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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
S.O.S. KHOJKI CONFERENCE

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Toronto - Canada

The Heritage Society

THE HERITAGE SOCIETY

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Canada

The Heritage Society is a non-profit organization, based in Montréal, Canada, whose aim is to encourage preservation, research and publication of manuscripts and rare documents.

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The expression "Alah Toahar" is derived from the original expression "Alah tojo adhar" meaning "With the help (grace) of God". In later manuscripts and subsequent Khojki publications, it appears as "Alah Tohar". Noting the historical importance of this expression which appears in all Khojki manuscripts, it was selected to be part of the Conference and Heritage Society Logo.

આ શ્રેયોભાગી ન બે ગોનાબો
મં બાળીયા ૧૪૫૧ ૨૦૪૬,
વાળામે વાળા પાદ. જો મા
અમ ગ્રામ ગામ રહે

હી ચોપડી અને ગીનાન લીખીયાસ
સવંત ૨૦૪૬, વસાલે શાહ પીર.
મોલા ભુલ ચુક માફ કરે.

*This book (proceedings) has been written
and Ginans copied in the year Savant 2046
(1990 A.D.) by the grace of Shah Pir. May
Hazar Imam forgive our errors and
omissions.*

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S. Juma

S. Ismail



E. Knox



G. Khaki



A. Alibhai



F. Ladha



Group Photo

N. Daredia



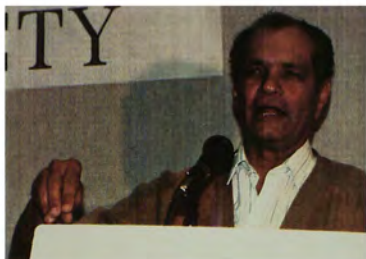
K. Hayat



A. Rehmtullah



S. Mussa



*First from right
A. Asani*



*First from left
N. Tajdin*



OPENING ADDRESS

BY THE ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE

Honourable Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Ismail, Rai Abualy Missionary, distinguished lecturers and guests, Ya Ali Madad.

It is indeed an honour and a pleasure for me to set the stage for today's Conference where learned scholars, distinguished Al-Waezes and students of Ginanic literature will come and present their papers. As most of you are aware, a unique form of religious literature was developed by our Pirs and Sayyids for the newly converted murids in the Indian Subcontinent. The process of composing Ginans and Granths began with the arrival of Pir Sat Gur Nur in India some seven centuries ago and continued until the end of the last century, ending with the last compositions of Sayyida Imam Begum. The corpus of this literature, which later on also included the Farmans of the Imams and other religious and devotional writings, was preserved from generation to generation in manuscript form in the Khojki script.

At the turn of the century, as a result of Imam Aga Hassanali Shah's wishes, the herculean task of collecting, compiling and publishing standard versions of the Ginans and Granths from the manuscripts was undertaken by Mukhi Lalji Devraj. His efforts, including the establishment of a printing press, resulted in the first printed texts in Khojki. Later on, the Ginan collection and some popular Granths were also printed in Gujarati. It was evident, even at that time, that already a major portion of the original corpus had been lost. Furthermore, the process of compilation was far from complete at the untimely demise of Mukhi Devraj. Since then, nothing new has been printed. Various institutions have, from time to time, republished some of these volumes in Gujarati. In the process, certain institutions have introduced some unwanted and, at times, unacceptable changes.

With the passage of time, the remaining manuscripts as well as Khojki material printed at the turn of the century rapidly deteriorated; the main reasons being age, environmental conditions, mass migration of our people from certain countries and general neglect. At present, people with working knowledge of Khojki are becoming scarce. Some people knowledgeable in this field are of the opinion that over a thousand manuscripts have been lost in the last three decades. Over the past few years, a few concerned individuals have attempted to salvage, catalogue and preserve some of these manuscripts. While these initiatives are remarkable in their own right, they are unfortunately not sufficient. The organization of a Canadian Conference on Ginanic literature and the preservation of Khojki manuscripts is an event whose time has come.

* This expression, **Alah to Ahar** is found at the beginning of one of the oldest known Khojki manuscripts dated Samvat 1779 (1723 C.E.).

This Conference, Inshallah, shall serve as a forum where people with working knowledge of Khojki, or those who can assist with the collection and preservation efforts of manuscripts, or simply those interested in our Ginanic heritage can meet and exchange ideas. The main goals of this Conference are:

- * To evaluate the present situation and formulate a long term strategy on the collection and preservation of available manuscripts.
- * To bring together individuals with Khojki manuscripts to exchange information on the contents of their collections.
- * To identify unpublished Ginans, Granths and other Sat Panthi literature.
- * To compile a master list of all known Khojki and Gujarati manuscripts.
- * To identify individuals and institutions with specialised skills who can assist with the preservation program.
- * To study the possibility of publishing newly discovered works.

We have here an impressive array of speakers who have travelled from afar to be with us today. We will hear from Miss Elizabeth Knox of the Royal Ontario Museum on the handling and preservation of manuscripts; Rai Abualy and Dr. Khaki will cover the subject of the Khojki script; Dr. Asani from Harvard University will discuss some of his work on the cataloguing of Khojki manuscripts; Dr. Ismail and Mukhi Abdulsultan Rahemtulla will present unpublished Granths and Ginans; Al-Waez Khizr Hayat and Miss Karima Tajdin will each review a manuscript; Al-Waez Salim Mussa and Mr. Salim Juma will present their findings on our Ginanic literature preserved in other sects; Mr. Nagib Tajdin will give us an overview on how computer and related technology can assist in the transcription from one script to another; and Mrs. Aziza Hayat and Mr. Nazim Daredia will each discuss a published Granth.

To the speakers as well as to all the participants we express our sincerest appreciation for making this Conference possible. Who could have imagined some nine months ago, when the idea to hold a Conference was first proposed, that it would be possible to bring together such a distinguished group of people. Only three months ago, the Heritage Society was formed and the theme "S.O.S. Khojki" (Save Our Sources in Khojki) was set. Thereafter, things began to take shape and the result is this Conference. This is the first event organised by the Heritage Society. Its success, indeed the success of the Society, is in your hands. This Society is still in its infancy and will need a lot of help and support to make it grow and fulfil its purpose. We appeal to you all to join forces to preserve our "Wonderful Tradition".

Thank you and Ya Ali Madad.

Section 2

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION:

CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF OLD INDIC MANUSCRIPTS AND MINIATURES

Elizabeth Anne Knox,
Research Associate, Far Eastern Department, Royal Ontario Museum

The care and preservation of works of art on paper involve the same principles of conservation technique as those required for any written or printed matter using paper or other similar organic fibres as a support. Thus, whether for a museum curator or a librarian or a manuscript collector, the same considerations are fundamentally relevant to each. That is to say, the principles which guide the curator in determining the length of time and necessary conditions for display of works of art as well as in establishing the optimal storage environment are equally applicable to custodians of books and manuscripts.

Though my expertise is not in the field of paper conservation, in my study of both the Indian miniature and the Tibetan thangka collections at the Royal Ontario Museum, I profited considerably from the wisdom, guidance, and advice of the Paper Conservator, Ms Janet Cowan. The expertise and experience which she shared with me form the basis of the advice I can impart to you now.

The basic techniques employed in the care and display of miniatures in the Indian collection are applicable to the care and use of manuscripts. Many of these considerations follow the dictates of common sense and can be achieved without undue difficulty in the home. Nonetheless, in the course of identification appointments when collectors have brought their miniatures and manuscripts to be examined, I have found repeatedly that often the collector has not thought systematically and comprehensively about many aspects of collection maintenance and preservation. Because of this awareness, I thought that a summary of some of these concerns would be useful to you. In addition, though I have not tried to compile a comprehensive bibliography, the references I have cited will guide you further. Should you wish to explore some of these issues in greater depth, their references will be of use. In general, however, I have not endeavoured to give you technical information difficult for a non-professional to apply. If important issues of a complexity beyond your expertise do arise, inquire further from the selected sources I have named in the appendix.

There is a considerable variety of media on which painting and inscribing occurs in South Asia: from palm leaf, to bark, to papers made from trees, to papers made from rags, and even to papers made from discarded fishing net! Then there is ivory, wood, cloth of silk as well as cotton, glass, and even thin, transparent sheets of mica! Let me indicate some problems with paint and support met in the Indian materials through a few examples from the collection of the Far Eastern Department at the Royal Ontario Museum.

First, let us examine difficulties that can arise among Indic manuscript material resulting from some of the special circumstances governing their production. Problems commonly arise because of materials used in the production of Indic miniatures. The composition including both chemical and physical properties of the pigments creates one set of concerns. Closely associated with these concerns are disruptions in the binding of the pigment to its support. Finally, the support layer is itself created by special techniques of manufacture which bring other sets of worries to bear. In part, our examination will be based merely on a close examination with the naked eye or simple magnification. In addition, some of the more sophisticated techniques available to a paper conservator in the study of these miniatures might also be of interest in suggesting possibilities for a more searching examination if the chosen manuscript is deemed to have particular importance.

Some of the vibrant pigments used in Indic miniature production are employed in these early 18th century Mewar illustrations of the Gita Govinda from the collection of the Far Eastern Department, Royal Ontario Museum accession no. 971.281.3,¹ and 971.281.4². Miniatures of this Rajasthani type are characterized by a flat, schematic style engaging particularly because of the intense colour contrasts. In this case, the deep yellow colour used as background for the handwritten text along the top is known as 'Indian yellow'.¹ Although the pigment has been synthesized, originally it was obtained from the urine of cattle fed exclusively on mango leaves! While this origin may simply amuse us now, it is also representative of Indic pigment production. Paints are as ingenuously as they are laboriously produced using natural materials whether mineral or organic. Furthermore, the production is not standardized so that the chemical properties of the paints are not consistent and trace elements of other substances may be found.

The pigment base is finely ground and then mixed with a medium such as gum arabic or even an animal-derived substance such as buffalo skin glue³ to bind it and permit its application to the paper support. When it is applied to the paper, the paper is inverted and successive layers of pigment are burnished from the back with a smooth stone, usually polished agate. When finished, the viewing surface is lustrous but also a firm bond between the pigment and medium and the paper surface is achieved.

¹ N.S. Baer, A. Joel, and R. L. Feller, "Indian Yellow," in Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics. Vol. I (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 18.

² M. C. Beach, The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), p. 45.

Nitrogen strongly present in a chip of paint from The Khamisa of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi from the middle 15th century analyzed by Rutherford J. Gettens, former Head Curator of the Freer Technical Laboratory, indicates that animal glue may have been used as a medium.

In the case of this miniature of the Gita Govinda, something has happened to the upper left-hand corners of the paintings to leach the brilliant yellow colour from the background.³ Though we cannot be sure of the cause, it is most likely that some liquid, either oily or aqueous, has been spilled on the border. The reaction of the paints has been different. While the yellow was fugitive, the others seem to have remained relatively intact.

Chemical as well as physical properties of the pigments either by themselves or in interaction with other agents can disturb the bond between the paint and its medium and the paper support. Sometimes changes in the paint layers themselves occur. To take a few examples: though the mineral pigments of green and blue of malachite and lapis lazuli respectively are stable in colour and not subject to degradation when exposed to light, both are susceptible to flaking from the paper support. Malachite is usually applied thickly. Cracking and subsequently flaking occur. Lapis flakes when the binding medium is insufficient to hold the heavy particles.

Other frequently used pigments undergo change because of their chemical properties. Lead is used in several colours, particularly white and red. Both preparations tend to oxidize and develop brown-tinged films over the pigment surface. With the white, the film causes the base to crack and then flake away. Pigments with a copper base tend to be highly acidic. Acid is one of the primary agents causing the disintegration of paper. On the back of the sheet to which the green or blue copper-based pigment has been applied, it is possible to discern the area underneath the paint because the paper acquires a brownish stain as it oxidizes. Eventually the paper support is entirely eaten away and the area of pigment falls out of the manuscript.

In these border illuminations from the collection of the Far Eastern Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. 970.383.5,^{4,5} some of the small rosettes were originally painted green. The acid in the paint has completely destroyed the paper support. The neat holes left are the only evidence of the original colouration and that the pigment was copper-based.

Some pigments in common use are derived from the earths: greens, reds, and golds. These tend to be relatively stable. Yet others are derived from vegetable sources. Organic pigments tend to be fugitive and to degrade or fade, particularly on exposure to light. Black pigment in India, whether used in miniature illustration or for calligraphy, is usually

³ It is difficult to see in these black and white photographs, but the background on the upper left hand margin is lighter than in the middle and along the right hand side. I have included both miniatures because it is clear that the same accident affected each. In figure 2, only the yellow pigment was leached, whereas in figure 1, if you compare, you will see a spotty appearance in the sky just below the text indicating that some of the pigment layer in that section also moved.

carbon based.

These examples have introduced some of the techniques and materials used in the production of Indic miniature paintings and manuscripts. The same examples also illustrate some of the potential problems inherent in the painting process.

Let's now refer to two further examples from the collection of the Far Eastern Department to indicate some of the more sophisticated investigative techniques which can be used in examining the surviving state of the works.

In this terrace scene from the late 18th century in the Provincial Mughal style, from the collection of the Far Eastern Department, Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. 920.83.1,⁴ we see a lady attended by two maids. The superficial appearance of the miniature is somewhat deceptive.

When using light corresponding to different wave lengths than those of natural light sources, some of the chemical differences between the paints used are revealed. Close examination under natural light revealed that there was paint loss in the areas of white in this miniature, particularly in the skirts of the central figure. Ultraviolet or black light photographs indicated that the areas of paint loss had been retouched with a pigment nearly identical to the original under natural light but whose chemical composition was revealed to be different because of its difference in fluorescence.

When looking at the same miniature under infrared light,⁴ we can see evidence of a pentimento in the central figure: the farther eye protrudes in the original drawing of her face, giving her a three-quarter view profile in effect. In the final production of the miniature, however, her face is shown in full profile. Infrared light intensifies the contrast between areas coloured by heat-absorbing carbon pigments, in this case the underdrawing, and those areas which absorb heat at a less intense rate. With manuscripts where lines have become faint or have been obscured by other accretions not opaque to infrared radiation, infrared light either used with a sophisticated viewer or with infrared film for photography might enhance or restore visibility. Because ink in India is usually carbon based, this technique might be successfully applied in order to decipher calligraphy too faint to be otherwise seen.

The same techniques produced equally interesting results in the examination of another

* Unfortunately the only available reproduction of the infrared experimental photograph darkened significantly in the area where the pentimento is apparent. The face of the central figure was treated as a full moon in the original drawing, with the farther eye rather inelegantly drawn. The finished state of the miniature is aesthetically more pleasing.

miniature from the collection of the Far Eastern Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. 925.82.1,^{4*}. Black and infrared light both reveal that this portrait of a lady from Jaipur has been considerably retouched. The retouching seems to be a product of the early nineteenth century but the original portrait was probably completed in the early eighteenth century. Infrared light was most telling in allowing us to draw conclusions about the extent of the retouching of the earlier completed miniature^{4*}.

Originally the young woman held a string of pearls in her hand; the rosewater sprinkler was the later addition. Her upper garment may have been more revealing and was spangled with delicate flowers in the original painting. Her earlier jewellery accessories included a long beaded necklace and another with a pendant. Her upper arm had been adorned with a gold band featuring a long central bead flanked by two round gems. Her hair originally hung about her neck and shoulders in delicate tendrils. Paint loss, particularly in the area of the handheld string of pearls, may have occasioned the retouching and the altered composition.

Thus far our examples have concerned problems with the pigment and the medium used to bind it to the paper support. Let us now turn to the paper support and its characteristics.

Whether used for illustrations or for text, all paper in India is primed and burnished. The final product, whether miniature or manuscript, often consists of several layers of paper, each of which may have independent chemical and physical properties and yet each of which impacts upon the whole system of elements. The stability of the whole is the objective to which our efforts at diagnosis and care are directed.

These Akbari period miniatures from the Baburnama dated about 1590 from the collection of the Far Eastern Department, Royal Ontario Museum, accession nos. 976.306.1,^{4*} and 976.306.2,^{4*} illustrate features specific to the problem of the integrity of the paper support.

Close examination under natural light reveals that there is some paint loss, probably due to the general abrasion of use. In addition, however, it is evident that a rectangular patch has been inserted in the plain brick wall of fig. 8 while another appears in the relatively schematically drawn white area of the building beneath the dome in fig. 9. Though problems with white lead pigments may have caused paint loss in this latter area, the general evidence of abrasive damage is not sufficient to explain the need to reconstruct these sections of the miniatures. Furthermore, the areas in question are not treated with the kind of exciting detail whose restoration would have added to the value of the illustration. The purpose for making such a restoration is initially a mystery.

The most likely explanation for the addition, however, becomes evident when other miniatures from the same manuscript are examined. They contain a rectangular section of beautifully calligraphed text inserted into the illustration itself. Probably some later collector decided to "improve" the composition of these pages by having an inserted patch

painted to harmonize aesthetically with the relatively plain architectural surroundings while at the same time removing the calligraphy. The alteration is finely executed; the inpainting is very skillfully matched. Thus it probably reflects work done at the time that this valuable and treasured manuscript was dispersed and therefore lost its integrity as the written text of Babur's memoirs.

In Indic miniature production the paper support comprises several layers of paper fused together both by medium and by the burnishing process. The paper so created is called wasli. Burnishing not only strengthens the bond between the layers, but as in this case it so smoothes the surface that the join is nearly invisible.

Both miniature and manuscript are dependent upon the integrity of their paper support. But, as in the adage about the chain's strength being determined by its weakest link, so too the paper's condition is no better than the condition of its least intact part. Different layers in a paper support can react differently to different temperature and humidity levels. Because paper so readily absorbs moisture, as we have all learned when spilling a bit of liquid on the surface of a newspaper or a page, the potential for the fibres making up the paper support to swell in a moist environment and to consequently shrink in a dry one is great. Even if the paper support consisted of one single sheet with generally similar thickness and density throughout, the movement potential due to humidity level is significant. There is all the more reason, however, for alarm with a non-uniform paper support. The interaction and potential movement within the surface plane of the paper support created in the wasli process can be particularly disruptive to the bond between the pigment layers and the paper background. Thus it is vitally important to assure the stability of the storage environment.

Though miniatures may present more complex problems related to storage and display than those of manuscript texts, nonetheless some of the issues I have illustrated with examples from the Royal Ontario Museum collection may provide insights into the proper care and use of manuscripts too, for the fundamental characteristics of each are identical.

Now that we have experience with some of the basic components of these textual materials, let us turn to some of the real issues and guidelines that govern the care of a private collection.

The appropriate aim of the collector of a precious manuscript lies more in the area of conservation than in restoration of the work. That is to say, the collector wants to maintain the basic integrity of his collection. He is not attempting to restore the work(s) to a state resembling that at their production. Therefore, his aims are to minimize or arrest decay and to stabilize the artefact in order to prevent further deterioration. Once the paper is produced and the ink or paint has been bound to its support through the medium applied, these elements begin to undergo the same sorts of chemical change or decay and mechanical or physical change described in the examples of miniatures. For that reason, decay is inevitable and the goal is to achieve a state of harmonious stability by providing the optimal environment beneficial to all the components of the manuscript.

Two associated measures aid in the task of the collector: controlling the environment and treating the artefacts themselves.

Control of the environment is not a new consideration for Indic collectors. Traditionally manuscripts were wrapped in arsenically treated cloth, to protect them from insects, and enclosed within boxes which further protected them from dust and the extremes of temperature and humidity.⁵ Additionally, these measures effectively kept the manuscripts in a dark environment, necessary because light accelerates decay of the paper medium as well as deterioration of the colours employed. Any stress to the pages or to the binding must be avoided by giving adequate support to the structure of the text, again a condition met by this traditional method of storage.

These same problems still persist. The basic conditions of storage recommended by modern conservators are designed to minimize the adverse effects of these same hazards. Though some of the traditional Indic methods of protective storage are not necessitated by conditions that prevail in our present housing and in this temperate climate, the same principles underlying this type of care must be addressed.

For example, for the most part insect ravages and the terrible problems created by dust and dirt particles are eliminated in our present climate and housing conditions. In fact, it would seem to us that simple storage on a shelf would be adequate. Yet, for all the advantages of our living conditions, further measures can be taken to preserve our manuscripts.

The Conservation Department of the Royal Ontario Museum has drawn up a list of considerations for paper, leather, wood and other organic materials with regards to the conditions required for their storage and display and for ideal means of mounting them for display.

In particular, these organic materials require stable conditions for storage and display. Ideal conditions are 50% relative humidity with a temperature of 70-76 degrees F, recently being revised to 20-22 degrees C or 68-72 degrees F. Storage areas in the museum are regulated by these requirements at all times. Display, however, necessitates some relaxation in requirements, partly to accommodate other objects on display and partly to make viewing easier for the museum visitor. In display areas, these conditions are allowed to vary to the extent that the relative humidity can fall to 35% MINIMUM in the winter and rise to 50% MAXIMUM in the summer. Never is variation to be more than 6% daily, however. Uniformity in temperature and humidity, therefore, is considered more important than absolutely meeting the conditions set.

Variation in relative humidity or in temperature is particularly dangerous because the

⁵

Jeremiah P. Losty, The Art of the Book in India (London: The British Library Board, 1982), p. 13.

levels of retention of moisture between the support and that of the paint layers may differ significantly, causing the bond between the support and the paint layers to break. Here is a clear instance in which it is necessary to be sensitive to the different rates of response to the environment, for instance, between the three systems in the manuscript: the medium, the paint or ink, and the binding between the two. Because the destruction of that bond causes the paint to flake away, the necessity to stabilize and minimize the rate of change is apparent.

Thus it is more important to ensure that the environment housing the manuscripts remains relatively consistent in temperature and humidity than it is to attain precisely the ideal temperature and humidity. Hygrothermographic instruments of ordinary though not scientifically precise specificity can be purchased at hardware stores. Monitoring the collection with such an instrument will be an important step in the maintenance of stable conditions and will also facilitate the attainment of the ideal environment.

Too much moisture will encourage the growth of mold and mildew and must be avoided. Cool temperatures are preferable to warm. Though the specifications given above are those of room temperature, cooler ones are acceptable. Never should the manuscripts be stored near a source of heat or of forced dry, hot air. Glass cabinets lighted with an enclosed bulb can produce unacceptably hot, dry conditions.

Cleanliness is vital as well. Paper products must always be handled with clean, dry hands. Certainly food stuffs or oils on the manuscript will be deleterious. Insects are a major cause of book damage. Anything edible used around the manuscripts might make them more susceptible to insect damage. Dust is also a serious problem, because dust particles are abrasive. Dust on the pages can be moved, abrasively, by the temperature and humidity changes causing swelling or contracting of the paper medium. Household dust also often consists of organic material which again encourages pests.

Modern libraries and museums have air control systems to reduce dust levels and aid in monitoring humidity and temperature. In the smaller library, small vacuum devices and a regimen of cleaning and inspecting is advisable.

At the same time, the frequency of handling obviously creates stress for the manuscript and potentially introduces some of these dangers. If the manuscript is particularly precious and yet not in daily use, ensuring that it is adequately labelled and identified on the exterior may reduce excessive wear. A well-fitting box made of acid-free and or other archival quality ingredients which gives adequate support to the binding might be of use. Part of the elimination of excessive stress on the manuscript while still providing support also involves the creation of 'movement' space. When mounting and framing, for example, the mat should be thick enough to separate the surface of the miniature or manuscript page from the glass front of the frame. Not only does this allow for the paper and paint medium to expand and contract freely with temperature and humidity variation, it also prevent abrasion from dust particles in the course of such movement. Static electricity which can build up when the surface of the paper is too close to the glass front might

create a force strong enough to weaken the bond between the pigment and its paper support or even to cause the pigment layer to flake away. Furthermore, the airiness of the frame discourages the growth of mold which may be initiated when moisture is trapped in an organic medium.

Because display is a time when many forces besiege the artefact, the Conservation Department of the Royal Ontario Museum has also set out several specific conditions to govern the display of books. The conditions are designed to reduce or eliminate physical stress on the binding of the book, because care for the artefact requires ensuring the stability of the whole system. Reviewing the display considerations is instructive:

1. Books must not be displayed standing on end with the pages fanned out. If they are shown upright and closed, they must be supported on both sides.
2. Books must not be displayed open at an angle greater than 120 degrees.
3. If the book is equipped with latches, it must be latched when closed.^a

These requirements govern the amount of stress on the binding and pages. Manuscripts can be particularly fragile at their points of assembly and adequate support must be provided during their use. It is clear that the same principles regarding the stabilization of the environment and of stresses on the manuscript dictate all exhibition considerations.

Museum conditions of display also require limitation of the use of light. For materials such as paper and leather, the light levels should not go above 50 LUX during the time of exposure. Furthermore, the artefact should not be displayed in those light levels for a period longer than six months within any five year span. Ultraviolet radiation, which damages with greatest severity, in natural light or from artificial sources must be filtered out. Light accelerates the chemical reactions degrading the paper support under acidic conditions. With the use of copper-based pigments, we have seen that acidity actually causes sufficient oxidization of the paper support to cause it to drop out of the miniature altogether. In today's urban society, there are enough pollutants in the air bringing an ambient acidity that the dangers of paper degradation are pervasive, even when the paper itself has not been treated with acidic materials. Restoring a balanced pH to the paper support is a costly and laborious procedure, though it must always be done prior to any other semi-permanent stabilizing treatment such as lamination. In lieu of such treatment, some of the damage due to acidity can be minimized by keeping the manuscript in a relatively dark environment.

In other words, the paper is not exposed to much light even when displayed and the potential damage even from such a dim light level is to be ameliorated or tempered by a carefully scheduled routine of display. These recommended light levels are significantly

^a "Regulations for the Handling of Loan Material from the Royal Ontario Museum," (Toronto, Ontario: Royal Ontario Museum, internal paper, n.d.), p. 3.

less than those found in most homes and on typical storage shelving. A visit to the museum, touring any of the galleries where organic materials form the basis of the display, for instance the textile galleries, will demonstrate the dimness produced by this lighting requirement. In the interest of preserving these materials as long as possible, the Conservation Department does enforce the rule regarding length of display--six months at 50 LUX every five years!

After the environment of the manuscripts has been stabilized and conditions which subject the artefact to stresses of any kind have been removed or reduced, the second prong of the conservation or preservation process is that of treatment. Treatment may either be taken to arrest known decay or to protect the materials against potential deterioration. In either case, the required steps must be carefully considered.

The underlying principles which should govern such action can be formulated:

1. All treatment should be adequately documented so that the record of procedures can be examined by the next conservator in order to avoid problems.
2. Purely cosmetic treatment should be avoided.
3. Treatment procedures involve several important factors.
 - a. The more conservative the treatment is, the more minimal, the better.
 - b. The treatment method should not alter or harm the basic materials.
 - c. The process should be reversible if desired.
 - d. The procedure should not leave a residue.
 - e. When possible, retain even the areas of decay or damage rather than replace them.
 - f. Evidence of age should not be removed or disguised simply in order to make the work seem fresher.
 - g. When they are possible to remove, later additions or varnish-like applications should not be retained merely because they seem to give a patina to the work.

Thus even in the treatment of artefacts with problems which need to be corrected, the principles governing the stabilization of the artefact and the reduction of stress on it still apply. When one measures the type of treatment proposed by the principle that it must be reversible, it is easy to see that matting and framing a manuscript page in order to render it easily available for consultation is a preferable manner of dealing with the problem than lamination might be.

Throughout this discussion, emphasis has been placed on the complex nature of the manuscript and the interrelation between its component parts. Similarly, treatment deals with the same three aspects of the manuscript or miniature:

- 1) the medium or support which may need reinforcement or repair;
- 2) the paint or ink layer itself, which may need consolidation to prevent flaking;

and

- 3) the bond between the paint or ink layer and the support, adhesion of the paint to the support may be required.

Therefore, in the application of any treatment method (or indeed when creating the ideal conditions for storage of the artefact), one must consider the potential effect of the procedure on each aspect of the manuscript and on the whole system as well.

All these rules seem rather formidable. It is important to have a sense of proportion when determining what manner of treatment might be required by the artefacts in the collection. The expense undertaken by a museum in the investigation of the condition or in the repair of an artefact in its collection might be beyond the reach of the individual collector. One set of guidelines governing the implementation of treatment might consist in a rigorous application of the principles outlined above: conservative, reversible, least invasive treatment. Furthermore, one must consider how to prioritize the application of treatment to the items in the collection. In establishing an order of treatment, one might be guided by the condition of the manuscript, the extent of the demand for it, and its relative value. Once the priority of treatment sequence is determined, a treatment procedure is chosen. At that time, it is useful to review alternative methods designed to achieve the same end as a check to ensure that the principles are being applied adequately. Furthermore, the extensiveness of the proposed treatment should be weighed so that each step in the process is checked with respect to its adherence to the basic principles. The degree and variety of restoration steps required should conform to the principle of conservative treatment and should further meet the criterion that the treatment not be out of line with the value of the artefact.

Many of these guidelines are just basic common sense. It is useful, however, for the private collector to be introduced to the manner with which the institutional collector handles its collection. Though the institution has resources unavailable to the private collector, an awareness of the basic principles governing institutional storage, handling, and display procedures will enable the private collector to make improvements in his home care. These considerations will guide the collector toward simple procedures in his handling of his private library in order that he might add to the longevity of his manuscripts.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Gita Govinda, Mewar, ca. 1735.
ROM accession no. 971.281.3.
2. Gita Govinda, Mewar, ca. 1735.
ROM accession no. 971.281.4.
3. Border illumination, Mughal, 19th cent.
ROM accession no. 970.383.4.
4. Lady on a Terrace, Mughal, late 18th cent.
ROM accession no. 920.83.1.
5. Detail of infrared blow-up of ROM 920.83.1.
6. Lady with a Rosewater Sprinkler, Jaipur, early 19th cent.
ROM accession no. 925.82.1.
7. Detail of infrared blow-up of ROM 925.82.1.
8. Babur Receives Jahangir Mirza, Baburnama, Mughal, ca. 1590.
ROM accession no. 976.306.1.
Gift of Mr. Frank D. Lee in memory of Winifred Alice Jane Lee.
9. Babur Receives the Notables of Samarkand, Baburnama, Mughal, ca. 1590.
ROM accession no. 976.306.2.
Gift of Mr. Frank D. Lee in memory of Winifred Alice Jane Lee.

॥ गीतो गोविंद नृपत्र ॥ १७७ ॥ जनयाती ॥ सर्वोपाधिका प्रते कहैं ॥ देसवी ॥ तुम नरै राखै जो राद सो सोखै पछ सा माद प्रगट करै ॥ कु तोहिन को रावचन के
कुंजो सो भल ॥ साधव थापान मनो करै ॥ नान भूति राति नि कि यि तु न खै ॥ शृणु म सुं न म गिनि नै पाई ॥ गी ॥ १७८ ॥



FIGURE 2

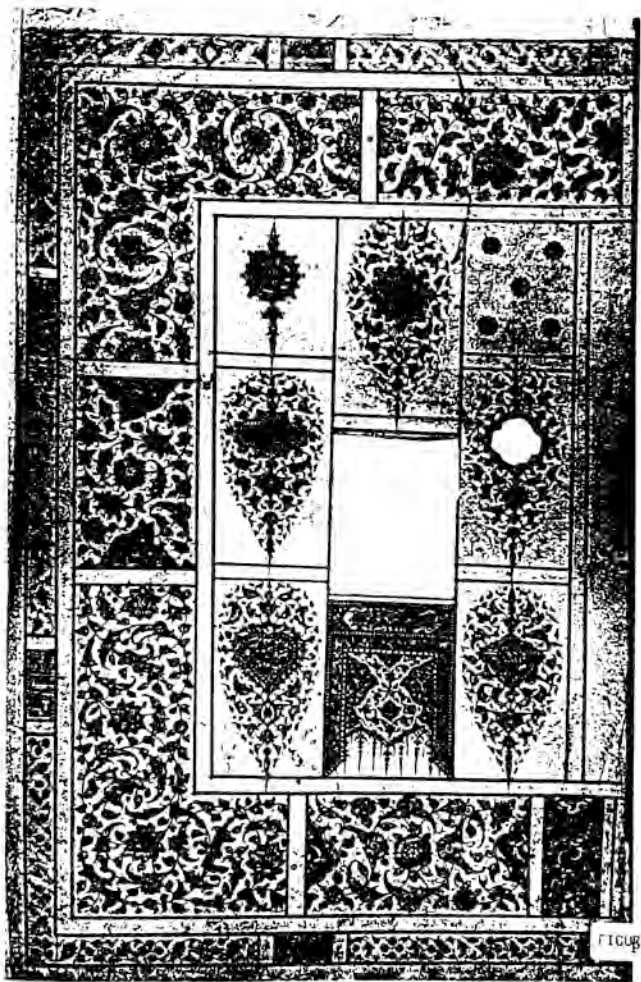




FIGURE A



FIGURE 5



FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7





APPENDIX II

ADDRESSES OF CONSERVATORS

Canadian Conservation Institute
1030 Innes Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0C8
(613)-998-3721

Conservation Department
Royal Ontario Museum
100 Queens Park
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C6
Att. Ms Janet Cowan, Paper Conservator

Rare book libraries as well as other museums throughout North America offer further resources. As you explore the resources independently, you will be able to develop your own network of contacts.

APPENDIX III

ARCHIVAL PRODUCTS WHOLESALERS

Catalogues for archival quality (acid-free, non-interactive materials) can be obtained from these sources. In addition, local libraries may be able to direct you to dealers in your area.

Carr McLean
461 Horner Avenue
Toronto, Ontario M8W 4X2
Toronto: 252-3371; Ontario (except 807): 1-800-268-2123;
Elsewhere: 1-800-268-2138.

Library Concepts Limited
951 Denison Street, Unit 23
Markham, Ontario L3R 3W9
(416)-470-0623.

In Toronto, two stores offer retail archival materials:

Curry's Art Store Ltd.
756 Yonge Street.

Woolfitt's Art Supplies.
390 Dupont Street.

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ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE USE OF OPTICAL CHARACTER RECOGNITION (O.C.R.) DEVICES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF KHOJKI DOCUMENTS

Nagib Tajdin

In this short notice, I will make a survey of the immense possibilities brought to us by the recent progress in the computer world and particularly in O.C.R. devices.

A TECHNICAL APPROACH

There are many ways to protect Khojki. One can think in terms of content or in terms of the document itself. Teaching Khojki is also one of the possibilities which should not be overlooked, particularly since we have the tutorial book recently prepared by Mr. Mumtazali Tajdin of Karachi.

Transcriptions and translations are also to be considered. Duplication of material presents some challenges which should also be addressed. Photocopying is perhaps the easiest and the cheapest way at a cost of approximately \$15 for a book of 300 pages. But the life time of a photocopy is limited. Photographs cost ten times more and most of the time they have to be taken under severe conditions and are rarely readable. Microfilm or microfiche costs not less than \$50 for the same book.

To protect the manuscript itself, alkaline baths or sprays are now used at the British Library to save important 19th century volumes damaged by the ink and acid in their paper. From a recent article in the *New York Times*, it seems that the British Library has developed a new technique to save crumbling books: gamma rays. The Gamma Ray Method treats volumes in bulk for less than \$10 a book. To quote the article:

"The process, developed for the library by scientists at Surrey University, near London, works like this: Books are placed in steel chambers and doused with a mix of monomers (simple chemical compounds). They are then irradiated with gamma rays, which change the monomers into polymers. The plastic-like polymers coat the paper fibres, which are shaped like hollow tubes, strengthening each page and protecting the book from further acid erosion. In just completed trials, the method - graft polymerization - made the paper up to 10 times stronger, did not harm inks or bindings, and fattened each book only a bit."

Will this process work with Khojki manuscripts which are known for their scarcity in fibres? This question is still to be addressed.

A COMPUTER APPROACH

Before I elaborate on O.C.R., I would like to draw your attention to the fact that many books printed at the end of the last century and the

beginning of the present century in Khojki were never published in Gujarati, let alone in English. I am speaking of Granths such as **Man Samjani** and **Patal Gita**; and Farman books such as **Babere Rahemat** and **Khangi Farmans** (also known as **Button Wari Book**). Why? Well probably for the same reason they are not translated or transliterated today: lack of time, lack of means and perhaps lack of consciousness about the importance of preserving the contents of these books for future generations.

Today, more and more this attitude should be fought. While those documents were readily available at the beginning of this century, this is not the case now; and I believe we are the last generation that can still bring these texts back to light. Modern technology has evolved in such a way that computers can relieve us from repetitive tasks such as transcriptions from one language to another. Beautiful outputs of documents can be made on laser printers costing less than \$1500 - something which would have been impossible a few years back.

OPTICAL CHARACTER RECOGNITION (O.C.R.)

Editing on a computer is of course a hundred times easier than on a conventional typing machine, but till now that demanded lots of "keypunching". This is exactly the point that is bringing me to talk to you of some alternate methods which replace keypunching.

For any document already printed or typed, Optical Character Recognition (O.C.R.) devices are the most efficient method to enter texts into a computer. How does that work?

Instead of re-typing a text, the operator of a computer uses a small device known as a scanner to read the text and identify each character according to what the software finds as equivalent in a preprogrammed dictionary.

WHAT ARE SCANNERS?

Scanners are a well known technology that each one of us is using everyday: Fax machines which scan a document and transmit the content to remote locations, photocopiers which duplicate them and so on. Recently, a new class of low-cost scanners have come into existence. These are page-scanners and hand-held scanners. Usually a page scanner will work the same way as a photocopier or a fax machine by taking the whole content of a page and sending the information to a computer.

The software in the computer will then separate the graphics and the text. Text will be recognised by comparison to a character set or a font library. The computer will replace the manpower needed to identify each

character and will propose the final text for editing or printing.

A hand-held scanner will do pretty much the same task but at a lower cost and will read only half a page at a time, thus adding one step of merging both halves. However, a four inch hand held scanner would be efficient for some of the small booklets published in Khojki.

