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The Dasa Avatāra

of the

Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan

Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University

The Dasa Avatāra

of the

Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan

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CONTENTS

	Page
I Acknowledgements	iii
II Introduction	1
III The Text of the Dasamo Avatara	62
IV Grammatical Analysis	479
V Appendix I, The Khojaki Script	598
VI Appendix II, A List of Works in the Kx MS.	608
VII Appendix III, The small Dasa Avatara of Pir Sadr al Din	620
VIII Appendix IV, Text of the Dasa Avatara of Pir Shams	630
IX Select Bibliography	633

ILLUSTRATIONS

I The Nakalamki Incarnation with the Horse Dula Dula	v
II The Khojaki script from the KX MS.	478b

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Ismaili connections with the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are centuries old. The first Ismaili 'dā'i' (missionary) had already arrived in Sind in 883 A.D. The Fatimid Caliph al Aziz sent Ibn Shayban with a military escort, which took Multan in 977 A.D.¹ Mahmud of Ghazni defeated the Qarmatian² ruler of Multan, Dawud, in 1004, and again in 1010 A.D. Muhammad Ghori, in his first expedition in India in A.D. 1175 expelled the Ismaili ruler of Multan, and captured Uchch. Nur the Turk³, who gathered his support from Gujarat and Sind, as well as from the area around Delhi in A.H. 634, is variously believed to have been a Qarmatian. In Sind, the subjugation of the Qarmatians was effected only after the consolidation of the power of Nasir al Din Qabacha in the early thirteenth century⁴.

At the death of the Fatimid Caliph al Mustansir in 1094 A.D., the Ismaili movement split into two branches; the Musta'lian Ismailis (represented in Indo-Pakistan by the Bohras⁵), and the Nizari Ismailis, better known as the Assassins⁶ whose stronghold was in Eastern Iran (though they were spread out into Syria, Afghanistan, and elsewhere as well⁷).

In A.D. 1256, the Mongol Hulagu Khan destroyed the last stronghold of the Nizari Ismailis at Alamut in Eastern Iran⁸. After that, the movement survived in Iran, but went


underground for centuries, and the paucity of material makes any assessment of the historical development of the sect rather difficult, if not nearly impossible.

From Badakhshan in Afghanistan, the sect seems to have spread into what is now N.W. Pakistan, namely, the states of Hunza, Chitral, and some valleys of Kashmir. It is not with this group of Nizari Ismailis that we are concerned in this study. We are concerned here with the religious literature, or a part of the religious literature, of the Satpanthi⁹ Nizari Ismaili group (mainly represented in Indo-Pakistan by the Khodjas¹⁰, and some Momna¹¹ groups), and with a breakaway group of these Satpanthis, more commonly known as the Imam Shahis.¹² According to Ivanow, the 'spirit of their doctrine shows beyond doubt that the Ismaili element in the Satpanth was the later form of post-Alamut Nizari Ismailism of Persia'.¹³

It was originally intended in this study to examine all the available religious literature of the Satpanthi branch of the Ismailis of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and to make an overall assessment of their doctrines, and religious attitudes. However under the guidance of Professor A.A.A. Fyzee, and with the consent of Professor A. Schimmel of Harvard, this plan, which would have only allowed a general study of secondary sources, was given up in favour of a more detailed study of only one piece of their literature. This study, therefore, does not pretend to be all-

embracing, nor definitive; since an examination of their other literature might reveal other, and even contradicting ideas.

The Nizari Ismaili Satpanthis of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are the followers of the Aga Khan, whom they consider to be the Imam, because of his direct, lineal descent from Ali (the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad) whom they regard as the tenth incarnation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu.¹⁴ The doctrine that Ali is the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu, and therefore the Imam (thus superimposing a Shiite, Ismaili form of Islam on a Vaiṣṇava Hindu substructure), seems to have been taught to the Satpanthis in the work entitled the 'Dasa Avatāra', literally meaning the 'Ten Incarnations'. It is this work, the 'Dasa Avatāra', or rather, the last portion of it, the 'Dasamo Avatāra' (or the Tenth Incarnation) that I have chosen as the text of my study.

The 'Dasa Avatāra' forms a part of the 'ginān'¹⁵ literature of the Satpanthis. These 'gināns' are hymns, or religious poems, ranging from just a few verses to hundreds of verses. They deal with varied subject matter too, including doctrine, theories of creation and time, mythology, daily behaviour and life, descriptions of the last Judgement, of heaven and hell. The origin of the word 'ginān' is debatable; it either comes from the Sanskrit 'jñāna', meaning 'knowledge' or from the Arabic , meaning 'to sing', but the Sanskrit

origin is more likely. The Satpanthis sing these 'gināns' in the 'jama'at khānās'¹⁶ at morning and evening prayer meetings. The 'gināns' also form texts upon which sermons are based.

The choice of the text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' was initially made from an Imam Shahi ms.¹⁷, belonging to Pirzada Syad Muhammad Noor Ali Shah of Burhanpur, M.P. India, who is the present Pir and 'sajjādā-nishin' of the Imam Shahi Satpanthis of the Khandesh area. He lent the ms. to Professor A.A.A. Fyzee, who in turn, lent it to the Deccan College in Poona.

This ms. of 595 folios, each measuring approximately 9.2 by 5.6 inches, is mainly in Devanagari script. It will be referred to as the D ms. hereafter. Two dates are mentioned: on p. 154(b), the sixth lunar day of the month of Vaiśākha, of the Sāke year 1737, called Yuvā, which works out to be A.D. 1815; and again on p. 536(b) the date mentioned is Sāmvat 1880, and Sake 1745, both of which work out to be A.D. 1823. The work 'Dasa Avatāra' occurs on pp. 215(b) to 262(b). The 'nāno' or 'small' 'Dasa Avatāra'¹⁸ is found on pp. 263(a) to 264(b) (with some unnumbered pages inserted).

