suggest that if we take another theatre of the da'wa's activities, where today the ethnographic condition of the people has not yet undergone too great a change, a comparative study with Satpanth would prove extremely valuable. A possible group of Ismā'īlīs converts from the Nizārī period like the present Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān may be taken as a point of comparison. See W. Barthold (and others), "Badakhshān," EI^2, I, p. 853 where mention is made of their existence.

[237]This feature has been noted by most studies on Satpanth. Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 40ff. Mujtaba Ali, Origin of the Khojāhs, p. 51ff. Hollister, Shi'a of India, pp. 378-395.

[238]Ivanow, Satpanth, p. 21.

[239]Lévi - Strauss, Savage Mind, pp. 16-22, where the idea is fully enunciated.

[240]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, No.852. For the translation Hooda, Specimens, pp. 112-115.

[241]For a general discussion on the concept of Imām in Ismā'īlism see W. Ivanow, Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism (Leiden: 1952) pp. 54-63, and for avatār see "God," in The Hindu World, Vol I pp. 396-397.

[242]An example is a not too distant series of lectures, R.C. Zachner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism (London: 1960) and in particualr ch. V.

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