Now the question in your mind is probably "Why not photocopy the text instead of scanning it into the computer?". Here is the answer: once your computer has identified your text as a text (which your photocopier does not do) it can perform many tasks on the document: change sentences, add text, change the style, font etc. It can even do more complex tasks and there is one task that we have especially to consider: I am talking of transcription from Khojki.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Any dedicated software or computer program that can learn a style or alphabet can recognise any language - particularly an easy alphabet such as Khojki. Each character is given an ASCII equivalent: an equivalent in terms of number. As you know, computers can only recognise numbers. Once the operator has decided on the transcription code for each sound, the computer can convert each Khojki sound into an equivalent sound written in English or Gujarati, thus relieving the scholar from this time-consuming task. In fact, I might say, relieving the society of the burden of finding a scholar for that task. Translation by this means is also not far off. In fact, we are starting to see English-Spanish translation programs costing less than a couple of hundred dollars! With the progress of science and technology, "scholars" will not become "obsolete," but will definitely see their changing role taking them into the field, searching for more material and leaving them with the more important task of interpreting results provided by some powerful computers. The tedious task of translation and transcription will very soon be taken over by modern technology.

RESULTS OF TEST RUNS

Two different sets of test-runs were conducted: one on the ability of the computer to identify and transcribe from Gujarati to English and the other from Khojki alphabet to English characters. Details are shown in annexes 1 to 4.

The following procedure was followed during those tests. First, the Gujarati alphabet was introduced to the computer through the use of a hand scanner and the software was taught the letters and the numbers.

A sentence from a typed Gujarati Ginan was read with the scanner and the computer was asked to interpret and propose a transcription of the Gujarati text into English. A similar test was conducted with a line of random Gujarati letters.

The Gujarati test showed an accuracy of around 70% after one session of teaching alphabet transcription to the software.

A similar test was conducted with the Khojki alphabet. After the alphabet was introduced through a scanner to the computer, a paragraph of an old Khojki Farman book was scanned and the results were "dumped" from the screen to the printer. The accuracy was around 57%. Not bad for a computer learning the Khojki alphabet and its transcription into English in half an hour! Some more teaching was done with the computer and the second pass of the scanner gave an astonishing 75% accuracy. This dramatic improvement was the result of the second teaching session which lasted less than 20 minutes! There is no doubt that with a page scanner and more powerful software, even better results can be achieved.

TRANSCRIPTION ACCURACIES

Obviously, the more we teach the computer, the more it learns. Some software also allows us to teach the computer "joint letters" or "conjuncts". However, at a very early stage of experimentation, some repetitive errors caught our attention. These errors were mainly due to two reasons:

A. Limitations of the Software:

The software used was only able to learn up to a maximum of two attached letters. Thus

કે was entered as ke

કે was entered as a

કે was entered as ka

The question was how does one teach કે as ko to the computer?

In fact, during the interpretation and transcription process, the computer divided કે as ke+a and transcribed kea!

Of course, in this particular case, we could have easily solved this problem with the well known "search and replace" function available in the word processor by searching for all occurrences of ea and replacing them with o.

B. Limitations of the Script Itself:

In some cases we encountered difficulties recognising similar characters such as:

૨	as R or 2
૫	as 5 or P
૬	as T or N
૮	as T or N

These are obviously limitations that our mind bypasses because it analyzes in terms of context and the understanding of the whole sentence influences our interpretation and therefore the transcription. And while some of us will be reassured of the necessity of human understanding and intelligence to solve this type of difficulty, I should perhaps add a word of caution if not a cold shower: more and more "context sensitive" software is appearing on the market and this software is truly the cream of artificial intelligence.

The following equipment was used during the test:

- An I.B.M. 386 compatible computer running at 20 MHZ
- A Geniscan 4500 hand-scanner (4.5 inch)
- An O.C.R. program named Prodigy O.C.R.
- An H.P. Laserjet II printer
- The Gujarati word processor "Duangjan" from Megachomp Corporation which has capabilities which can be used to create a Khojki character set. This last point opens a new field for Khojki publications.

WHAT NEXT?

Information on scanners and related computer products are readily available for comparison. There are articles on comparison of different types of scanners, O.C.R. programs and foreign language (i.e. Gujarati) word processors that appear almost every week in well known computer magazines. Street prices are already within reach for the layman. Easy to use software is also available as more and more people are using those products. I am convinced that with very limited resources and with a couple of months of work, one can come up with a respectable solution for the transcription of Khojki documents into an acceptable format and at a reasonable cost.

ગીતના પાંચ વચન સ્કેન કરવામાં આવ્યા છે

TEXT PRINTED THROUGH
LASERJET II (H.P.)
TYPE: IN DUNGJAN
WORDPROCESSOR

૧. ગીતના પાંચ વચન નીચે મુજબ છે
તે તમે સાચું કરી શકો છો

LINE SCANNED WITH
GENISCAN 4500
hand scanner in 300 DPI

૧. ગીતના પાંચ વચન નીચે મુજબ છે

RESULT OF THE SCAN BY
SCREEN DUMP

68% Accuracy

lr jlibshi prkh tdri ra kt witcart
g ou
r rir:rrr

RESULT OF THE INTERPRETATION
AND TRANSCRIPTION BY
PRODIGY OCR SOFTWARE

Number of Probable chars : 7
Number of Possible chars : 0
Number of Unknown chars : 28
Accuracy : 20.00%

DETAILS OF THE PROCESS
GIVEN BY THE COMPUTER

Scan finished at Thu Jan 04 16:14:11 1990
3 text lines scanned in 26.000000 seconds.
Average scan time per line = 8.666667
- Press any key

72% Accuracy

21	22	1	2	01	23	24	25	26	01	27
sh	sh	st	h	th	tg	ah	jk	tb	ht	

LINE SCANNED

 INTERPRETATION BY
 THE COMPUTER USING
 PRODIGY SOFTWARE

Number of Probable chars : 2
 Number of Possible chars : 0
 Number of Unknown chars : 11
 Accuracy : 15.00%

Scan finished at Thu Jan 04 16:18:45 1990
 1 text lines scanned in 22.000000 seconds.
 Average scan time per line = 22.000000
 - Press any key

THE SAME TEXT AS IN ANNEXE 3 WAS SCANNED AFTER A SECOND SESSION OF TEACHING KHOJKI ALPHABET TO THE COMPUTER.

જી'મડી ના. ૨૨-૧-૧૯૨૮,

દર મહસાના બપોરના નાગા બુચનામ મદ-
મદશહ દાતાર હાજર યમામે મેતા જમાતકાન
બુદહવાના પાજેઆયની મેમાનિમંકફિમાવિયુન 2
તમ નદ્યા જુવાન ચા હિમતમાન રેહા દિની રેશન
આ યતેવિકા આ સ્કેર દિને મદક્રે.

દર મહસાના બપોરના નાગા બુચનામ મદ-
મદશહ દાતાર હાજર યમામે મેતા જમાતકાન

THE ACCURACY HAS DRAMATICALLY INCREASED TO REACH 75% ACCURACY
AND ALMOST ALL CHARACTERS ARE RECOGNISED AND TRANSCRIBED INTO
ENGLISH CHARACTERS.

kbnaaaaa2rnl1929,

hk maoulana arkar aaa a sultan mha
mdshah datar hajr ymame meata jmatkhan
budhwarna pajeaayni memanimankfirmawiyun 2
tm ndha juwan cha himtman rhea dinni reashn
aa ytewikea a skrea dinne mddkrea.

hk moulana 2srkar aag a 9ltan mha
mdshah datar hajr ymame meata jaatkhan

Number of Probable chars : 152

Number of Possible chars : 8

Number of Unknown chars : 51

Accuracy : 75.00%

Scan finished at Fri Jan 05 12:00:40 1990

B text lines scanned in 77,000000 seconds.

Average scan time per line = 9.625000

- Press any key

Section 3

KHOJKI SCRIPT AND ITS HISTORY:

THE KHOJKI SCRIPT

Dr. Gulshan Khaki

This presentation is partly based on my published paper¹ dealing with Khojki script as found in some of the earliest manuscripts that I had access to. Prior to discussing the script, I would briefly like to present its history.

Dr. Daudpota and Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana² have identified the Khojki script with the one used on storage jars, which bear short inscriptions in the proto-nagari style of the eighth century C.E. The potsherds were excavated by Dr. F.A. Khan³ at Bhanbhore in lower Sind at a level belonging to the Hindu-Buddhist period, before the advent of Islam in Sind. According to Allana, the Khoja Ismailis began to use this script between 1051 C.E. and 1351 C.E. The earliest use of the script, however, seems to have been for business purposes. The Lohanas and the Bhatyas are probably the people who were first to use it and this was continued by the Khojas and the Memans. So far, the earliest written evidence of the script is from a manuscript dated 1737. We also find a complete Khojki alphabet in this manuscript.

In my study of Das Avatar, I have used two manuscripts in particular, one which I shall call D manuscript (D ms) belonged to Pirzada Sayyid Muhammed Nurali Shah of Burhanpur (MP) who is the Sajjada-Nashin of the Pirana Panthis of the Kandesh area. This manuscript was lent to Professor A. A. A. Fyzee who in turn lent it to the Deccan College in Poona. The manuscript contains 595 folios each measuring approximately 9.2 by 5.6 inches. The text is mainly in Devanagari script, however there are some Ginans in Khojki. One of the dates mentioned in this manuscript is the Sake year 1737, called Yuva which works out to be 1815 C.E.

The other manuscript used, which I shall call the Kx manuscript (Kx ms) was in the collection of the Ismailia Association of Pakistan in Karachi. It is the oldest manuscript known to me. The earliest date mentioned is 1793 Samvat which works out to be 1737 C.E. It is a large manuscript of yellowish, coarse country paper. The folio numbering is chaotic, because on many of the pages the numbers have been obliterated, while some sections with a different numbering system have been inserted. This manuscript is entirely in Khojki.

In order to present a comparison of the Khojki script, I shall use a Khojki primer published in 1932 as a reference and compare the script as found in the D ms and Kx ms. I have also included the Roman, Devanagari, Gujarati and Sindhi alphabets in the table. The following notes should be used with the table:

1. The same symbol is used for both the short i and the long i. With consonants, the script only uses the sign for the long i, the **dirghai**, and never the sign for the short i, the **rasvai**. See note 3 below.
2. The Khojki script system uses the same symbol for the long u and the short u; mostly it is the short u, as in **ubha**, **udharea**, **upara**, **ugara**, etc. With consonants, it never uses the sign for the long u, the **dirghau**, but only the sign for the short u, the **rasvau**. There is no distinction between the short u and the final o; e.g. the symbol is used for the initial u and the final o in the word **utareo**.
3. As in other Sanskrit based script system, e is a separate symbol from a. In Gujarati, one uses the a, plus a **matra** sign to form the e. In Khojki, e is a separate symbol. It looks like the letter p to which the sign "-" has been added. The e can therefore often be misread for pa, pe or pi. See note 10 below. The script uses the sign "-" with other consonants too, to give the short a as in **vicara**, or the short i sound as in **kia**, or the short e sound as in **pase**.
4. Diphthongs are not found in the Khojki script system.
5. The script system uses three different forms of g; the usual Sanskrit g, which is the same as in Gujarati, as well as what can be read as gr in Gujarati; and what can be read as gra, gre and gri.
6. The script uses two symbols for j (though the second looks as if it is a simplified form of the first), as in **jare**, **juga**, **aja**, etc. It uses the symbol for the word jh in words such as **majhara**, **hajhara**, etc.
7. The Khojki script system uses the same symbol for the cerebral t as in words like **popata**, and th as in words like **thama baetha**.
8. The Khojki script system as found in the Kx ms, uses the same symbol for the cerebral d (though this is a rarer sound than the other two), and n as in **pana** and r as in **kirori** (I think this last is the most common of the three).
9. The Kx ms uses two symbols for the dental dh. It uses one symbol for words, mostly, though not always, of foreign origin, as in **mahadhina**, **dharia**, **mahamadha**, etc. It uses the second symbol apparently for all the words of Sanskrit origin, as in **udhare**, **dhare**, **dhare**, **dhiaen**, etc.
10. The letter p in the Khojki script is like the letter p in Sanskrit or Gujarati; but in the Khojki script it is likely to be confused with e, e.g. the words **pana**, **ene** and **ere** are all written in the same way.

11. The Kx ms uses the same symbol for both f and ph; e.g. in **farman** and **phala**.
12. The Khojki script system as found in the Kx Ms. uses two different types of bh rather confusedly (in Gujarati and Sanskrit there is only one symbol for labial bh; as also in Persian and Arabic. In Sindhi there are two sounds bh and bhh. No pattern or reason is discernible for the use of the two different symbols.
13. There is no y in the Khojki script as used in the Kx Ms. There is y in the Khojki primer but it looks very much as if it has been adapted from the i. In cases where the y would be used in the Gujarati language, the language of the Kx ms either drops it, or replaces it with a, e etc. For example, **pamea** for **pamyā**, **puna** for **punya**.
14. There are no sibilants s or ś in the language of the Kx Ms. Even the Persian words which should be written and pronounced with sh are changed to s; the most common being the Persian word **shah**. The Kx Ms. instead uses the word **saha**. Professor N. B. Baloch in his "A Short History of the Sindhi Language," Hyderabad, 1962, 33f records (from the **Kitab al-Aghani**) the story of how the Sindhi poet Abu Ata as-Sindhi (early ninth century) used to pronounce the Arabic word **shaytan** as **saytan**. In the Khojki primer there is the sibilant sh, but it obviously seems to be a mixture of the Khojki s and the Sindhi sh.
15. Of all the Sanskrit based languages, this sound seems to be peculiar to Sindhi and Cutchi. In Cutch, the palatal dy is used in such words as **raday** (Gujarati **raja**), **vadyare** (Gujarati **vagade**), etc. The only other language that I know in which the palatal dy occurs is Kiswahili, e.g. in the word **dyambho**.
16. The palatal nasal ny occurs only twice in the language of the Kx ms, though it is quite a common sound in both the Sindhi and Cutchi Languages. Again the only other language that I know in which it is found is Kiswahili, as in the word **nyama**.
17. There is no z sound in the Kx ms. In most of the Persian and Arabic loan words the z has changed to j; thus **pir zadeh** has become **pir jadeh**. The Gujarati script system does have the z symbol, yet in many Persian loan words where the sound z occurs, the Gujaratis use j instead, as in **jira** from **zira**, etc. To cite an opposite example, N.B. Baloch (op. cit) records the story (from the **Kitab al-Bayawan**, c. 800 A.H. of al-Jahiz) of a Sindhi woman who pronounced **zamal** instead of **jamal**.

I hope that these few comments and notes on the Khojki script will help in reading manuscripts.

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THE KHOJKI SCRIPT AND ITS EQUIVALENTS

Roman	Devana- gari	Gujarati	Sindhi	D MS 1815	Kx MS 1737	Khojaki Primer 1932
a	अ	અ	ا	अ	अ	अ
ā	आ	આ	آ	आ	आ	आ
i	इ	ઇ	ی	इ	इ ¹	ی
ī	ई	ઈ	ی	ई	—	—
u	उ	ઉ	و	उ	उ ²	و
ū	ऊ	ઊ	و	—	—	—
e	ए	એ	ی	इ	इ ³	ی
o	ओ	ઓ	و	—	उ ²	و
ai	ऐ	ઐ	ای	औ	— ⁴	—
au ou	औ	ઔ	او	औ	— ⁴	—

Roman	Devana gari	Gujarati	Sindhi	D MS 1815	Ki MS 1737	Khojaki Primer 1932
k	क	ક	ڪ	फ	क	म
kh	ख	ખ	کھ	ख	ख	ख
g	ग	ગ	گ	ग	ग ग ³ ग	ग
gh	घ	ઘ	گھ	घ	घ	घ
c	च	ચ	چ	च	च	च
ch	छ	છ	چھ	छ	छ	छ
j	ज	જ	ج	ज	ज ज ⁶	ज
jh	झ	—	جھ	झ	ज ⁶	—
t	ट	ટ	ٽ	ट	ट ⁷	ट
th	ठ	ઠ	ٿ	ठ	— ⁷	ठ
d	ड	ડ	ڊ	ड ड	म ⁸	म

Roman	Devana- gari	Gujarati	Sindhi	D MS 1815	Kx MS 1737	Khojaki Primer 1932
dh	ढ	ઢ	ڙ	—	ڙ	ڙ
n	ण	ણ	ڻ	—	ڻ ⁸	ڻ
t	त	ત	ٽ	ت	ن	ن
th	थ	થ	ٿ	ٿ	ٺ	ٺ
d	द	દ	ڊ	ڊ	ڊ	ڊ
dh	ध	ધ	ڏ	ڏ	ڏ ⁹ ڏ	ڏڏ
n	न	ન	ڻ	ن	ن	ن
p	प	પ	پ	پ	پ ¹⁰	پ
f	फ	ફ	ڦ	ڦ	— ¹¹	ڦ
ph	—	—	ڦ	—	—	—
b	ब	બ	ب	ب	ب	ب

Roman	Devana- garī	Gujarati	Sindhī	D MS 1815	Kx MS 1737	Khojaki Primer 1932
bh	भ	ભ	پ	भ	भ ¹² म	भ म
m	म	મ	م	म	म	म
y	य	ય	ي	य	— ¹³	ی
r	र	ર	ر	ર	ર	ر
ru	—	—	—	ર	—	—
l	ल	લ	ل	ल ल	ल	ل
v	व	વ	و	व	व	و
v s	श	શ	ش	श	— ¹⁴	ش
s	ष	ષ	ش	—	— ¹⁴	—
s	स	સ	س	સ	સ	س
h	ह	હ	ه	ह	ह	ه

Roman	Devana- gari	Gujarati	Sindhi	D MS 1815	Kx MS 1737	Khojaki Primer 1932
r	र	ર	ڙ	𑂔	𑂔 ⁸	𑂔
ks	क्ष	ક્ષ	—	—	—	𑂔
gn	ग्न	ગ્ન	—	—	—	𑂔
tr	त्र	ત્ર	—	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
dv	—	દ્વ	—	𑂔𑂔	—	—
dy	—	—	𑂔	—	𑂔 ¹⁵	—
ny	—	—	𑂔	—	𑂔𑂔 ¹⁶	—
z	—	ઝ	ڙ ڙو	—	— ¹⁷	—
dhr	—	—	—	—	𑂔	𑂔
sr	—	શ	—	𑂔	—	—

ON THE ORIGIN OF KHOJKI SCRIPT

Al-Waez Rai Abualy Alibhai

This presentation is based mainly on the notes left by my grandfather, Aziz (d. 1928) and my own personal observations regarding the origin of the so called "Khojki" script.

After Pir Sat Gur Nur, the first Pir to do significant conversion work in the Indian Subcontinent was Pir Shams. He preached extensively in Punjab, Multan and the area now generally known as Sind. Thus, Punjabi Ismailis were converted over a century before Pir Sadardin's conversion of the Khojas. However, unlike their counterparts elsewhere in the Subcontinent, the Punjabi Ismailis lived incognito. Often known as "Guptis," they lived and practised Hindu traditions and customs in public. However, in the privacy of their homes, they practised Ismailism and observed all the rites and rituals as taught by Pir Shams and other Pirs. They even had secret Jamat Khanas.

Up to the turn of the century, there were an estimated one hundred thousand Gupti Ismailis in Punjab. Then, on November 18, 1916, Imam Sultan Mohammed Shah summoned eight leaders from the Punjabi Jamat at his Baroda Palace in Poona. My father was one of them. At midnight, he granted them audience and made a Farman that would change the Punjabi Jamat forever. He ordered them to proclaim their faith openly, to stop observing Hindu customs, and to adopt Muslim names. To reinforce the last point, He there and then gave new names to all the eight leaders; He even gave new names for their fathers and children. Thus, my father and grandfather who, up to that time had been known as Panalal and Bhagwandas, became Ali and Aziz respectively. He then concluded the meeting by giving them Chhanta. Unfortunately, only about forty thousand Gupti Ismailis obeyed the Farman, the rest, about sixty thousand, either continued as Guptis or drifted out of the Ismaili Tariqah over a period of time.

I hope that the foregoing historical note will serve as a background to our discussion of Khojki. According to my grandfather's notes and other traditions amongst the Punjabi Jamat, the original version of the script now known as Khojki was developed by Pir Shams. Its main purpose seems to have been to make the growing volume of religious literature inaccessible to non-converts, thus minimizing the chances of our doctrines being misunderstood by Hindus and Sunni Muslims alike; yet at the same time providing a relatively secure means of communication amongst the Jamat. In those days, the script was known as "Gurmukhi." The name literary means "from the mouth of Guru or master." It is important to note that the present day Gurmukhi used by the Sikhs in their scriptures is a later development by Guru Nanak and his successors. However, the Gurmukhi of Nanak does bear certain orthographic resemblances to the Gurmukhi of Pir Shams.

There is no evidence that Guru Nanak ever met Pir Shams. However, if one looks at the Sikh scriptures, one can easily see certain similarities with the Pir's Ginans, including direct quotations (albeit without reference). It is generally known that Guru Nanak extensively studied Islam. It is thus possible that he was familiar with the works of Pir Shams and had access to the Gurmukhi script. Likewise he could have used a modified version for his own purpose.

Most of the characters of Pir Shams' Gurmukhi were similar to the present day Khojki. One can safely say that there is about an eighty to ninety percent similarity. Over the years, the script probably underwent some modifications. However, it was during the time of Pir Sadardin that the script was further refined and all the forty characters known today probably came into existence. This could explain why Pir Sadardin and not Pir Shams is generally regarded as the inventor of this script. Also the script now became known as Sindhi. One reason for this could be that the Da'wa headquarters was in Multan which was then a part of Sind.¹ This name continued to be popular until a few decades ago when the name Khojki (i.e. pertaining to Khojas) came into common use.

While examining various manuscripts, I have seen a fair amount of variation in characters. As we heard earlier, Dr. Khaki has come across up to six variations of the letter "a".

The use of Khojki script, until a few decades ago, was by no means limited to Ismailis only. In 1936, when Germany declared hostilities against the Allies, I was still a student at the St-Xavier College in Bombay. However, due to my linguistic skills, I was called upon to serve in the Censor Office. Incidentally, my name was recommended by Dr. Ivanow, a well known scholar of Ismailism. My task there was to scan the public mail (to spot any subversive activities). During my five year stay there, I must have scanned over a quarter million letters. Since I was the only one there who could read Khojki, any letters written in this script were brought to my attention. Amazingly, this script was being used by Ithna Asharis, Bohoras, Memans and others of Indian origin living as far apart as Aman, Muscat, Guadar, Putni, Basra and Baghdad. One can only postulate that the forefathers of these people must have been Ismailis at one time but later on drifted out of the fold. However, as a vestigial of the old faith, they retained the script as a means of communication between the family members and friends.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Khojki script played an important role in the Da'wa activities in the Indian Subcontinent. It is also a script in which our Ginanic literature was written and preserved for several centuries. This script has come a long way. Unfortunately, we are on the verge of losing it. It is part of our heritage and we should all do whatever we can to preserve it.

1. Other theories are given in subsequent articles (Editor's note).

SAT PANTH LITERATURE IN KHOJKI MANUSCRIPTS

Mumtaz Ali Tajddin Sadik Ali

INTRODUCTION

Very little is known today about the early history of Nizari Ismaili Da'wa in the Indian Subcontinent. Except for a few brief mentions in the writings of that period, most of our information regarding the preaching of Ismailism, the development of Ginanic literature and the Pirs and Sayyids who composed them is internal, that is, it is mentioned in their works. While there is a general agreement amongst the scholars that the works that have survived to the present time represent only a fraction of what was originally composed, at present there is no way of knowing how many works were originally composed. However, it is reasonable to assume that up to the time of Pir Tajdin (d. 1467) and Sayyid Imam Shah (d. 1512), complete treatises of the works of earlier Pirs must have existed. We get a clue from a verse of a Ginan composed by Pir Tajdin:

Varann cbbatris soor baitali bhakhia,
Berada kan-e na surann, ho jir-e bhui.¹

Translation:

We have explained in thirty-six languages and
forty-two melodies,
And yet the deaf would not listen, O my brother.

Extrapolating on this verse, if one were to do a linguistic analysis of the present corpus, one would expect to come across words from thirty-six languages. My study so far has revealed not more than fifteen languages. Thus, it would be safe to conclude that what we have today is less than half of the original corpus.

There seems a general conception amongst modern scholars² that Ginans were originally preserved orally and put to writing at a much later date, perhaps centuries later. However, if one were to examine the internal evidence, it is apparent that they were written down from the time they were composed. In fact, they were preserved both orally and in writing. Some verses from various Ginans are quoted below to support this view.

- a. Vimras and Surbhan wrote down (akhar kiya) whatever Pir Shams had imparted.³
- b. Reading (vanchiy-e) the Ginans of Pirs, with the understanding gained, you shall attain salvation.⁴

- c. Even the ones who will read (*vanchash-e*) the Ginans will develop a sense of superiority.⁵
- d. One who listens to *Girbhavali* and reads (*vanch-e*) its theme will be rewarded an eternal place in the abode of immortals.⁶
- e. I have written (*likh-di*) all matters in it.⁷
- f. All essences are written (*likhiya*) in it.⁸
- g. One who reads (*pad-e*) (this Granth) will get the understanding of the reality.⁹
- h. Everything is written (*likhiya*) in the *Vel*.¹⁰
- i. All means of remembrance are written (*likhiya*) in it.¹¹

Most probably, the practice of transcribing would have been limited to the Da'is working under the Pirs. These texts would be used by the Da'is themselves and copies to be placed in Jamat Khanas for reading and memorizing by the converts.

MANUSCRIPTS

Very few manuscripts exist today which are more than a century old. The reasons are all too familiar: the environment, the general neglect and at times systematic destruction. In my seven years of study, I have had the opportunity of examining some sixty-two manuscripts. Below are some of my notes regarding references to the earliest dates discovered so far.

One of the manuscripts that I examined was transcribed by a certain Devdas Khetta. The manuscript is in a remarkably good condition. The scribe gives the date of writing as 1902, most probably at Ahmedabad. The manuscript contains the Granth *Anant Akhado* of Pir Hasan Kabirdin. While the Granth does not differ very much from the present printed version, there is an interesting note in the manuscript. The scribe narrates, "Once I visited Jirag in 1838 when I was twenty-seven years old. There I saw a wooden box, belonging to the late Kamadia Bhimo, in the possession of Alarakhia Sumar. The box contained a turban, a robe, a wooden cane and a text of Ginans. I was only allowed to see some pages of the text which contained the *Das Avatar* of Pir Sadardin and other Granths written in 1574 Samvat (1518 C.E.) by Kamadia Bhimo and his colleagues. I was told that it was used to cure diseases".

Another very old manuscript that I examined belonged to a certain Khoja Bhimji Pindidas dating back to 1594 Samvat (1538 C.E.). This manuscript contained one hundred and sixty Ginans, written on one hundred and ninety-three pages. The condition of the manuscript was extremely poor, with many pages in an advanced state of decay. The writing on some

of the pages is illegible and the remaining text abounds in errors, rendering many pages meaningless. A third very old manuscript that I examined belonged to a certain Rehmu Moloo of Nagpur. It seems that the scribe had used part of this book as a personal diary. The volume contains two hundred and thirty-one pages of which some ninety are used for Ginans, the rest being reserved for his financial records. No dates for transcribing are explicitly given. However, two dates do creep up in the personal portion of the volume and probably reflect the date of writing. These are 1608 Samvat (1552 C.E.) and 1613 Samvat (1577 C.E.).

An important manuscript that I had an opportunity to examine belonged to a certain Abdullah Meherali Dharamshi of Kuchh. The scribe gives the date of 1830 Samvat (1774 C.E.), however he notes that this volume was copied from an older manuscript of Chandubhai Lakhdir dating back to 1749 Samvat (1693 C.E.). Another noteworthy manuscript is that of a certain Bhagat Meru transcribed around 1902 Samvat (1846 C.E.). This manuscript contains an interesting note. The scribe narrates; "My grandfather, Piru Tikkam was well versed in Ginans and whose hand written text was in possession of Bhagat Rehmu of Sind. The volume had severely deteriorated. However, I was able to go there (Sind ?) before it was summoned to the flowing waters. Although I am sick and my hands are shaking, I was able to copy those pages which were still legible on this day of 1902." The reader should note that in those days it was a common practice to either bury or to throw an old manuscript in the sea or river, once a new copy had been made. From a researcher's point of view, it is very disappointing to note that many manuscripts do not give any dates nor any names or information about the scribe.

It is also worth mentioning a common problem encountered in the study of Ginanic manuscripts - the corruption of words foreign to the scribe. Ginans, being polyglot, not only contain words from several Indian languages, but also contain Arabic, Persian and Sindhi words. In Ginans, it is quite common to see the ancient scribes misspell a foreign word. The misspelled word is then carried through by the subsequent copyists until it almost replaces the original word. The following table is not only meant to serve as an example, but also to help clarify some otherwise meaningless words.

AS FOUND IN MANUSCRIPTS

ORIGINAL WORD/ PHRASE

MEANING

ARABIC

maal haaf mau'l-e
to fil haaf qul
mer-e chit ko
mirasool
masbha

man lahu! mawla
fa lahu! qul
mi rayatto
mur'sal
misbah

one who has lord
he has everything
whatever I saw
revealed one
lamp

PERSIAN

bhoj	buz	goat
gorakh	gurq	wolf
arushi	urusi	wedding

SINDHI

gadh	gad	with
vatr	vat	sowing season
natti	nathi	son-in-law

SANSKRIT

dis	disha	direction
baluk	balak	infant
savar	savver	quick

HINDI

ihun	ihan	place
jetr	jeet	victory
katha	kothi	warehouse

In addition, the following proper names are often found in corrupted form:

PROPER NAME

AS FOUND IN MANUSCRIPT

Sind	Sung
Abuzar Ali	Bhudar Ali
Abdullah	Abhdalah
Islam Shah	Salam Shah
Multan	Mulstan

PRINTING OF GINANIC TEXTS

According to some accounts, Imam Aga Hassanali Shah ordered the collection of Ginan manuscripts some time after his arrival in India from Iran in 1842. According to one source, this task was initiated around 1878 or 1880. Whereas according to other sources it was Imam Aga Ali Shah who ordered the collection. Finally, it was during the time of Imam Sultan Mohammed Shah that the task of comparing, editing and compiling standard versions of the Ginans got under way by Mukhi Lalji Devraj and his colleagues. Initial

volumes were lithographic. Printed editions followed after the establishment of the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press.

All the early editions were in Khojki. Gujarati editions followed at a much later date. It seems that after the compilation of standard versions, all the source manuscripts were destroyed. All the scholars²² agree on this point, they only differ on the means of destruction. According to some, they were burned, whereas according to others they were buried.

Over the years several lists of major Ginans and Granths have appeared, including one by Mukhi Lalji Devraj himself²³ in 1922. Ivanow published three lists between 1936 and 1963.²⁴ The latest is of Poonawalla.²⁵ It seems that all of these are incomplete. One reason could be that except for the first one, all relied on second hand information. The following list is believed to be complete, until hereto unknown Ginans are found.

I SAT GUR NUR

- (a) Ginans : 9
- (b) Granths : 1

1. Putla (222 distiches)

II PIR SHAMS

- (a) Ginans : 106 (including 28 Garbis).
- (b) Granths : 9

1. Brahm Prakash (150 distiches)
2. Mulbandh no Achhodo (also known as Hans Hansli ni varta) (504 couplets)
Vel (31 couplets)
3. Chandrabhan (50 sonnets)
Vel (12 sonnets)
4. Surbhan (50 sonnets)
Vel (12 sonnets)
5. Raja Goverchand Akhiyana (295 verses)
6. Raja Goverchandni Benno Akhiyana (98 verses)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 7. | Mansamjamanni Vadi | (401 parts of 20 lines) |
| 8. | Sloko Moto | (240 quatrains) |
| 9. | Vaek Moto | (64 quatrains) |
| | Vel | (31 quatrains) |

III PIR SADARDIN

- | | |
|-------------|-------|
| (a) Ginans | : 214 |
| (b) Granths | : 15 |

1. Buj Nirinjan (33 parts, total 581 lines)
2. Aradh (22 parts of 21 lines)
3. Vinod (22 verses)
4. Athar Ved (11 parts of prose)
5. Surat Samachar (5 pages of prose)
6. Girbhavali Nani (3 pages of prose)
7. Girbhavali Shastra (Moti) (17 pages of prose)
8. Buddh Avatar (525 verses)
9. Das Avatar (10 parts)
10. Moman Chitvenni [To Munivarbhai Moti] (552 verses)
11. Bawan Ghati (52 parts)
12. Khat Nirinjan (2 parts in 132 distiches)
Vel (128 distiches)
13. Khat Darshan (3 parts in 235 verses)
Vel (81 verses)
14. Shiksha Patri

Bawan Bodh	(54 verses)
So Kriya	(100 verses)
Sahi Samarani	(32 verses)

15. Sloko Nano (120 quatrains)

IV PIR HASAN KABIRDIN

- (a) Ginans : 79
(b) Granths : 8

1. Gavantri (6 pages of prose)
2. Brahm Gavantri (2 pages of prose)
3. Hasnapuri (165 couplets)
Vel (84 couplets)
4. Anant Akhado (500 quatrains)
5. Anant na Nav Chhuga (90 quatrains in 9 parts)
6. Anant na Viva (233 quatrains)
7. Sat Gur Nur na Viva (222 verses)
8. Hassan Kabirdin ane Kanipa no Samvad (13 pages of prose)

V SAYYID IMAM SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 162
(b) Granths : 14

1. Naklanki Gita (66 pages of prose)
2. Moman Chetamanni (630 verses of 5 lines each)
3. Athar Ved Gayantri (5 pages of prose)
4. Momin Chitvarnni [To Munivarbhai Nani] (323 quatrains)
5. Vis Tol (20 short parts)
6. Pandav no Parab (578 couplets)
7. Janatpuri (153 quatrains)

8. Mul Gayantri (Gayantri Moti) (50 pages)
9. Das Avatar Moto (1600 couplets)
10. Jankar (487 couplets)
11. Mansamjamanni Nani (332 couplets)
Vel (couplets)
46 Sunnat (1 page of prose)
12. Mulbandh Sol Thai, Char Chowk (17 Ginans in prose and verse)
13. Bai Budhai (collection of 71 short Ginans)
14. Gugri na Das Ginan (collection of 10 Ginans)

VI SAYYID NUR MOHAMMED SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 0
(b) Granths : 2

1. Satvenni Moti (222 parts of 7 couplets each)
Vel (150 parts of 26 couplets each)
2. Satvarnni Moti (316 parts of 10 couplets each)

VI SAYYID AHMED SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 0
(b) Granths : 1

1. Si Harfi (8 parts)

VII GINANS BY VARIOUS PIRS

- (a) Pir Nasirdin : 1
(b) Pir Sahebodin : 5
(c) Pir Tajdin : 1
(d) Pir Hashim Shah : 2
(e) Pir Ali Akbar Beg : 1
(f) Pir Ali Asgar Beg : 1

VIII GINANS BY VARIOUS SAYYIDS

(a)	Sayyid Mohammed Shah	: 9
(b)	Sayyid Fazal Shah	: 3
(c)	Sayyid Miran Khan	: 4
(d)	Sayyid Addul Nabi	: 2
(e)	Sayyid Fateh Ali Shah	: 2
(f)	Sayyid Miran Mehdi	: 2
(g)	Sayyida Imam Begum	:10
(h)	Sayyid Miha Shah	: 1
(i)	Sayyid Rahemtullah	: 1
(j)	Sayyid Saleh Shah	: 1
(k)	Sayyid Miran Moh'd:	: 1
(l)	Sayyid Ladha Shah	: 1
(m)	Sayyid Kutubdin	: 1
(n)	Sayyid Aal Imam	: 1
(o)	Sayyid Hussain	: 1
(p)	Sayyid Ghulam Ali Shah	: 1

Sayyida Imam Begum was the last the last descendants of our Pirs whose compositions are recognised as Ginans.

NOTES

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SAT PANTH LITERATURE IN KHOJKI MANUSCRIPTS

Mumtaz Ali Tajddin Sadik Ali

INTRODUCTION

Very little is known today about the early history of Nizari Ismaili Da'wa in the Indian Subcontinent. Except for a few brief mentions in the writings of that period, most of our information regarding the preaching of Ismailism, the development of Ginanic literature and the Pirs and Sayyids who composed them is internal, that is, it is mentioned in their works. While there is a general agreement amongst the scholars that the works that have survived to the present time represent only a fraction of what was originally composed, at present there is no way of knowing how many works were originally composed. However, it is reasonable to assume that up to the time of Pir Tajdin (d. 1467) and Sayyid Imam Shah (d. 1512), complete treatises of the works of earlier Pirs must have existed. We get a clue from a verse of a Ginan composed by Pir Tajdin:

Varann chhatris soor baitali bhakhia,
Berada kan-e na surann, ho jir-e bhai.¹

Translation:

We have explained in thirty-six languages and
forty-two melodies,
And yet the deaf would not listen, O my brother.

Extrapolating on this verse, if one were to do a linguistic analysis of the present corpus, one would expect to come across words from thirty-six languages. My study so far has revealed not more than fifteen languages. Thus, it would be safe to conclude that what we have today is less than half of the original corpus.

There seems a general conception amongst modern scholars² that Ginans were originally preserved orally and put to writing at a much later date, perhaps centuries later. However, if one were to examine the internal evidence, it is apparent that they were written down from the time they were composed. In fact, they were preserved both orally and in writing. Some verses from various Ginans are quoted below to support this view.

- a. Vimras and Surbhan wrote down (akhar kiya) whatever Pir Shams had imparted.³
- b. Reading (vanchiy-e) the Ginans of Pirs, with the understanding gained, you shall attain salvation.⁴

- c. Even the ones who will read (**vanchash-e**) the Ginans will develop a sense of superiority.⁷
- d. One who listens to **Girbhavali** and reads (**vanch-e**) its theme will be rewarded an eternal place in the abode of immortals.⁸
- e. I have written (**likh-di**) all matters in it.⁹
- f. All essences are written (**likhiya**) in it.⁹
- g. One who reads (**pad-e**) (this Granth) will get the understanding of the reality.⁹
- h. Everything is written (**likhiya**) in the Vel.¹⁰
- i. All means of remembrance are written (**likhiya**) in it.¹¹

Most probably, the practice of transcribing would have been limited to the Da'is working under the Pirs. These texts would be used by the Da'is themselves and copies to be placed in Jamat Khanas for reading and memorizing by the converts.

MANUSCRIPTS

Very few manuscripts exist today which are more than a century old. The reasons are all too familiar: the environment, the general neglect and at times systematic destruction. In my seven years of study, I have had the opportunity of examining some sixty-two manuscripts. Below are some of my notes regarding references to the earliest dates discovered so far.