This D ms. was treated as the main text until an older version was located among the mss. collection of the Ismaili Research Association at Karachi. This ms. will be referred to as the Kx ms., 'K' because it is in Khojaki script¹⁹, while 'x' is the number of the ms. in the collection at

Karachi.

This text forms a part of the oldest ms. at Karachi.²⁰ It is a large ms. of folios, each measuring by inches. The folio numbering is chaotic, because from many of the pages, numbers have been destroyed, while some sections, with a different numbering system, have been inserted. The entire ms. of coarse, yellowish country paper, is in Khojaki script, with a varied and very interesting selection of Satpanthi works.²¹ Dates are mentioned at five places: on p. 47(a), Saṁvat 1793, Vaiśākha 17th; on p. 66(b), Saṁvat 1793, Vaiśākha 22nd; on p. 138(a)²², Saṁvat 1793; all of these work out to be A.D. 1737. On an unnumbered page, in the inserted section, the date given is, Saṁvat 1813, which is A.D. 1757; and on p. 312(a) in the inserted section, the date is given as Saṁvat 1837, which is A.D. 1781. The work 'Dasamo Avatāra' in this Kx ms. occurs on pp. 138(a) to 171(a), and the 'small' 'Dasa Avatāra' occurs on pp. 57(a) to 66(b).²³

There are three versions of the 'Dasa Avatāra' among the Satpanthis: 'Dasa Avatāra, Moṭo' (Sindhi, 'Vaḍo', 'big') attributed to Imam Shah; 'Dasa Avatāra, Nāno' (Sindhi, 'Ninḍho', 'small') attributed to Pir Sadr al Din, the grandfather of Imam Shah; both these versions are known to have existed.²⁴ What was very surprising to me was the discovery in the Kx ms. of an entirely Sindhi,²⁵ archaic sounding version, attributed to Pir Shams. The sectarians themselves seem to be quite

unaware of this. It is the only copy I have come across. It is on an unnumbered, but not inserted section, of the Kx MS. on four folios. At the top it is indicated that it should be sung in the rāga 'kedāra.'

The 'big' 'Dasamo Avatāra' of Imam Shah forms the basis of this study. I have given transliteration of it from the Kx MS., obtained from the Ismaili Satpanthis, and from the D MS., obtained from the Imam Shahi Satpanthis; as well as the translation of the Khojaki version, noting its differences from the Devanagari version, and explanatory notes to the texts. The transliteration of the 'small' 'Dasa Avatāra' of Pir Sadr al Din forms Appendix III, and that of the 'Dasa Avatāra' of Pir Shams forms Appendix IV.

Satpanthi tradition attributes the composition of these 'gināns' to various Pirs, who are supposed to have converted them from Hinduism to the Nizari Ismaili form of Islam. But before considering this problem, we should turn briefly to all the other MS. versions of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' which have been found, and which I have considered. They are as follows:

'K' is a printed edition of the 'Dasa Avatāra' lent to me by the Ismaili Association of Bharat in Bombay. I used it when the D MS. was the only version available to me at Poona. It is in the Khojaki script, and was printed by the 'Khoja Sindhi Chāpakhānā' (Press), Bombay in Sāmvat 1974 (A.D. 1918).

'K1' is the MS. upon which the K edition seems to have

been based. It belongs to the Ismaili Association of Karachi, (called 1 in their collection). It is in the Khojaki script, and is dated Samvat 1952 (A.D. 1895). Since K has been considered along with mss. Kx and D, there is no need to consider K1 also, from the textual point of view.²⁶

'KL' is a ms. version in Khojaki, belonging to the Ismaili Association at Karachi (called L in their collection), but this is incomplete, and all the verses after verse 150 are missing.

'KH' is yet another ms. version in Khojaki, belonging to the Ismaili Association in Karachi (and called H in their collection). It is dated Samvat 1955 (A.D. 1898), but states that it is a copy of a ms. dated Samvat 1930 (A.D. 1874). It is very badly smudged, and is often quite unreadable.

'KY' is a Khojaki ms., also belonging to the Ismaili Association at Karachi (called 'Y' in their collection). It is dated Samvat 1859 (A.D. 1801). The 'Dasamu Avatāra' in it begins on p. 246, at verse 943 (verses 1 to 942 are devoted to the first nine incarnations). It ends on p. 281 at verse 1464, thus comprising of 522 verses, as against 520 verses of Kx version, to which it is very close, except that it has a very interesting beginning, which I have transliterated at the beginning of our text.

'DP' is a Devanagari ms. at Pirānā (about nine miles away from Ahmedabad in Gujarat) at the Imam Shahi establishment. But I was told that this is only about 60 years old,

and is probably a copy of the Burhanpur ms(D), with some minor changes.

'DF' is a Devanagari ms. at the Satpanthi temple at Faizpur, but this is a very recent ms., the original having been 'destroyed by fire', I was told. The Faizpur ms. appears to be quite different from any of the older versions; all the Islamic names have been deleted from it, except that of Imam Shah.²⁷

The Momnā Ismaili Satpanthis of Sidhpur in Gujarat, made a copy of the 'Dasa Avatāra' for me, from a Gujarati polemical work, called 'Satapanthnī Pol', but this edition, by the very nature of its purpose, is of no use for our work.