One of the manuscripts that I examined was transcribed by a certain Devdas Khetta. The manuscript is in a remarkably good condition. The scribe gives the date of writing as 1902, most probably at Ahmedabad. The manuscript contains the Granth **Anant Akhado** of Pir Hasan Kabirdin. While the Granth does not differ very much from the present printed version, there is an interesting note in the manuscript. The scribe narrates, "Once I visited Jiraq in 1838 when I was twenty-seven years old. There I saw a wooden box, belonging to the late Kamadia Bhimo, in the possession of Alarakhia Sumar. The box contained a turban, a robe, a wooden cane and a text of Ginans. I was only allowed to see some pages of the text which contained the **Das Avatar** of Pir Sadardin and other Granths written in 1574 Samvat (1518 C.E.) by Kamadia Bhimo and his colleagues. I was told that it was used to cure diseases".

Another very old manuscript that I examined belonged to a certain Khoja Bhimji Pindidas dating back to 1594 Samvat (1538 C.E.). This manuscript contained one hundred and sixty Ginans, written on one hundred and ninety-three pages. The condition of the manuscript was extremely poor, with many pages in an advanced state of decay. The writing on some

of the pages is illegible and the remaining text abounds in errors, rendering many pages meaningless. A third very old manuscript that I examined belonged to a certain Rehmū Moloo of Nagpur. It seems that the scribe had used part of this book as a personal diary. The volume contains two hundred and thirty-one pages of which some ninety are used for Ginans, the rest being reserved for his financial records. No dates for transcribing are explicitly given. However, two dates do creep up in the personal portion of the volume and probably reflect the date of writing. These are 1608 Samvat (1552 C.E.) and 1613 Samvat (1577 C.E.).

An important manuscript that I had an opportunity to examine belonged to a certain Abdullah Meherali Dharamshi of Kuchh. The scribe gives the date of 1830 Samvat (1774 C.E.), however he notes that this volume was copied from an older manuscript of Chandubhai Lakhdir dating back to 1749 Samvat (1693 C.E.). Another noteworthy manuscript is that of a certain Bhagat Meru transcribed around 1902 Samvat (1846 C.E.). This manuscript contains an interesting note. The scribe narrates; "My grandfather, Piru Tikkam was well versed in Ginans and whose hand written text was in possession of Bhagat Rehmū of Sind. The volume had severely deteriorated. However, I was able to go there (Sind ?) before it was summoned to the flowing waters. Although I am sick and my hands are shaking, I was able to copy those pages which were still legible on this day of 1902." The reader should note that in those days it was a common practice to either bury or to throw an old manuscript in the sea or river, once a new copy had been made. From a researcher's point of view, it is very disappointing to note that many manuscripts do not give any dates nor any names or information about the scribe.

It is also worth mentioning a common problem encountered in the study of Ginanic manuscripts - the corruption of words foreign to the scribe. Ginans, being polyglot, not only contain words from several Indian languages, but also contain Arabic, Persian and Sindhi words. In Ginans, it is quite common to see the ancient scribes misspell a foreign word. The misspelled word is then carried through by the subsequent copyists until it almost replaces the original word. The following table is not only meant to serve as an example, but also to help clarify some otherwise meaningless words.

AS FOUND IN MANUSCRIPTS

ORIGINAL WORD/ PHRASE

MEANING

ARABIC

maal haal mau-e
to fil haal qul
mer-e chit ko
mirasool
masbha

man lahul mawla
fa lahul qul
mī rayatto
mur'sal
misbah

one who has lord
he has everything
whatever I saw
revealed one
lamp

PERSIAN

bhoj
gorakh
arushi

buz
gurq
urusi

goat
wolf
wedding

SINDHI

gadh
vatr
natti

gad
vat
nathi

with
sowing season
son-in-law

SANSKRIT

dis
baluk
savar

disha
balak
savver

direction
infant
quick

HINDI

thun
jetr
katha

than
jeet
kothi

place
victory
warehouse

In addition, the following proper names are often found in corrupted form:

PROPER NAME

Sind
Abuzar Ali
Abdullah
Islam Shah
Multan

AS FOUND IN MANUSCRIPT

Sung
Bhudar Ali
Abhdalah
Salam Shah
Mulstan

PRINTING OF GINANIC TEXTS

According to some accounts, Imam Aga Hassanali Shah ordered the collection of Ginan manuscripts some time after his arrival in India from Iran in 1842. According to one source, this task was initiated around 1878 or 1880. Whereas according to other sources it was Imam Aga Ali Shah who ordered the collection. Finally, it was during the time of Imam Sultan Mohammed Shah that the task of comparing, editing and compiling standard versions of the Ginans got under way by Mukhi Lalji Devraj and his colleagues. Initial

volumes were lithographic. Printed editions followed after the establishment of the Khoja Sindhi Printing Press.

All the early editions were in Khojki. Gujarati editions followed at a much later date. It seems that after the compilation of standard versions, all the source manuscripts were destroyed. All the scholars¹² agree on this point, they only differ on the means of destruction. According to some, they were burned, whereas according to others they were buried.

Over the years several lists of major Ginans and Granths have appeared, including one by Mukhi Lalji Devraj himself¹³ in 1922. Ivanow published three lists between 1936 and 1963.¹⁴ The latest is of Poonawalla.¹⁵ It seems that all of these are incomplete. One reason could be that except for the first one, all relied on second hand information. The following list is believed to be complete, until hereto unknown Ginans are found.

I SAT GUR NUR

- (a) Ginans : 9
- (b) Granths : 1

1. Putla (222 distiches)

II PIR SHAMS

- (a) Ginans : 106 (including 28 Garbis).
- (b) Granths : 9

1. Brahm Prakash (150 distiches)
2. Mulbandh no Achhodo (also known as Hans Hansli ni varta) (504 couplets)
Vel (31 couplets)
3. Chandrabhan (50 sonnets)
Vel (12 sonnets)
4. Surbhan (50 sonnets)
Vel (12 sonnets)
5. Raja Goverchand Akhiyana (295 verses)
6. Raja Goverchandni Benno Akhiyana (98 verses)

7.	Mansamjamanni Vadi	(401 parts of 20 lines)
8.	Sloko Moto	(240 quatrains)
9.	Vaek Moto	(64 quatrains)
	Vel	(31 quatrains)

III PIR SADARDIN

(a) Ginans	: 214
(b) Granths	: 15

1. Buj Nirinjan (33 parts, total 581 lines)
2. Aradh (22 parts of 21 lines)
3. Vinod (22 verses)
4. Athar Ved (11 parts of prose)
5. Surat Samachar (5 pages of prose)
6. Girbhavali Nani (3 pages of prose)
7. Girbhavali Shashtra (Moti) (17 pages of prose)
8. Buddh Avatar (525 verses)
9. Das Avatar (10 parts)
10. Moman Chitvenni [To Munivarbhai Moti] (552 verses)
11. Bawan Ghati (52 parts)
12. Khat Nirinjan (2 parts in 132 distiches)
Vel (128 distiches)
13. Khat Darshan (3 parts in 235 verses)
Vel (81 verses)
14. Shiksha Patri
 - Bawan Bodh (54 verses)
 - So Kriya (100 verses)
 - Sahi Samarani (32 verses)

15. Sloko Nano (120 quatrains)

IV PIR HASAN KABIRDIN

- (a) Ginans : 79
(b) Granths : 8

1. Gavantri (6 pages of prose)
2. Brahm Gavantri (2 pages of prose)
3. Hasnapuri (165 couplets)
Vel (84 couplets)
4. Anant Akhado (500 quatrains)
5. Anant na Nav Chhuga (90 quatrains in 9 parts)
6. Anant na Viva (233 quatrains)
7. Sat Gur Nur na Viva (222 verses)
8. Hassan Kabirdin ane Kanipa no Samvad (13 pages of prose)

V SAYYID IMAM SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 162
(b) Granths : 14

1. Naklanki Gita (66 pages of prose)
2. Moman Chetamanni(630 verses of 5 lines each)
3. Athar Ved Gayantri(5 pages of prose)
4. Momin Chitvarnni [To Munivarbhai Nani] (323 quatrains)
5. Vis Tol (20 short parts)
6. Pandav no Parab (578 couplets)
7. Janatpuri (153 quatrains)

8. Mul Gayantri (Gayantri Moti) (50 pages)
9. Das Avatar Moto (1600 couplets)
10. Jankar (487 couplets)
11. Mansamjamanni Nani (332 couplets)
Vel (couplets)
46 Sunnat (1 page of prose)
12. Mulbandh Sol Thal, Char Chowk (17 Ginans in prose and verse)
13. Bai Budhai (collection of 71 short Ginans)
14. Gugri na Das Ginan (collection of 10 Ginans)

VI SAYYID NUR MOHAMMED SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 0
(b) Granths : 2

1. Sarvenni Moti (222 parts of 7 couplets each)
Vel (150 parts of 26 couplets each)
2. Sarvarnni Moti (316 parts of 10 couplets each)

VI SAYYID AHMED SHAH

- (a) Ginans : 0
(b) Granths : 1

1. Si Harfi (8 parts)

VII GINANS BY VARIOUS PIRS

- (a) Pir Nasirdin : 1
(b) Pir Sahebodin : 5
(c) Pir Tajdin : 1
(d) Pir Hashim Shah : 2
(e) Pir Ali Akbar Beg : 1
(f) Pir Ali Asgar Beg : 1

VIII GINANS BY VARIOUS SAYYIDS

(a)	Sayyid Mohammed Shah	: 9
(b)	Sayyid Fazal Shah	: 3
(c)	Sayyid Miran Khan	: 4
(d)	Sayyid Addul Nabi	: 2
(e)	Sayyid Fateh Ali Shah	: 2
(f)	Sayyid Miran Mehdi	: 2
(g)	Sayyida Imam Begum	:10
(h)	Sayyid Mitha Shah	: 1
(i)	Sayyid Rahemtullah	: 1
(j)	Sayyid Saleh Shah	: 1
(k)	Sayyid Miran Moh'd:	: 1
(l)	Sayyid Ladha Shah	: 1
(m)	Sayyid Kutubdin	: 1
(n)	Sayyid Aal Imam	: 1
(o)	Sayyid Hussain	: 1
(p)	Sayyid Ghulam Ali Shah	: 1

Sayyida Imam Begum was the last the last descendants of our Pirs whose compositions are recognised as Ginans.

NOTES

1. **105 Ginans**, Part II, Ginan #69, Verse #3, Ismailia Association for India, 1979.
2. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth," *Collectanea*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), p. 40, and A. Nanji, *The Nizari Ismaili Tradition in Hind and Sind*, (Unpublished Thesis, McGill University, 1972), p. 15.
3. Pir Shams, *Mansamjamani Vadi*, verse 401.
4. Pir Shams, *Collection of Ginans of Pir Shams*, 62:1, Ismailia Association for India, 1952, p. 66.
5. Pir Sadardin, *Collection of Ginans of Pir Sadardin*, 151:24, Ismailia Association of India, 1952, p. 161.
6. Pir Sadardin, *Girbhavali Nani*, last line.
7. Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah, *Satvarani Vadi*, 316:8.
8. Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah, *Satveni ji Vel*, 150:6.

9. ibid, 150:14.
10. ibid, 150:16.
11. ibid, 150:24.
12. W. Ivanow, op. cit., A. Nanji, op. cit., and I. Poonawalla, *Biobibliography of Ismaili Literature*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 26.
13. Lalji Devraj, *Raag Mala*, (Ismailia Association for India, 1922).
14. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1936), pp. 22-24, *Collectanea*, volume 1, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), pp. 42-43, and *Ismaili Literature*, (Ismaili Society, 1963), pp. 174-181.
15. I. Poonawalla, op. cit., pp. 298-311.

Section 4

FINDINGS FROM KHOJKI MANUSCRIPTS :

A KHOJKI MANUSCRIPT FROM PUNJAB

Al-Waez Khizr Hayat

I have divided my presentation into five parts. In the first part, I will give a short history of Ismailis in Punjab. The second part will deal with the Khojki script in Punjab. The third and the main part of this paper will focus on a Khojki manuscript from Punjab. In the fourth part, I will present some methods adopted by Punjabi Ismailis to teach Khojki until about two decades ago. The fifth and the final part will contain my own concluding remarks based on the material covered in the preceding parts.

BACKGROUND

Until the beginning of this century, Ismailis in Punjab were living as "Guptis" i.e. outwardly they had Hindu names and adhered to Hindu customs, but inwardly they were practising the Ismaili faith. Mowlana Sultan Mohammed Shah encouraged Gupti Ismailis to change their names and mingle with other Muslims. In 1910, the first such Gupti Ismaili (my grandfather) was named Mohammed Ismail by Mowlana Sultan Mohammed Shah and later a mass conversion was held by the waezeens of that time.

Not much is available on the history of Guptis in Punjab. Whatever we have from Multan and Hafizabad are two or three works which were written by the waezeens of the Mission Club or locally put together in Urdu. It was during the 1920's and the following period when these chronicles were produced partly to facilitate the assimilation with other Muslims and partly to counter those Hindus who were disturbed by such mass conversion and who raised all sorts of questions about the Gupti Ismailis. Those who were active in publishing material were the figures like A. M. Sadruddin (who later became editor of *Africa Ismaili* and wrote *Shajra* - short history of Imams in Urdu in Punjab) and others such as Karam Hussain, Nazar Ali etc.

PUNJAB AND KHOJKI SCRIPT

The general impression about the Ismailis in Punjab is that they belong to the area where Punjabi is used as the spoken language and Urdu as the written language. Therefore Khojki has never been to Punjab. Nevertheless it was not before 1970 that Ismailia Association for Pakistan started printing and publishing Ginans in Urdu script especially for the Punjab because they did not know Khojki to read Ginans.

The question then is: Was Khojki ever used in Punjab or has it never been to that land? Perhaps if one were to ask that question to a Punjabi youngster today, he would probably reply that Khojki never existed in Punjab. However, the older generation still

bears testimony that Khojki script was used in Punjab in the same way that it was used in Sind. Ginans were recited and understood by the Jamats of Punjab in the same way. These Ginans were not only preserved in the hearts of the Ismailis, but the tradition of writing these Ginans was also kept alive. For this reason the Punjabi Ismailis learnt Khojki since they preferred this script over Gujarati. Hence, most of the works that came down to the later generations were in Khojki and not in Gujarati.

Until 1970, Khojki was taught in the religious centres of Punjab as an important script to acquire religious knowledge. For this reason, teachers were hired by the Ismailia Association for Pakistan and sent to different villages and towns. One such teacher was Master Maherally of Multan who travelled far and wide in Punjab to teach children Khojki and impart religious education.

PUNJABI MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts which were acquired from Punjab show the interest of people in the Khojki script. Not only Ginans were copied in this language but other interesting poetry and works were rewritten in Khojki. These manuscripts date at least to the beginning of this century and reflect the social and other aspects of the Punjabi Ismailis of that time. To cite an example, one of the manuscripts from Nagib Tajdin's library has almost everything which I mentioned earlier. It has two volumes of questions and answers (which I assume to be from the Urdu work of that time *Nek Lank Darpan*), it also has Urdu and Punjabi poetry (most probably composed by the person himself), a page of *Kalam-e-Mowla* and five Ginans. At the end it also has a shopping list which the writer would have casually noted down so as not to forget it and thus to avoid any problems perhaps with his wife. The list is also in Punjabi language. The list runs as *kiyo* (ghee/clarified butter), *gur* (unrefined sugar), *suji* (wheatlets), *pista* (pistachio), *meva* (dry fruits) and *balan* (wood for the fireplace).

The two poems written at the end are not only interesting, but reflect the conditions of that time in the particular area to which the author belonged. The copyist's name at the end is Shamsheer Ali Hussain Bakhshi Khwaja. The date in the manuscript appears twice. Once at the end as 28th November 1950 where the scribe has signed in English and even gives the day as Tuesday. Another time it appears in between and gives the date as 25th November 1922. Coming back to the two poems: The first one is written in a particular folk style:

ਹੋਈਆਂ: ਅੰਧ੍ਰਾ: ਏ: ਤੀਹ: ਥੇ: ਤਾਏ:
 ਹੋ: ਆਤ: ਕਾਣੀ: ਫੋਲੀਆਂ: ਫੇ: ਏ:
 ਹੋ: ਫੇ: ਹਮੇ: ਟਾਅ: ਆਇਏ:
 ਤੀਹੀ: ਆਇਆ: ਟਾ: ਆਇਏ:

ਅੰਧ: ਫੋਲੀਆਂ: ਟਾ: ਆਇਏ: ਏ:
 ਟਾਇਆ ਆਇਏ: ਟਾਇਆ: ਆਇਏ: ਏ:
 ਹੋ: ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਆਇਏ:
 ਤੀਹੀ: ਆਇਆ:

I sing songs of your attribute,
 Without you there is no cool shelter available,
 Spring is present under your shelter,
 O Camel Owner (leader of the caravan), come to Punjab.

O please take out from the clutches of 84 lakh,
 The sinner who has sinned a lot,
 I am nothing but dust of your feet,
 O Camel Owner.

The above poem shows the love for the Imam in a very folk style and can be sung in the popular folk way.

The second poem was composed when the writer heard that the Imam of the Time had gone to Bombay. Out of love and devotion he explains his own situation and craves that the Imam should come to Punjab and give Didar to the Jamar. He starts with a verse which says:

ਆਇਆ: ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਆਇਆ:
 ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਏ: ਫੇ: ਆਇਆ:

O my Sultan, I crave for your Didar,
O my Guide, I crave for your Didar.

The poet says:

મોલા : કમજી : હું : ગાલી
જેલી : પીનાસ : હું : કુઝાલી
કાંજાલી : કાલે : જ : ગાલી
જેલા : સાય : જ : દેખા
પ્રમહાન : પીનાસ : જંગ : દીનાર : જી : માંજ

My Mowla come quickly and quench my thirst,
My life should not go in vain, never leave me alone,
O Sultan, my Beloved, I crave for your Didar.

He explains his limitations by saying:

જુમલી : કાજા : જ : કાલે
જાણી : જાંજીર : જ : ગાલે
પણી : ગાલીની : પમાલે
જીંદા : જરજી : જી : માંજ
પ્રમહાન : પીનાસ :

Bombay I cannot go,
And I cannot see Karachi,
My poverty frustrates me,
Even the number of breathes you have given me are few.

Apart from the above two examples, there are two more poems written by the same person.

KHOJKI SCRIPT - AN ADAPTATION

It is not known who brought Khojki to Punjab. However, Ginans were recited in Punjab and it is most probable that due to the closeness with Sind (geographically) it should have travelled to Punjab sometime after being introduced in Sind. However, it is interesting to mention that Khojki in Punjab was taught in the style of Gurmukhi, a Punjabi script sacred to the Sikhs. I still recall my mother while reading the Ginans would point out that **Khakha** is not written properly. I used to wonder why she says **Khakha** instead of a simple **Kh**. Now today when I compare the Gurmukhi script and the way it is learnt, it becomes evident that Punjab adopted Khojki in the Punjabi style.

MISSING LINKS

Let me provide a few missing links so as to make my presentation more sensible to you. I spoke about the past, I spoke regarding a manuscript and I spoke about the way Khojki was learnt by the preceding generations in Punjab. My personal reflections based on all these facts are that when Khojki was introduced in Punjab, "Guptis" adopted it as a script close to Punjabi language and learnt it like Gurmukhi. Thus it was easy for them to understand and compare the letters of Khojki with Gurmukhi. As time passed and they accepted conversion, the Guptis started writing in Urdu so as to reply to the Hindus and to identify themselves as part of the Muslim Ummah, who used Urdu as an Islamic language. However, they kept Khojki with them as a script without which religious education was impossible for them.

It was in the late 1960s and early 1970s when the Guptis shifted totally to Urdu and abandoned Khojki. Following that, Khojki was completely removed from the religious centres of Punjab by 1976 in a gradual way.

The manuscript mentioned in this presentation shows that script was not only used to preserve the traditional religious material but it also includes the creative contributions from Punjabi Ismailis. In addition, it reflects the socio-cultural aspect of the community of that time. Thus, Khojki manuscripts from the Ismaili Jamat of Punjab is a very important source for any future historian of the Ismailis in Punjab.

It is very important that steps should be taken to preserve the Khojki manuscripts of Punjab and the script itself should be kept alive by teaching it to the future generations so that the Ginanic literature as well as the history of the Ismaili Jamat of Punjab is protected.

AN INDIAN ISMAILI MANUSCRIPT AT THE TURN OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Karima Tajdin

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript I wish to present today is a very interesting one in many respects. It is a manuscript of around 400 pages of 15 cm by 10 cm written in Gujarati and Khojki. In fact, I have found an instance where the left page was in Khojki and the right page in Gujarati script. Even better, one paragraph started in Khojki script and ended in Gujarati script! It also has a unique mix of Gujarati text in Khojki script and Sindhi text in Gujarati script - usually it is the opposite!

I believe that this manuscript was written at a time when Ismailis started abandoning Khojki script for Gujarati script.

The linguistic aspect is not the only one which draws our attention to this document. Several other peculiarities of this manuscript are important: the fact that it contains some unpublished Ginans, the fact that at least four names of persons are mentioned and we might have in the audience somebody who might be able to identify them, the fact that it contains dates and also that except for a few starting pages which are completely torn out, the bulk of this manuscript is in a very good state of conservation.

Here are the details of this manuscript:

DESCRIPTION

The manuscript was found in Pakistan in 1988. It contains 400 pages written in Gujarati with around twelve pages in Khojki. It has a variety of Ginans of Pirs and Sayyids, as well as prayers and anecdotes. There are some personal notes such as medical recipes. The page numbering is not legible. It seems that only the first five pages are missing. The last page contains a list of approximately twenty Ginans.

DATES

Two dates are given in this manuscript:

- a. Samvat 1946 month of Fagan Wad (1890 C.E.)
- b. Samvat 1959 month of Vaisak Sudh (1903 C.E.), Day: Shanivar (Saturday)

NAMES

There are five names mentioned - the first one is a stamp on the back of the cover. It appears to be a recent one and gives the name in English and Gujarati:

"KAGADI KADARBHAI AZAMBHAI" of Kharadhar, Karachi.

The other names are as follows:

- Jiwan Esmail Vasanji Janmohamad
- Khoja Ali Ramji Habrawara who possibly wrote this ms.
- Esmail Hasham (was the ms. written for him?)
- Jadu Kassam

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Some torn ut pages
- Tariye run taranhar (Pir Sadardin)
- Asal Dua - Old Ismaili prayer with Puthiun (genealogy of the Imam) with the mention Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah Datar Sahi Khuda. Followed by Panj Pathi and Sutak ni Du'a.
- Hare man bhamara run lobhiyo (Sayyid Muhammad Shah)
- Purakh pacham thi sami rajo avashe (Sayyid Rahemtullah Shah)
- Kamay karo to tame madhrate jago (Sayyid Imamdin)
The above mentioned two Ginans have variances compared to versions printed in Bombay in 1954.
- Amrapuri ma anant chhe sukh (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Garbi # 1 to 4 (Pir Shams)
- Buddh Avatar (Pir Sadardin) Only about 30 pages. Incomplete.
- Table of mathematics (Magic Table)
- Tunhi gur, tunhi nar (Pir Sadardin)
- Some notes on chiropractics.
- Dari katha - Story of Solomon.
- Alah tohar - some prayers
- Page 51 to 68, some Farmans in Sindhi (Gujarati script).
- 36 benefits of the Salvat prayers. Some Arabic prayers.
- Anecdote of Prophet Muhammad in Madina and his conversation with Angel Gabriel - (Some kind of Meraj Nama)
- 2 Empty pages.
- Garbi # 6 to 13 (Pir Shams)
- Uth jaag man mera (Sayyida Imam Begum)
- Tum chet man mera (Sayyida Imam Begum)
- Darshan diyo mora nath (Sayyida Imam Begum)
- Satgur miliya mune aj (Sayyida Imam Begum)

- Partak patra ne parkhine (Pir Shams)
- Desh daylam me shah avatariya (Pir Sadardin)
- 8 empty pages. This is the end of the first half of this ms.
- Ash tamari tribhavar sami (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Sacha marag sahebe sirajiya (Pir Hasan Shah)
- Alaf nirale khalak raja (Pir Hasan Kabirdin)
- Janro ne bujo ahin patra pichano (Pir Shams)
- Sahebe bara jenre sab jug sirajiya (Pir Sadardin)
- Achada khojo (Pir Shams)
- Travenri sansar mahe jlanta (Pir Sadardin)
- Ash tamari shri ho kayam sami (Pir Hasan Kabirdin)
- Venti karun chun (Sayyid Adbal Nabi)
- Sahebe farman lakhi mokaliya (Pir Hasan Kabirdin)
- Ame saheb sathe sahel kidhi (Pir Shams?)
- Kahet Surja ne sambharo (Pir Sadardin)
- Sacho tun sahiyan (Sayyid Mohamed Shah)
- Dhan dhan aj no daralo (Pir Sadardin)
- Hanspuri nagari mahe (Pir Sadardin)
- Nar naklanki keru vat (Sayyid Fatehali Shah)
- Ya Ali khub mijalas (Munajat)
- Jug duapur ma jagan odhariyo (Pir Sadardin)
- Sat sunro ne sat sambharo (Pir Sadardin)
- Mal khajina bahot bhariya (Sayyid Gulmali Shah)
- Asmani tambal vajiya (Pir Sadardin)
- Vavaso tevun luraso (Pir Sadardin)
- Sunro bhay momino esa kal jug avya (Pir Shams)
- Ek shabad sunro mere bhay (Pir Shams)
- Sam sadaji re sachu sami (Pir Sadardin)
- Jire tari asha kari ne (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Shah srevo ek man menu teri ghar ki asha (Pir Hassan Shah) (NP)
- Aj te amarat ayo (Pir Hassan Shah)
- Momam man em janrajo ji (Pir Hassan Shah)
- Satgur sun satpanth janriye (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Pir Imam Shah jab boliya (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Nav Chuga (Pir Hassan Kabirdin)
- Noor Vela Noor Piyo (Pir Sadardin)
- Sapnun antarma sunriyore (Pir Shams)
- Hare vira purakh sarvo (Pir Shams)
- Ginan bolohre nite nure bhariya (Pir Sadardin)
- Garbi # 28 (Pir Shams)
- Munivar mahdan avashe (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Sami apna page lagi manavun (Pir Sadardin)
- Raja pacham desh ne khand Erak (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Sacho dhiyavo ne Ginan vicharo (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Jiv ne chorava Satgur miliya (Pir Sadardin)

- Kaljug puran kapad bov chalse (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Eh Sabhaga har puch (Pir Shams)
- Bay budhay (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Ghar sar vadhavo (Pir Sadardin) (Variance)
- Du'a uthapaniji
- Hun balhari tame var data (Pir Hassan Kabirdin) (Variance)
- Pascham desh thi prabhu padhariya (Pir Sadardin)
- Ad to alakh agiya ramiyo (Pir Sadardin)
- Hove hove sacha paye chalo to vira par poncho (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Du'a Ghar pat utarvani/choravani...
- Jago rukhisar ma sumiyo (Pir Sadardin)
- Senter dip me shah jaher betha (Pir Sadardin)
- Ad unrad satgur sirajiya (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Sami rajo ave, jangi dhol vajave (Pir Sadardin)
- Je je mangun te tunhi deve (Pir Sadardin)
- Dharmi te je dharam vichare (Sayyid Imam Shah)
- Purakh nari no kahun vichar (Pir Hassan Kabirdin) (NP)
- Sami rajo more man thi na visare (Pir Sadardin)
- Ash puni ham shah dar paya (Pir Hassan Shah)
- Srevo srevo moman Ali (Pir Sadardin) (Variance)
- Pehlun pehlun nam khudaji ko lijiye (Pir Sahebodin)
- Pandit te je kisiki ghar na jata (Pir Sadardin)
- Date and authors' name
- Bar gori no saman (Medical recipies)
- Hardam Pir Shah no jamp jampta rahiye (Sayyida Imam Begum)
- Hardam dhariye dhiyan (Sayyida Imam Begum)
- List of some 20 Ginans. Was that supposed to be the Tapsilo or Table of Contents of this book?

ગીનાન પીર હસન કમીરદીન નુ

PURAKH NARI NO KAROUN WITCHAR (by Fir Hassan Kabirdin)

૧. જીરેભાઈ પુરખ નારી નેા કહું વીચાર,
તે તમે સાચુ કરી જાણે।
૨. જીરેભાઈ પરપુરખને નારી બંધવ કરી જાણે,
નણી નેા ધણું માસે ઘલાક
૩. જીરેભાઈ નારી ઘઈ પરખ પુરખનું રમે,
તે નારી ઘેાએ ઘણું ખુવાર
૪. જીરેભાઈ લેાડાનેા પુરખ નારી પાએસે વરણાવશે,
તે નારી તીખાં ધણુ ઘેાએ ઘલાક
૫. જીરેભાઈ સંતર સોઘસો હુએની રયાં તોભા કરશે,
તે નારીને તોભા છોડાવે
૬. જીરેભાઈ તે નારી રયાં છુટે,
નણિતો રેજ કમાપતદીન ઘેાએ ઘલાક
૭. જીરેભાઈ એએા ગીનાન પીર ભણાવે હસન કમીરદીન,
એ ધરવે સાચુ કરી જાણે।

Section 5

GINANIC HERITAGE PRESERVED IN OTHER SECTS

THE ATHLAS: A FORGOTTEN BRANCH OF ISMAILISM AND THEIR RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Al-Waez Salim Mussa

It is my great privilege and honour to stand before this very learned audience and discuss one of my experiences and small findings regarding the work of the great Ismaili Pirs in the subcontinent of India and Pakistan. I am quite aware that the subject of today's Conference is Khojki Heritage and therefore my small paper will probably not contribute and justify the topic of the Khojki script, but indirectly we will come to understand and realize that at the time when Khojki script was flowering in that particular part of India, there were some very acute and severe problems that Ismaili Pirs were facing, which were in turn connected with communication, central organization, and administration of the conversion occurring during those days.

Ten years ago, I went to St. Thomas (Ontario) on a business trip, when I came across a Patel family through one of my Ismaili colleagues. Through my friend, who was a neighbour of this family, the following story was related. This family has possession of some religious literature which is similar to our Ginans, and in some of this literature, the name of Pir Sadardin and other Pirs has also been mentioned. It seems that they practice and believe in some of our religious teachings. I became curious to find out more and research into that family and so my friend arranged a meeting one evening at Mr. Patel's house. After a long and interesting discussion which allowed us to exchange many facts and ideas, I came to the following conclusion about that small sect:

During the time when the spreading of the Ismaili Tariqah was in full force in the subcontinent of India and Pakistan, a group of Hindus of Patel origin were going on a journey. During their travels they met a Muslim saint who enquired of this group's destination. He found out that they were going to Kashi for a pilgrimage. The saint asked what they were going to do there, and through their reply found out that their intention was to plunge into the Holy Ganges river to cleanse themselves of their sins. The saint inquired "How about if I bring the river Ganges here for your particular purpose?" Most of the people from the group thought that this idea was both mischievous and ridiculous. But concluded out of curiosity that they would see what he could do. And through the instruction of the great saint, they closed their eyes. From the entire group only eight people realized and experienced the purifying bath in the Ganges. The rest of the group left thinking that the saint was mocking their journey and their intentions.

The eight believers stayed behind and followed the saint and ultimately were shown the path which was described as Sat Panth (True Path or Sirat al-Mustaqim). The saint stayed with them for about five to six months showing and teaching them the principles of this path. It is said that eventually he left them and never returned.

These eight loyal believers held onto the teachings and literature of the saint. They kept on practising and following the ceremonies, rites and rituals shown to them by their Guru. The name of the said saint was Sayyid Badardin. The descendants of these eight are known as Athias, and their faith as Athia Sat Panth (Ath in Gujarati means eight).

They are known to be "Gupti" (secretive) and also do not let their literature flow openly in others' hands. They never print their Ginans but only write them by hand in Gujarati. While going through their literature, it can be concluded that there exists a great deal of similar Ginans with Indian Ismailis. However, there are some differences due to errors & mixture of various writers. In my research of Sayyid Badardin, it seems evident that according to the history of Ismaili Pirs, Pir Sadardin had six brothers:

- Sayyid Ruknudin
- Sayyid Badardin
- Sayyid Shamshudin (Sani)
- Sayyid Nassirudin
- Sayyid Gyasudin
- Sayyid Nassirudin Qalandar Shah

Also, the grandson of Sayyid Imam Shah (son of Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah) was named Sayyid Badardin. At first, it seems that either the brother of Pir Sadardin or the grandson of Sayyid Imam Shah has performed the conversion of these Athia Sat Panth people (though there still exists more room for research). However, in their Ginans, many names of Pirs and Sayyids have been mentioned and there may be some interchange of other converts such as with the Imam Shahi Panth.

While the Athias recite some Ginans of Sayyid Imam Shah, it is doubtful that the Sayyid mentioned in their Ginans is the grandson of Sayyid Imam Shah. Indeed, according to internal evidence from the Ginans themselves, we are probably talking of the brother of Pir Sadardin. Most of the Ginans written by Sayyid Badardin end with the following sentence: "Bhane Pir Sadardin, kahet Badardin" meaning that these are the teachings of Pir Sadardin as reported by Badardin.

It is also interesting to point out that while the name of Sadardin is preceded by the honorific designation of "Pir," Badardin himself did not assume any title, showing thereby his utmost humility. A characteristic of the Ginans shown in Appendix 1 and 2 from Athia manuscripts of the 18th century is also the absence of any trace in the beginning of the verses of words such as "Eji" or "Jirebhai" etc. as in the Imam Shahis or Ismaili Ginans. The variety of Ginans by a variety of Pirs is also to be noticed. The Athias recite Ginans by other Pirs such as Pir Shams. The rags of the Ginans have been lost by the Athias and the rag they are using is the standard Kathas rag, while for the Ginans which they have in common with Ismailis, the Ismailis have retained the particular rag of those Ginans. The manuscripts I have seen are written in Gujarati. When did the Athias switch from Khojki to Gujarati? Or did they never use Khojki?

Whatever the case, it can already be identified that the said work of conversions done by the members of this family of Ismaili Pirs involves their beliefs in Ali as the tenth Incarnation. In their Ginans and other literature, there are also many references about Panj Tan Pak, Das Avatar and the Imams living in Iran. Their house of prayer is known as Dev Sthan (House of God) and according to their estimates, they are presently 5000 to 6000 in number, mainly inhabiting Gujarat near Ahmedabad and Navsari. As well, many members of the Athia Sat Panth have migrated to the U.K., the United States, Canada and also to the Fiji Islands. But to this present day, the bulk of them still live in India.

Appendix 1 and 2 give examples of their religious literature. As can be seen, our Pirs' names are distinctly mentioned in some of the verses.

In the future, I hope to acquire more literature from this group as I have established a good and intimate friendship with the Patel family, and in doing so, I hope to perhaps bring forth some valuable knowledge on unknown works of our Pirs which have unfortunately been lost through generations as I hope that this work of our Pirs will also be of much benefit not only to our people, but will serve as research material for our scholars.

મુરખ લોકે મરમ જાણે નહીં,

રથનાર સયદ મદરદીન

મુરખ લોકે મરમ જાણે નહીં,
અને પરમસુ માટે પીગાઈ,
આ સતમુરના કંઈયા જે નહીં કરે,
તે તો નીચે દોજા જાય.....[૧]

જે આપ મોરોદાને આપ થાપી,
અને મુરખના વીચારે વેદ,
જે માંદો માંદે ગણા કરે,
તે ક્રિએ સતપંથના નાં જાણી બેઠ.....[૨]

ભાઈ વર વેળા આવી દુકડી,
તેમા મુજબ પડ્યો રે ભાગ,
અથર વેદ માં એમ જાખીયા,
મુનીવરો તમે દેજો બોમનારે દાગ.....[૩]

બોમ દાગ દીધે બચી પામીએ,
આપણો સાલેમ થાએ ખુશીઆર,
તેના એકોતેરસો સરગ સીપારસે,
તે તો નીત નીત કરશે સાલેમ ના દીદાર...[૪]

અથરવેદ કહે તમે સુણો મુનીવરો,
જેમ ખરે ઉનારે વરસેરે મેઘ,
તેમ આગના દાગ દીજે દુખ ઉપજે,
તે ના મુખ કાળા ને નાગી ધોયેરે દેઘ.....[૫]

તારી દેવ સજા મહીને મેસશે,
અને કાળા મુખ વારા રહેશે દુર,
અથર વેદનો વાએક ચાલશે,
તે તો સાલેમ ને ઇશ્વર.....[૬]

સતગુરના ફરમાવીઆ જે નહી કરે,
 અને દુનીયાસુ લાવેરે તેણ,
 તેને ધાંચ પશંતા ધાડા ઉમટસે,
 અને તેની લીલવરણી ધણે દેણ.....[૭]

આ સતગુર ના કહીઆ કીજીએ,
 તો પામીએ મુગત દીદાર,
 તે વેલા આવી ટુકડી,
 તેના વલણ નહીરે લગાર.....[૮]

નબીની બારમી સદી નો કોલ છે,
 જે મુનીવરના કઠણ ધાસેરે મન,
 તે સાચાને જુઠ બોલાવશે,
 એમ કરી જોદશેરે પન.....[૯]

જાઉં સાચા મુનીવર કેસે તે સત રાખજે,
 અને જુઠા ધણેરે દુર,
 જે અધર વેદ ને વાળેકી ચાલસે,
 તે તો રહેસે સાહેબને ઘજુર.....[૧૦]

મણે સદરદીન કહેત બદરદીન તમે સુણો મુનીવરો,
 અને જેત પરીતે મલજો આજ,
 જે આંધી મન મની દાન કેશો,
 તો તીઆ અરસે તમારા રે કાજ.....[૧૧]

એલમ અલાનુ એ ભેળીયા

રચનાર પીર શમશ

એલમ અલાનુ એ ભેળીયા,
અને તમે મુનીવર કરોને વીચાર,
પીર શમશ કહે તમે ઝાંખળી,
કાણી જુલો તે વારોવાર..... [૧]

એ ગીનાન ભણે સુણે ને પાળે નથી,
અને તે તો મુરખ અબુલ,
તેને પાપ પેલાફરી વણે,
પછે તેને ના પડે ધરમની સુલ..... [૨]

તેને કાન સઘી પગ ભેરીયા,
અને સુરતાવાણેરે જોય,
આવા ગેનાન ભણે સુણે ને પારે નથી,
પછે ભણી કેમ પામરે તે..... [૩]

તેને આંખ સઘી પણ આંખળી,
અને ગત બાંધે મલેછેરે નીત,
પણ ઇશ જુગ માયા છે મીઠડી,
ભાઈ ઉશ્કળી ફરીઆરે એન..... [૪]

ભાઈ દીઠા સુણાને ઝાંખળી,
અને પીર શમશ કહેરે વીચાર,
જે કો જાણે બુલકર જુલડા,
તે તો દોલકાને દરબાર..... [૫]

આવા ગીનાન ભણે સુણે ને પાળે નથી,
અને કપટીના મુકી રે કુડ,
તે તો જાણે બુલકર દોલગ ગયા,
તું તો ફેરે અબુલ..... [૬]

બાઈ માનખા જનમ તો પામીયા,
 અને કોઈ આમલના લોપારે સાથ,
 આવતા સુ આવો મંદા ઘરખમા,
 પણ જાતા દોઢેલોરે વાટ.....[૭]

બાઈ વાટ વકટ પંથ દુર ઘય,
 પરાણી ના પાઈએ પાર,
 જ્યે સાત ના રાખું રે દીલમા,
 તે ની મનખા દેણી રે ખુવાર.....[૮]

આવો મનખા દેણી જનમ પરી,
 તે જુલો તે વારો વાર,
 આવો ગનાન બજે ને પાળે નણી,
 તેના ધીક જવવારે સંસાર.....[૯]

ગેનાન શોધે સુમ પાઈએ,
 અને તમે જુલોના પડશોરે કોઈ,
 પીર શમશ કષ્ટે તમે સંભળો,
 તમારા દીલ માટે વીચારોને જોખો.....[૧૦]

ગીનાન વીચારો મારા મુનીવરો,
 અને વરો રહે વીચારોને જોખે,
 સતી જીવતે પાર ઉતરી ગયા,
 બાઈ કપટી ના તરીખારે કોખે.....[૧૧]

બાઈ સાચુ ચાલેથી છુટશો,
 એમ બોલો શમશ પીર.....[૧૨]

પીર શમશ ગીનાન બોલેખા,
 તમે સુણો મુનીવર સાર,
 જ્યે માના તે જોસી પુખા,
 બીજા દોજગ કેરે દરમાર.....[૧૩]

A SAMPLE SURVEY OF CURRENTLY AVAILABLE LITERATURE OF PIRAANA PA(N)THIS

Salim K. Juma

The Piraana pa(n)this, also known as Sat pa(n)this or Imamshahis separated from the mainstream Nizari Ismaili dawa in India sometime in the Sixteenth century. According to the Piraana pa(n)thi sources [1] the split occurred during the lifetime of Sayyed Imam Shah. Whereas, the Nizari Ismaili sources [2] tend to suggest that the split occurred soon after the death of Sayyed Imam Shah in 1513 A.D. and was initiated by his son Sayyed Nur Mohammed Shah. However, there exists a body of opinion within the Nizari Ismaili community, that the split was not an abrupt event, rather a process of secession that was initiated by Sayyed Nur Mohammed Shah or his descendants and took several decades before the Piraana pa(n)this evolved as a separate and distinct community. Today, this community claims over two hundred thousand believers, mostly in the state of Gujarat. The community's headquarters is at Piraana (Girmatha), some ten miles from Ahmedabad. Other main centers are at Burhanpur and Faizpur.