Besides the mss. Kx and D, other versions of the smaller 'Dasa Avatāra' are to be found in the Khojaki mss. 'G', '11', '12', 'M', 'W', 'E', 'Q', all belonging to the Ismaili Association at Karachi.²⁸ It is quite possible that there are other ms. versions of the work also. There are numerous printed editions of this small 'Dasa Avatāra' also, especially the tenth portion of it. This tenth section of the small 'Dasa Avatāra' is very sacred to, and very popular with, the Ismaili Satpanthis. It is sung by them, standing up (or used to be upto 10 years ago) on all important and festive occasions in the 'jama'at khānās', also at the death bed of a person, at ceremonies held for the dead. This was the version cited in the lawsuit 'Haji Bibi v. The Aga Khan' in 1909 in the Bombay High Court, in support of the

contention that the offerings made by the followers are made to the Aga Khan alone, and not to any or all the members of his family.²⁹

As said above, the Satpanthi tradition attributes the composition of this 'ginan' literature to the various Pirs (mainly to four Pirs; Pir Shams, Pir Sadr al Din, Pir Hasan Kabir al Din, Pir Imam Shah)³⁰ from a line of Pirs who are supposed to have converted them to Islam. The genealogy, and the biographies of these Pirs seem to be extremely difficult to establish. S.C. Misra has discussed the genealogy of these Nizari Pirs from no less than five sources³¹ W. Ivanow has discussed the problem of the genealogy and dates quite exhaustively in his works.³² I found a genealogy of the Nizari Pirs carved on the grave of Pir Ali Akber, at a place called 'Suraj Miyāni' near Multan. It is stated on the grave that it was built in A.H. 993, but the genealogy seems to be faulty.³³ A visit to the 'dargah' (grave) of Pir Nur Satgur at Navasāri in Gujarat,³⁴ of Pir Shams at Multan,³⁵ of Pir Sadr al Din at Jetpur in Bhahāvalapur State in Pakistan,³⁶ of Pir Hasan Kabir al Din in Uchch Sherif,³⁷ of Syad Imam Shah at Pirānā in Gujarat by me have yielded no results beyond what Professors Misra and Ivanow have already discussed.

In the Kx ms., which is the oldest Satpanthi ms. we have come across, there are two lists of the genealogies of the Pirs. One is on p. 295, under the heading 'Pir Salāmatajā

Nālā' or the 'names of the Pirs, peace upon them', I call this List A. The second list, which I call list B, is on unnumbered pages, in the inserted section, which is dated Samvat 1813 (A.D. 1756), which is later than the date of the original ms., A.D. 1737. The lists are as follows: (List A is given, and then any variants from list B are given in parenthesis:

1. Hadharata Saidha Mahamadha Musatafa sala alahu etc. (Arabic, *حضرة سيد محمد مصطفي صلى الله عليه*; list B has four names before the name of the Prophet, as follows: abhadha al Munaf, *عبد المناف*, Hasam *هاشم*, abhadha al Mutalabha *عبد الطالب*, abhadha alaha *عبد الله*; the sixth name in list B is: Ali bin abhu Talibha *علي بن ابي طالب* ³⁸)
2. Saiadha emama Hasan (seventh in list B). ³⁹ *سيد امام حسن*
3. Kasem. *قاسم*
4. Ahamadha. *احمد*
5. Satgura Nur. ⁴⁰
6. Emamadhina. *امام الدين* (In list B, there are four names between Kasem and Emamadhina, as follows: Ma- amadha Bhāker *محمد الباقر*, Jāfer Sādhik *جعفر الصادق*, Pir Jādhe *پير جادھ*, Esamaila *اسماعيل*, Nura Mamadha *نور محمد*; thus Emamadhina in list B is the thirteenth).
7. Mahamadha Manasura. *محمد منصور*
8. Galebhadhina. *غالب الدين*
9. Abhadgala Mujidha. *عبد المجيد*
10. Munitasirabhilae (list B: Musatafa). *مستنصر بالله*

11. Ahamadha Hadhi. أحمد هادي
12. Hasam. هاشم
13. Mahamadha. محمد
14. Mahamudha. محمود
15. Mohobhadhina. محب الدين
16. Khalekadhina. (list B. Khaledha). خالق الدين
17. Abhadala Mumana. (list B. Mumanadhina). عبد المؤمن
18. Esalamadhina (list Salamadhina). و اسلام الدين
19. Sulehadhina (list B has two names: Pira Sale, Salahadhina, بير صالح 'صالح الدين
20. Samasa Tabhareja.⁴¹ شخص تبرير
21. Nasirdhina. ناصر الدين
22. Sahebhadhina. صاحب الدين
23. Sadharadhina.⁴² صدر الدين
24. Kabhiradhina.⁴³ كبير الدين
25. Tajadhina.⁴⁴ تاج الدين
26. Padhiata Jomaradhi.⁴⁵ پنديات جوماردی
27. Haedhara (not in list B). حيدر
28. Alabhadhi(na) (not in list B). العابدين
29. Kasama (not in list B). قاسم
30. Nasira Mahamadha(not in list B). ناصر محمد
31. Pir Dhadhu Khiato.
32. Aga Bhava Hasama. آغا بابا هاشم
33. Mahamadha Jamu. محمد
34. Aga Aji ja. آغا عزيز
35. Mehera Ehega. مهر بيگ

36. Aga Akabhara Bhega. آغا اکبر بھگت
 37. Aga Ali Asakara Ali Asakara⁴⁶ Bhega. آغا علی اصغر بھگت

The text of the 'Dasamo Avatara' has no historical material, beyond stating that Shams's son was Nasir al Din, and that his son was Saheb al Din,⁴⁷ and that his son was Sadr al Din,⁴⁸ and that his son was Kabir al Din,⁴⁹ and that his son and successor was Imam Shah.⁵⁰

The Ismaili Satpanthis (mainly in Sind) do not appear to have accepted Imam Shah, but rather chose Taj al Din, the brother of Pir Hasan Kabir al Din as the successor.⁵¹ It is true that all the Ismaili versions of the big 'Dasa Avatara' (ms. Kx and all the other ms. versions that I have examined, except the printed K edition) do accept Imam Shah as the Pir.⁵² Yet both the genealogies of the Pirs in the Kx ms. quoted above, list Taj al Din as the successor Pir to Hasan Kabir al Din, not Imam Shah.⁵³ It was probably then, when he was rejected by the Ismailis of Sind that Imam Shah came to Gujarat and preached the Satpanth there.⁵⁴ Even then, as the evidence in the 'Dasamo Avatara' shows⁵⁵, Imam Shah did not break away from the Imams in Iran, it was rather his son and successor⁵⁶ who later seems to have broken all ties from the parent Ismaili branch, and attempted to combine the offices of the Pir and Imam in himself.⁵⁷

The Imam Shahi Satpanthis do not accept this interpretation, nor do they accept the Aga Khan as their Imam; in fact they say that they do not accept any imams at all,

although I have seen lists of the genealogies of the Nizari Ismaili Imams, as well as of the twelve Ithna Ashari Imams in some of the mss. possessed by individual Imam Shahi Satpanthis.

The Imam Shahi Syads claim that Imam Shah did not work for any Imam, nor did any of his ancestors, and that the Satpanth they preached was just another version of Islam, independent of any Ismaili forms. Ivanow and Misra do not agree with this claim.⁵⁸ From the internal evidence of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' that we have, the claim of the Imam Shahi Syads cannot be supported either.

a. The investiture incident, described in the 'Dasamo Avatara'⁵⁹ presupposes someone who invests; thus a higher and different authority has to be accepted. The Imam Shahi Syads explain that the investiture incident is allegorical. This could very well be, but to me there seems to be no purpose in such an allegorical story. I would rather be inclined to state that the investiture story seems to 'have been carefully worked in, in order to stake Imam Shah's own claim to the office of Pirship.'⁶⁰

b. A major portion of the story of the 'Dasa^{mv} Avatāra' revolves around the theory of the coming of the 'Qaim'⁶¹, the signs proceeding his appearance, and his fight with the demon Kaliga. 'Qaim (al Zamān)' is definitely a Shiite term for the Imam.⁶² Strothmann says that 'through chiliasm' the term 'Qaim' is often given to the Mahdi⁶³ as resurrected

from his 'apparent' death. Fyzee says that according to the Musta'lian Ismailis the Mahdi, so accepted, has already come. The one who will finally come is the Qaim al Qiyama.⁶⁴ The Imam Shahi Syads, in fact, interpret the theory of the 'coming of the 'Qaim' as the coming of the Mahdi,⁶⁵ but one would wonder why the term 'Qaim' was so obviously and specifically used, and not the term 'Mahdi', if indeed the author meant Mahdi, and not the Qaim or the Imam.

c. The 'Dasamo Avatāra' uses the word 'Shah' synonymously with the words Hari and Qaim. In fact 'Shah' is the most frequently used noun in the work (147 times). The Ismaili Satpanthis use the word 'Shah' as the commonest appellation for the Imam even today. According to Ivanow, in the works of the Ismaili poet Khaki Khorasani (and therefore with the Iranian Ismailis as well) the term 'Shah' is one of the commonest words used to denote the Imam.⁶⁶ The Imam Shahi Syads interpret the term 'Shah' as either referring to the Mahdi, or as being allegorical. This seems highly improbable.

I think that the whole theory of the coming of the 'Qaim' in the 'Dasamo Avatāra' is a reference to the theory of the 'zuhur' or the final manifestation of the Imam. Ivanow says that in the works of the poet Khaki Khorasani 'there are several places in which one clearly sees that the author soon expects the 'zuhur' or the manifestation of the Imam.'⁶⁷ According to the 'Haji Bibi v. Aga Khan' lawsuit of 1909, all

the Ismaili Imams after Imam Ismail are 'unrevealed' Imams;⁶⁸ and thus speculation about their 'revelation' must have formed an important subject among the Ismailis.⁶⁹

The 'Dasa Avatāra' not only claims Pirship for Imam Shah but several of his descendants.⁷⁰ Both Ivanow, and Misra have discussed the later history of the sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat.⁷¹ On the historical plane, neither about the genealogies of the Pirs, nor about their biographies, nor about the controversy between the two Satpanthi branches, can anything else, which is worthwhile, be added here. The 'ginan' literature is sparse on history, it is often unreliable on historical questions; in any event, nothing of this 'ginan' literature has been systematically studied so far.

The question that could be validly asked here is the following: how far are the Pirs responsible for writing the various works that the Satpanthi tradition attributes to them? Unfortunately, I have found no way of proving conclusively that the works were written by the Pirs to whom they are attributed (nor of disproving the fact!). In Professor Bhayani's opinion, based on the D ms. the language used in the D ms. is the popular oral Gujarati of the eighteenth century. But popular language is always a century ahead of the literary language; hence the work 'Dasa Avatāra' (big) could have been composed a century earlier, i.e. in the seventeenth century.⁷² According to

Misra,⁷³ Pir Imam Shah lived at the time of Sultan Mahmud Begdā (Begarha, 1458-1511), and he is supposed to be the composer of the big 'Dasa Avatāra'. It is quite probable that the work was recited orally, and not written down for quite some time, (the earliest copy we have is the one in the Kx ms., dated A.D. 1737), hence the language must have continued to change,⁷⁴ although the presence of certain medieval terms⁷⁵ in the work does indicate a composition earlier than the earliest ms. version available.

The 'short' or 'small' version of the 'Dasa Avatāra' is supposed to have been composed by Pir Sadr al Din, the grandfather of Imam Shah.⁷⁶ But again the earliest ms. copy we can find is in the Kx ms. which is dated A.D. 1737. The Sindhi 'Dasa Avatāra'⁷⁷ found in the Kx ms. is attributed to the great grand father of Pir Sadr al Din, Pir Shams of Multan, who is traditionally the earliest Ismaili missionary to have come from Iran. (he is supposed to have died in 1276 A.D.). In the opinion of Professor Schimmel, based on the fact that the earliest Sindhi uses the littlest possible Arabic, and no Persian vocabulary at all, the Sindhi 'Dasa Avatāra' of Pir Shams must be prior to the seventeenth century. A.D.⁷⁸ It is not improbable that the idea, that Ali, and thenceforth the Imams, were the incarnations of the god Viṣṇu, could have been first expounded by the one who is traditionally the earliest of the Ismaili Pirs; and that the idea was later greatly elaborated by the subsequent

Pirs, especially by Imam Shah.