There are three main reasons for studying the published literature of this sect:

- (1) They share the Ginanic literature of Nizari Ismailis and in the last three decades have published several Granths and Ginans. It is interesting to see how their versions differ from the ones generally accepted by the Nizari Ismailis.
- (2) As a result of the split and the events that followed it is possible that not all of Imam Shahs works were preserved by the Nizari Ismailis and therefore, there is always a possibility of discovering a genuine work that may have been overlooked.
- (3) The Piraana pa(n)this started printing and publishing Ginans much later than the Nizari Ismailis, thus the preservation and copying of old manuscripts continued within the sect until about three decades ago. Therefore it may still be possible to find some old manuscripts or their copies.

The main objective of this paper is to list and classify all the published literature of Piraana pa(n)this that is currently available and to present a survey of representative specimens.

All of the literature selected for this study is readily available from the sect and has been published or reprinted (with revisions) within the last twenty years.

Ivanow, who was the first (and the only) western scholar to write about the literature of this sect observed; "They (Ginans) are the center around which the religious life of the

sect revolves." [3]

Thus, it is not surprising that at various times one or the other factions within the sect would have tried to gain control over the literature. This would explain the various "revisions" and the total "unavailability" of prior editions. At the present time a sort of status quo exists between the descendants of the original Sayyeds and the local community leaders (the Mukhis and the Kaakaas). While the former have control over the literature and the shrines, the latter control the followers and administer the finances.

The presently available literature from Piraana pa(n)thi consists of twenty nine books. These can be divided into at least two categories;

- (A) Books containing Granths or collection of Ginans.
(see Exhibit I)
- (B) Books containing essentially non Ginanic literature. (see Exhibit II) This category can be further sub divided into two groups;
 - (i) Books that deal with rites, rituals, history, theology and other material dealing with the tenets of faith. These books may also contain Ginans or parts of Ginans to complement the text.
 - (ii) Books that contain works of very recent origin, usually devotional in character, containing poetry or discourse on the life of Sayyed Imam Shah or other prominent figures.

As a sample survey we shall examine two volumes, one from each category. It is not intended to do a through study of these works, rather to present the contents and raise some typical issues. The volumes selected are BUDDH AVAT'AAR from the Ginanic category and AGNA PAT'RA from the non Ginanic category.

SHRI BUDDHA AVAT'AAR

This work is attributed to Sayyed Imam Shah and is published in a hard cover volume of 166 pages. The main text occupies 140 pages, with the rest being preface and supplementary articles. The beginning of the main text is curiously titled as MOTO BUDDHA AVAT'AAR, Part One (MOTO meaning larger or extended version). The work consists of 1030 verses of two lines each (couplets). See Exhibit III.

In the Ginanic collection of Nizari Ismailis there are at least three versions of BUDDH AVAT'AAR. Two of these form parts of DAS AVAT'AARS; the NANO DAS AVAT'AAR of Pir Sadardin and the MOTO DAS AVAT'AAR of Sayyed Imam Shah. The third is a separate work attributed to Pir Sadardin. Since the BUDDH portion of the NANO DAS AVAT'AAR amounts to only about a single page of text and its style of

composition is entirely different from the other two works, we shall not consider it any further for comparison. The other two versions are similar in style and format.

The Piraana pa(n)thi version of Sayyed Imam Shahs BUDDH AVAT'AAR, although similar in style and format, surprisingly does not match directly with either of the two versions recognised by the Nizari Ismailis. The first point of departure is the size. The former contains 1030 verses while Pir sadardin's contains 522 verses and Sayyed Imam Shahs (from DAS AVAT'AAR) has 260 verses. A closer examination reveals that the Piraana pa(n)thi version contains some of the verses from both of the other works. An comparison of the first fifteen verses is shown in Exhibit IV. From this comparison it can be seen that while some verses are common, there are other verses which are not found in either of the Nizari Ismaili versions.

This raises a number of important questions regarding the ultimate origin and the authorship of these works. No answers are available at present time. However, it is hoped that it will perhaps stimulate further research in this direction.

(1) Is the composition of BUDDH AVAT'AAR attributed to Pir Sadardin a distinct and separate work ? The style seems to bear a remarkable resemblance to the Imam Shahs version. It would be interesting to make a comparative linguistics study to see if the language of the work attributed to Pir Sadardin resembles his other works. Furthermore Pir Sadardin would have composed his work at least a hundred years before Sayyed Imam Shah started writing his, hence it would probably contain some archaic words and phrases. Also Pir Sadardin composed in many more dialects than Sayyed Imam Shah hence one could expect the formers work to be linguistically less homogeneous.

(2) Initially, one would be tempted to suggest that the Piraana pa(n)thi version is merely a combination of the other two. However if we add up the verses it leaves us short of some 250 odd! Who wrote these additional verses ? It seems highly unlikely that it could be a recent addition as it would require an exceptional amount of skill and knowledge to add that many verses, in the same style and format to an already voluminous work. Furthermore judging by the quality of some of the works of the later day Sayyeds, this seems highly improbable. Could it be that Sayyed Imam Shah at some later stage wrote a MOTO BUDDH AVAT'AAR ? or could it be that his son Sayyed Nur Mohammed Shah expanded on his fathers work ?.

AGNA PAT'RA

This hard cover volume contains 111 pages and is subtitled "Shikhaamann" or admonitions. This volume was compiled by Sayyed Ahmadali who is supposedly a thirteenth generation grandson of Sayyed Imam Shah. No date of compilation is given. The present revised edition was published in 1982. The contents of the book are shown in Exhibit V. A quick look at it will lead us to several interesting observations.

- (1) The verses of SORR KARRA (see Exhibit VI) are supposedly from NANO SATYA VACHAN. No information about the author or the total length of this work is given. It is only mentioned that it was composed in Savant 1807 (1755 A.D.). No such work exists in the Nizari Ismaili Collection.
- (2) BARR KARRA attributed to Pir Shams (see exhibit VII) also does not appear in the Nizari Ismaili collection of this Pirs' Ginans. Is this a genuine unpublished Ginan of a Nizari Ismaili Pir or just a work of some later day Piraana pa(n)thi Sayyed?
- (3) The footnote on the first page of DASHT'ARI AAL GAAYAT'RI mentions that this is the third largest of the four large Gaayat'ris. Which Gaayat'ris are this ?
- (4) Is the DHANDHUKAAR NURNAAMA (see exhibit VIII) a genuine work of Imam Shah ?

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to present a sample survey of currently available literature from Piraana pa(n)thi sect by highlighting and discussing the contents of two books. In the process it has raised several questions to which no answers are available at the current time. It will take more research by way of through study of relevant Nizari Ismaili and Piraana pa(n)thi works to satisfactorily answer these questions.

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- 3 Ivanow W., **The sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat**. The Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. 1936, p68.

EXHIBIT 1

GINANIC VOLUMES PUBLISHED BY PIRAANA PA(N)THIS

- 1 SAT'PA(N)TH PRAKAASH ARTHAATU**
(Moto DAS AVAT'AAR and other compositions)
- 2 BAI BUDHAI SAT'PA(N)TH BODHINI**
(BAI BUDHAI NO SAVAD)
- 3 YOG VAANNI**
(53 Ginans)
- 4 CHET'AAMANNI**
(MOMAN CHET'AAMANNI)
- 5 CHIT'VARNNI**
(MOMAN CHIT'VARNNI)
- 6 SHRI BUDDHA AVAT'AARA**
- 7 AMRUT' VAANNI**
(SLOKO NAANO and 24 other Ginans)
- 8 SHIKSHAPAT'RI**
(SO KRIYA)
- 9 MOTI SAT'YA VENNI**
(SATVENNI MOTI)
- 10 MANHAR GNAN**

EXHIBIT II

NON GINANIC VOLUMES PUBLISHED BY PIRAANA PA(N)THIS

CATEGORY "A"

- 1 YAGNA VIDHI
- 2 AGNA PAT'RA
- 3 KARMA PRAYOG
- 4 SAT'PA(N)THIO NU KARMA
- 5 KALIT'AARK MA(N)T'RA
- 6 MAHOR NA PAANA
- 7 HARI VA(N)SH NU SUDDH DASHYA

CATEGORY "B"

- 1 BHABHARAAM SUBODH
- 2 NAAYAA KAKAA NO PREMPAATHI
- 3 MRUGODHDAR
- 4 MOKSHADHDAR
- 5 SAT'YA NU SHODHAN
- 6 BHAKAT' NI SHODH
- 7 IMAM SHAH BAAWA NA PARCHA
- 8 OSHAANNI
- 9 SA(N)T' VAANNI
- 10 NAARAN RAMJI NO PRT'IDHVANI
- 11 NISHKALA(N)KI NARAAYAN NI BAARR
- 12 AJA(M)PA JAAP RATA(N) MAARRA

EXHIBIT III



નવમો મોટો

શ્રી બુદ્ધા અવતાર.

સ્વામીજી, બિસ્મિલ્લાહ હિરેદ્વામાં નિર્દેહીમ.

જ્યારે નવમો અવતાર શ્રીહરિએ લીધો સહી,
ત્યારે બુદ્ધા રૂપે દારસી કહી. ૧
તહાં બુદ્ધા રૂપે દારસી બોલ્યા છે મીર,
તેને કાથે શીંગી બરછી તરવાર ને તીર. ૨
મરેણ કેશ પાગ બાંધી શિસે સધીર,
પગે સેત સુરવાળ પહેરી છે મીર. ૩
નવમે રૂપે હરિ બુદ્ધા અવતાર,
મુગલાઈ રૂપે લીધું મુરાર. ૪

સુખ ચ'ચા પગ ચ'કા જલ્યુ.
 પગે ખાસ ખુસ પેદરી દીરાન. ૫
 છરી કટારી ખાંધી નરનાર ને તીર,
 કમાન ખાંધે ચાલી છે તીર. ૬
 ગલત્ર કોઈ શરીરે ચહે,
 તેની પાસે કોઈ ઉભું નવ રહે. ૭
 દ્રઢ ગંધ ગંધાએ શરીર,
 એસે રૂપ લીધો શીલએ મુધીર. ૮
 શ્રી મુખે પારસી હરિ ત્યાં કહે,
 ને પાસે કોઈ ઉભું નવ રહે. ૯
 ચિદ્રૂ રૂપ લીધું જડુ રાએ,
 શીલ તે પાણવ દારે જાએ. ૧૦
 જ્યારે ચિદ્રૂ રૂપ હરિનું દેખાએ,
 ત્યારે પાણવ દારે ઉભા છે રાએ. ૧૧
 ત્યાં પાણવ યજ્ઞ હોમજ કહે,

શ્રી કૃષ્ણ અવતાર મોટો

અને બેડા બ્રાહ્મણુ વેદ બોલે, ૧૨
 જાન્યો કલિયુગ ને કાપર મથો,
 સર્વ દેવ જાપિ ગુપ્ત હોઈ રહ્યો. ૧૩
 કલિયુગ માંહે બહુ પાપ કહેવાયે,
 દેવ જાપિવે એથી છોડ્યા હાએ. ૧૪
 ત્યારે યુધિષ્ઠિર ક્યો વિચાર,
 પૂજો બ્રાહ્મણુને વેદનો સાર. ૧૫
 મુગો બ્રાહ્મણો યુધિષ્ઠિર જો કહે,
 કૌરવનું પાપ અમ શિર કેમ રહે? ૧૬
 કોણી અદારની હોઈ છે વાત,
 નેનો તમ શિર ચડિયું છે પાપ. ૧૭
 મુગેરે બ્રાહ્મણુ પુત્રું છું બેદ,
 એ પાપલગ્નો કેશો હોએ નિષેધ. ૧૮

૧ અહીં બ્રાહ્મણુએ, કૌરવ હત્યાનું પાપ ઉતરાવવાનું
 કહેલું. ૨ બ્રાહ્મણુવાચ

EXHIBIT IV

A COMPARISON OF THE FIRST FIFTEEN VERSES OF PIRAANA PA(N)THIS VERSION OF BUDDHA AVAT'AAR WITH OTHER VERSIONS

BUDDHA AVAT'AAR PIRAANA PA(N)THIS VERSION [1030 VERSES]	BUDDHA AVAT'AAR PIR SADDARDIN VERSION [522 VERSES]	DAS AVAT'AAR SAYYED IMAM SHAH VERSION [260 VERSES]
1	*****	2
2	*****	3
3	XXXXX	XXXXX
4	1	*****
5	2	4
6	3	*****
7	4	*****
8	5	*****
9	*****	5
10	6	*****
11	*****	6
12	7	18
13	8	*****
14	9	*****
15	10	*****

EXHIBIT V

CONTENTS OF AGNA PAT'RA

- 1 PREFACE
- 2 10 Pages of salutations to Avat'aars.
- 3 SORR KARRA
Verses 66 to 92 of Naano SAT'YA VACHAN composed in Savant 1807
[1755 A.D.]. Authors name is not given.
- 4 BARR KARRA by Pir Shams (29 verses)
- 5 SO KRIYA
- 6 SA(N)DHYA NO MA(N)T'RA (DUA) (3 pages)
- 7 FIVE SMALL GAAYAT'RIS
- 8 SEVERAL MA(N)T'RAS
- 9 DASHT'ARI AAL GAAYAT'RI (26 pages)
- 10 ALI NI ARJI (120 lines)
An anonymous work in praise of Hazrat Ali.
- 11 DHA(N)DHUKAARI NURNAAMA (28 verses)
attributed to Sayyed Imam Shah.
- 12 Advise on rituals to be followed on the sighting of BEEJ moon.
- 13 Miscellaneous articles and photographs.

EXHIBIT VI

સત્યપંથી આજ્ઞાપત્ર

શ્રી સદ્ગોરની શિખામણુ



સંવત ૧૮૦૭ ની સાલમાં લખેલ તાના સત્ય
વચન માંહેની નરની

સોળ કળા

ચેહી સદ્ગોર ફુલનાં હોઈ,	
જાતને ત પાયા તીન્ને સર્વે ખોઈ.	૬૬
જે મુરેતુર ચલકર આયા,	
ત્રા'પુદ્ધિપમે છોડી માયા.	૬૭

મુઘા મારગ સતીએ જોઈ.	
એસા ટાણાં દુલ્લ ન કોઈ.	૧૮
વેદ શાસ્ત્રમાં લેજો જોઈ,	
અખૂદો દિપકડી હૂઈ દેસનાઈ.	૧૯
સતી જીવને સત શું જોઈ,	
મુખે અભાગી કરમ શું ખોઈ.	૨૦
આસ અલીડી અમર જીનો,	
છેલો ટાણાં તમે દેખ પીછાણો.	૨૧
અખ મત ભૂલો મેર ભાઈ,	
આગે દુનિયા તમે દેખો હરાઈ.	૨૨
સત્વચનમાં સત્ય જો ભાંખા,	
જો કુચ્છ થા સો ખોલ કર દાખા.	૨૩
જો કોઈ જુઝમાં શાહ કેહલાવે,	
સો તો સત્ય વચન પદાવે.	૨૪
શાહ કેહલાવે સો નર પૂરા હોઈ,	
સોળ કળા શું લેજો જોઈ.	૨૫

અગિયાર મુકામ સેહસ્ર દ્વિપમે કાચે,	
બારમાં મુકામ જામુદ્વિપમે કાચે.	૭૬
દોંકા નહિ તમે પ્રગટ જાણો,	
સોળ કળા શું તમે દેખ પીછાણો.	૭૭
કહો તો પહકર કહું જ્ઞાના,	
તુમકા બતાયા બિસ્તકા કામા.	૭૮
સત્ય વચન ઇન્કિ ધરિયા નામા,	
ભાગે નર મહમ્મદશાહ આખર ધામા.	૭૯
૧ પહંલી કળા નિર્મળ હોઈ,	
૨ દુષ્ટ તેજ ન સોપે કોઈ.	૮૦
૩ ત્રીજી દેહમાં સોંધા ન આવે,	
૪ ચોથી શરીરે થાન ન પાવે.	૮૧
૫ પાંચમી અનેક અગમ રૂપ દિખાવે,	
૬ છઠ્ઠી અગમકી બાત સુતાવે.	૮૨
૭ સાતમી ન્યણે પુતળી નવ દેખો,	
નિંદ નહિ તીસે પલક નવ પેખો.	૮૩
૮ આઠમી પાંઉ પદમ જો હોઈ,	
૯ નવમી સેત પરસેવા નાહી.	૮૪

- | | |
|---|----|
| ૧૦ દશમી બોમીએ ચગસાં ન પાડે,
હીણા ખીણા એક કરી બેઠે. | ૮૫ |
| ૧૧ અગિયારમી લગ્નન કામે પાસા,
ખિરેહાં કંદરી નહિ તીસ બાસા. | ૮૬ |
| ૧૨ બારમી બળવંત અપરમ્ પારા હોઈ,
દેવ દાણવ નવ લોપે કોઈ. | ૮૭ |
| ૧૩ તેરમી ત્રણ ગુણાતિતજ હોઈ,
શક્તિ રૂપ તમે લેજો બેઈ. | ૮૮ |
| ૧૪ ચૌદમી ચૌદ ઇન્દ્રિય બતાવે,
જળ ઉપરે તખ વેદ પદાવે. | ૮૯ |
| ૧૫ પંદરમી પખ પૂરા હોઈ,
ચઢતી ઉતરતી કળા લેજો બેઈ. | |
| ૧૬ સોળમી કળા જે સરજન હારા,
જીવ પિંડકારે નિસ્તારા. | ૯૧ |
| સોળ કળા શુ' પુરા હોઈ,
સાચા વિશ્વ બીજો સોહી. | ૯૨ |

સંપૂર્ણ

EXHIBIT VII

શ્રી સદ્ગોર બ્રહ્મા પીર શમ્ભસની વાચા

ગોરની બાર કળા.

કર્માનંદ બિસ્મિલ્લા હિરેહમાં નિર્હીમ

પહેલા શરી જન હાર વખાણો,
આદે અંતક બેદ જે જાણો. ૧

ફગે દયા ધરમ જે ધરના,
હેત લે સંધળા શાહો પર ધરના. ૨

જે શાંદં ત્રેદા વદ ખોલે,
સાચા મુનિવર ઉસ્ક ખોલે. ૩

જન્મે પાયા લાહ પૂરા માટી,
ઉતરી ગયા શો વસમી ઘાટી. ૪

પ્રથમ સ્વામિએ નૂર નિપાયા,
ઉસ્ક એકલી બ્રહ્મ બનાયા. ૫

અલ્પ બનાકર બેઠ જો દીના,
 વેઠે અજવાળા ઉસ્કા ડીના, ૧
 અતિ પવિત્ર વોલ પૂરા કહાવે,
 જુગ તારણ વોહી આવે, ૭
 આદ જુગોજુગ અલ્પ પ્રકાશ,
 સખ ભવનથી પૂરે આશા, ૮

વોહી તૂર નથી કહેલાયા,
 જા'યુ દિપમાં દિર દિર આયા, ૯
 પંજળ પ્રકાશી ગુજરે ખડ જાવે,
 સાચા અલ્પ સોહી કહાવે, ૧૦

અલ્પે અલ્પ કળા પ્રારે,
 અન્નંત કરોડી સોહી નર તારે, ૧૧

છેલ્લે ટાંખે કહિયે ખાતાં,
 સચ કરી માનો મુનિવર ધાતાં, ૧૨

જુગ જુગાંતર રૂપ રૂપાંતર,
 તિસ્થિ મુનિવર મત રાખો અંતર, ૧૩

ગોર રૂપ જો પ્રગટ હોવે,
 બાર કળા શુ સખ નેનું એવે, ૧૪

કળા નાંહી વાંઠ ગોર કચેશા,	
માખળ નાંહી નો છાછી જયેશા.	૧૫
પહેલી કળા તે નિર્મળ હોઈ.	
જયેશા સૂર્ય તમે સેજે જોઈ.	૧૬
ફળ નેજનાં લોપે કોઈ,	
સાચા જલ્લા તમે સેજે સોઈ.	૧૭
ત્રીજા અનેક અગમ રૂપ દિખાવે,	
સખ જીવંકા સંકે નિટાવે.	૧૮
ચોથી અનેક અગમ રૂપ દિખાવે.	
શાલો પ્રગટ નેનું દિખાવે.	૧૯
પાંચમી પાંડિ પદમ એ હોઈ,	
મૃતક જીવતા કરેનર સોઈ.	૨૦
છઠ્ઠી સેત પરશેવો નાંહી,	
સત્ય સખરી અતિ મન માંહી.	૨૧
સાતમી નીંદ પસંદ જ નાં હોવે,	
હિણા ખિણા એક કરી જોવે.	૨૨
આઠમી જુમીએ પગલાં નાં હોઈ,	
આવત જાવત નવ જાણે કોઈ.	૨૩

નવમી વણુ ગુણાતિત ૪ હોઈ,
 ન્યાયે નિર્મળા નુર ૪ જોઈએ ૨૪
 દશમી દશ ભોવન મુખમાં બતાવે,
 ૪૫ ઉપજે તળ વેદ પદાવે. ૨૫
 અગીયારમી અતી બળ હોઈ,
 દેવ દાનવ નવ લોપે કોઈ. ૨૬
 બારમી કળા સબકી પૂરે આશા,
 બિલે ઇન્દ્રી નહિ તિશ બાશા, ૨૭
 ઇત્તી કળા છન્દમાંહી લગણી,
 સોઈ બ્રહ્મા તમે દેખ પીછાણી. ૨૮
 બણે પીર શમ્ભસ તમે સુગો ગાતા,
 ધરો મુનિવર ઉરેકા ક્યાતા, ૨૯

સંપૂર્ણ

EXHIBIT VIII

ધંધુકારી નુરનામું

કે રૂમાનજી, બિશમલાહુ હિરે'દમાં નિરંદીમ.

પરથમ આદ્ય નિરંજન ધંધુકાર, આપસમાં
હુતા એકજ સત્તાર. ૧. આપસમાંથી નુર નિપાયા,
વાળી ખાસ દોસ કેહેલાયા ૨. ઉસથી સારી
સૃષ્ટિ નિપાઈ, દેખો તમે ખાલિકકી બદાઈ. ૩.
'હો' કેહતે મેં સબ હો ગયા, 'નાં હો' કેહતે
મેં કુચ્છ ના રહ્યા. ૪. અનંત અપારી આદમ
હોએ, સબથી નુર પ્રગટ જોએ. ૫. છુસ્કા દીન

૭૮

અમ્મર, ધડિયા, જાન પુજકર મહાલત
 પ ડિયા ૧, બંદગી કારણ સરજયો સંસાર, જાન
 પુજકર ભૂધ્યા ગમાર. ૭. ઉસ નુરબાજ દુભ
 નુર બખાનો, સો નરક પડે તમે પીછાણો. ૮.
 નુરે નુર ચલા સખ આવે, જે કછુ કુદે શાહ
 જે પાવે. ૯. દિવે દિવા ફેશાન હોએ, સો જાણે
 જયરલા કોએ. ૧૦. દિવામાં જે દિવા સાર, સો
 દિવો તો નિરાકાર. ૧૧. ઉસનુર થકી અલી મુ-
 તુજા ફેશાન હોએ, એ નુરે નરઅલી મહમ્મદ-
 શાહ જોએ. ૧૨. દીને મુસ્તુફા: મુતુજા અલીથી
 પીર હમામ, જન્મુ જાણે ખલક તમામ. ૧૩. તે-
 ચખ કલમા કહે તે હમામ, સો પાવે દીનમાં
 હામ. ૧૪. દીનમાં કુદે ચલે જાવે, નુરકુ પીછાણે તો
 શાહ પાવે. ૧૫. દુનિયા દૂર તખ નુરકો પાવે, ફનિ યાસે
 તો મનખો ગુમાવે. ૧૬. ચલે સો તો ભિસ્તમે જાવે,
 જે નુરનામા ઉપર કાન લગાવે. ૧૭. નુરનામે મેં એસા
 જાંખા, જે કુચ્છ થારો ખોલ કર દાખા. ૧૮. નુર
 મહમ્મદકા કરો બખાના, પેદાશ ઉસ્કીદેખ પીછાના
 ૧૯ ખાલિક આંખો એક સુખાના, નુરનામા પહે પીર
 હમામા. ૨૦ તે પીરકુ પાવે ભિસ્તમે જાવે, જે ગોર

નરકું એક કરી ધાવે, ૨૧ અલી મહમ્મદશાહ એક
 મુભાન, નખી સાહેબ જાણે પીર ઇમામ. ૨૨. નુરનામે
 મેં એસા સુનાયા, મુનિવરકું નુર ખોલ દિખાયા. ૨૩
 નુરનામા પડે મુણે એક ઇમાન, સો પાવે જીવનતમાં
 ડામ. ૨૪ આખો ખલક નુર મુભાના, નુરી તખત
 નિરંજન ડામ. ૨૫ આઘ વિષ્ણુ નારાયણ સો નર
 મહમ્મદશાહ નામ, સદ્ગોર બ્રહ્મા તે પીર ઇમામ. ૨૬
 આખર અસ્થલ આંધ્યો જોડે, જાંબુદ્વીપ કુંવારિકા
 ક્ષેત્ર તેહ. ૨૭ નુરનામા પડે પીર ઇમામ, સો મુનિવર
 ખુદાકા નામ. ૨૮ હક્ક સાએલાહા ઇલિલાહો,
 મહમ્મદુર મુલિલાહો

સંપૂર્ણ

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: Are those Pirana Panthis' books available in Toronto?

SALIM: These books are not available in Toronto, but you can get them from the Pirana Panthis, their address is printed on all these books so I can give it to you.

QUESTION BY RAI ABUALY: Anything handwritten?

SALIM: No, not in this survey that I found.

QUESTION BY RAI ABUALY: Did you go to Pirana, yourself?

SALIM: Yes, I did.

QUESTION BY RAI ABUALY: Did you go inside the Mausoleum?

SALIM: Yes, I did.

QUESTION BY RAI ABUALY: Did you see that book written by Seyyed Noormohammed the son of Seyyed Imam Shah in his own handwriting. It is a very big book, maybe 36 or 37 inches wide and about 24 to 25 inches in height. When you open it, it is about one yard and I have not calculated it but my guess is that it contains at least 1500 to 2000 pages. If anyone goes there, please try to see this book.

DR. ISMAIL: They would not show it to me, they showed me the other manuscripts from their collection but not this one.

RAI ABUALY ALIBHAI: It is extremely fragile and dusty. Mukhi Lalji Devraj, used to go there with Vally Nanji Hudda, they copied many of Imam Shah's ginans from that book, so I thought you might have gone there and tried to see it.

SALIM: Actually, I went there and I knew of the existence of this book and I asked them about it, but they said that they don't show it anymore. It is only shown once or twice a year when they celebrate Imam Shah's day and it is only shown on those days. It is no longer available to the general public.

RAI ABUALY: Still, there are many unknown works there.

Section 6

CATALOGUING OF KHOJKI MANUSCRIPTS:

SOME GUIDELINES FOR CATALOGUING KHOJKI MANUSCRIPTS

Dr Ali S. Asani
Associate Professor of Indo-Muslim culture
Harvard University

The following are some of the guidelines used to catalogue the collection of Ismaili literature in Indic languages found in the Harvard university library. The collection donated to the Library's Middle Eastern Department, consists of manuscripts, printed texts as well as lithographs in several scripts including Khojki, Gujarati and Devanagari. In 1986, the University received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a United States Federal Agency, to fund a project to catalog this unique collection. The completed project will result in a publication by the Harvard University Library entitled **"The Harvard collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages: A finding aid and Descriptive catalog"**, by Dr Ali S. Asani (forthcoming mid 1990).

The unusual religious, cultural and linguistic background of the material in the collection presents a particularly complex set of problems concerning cataloguing. There are few, if any established models or guidelines for organising and classifying multi-lingual material of this nature which also employs several different scripts. Standard cataloguing procedures are unable to describe this material adequately. Consequently, a special format for cataloguing was developed, especially for Khojki manuscripts. The format was not only freely adapted from existing models but was also specially devised to meet the needs of scholars most likely to use the collection.

What follows is a description of the various items that need to be recorded during the cataloguing of Khojki manuscripts. Slightly different criteria are used for cataloguing printed texts and lithographs.

Cataloguing information about manuscripts falls into three distinctive sections.

1. Heading:

The first line of the heading should include a signum or call number as well as place and date, if available. If information about place and date is not specifically mentioned in the manuscript but has been deduced from internal or external evidence, then it should be placed in parentheses or square brackets. The year should be in the Christian calendar; however, the Islamic Hijri or Hindu Samvat calendar should also be indicated, if used in the manuscript. The criteria used to create the signum for the manuscript should be devised to meet individual or institutional needs. For example, the signum used to designate Khojki and other Ismaili literature at Harvard is compatible with institutional systems of cataloguing.

The second line of the heading provides a title for the entire work, if applicable.

2 Description

2.1 Physical description

The following should be included as minimum.

- (a) Material on which the manuscript is written.
- (b) Total number of folios.
- (c) Pages containing significant marks.
- (d) Folio dimensions in centimetres with dimensions of writing space.
- (e) Number of lines per folio.
- (f) Remarks concerning the physical arrangement of pages.
- (g) Type of binding.
- (h) Ink.

2.2 Scribes and script

Particularly important for Khojki manuscripts, this section documents peculiarities and variants in the script. Information about the scribes and date of transcription of certain text also falls here.

2.3 Other information

Records other relevant information such as;

- (a) Condition of manuscript.
- (b) Folio citation of **tafsilo**, if relevant.
- (c) information relating to provenance: place of origin, prior ownership, etc.

3 Contents

This section endeavours to record all texts in the sequence in which they occur in the manuscript.

(a) Folio or page citation for the beginning or conclusion of a text is to the left. Notations including indications of **rag** of **ginaus** texts; use of invocatory formulae; damaged, torn or illegible folios.

(b) Towards the center of the line appears the title of the text in roman transliteration, using an appropriate system. Special attempts need to be made to take care of the many ambiguities arising in transliteration from Khojki. Normally each title is transliterated in

exactly the same way as it occurs in the text, with no attempts to correct any type of errors. For short **ginans** that lack specific titles, use the first verse as title equivalent. Next comes the incipit in transliteration with first verses of short **ginans**, already used as title-equivalents, serving as incipit as well. The original Khojki transcription is reproduced on the line immediately below the transliteration. Entries of **ginanic** texts should also include number of verses; languages used; and the **Pir** to whom authorship is attributed. The final line of each entry may be devoted to bibliographic references for the work. Usually these should be omitted for **ginans** without title.

For more information concerning cataloguing of Khojki manuscripts, readers are urged to refer to the above mentioned catalog as well as to the sample entry from the catalog that is reproduced here.

Section 7

UNPUBLISHED TEXTS:

SOME UNPUBLISHED GINANS IN PUNJABI

AJ-waez Rai Abualy Alibhai

Pir Shams lived and worked for a good portion of his life in and around Punjab. It is believed that he composed many Ginans in Punjabi. The Punjabi Ginans that have been published as part of Pir Shams collection represent only a small fraction of his works, perhaps ninety percent of his Ginans did not get published. There could have been a number of reasons for this deficiency. It could be due to the language difficulty on the part of the people who put the original collection together or it could be due to the lack of reliable manuscripts from Punjab or other reasons. Even today, after over six decades, I still remember some Ginans which I first heard as a child in Punjab. These Ginans are not included in any published collection. In my opinion this matter needs urgent attention. Someone with a good knowledge of Punjabi should collect these Ginans from the memory of elderly people while they are still alive.

Several unpublished Punjabi Ginans have been brought to my attention. I will briefly list them here and provide their complete text as an addendum to this article. These ginans are as follows;

- [1] Kutch kar-jo Bhaya
Pir Shams. 5 couplets.
- [2] Gur diva, gur chandruna
Pir Shams. 5 quatrains.
- [3] Mein vari vari satgur to balehari
Pir Hasan Kabirdin. 6 verses.
- [4] Thane ne Nar ayo bhaiyao udham kari
Pir Hasan Kabirdin. Number of verses unknown.

There are two other Ginans which are not in Punjabi, but which have not been published. They are as follows;

- [5] Eji Tuj vina ame ekala, have kern rahevay
Pir Sadardin 5 quatrains.
- [6] Nataniya khel jug-me rachaiya jiv-ne
Pir Hasan Kabirdin. 12 couplets.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that collecting unpublished Punjabi Ginans represents not only an interesting area of research but should be taken up before it is too late.

કૃષ્ણ કર્ણો જાણ્યા,

રથનાર : પીર ચપચપ

કૃષ્ણ કર્ણો જાણ્યા,

મુનીવર સુજડે જાગન,

જાણે જે સુજડે જાગન,

જાણે જે ગાફલ નીંદ પ્યારી,

કૃષ્ણ કર્ણો જાણ્યા.....[૧]

મુનીવર આદલી શે રજ,

જાણે જે આદલી શે રજ,

ગાફલ ખેડા એ સારી.....કૃષ્ણ.....[૨]

મુનીવર જીતે મુખા,

જાણે જે જીતે મુખા,

ગાફલ મરખ વીચારી.....કૃષ્ણ.....[૩]

મુનીવર ઘૌઘે હંગ ગમે,

જાણે જે ઘૌઘે હંગ ગમે,

ગાફલ સિર પંડ જારી.....કૃષ્ણ.....[૪]

એ ગીનાન મોહીયા પીર ચપચપ,

જાણે જે મોહીયા ગુર ચપચપ,

પીપી કાતયા મહી ધર નારી.....કૃષ્ણ.....[૫]

ગુર હીવા ગુર ચાહણી,
 સચા ગુર હીપક દરયા,
 ગુરાં બીના તાલા મરદો ના ખુલે,
 તોડે બરે રેણ ભંડાર.
 અળ્યાં ના સારે,
 તેરા પંથ ઘણા,
 વીરા મારા મરમો તરે,
 જીવડા ન ડરે શાવજી..... [૧]

ઉવાં ભેડી તાં કુબી કુડે અચારદો,
 કુંગે ડડમા ડોહણુવાર,
 કુડા કુડા કપટી મરદો નાં તરે,
 તે તો ફાટે ફાટણુવાર.....અળ્યાં..... [૨]

ઉવાં ભેડી તરે તે સચે ચારદો,
 કુંગે ભવસાગર પાર,
 અપીયાં દા છટટા મરાદો વરસ રતયા,
 જુમલે લોધસે જય જયકાર.....અળ્યાં..... [૩]

ઉવાં મહેર સવેર ન મેદની,
 નણી હરતો નણી આકાશ,
 મેદમા સુરજ દોનો નણી,
 નણી તારે જરો તીયાં રાત.....અળ્યાં..... [૪]

ઉવાં અમૃત વરસે કલ પડે,
 જમ ગતમા વરસે નુર,
 ખુડે જીવાડી મામે લોધડી,
 અમ બોલીયા શમશ પીર.....અળ્યાં..... [૫]

મે વારી વારી

રમનાર : પીર હસન કબીરહીન

મે વારી વારી સતગુર તો મલોવારી,
 ઠમે ઠમે તેરે કુંવે વધદે
 મે ઘીણી ખીણી મંદહી નખાણી,
 મે વારી વારી સતગુર તો મલોવારી.....[૧]

મખલાંવાલે લંગ લંગ બંદે
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QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: I have got two questions, actually, what is your estimate of the number of unpublished ginans from Punjab?