Before going on to discuss the big 'Dasamo Avatāra' in detail, it would not be out of place to state briefly the stories of the first nine incarnations as stated in the 'Dasa Avatāra' of Imam Shah. The Introduction to the 'Dasa Avatāra' (K edition) says that in the beginning there was 'you, Nārāyaṇa, self-conscious, free from all qualifications and conditions; all knowing and good; void of all darkness, ignorance, error and imperfections'. Then he (Nārāyaṇa) created countless krores of beings (jīvās); then he concentrated for a long long time, and then created four 'kalpās', with their sixteen yugās. In the first yugā (era) of the fourth 'kalpā' he assumed the form of a fish.

The First Incarnation.

In the darkness and the tumult at the beginning, Viṣṇu was the only support. Then he created light (nur) which is the light of the true guru Brahma. Thence started all creation.

At first in the eight lakha 'karṇās'⁷⁹ countless krores of souls were uplifted. Then the four 'kalpās' were created, in which 'jakha'⁸⁰, 'mega', 'kinara' and thirty-three krores of devas were liberated. Then the four yugās were created, and Brahma begot a son called Saṁkho (also called Saṁkhasara, or the demon Saṁkho)⁸¹. Saṁkho stole the four vedas, so Brahma went and complained to Hari about it. For the sake of retrieving the Vedas, Hari assumed various

incarnations. The first incarnation was 'Macha' or fish.

Having stolen the Vedas, Saṁkho hid in the underworld, in the assembly of Karanikasara.⁸² But Hari followed him, so he fled, and took asylum with Mother Earth. Hari asked the Earth to give Saṁkho up, so the Vedas could be restored to Brahma. The Earth agreed, but only on the condition that Hari should wed her. Hari agreed to do so, but only after the four yugas, and the ten incarnations were completed, and countless krores of souls were liberated.⁸³ Hearing this, the demon Saṁkho fled, and hid in the underworld of the serpent Sekha,⁸⁴ but fled from here too. Then he hid at a place where a mother and son were sitting. Hari came searching, and promised to fulfil the desire of the mother and the son in his seventh incarnation, if they gave Hari information of Saṁkho's whereabouts. So Saṁkhasara fled, and hid in the underworld of king Dhamalā Dhorī. When Hari came looking for Saṁkho, king Dhorī's queen took a promise from Hari that he would take the eighth incarnation through her womb as mother Kuntī. So the demon fled again, and hid in the underworld of 'Vārā Talotara'. Hari came there searching, and had to promise that in the second Treta era, during his fifth and sixth incarnations, he would fulfil the love (prīta) of Kamaladhena and Kamalāpatī. The Saṁkho then fled, and hid in the underworld of one Sakhā deva. This deva had five sons, and these five sons asked Hari for a boon before they would divulge the secret of

where the demon was. So Hari had to promise that he would fulfil their love as the five Pandava brothers in his eighth incarnation. So the demon fled once again and hid in the underworld of Gajāndhara. This Gajāndhara had a son whom Hari promised that he would fulfil his wish as Hariścandra in his seventh incarnation. So the demon fled again, and went to hide in Korabha's underworld. Korabha had five wives, and four sons. Hari came there and asked where the demon was hiding, but the sons asked Hari for a boon before telling him. Hari promised that he himself would come in the first yugā (era) as Macha (fish), as Korabha (kurma; tortoise), as Vārā (varāhā, boar), as Narasiṃha (man-lion), and they would be incarnated as Rukhamugata, Amarīkha, Dhruva and Paelāja. (Prahlaḍ). Hearing this, the demon fled, and hid in the underworld of the 'Macha Talotara' (Fish under the Earth). This king Macha had a queen and a son. Hari promised that if they told him where the demon was, then he would fulfil their minds' desire, in that, when he would assume the tenth incarnation, they would become Queen Surajā and Prince Kamalā. They agreed, but the demon, hearing this, fled and went into the sea. So Hari assumed the form of a fish, and went into the sea too. There the Nārāyaṇa deva killed the Saṃkhasara, and took the four vedas out of his stomach. Then this very demon Saṃkhasara touched the feet of Hari(!), so Nārāyaṇa asked him to beg a boon. The demon Saṃkha begged that he should be allowed

to fight with Hari in all his ten incarnations. Hari agreed, and then restored the four Vedas to Brahma.

So in the first Krta yuga, Hari came in the form of a fish, he killed the demon Saṁkha, and liberated the devotee Rukhamugata with one and a quarter krore of beings.

The Macha's mother was Saṁkhavati, his father was Piremarukha, his guru was Manadhāta (Mandhata), his 'shakti' was Chamdhakadevi. The Macha incarnation endured for a period of four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which time the Rg Veda was the basis of true authority.

The Second Incarnation:

Hari assumed the form of Korabha (Kurma, or tortoise), who put the weight of the earth on his back. The demon Madhukīṭaka went and sat on the mount Meru. The deva put Meru into the sea, and churned the ocean, and took out fourteen jewels.^{84 b} He also took out amṛta (nectar) and the moon and the sun. The deva killed the demon Madhukīṭaka, and liberated the devotee Amarīkha with one and a quarter krores of souls.

The Korabha's mother was Kamalavati, his father was Trikhata (Trikota ?), his guru was Ekarakhāja, his 'shakti' was Ajia devi. The kṣetra (battlefield) was Bhesāsara.

Hari's incarnation as Korabha lasted for four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, when the Rg Veda was the basis of true authority.

The Third Incarnation.

The third incarnation of Hari was Vāra (Varāhā, boar), who kept the earth between his teeth. He killed the demon Mora, and liberated the devotee Dhru with one and a quarter krores of beings.