RAI ABUALY: Unknown, I cannot say because first of all we don't know how many actual ginans were written, but there may be hundreds, there may be hundreds. In certain Sufi sects of Punjab, they also sing some kind of munajat written by Pir Shams and they are very close to our gitanic literature. Unfortunately, I could not lay my hands on it, but some work must be done in Punjab because there is too much lost treasure there and we don't know how much that might be.

QUESTION BY THE SAME PERSON: I have heard there are some ginans by Seyyed Imam Begum.

RAI ABUALY: She wrote 30 ginans but we have ten or eleven, the other ginans are in obscure condition, not yet defined or decided whether they are complete or not, but I am working on it.

QUESTION BY ALWAEZ KHIZR HAYAT: Rai Shaheb, who wrote the Si-Harfi?

RAI ABUALY: Seyyed Ahmed Shah.

ALWAEZ KHIZR HAYAT: My mother used to say there are some Si-Harfi in Punjabi, do you have any idea if there is any such work?

RAI ABUALY: Yes, there is a Si-Harfi in Punjabi written by Bulleh Shah. I have got a Si-Harfi written by some Sufi poet in Persian. The word, Si-Harfi also depicts that it is Persian, "SI" means thirty. There is a Si-Harfi by Seyyed Bulleh Shah:

"Bulleh nu manawan yan pela teh parajanaya"

Bulleh was also very famous person and a man of God.

MUKHI REMTULLAH: I have got three Si-Harfis by Chishti.

RAI ABUALY: Yes, Hayat, Mr. Abdulsultan says that he has got Si-Harfi composed by Chishti.

ALWAEZ KHIZR HAYAT: There are from other Sufi masters but I was wondering if any Ismaili has written Si-Harfi.

RAI ABUALY: You know in many Punjabi poems many things are very close to Ismaili beliefs. Let me explain: when we say Hazar Imam, He becomes, our aim, our destination, and everything, because of our love, everything revolves round him. The same thing happens, amongst the Sufis with the concept of "Murshid-e-Kamil". You know these Sufi people, they merge themselves, they lose themselves for the sake of Murshid-e-Kamil and there is a Fana fi'l-Shaikh, lose yourself in your Shaikh. Then the second step further to that is Fana fi'l-Rasul. Then is Fana fi'l-Liah. So this is why I am saying that Sufis are very near to our ethics and love for the Murshid.

QUESTION BY AZIZA HAYAT: Have you ever tried to catalogue your literature and do we have access to it?

RAI ABUALY: No, I have not been able to do that, my travelling and my activities in the Jamat keeps me very busy. Let me tell you that I will be releasing Inshallah, within this year, some of my works, particularly in cassettes. I have commented 60 ginans, each gnan, either 4 parts or 40 parts, recited in gnan like we sing in Jamat-Khana. I give the translation, then I give the explanation. I have completed 60 ginans like that: **Si-Harfi** was also completed in 7 or 8 tapes. **Anant Akhado** has been done, **Navmo Budh Avatar** in 522 parts has been done, **Chaar Joog No Mandan**, **Chaar Kalap Nu Mandan**, **So Kiriya and Soloko** of Pir Sadruddin, **Braham Prakash**, **Moman Tchitveni** also and **Moman Chetamni**.

QUESTION BY AZIZA HAYAT: What about your manuscripts and other documents?

RAI ABUALY: Yes, some of the manuscripts are priceless. I have brought here some of them for your examination. You can go through them and you might find something useful and interesting. I have got 50 to 60 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Khojki, Gujrati and Urdu. I have got several rare books such as one which was published in Bombay some 90 years ago. The title is "**Ansaabul Ansaab**". It contains the genealogy from Mowla Ali up to Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah. A Persian man has written this book in Persian language and it is full of information about the genealogy of Imams, how many brothers, how many daughters, how many sisters, how many children etc. It is a very large work and I don't think it is still available. There is also one book which Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah has written when He was 17 years old. This book is named "**Usool-e-Wa-Fooroo-e-Deen**". Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah made Haji Kamadia sit down and note. While He was speaking in Persian, Haji Kamadia was writing in Khojki script but the language is Kutchi. It is about the fundamental principles of Ismaili faith and also its precepts. Its condition is so bad, I thought I may not just take it up because if anyone touches it, the paper becomes dust.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: Alwaez, to date, all over the world, how many ginans have we published?

RAI ABUALY: We have 600 published ginans. But there are some more, I think about 40 or 50 more ginans are now circulating amongst our Jamats in India, Pakistan and here. These ginans are not yet published, some of them are here.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: I have a very simple question, what is the difference between Munajat and Ginan, it might be trivial for the rest of the people but I have no idea.

RAI ABUALY: You know Munajat means in praise of Aly, Muhammad, Allah, Imam, etc: "Ya Ali Khoob Mijalas" that we recite sometime is a Munajat. In our ginanic language, munajat can be translated as Venti, Venti is like Munajat. There is a ginan by Pir Shams which is pure Munajat: "Haqq tu Paak tu Badhsha". There is another Munajat by Pir Hassan Kabiru'd-din, "Ham Dil Khalak, Allah tunhije vaseji". Munajat is an Arabic word, but extensively used in Persian and the ginan is a common word for everything written by the Pirs for the benefit of Murid. But ginan is in poetic form, and those things which are not in poetic form, but in prose, are known as Shahstre. So we have about 700 pages of Shahstre and yesterday I told you that there are some 40,000 stanzas of ginans. But that is not the end of it, there are so many others which we do not know.

QUESTION BY MUKHI REMTULLAH: You said something about Muiyunuddin Chishti, was he an Ismaili?

RAI ABUALY: No, he was not an Ismaili but he was definitely a disciple of an Ismaili Pir. His work and his thoughts are very near to those of the Ismailis. And there is that famous poem about Imam Hussein:

"Shah Haste Hussein
Bhadsha Haste Hussein
Deen Haste Hussein
Deen Pana Haste Hussein
Sardad ne daad, daste dar daste Yazid
Haqqa ke bina ye La Ilaha Haste Hussein"

He says, "Hussein is King, He is the Emperor, He is Deen and He is the foundation of Deen. He gave His neck but he did not agree, he did not give his hand in agreement to Yazid. 'Belashak', without any doubt, He is the Foundation of 'La Ilaha Hussein'." Now this is Iman.

I spoke yesterday that our Pirs were very famous. Kara Ruda says that they converted more than half million to Ismailism, undoubtedly, but as the time went on, many people went astray and left our Ismaili faith, joining Sufis or Shias or others Tariquat. Many turned to Shariat and became Sunnis. Those people carried away many things which were originated by our Pirs.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: What about "Manhar"

RAI ABUALY: Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah said "Iseh ko jaladalo". It happened in 1916, Manhar is a very deep book written by Pir Gullamali Shah, he was from the progeny of Pir Hassan Kabiruddin. He wrote many ginans and the Manhar. There is one verse in it which was wrongly interpreted and taken by some of the bhagats in Karachi. These Bhagats were getting together, talking about religious subjects, about spirituality, Bait-ul-Khayal, and then slowly, slowly, slowly, they drifted apart. They said it is written in Manhar,

"Hari thi Hanjan mota Jan",
Bhagaat samare tinya hazar jan"

The Bhagat is Higher than the Lord...this wrong interpretation made them proud and pride is against Ibadat. Around 300 of these people used to gather, all would avoid going to Jamat-Khana, would not pray, remain there in Majlis, in someone's house and they would only sing ginans and sit.

So when reports were given Mowla, He came to the Darkhana of Kharadar, that old Jamat-Khana, and called them. At that time, Imam made a Firman to Missionaries that wherever you go you get this book and burn it. So, we cannot recite it in Jamat Khana. But for your studies sake, you can read it at home, not in Jamat-Khana.

CHHATRIS KROR
An unpublished Granth

Dr Shiraz Ismail

The name Chhatris Kror literally means three hundred and sixty million. It refers to the number of Pir Sadardin's followers out of whom Baar Kror or one hundred and twenty million attained salvation. This granth was composed by Pir Sadardin. It has never been published. From a brief note in one of his books, we learn that Mukhi Lalji Devraj was aware of its existence and intended to publish it. However, for reasons that we do not know it never got published. With Mukhi Devraj's death most of the Ginan publishing activities came to a standstill.

The manuscript used for this presentation was given to me by Mukhi Abdulsultan Rahemtulla. The manuscript is about one hundred years old. The text of this granth is in Khojki and consists of 178 verses. Nagib Tajdin has another manuscript in his possession which has 180 verses. However at the time of writing this paper, I did not have access to it.

It is important not to confuse these 36 Kror with the 33 kror mentioned elsewhere in various Ginans. The 33 Kror are the ones who did attain salvation (5 Kror through Raja Pahelaj, 7 Kror through Raja Harishchandra, 9 Kror through Raja Jujesthan and 12 Kror through Pir Sadardin). Whereas the 36 Kror here represent the total mass of Pir Sadardins' followers out of whom 12 Kror attained salvation through him and thus got included in the 33 Kror.

The main part of the granth contains the story of the 24 Kror who did not attain salvation and were thus condemned to "Ghor andhar" or total darkness. It is important to bear in mind that the whole Granth including all the names and incidents are full of symbolism and should not be taken literally. The narration begins with the Pir announcing to the jamat that he was going to Ajamut (the residence of the Imam of the time) and would the jamat like to accompany him, to which the Jamat agrees and assembles under the three Mukhis, each with a group of 12 Kror. The names of the three Mukhis are also given, they are; Mukhi Trikum (who from other Ginans is known to be from the city of Kotda), Mukhi Shamdass from Lahor (east) and Mukhi Tulsidas from Kashmir (west).

The group starts the journey and comes to Gujarat in the kingdom of King Bhikham. On the outskirts of the town there lived a courtesan by the name of Subhagi. The Pir visits her house and spends a night there. All the three mukhis witness this incident and are perplexed by the behaviour of their master. When the morning comes the Pir orders his Mukhis pay the courtesan her fees. Mukhi Shamsdas was the first to ask her about her fees and she demands one hundred and twenty five thousand (sava lakh). The next day when Mukhi Tulsidas inquires about her fees she demands two hundred thousand in

exchange for the Pirs freedom. The two mukhis begin to have serious doubts about the Pirs virtues and openly accuse him of engaging in immoral activities. On the third day Mukhi Trikam goes to release his master. Subhagi now demands three hundred and seventy five thousand. Mukhi Trikam not only agrees to arrange for the sum but tells her that since his master was living with her she was like a mother to him (note the difference in approach between the three mukhis).

Mukhi Trikam now ponders on how to raise the money. A thought crosses his mind to use the Dasond money, however, he quickly dismisses it as not right. Finally he comes to the decision to take his wife's and daughter's jewellery to the king. Once again we are given in the granth, not only the names of his three daughters, but also the name of his wife. The names of his three daughters are; Shamsundri, Devdand and Dayal while his wives name is given as Maanand. I have no doubt that all these names have deep symbolic meaning. Coming back to the story, the king refuses to buy the jewels unless Mukhi Trikam also includes his three daughters in the bargain. Finally out of desperation, Mukhi Trikam agrees to the deal, takes the money and releases the Pir.

Thereafter, Mukhi Trikam invites Pir Sadardin to his place for dinner. However, when the Pir sits down to eat he inquires about the Mukhis' daughters. The Mukhi had no alternative but to tell the truth. When the Pir heard about the fate of the daughters, he refuses to partake any food until the Mukhi secures the release of his daughters. Mukhi Trikam then goes to the King to plead for his daughters release, Subhagi enters the scene, it turns out that she was a true momin all along. She returns the money to the King, who in turn releases the Mukhis daughters assuring Trikam that he in no way took advantage of them, that they are pure and he treated them well. They all return to Trikam's place where they are joined by the Pir. It turns out that it was all a test of their faith (Iman) and Mukhi Trikam and his lot held on to it while the others lost theirs. The other two groups now repent for their error, the Pir forgives them and they proceed with the journey.

The 24 Krors, now having got their second chance, the caravan proceeds until they come to the banks of river Atak (atki jai ???) where they pitch their camp. This part of the country was ruled by King Devchand and his queen Chandade rani. Now it so happens that while the queen was taking her bath, Satan (Shaitan, it is not clear in the ginan who he is) goes to her in the disguise of Mukhi Trikam and not only steals her necklace of nine strings (Nav lakho haar) but also behaves in a very disrespectful manner. The queen reports the incident to the king who immediately orders a search of the caravan for the culprit. During the search the Pir is found to have the necklace. Once again the faith of the 24 Krors is shaken. When the King is notified of the discovery, he orders the Pirs execution. However when the soldiers come to execute the Pir, Mukhi Trikam intervenes and declares that he is the real culprit and it is he who should be punished and not the Pir, and so he is slain instead. When the Mukhiani saw what happened to her husband she declares that she and not her husband was the real culprit and so she is killed also. Seeing this the three daughters repeat the same plea and are executed followed by the three sons (whose names are also given) who go on to meet the same fate. Now one by

one the 12 Kror followers enter the same plea and gladly accept the punishment. Their bodies are thrown in the river. The massacre continues for four days.

Meanwhile, princess Ramkali who had her palace on the yonder banks of the river was witnessing the incident. She saw that those slain were not really dying but were ascending to heaven in shining attire (noorani vastra). Realizing that this might be a unique opportunity to salvation, she decides to join in. However, by the time she gets to the site, the slaying is over. While the killing was in progress, it so happened that some sixteen hundred souls from the 24 Kror had realized their error for the second time and were repentant. These were told by the Pir that if they desired salvation, then they will have to undergo a trial. They were ordered to collect wood, sell it and offer the money as Dasond.

So it happens that these sixteen hundred set out to sell the wood. However, after trying for a long time they could not find a buyer. Eventually they come across a medicant (Faqueer) who offers to buy the entire stock in exchange for a precious stone. The aspirants then take the stone to the local jeweller in the hope of selling it to him for cash. After examining it the jeweller declared that the stone was too precious for him to buy, but he suggested that the king might be able to afford it. The aspirants then took the diamond to the king who upon seeing it recognised it as belonging to the queens' jewels and ordered that these sixteen hundred should be slain also by the river banks. The princess seeing that the opportunity was once again there to sacrifice herself and attain salvation disguised herself as a male and joined the sixteen hundred in laying down their lives.

After it was all over a holy man (sadhu) visits the queen and tells her about her daughter's death and explains to her that this whole incident was staged so as to enable the believers to attain salvation. Both, the king and the queen, upon hearing it were very repentant and so were the 24 Kror who had missed the opportunity for the second time. However the moment had passed (vera hati te to vahi gai) and they were condemned to total darkness (ghor andhar). Thus ends the story of **Chhatris Kror**.

A couple of points need mentioning; a date appears in the granth regarding the time of this incident. It is 17 th. of Ass (month) Savant 1452 (1396 AD). This date is the same as that given by Pir Hassan Kabirdin in one of his Ginans. Also at a couple of places mention is made of a wall of iron (vajar bhit), where believers have to wait six months (not six months and six days as in other Ginans). Again this could have some spiritual significance.

Thus in a few paragraphs I have tried to present the gist of this very interesting and as yet unpublished Granth. The language of the Granth although relatively simple is highly symbolic and full of mystical interpretations. I hope that with the availability of Gujarati transliteration this important Granth will be more widely read.

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CHALLIS WATO An Unpublished Granth

Mukhi Abdulsultan Rahemtulla

The Granth Challis Waato is an unpublished work attributed to Sayyed Imam Shah. It seems that although Mukhi Lalji Devraj was aware of its existence, it did not get published during his lifetime. Since then it has gone into almost obscurity with its name not appearing in any of the published lists of Granths. The manuscript used for this presentation was found recently in Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. The manuscript is less than a hundred years old and is in excellent condition. The writing is clear and legible. The granth is in prose form and occupies thirty seven pages of the manuscript.

The name Challis Waato literally means forty sayings or short discourses. Although supposedly written By Sayyed Imam Shah, most of the text is a narration of questions and answers between Prophet Mohammed (S.A.S.) and his companions (Ashabs). The dialogue is composed of short discourses or advices given by the Prophet.

The Granth begins with the statement that if a momin (or a group of four) reads or listens to these forty sayings and acts accordingly he will be rewarded on the Day of Judgement by being revived with an eternal spiritual body (noorani kaya). Furthermore, it is said (by the prophet) that whoever establishes a vigil for forty days (Challiso) of praying through the night in Jamat Khana and fasting (during the day) and at the end of period offers food to forty momins, he will have his pious desires and wishes fulfilled. Should one not have the means to feast forty momins, than twenty are accepted. If even feasting of twenty momins is beyond ones means than offering food to one poor person or beggar will be accepted as long as the beneficiary is a Nizari Ismaili.

Thereafter, most of the Granth deals with questions from the companions and answers from the Prophet on the nature of hell and how a momin can avoid it. The discourse contains advices from the Prophet on the actions of the momin which will lead to rewards in paradise. There are forty such questions, answers and discourses, hence the name.

The language of the Granth is relatively simple Gujarati. The Granth is unusual in the sense that not only it offers teachings in the Quranic/Hadith style but it also narrates as said by the Prophet ("wari Hazrat Rasul (S.A.S) farmaayiu ke...."). Beside the present copy, there are at least two other manuscripts available of the same Granth: one at Harvard University and the other at the ITREB for Pakistan. In conclusion, I hope that with the availability of this Granth in Gujarati, it will be more widely read and hopefully will expose the reader to an additional dimension of the voluminous works of Sayyed Imam Shah.

REH/1

Description of the manuscript containing 40 Wato:

PAGES:	490 pgs, last few missing
SIZE:	7.5 * 11 inches
INK:	Black
BINDING:	Green carton (recent)
WRITING:	Very readable, beautiful .
DATE:	Probably mid 19th century
WRITER:	
PAPER:	Thin, brown greenish
STATE OF CONSERVATION:	Good, with a few torn and scotch-taped sheets
IN POSSESSION OF:	Abdul Sultan Rehmtullah of Toronto in 1990

CONTENTS:

Page No.

6	* Nour Namoun wado (Nabi Muh. Mustafa)
44	* Dua akashi (arbima)
57	* Dua Gatpatji
93	* Chalis Wato (Seyyed Imam shah)
130	* Rasalo (Imam Jaffar Sadiq jo)
263	* 12 Nasiyat (Imam Shah)
264	* Pir Shams ji Garbi
318	* Wistol (Seyyed Imam Shah)
364	* 52 gati (Pir sadardin)
400	* Riwayat Haq Mowlana Murtaza Ali ji

A SINDHI VERSION OF PIR SHAMS' DAS AVATAAR

An unpublished Ginan

Gulshan Khaki

This paper is partly based on one of my previously published paper [1] and draws freely from it.

The concept of Das Avataar has been mentioned in numerous Ginans. In the Ginanic literature there are three works which are specifically identified by the name Das Avtaar. The smallest of these three is attributed to Pir Shams and has been published in his Ginan Collection [2]. This version, which is sometimes called "Pir Shams jo Das Avataar" and consists of twenty eight lines divided into ten verses of varying length. The second version was composed by Pir Sadardin and is counted as one of his major works or Granths. This Granth is generally known as "Nano Das Avataar" and consists of about ten pages of text, divided into ten sections of varying length. The third and the largest version was composed by Sayyed Imam Shah and is known as "Moto Das Avataar". This monumental work consists of a short prologue followed by ten sections of varying length, totalling sixteen hundred verses.

While examining several manuscripts of Das Avataar, I came across in one of the manuscripts (Kx Ms. - described in another paper in this proceedings), a hereto unknown version of Das Avataar. This version is in very archaic sounding Sindhi and is attributed to Pir Shams. It seems that there is no difference in the theme or main contents between this and the other version of Pir Shams Das Avataar. However, it is the linguistic value of this newly discovered version that is of interest to us here. As far as I know, there is only one copy of it in the manuscript now in possession of Ismaili Tariqa Board of Pakistan (Karachi).

Linguistically it is interesting, because it is composed entirely in archaic sounding Sindhi. (I have appended a text of it to this paper.) In the opinion of Prof. A. Schimmel, based on the fact that the earliest Sindhi uses the littlest possible Arabic and no Persian vocabulary at all, the Sindhi Das Avataar of Pir Shams must have been composed prior to the seventeenth century A.D. In this respect it can hold comparison with the works of Shah Lutf Allah Qadiri who died in the seventeenth century A.D. In our text the following Arabic or Persian words are to be found: Shah (nine times), Ali (once), Pir Shams (once), Alamut (once), ilm (once), Bhajara (bazar ? once), ala (? once), bhecara (once). At the beginning of the Ginan the instruction is given that it should be sung in the raga Kedara, which interestingly is the raga Shah Abd al-Latif of Bhit (d. 1752) uses for his poetry concerning Muharram happenings.

Since this is the only copy known at this point in time, it makes it very difficult to decipher some of the illegible and /or in-comprehensible words. Should more copies of it be found it may be possible to prepare a standard version of this Ginan. Not only would it comprise an interesting specimen of Pir Shams work in Sindhi, but it would also be a rare example of a Ginan composed in different languages for geographically diverse converts.

REFERENCES

- 1 Khaki G., "The Dasa Avatara of Pir Shams as linguistic and literary evidence of the early development of Ismailism in Sind"; SIND THROUGH THE CENTURIES, pp 143-155.
- 2 Shams Pir, Collection of Ginans; pp 35-37. Ismailia Association for India, 1952.

DAS AVATAR OF PIR SHAMS

BEGINING OF THE WORK:

Handwritten notes in Hindi script:

१- ...
...
...
...
...
...
...
...

Das avatar Pir Shamas jo
Rag kedhar me bolija
Pahela machh rupe narayan...

ENDING OF THE WORK

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।
 श्रीरामाय नमः ।
 श्रीलक्ष्मणे नमः ।
 श्रीबाले नमः ।
 श्रीहनुमान् नमः ।
 श्रीगौतमे नमः ।
 श्रीअर्जुने नमः ।
 श्रीधर्मराजे नमः ।
 श्रीभीष्मसेनानाथे नमः ।

... Pir Shams boliya das avatar
shah sambharo...

Section 8

PUBLISHED TEXTS:

PANDAVO NO PARAB

Nazim Daredia

THE WORK:

This Granth, also known as **Pandave jo Parab**, was composed by Sayyed Imam Shah and contains 578 verses. It has virtually the same theme as **Buddh Avatar** of Pir Sadardin. The Granth continues the story of the Pandavas after the win the war against their cousins turned enemies the Kurus. Concurrently it narrates the coming of the ninth Avatar in the form which came to be known as **Buddh** who saves the Pandavas from deviating from their true faith.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS:

Up to the time of this conference it was generally believed that this Granth had only been published in Khojki of which a few copies were still available. Also this work is not well known within the community. Thus, the task of transliterating it into gujarati script was undertaken. However, it was learnt at the conference that a gujarati edition had indeed been published in the 1900's. This fact was brought to my attention by Mr Nurdin Rajan. The main reason why the Gujarati edition is virtually unknown is that only 500 copies were printed in the first edition. There is no evidence that this work was ever reprinted. The title page of the Gujarati edition is attached here as an addendum to this brief note.

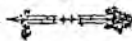
SCOPE:

Pandavo no Parab can be considered as one of the major pieces of works in our Ginanic literature. It deserves careful study, especially to delineate the differences and similarities between it and **Buddh Avatar**. Furthermore the Granth also gives in its end the date of its composition by Sayyed Imam Shah in 1437 Samvat (1381 A.D.). There are at least 3 manuscripts of this work available at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. One such manuscript dated Samvat 1925 (1869 A.D.) contains 580 verses. Let me mention also that Mrs Zawahir Noorally mentions in her Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of the Ismailia Association for Pakistan (Karachi 1971), the existence of a "Vel" of 80 verses completing the Pandve jo Parab. The Vel is part of a manuscript numbered K.M.S. 112 written in Samvat 1935 (1879 A.D.).

પાંડવોનો-પરજી [પૂર્વ]

રચનાર-સદચર દેવમામશાહે.

[ગુજરાતીમાં] આશુતી ૧ લી નક્કલ પૃ.



પ્રગટ કરનાર,

મુખી લાલજીભાઈ દેવરાજ.

ધી જોભ સિધ્ધીજીખાનુ,

૧૧૩, પાલખી મહોલા મુખધ નં ૯

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

આ લુક પ્રેનર વલીભાઈ નાનજીએ. "ધી જોભ સીધી
પ્રીતીંગ પ્રેસ, ૧૧૩ પાલખી મહોલા મુખધ નં. ૯"
મુખી લાલજીભાઈ દેવરાજ માટે જાપી બને
મુખી લાલજીભાઈ દેવરાજે "ધી જોભ સીધી પ્રેસ
૧૧૩ પાલખી મહોલા મુખધ નં. ૯" મા પ્રગટ કરી.

સંવત ૧૯૭૭.

તા ૨૫-૭-૨૧.

ANALYSIS OF SUKRIYA AND SHIKSHAPATRI

Al-waeza Aziza Hayat

Sukriya (good deeds) [1] is an ethical work attributed to Pir Sadardin. The entire work is divided into three parts: preamble, main body and epilogue. The preamble is called Bawan Bodh (fifty two advises) and contains fifty four lines. The main body is called Sukriya and consists of one hundred lines. Finally, the epilogue is titled Sahi Samarani (true remembrance) and is thirty two lines in length. This Granth is a part of Nizari Ismaili corpus of Ginanic literature.

Shikshapatri (holy teachings) is a similar work attributed to Sayyed Imam Shah, the grandson of Pir Sadardin. Although, this Granth is also divided into three parts, they do not have individual titles. Furthermore, the first part has only twenty four lines. The second has one hundred lines and the last part has only ten. This Granth is prevalent amongst the Pirana panthis [2].

Ivanow, is of the opinion that the main body of Sukriya and Shikshapatri are identical while both the works differ in preamble and epilogue which might be a later addition. He comments:

"The first concerns the genuineness of the preface and epilogue, because they for the most part simply repeat of what is already contained in the main work" [3].

For Shikshapatri, Ivanow says:

"The Marathi version, under the name of Shikshapatri differs in the preamble and the epilogue testifying to the fact that these portions are not original. The text is almost identical with the Gujarati version, and appears to be ascending to the same source" [4].

However, while going through the two versions of the main part, one finds several lines which are different or are present in one but not in the other. In this paper, using Ivanow's translation [5] of the two versions, I will try to point out the differences between the two.

Lines in the main body of Sukriya which are not found in Shikshapatri.

8. Wholeheartedly accept the precepts of Sat Gur.
11. If thou hast a proper chance, pay a visit to Sat Gur.
14. Pray to God, prostrating thyself in the Ghat which is like the face of the Guru.

15. Only those who daily take a sip of the **Abi Safa** are to be regarded as pious.
25. Never loose thy temper even if abused a hundred times.
37. Never make a valuation of land (in terms of money). It is similar to thy mother.
39. Always treat thy daughters kindly.
41. Never take bribes, even as much as a "**rati**" (a form of bread) [6].
52. Always behave thyself as if thou art continually fasting.
58. O, Creature! Never miss the time fixed for prayers.
61. O, Brother! Do not develop (unduly) great ambitions.
65. O, Hermit! Do not repeat the words of others, good or bad to those concerned.
70. Never fail to return the money that thou hast borrowed or the value of goods purchased on credit.
71. Never run away with someone else's money.
72. He who does this will be punished by being incarnated as his creditor's son.
74. Never do foolish things. Like doing personal word processing on company time.
75. Everyone has equal right to see **Gur Nur**, i.e. the Lord of the Time.
76. But he who sees Him in His real substance is a courageous man.
91. Never develop ambition to acquire much wealth or land.
95. Never pick flowers in the morning, this is a grave sin.
99. They are true believers who act in accordance with religious precepts.
100. O, Hermits! Act according to the hundred commandments.

Lines in the main body of Shikshapatri which do not appear in Sukriya.

6. (Remember that) The Creator rewards the deserving.
8. Respect the words of those who are older than thyself, as well as those who are younger.

12. Devote thyself to meditation in the company of good friends.
14. Sincerely respect the **Gur** and the **Mukhi**.
15. Worship the name of God everyday to be (really) pious.
20. Receive the guest kindly, be kind to beggars.
35. Never castrate an animal, who does this is a great sinner.
36. Never build for thyself a luxurious house.
45. Never take intoxicants.
51. Be mentally alert, do not miss good opportunities.
55. Do not eat too much.
56. Suppress lust, do not fall in love.
58. (If thou wishest to live as) ascetics, give up all property.
63. Never borrow money, nor buy anything on credit.
65. Always pay what is due without demur or anger, as a son pays to his own father.
66. Use thy brains, seek for knowledge, do not look down on anyone.
68. Be (always) ready to render account in anything to the deity.
73. Never make an idol, nor keep in thy house.
74. Do not permit thy soul to be obsessed by worries.
75. Avoid the sick.
81. Control thy passions in youth.
87. Never give intentionally to animals what remains after thy meal.
92. Never remain ritually unclean.
93. Bathe at the **Ghats**.
94. Devote thyself to meditation only after having cleaned thyself.

95. Never eat garlic or onions.
97. Patiently bear misfortunes that befall thee, and never permit sorrow to interfere with religious duties.
99. Be sincere in giving advice when anyone asks thee.
100. Keep (this) rosary in thy hand, and always think of the deity.

While analyzing both the texts, Shikshapatri written in Marathi and Sukriya in Gujarati it can be accepted that both ascend to the same source. However, Ivanow's conclusion that both are identical is in my opinion incorrect. Through further analysis it is clear that although some lines may appear similar in words, they often differ in concept. It seems that the concepts dwelt in Shikshapatri lean towards Sufism whereas those embodied in Sukriya reflect Nizari Ismaili beliefs. Following are a few examples;

In lines 6, 12, 14 and 15 of Shikshapatri the importance of worship and meditation are highlighted by saying that one should meditate in the company of good friends everyday and should respect Gur and Mukhi in order to be rewarded. The Nizari Ismaili concepts of Imam, Abi Safa and Gat are absent. On the other hand, in lines 8, 11, 14, 15 and 58 of Sukriya it is clearly mentioned that the believer should accept the precepts of Sat Gur and should visit him if he gets an opportunity. Also, believers should pray to God and prostrate in Gat where He is ever present. Only who partake Abi Safa daily are considered pious and deserving. Secondly, in lines 75 and 76 of Sukriya it is mentioned that everyone has equal right to see Gur Nar i.e. the Lord of the Time, but he who sees Him in His real substance is a courageous man.

Sukriya in lines 70, 71 and 72 emphasises that one should be diligent in paying up ones debts. It also cites the concept of reincarnation to emphasise the point. Where as Shikshapatri dilutes the concept of reincarnation in line 60, by saying, ".....as a son pays to his father";

Furthermore, there are other lines in Shikshapatri which clearly indicate the Sufi influence. In line 20 it advises to be kind to beggars and later in line 36 it mentions not to build a luxurious dwelling for oneself. In lines 56 and 81 it advises the believers to suppress lust and control ones passions in youth. Than again in line 58 it mentions to give up property in order to live as ascetic. Finally, in the last line it asks the ascetics to keep a rosary in hand and always keep pious thoughts.

On the other hand there are lines in Sukriya which mention the general injunctions reflecting Hindu culture e.g. line 37 says that never make a valuation of land. Line 39 says to be kind to daughters. Line 41 prohibits from taking bribes. Line 61 and 91 emphasise that one should not develop (unduly) great ambitions in order to acquire much wealth or land. Finally, Sukriya ends by reminding the believer to follow the hundred commandments.

Thus it can be concluded that though both Sukriya and Shikshapatri descend from the same source, the former shows strong inclinations towards Nizari Ismaili principles whereas the latter expounds Sufi teachings.

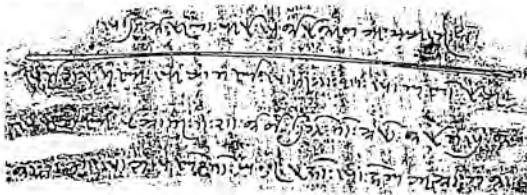
FOOT NOTES

1. W. Ivanow has spelt it So Kiriya and has translated it as one hundred moral principles. See W. Ivanow, *Collectanea*, Vol.I. Holland: E.J.Brill, 1948, p.43. The Gujarati printed text also spells it as So Kiriya, see Pir Sadardin, *Bawan Bodh ane So Kriya*, Karachi, H. H. Prince Aga Khan Shia Imami Ismaili Association for Pakistan, 1982. Whereas the three manuscripts spell it differently. MS 08 spells it as *Sau Kiriya*, MS 31 has *Soho Kiriya* and MS 106 has *Soho Kiriya*. The Platts dictionary states that in Sanskrit it is Kriya and in Hindi it is Kiriya or Kriya meaning doing, performance, action, act, deed, undertaking, business, use, walk, labour, a literary work (in grammar), a verb, medical treatment or practice, a religious act or ceremony, a pious act, a duty, obsequies, and oath. The prefix So (hundred) does not appear in Sanskrit, whereas in Hindi it is spelt as *Sau* which means hundred. On the other hand inseparable prefix *Su* appears in Sanskrit which means good, well, excellent, neat, elegant, beautiful, beautifully, honorable, worthy of respect or reverence, excessive, excessively, exceedingly, much, very, readily, easily, willingly, quickly. See John J Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English* (hereafter *A Dictionary*), London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company Ltd., 1884, pp 690 and 830. It is difficult to trace the hundred morals and acts, while going through the text, because there are lines which would either not complete the sentence until the next line, e.g. line 71-72 "Never run away with someone else's money". "He who does this will be punished by being incarnated as the creditors son". Or there are lines which would not give any moral or acts, e.g. line 40 "You must certainly act according to the forty Kiriyas. Furthermore in the 25th. line of the main body of Sukriya it is said that "Even if anyone abuses you a hundred times, do not lose your temper". Manuscript 8 and 31 spell the hundred as 'So', which is different from the spelling of the title they have given. Whereas manuscript 106 gives the same spelling as the title i.e. 'Soho'. Taking all the accounts into consideration, the Sanskrit spelling and meaning has been adapted for the present study. Thus the work under consideration will be written as Sukriya, meaning good acts or actions.
2. Juma, Salim K.; "A sample survey of Pirana Panthi literature", *Proc. S.O.S. Khojki Conference*; Canada, 1990, pp i.
3. Ivanow, W.; "Satpanth", *Collectanea*. Leiden, 1948, pp47.
4. *Ibid*, pp48.
5. *Ibid*, pp117.
6. H. N. Hooda has translated it as a form of bread which is *roti*. Whereas "read", correctly "*ratti*" means weight equal to 2.25 grains. See Platts, *A Dictionary*, p 587.

SU KIRIYA OF PIR SADARDIN

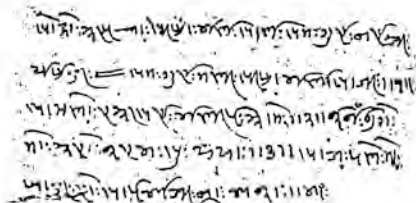
MS. #9

MANUSCRIPT DATED 1874 A.D. COMED BY ALDO REMOO AND BELONGING TO BHAI MIHDI. FOUND IN ORMARA JAMAT AND PRESERVED AT THE I.I.S. (LONDON, BRITAIN). THE TITLE SAU KIRIYA IS CLEARLY LEGIBLE.



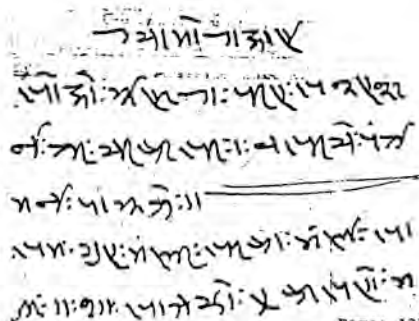
MS. #31

MANUSCRIPT DATED 1816 A.D. COPIED BY BAWA PASANDALI FROM A MS. OF BABA KHAIR SAIN WHO COPIED IT FOR THE LOHANA JAMAT. THIS IS THE FIRST PAGE. THE ENTIRE WORK CONTAINS SU KIRIYA, BAVAN BODH AND SAT VACHAN. A TOTAL OF 192 VERSES STARTING AT FOLIO 77.



MS. # 106

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTED FROM BOMBAY. PROBABLY DATED OF EARLY 20TH CENTURY. THE SCRIPT IS VERY LEGIBLE. IT STARTS WITH THE TRADITIONAL "ALAH TOAHAR" AND THE TITLE IS FOLLOWED BY THE EXPRESSION "WASILE PAJU TAN PAK" MEANING "BY THE GRACE OF PARUTAN PAK". THE BEGINING "ALAH TOAHAR" INSTEAD OF "ALAH TOHAR" SUGGEST THAT IT WAS COPIED FROM AN OLDER MANUSCRIPT.



THE COMPENDIUM OF GINAN-E-SHARRIF

Alijah Ahmed K. Mithani

This is the contribution sent by Alijah Mithani for the first canadian Conference on "Save Our Sources in Khojki". This contribution has 2 volets: A summary of how much has been published by the Ismailia Association for Bharat (India) in the field of Ginanic Literature and a chronology of Pirs and Seyyeds who have composed ginans.

A. The Ismailia Association for Bharat has published in the past 4 books in Gujarati with a total of 618 ginans. All of those ginans were published in Khojki for the first time in the beginning of this century by Mukhi Lalji Devraj whose work has since been unsurpassed. It is well known that Mukhi Lalji Devraj, who was working from a collection of 3,500 manuscripts, intended to publish more Ginans and Granths of which we have loss all traces.

The total Ginans published in Gujarati in my view are as under:

1. Pir Sadruddin		206
2. Pir Shamshuddin		103
3. Pir Hassan Kabirdin	84	
Other Pirs..	22	

		106
4. Seyyed Imam Shah	162	
Other Seyyeds..	41	

		203

		618

The following page gives a detailed breakdown:

Book 1.	Pir Sadruddin: Total Ginans	217	
	Less: 5 ginans repeated	5	----
			212
	Less Ginan 13 & 96 (are in Book 3)		2
	Less Ginan 68, 81, 144 & 161 (Composed by H. Kabirdin)	4	----- 206
Book 2.	Pir Shamshuddin: Total	106	
	Less: 1 ginan repeated	1	-----
			105
	Less Ginan 52, 65 & 66 as the content of 52 are in 63 & 64		
	65 are in 53 & 55		
	66 are in 56	3	
	Add "Satgur Awiya Kanyi Apne Dwar	1	----- 103
Book 3.	Pir Hassan Kabirdin: Total	79	
	Less: 4 ginans repeated	4	----
			75
	Add: Ginan 68, 81, 144 & 161 of Book 1.	4	
	Add: Ginan 73 & 73 of Book 4.	2	
	Add: Ginan 161 appears in 2 parts.	1	
	Add: "Ham dil Khalak"	1	
	Add: Ginan 7 of Pir Satgur Noor (A Ghate Sas Usas Nirinjan)	1	

	Ginans of other Pirs:	84	
		22	----- 106
Book 4.	Seyyed Imam Shah: Total	164	
	Less: Ginan 73 & 73 (Pir H. Kabirdin)	2	----
			162
	Add: Ginans of other Seyyeds:	41	
			----- 203
			----- 618

Number	NAMES	BORN	PIRATAN	DIED	GINANS
1	HABI MUHAMMED MUSTAFA	AN- AD		AN/AD	
2	PIR HAZRAT HASSAN	- 570		1- 632	
3	PIR QASSIM SHAH	3- 624		50- 670	
4	PIR JAFFER SHAH (BIN NASSAN)	47- 667		61- 681	
5	PIR IMAN ZEINUL AREDIN	49- 669	61- 681	61- 681	
6	PIR AMIR AHMED (IMAN JAFFER SADIQ)	38- 658	61- 681	95- 713	
7	PIR NOORUDDIN (IMAN MUHAMMAD B. ISHA'IL)	63- 702	95- 714	145- 765	
8	PIR IMANUDDIN	128- 746	148- 765	197- 813	
9	PIR MUHAMMAD MANSOOR	151- 768	197- 813	202- 817	
10	PIR GHALIBUDDIN	172- 788	202- 817	242- 856	
11	PIR ABDUL MAJID	220- 835	242- 856	315- 927	
12	PIR MUSTANSIR BILLAH	300- 913	315- 927	397- 1007	
13	PIR AHMED HADI	362- 973	397- 1007	425- 1034	
14	PIR HASSEN SHAH	387- 997	425- 1034	448- 1056	
15	PIR MUHAMMAD NOORUDDIN (SADQUR NOOR)	404- 1013	448- 1056	458- 1066	
16	PIR MAHMOOD SHAH	425- 1034	458- 1066	487- 1094	8
17	PIR MOHIBBUDDIN	443- 1051	487- 1094	509- 1115	
18	PIR KHALIDUDDIN	402- 1011	509- 1115	522- 1128	
19	PIR ABDUL MUHAMMAD	480- 1087	522- 1128	540- 1145	
20	PIR SALAMUDDIN	500- 1107	540- 1145	550- 1155	
21	PIR SALEHIN	516- 1122	550- 1155	579- 1183	
22	PIR SALAHUDDIN	534- 1139	579- 1183	584- 1188	
23	PIR SHAHSUDDIN	554- 1159	584- 1188	664- 1266	
24	PIR HASIRUDDIN	639- 1241	664- 1266	757- 1356	103
25	PIR SAHIBUDDIN	657- 1259	757- 1356	767- 1365	1
26	PIR SADRUDDIN	675- 1276	767- 1365	800- 1398	5
27	PIR HASSAN KABIRDIN	700- 1301	800- 1398	819- 1416	206
28	PIR TAJDIN	760- 1359	819- 1416	871- 1466	84
		756- 1355	871- 1466	876- 1471	1

DURING THE IMANAT OF IMAN

29	PIR PANDIYAT - E JAVANHARDI	MUSTANSIRBILLAH II (32)			
30	PIR HAIDER ALI	IMANS 33 - 34 - 35			
31	PIR SAYYID ALAUDIN	ABUZARALI (35)			
32	PIR QASIM SHAH	ZULFIQAR ALI			
33	PIR HASSIR MUHAMMAD	NOORDIN ALI			
34	PIR SABA HASSEN SHAH	KHALILULLAH ALI			5
35	PIR MUHAMMAD ZAMAN	MIZAN II			
36	PIR AGA AZIZ	SEYYED ALI			
37	PIR MEHRAB BAIG	HASSAN ALI			
38	PIR ALI AKBAR BAIG				
39	PIR ALI ASHGAR BAIG				2
40	PIR NASSAMALI SHAH (42 IMAN)				
41	PIR MIRZA SHAH QASIMALI (43)				
42	PIR AGA ABUL HASSANALI (44)				
43	PIR MIRZA MUHAMMAD BAQIR	ABUL HASSANALI			
44	PIR SARKAR MATA SALAMAT	SHAH HASSANALI			
45	PIR AGA SHAH HASSANALI (46)				
46	PIR AGA ALI SHAH (47)				
47	PIR AGA SHAH KHALILULLAH	SHAH ALI SHAH			
48	PIR AGA ABUL HASSAN SHAH				
49	PIR AGA SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (48)				
50	PIR AGA SHAH KARIM (49)				
TOTAL NUMBER OF GINANS					415

Number	NAMES	DURING THE IMAMAT OF IMAM	GINANS
1	SEYYED IMAM SHAH	MUSTANSIRBILLAH II	162
2	SEYYED MOHAMMED MOORBUK		1
3	SEYYED FAZAL SHAH		3
4	SEYYED REKHITULLAH SHAH		1
5	SEYYED SALEH SHAH		1
6	SEYYED KHAH	SHAH NIZAM II	4
7	SEYYED ABDUL NABI		2
8	SEYYED FATEHALI SHAH		1
9	SEYYED MIRA RENDI		2
10	SEYYED MIRAN MOHAMMED SHAH		1
11	SEYYED LAQHA SHAH		1
12	SEYYED KUTUBDIN SHAH		1
13	SEYYED AAL IMAM		1
14	SEYYED GULAMALI SHAH	SHAH KHALILLULLAH	1
15	SEYYED MOHAMMED SHAH		9
16	SEYYEDA BIBI IMAM BEGUM	HASSANALI SHAH	10
17	SEYYED MUSSEIN		1
		TOTAL GINANS PRINTED IN GUJARATI	203

GENERAL TOTAL:	618
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THE EXTENT OF OUR GINANIC LITERATURE

Al-waez Rai Abualy A. Alibhai

The Nizari Ismaili Pirs and Sayyeds who preached in the Indian subcontinent until the turn of the Century composed a vast corpus of Ginanic literature. It is a sad fact that no one today, knows for sure what was the extent of this corpus. A well known Ismaili preacher and missionary Bhagat Kara Ruda (d.1934) wrote several commentaries on Ginans, two of which, *Girbhavali* and *Bhuj Nirinjan*, I have in my possession in manuscript form. He stated that the Pirs converted half a million people to Saipanth and they composed over ten million stanzas of literature. While he does not mention his source of information, one can in my opinion rely on the integrity of such a spiritually advanced person. Today we only have a small fraction of this literature left in the printed form.

There are several reasons which have been put forward for this loss. Some of them have already been discussed today by other speakers. However, there is one reason which has not been mentioned so far and this is the migration of people out of our faith. In their mission, our Pirs converted people from varied backgrounds and over considerable geographical expanse. Over the period of time some of these groups, either due to persuasion or isolation, drifted out of our faith. Thus it is not hard to see how large chunks of literature must have been in their possession. An excellent example of this process was brought to light this morning by Al-waez Salim Musa regarding the Ginans of Sayyed Badardin.

In this presentation, I will attempt to add up all the published Ginans and Granths, in order to arrive at a numerical figure of the published material of Ginanic literature. These are as follows;

VERSE FORM

1.	Anant Akhado [P.Hk.]	500 vrs.
2.	Anant na nav chuga [P.Hk.]	90 vrs.
3.	Bai budhai no savad [Sy.IS & Sy. BB]	544 vrs. (*1)
4.	Bavan bodh [P. Sd.]	54 vrs. (*2)
5.	Brahma Prakask [P.Sh.]	150 vrs.
6.	Budh Avataar [P.Sd.]	525 vrs. (*3)
7.	Buj Nirinjan [P.Sd.]	646 vrs.
8.	Chandraban [P.Sh.]	50 vrs. (*4)
9.	Chandraban ni Vel [P.Sh.]	12 vrs.
10.	Chatur Kalap no mandann [P.Sd.]	235 vrs.
11.	Das Avataar Moto [Sy.IS]	1613 vrs.
12.	Garbi [P.Sh.]	516 vrs.

13.	Gugri na Ginano [Sy.IS]		63 vts.
14.	Hasnapuri [P.Hk.]		165 vts.
15.	Hasnapuri ni Vel [P.Hk.]		84 vts.
16.	Janatpuri [Sy.IS]		158 vts.
17.	Jankar [Sy.IS]		487 vts.
18.	Khat darshan [P.Sd.]		45 vts.
19.	Khat darshan ni Vel [P.Sd.]		81 vts.
20.	Khat Niringan [P.Sd.]		266 vts.
21.	Mansamjamanni Vadi [P.Sh.]	401 Chugas	8020 stz. (*5)
22.	Mansamjamanni Nindhi [Sy.IS]		331 vts.
23.	Moman Chetamanni [Sy.IS]		630 vts.
24.	Moman Chitvarnni [Sy.IS]		323 vts.
25.	Momin Chitvenni [P.Sd]		552 vts.
26.	Mulbandh no Achodo [P.Sh.]		550 vts. (*6)
27.	Pandav no Parab [Sy.IS]		578 vts.
28.	Putla [P.Sn]		222 vts.
29.	Raja Govarchand ni Katha [P.Sh.]		295 vts. (*7)
30.	Raja G'chand tatha teni ben no Akhiano [P.Sh.]		100 vts.
31.	Sahi Samranni [P.Sd.]		32 vts.
32.	Satgur Nur na viva [P.Hk.]		223 vts.
33.	Satvarnni Vadi [Sy.MS]	316 Chugas	4424 stz.
34.	Satvenni vadi [Sy.NMS]	222 Chugas	3108 stz.
35.	Satvenni Nendhi [Sy.IS]	22 Chugas	644 stz.
36.	Satvenni ji Vel [Sy.NMS]	150 Chugas	4500 stz.
37.	Si Harfi [Sy.AS]	8 Chugas	192 stz. (*8)
38.	Sloko Moto [P.Sh]		240 vts.
39.	Sloko Nano [P.Sd]		120 vts.
40.	So Kriya [P.Sd]		100 vts.
41.	Surbann [P.Sh.]		50 vts.
42.	Surbann ni Vel [P.Sh.]		12 vts.
43.	Vayek Moto [P.Sh.]		64 vts.
44.	Vayek ni Vel [P.Sh.]		31 vts.
45.	Vishav Kunvari na viva [P.Hk.]		233 vts. (*9)
	# Ginan Bk. 1		1333 vts.
	# Ginan Bk. 2		1440 vts.
	# Ginan Bk. 3		1365 vts.
	# Ginan Bk. 4		1517 vts.
	# Ginan Bk. 5		1387 vts.
	# ginan Bk. 6		1003 vts.

39898 vts.

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PROSE FORM

46.	46 Sunat [Sy.IS]	1 pg. (*10)
47.	Aradh [P.Sd.]	41 pgs.
48.	Athar Ved [P.Sd.]	4 pgs.
49.	Atharvedi Gavantri [Sy.IS]	4 pgs.
50.	Bavan Ghati [P.Sd.]	26 pgs.
51.	Brahma Gavantri [P.Hk.]	3 pgs.
52.	Das Avataar nano	11 pgs.
53.	Gavantri [P.Sd.]	4 pgs.
54.	Girbhavali Moti [P.Sd.]	40 pgs.
55.	Girbhavali Nani [Sy.IS]	4 pgs.
56.	Mulbandh, Sol tha! & Char chowk [Sy.IS]	247 pgs. (*11)
57.	Mur Gavantri [Sy. IS]	51 pgs.
58.	Naklanki Gita [Sy.IS]	119 pgs.
59.	Patal Gita [Sy.IS]	9 pgs. (*12)
60.	Pir Hk. ane Kanipa jogi no savad [P.Hk.]	4 pgs.
61.	Surat samachar [P.Sd.]	6 pgs.
62.	Vinod [P.Sd.]	4 pgs.
63.	Vis Tol [Sy.IS]	11 pgs.

578 pgs.

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The above list illustrates that as it stands the total extent of our published Ginanic literature is not more than some forty thousand verses and another six hundred or so pages of prose. As mentioned earlier this represents only a small part of what was originally composed. I hope that in such conferences hereto unknown works will be brought to light.

NOTES:

1. A total of 71 Ginans with alternate Ginans composed by Sayyed Imam Shah and Sayyeda Bai Budhai. There is one Ginan which appears to have been composed by Hajar Beg.
2. The collection of this Granth together with So Kriya and Sahi Samrani is sometimes known as Shikshapatri. Please refer to the article on the comparison of So Kiriya and Shikshapatri by Al-waeza Aziza Hayat in this proceedings.
3. Buddh Awatar: The published version contains 523 verses. However, I have in my possession, in manuscript form a version with 525 verses.
4. Chandrabhan and Surbhan were two disciples of Pir Shams.
5. Mansamjani: Mukhi Lalji Devraj writes that this Granth originally contained 500 chhugas or 10,000 stanzas. However, 99 pages of the manuscript were in an advanced state of deterioration. Thus he could only copy 401 pages or chhugas.
6. This includes Hans Hansli ni Varta. It is a separate book but bonded together.
7. This Granth and the following one are supplementary and exhorting the same theme.
8. Si-Harfi: Sayyed Ahmed Shah was the son of Sayyed NurMohammed Shah.
9. Also known as "Anant na Viva"
10. Chhetalis Sunnat: This is a short composition containing 46 instructions in preparation for prayers or going to the mosque.
11. This work has never been published in Gujrati.
12. A Khojki copy of this Granth has been published at the beginning of this century by Mukhi Laljibhai Devraj. Mr Mumtaz Ali Tajdin has made a Gujrati transliteration of it in 1981.

Section 9

WORKSHOPS:

WORKSHOP 1.

(From transcripts)

DR. ISMAIL: We will begin with Workshop Number 1, the unpublished ginans and granths. Salim Juma will brief us on that workshop. Salim.

SALIM JUMA: This workshop looked at the unpublished ginans and granths and today we identified 13 unpublished ginans. The text of these ginans will be compiled and circulated with the transcripts of this Conference, and we will also attempt to make a tape of the ragas of these 13 unpublished ginans.

We have identified two never published Granths: these Granths are not published in Khojki nor in Gujarati and we have also identified six granths which have been published in Khojki but not in Gujarati. The group decided that these are the eight that should be worked upon as the first priority and the work will begin on transcribing the Khojki Granths into Gujarati so that perhaps they can eventually be published in Gujarati. The group also examined the various possibilities of making those work available as soon as possible.

Dr. Ismail will be coordinating the tasks of transcription with the help of various Alwaezes and the people that have been identified. Thank you.

A. UNPUBLISHED GRANTHS

1. Chhattris Krorr. Pir Shams (Dr. S. Ismail pp 119)
2. Challis Wato. Syd. Imam Shah (A. Rahemtulla pp 122)

B. UNPUBLISHED GINANS

The following ten unpublished Ginans were presented as part of individual papers.

1. Das Avataar (Sindhi). Pir Shams (G. Khakee pp 125)
2. Purakh nari no kahoun vichar. Pir Hasan Kabirdin (K. Tajdin pp 68)
3. Murakh loka maram janne nahi. Syd. Badardin (S. Musa pp 73)
4. Elam allah nu e bhejiaa. Pir Shams (S. Musa pp 75)
5. Bar Karra. Pir Shams (S. Juma pp 92)
6. Kuchh kar lo bhaya. Pir Shams (A. Alibhai pp 107)
7. Gur diva gur chandrunna. Pir Shams (A. Alibhai pp 108)
8. Me vari vari. Pir Hasan Kabirdin (A. Alibhai pp 109)
9. Purakh nari no suhag. Pir Sadardin (A. Alibhai pp 110)
10. Naatania khel jugme rachaya. Pir Hasan Kabirdin (A. Alibhai pp 111)

In addition, the following three unpublished Ginans were tabled during the workshop.

11. Padve pahela bsham vicharo.

This Ginan was found in Bhagat Kara Ruda's commentary of Girbhavali. It is not clear who composed this Ginan. However, the style appears to be that of Pir Shams. This Ginan was tabled by Mukhi Abdulsultan Rahemtulla.

12. Aaj dhan dhan aajno dhan munivar amar hua. Pir Hasan Kabirdin

13. Eto sirajiya Kutub tara nu nur.

Titled as Pir Shams jo Garbo (not Garbi), this Ginan was found hand written on the second last page of a printed book of Pir Shams Ginans. Several elderly people have vouched having heard this Ginan being recited in Jamatkhanas. This book appears to have belonged to a certain Mr. Fatheali Shivji of Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. Currently it is with Salim Juma.

C. PUBLISHED IN KHOJKI ONLY:

1. Man Samjani Vadi. Pir Shams
2. Satvarni Vadi. Syd. Mohamed Shah
3. Patal Gita. Syd. Imam Shah
4. Anant na Viva. Pir Hassan Kabirdin

પડવે પહેલાં અવમ વીચારો,

રચનાર પીર શમશ

પડવે પહેલાં અવમ વીચારો,
બીના દેવીકા પંખી ભવો,
ઉંચ પંખીકા રૂપ નીરખ્યા,
ધરણી મગન બીચ એકલી દેખ્યા..... [૧]

દુઃખે દુપટા પરધરો,
મન મંછા બાતી કરો,
મન દેખી મનથી સો કહો,
બાહેર બીતર એકલી લેહો..... [૨]

ત્રીજે ત્રીકુટી પર ઘીયા પસારી,
જ્યાં દવાદશ માગણીકા વીચારી,
વધા અલખ પુરુષ વય અગમ બપાર,
જો સમજે સો પીયુંકા પ્યારી..... [૩]

ચોથે ચારશુ ન વીચારો,
જનમ મરણીકા સેસા ટાળો,
આપસમે નુમ આપણી રેખો,
અડસઠ તીરથ ઘટમાંથે લેખો..... [૪]

પાંચમે પાંચ પચવીસા ખોજો,
પલ પલ પડોય ત્રીકુટી સોજો,
બ્રહ્મ રૂવરૂપ સહી જ્યોત બતાવે,
સતગુર કૂપાએ અલખકો પાવે..... [૫]

છઠે છકુકા અમર ઢાળો,
નીરત સુરત પ્યાન જો ધરો,
અગન કુંડકી ભઠઠી જારો,
કરમકી રેખમે મેખજો મારો..... [૬]

સાતમી સતતનું કું જાણો,
 ખોલતે પુરુષ કું દેખ પીછાણો,
 જો ઉઠતા કર કમળ ગગનસું સાધો,
 અનવદ નાદકો નભિત નાધો.....[૭]

આઠમી અંત કમળ કું ખોજો,
 જીવન છોડ મુખા કું પુજો,
 આશા કર કર પુષા નીરાશા,
 એ સમજે કોઈ ઘરોડા દાસા.....[૮]

નવમે નવગુણ જો લાવે,
 એક અમરસુ જ્યોત જગાવે,
 નવ નાડીકો સોજે કોઈ,
 સતગુર વીના સુધા ન પોય.....[૯]

દસમે દરશન લેજો જોય,
 અગમ નીગમ પર સોજો સોય,
 જઈએ આયા પાંચી સમાયા,
 ઘમ દેખતે સુઝતી મર જાયે.....[૧૦]

અગીઆરમે જીવમ વીચારો,
 અમીરસુ મુવે અખંડકી પારો,
 ઉઠતા સુઠતા કરકે પીયો પ્યાલા,
 એ સમજો તો પીયું મતવાલા.....[૧૧]

બારસ બીતર ભેદ વીચારો,
 અનવદ ઘરકી કોઠા સારો,
 પંચ તરવકું કર જાણો,
 ઘટ ઘટમા એક રામ પીછાણો.....[૧૨]

તેરમ તેર ધોય પરીયાણ,
 રીવેણી પર હેવે ધાણ,
 જ્યાં મેંદા સુરજ જગમગ જ્યોતી,
 ઉઘટા કર દોઢમે મોતી [૧૩]

મોદસ મોદ રતનસુ રયારા,
 જ્યાં નર્મી ધય મેંદા નર્મી નારા,
 ધય સબળમે સબળમે રયારા,
 શુક્રટી મીચ સબ સંસારા [૧૪]

પુનમ પુરણ જ્યોત પુરન મેંદા,
 સબ નન વોણી કણ શોધે એધા,
 કપે સતગુર તમે શોધો કીયા,
 જ્યાં નર્મી ધય પુપ કે છાયા [૧૫]

આજ પન પન આજનો પન મુનીવર અમર પુવા

રચનાર પીર વસન કબીરદીન

આજ પન પન આજનો પન મુનીવર અમર પુવા,
જેણે પરમાણે ને પરજાતે સામી રાજો આવીયારે,
તમે જાગો મુનીવર વીર ગાફલ થઈને કાંટા રે સુતા,
તમે જાગો રીખીસર વીર અવલ શાવ પીરને જંપો,
જેણે જાગેતા નહી અપ્યા શંક કસણી આપે સહીને રવા.....[૧]

ઇ તો પહેલો પીર પહેલો સંધ તીયા કોણ જાગીયારે,
એ તો પહેલો પઘોર કીરતાન જાગ રાજા પહેલાજ જાગીયારે,
જેણે કીલીમાંણે આપ સાચાણા કસણી આપે સહીને રવા,
કોડી પંથ મુનીવર વીર અમરાપુરી જઈને પોતા,
તમે જાગો.....[૨]

ઇ તો બીજી પઘોર કીરતાન જાગ રયા રાજા વરીખંડ જાગીયારે,
જેણે કાશીમાંણે આપ વેચાણા કસણી આપે સહીને રવા,
કોડી સાન મુનીવર વીર અમરાપુરી જઈને પોતા,
તમે જાગો.....[૩]

ઇ તો ત્રીજી પઘોર ત્રીજીની જાગા રયા રાજા ભુજંગ જાગીયારે,
જેણે ઘીમાંણે ઘાડ ગરાયા કસણી આપે સહીને રવા,
કોડી નવ મુનીવર વીર અમરાપુરી જઈને પોતા,
તમે જાગો.....[૪]

ઇ તો ચોથી પઘોર કલજુગની જાગ રયા પીર વસન કબીરદીન જાગીયારે,
જેણે નહી માંણે લોલો ફરાયા કસણી આપે સહીને રવા,
કોડી બાર મુનીવર વીર અમરાપુરી જઈને પોતા,
તમે જાગો.....[૫]

ઇ તો અઞ્કલ ઉલડારે સંગ રયા પીર વસન કબીરદીન જાગીયારે,
કોડી અનંતની ભુજે છે વાટ પીર વસન કબીરદીન તારશેરે,
તમે જાગો.....[૬]

એતો સીરજીયા કુતુબ તારાનુ નુર

રચનાર પીર શમશ

એતો સીરજીયા કુતુબ તારાનુ નુર કે,
પેજતન પાકના રે લોલ.....[૧]

તે સીતેર પજાર વરસસુ ઠગમતા સાઉ,
કે ફરાફરી આપમેરે લોલ.....[૨]

તે તારાનુ નખી મલમલ નુર કે,
આલે સીરતાજ પારે લોલ.....[૩]

તે ના ઘાર ગલા માળે ફાતમાત નુર,
જમુકે જેમ બીજીરે લોલ.....[૪]

તે ના મે કને ગુર વસન પુસેન,
અમાયે તેજમા રે લોલ.....[૫]

તે નુરે રચીયા સાત પાતાલ કે,
રચીયા હશ આશમાન રે લોલ.....[૬]

તેજે અરસ કુરસને કોપા આપ કે,
લોલ કલમ સીરજીયા રે લોલ.....[૭]

એમ બોલયા ગુર પીર શમશ પીર કે,
સરવે સીરજી પારો લોલ.....[૮]

WORKSHOP 2

(From transcripts)

The next workshop is on cataloguing, methodology of cataloguing and scientific way of cataloguing as well as translating and Dr. Khaki will present the workshop.

DR. KHAKI: The workshop was chaired by Dr. Asani and attended by Alwaez Khizr Hayat, Noorudin Rajan, Aziza Hayat and Gulshan Khaki. It was on cataloguing and we were hoping to get a scientific methodology from Dr. Asani on how to catalogue but that is impossible in such a short time.

Scientific cataloguing is time consuming and it really does require a methodology which you have to explain over a long session. We looked at two of Rai Abualy's manuscripts and have made a notation of what is in the manuscripts, one is dated 1862 A.D. and the list of contents is on the first page beginning with Kalame Mowla, Manhar, Chandrabhan of Pir Shams, Moman Chetamni and so on. There are eleven large works.

While cataloguing, you describe the manuscript, like this: it is eight and a half inches by ten inches, one and a half inch thick. It is embossed leather binding. The date given is 1862 A.D., that is important, black ink, and then you have to say how you feel, whether it is very legible or not and this one is very legible. The numbering, although most of the manuscript is in black ink, the numbering and the titles are done in red ink. That makes it even clearer. After folio 220, there are about 20 or 30 more folios, but after 220, the ink is coming through the paper and it is not very legible.

The second manuscript is, I think from Kharadar Jama'i-Khana in Karachi and it is 91 pages, five inches by eight and a half inches, by half an inch thick. It looks recent although we didn't find a date on it.

RAI ABUALY: It should be late 18th Century.

DR. KHAKI: Late 18th Century would make it 1700'something. I would put it later but you know, this is my opinion. It is blue paper, bluish paper with black ink and also it is quite legible. And I have put a comment here that it looks fairly recent but as I said I couldn't find a date or anything. It begins with Sloko of Pir Shams.

Now, there are probably other works in it but there is no table of contents, and we did not have time to go through it page by page. And then we were looking at Mr. Nagib Tajdin's two documents, which were laminated only two days back and they are very difficult to read these manuscripts.

One is a large paper, another one is a fairly small one, about 4 inches by 6 - 7 inches.

They appear to be Farmans, and there are seals of the Imams. Sultan Muhammad Shah's time but we couldn't decipher in such a short time what they say or to whom they are addressed. The Mukhi and Kamadias are mentioned, and I think there is a date, 1360 or something like that on one of them. Anyway, this is probably a Hijra dating.

You know these are the kinds of problems you have to face when you have to catalogue manuscripts, but I hope that may be in the next meeting, Dr. Asani will be able to guide us more. Thank you.

ABU/1

PAGES:

SIZE:

8.5*10"

INK:

Black (Titles, numbers, etc. are in red)

BINDING:

Embossed leather

WRITING:

Very legible

DATE:

1862 AD

WRITER:

GENERAL STATE

OF CONSERVATION:

Good but after folio 120, ink is coming through, so illegible.

LAST SEEN

Missionary Abualy Alibhay in 1990

CONTENTS

(FRONT PAGE):

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 01 * Kalame Mowla | |
| 02 * Manhar | (Seyyed Gulamali Shah) |
| 03 * Chandrabhan | (Pir Shams) |
| 04 * Moman Chetavni | (Seyyed Imamshah) |
| 05 * Marsiya | (Imam Hussein) |
| 06 * Sarveni | (Seyyed Mohamed Shah) |
| 07 * Stoko | (Pir Shams) |
| 08 * Naklanki Gita- | |
| Kariya Sath | (Pir Hassan) |
| 09 * Sarveni | (Pir Sadardin) |
| 10 * Khak nama | |
| 11 * Mairaj nama | |

Section 10

APPENDIX:

KHOJKI

Self - Instructor

A simple Guide for Beginners

with Pronunciations
in Roman Characters

By

MUMTAZ ALI TAJDDIN S. ALI

Karachi, (1989)

KODWAIWALA

ALPHABET

ਅ	ਭੀ	ਓ	ਘ	ਓ
a	i	oo	c	o
ਕਾ	ਖਾ	ਗਾ	ਘਾ	ਙਾ
ਚਾ	ਚਾ	ਜਾ	ਝਾ	ਨਾ
ਟਾ	ਠਾ	ਡਾ	ਢਾ	ਨਾ
ਤਾ	ਥਾ	ਦਾ	ਧਾ	ਨਾ
ਪਾ	ਫਾ	ਬਾ	ਭਾ	ਮਾ
ਯਾ	ਰਾ	ਲਾ	ਵਾ	ਸਾ
ਸ਼ਾ	ਹਾ	ਲਾ	ਕਸ਼ਾ	ਗਨਾ
ਫ਼ਾ	ਤਰ	ਗਾ	ਧਾ	ਬਾ

The letters of alphabet are classified into two categories. The letters which can be pronounced independently by themselves are called VOWELS. The letters which cannot be pronounced independently, but require the addition of vowels are called CONSONANTS. Six vowels and forty consonants of the Khojki script have been tabulated in this booklet, which are written from left to right.

VOWELS:

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Roman</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>
↵	a	: short as a in Ali
↵ᳵ	a(aa)	: long as a in Alamut
ᳵᳵ	i (ee)	: short as i in Imam
ᳵᳵᳵ	u(oo)	: short as oo in Noor
ᳵᳵᳵᳵ	e	: long as e in empty
ᳵᳵᳵᳵᳵ	o	: just as o in opera

CONSONANTS:

The consonants are arranged in five different groups according to the different organs of speech used in pronouncing them.

1. Guttural Group (ਕ ਘ ਗ ਘ ਙ)

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Roman</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>
ਕ	: ka	: as k in Karim
ਖ	: Kha	: as kh in Khalil
ਗ	: ga	: as gu in gun
ਘ	: gha	: as gh in ghost
ਙ	: anga	: as ng in dung

2. Palatal Group (ਚ ਛ ਜ ਝ ਞ)

ਚ	: cha	: as ch in church
ਛ	: chha	: as chh in chhatri
ਜ	: ja	: as z in zamindar
ਝ	: ja	: as ju in jug
ਞ	: nya	: as n in pinch.

3. Cerebral Group (ཅ ཇ ཁ ལ ཅ ཇ)

ཅ	: <u>ta</u>	: hard as t in terminal
ཇ	: <u>tha</u>	: hard as th in thug
ཁ	: <u>da</u>	: hard as d in done
ལ	: <u>dha</u>	: hard as dh in dhol
ཅ	: <u>na</u>	: as n is pronounced in Memon

4. Dental Group (ཎ ཡ ར ལ ཎ)

ཎ	: <u>ta</u>	: soft as t in Tibet
ཡ	: <u>tha</u>	: soft as th in thermal
ར	: <u>da</u>	: soft as d in darkhana
ལ	: <u>dha</u>	: soft as th in them
ཎ	: <u>na</u>	: as n in nervous

5. Labial Group (प फ भ म न)

प	: pa	: as p in parade
फ	: fa	: as f in France
भ	: ba	: as b in birth
म	: bha	: as bh in Bhopal
न	: ma	: as m in Qaim

Miscellaneous Group:

a) Liquid Group (य र ल व)

य	: ya	: as y in young
र	: ra	: as r in Razi
ल	: la	: as l in luck
व	: va	: as v in verb

b) Aspirate Group (स श ह)

स	: sa	: as s in such
श	: sh	: as sh in Shams
ह	: ha	: as h in Hasan

c) Cerebral Liquid (ૐ)

ੌ : *la* : as *l* is in *kamal* (lotus)

d) Combined letters: (ੲ ੳ ੴ ੵ)

ੲ : *ksa* : as *ct* in *action*

ੳ : *gna* : as *gn* in *gnan*

ੴ : *dhr* : as *dr* in *drug*

ੵ : *tr* : as *tru* in *truck*

These letters are each a combination of two consonants. It appears that Khojki did not originally possess signs for conjunct consonants, which were derived from Devnagari script in later Khojki texts. The other three letters of Khojki are as under :-

੶ : *ga* : as *g* in *glad*

੷ : *dha* : as *th* in *them*

੸ : *bha* : as *bh* in *Bhopal*

The letter *ga* is pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ and in fact, it is sounded as double letters. Other two letters (*dha* and *bha*) are

resembling (ཅ ས), which are normally not in use.

The pronunciation given in Roman characters should prove of some guidance except in the case of a few characters which need further elaboration.

The first group (ཁ ཡ འ ཅ ཟ) is spoken from the throat. Hence it is called the guttural group. The second palatal group (འ ཡ འ ར ལ) is pronounced by the front part of the tongue touching the palate flatly. The third cerebral group (ར ལ ལ ལ ལ) is pronounced by rolling the tongue to touch the top of the palate. The fourth dental group (ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ) is produced when the tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth. The fifth labial group (ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ) is produced with the lips.

The last letter of each group is nasal (ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ). To get correct pronunciation of these characters, let the sound come through the nose while using the respective organs of speech of that group. The pronunciation of four nasals (ལ ལ ལ ལ) need no trouble. When conjoined as compounds with other consonants their sounds are determined by the letters which immediately follow them. So far as the sounds of the four nasals are concerned, the students must follow the following instructions :

ལ: anga is pronounced as ng in dung. There is a slight movement at the junction of the lower jaw and the throat, with the sound coming

through the nose. It is usually found immediately before a guttural.

ꠄ nya is pronounced as n in lynch, pinch etc. There is a very slight movement of the tongue, but no portion is contacted, with the sound coming through the nose.

ꠅ nna is a harder letter being pronounced by touching the back of the palate with the tip of the tongue, with the sound coming through the nose.

꠆ na is pronounced as in the English *not*, but here *na* is more dental than the English. The sound comes through the nose, e.g. *nano*

In pronouncing the letter ꠇ (*ma*), as a nasal, the lips contact each other and the sound comes through the nose, e.g. ꠇ ꠌ ꠘ (*magar*).

The correct use of these four nasals can be mastered only through practice. The letter ꠄ and ꠅ are somewhat more emphatically pronounced than the simple ꠄ and ꠅ. The dental ꠆ and ꠇ are softer than the English equivalents (*t* and *d*). ꠈ is more emphatic sound than the simple ꠈ . ꠉ is *f* and not *ph*.

In pronouncing the liquids(ꠊ ꠋ ꠌ ꠍ) of the miscellaneous group, the tip of the tongue does not touch completely and portion of the mouth. ꠊ has a sound midway between the English *v* and *w*, but

is neither. ୦୦୨ ୍୧ ୍୨ ୩ are produced in the same way as the vowels are. Hence they are sometimes spoken of as half-vowels.

While pronouncing the aspirates ୍୪ ୍୵ ୍୶ , we are required to take a deep breath, which means that in pronouncing these letters, a kind of expiration of air is experienced.

Khojki adds but one character, cerebral liquid ୍୷ (la). It is pronounced like ୍୺ but with the tongue more rolled up.

The above all may serve as a specimen of the most tangible forms of the Khojki's pronunciation.

Exercise:

୦୩ ୍୵ : *nakh* : nail

୦୪ ୍୶ : *thag* : rogue

୦୫ ୍୶ : *ghar* : house

୦୬ ୍୷ : *fal* : fruit

୦୭ ୍୶ ୍୶ : *batak* : duck

୦୮ ୍୶ ୍୶ : *magar* : crocodile

୦୯ ୍୶ ୍୶ : *kamal* : lotus

୧୦ ୍୶ ୍୶ : *lasann* : garlic

ا ج ر ک	: ajgar	: phyton
پ ک ن ز	: partak	: manifest
ز ر ز ر	: zamzam	: sacred well
پ پ پ پ	: khaskhas	: poppy

Barakhadi of the Consonants

In Khojki script each vowel combined with a consonant is represented by a special mark or sign, either prefixed, suffixed, or placed on the top of, or underneath the consonant. It is of primary importance to master these marks or signs. These produce different sounds of a single consonant, the series of these sounds being called the *barakhadi*. Let us take the consonant *ز* (ka) and see how the different vowels (their symbols) are attached to it.

sign	equiv.	applied like	pronounced
ل	: aa :	kaa	: as ca in cartoon (suffixed)
پ	: i :	ki	: as ki in kin (prefixed)
ک	: ee :	kee	: as kee in keep (suffixed)
و	: oo :	ku	: as cu in cushion (fixed underneath)
~	: e	ke	: as ca in camel (placed on top)
گ	: o	ko	: as co in corner (suffixed)
.	: n	kan	: as con in convert (fixed on top)

Again:

କ	+	।	=	କ।	: ka : such as	କ। ଖ
କ	+	ୂ	=	କି	: ki : as	କି ଗା ଖ
କ	+	ୃ	=	କି	: kee : as	କି ଟା ଖ
କ	+	ୂ	=	କୁ	: ku : as	କୁ ଡା ଖ
କ	+	ୃ	=	କେ	: ke : as	କେ ଡେ ଖ
କ	+	ୃ	=	କୋ	: ko : as	କୋ ଡେ ଖ
କ	+	ୂ	=	କୁମ	: kun : as	କୁମ ଡେ ଖ

The consonants being governed with the above signs for different sounds are given in the next page.