The Varāhā's mother was Padamāmvati, his father was Doelapura, his guru was Sejanāmdha, his 'shakti' was Bahukādevi. The 'savasakhaṇa' (place of birth?) was the city of Bāgapura, the battlefield was Māna Sarovara (lake Māna). The Varāhā incarnation of Hari lasted for four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which time, the Rg Veda was the ground of true authority.

The Fourth Incarnation.

At this time the demon Haranakāmsa (Hiranyākaśīpu) made 'tapas' (ascetic practices) and obtained a boon from Saṁkara. Then the devotee Paelāja (Prahlaḍ) was born at the house of the least loved queen. The queen sent off the child into the forest, where Kāmadhena (a wishing cow in Hindu mythology) looked after him.

But the king Haranakasa heard of him and came into the forest with an army. (By miracle?) the king saw a large army facing him, with 'rumi' and 'habasi'⁸⁵ in it. The king's army was so terror-stricken, that they fled. But still the king Haranakāmsa brought the child Paelāja out of the forest.

Now when Paelāja started going to school, he began to make 'japa' (rememberance) of the god Narasiṁha. He also

taught it to all the other children at school. So the demon king threw Paelāja into the sea, but Hari saved him. Then the demon had Paelāja thrown in front of a she elephant, but the elephant instead of trampling on him, saluted and turned back. Then the demon put Paelāja through a mill, but the wooden mill broke into nine pieces. He then had Paelāja thrown into the fire, but the fire would not burn him. Then the demon had an iron pillar built, and he brought Paelāja to it, asking him where his Narasiṃha was. The demon was going to tie Paelāja to the pillar, but Paelāja embraced the pillar. Then the pillar burst, and the Murāra⁸⁶ deva came out of it in the form of a man-lion or Narasiṃha. He had come to kill the demon, but the demon said that he had procured a boon that he could not be killed during night or day; neither with iron or wooden weapons etc. So Hari killed him with his nails, at eventide etc.

Hari then liberated the devotee Paelāja, with one and a quarter krores of beings, who had been worshipping according to the Satpanth.

In the Krta era, fifteen krores of beings had been appointed in all; of these five krores were sincere and loved Hari, so they were liberated; five krores of them did not have complete faith in Hari, so they went into the cycle of reincarnation; and the rest of the five krores were thrown into hell(dhojake).

Narasiṃha's mother was Chamdhavati, his father was

Haritaka, his guru was Amaratēja, his 'shakti' was Samae-devi. The 'savasakhana' was Kashmir, the 'ksetra' was Musatana (Multan?) city.

The period of the incarnation of Narasimha was four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which period, the Rg. Veda was the basis of true authority.

In all, the Krta era was seventeen lakhs and twenty-eight thousand years long; then Paelaja went to the eternal abode, since he followed the secret path.

The Fifth Incarnation.

In the second or the Treta era, the guru Vijesathara Viāsa (Vyasa ?) appeared. Then the demon Bala (Bali) was born. He had sixty-six krores of demons with him. The demon Bala 'raja' went to the guru to ask how he could win his fight against Nārāyaṇa. So the guru advised him to set up a big 'yagna' (sacrifice). Bala set up such a big sacrifice, that even Indra and the nine continents began to shake. Then a certain king Bhimasehera sent an offer to marry his daughter to the demon king Bala. So Bali left the sacrifice and went to marry her. Hari came to where Bali was getting married, in the form of a Brahmin, and asked for the hand of the princess instead. Bali agreed. Hari was so pleased with him that he went away without taking the girl. Bali married her and returned to his country. Then Hari came again in the form of Vāemana (a dwarf) to cheat Bali. This time he asked for 'udhaka' (water), but Bala Raja's

advisers warned him that it was Hari who had come in the form of Vāemana to cheat him. So Bali told his advisers to be careful, yet Vāemana cheated him, cancelled his sacrifice and killed Bali.

Then Hari liberated the devotee Kamaladhena, and then all the world recognised him.

The vāemana's mother was Lināvati, his father was Kesavaratha, his guru was Bahulocana, his 'shakti' was Koelādevi. The 'śavasakhana' was Koelāpura, and the 'kṣetra' was Vaṇathāri Junagadha.

The incarnation of Hāri as Vāemana (a dwarf) was four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which period the Jujara (Yajur) Veda was the basis of true authority.

The Sixth Incarnation.

The sixth incarnation of Hari was Paṇasīrāma (Parasurāma), the bearer of the bow and the arrow. The deva killed Kṣatrīyas and made the world free from the Kṣatrīyas. At that time the demon Sheshatra-arajuna was very strong, no one could fight him. This demon made an iron cage, and then went to look for Nārāyaṇa. But he only met a 'jajamāna' (performer of sacrifice), who told him that if the cage was big enough for him, i.e., for the demon, then it would be big enough for Hari. So Sheshatra-arajuna went into it to try it out, but Hari closed the door, locked him in, and slew him. Then he liberated the devotee Kamalāpati.

The mother of Paṇasirāma was Raṇakāvati, his father was

Javalagana (Jamadagni), his guru was Akasabumbha, his 'shakti' was Tuluja Bhavani (Bhavani = Kali). The 'savasa-khana' was Mamjapura city, and the kṣetra was Koelāpur. Hari remained in the form of Panasirāma for four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, when the Jujar Veda was the basis of true authority.

The Seventh Incarnation.

At the time of the seventh incarnation, the guru was Vijesathara Viāsa. The Shah came as the seventh incarnation. Then the demon Rāvaṇa⁸⁷ went to make 'tapas' (ascetic practices) so that he could not be killed by anyone's arrows.