ਅ	ਆ	ੳ	ਊ	ਏ	ਐ	ਓ	ਊਂ
a	aa	ee	oo	e		o	un

ਕ	ਕਾ	ਕਿ	ਕੀ	ਕੁ	ਕੇ	ਕੋ	ਕਾਂ
ka	kaa	ki	kee	ku	ke	ko	kan

ਖ	ਖਾ	ਖਿ	ਖੀ	ਖੁ	ਖੇ	ਖੋ	ਖਾਂ
kha	khaa	khi	khee	khu	khe	kho	khun

ਗ	ਗਾ	ਗਿ	ਗੀ	ਗੁ	ਗੇ	ਗੋ	ਗਾਂ
ga	gaa	gi	gee	gu	ge	go	gun

ਘ	ਘਾ	ਘਿ	ਘੀ	ਘੁ	ਘੇ	ਘੋ	ਘਾਂ
gha	ghaa	ghi	ghee	ghu	ghe	gho	ghun

ਙ	ਙਾ	ਙਿ	ਙੀ	ਙੁ	ਙੇ	ਙੋ	ਙਾਂ
anga	angaa	angi	angee	angu	ange	ango	angun

ਚ	ਚਾ	ਚਿ	ਚੀ	ਚੁ	ਚੇ	ਚੋ	ਚਾਂ
cha	chaa	chi	chee	chu	che	cho	chun

ਛ	ਛਾ	ਛਿ	ਛੀ	ਛੁ	ਛੇ	ਛੋ	ਛਾਂ
chha	chhaa	chhi	chhee	chhu	chhe	chho	chhun

ਜ	ਜਾ	ਜਿ	ਜੀ	ਜੁ	ਜੇ	ਜੋ	ਜਾਂ
za	zaa	zi	zee	zu	ze	zo	zun

ଜ	ଜା	ଜି	ଜେ	ଜୁ	ଜେ	ଜୋ	ଜଂ
ja	jaa	ji	jee	ju	je	jo	jun
ଝ	ଝା	ଝି	ଝେ	ଝୁ	ଝେ	ଝୋ	ଝଂ
nya	nyaa	nyi	nyee	nyu	nye	nyo	nyun
ଟ	ଟା	ଟି	ଟେ	ଟୁ	ଟେ	ଟୋ	ଟଂ
ta	taa	ti	tee	tu	te	to	tun
ଥ	ଥା	ଥି	ଥେ	ଥୁ	ଥେ	ଥୋ	ଥଂ
tha	thaa	thi	thee	thu	the	tho	thun
ଡ	ଡା	ଡି	ଡେ	ଡୁ	ଡେ	ଡୋ	ଡଂ
da	daa	di	dee	du	de	do	dun
ଢ	ଢା	ଢି	ଢେ	ଢୁ	ଢେ	ଢୋ	ଢଂ
dha	dhaa	dhi	dhee	dhu	dhe	dho	dhun
ଣ	ଣା	ଣି	ଣେ	ଣୁ	ଣେ	ଣୋ	ଣଂ
na	naa	ni	nee	nu	ne	no	nun
ତ	ତା	ତି	ତେ	ତୁ	ତେ	ତୋ	ତଂ
ta	taa	ti	tee	tu	te	to	tun
ଥ	ଥା	ଥି	ଥେ	ଥୁ	ଥେ	ଥୋ	ଥଂ
tha	thaa	thi	thee	thu	the	tho	thun

દ	દા	દિ	દી	દુ	દે	દો	દન
da	daa	di	dee	du	de	do	dun
ઢ	ઢા	ઢિ	ઢી	ઢુ	ઢે	ઢો	ઢન
dha	dhaa	dhi	dhee	dhu	dhe	dho	dhun
ના	ના	નિ	ની	નુ	ને	નો	નન
na	naa	ni	nee	nu	ne	no	nun
પ	પા	પિ	પી	પુ	પે	પો	પન
pa	paa	pi	pee	pu	pe	po	pun
ફ	ફા	ફિ	ફી	ફુ	ફે	ફો	ફન
fa	faa	fi	fee	fu	fe	fo	fun
બ	બા	બિ	બી	બુ	બે	બો	બન
ba	baa	bi	bee	bu	be	bo	bun
ભ	ભા	ભિ	ભી	ભુ	ભે	ભો	ભન
bha	bhaa	bhi	bhee	bhu	bhe	bho	bhun
મ	મા	મિ	મી	મુ	મે	મો	મન
ma	maa	mi	mee	mu	me	mo	mun
ય	યા	યિ	યી	યુ	યે	યો	યન
ya	yaa	yi	yee	yu	ye	yo	yun
ર	રા	રિ	રી	રુ	રે	રો	રન
ra	raa	ri	ree	ru	re	ro	run

ਲ	ਲਾ	ਲੀ	ਲੀ	ਲੁ	ਲੇ	ਲੋ	ਲੰ
la	laa	li	lee	lu	le	lo	lun
ਵ	ਵਾ	ਵੀ	ਵੀ	ਵੁ	ਵੇ	ਵੋ	ਵੰ
va	vaa	vi	vee	vu	ve	vo	vun
ਸ	ਸਾ	ਸੀ	ਸੀ	ਸੁ	ਸੇ	ਸੋ	ਸੰ
sa	saa	si	see	su	se	so	sun
ਸ਼	ਸ਼ਾ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੇ	ਸ਼ੋ	ਸ਼ੰ
sha	shaa	shi	shee	shu	she	sho	shun
ਹ	ਹਾ	ਹੀ	ਹੀ	ਹੁ	ਹੇ	ਹੋ	ਹੰ
ha	haa	hi	hee	hu	he	ho	hun
ਲ	ਲਾ	ਲੀ	ਲੀ	ਲੁ	ਲੇ	ਲੋ	ਲੰ
la	laa	li	lee	lu	le	lo	lun
ਕ	ਕਾ	ਕੀ	ਕੀ	ਕੁ	ਕੇ	ਕੋ	ਕੰ
ksa	ksaa	ksi	ksee	ksu	kse	kso	ksun
ਗ	ਗਾ	ਗੀ	ਗੀ	ਗੁ	ਗੇ	ਗੋ	ਗੰ
gna	gnaa	gni	gnec	gnu	gne	gno	gnun
ੜ	ੜਾ	ੜੀ	ੜੀ	ੜੁ	ੜੇ	ੜੋ	ੜੰ
dhr	dhra	dhri	dhree	dhru	dhre	dhro	dhrun
ਤ	ਤਾ	ਤੀ	ਤੀ	ਤੁ	ਤੇ	ਤੋ	ਤੰ
tr	tra	tri	tree	tru	tre	tro	trun

ઢાઢાદે ડીઢાઢાઢા સેવા

સેવા નામવા મંદળે તેભા લાવાદળ નાદમ
જાત્રાદ પવે બાળે છે, ડાદીદી ઢાવળે વલ્લા
મઢાઢા ઢામુલેળ પદાલી ઢાત્રભે પાઢાભા પેદા
ઢાદભાદભા સેવા ઢાદવાભા નામ ઢોટી ફદડા
છે. તે પાત્ર પદવદદીઢાદ દદેત્ર ઢાઢાભાઢાં
દેદી, ઢાઢભે નામુલદળા નવઢાદ ચેતો ના-
વળે છે, નભે તે વખતે તે નવઢાદ પાત્રુ
ઢામુલેળઢાંબા ઢોઢ પુદળ ભામુમ વ્ઢોઢે ઢાભ
ડાદટીબા ઢભપઢા ઢઢા. તેઢ તેભા સેવા ઢાદભે
નામદ બુખભે પદોંજઢા ઢઢા.

ઢામુલેળભા ઢાઢાભાઢાં બુદાવંદ નામઢાભ
છીઢાઢા ડાપે ઢાદાઢે છે, ઢાદે ઢે વખતે ઢે
છીઢાઢાભે વાદે. ઢોળ, તેભે ઢાઢાદ છીઢાઢા
ઢાદાદે ઢભપઢા ઢોહીપ, તે પદમળેભા સેવા
ઢાદવાભા નાપદા દદેત્રભા ફદડા છે. ઢાઢાદ
છીઢાઢે ઢે ઢે ફદડાભે. ઢાદાં ઢોળ તે ફદ-
ડાભે. નામુલદ વદળભ દાપુ' તે દદેત્ર
ઢાદદ ઢપદ ઢાઢઢા છે. ઢાઢાદ છીઢાઢા ના-
પલે દાઢમદ નામવા ઢાઢમ ઢાદાદ છે.

પોતાના બુદ્ધિદાનો કુટુંબોએ જેવે પરત્રાએ
 ખર્ચે, તેનો રાજ (ભેદ) ગ્રામ્યે બુદ્ધિદાને
 એ, માટે નાપણે નાપણા દાગર ઈશાનના
 સંપૂર્ણ નામેદાણ ગ્રહણુ* તે તે નાપણા
 ઉપર મદેદમાના ગ્રહણે નમે નાપણા મળના
 હોયે. પણ પાળણે. તેના કારણે ખર સદર-
 દીને કામનાં કદમાવણુ* એ જે:-

નામ ઈશાન નારાદો જોરા નાથી,
 તે મળ વાજા કમ પાજોગા;
 લેવા ગજો નામ બમ્મગાગા,
 નાથી નાથી ગામના પાછીપ રાદ;
 દીન કુળનાને દેણે,
 બુધ પાજો વાંતે. લેણર.

તેમજ જે ચાત્રે પોતાના દાગર ઈશાનના
 નામેદાણ બખા હઠાવના તેનો મ'ને ગદાલનાં
 કુળગ રહે એ, નમે તેનો પોતાના હોયેને
 પદાંજના બખા.

APPENDIX B.

CODE	NAMES
AA	Pir Ali Ashgar Beg
AB	Pir Ali Akbar Beg
AI	Seyyed Ali Imam
AN	Seyyed Abdal Nabi
AS	Seyyed Ahmad Shah
FA	Seyyed Faizh Ali Shah
FS	Seyyed Fazal Shah
GS	Seyyed Gulamali Shah
HK	Pir Hassan Kabirdin
HS	Pir Hassam Shah
IB	Seyyeda Imam Begum
IS	Seyyed Imam Shah
KD	Seyyed Kutubdin Shah
LS	Seyyed Ladha Shah
MI	Seyyed Miran Mohamed Shah
MM	Seyyed Miran Mehdi
MS	Seyyed Mohamed Shah
PN	Pir Nasiruddin
PS	Pir Sadardin
PT	Pir Tajdin
RS	Seyyed Rehmtullah Shah
SA	Seyyed Saleh Shah
SH	Seyyed Hussein
SK	Seyyed Khan
SN	Pir Satgur Nur
SS	Pir Shams

AUTHOR STARTING VERSE:

AA AWI NE BESO NE GHOTHaRI KaRIO

AA KAYA MAYA CHE DIN TCHAR

AI WIRA MARA JOY JOY MARGE TCHALO

AN WENTI KaROUN CHOUn SAHEB MORA

FA aME SAHEB SATHE SAHEL KIDHI

FA NaR NaKLaNKI KERI WAT KOYIK JANRE JI

FA NaWROZ NA DIN SOHAMaNA

FS ANKHaLaRI JOYI JOYI THAKI KIYARE AWE MORO SAMI

FS KATCHI KAYA MITaKI

FS SaRaG BHaWaN THI MATI MaNGAYI BHAY

GS MAL KHaJINA BOHOTaJ BHaRIYA

HK aKHaNR MANHE aME BHEDaJ PAYA

HK aNaNT KaLaP ME AGE TOUNHIJ HOTA

HK aNTKAL WELA WAPaRIRE

HK ADaM AD NINRINJaN

HK AKHaR MEHENDI KOY NE AWIYA

HK APa MOURADA MaNDE BaHANA

HK ASH POUNI HaM SHAH DaR PAYA

HK ASH TaMARI SHRI HO KaYaM SAMI

HK ASH TaMARI TRIBHOWaR SAMI

HK ASHA DHOY BENRA KOY NIWENRA

HK AWO RIKHISaR TaME TIRaT NAWO

HK BHOM MaNDaR E GAAT KAYA PATaNR

HK DHaRaM LADHO LaHINRE FOULaNR

HK DHaRaM MOURaT aHELA GOUR BHIRMA PICHANRO

HK DHIN HaKIKaT DaYAM DIL

HK DHIRA DHIRA RaKHESaRa MaN THIR RAKHO

HK DHOY BENRA HOY NIVENRA

HK DOUR DESH THI AWIYO WaNRJARO

HK EK SaPNATaR ME DITHaRa

HK GOUR KaR MERE SaNDHIYA KaR GOUR MERE SHADHI

HK HAT BAZIYA, HAT BaNIYA MEDE BHAYRE

HK IS DOUNIYA ME TOUN BHOULI KEM JAWE

HK IS DOUNIYA ME TOUN BHOULI KEM JAWE

HK JaMIN Na HOTI ASMAN Na HOTA

HK JAGO HO Ma SOUMIYO

HK JAGO JAGO BHAYRA RaYaNRa WIYANRIYA JI

HK JAGO JAGO HO Ma SOUMIYO I NaR SHAH PRAGHaT HOUWA
 HK JAGO MORE JIYARE NINDRA JAYELNRI JAGO
 HK JIS DIN MERO SAMI RAJA AWaShE
 HK JISRE BOUMBE TENRI KAYA SIRJIRE
 HK JOGI SO JO JOUGA JOUGa JOGI
 HK KaHE PIR HaSaN KaBIRDIN SREWO NaR THAN
 HK KaLJOUG AWIYO OUTAWaRO
 HK KaRI LEW KaRNI HaNS PaRONA
 HK KATCHI CHE KAYA MaN HERIDO CHE PaRMaL
 HK KAYaM MaHENDI RAHO HaSEnDA
 HK KHaNR DHaN Na HOTA TaB WED HOTA
 HK KHaRIYA PaRIYA LETIYA
 HK KIRTA JOUG MA TaME WIRaT Na PARIYOUN
 HK KIRTA JOUGE TRETa JOUGE SaNDHA LAGIJaNR
 HK KOUTOUMB PaRIWAR SaJNA
 HK LE LE LOLI KIRSHaN SHAMDE SOULOLI
 HK MaGaJ RE MOMaN MARaG LADHO
 HK MaN JITE MaN INDHA FaR OUPJE
 HK MaN JITE MaN OUTCHA FaL OUPaJE
 HK MaNDANR E GHAT KAYA PaTaN
 HK MaStaK TOPI BIRAjMIJI
 HK MELO KHUD WANRI RE BHAYO
 HK MERI MERI TE BaNDHO SOUN KaRERE
 HK MOMaN MaN EM JANRJO JI
 HK MOURADHa MANaCHE BHaNRE SHAH Na AWaNR KaRa
 HK MOWLANA SHAH SANHI NaW DANRaW CHEDIYA
 HK NaR PANCHaME THI TCHaRENGO KE TIS DIN
 HK NaWE aWTARE SHAH NaW DANaW CHEDIYA
 HK NINDH KaRTa NINDH GaY
 HK NOUR TE KHAK NIPAYA
 HK OHaNG NaMO GOUR SHaBaD HEY
 HK OUNTCHA RE KOT BaHOu WETCHaNa
 HK PaHELE DHaNDHOUKAR SAHEBE RaTCHIYA
 HK PaHELO-RE NAM KHOUDAJI KO LIJIYE
 HK PaNTHI PaNTHI HO MARa SHAHa SaB JOUG
 HK PaRaB SaRWE NIT LONRINE LIJE
 HK PANCHaM THI aLI POURaKH TCHaRaSE
 HK PANCHaM THI aLI POURaKHaj AWE
 HK PIR KAYaM HO BHAY RaHESHO
 HK POUStaK PaRI PaRI PaGaT THARA PaN ILaHI KA BHED Na
 HK RaMTa RaMTa PRaBHOU PaTaN AWIYA
 HK SaNSAR SAGHaR MaDHE BHOUli MaT JAW
 HK SaRWE JIWOUN Na JARE LEKHA LESHE
 HK SaTGOUR BHETIYA TE TCHANDARE HOUWA
 HK SaTGOUR PaRSADE SHAH MORE HATH PaG SIRaJIYA

HK SaTGOUR SOUN PRIT BaNDHAERE
 HK SaTPaNTH SaT NOU MOUKH CHE
 HK SaWaNT TCHaOUD SO NE BAWaN
 HK SAHEB FaRMAN LaKHI MOKaLIYA
 HK SHAH SaNHI, MOWLANA SHAH SaNHI
 HK SHAH-JI MARE GaYA GaMaNR GOUR-JI
 HK SOUM NaHI TOUN JAG SaWEra
 HK TRaNR TRaNR JOUG WaRTEYA MOUWIWaRO
 HK WIRA MaDH MAS Na KHAIYE
 HK aLLAH EK KHaSSaM SaBOUKA
 HS DIN KI BAT KaHIN Na JAWE
 HS TCHIT Ma DOYELA RaKHISaRO MaN SaTCH

IB DaRSHaN DIYO MORA NATH
 IB HaR DaM DHaRIYE DHIYAN aJaMPIYA TaNRO
 IB HaR DaM JaMPO PIR SHAH NO JAMP
 IB HaR DaM KaRO aBHIYAS
 IB MaRNA HEYRE JaROUR
 IB OUTH JAG MaN MERA
 IB RaHEM RaHEMAN aBaTO RaHEMa KaROGE
 IB SaNYA JI MORE DaR LAGO EK DIN KO
 IB SaTGOUR MILIYA MOUNE AJ
 IB TOUM TCHET MaN MERA

ID EHaD ROUPE THI LIL JO HOTA

IS aHOUNKAR MaDHE DHIYAN DHaRINE
 IS aHOUNKARE SaBDE SHAHA ARaMB KIYA
 IS aMaR FaL CHE GOURJI NE HATH
 IS aMRAPOURI BAHAR EK NaDI JO WAHE
 IS aMRAPOURI MaHE aNaNT CHE SOUKH
 IS aNaNT ARaNB SAMIYE aND MaHE KIDHA
 IS aNaNT ROUPE SAMIYE SHaBDaJO BHaNRIYE
 IS aWITChaL BHaGaT WIMRaS HOUWA
 IS A SaNSAR SaPNOUTAR KaRI JANRJO
 IS AD JOGI TENOU DHIYAN MOTO
 IS AD Na HOTA aNAD Na HOTA
 IS AD OUNRAD JO SaTGOUR SaRJEYA
 IS AD OUNRADE aHOUNKAR OUPNA
 IS AD OUNRADE NaR HOTA EKILA
 IS AD THaKI EK SOUN NIPAYA
 IS AGaM MUNaWO DHaRTI NO SID
 IS AJ KaLJOUG POURAN KOUFRAN TCHALIYA
 IS AJ TE aMaR AWIYA
 IS AJ TE GOUR NaR PaRTaK BETHA

IS AP NO AP PICHANO RE MOMaN
 IS APaRaM JARE AWSHE NE WaSELA OUGARSHE
 IS BaNB Na HOTA TARE aKHaR Na HOTA
 IS BaNB Na HOTA TARE BHARMA Na HOTA
 IS BAWA MOURaKH LOKE MaRaM Na JANRIYO
 IS BHARMA NE SHIW BE SaNGaT AWIYA
 IS BHARPOUR RaHELA PaN THANETAR
 IS BOLE RaWLANI SANBHAR aBaDOU
 IS CHaTRIS JOUG NE TCHORASI TCHOKaDI
 IS DaRSHaN SHAH KA TO PAYE
 IS DAKHaNR DESH MAHE RaMaWA TCHALIYA
 IS DAKHaNR DISE SHAH NOUN THANaK RaTCHIO
 IS DHaN DHaN SAHEB TORO PaNTH
 IS DHaN POUTRa MAYA
 IS DHaN RIKHISaRO TaME TIRaTH MILIYA
 IS DHaNDHOUKAR MAHE DHIYAN DHaRINE (2)
 IS DHaNDHOUKAR MAN DHIYAN DHaRINE (1)
 IS DHaRaM KaRTA ARaS Na KaRIYE
 IS DHaRMI TE JE DHaRaM WITCHARE
 IS DHAMaS ROUP NIRINJaN BaRIYE
 IS DOUL DOUL GORE NIPaNOU
 IS E JOG THI JIW NaW NIWERA THAY
 IS E KOUDHRaTE JE KOY JIW NaW ARADHE
 IS E NaR NE NARI BEWOU JOGaSOUN KHELE
 IS E TARI ASHa KaRI NE HOURS TCHaLHAR
 IS FaRMAN ELAHI JaBRAEL KOU
 IS GaT MAHE AWI KaR JORI NE RaHIYE
 IS GOUR BRaHMAJI JOUGA JOUGE AWIYA
 IS GOUR NA MELA MAHE MILSHE aNaT DEV
 IS GOUR PaRMANRI TaME JANRO
 IS GOUROUJI A RaTCHaNa RaTCHAWIYA
 IS HaMARE BAWA aMaNE HaSI NE KaHIYA
 IS HAJI MOULA SaRaWE EKaTH:A HOUWA
 IS HET DHaRI DHaRI FINR JO KIYA
 IS HETE MILI NE SaTE TCHaLaJO
 IS HETE SOUN MILORE MARA MOUNIWARO
 IS HETH DHaRINE NIR MOUKHE FaRINE
 IS HETH POURI NaGRI MAHE ASaNR SaRJIYA
 IS HINDA KaRI JIYARE ASaNRE BETHA
 IS HOWE HOWE JI SAT HaJAR NE SATSO NE
 IS HOWE HOWE JI SATCHA PAYE TCHALO
 IS IMAM POURI NaGRI MAN GOUR NaR RaHE TCHE
 IS IMAM POURI NaGRI NE KOUNWaRKA KHETRa
 IS INDH MaDHE JIYARE DHIYAN DHaRINE
 IS ITCHA KaRI JYARE ASaNRE BETHA

IS JAG JAG RE TOUN JAG MORA BHAYRE
 IS JAGaT KIYOUN NaHIRE
 IS JAGO JAGO BHAYIRA EM SHAH RaYaNR WIYANRI
 IS JIRE KaRSAN BOLTA TE aBARaT WANRI JI
 IS JIRE TARI ASHA KaRI NE
 IS JIW CHORAWA SaTPaNTH AWIYA (SHAH PIR AWIYA?)
 IS JIW NI TCHINTA HaWE KaRO
 IS JIW TOUN SOUN AWIYO SaNSARMA
 IS JOG TaNTaW KERA BHED WaKHANROUN
 IS JOGI KONRSE ASaNR TaMAROU KaHIYE
 IS JOUG MAHE SIREWA KISIKIRE HO
 IS JOUGaT JOL SaNTOK PATRa KaRO
 IS JOULFIKAR KHaNRaG LESE SHAH HATH
 IS KaLJOUG GOR aNDHAR OUPNA
 IS KaLJOUG NA JIW KaTHaNR CHE
 IS KaLJOUG POURAN PaEWaRE, BHAY SaTI WINA SOUKH
 IS KaMAY KaRO TaME MaDH RATE JAGO
 IS KaRaM KaRI KaRI KaNTHaJO PaHERI
 IS KaRNI KaMAWO MARA MOUNIWar BHAY
 IS KaRNI KaMAWO MARA MOUNIWaRO
 IS KaRNI KaMAY VELA AWORE MOUNIWaRa
 IS KaRTA JOUG MAHE SHAH NO THANaK RaTCHIYA
 IS KaWaN JOT GaGaN MAN DHaRIYA
 IS KAJ SIDHA SAHEB PAYA
 IS KAJI MOULA PAD SHAH SOUN WAT Ja KaRIYA
 IS KONR GOUR aME TaMNE KaHIYE
 IS KONRSE ASaNRE HOY BHIRMA
 IS LIL WaRaNR DHaNDHOUKAR JO HOTA
 IS LIL WaRaNR DHaNDHOUKARaJ HOTA
 IS LOBH SaWARaTHE JIW TOUN BHOULIYO
 IS LOBH SaWARaTHE JOUGE WAPIYO
 IS MaNKHA JINaT TEN DEHI DHaRI
 IS MANA MANA MANA MANHE RaHENRA
 IS MEGHA DAMaNR SIR CHaTRa DHARSE
 IS MIRJA KHALaQ SIREWO TO BHaLERE
 IS MOMaN JENE SIRaJIYA TENE WARJO JI
 IS MOMaN MAHADaN AWaSHE
 IS MOMaN TaME GaT NA MELA MAHE AWO
 IS MOUNIWar ESA JO LOUNRIYA
 IS MOUNIWar MAHADaN AWaSHE
 IS NaW aWaTaR AGE WaYIGaYA
 IS NATH TaMARA SO TCHELA HaMARA
 IS NILRE DHaNDHOUKAR SHAH APE RaTCHIYA
 IS OUTaM THAWO TO TaME aLaKH NE ARADHO
 IS OUTHa BETHaRE KIYA SOUTA

IS PaRBHATE OUTHINE SHAH MARO
 IS PaRTaK ATH LAKH KaRaNR MaDHE
 IS PaRTaK PATRa NE PARKHINE PREME POUJINE PAY
 IS PaRTHaM DHaNDHOUKARaJ HOTA (1)
 IS PaRTHaM DHaNDHOUKARaJ HOTA (2)
 IS PaRTHaM HET KI TEJ OUPAYA
 IS PaRTHaM JOG KERA MOUL WaKHANRO
 IS PaRTHaM PaHELO MaN WARO APaNO
 IS PANCHaME POUNaM TCHAND OUGAYO
 IS PIR IMAM SHAH GINAN BOLIYA TaME SOUNO MOUNIWAR
 IS PIR IMAM SHAH KOUN BOLIYA RaM WANRETHI ADHaNaKI JA
 IS PIR KaBIRDIN JOMO SIFARIYOUN
 IS PIR WINA PAR Na PAMIYA
 IS PIRE TE DHIYAWO SaT NA CHORO
 IS PIYOUN PIYOUN KIIYE
 IS POURaW JaNaM NO BHAG HaMARO
 IS PRANR SIRaJINE SAMI PIND NIPAYA
 IS RENRI DIPaK SaWARIYE aTE JESA PUNaM TCHAND
 IS SaB aNTE JENRE SaT OUPAYA
 IS SaNSAR SAGRa MAN WaRJEAYA
 IS SaNYAJI WIKHRALRE
 IS SaT NA GHaT: WIRA SaREWIYA aNE GHAT: PAT: NI WAR
 IS SaTCHA MOUNIWAR SO KaHIYE
 IS SaTCHA RE SaTPaNTH PaRIYA
 IS SaTE TCHALO MARA MOUNIWARO
 IS SaTGOUR BHIRMA NO ASaNR POUJO
 IS SaTGOUR SOUN SaTPaNTH JANRIYA
 IS SaTI SOUHAGAN TISE KaHOU JE JALE PIYOUN KE SATH
 IS SaTPaNTH ASO KaRI SIREWIYE
 IS SaTPaNTH PaDHARaTH TaME SODINE LEJO
 IS SaTPaNTH SATCHA NE GOURJI NI WATCHA
 IS SaTPaNTH SREWO MERE BHAY
 IS SAHEB JI NA KHaT MAHE ESAJ LIKHIYA
 IS SATCHO DHIYAWO NE GINAN WITCHARO
 IS SATCHO JANRO NE PIR PICHANRO
 IS SHAH NA KHaT AWIYA WIRA JaMPOUDIP MAN
 IS SIRBaNDH SHAH NE KAJE LAWIYA
 IS SOHI SATCHA YARA MOUNIWARa
 IS SOL KaLA LaY OUGAYO aNE JESO POUNaM TCHAND
 IS SOUN MaDHE JIYARE SREWA JO JAGI
 IS SOUN MaDHE JONE BaNBaJ HOTA
 IS SOUTaK PaTaK GaTMAHE KHOTO
 IS SOUTaK RAKHI GaT MAHE AWO
 IS TaB PIR KaBIRDIN HaMKU SaKaR DIYA
 IS TaMARA THAY aME SREWA MA BETHA

IS TaME GaFLaT ME NA SOUWORE MOUNIWaRO
 IS TaME SOUNRO MOUNIWaRO WED WITCHAR
 IS TCHARE KHANRI NE NIRINJaN NI WANRI
 IS TIYAN THI GOURJI AP SaDHARaYA (1)
 IS TIYAN THI GOURJI AP SaDHARIYA (2)
 IS TIYAN THI GOURJI GOUJRAT MAHE AWIYA
 IS TRaN TRaN WED NA DHIYAWO MOUNIWaR BHAY
 IS WAJaSE SaT NI BHER SaTI LOK TCHaRSE JI
 IS WALI WALI NaR MANHI MANHI RaMSE
 IS WED WITCHARI TaME TCHALO
 IS WELA POHOTI NE WED WITCHARO
 IS WELA POHOTI NE WILAMB NA KJIYE
 IS WIMRaS KaRI GaT: THAPIYE aNE KJIYE WIMaRaS PRIT
 IS WIRCHA SHER MAHE SHAH MARO TaKHAT (WIRCHA=KAHEK)
 IS YE GaT JOMO SAMI RAJA AWIYA

KD SaT TaNRE MOUKH MAR Na HOWE

LS NIRMAL TCHALO TEKJE FAL AHI PAMO

MI SAMBHaL GAFLA HOJIO BHAYa

MM ETO SHAH SaRaS GOUNR aPNA

MS BHaLERE BHAY TaME KaR LIYO KaMAY
 MS BHaMaR GOUFA OUPaR DEKHaNTA
 MS JIW NO DHaNDHO TaME SOUN KaRO
 MS OUGaMIYA SO-RE(?) ATHaMIYA
 MS SaTI SATE TCHALIYA CHORO aWaR SOUN NEH
 MS SAHEBBI TOUN MORE MaN BHAWE
 MS SATCHO TOUN MORA SANHIYA aWAR Na DOUJA BHAY KOI
 MS TCHILA TCHORI DIN KA

PN HOUN BaLHARI TaME SHAH RAJA

PS aBaJ Na BOUJE TENE KEM KaHIYE
 PS aBHI aBHI ATaR BOUJ BOUJaNTaR
 PS aJaB aJAYEB DEKHO MOMaN BHAY
 PS aJaR JARIYO Na JAY
 PS aLaF NIRALE KHALaQ RAJA
 PS aLaKH ACHER ABED APaRaMPAR
 PS aLaKH SREWO BANA APaNRou
 PS aLaKH SREWO BANA HET DHaRI
 PS aLA EK KHaSaM SaBHOUKA
 PS aMaR TE AYO MORE SHAHAJJO EMOUJaLA

PS aN NA PaRaBH JIYARE KHOUTaSHE
 PS aWaL TOUNHI AKHaR TOUNHI
 PS aWITCHaL aLa aWITCHaL KHALaQ
 PS AD TO aLaKH aGIYA RaMIYO
 PS AGHaM BHANKHIYA GOUR PaRTaK BETHIYA
 PS AHIN KaRIYOU MOMaN MaN DHIRaRE
 PS ALaMOT GaDH PATaNR DELaM DESH BHAYIRE
 PS ANaND ANaND KaRIYO RIKHISaRO aWaL SHAH TaME PAYA
 PS ANRE GHaTE SASO
 PS ASMANI TaMBHaL WAJIYA
 PS ATMARaM TaME AWIGaT SIREWO
 PS ATMARaM TaME BHaNRA GINANI
 PS AWA GOUR NaR SAMI NE SREWIYE
 PS AWA GOUR NaR SAMI SOUN HET
 PS AWO GATIYOU RE BaNDHE SAMI RAJA ASOU POURaWE HOJIR
 PS AWO MARA BHAYIRA GaTMA aNRSaTH; TIRaTH NO CHE
 PS AWO MARA MOUNIwaRO BHAYIRA HOJI
 PS AWO MARA SAMI RAJA DHaRMI RAJA
 PS AYO AYO HaNSE JO RAJA
 PS BANA TOUN SaTCHE THI SaTCHE SHAHKE SIREWE
 PS BHARPOUR RAJA THAKA TE BETHA
 PS BHAY MOMINO-JI AWINE BESO aMIRAS PIYO
 PS BHAY TINI VIREJIOUN OUMEDOUN ASOU POUNIYOUN
 PS BHAYRE BHAR Ma T:aNRO YAR Ma BOLEO aRaTH MA PERI
 PS BHORA RE BHORA MANWI
 PS BINDRARE WaNMAN SOUKH TCHARERE GAWaNTRI
 PS DEHI NA DHaNDHA KARaN TaME JOUG MAHE FIRO
 PS DESH DELaM ME SHAH HaRI aWaTaRIYA
 PS DESH DELaM ME SHAH JaGAYA
 PS DHaN DHaN AJ NO DARaLO
 PS DHaN DHaN RaHENRI AJ NO DIN RaRIAMaNU
 PS DHaN HO RIKHISaR TaME TIRaTH NAYA
 PS DHaNDHOUKAR MAN APE SAMI EHaD ROUPaJ HOTA
 PS DHaNDHOUKAR NI SANKH MARJE
 PS DHaNRE GHaRI JO DIN SaNT PaDHARIYA
 PS DHIARE DHADHAMA NE SAMI RAJA TCHINRIYA
 PS DHIRO DHIRO MOMaNO
 PS DIL NA DaGHA BaNDE
 PS DIWaRA BaTI MAHE JIOU TEL SaMANRA
 PS DIWRA BaTIJI JIYAN TEL SaMANR
 PS DOUL DOUL GHORE aLI TCHaRSHE SHAH
 PS DOUL DOUL GHORE SATCHO SAMI RAJO TCHaRaSHE
 PS DOUNIYA SIRaJINE SHAH MORE aNa OUPAYA JI
 PS DOUNIYA TCHaLaTra DEKHAKE
 PS EK aCHaMBO SOUNRO BHAY KaHERA

PS FIRaT NEJA TaMBaL WAJaSHE
 PS FIRaT NEJA TamBaL WAJaSHE
 PS FOULaRA MA TCHOUT;IS BHORA MaHESaRI
 PS GaT LO KA JI -E OUMAYO SHAM
 PS GaT PAT WERA AWI THUKANRI (?)
 PS GAT MAHE AWINE WIRA BHAY KaR JORI RaHIYE
 PS GHaR SaR WaDHAWIYOUN
 PS GINAN BOLORE NOURE NIT BHaRIYA
 PS GOUNR TERA SAMI RAJA BAKSHIYA DOSH HaMARA
 PS GOUR AP NAGELA PAYE LAGI MANaWO
 PS GOUR SEWTA SaB GOUNR THASE
 PS GOUR SOUN BaNDHaN BANDHIYE
 PS HaME OUMAYA NE KAYAM PAYA
 PS HaNS POURI NaGRI MAHE MANDH:aWO RaTCHAY
 PS HaR NE SREWO
 PS HaSi KIJE WIRA HaR TanRI MOURaT LIJE SATH
 PS HET GOUR NaR SQU KIIYE aNE SATCHO MaN PaTILAY
 PS HO HO KaRTA HOYGaYA
 PS HO JIO JIREBHAY JISRE GOUR KOUN
 PS HO JIO JIREBHAY MORO MaN
 PS HO JIO MORO MaN HO MORA MaN SAHEB NE SHaRaNRE
 PS HO JIRE MARA HaNSA KaRaNI KaMAWO TO RaBSOUN RATCHO
 PS HOJIRE PRANRI JIYARE TOUN GIRBHATHAN WaSaNTO
 PS HOUN BaLHARI GOUR aPaNRE
 PS HOUSIYARA BHAY HOUSIYARAS
 PS IMANI A JOUG MAHE JANRIYE JENE BHET:IYA SaT GOUR
 PS JaDE Na DHaRaNR Na NAKHIAL MALA
 PS JaMIN ASMAN SAHEBE JOUGaTE JaRIYA
 PS JaMPOU ME JaMPOU ME WAR SHAH NE
 PS JaMPOUDIPE OUMAYOU-JI
 PS JAGO RIKHISaR MORA BHAY TaME GAFaL KANHI SOUTAJI
 PS JAGORE SaTPATI(?)WIRABHAY OUTHI SRI HARI NE ARADHO
 PS JAHER DEW JaMPOUDIP MA BETHA
 PS JEM JEM JUGaT SOUN PRIT KaREWA
 PS JENRE GaTIYE SHAH KE KHANRE OUMAYOU
 PS JI TOUN LAL SIRI E SaRaG GHaR ASHA
 PS JIHO aRaB DESH MAHE HaRI aWaTaRIYA
 PS JITIWAR WAJO WIRA Tan LAKaDI
 PS JIYARE TOUN GIRBHASTHAN WaSaNTO
 PS JOGaKA PINDA DOHELA
 PS JOUG DUAPOUR ME JaGaN ODHARIYO
 PS JOUG JOUG SHAH aWaTAR DHaRIYA
 PS JOUG ME FIRE SHAH JI MOUNERIE
 PS JOUTHI RE DOUNIYA TaME KANHI BHOULO
 PS JOUWO JOUWO PaNDIT WED POURANRA

PS JOUWO JOUWO PINDHTA EWA WED POURAN
 PS KaHET SOURJA SAMBHalo KaMLA POUTRA
 PS KaHORE PIND TO JIW KIS GHAR JATA
 PS KaLaP DHANDHOUKAR RaTCHIO MORE SAMJI
 PS KaLaPaT JaLaPaT MAYA E MOHI
 PS KaRSHaNJI BHANRERE aRJOUN SAMBHalo
 PS KaRTA JOUGE ANBHalo OUGIYO CHE SARO JI
 PS KaRTA JOUGE DHOUAR OUTar DISE
 PS KaSaNRi DIDHI YARA SaT SAHERKI
 PS KAMAL NE FOUL PIRaNRi BAWA
 PS KAN BANDHO MAYA POURWaSE HO KAYA
 PS KAYaM AYA SHAHJI OU aNaNT E WaDHAYOU
 PS KAYA Na PAYA SHAH KOUN KOYI Na TARIYA JI
 PS KAYA NI BERI APNA GOUR-Nar SOU RAKHOJI
 PS KAYERE MOMaN BHAY TaME SOUWO
 PS KAYIRE MOMaN BHAY TaME SOVORE Na TCHINT
 PS KE RAJA PANDaWE MELI JARE
 PS KHEL WaRNU SHAH MORO RATH TCHaRSHE
 PS KHENRO KHENRO JEMANI NAWaNRi ESIRE NAWaNRi
 PS KHETI KaROUNGA TO MEHa Na BaRSEGA
 PS LAWOWO GHANS BaNDHAWO
 PS MAMaD MAWJI AWIYA
 PS MATA HO FATMA NE HOUSEN HOUSENI
 PS MILO RIKHISaR MELA MILO
 PS MILO RIKHISaRO MELA MILO KaRIYO ANAND
 PS MOMaN MaN TCHaNTCHaL KaRi MaNMAHE DHaRO
 PS MORE ASHAJI HaROWaR SaROWaR
 PS MOUNIWAR BHAY TCHaNTCHaL TCHIT MaN
 PS NaMO TE SHAH NOUR-NE JO
 PS NINDRA NE WAROW PRANI TaME JAGO KAYIN SOUTA
 PS NOUR WELA NOUR PIYO
 PS OUNRIYA BI OUNRIYA aME KIRIYA NA HINRA
 PS OUT POUT RaTCHaNa PaHELI KIDHI
 PS OUTar KHaND: MAHE SHAH NI JOT JAGEWA
 PS OUTH BETH BaNDHA TOUN KANHI SOUTO
 PS OUTHI aLA NE GOURE BaNDHA
 PS PaHELA KaRTA JOUG MAHE SONA NA RE GAT
 PS PaHELAJ NI MATAE KOUNWAR NE WaN MA JaNaMIAJI
 PS PaHELO RE NAM SAHEB-JO
 PS PaNTH SIR BETHA TaME SOUKHRIT KaMAWO
 PS PaRaB HATI RaHEN BIYANI
 PS PaRE NE BHOUJE TENE SOUN SOUN KaHIYE
 PS PaRTaK JOWO LAHORE ANKHI
 PS PaRTaK WILONRI NE FAR MANRI
 PS PaRTHaM GOUR Nar SIREWA