There was a 'mukhi' (chief) named Vira Locana (Vairocana?), who lived to the east of the king Hariścandra. This king wanted to marry the queen Tārā, who was a devotee. The king married her, but he would not let her step out of doors. So the queen supplicated, and 'hazarat' Atarīkha came down, so the queen started going out with him to serve the 'sata' or true guru. The king did not know this, but the maid servants taunted her, and eventually warned the king. The king Hariścandra hung himself to the tail of the horse 'Hasala' and went to the assembly of the devas, where the queen used to go. There the queen was given a plate full of food to take back with her. When she returned, the king took out his sword, and asked her where she had been, and what was in the plate. The king told her that she was not supposed to go out, and abused the 'assembly of the devas'. So at last the queen

uncovered the plate, and the 'gugari'⁸⁸ in it had changed into pearls and flowers, the 'laḍu' (Indian sweet balls) had changed into oranges, the 'purīs' (flat fried Indian bread) had changed into betelnut leaves, and the meat had turned into grapes. The king was so overcome that he asked the queen the true meaning of all this. The queen told him that all this was due to the merits of the Satpanth, that he might be a king, but that Satpanth was like the edge of a sword, one had to sacrifice one's head for it. So the king Hariścandra agreed to embrace Satpanth, and to give away all his kingdom and his wealth. The king then took up a job with an ironmonger. In this way he served the true guru, so for the sake of the devotee, and for the sake of killing the demon Dasāsara (Ten head, or Rāvana), Hari assumed the seventh incarnation as Rāma.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (his brother, Lakṣman) were ruling, but the queen Kaikeyi asked the king to let her own son Bharat rule instead, and to send Rām into the forest. Rāma is the creator of the fourteen worlds, yet when Rāma was leaving Ayodhayā (Ayodhya) to go into the forest, and all the people of Ayodhya went after him, asking him to return, he sent them all back, saying he must suffer for his own 'karmas'. So Rama went to the forest and lived there for twelve years.

Viśvamītra went to Hariścandra in the form of a pig; so king Hariścandra went in pursuit, but then at the edge of

the river Viśvāmitra stood in the form of a Brahmin. He asked the king to give dowry for a marriage, the king did so, giving all his kingdom and horses as dowry (kanyā dāna). But then the Brahmins demanded their share, so for this the king and his queen Tārā and their son Rohidās had to be sold. In this way they suffered, so that they would become acceptable to the 'hazarat Shah'.

In the meanwhile the demon Rāvana planned to steal Sita (Rama's wife), and came to her in the form of a begging mendicant, and carried her away. Rama called Hanamata (the monkey god in Hindu mythology, Hanuman) to help him retrieve Sita. So Hanuman hastened to Lāṅka (Ceylon), where Rāvana was. Hanuman went and found Sita, and with his tail, to which a piece of burning cloth was tied, he burnt Lāṅka. Then Rama fought the demon Rāvana's army, and brought Sita back.

While queen Tārā was a maid servant at the house of a Brahmin, one day, Viśvāmitra came in the form of a snake, and bit her son Rohidas. She went to burn the body of her son, when Hariscandra came to demand the cloth from the body. Tara Rani prayed, and Narayana deva appeared. Whatever devotee has 'iman' (faith), he is saved, and goes to heaven.

So in the Treta era, Hari assumed three incarnations. He killed three demons. In the Treta era, the guru Vijesathara Viāsa appointed twenty-one krores of beings.

Out of these, seven krores were true and were liberated. Seven more krores were partly true, so they went into the cycle of reincarnation. And seven krores went to hell. But the seven krores of true ones together with Hariścāndra had followed the Satpanth.

In his seventh incarnation, Rama killed the demon Rāvana and liberated the devotee Hariścāndra. The mother of Rama was Kausalavāmti (Kauśalya), his father was Dasaratha, his guru was Lakhamāṇa (actually his brother, Lakṣman), his 'shakti' was Sitā. The 'savasakhana' was Ayodhaya, the 'kṣetra' was Lāmkapuri. Hari assumed the incarnation of Rama for the length of four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which time the Jujar Veda was the ground of true authority. Hariścāndra reached heaven by following the Satpanth in secrecy. The Treta era was twelve lakhs and ninety-six thousand years long.

The Eighth Incarnation.

The true guru Vidharaviāsa (Vidura Vyāsa) has told the following true words.

In his eighth incarnation Hari was born as Kṛṣṇa from the womb of Devaki. But he was nursed by Jasodā. But the demon Kāmsāsara found out, and sent the demoness Putnā. Putnā came to nurse Kṛṣṇa, with poison in her breasts, but Kṛṣṇa sucked her life out. When he was a child, while playing one day, he picked up the mountain Govaradhana. On another occasion, he plunged into the Jamunā river to

retrieve a ball. In the river, he fought with the snake Vāsīṅgā, (Vāsukī) and defeated him. Kṛṣṇa married sixteen thousand gopis (cowherdresses).

The wicked Koravas persuaded the Pandavas to play a game with them. The Pāṅdavas lost and had to go into the forest for a period of time.

Then Duryodhana brought Paṁcāvali (Draupadi) to the court, to take her 'lajā' (shame). But she prayed to her Lord, supplicating. That god always comes to the help of his devotees, so as Duryodhana would pull off one dress, Hari who had come to help her, would supply her with another dress. Thus Hari supplied her with nine hundred and ninety-nine new dresses.

Then she went with the Pandavas to the forest, and Duryodhana sat ruling.⁸⁹ After twelve years they returned from the forest. Duryodhana tried to poison the Pandavas, he tried to set fire to the temple (home?) in which they lived, until they became servants of the king Varata. (Virata?). One of Varata's warriors tried to seduce Draupadi, but Bhima went and killed him. So the Pandavas had to remain disguised as servants for twelve years. But then Duryodhana found out that they were still alive. After twelve years, they came out openly, even then Duryodhana refused to give them any part of the kingdom. So there was a big fight at Kurukṣetra. Kṛṣṇa fought for the Pandavas who won. Eighteen 'khaṇa' army were killed. In order to

expitiate the sin of killing, the Pandavas set up a 'yagna' (sac̣rifice).