PS PANCHaM DESH THI PRaBHOu PaDHARIYA
 PS PANCHaM DISHE PRaBHOu PaRTaK BETH:A
 PS PANCHaM THI aLI SHAH JaMPUa ME AWaSHE
 PS PANCHaM THI SHAH NO DaR AWaSHE
 PS PANCHaME AYA SHAH PaRTaK PAYA
 PS PAR FAT:INE NIR OULaTIYA
 PS PARGHaR PRIT Na KIIYE ENRI PRITE KOY WINRaS
 PS PAT MaNDH:AWI NE TCHOK POURAWO
 PS PEHLE KIRTA JOUG MAHE DHaRaM DHIYAYA
 PS PINDH:a TEJE KISI GHaR Na JATA
 PS PIR POUTCHI TaME PaNTH KaMAWO
 PS POURaBH JaNaM NO SATCHO BHAG aMARO
 PS POURaK PACHaM THI HO SAW
 PS POURaKH PACHaM THI PaDHARSHE
 PS PRANRI CHE MATINOU
 PS PREM PATaNR RAJA MaN SOUDH (MOTO)
 PS ROJ KIYAMaT DARO AWaSHE
 PS SaB GHaT SAMI MARO
 PS SaHI MAHADIN BOUJO BHEW
 PS SaHI SREWO MA DHIL KaR
 PS SaJERIYE SOUTORE RAJA NINDRA DHaRI
 PS SaKHI MAHAPAD KERI WAT
 PS SaKHI MARI ATaMaNA ODHAR
 PS SaMOUNDaR BOHOTaJ BANOU
 PS SaNSAR SAGHaR MaDHE WANR
 PS SaT BOLO NE SaT SANBHalo
 PS SaT HO SOUKHRIT GOUR NaR ARADHO
 PS SaT NA SaROWaR SARASaR BHARIYA
 PS SATCHO TOUN aLaKH NIRINJAN
 PS SaTGOUR KaHE TaME SOUNRO MARA MOUNIWARO
 PS SaTGOUR SATHE GOTH:aRI KIJE
 PS SaTGOUR SREWO TaME MaDHRATE JAGO
 PS SaTPaNTH JAGO WIRABHAY
 PS SAHEB BaRA JENRE SaB JOUG SiRaJIYA
 PS SAHEB KERO BHED Na BOJERE KOY
 PS SAHEB MERA EK NIRILAB aMRaT NAM KaHIYA
 PS SAHEB SIREWANI APaNR LA
 PS SAMBHaro MOMaN WED Ni WAT
 PS SAMI NE SATCHOUN KaRI SREWIYE
 PS SAMI RAJO AWaSHE WIRABHAY TaMBaLA WAJaSHE
 PS SAMI RAJO AWE, JaNGI DHOL WaJAWe
 PS SAMI RAJO MORE MaN THI Na WiSaRE
 PS SAT SaRaG Na KAY KHOULIYA CHE DOUAR
 PS SATCHaLO MARaG
 PS SEHaTaR DIP ME SHAH ZAHER BETHA

PS SEWA KARaNR SaB JOUG SIRaJIYA
 PS SEWA KIJE aLI NaBIJI KI
 PS SHAH KE HEK MaN AHI SIREWO
 PS SHAH NE KAJE JIVaNRa JE MaN DHIYAWO
 PS SHAH TOUN APOHI AP SaHI HO SAMI
 PS SHAM KOUN AWaNTA JO KaHE
 PS SHAM SaDAJI SATCHO SHAM SaDAJI
 PS SHETH: KaHE TaME SANBHARo WaNROTAR
 PS SHRI ISLAM SHAH aMaNE MaLIYA
 PS SIREWO SIREWO MOMaN aLI HaQ WaDO SAMI
 PS SOUKH MOUGHAT RAY-JI NE SIA HOUWA
 PS SOUNR SaNBHAL SAMI RAJA, WATCHA DINI E SE TOUN PAR
 PS SREWO SREWO EK DaYAL
 PS SREWO SREWO MOMaN
 PS TaJIO SaNG KOU SaNGIYA
 PS TaMaKOUN SaDHARE SO DIN BOHOTaJ HOUA
 PS TaME SOUFaL FaLO MORA BHAY
 PS TaMNE SREWOu MARA HaNSA JI NA RAJA
 PS TADH:OU TADH:OU MITHaNRou BOLIIYA
 PS TAREGO TEDO SRI RaNG SAMI RAJO
 PS TARIYE TOUN TARaNHAR KHOUDAWIND
 PS TCHaNDRA GaYA GaGaN SOURaJ JO Na HOTA
 PS TCHET TCHET BANA MaN TCHaNTCHaL KaRI TCHET
 PS THaR THaR MOMaN BHAY KOYI KOYI RaHESHE
 PS TIL BHAR TOULNA, KHANDE KI DHAR TCHaLNA
 PS TOUN PEHLA MACH ROUPE aWaTAR DHaRIYO
 PS TOUNHI GOUR TOUNHI NaR TOUNHI EBHI ASHA
 PS TOURIYE BHI TOURIYE SATCHO SAMI RAJA TCHaRaSHE
 PS TRaVENRI SaNSAR MAHE JILaNTA
 PS TRI TRI LOK GHaR aLI
 PS WAWSHO TEWOUN LOUNRSHO
 PS WIPaK ROUP WAYMaNR DHaRI AWIYA
 PS YARA aNaNT KaRORIYOUN NE WaDHAYOUN
 PS YARA SHaFAYaT MaHaMaD KaRSHE
 PS YARA aNaNT KaRORIYE WaDHAYOUN

PT DEHI GOUR KE WATCHA

RS PURaKH PACHaM THI SAMI RAJO AWaSHE

SA MITHA MaHaMaD NAM SOUNRO BHAY MOUNIWARo
 SA PaRTHaM MOURaT MOUNI EWA

SD DHaN DHaN WIRA BHAY SAJ GaNRi
 SD KaR GiNAN BaNDHE, KaR GiNAN BaNDHE

SD PaHELO PaHELO NAMJI E KHOUDAJI KO LIJIYE

SH PAR KaRO BERA GOUR JI PAR KaRO
SH YA aLI KHOUB MIJALaS

SI WIRA MARA DHaN POUTRa MAYA

SJ OUNTCHA OUNTCHA PARABAT RET TCHaLAKE

SK HOUN RE PIYASI PIYA TERE DaRSHAN KI
SK OUTaM MaDHAM EK JO KAHANI
SK SATCHA RE SANHIYA KOU NISHDIN SIREWO

SM SAMI TaMARA PANDaW JOUWE CHE WAT

SN A GHaT SAS OUSAS
SN BHAYO MaRaME Na BHOULIYO
SN KaLMA KaHORE MOMaNO TaME MaT JOUWO RE BHOUL
SN KaNaK KaTCHOLA KESaR DHOLIYA
SN LAGIRE JENE MaN WISE
SN MANDaW WIWA MaN KaRI MANJO
SN PaHELE PaRO TE SaTGOURNI WATCHA
SN PANCHaM THI DAR AWaSHE
SN PEHLE PARO TE SaTGOUR NI WATCHA
SN SaTGOUR PaDHARIYA TaME JAGaJO
SN SaTPaNTH SaTE JILIYA

SS aBa TERI MOHOBaT LAGI
SS aCHaRA KHOJO AHI aCHRA KHOJO
SS aJaB JaMANA SOUNRO MOMaN BHAY
SS aJaB SAHER MEDE KHALaQ SIRaJIYA
SS aME Na AWIYE GHAM MA
SS aNTaR JAMI NE aNTaR SAMI
SS aTHI YARA JE FaRIO SE AP MOURADHA
SS AD GOUR SHaMS MOUNaWaR JANR (GARBI 1)
SS AJ ANaND PAMIYA MaN KE (GARBI 2)
SS AYELO AYELO PIRaL AYELO
SS BaNGALA DESH MAHE AWIYA
SS BHaGHaT PASE AWIYA
SS BHAY TaME SOUFaL FaLO MORA BHAY
SS BHOULA Ma BHOULE BHAMJO HIND:OUO (GaRBI 18)
SS BOULO BOULO TE BHOULO BHaMaRa RE LOL (GARBI 9)
SS DaS BaNDHI YARA SIR BaNDHI
SS DESH BaNDHI YARA SIR BaNDHI
SS DHaN DHaN SAMI RAJO TOUN SIRJaNRHAR

SS DHaRaM NE KARaNRE
 SS DOUNIYA PRIT Na KIIYE (1)
 SS DOUNIYA PRIT Na KIIYE (2)
 SS E SaBHAGA HAR POUCH NIRWANR PaNJTaN
 SS E SaBHAGA IS DOUNIYA DE WITCH KIYA GIN AWE
 SS EK DHANDHOUKAR FIR DOUJA HOWEGA
 SS EK SaPNOU aNTaR MAHE SOUNRIYO
 SS EK SHaBaD SOUNRO MERE BHAY
 SS EK TIRaTH WEDHaNRA PIR SHAMS GAJI SaNDHaNRA
 SS EWA aWTAR aWaTaRIYA
 SS EWI GaRBI SaMPOUNR SAR (GaRBI 28)
 SS FaRMAN KaRI NaRJI BOLIYA TaME SaMBHARO PIR SHaMS
 SS GaT GOUROUJI GaT GOUROUJI DHaRaM SaTCH RaHIYA
 SS GOUR AWTA SaRWE RAT KE (GaRBI 4)
 SS GOUR BHOULIYA NE MARaG BaTAWIYA (GaRBI 26)
 SS GOUR DIWA GOUR TCHaNDROUNA
 SS GOUR KaHE CHE MITHI WANR KE (GaRBI 23)
 SS GOUR KaHERE GAFaLO SaMBHARO RE LOL (GaRBI 15)
 SS GOUR NaR THI BHOULA TASOU WAD Na KJE
 SS GOUR WaDIYA DaSMI RAT KE (GaRBI 22)
 SS GOURE KADHI CHE PAWaL HATHE (GaRBI 27)
 SS GOURE WaTCHaNE TCHALIYA
 SS GOURJI AWIYA SATMI RAT KE (GaRBI 13)
 SS GOUROU AWIYA BIJI RAT (GaRBI 3)
 SS HaM DIL KHALaQ aLA SOHI WaSE JI
 SS HaQ TOUN PAK TOUN BADSHAH
 SS HaTHI HaTHI PaRaBHAT TOLaNOE
 SS HAJaR GOURNaR JANRJO (PS)
 SS HARE WIRA POIRaKH SREWO (TNKt)
 SS JAKE PACHAM DISE NE KHaND ERAK
 SS JANRO NE BOUJO AYE PATRa PICHANO
 SS JITIYA DOUL DOUL GORE SAMI RAJO TCHaRSHE
 SS JIW TOUN JAWA DEH aNE SANSAR NOU SAWAD
 SS JIYA RE AWI CHE CHELI RAT KE (GaRBI 25)
 SS JIYAN GAT THAPNA DHaRaM TaNRI
 SS JOUGaT JOL SaNTOK PATRa KaRO
 SS KAYaM DAYaM TOUN MORO SAMI
 SS KE TaME aMIRaS PIJO DIN NE RAT KE (GaRBI 5)
 SS KESRI SINHa SaROUPa BHOULAYO
 SS KIRIYA KARaN aHONISH JAGO
 SS KOUTCH KaRLE BHaya (ATTRIB. BIBI FATIMA)
 SS LAWTO ANHI LORINYO
 SS MAHE WaRSE aMRaT NOUR KE (GaRBI 6)
 SS MALA LIJE MaN MA
 SS ME WARI WARI SaTGOUR THI BaLHARI

SS MITHaRU ANHI BOLO
 SS NaR KASaM SHAH NA FaRMAN THI GOUR (GaRBI 17)
 SS NITO NIT GaT POUJA KIJE
 SS OUNTCHa THI AWIYO BaNDO NITCHa KIYOUN DHIYAWÉ
 SS PEHLI PRIT SAHEB JI SOUN KIJIE
 SS PIR NATCHI NE KATHE GINAN RE MA (GaRBI 20)
 SS PIR SHaMaS KaHE SOUNRO BHAY MOMaNO
 SS PIR SHaMS SaDHAWIYA
 SS PREM PATaNR RAJA MaN SOUDH (NANO)
 SS SaPNOUN aNTaR MAY SOUNRIYE
 SS SaT MARaG SaTWaNTI SAMBHARo SaRWE (GaRBI 21)
 SS SaT MARaG SHaMS PIR DEKHAYA (GaRBI 10)
 SS SaT NE MARaGE TCHALIYE
 SS SaTCHa MERA KHALaQ SaRJaNR HAR
 SS SaTE PAWAL PIYO DIN NE RAT KE (GaRBI 11)
 SS SaTGOUR BHETIYA KEM JANRIYE
 SS SaTGOUR SHaMS EM BOLIYA
 SS SaTGOUR SHaMS EM KaHERE GAFaLO (GaRBI 14)
 SS SaTGOUR SHaMS TCHALIYA
 SS SaTGOUR SHaMS WATCHA OTCHaRE
 SS SaTPaNTH WORl WIRA aLGA Na RaHIYE
 SS SAHEB DaYAKOU DE GOUSAYA MORO TOUN BINDE
 SS SAMI TaMARI WARI MAHE GOUR BHIRMA SINTCHaNR HAR
 SS SEHaJE PRaSET:A SEHESTRa WaRaNR HAJITE NaWaSHA BAL
 SS SHAH NI SREWAE TaME JAGaJO
 SS SHAH WISHaW KOUNWARI PaNRsHE
 SS SOUNO SOUNO BHAY MOMaNO
 SS SOUNO SOUNO MOMINO MaN LAWNA
 SS SOURBHANR NE SAHEBE MOKaLIYA
 SS SOURJA RANI EM OTCHaRE NE MOUSAFAR NI SAMBHALO WAT
 SS SaTGOUR SHaMaS EM BOLIYA AJ CHE DaSMO aWTAR
 SS TaME JaPJO DIN RAT KE (GaRBI 8)
 SS TaME RaMJO DIN NE RAT KE (GaRBI 7)
 SS TaMNE RAJAE BOLAWIYA
 SS TARE POUTHIARE CHE PANTCH
 SS TARE WAGA TE GINAN NA WAJA RE MA (GaRBI 24)
 SS TCHaNDRaBHANR SOURBHANR BE BANDHaWA
 SS TCHaR GaRI KA TCHaR JOUGaJ KIYA
 SS TCHETO TCHETO TE CHaNTCHaL TCHETIYA RE (GaRBI 12)
 SS TITH: ATH:MI AWIYA GAM NA LOK (GaRBI 16)
 SS TITH: NaWMI AWIYA GOUR (GaRBI 19)
 SS TIYAN GOURE GINAN KaRIYA
 SS TIYAN THl aME AWIYA OUTCH MA
 SS WaRTa BHRaMaNR BOLIYA
 SS WED MAHE EM LaKHIYA
 SS WIMRaS SOURBHANR BOLIYA

GINANS BY CATEGORY:

CATEGORY	TITLE	VERSES
CHAGUD KATAN		
	PERLI PRIT SAKES JI SOON KIJYE	14
ABDOL		
	OHANG WARD GOUR SHARAD HEY	17
	SATGOUR PARSADE SHAN MORE HATH PAG SIRAJIYA	15
	MAN JITE MAN OUTCHA FAR DUPJE	21
	MAN JITE MAN INOKA FAR DUPJE	
	JAMIN NA HOTI ASHAN NA HOTA	8
	JISRE DOUMSE TEHRI KAYA SIRJIRE	9
	JOUGAT JOL SANTOK PATRA KARO	
	BOLE RAULANI SANBHAR ABADOU	
	JOUGAT JOL SANTOK PATRA KARO	4
ACHARAT		
	SARAG BHAWAN THI MATI MANGAYI BHAY	5
	MAHNA HEYRE JAROUR	8
	OHAN POJTRA MAYA	22
	DOGANIYA SO-RE(?) AINAHIYA	4
	LAWO LAWO GHANS BUNDHAWO	4
	E SUBHAGA IS DOUNIYA DE MITCH KIYA GIN AWE	11
ARTI		
	JAHER DEW JAMPQUDIP NA BETHA	22
	SEHATAR DIP ME SHAN ZAHAR BETHA	10
EID E NABI		
	SAT SARAG NA KAY KHOLIYA CHE DOJAH	21
GAT PAT JO BETHO GINAM		
	VIMRAS KORI GAT: THAPITE AHE KIJYE UINARAS PRIT	9
	SATGOUR SATHE GOTHARI KIJE	5
	PAT MANOH-AJI NE TCHOK POURAWO	6
	DHAN DHAN BAHENRI AJ NO DIN KARIAMANU	5
	PAKELE PARO TE SATGOURNI MATCHA	8
GAT PAT JO UBHO GINAM		
	PANCHAM THI KLI POURAKHAIJ AVE	51
	KAYAM MAHENDI RANG HASENDA	13
	SAT NA GHAT: WIRA SAREVIYA AHE GHAT: PAT: NI WAR	8
	BHAY MOMINO-JI AJINE BESO AMIRAS PIYO	12
	SHAH KE HEK MAN AHI SIREWO	19
	TOUNHI GOUR TOUNHI WAR TOUNHI EBNI ADNA	9
	TARIYE TOUN TARANHAR KHOSDAUINO	6
	PAHELA KARTA JOUG NANE SONA NA RE CAT	4
	KARTA JOUGE DHOUAR OUTAR DISE	5
	HOUR WELA HOUR FIYO	5
	SAT NA SAROWAR SARASAR BHARIYA	7
	GHAR SAR WOHAWIYOUN	4

HENS POURI NAGRI MANE MANDH:WU RATCHAY	14
MORE ASHAJI HAROUAR SAROUAR	10
PANCHAM THI DAS AWASHE	6
Got PAT MERA AWI THUKARI (?)	6
SatPenth MORI WIRA ALGA NA NARIYE	11
MOLNAJAT	
YA BLI KHOUH RIJALAS	8
WAMROZ	
WAMROZ NA DIN SOHANANA	8
MINDUKH	
MMAR TE AYO MORE SHANAJIJO ENOUMLA	12
MUMANI MELA	
Har Doh KARO ABHITAS	9
AP NO AP PICHANO RE MUMAH	14
SAKHI MARI ATAMANA ODHAR	5
WEN TERI MOHORAT LAGI	10
SALEGREN	
DHAN DHAN AJ NO DARALO	8
SOLMUKH SADA JA GINAM	
JAGO MORE JITYARE MINORA JAYELWRI JAGO	12
JAGO JAGO BHAYRA RAYANA WIYANKITA JI	10
SOLM NAKI TOUN JAG SAWERA	6
JAGO NO MA SOLMIYO	7
NAR Doh JAMPO PIR SHAH NO JAMP	7
OUTH JAG MAN MERA	8
PARDHATE OUTHINE SHAH NARO	6
JAGAT KIYOUN NEMIRE	5
JAGO JAGO BHAYIRA EM SHAH RAYANA WIYANKI	14
OUTH BETHARE KIYA SOUTA	7
KEMAY KARO TAME NADH RATE JAGO	4
JAG JAG RE TOUN JAG MORA BHAYRE	11
OUTH ALA NE GOURE BENDHA	7
MINDRA NE MARO PRANI TAME JAGO KAYIN SOUTA	4
SHHI SREMO NA DHIL KAR	11
OUTH BETH BENDHA TOUN KANHI SOUTO	7
TALITA JA GINAM	
SAHEB FARMAN LAKEHI HOKALIYA	7
SHAH NA KHAT AUYA WIRA JAMPOLDIP MAN	13
SANJJO CHOGARTO	
KATAM ATA SHAHJI OU SHANT E MADHAYOU	7
JOUQ ME FINE SHAH JI MOUNERIE	10
NANO TE SHAH NOUR-NE JO	14
BHAY TIMI VIREJOUN OUMEDOUH ASDJ POUNIYOUN	13
SATCHO TOUN ALBKH NIRINJAN	15
SAMARJA CHOGARTIA	
AYO AYO HANSE JO RAJA	12
Got LO KA JI -E OUMAYO SHAN	9
Ji TOUN LAL SIRI E SARAG GHAN ASHA	10
KREL MAMUJ SHAN MORO BATH TCHARSHE	14

SIREMO SIREMO MOMAN ALI HQO VADO SAMI	12
TRI TRI LOK GHAR ALI	5
ANIN KARAYOU MOMAN MAN DHIRARE	13
JENRE GATYE SHAH KE KHANRE OLMAYOU	9
PINDH: a TEJE KISI GHAR NA JATA	20
HO JIO MORO MAN HO MORO MAN SAHES NE SHARARE	10
HO JIO JIREBHAY JISRE GOUR KOUN	7
YARA ANANT KARORIYE VADHAYOUN	5
PAHELO PAHELO HAMJI E KHOUDAJI KO LIJIYE	20
DOUL DOUL GHORE SATCHO SAMI RAJO TCHARENE	34
DOUL DOUL GHORE ALI TCHARENE SHAH	16
DIWRA BATIJI JIJAN TEL SAMANU	18
 WENTI	
WENTI KAROUN CHOON SAHES MORA	10
ASH TAMAR: SHRI HO KATAM SAMI	9
ADAM AD NINKINJAN	50
DARSHAN DIYO MORA WATH	14
QAKRIYA BI QUNRIYA AME KIRIYA NA HINRA	23
KOUN RE PIYASI PIYA TERE DARSHAN KI	12

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF PUBLISHED KHOJKI BOOKS

Around 110 books were published in Khojki. All of them were still in existence in 1989 at the ITREB Library in Bombay under the care of Chotubhay Lakhani. Several copies of each were preserved in a closed metal cupboard.

Here is a partial list of the books available at the Heritage Society:

1.

TITLE: Bhajan Tchitamni (Bhag 1)
PUBLISHER: Hassan Bhay Ladha Khali
PROCESS: Litho
SIZE: 20 x 13 cm
PAGES: 114
DATE: 1897 A.D. (1st August)
PLACE: Bombay - Gat Pirsad Printing Press
PRICE: 1 roupie
TAPSILO: On pages 108 - 112

CONTENT: 107 Bhajans , Kafi & Ghazals. Also some proverbs.
Indicates the raaga for some of them.

2.

TITLE: Sindhi Pehli Tchopri
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 12 cm
PAGES: 128
DATE: S. 1980, A.D. 1934
EDITION: 6th. (2000 copies)
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Printing Press

CONTENT: Religious Education.

3.

TITLE: Tri (30) Ginans ji tchopri
PUBLISHER: Muradali Jina
PROCESS: Litho
SIZE: 16.5 x 11.5 cm
PAGES: 98
DATE: S. 1950, A.D. 1894
PLACE: Bombay - Ghat Pirsad Printing Press

TAPSILO: On page 94 - 96

CONTENT: 30 Ginans. Last page gives an advertise for some books such as:
a. Sindhi sikhanji pehli tchopri (Tutorial Khojki/Vol.1)
b. Du'a sanji, soubhouji, somni. (Book of prayers)

4.

TITLE: Bahere Rahemat
PUBLISHER: Hassam Bhoga Master
PROCESS: Printing
EDITION: 3rd. 1000 Copies
DATE: 1911(First) /1942 (Third)
PLACE: Bombay - Ismaili Printing Press - Dongri

CONTENT: Farmans of Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah.

5.

TITLE: Satweni Nani (Seyyed Nar Mohamed Shah)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16.5 x 12.5 cm.
PAGES: 122

CONTENT: Missing first page.

6.

TITLE: Sarweni Moti (Seyyed Nar Mohamed Shah)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16.5 x 12.5 cm.
PAGES: 325
CONTENT: Missing first page. Start with photo of young Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah. Got copy from Mr. Bardai (Platinum Society, Karachi)

7.

TITLE: Mansamjani Moti (Pir Shams)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 12.5 x 16 cm.
PAGES: 6 p. introduction + 401 pages granth.
CONTENT: Photo of Young Sultan Mohamed Shah in first page. Introduction explains that this book was printed from a Khojki Manuscript 114 years old found in Kutch.

8.

TITLE: Wistol Tetha Bawan Gati
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 20.5 x 15 cm.
PAGES: 1 + 40 (Bawan Gati) + 24 (Wistol)
DATE: 1920 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press
EDITION: 1st (1000 copies), 2nd (250 copies), 3rd (250 copies), and 4th (500 copies)
CONTENT: Bawan Gati of Pir Sadardin and Wistol of Seyyed Imamshah.

9.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 1
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
PAGES: 178 pages
DATE: Bombay 1935, 5th Ed., 500 copies.
PRICE: 1 Rs.
CONTENT: Various ginans, Wenti moti, Satgournour na Wiwa nano, Sat watchan

10.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 2
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE:
PAGES: 186
DATE: Bombay 1936.
TAPSILO: On p. 1 - 4

CONTENT: Ebhi tanye tame pt 183 tetha tena 6 jodila, tatha prem patanr mota tatha soutak na mota ginan wari tchopri.

11.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 3
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE:
PAGES: 184 pages
DATE: Bombay 1935, 5th Ed., 500 copies
TAPSILO: On p. 1-4

CONTENT: Prem patanr pat 102 tetha ginan samune satcho kari srewiye, various ginans

12.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 4
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE:
PAGES: 178
TAPSILO: p. 1-4

CONTENT: 101 ginans

13.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 5
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 22.5 x 14.5 cm.
PAGES: 174
DATE:
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Printing Press
EDITION: 4th. (500 copies)

CONTENT: Nano Das Awatar
Shah toun apohi ap
Tchaoud ratan
Tara Rani no moto ginan
Waek Nano (Pir Shams)
Moto Dhandhoukar wari (chopri)

14.

TITLE: So (100) Ginans Bhag 6
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 22.5 x 14.5 cm.
PAGES: 80 + 92
DATE: June 1933 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Printing Press
EDITION: 4th. (500 copies)

CONTENT: Wiwana Dhol (2)
Pir Shams na jorila ginans (18)
Jougesar ane abdou na ginans (60)
Tatha bija ginans (32)

15.

TITLE: Satveni?
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 20.5 x 14 cm
PAGES: 42 pages

CONTENT: No cover and 1st page. Start pat 3 with 22 chapters of approx. 28 stanza each + Re tounhi (4 stanza)

16.

TITLE: Bay Boudhay
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm
CONTENT: Bay Boudhay na 71 ginano ane Gougrina 10 ginans

17.

TITLE: Putla ne Naw Tchouga
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 22 x 14.5 cm.
PAGES: 16 + 14 pages
CONTENT: Putla (Pir Satgour Noor) & Naw Tchouga (Pir Hassan Kabirdin)

18.

TITLE: Garbi Pir Shams
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 22 x 15.5 cm.
PAGES: 36
DATE: 1913 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press
EDITION: 2nd (1500 copies)

19.

TITLE: Jankar (Seyyed Imam Shah)
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm
PAGES: 36
DATE: 1925 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press
EDITION: 2nd (1000 copies)

20.

TITLE: Anant Akharo (Pir Hassan Kabirdin)
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm.
PAGES: 66
DATE: 1912 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press
EDITION: 3rd. (1000 copies) 1912 A.D.
2nd. (1000 copies) 1904 A.D.

21.

TITLE: Granth Book (Missing 1st page)
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm
PAGES:
DATE: 1903 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press

CONTENT: Photo of Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah.
Satweni moti (Seyyed Nar Mohamed Shah) 222 pages
Satweni nindhi (Seyyed Imamshah) 42 pages
Si Harfi (Seyyed Ahmed Shah) 12 pages

22.

TITLE: Granth Book
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 24 cm.
PAGES: ?
DATE: 1905 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Printing Press
EDITION: 2nd. (1000 copies)

CONTENT: Das Awatar
Sourbhar
Kalame Mowla tatha Doua ane ginans
Moman Tchitanni (Seyyed Imamshah from p. 413 to 514)

23.

TITLE: Farmans 1903
SIZE: 16 x 24 cm
PAGES: 118
CONTENT: Missing cover / Kutch na Farman07

24.

TITLE: Granth Book (Missing first pages)
PAGES: More than 620

25.

TITLE: Khojki Farman 1923 - 1928
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 18 x 12 cm
PAGES: 198
CONTENT: Missing first page.

26.

TITLE: Khangji Farmans (Button wari book)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 11 cm
PAGES: 142
CONTENT: Farmans Baytul Khayal and 5/12 sal in Sindhi

27.

TITLE: Khangji Farmans (Button wari book)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 11 cm.
PAGES: 142
CONTENT: Farmans Baytul Khayal and 5/12 sal in Gujarati

29.

TITLE: Pandiyat Jawanmardi
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 17 x 11 cm.
PAGES: 160
DATE: 1926 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press
EDITION: 2nd. (500 copies)

CONTENT: Side by side Sindhi and Persian text, both in Khojki script

30.

TITLE: Farmans Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah ja
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 20 x 14 cm.
PAGES: 240
DATE: 1905
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press

CONTENT: Farmans of 1899 and 1900 A.D.
Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Bhagamoyo, Hyderabad, Jamnagar etc.

31.

TITLE: Rasalo Imam Jafar Sadiq ane Mowla jo mojijo
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm.
PAGES: 67 + 9
PLACE: Bombay - Krishna Press

CONTENT: Rasalo of Imam Jafar Sadiq (used to be recited when someone died)
Mowlajo Mojijo. (Used to be recited on Satima jo Rojo mijlas)
Photo of Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah in beginning

32.

TITLE: Granth Book (Missing first 376 pages)
PROCESS: Litho
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm
PAGES: 448
TAPSILO:

CONTENT: Khat Darshan (Pir Sadardin) starts at p. 377

33.

TITLE: Moman Tchitwenri & Boudh Awatar
PUBLISHER: Aladin Goulam Hussein
PROCESS: Litho
SIZE: 24 x 16

CONTENT: Moman Tchitwenri (Pir Sadardin), p.1
Boudh Awatar (Pir Sadardin) 525 verses, p.209
Other Ginans
Janrkar (Seyyed Imamshah), p.264

34.

TITLE: Patal Gita (Seyyed Imamshah)
Few pages

35.

TITLE: Parab Pandwono (Seyyed Imamshah)
PUBLISHER:
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 24 x 16 cm.
PAGES: 44

CONTENT: (Missing first page)

36.

TITLE: 70 Ginans
PUBLISHER: IAP
PROCESS: Recent Litho
PLACE: Karachi

37.

TITLE: To Mouniwar Bhay Moti
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 18 x 13 cm
PAGES: 100
DATE: 1905 A.D.

38.

TITLE: To Mouniwar Bhay Nani (Scyyed Imamshah)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 18 x 13 cm.
PAGES: 50
DATE: 1904 A.D.

39.

TITLE: Raja Gowartchand (Pir Shams)
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 12 cm.
PAGES: 32
DATE: 1924 A.D.
EDITION: 3rd. (500 copies)
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press

40.

TITLE: Wistol (Seyyed Imamshah)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 12 cm.
PAGES: 24
DATE: 1905 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press

41.

TITLE: Ghirbhawali (Pir Sdardin)
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 16 x 12 cm.
PAGES: 40

42.

TITLE: Das Awatar (Pir Sadardin)
PUBLISHER:
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 22 x 14 cm.
PAGES: 20

43.

TITLE: 50 Ginans
PUBLISHER: Recreation Club Institute
PROCESS: Printing
PAGES: 112
DATE: 1929 A.D.
EDITION: 3rd. (1000 copies)
PLACE: Bombay
CONTENT: Soubouh tchogadia (24)
Gar Pat Betha Ginans (5)
Gar Pat Oubha Ginans (10)
Wenti ja Ginans (5)
Other Ginans (5)
Soubhou ja Tchogaria

44.

TITLE: Waek Moto tatha Satgour Noor na Wiwa ne So Kiriya
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE: 19 x 13 cm
PAGES: 30
DATE: 1905 A.D.
PLACE: Bombay - Khoja Sindhi Printing Press

45.

TITLE: Ismaili Talimat (6 vol.)
PUBLISHER: IAP
PROCESS: Recent Litho
PAGES: 58 each volumes
DATE: 1963 A.D.
PLACE: Karachi
EDITION: 1st (1500 copies)

46.

TITLE: 1920 ja Farman
PUBLISHER: Mukhi Laljibhay Devraj
PROCESS: Printing
SIZE:
PAGES: 130
DATE: 1921
PLACE: Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Tchapkhanou
EDITION: 1 st., 1000 copies
TAPSILO: p. 1
CONTENT: Farmans Bombay, Poona, Karachi.

APPENDIX D.
S.O.S. KHOJKI
General Meeting Agenda

Date: Sunday, January 21st. 1990

Place: Executive Inn, Toronto

Time: 2.00 P.M.

1. Present Conference.

Conclusion

Areas of improvement

Proceedings to be prepared (Who/When/How)

Video

2. Preserving Khojki Literature.

Teaching to new generation

Copying of material (manuscripts and printed)

Institutional or individual basis.

How to reach out of Canada material.

Making available existing documents

3. Manpower and Study Groups.

Transcription from Khojki

Translation

Reading in J.K.

Publication

4. Next Conference.

Subject

Place

Date

Preparation

Volunteers

Identification of lecturers

APPENDIX E.

LECTURERS AND WORKSHOPS COORDINATORS.

Abualy Alibhai

Rai Abualy Alibhai has studied in Amritsar, Lahore and has graduated in Science from Bombay University. He joined the Mission Dept. in 1938 and for the last 50 years he has been preaching throughout the World. He is known for his extensive knowledge on Ginanic literature and Ismaili Philosophy. He has written extensively and published 19 books, the last one being his "Ismaili Tariqah" in 1987.

Ali Asani

Ali Asani received his Ph. D. from Harvard University, where he is currently Assistant Professor of Indo-Muslim Culture. Dr. Asani has published several papers on Khojki script and manuscripts. Currently he is working on the classification of Khojki manuscripts at Harvard.

Nazim Daredia

Nazim Daredia has a B.A. in Philosophy and an M.A. in Islamics from the University of Bombay. He is currently doing his M.A. in Education at McGill University. He has been involved for many years in the family business of publication and printing Islamic books.

Aziza Hayat

Aziza Hayat has done her M.A. in Islamic History at Karachi University and another M.A. in Religion at the University of Sind. She is presently doing her M.A. in Islamic Studies at McGill University and her area of interest is "Ethical Teachings of Pir Sadardin with special references to So Kiriya"

Khizr Hayat

Khizr Hayat has a M.A. in History from the University of Karachi. He is Al-Waez since 1964. His area of interest is the preservation of historical material, particularly on Imam Sultan Mohamed Shah. He has a vast collection of memorabilia, artifacts and newspapers cuttings.

Shiraz Ismail

Shiraz Ismail received his M.D. from Makrere and London University. He has been Chairman of The Tariqa Board of Ontario for many years. He is known for his major contribution in the availability and revival of the work of Mukhi Lalji Devraj.

Salim Juma

Salim Juma received his B. Sc. (Hons) in Electronics from Huddersfield Polytechnic (U.K) in 1979. He has served in Tariqa Boards of 3 countries. He has studied the literature of the Pirana Panthis since 1985. He is currently in charge of the English section of the DELPHI project.

Gulshan Khaki

Gulshan Khaki received her Ph. D. from Harvard University in Islamic & Indian Studies in 1972. She has done extensive study of the Das Avatar of Seyyed Imam Shah and Ginanic manuscripts including field research in Gujarat and Kutch. She has published several papers on related subjects. She is one of the pioneers in the field of Ginanic research at academic level.

Elizabeth Knox

Elizabeth Knox is a Research Associate in the Far Eastern Department of the Royal Ontario Museum. Her speciality is Tibet and India. She is also working on her Ph. D. in Buddhist Art and History of India at the University of Toronto. Her initial training was in Sanskrit, she has studied drama, poetry and philosophy in India. She has also worked in the preservation of miniatures and manuscripts.

Ahmed K. Mithani.

Ahmed K. Mithani has a long history of jamati involvement. He has been a Religious teacher for many years and has studied the Ragas of Ginans and Indian classical music.

Salim Mussa

Salim Mussa graduated from the first batch of Waezin training program in Karachi (Pakistan) in 1952. For the last 38 years he has been an active al-Waez and Religious education teacher in Kenya, Tanzania and now in Canada. He was instrumental in bringing to publication the "Marifat na fool" of Nasser Bhagat whose thought he has extensively studied. He is currently researching the Ginanic literature preserved amongst the Athias.

Abdul Sultan Remtullah

Abdul Sultan Remtullah has a long history of involvement in Jamati Service. Over the years he has collected manuscripts among which the unknown Granth "Tchalis Wato" of Pir Sadardin. He has also collected material printed in Khojki at the turn of the Century. He has a deep understanding of Ginanic Literature.

Karima Tajdin

Karima Tajdin is from the first generation of Ismailis born in Canada. She speaks several languages and has a good working knowledge of Khojki and Gujarati script. Karima knows nearly 100 Ginans and has translated several Garbis of Pir Shams into French. She is 13 years old.

Nagib Tajdin

Nagib Tajdin received his Licence en Science Economique from the Université des Sciences et Techniques de Lille (France). He has been involved in the field of Library and Publications for several years. His "Bibliography of Ismailism" has been published by Caravan Books. He has travelled extensively in the Indian Subcontinent and amassed one of the largest collection of Khojki manuscripts and literature.

Mumtaz Ali Tajdin

Mumtaz Ali Tajdin from Karachi is a leading expert of Khojki Manuscripts. He has made a tremendous contribution to the field of Ginanic study with several translations and papers, both published and unpublished. He has recently published a primer of Khojki. His current research includes the English translation of the 8020 verses of Man Samjani of Pir Shams.

APPENDIX F.

S.O.S. KHOJKI CONFERENCE

ATTENDANCE:

Missionary Rai Abualy Alibhay
Miss Elisabeth Knox
Dr. Gulshan Khaki
Dr. Ali Assani
Dr. Shiraz Ismail
Al Waeza Femida Hirjee
Al Waeza Parin Abdallah
Al Waez Karim Dewji
Al Waeza Narmin Hirjee
Al Waez Salim Mussa
Al Waeza Gulshan Remtulla
Al Waez Hassan Remtullah
Al Waez Abdul Rahim Rajwani
Al-Waez Firoz Ladha
Al-Waez Khizr Hayat
Al-Waeza Aziza Hayat
Karim Vallimohamed
Tajdin Esmail
Salim Juma
Azim Kamadia
Karima Tajdin
Gulnar Jamal
Shiraz Halari
Noordin Rajan
Zayn Kassam
Mehboob Kamadia
Nagib Tajdin
Yasmin Nensi
Narmin Nensi
Inayat Kherani
Amir Mawjee
Naushad Hirji
Noorjahan Hirji
Nazim Daredia
Azmina Kassam
Alnaz Jiwa
Zainul Murji
Abdul Sultan Rehmtullah