Kṛṣṇa, having killed Kāmsāsara, the demon, who was his uncle, assumed the Budhdha incarnation. And he killed Duryodhana.

Kṛṣṇa's mother was Devaki, his father was Vasudeva, his guru was Vidharaveāsa, his 'shakti' was queen Rukhamani. The 'savasakhana' was Gokalapur, and the 'kṣetra' was Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa killed the demon Kāmsā. The Kṛṣṇa form of Hari endured for four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, during which time, the Sāma Veda was the basis of true authority. The Ninth Incarnation.

The ninth incarnation of Hari was Buddha, who spoke 'Fārsi' (Persian). He had bent legs, and a deformed face, he carried a sword and arrows. In this terrible form he came to the threshold of the Pandavas, who were making a 'yagna', but Bhima was at the door, and would not let him in.

Hari in the form of Buddha told Bhima that the Brahmins whom they were feeding had lost their 'brahma', and that the Nabi (Prophet) Muhammad was now the incarnation of Brahma.

The Brahmins still worshipped cows, and idols and stones and trees and went to the river Ganges, all of which was now wrong. The right thing was the Satpanth, to give 'dasondh'⁹⁰ (tithe), to go to the 'gata'⁹¹ and to drink 'amīrasa'⁹². Bhima was very impressed, and went to tell the king Yudhisthira, who wished to come out, when he heard this,

and see Buddha, but the Brahmins tried to prevent him.

Anyhow, eventually, the Pandavas went to meet the Buddha who told them to kill a cow. The Pandavas replied that they could not do such a sinful act. Buddha argued that if they could kill eighteen 'kṛṣṇa' army, why could not they kill one cow? And in any case, killing a cow would make the Brahmins spread calumny against them, and that would help wash their sins away.

So the Pandavas killed a Kāmadhena cow (wishing cow), as Hari had directed. Yudhishthira put the head of the cow on his head, the rest of the four brothers put the four legs of the cow on their heads. In this fashion they went to the bajāra' (bazār) in Hasnāpuri, (Hastināpura), making the 'japa' of Buddha. People began to talk, so their sins were washed off, and instead of the parts of the cow, their heads were covered with glittering golden crowns. When the Brahmins saw this, they went to the place where the cow had been cut, and took the intestines of the cow and put them around themselves as the sacred thread. Others went and got the skin of the cow, others got the tail and the udders; so now all the world worships the cow, and are misled. But if only they look at the Atharva Veda, they would find the Tenth Incarnation.

Then the Pandavas asked the Buddha to advise them as to what to do now, so the Buddha advised them to go away to Hemācala (the Himalaya). Because the Kali era was about

to begin, and it was a sinful era. The Brahmins would be self-seekers, and they would not know the tenth incarnation. So he told the Pandavas to go away before the Kali era arrived, because he himself was going away. But then the Pandavas complained, how would the earth survive?⁹³, so the Buddha said that he would remain 'gubata' ('gupta', hidden, or Arabic 'sahr'). So the Pandavas asked him about his 'gubata' condition. So the Buddha replied that in the west, in an Arab country, he would assume a human form. So the Pandavas asked him about the place of the guru Brahma. Nārāyaṇa deva replied that in the Jampudipa (India), in the Bharat continent, in the 'kṣetra of the Maiden'⁹⁴, there in the Imāmpurī city the guru Brahma lives.⁹⁵ He teaches the Atharva Veda. In the Kali era, the name of the guru Brahma is Nabi Muhammad, but the misguided would never know this.

So the Pandavas went to Hemācala. Then all the sixty-eight 'tirthās' (places of Hindu pilgrimage) came to touch the feet of the guru Sri Buddha, and told him (especially the Ganges did) that they did not want to remain in the Kali era, unless he too remained. Hari said that he could not do this, but in the west, in the 'Erāq khamdha' (Iraq) he would assume the tenth incarnation. But the guru Brahma would be in the Jampudipa. In Jampudipa lives guru Hasan Shah, and he says that the 'end' name of the guru is Nabi Muhammad.

But the Ganges persisted in asking about Hari's place

in the Kali era, so Hari Nārāyaṇa deva replied that in the west, in Svetadipa, in the Erāq continent, he would assume the incarnation of the most powerful Ali. This was the secret that the Buddha told them, so the 'tirthas' agreed to remain in the Kali era. But they went away to Nabi Muhammad, so now the sixty-eight 'tirthas', and the three former vedas are of no use.

Then all the 'bhutas' and other bad spirits came to Buddha, and asked him what they should do in the Kali era? Nārāyaṇa replied that in the Kali era, everyone would love them, and honour them. So they were happy, and asked where they should live in the Kali era. Nārāyaṇa replied that the sixty-eight 'tirthās' were going to vacate their places, so they could go and live in them. Nārāyaṇa advised them to perform miracles, so the people would worship them in the Kali era. Thus now all those in the Kali era who go to the 'tirthās', and worship idols are in reality worshipping bad spirits, while they do not know of the Nabi Muhammad and the 'hāzar Imam'. The idols and the bad spirits said that they did not wish to be worshipped, but the Buddha said that they better suffer it. Such is the play of the deva.⁹⁶

In the Dvapara era, the ninth incarnation of Hari was Budhdha, who killed the demon Duryodhana, and liberated the devotee Pandavas. (But the body of Jujesthara (Yudhiśthira) had not gone completely yet, because in his life once he had spoken a lie).⁹⁷

In the Duapara era, there were two incarnations. The guru Vidaraviāsa had appointed twenty-seven krores of beings; of these nine krores were truthful and were liberated; nine krores had less faith and went into the cycle of reincarnation; the remaining nine krores, who did not love the guru Nārāyana, went to hell. The Pandavas followed the Satpanth.

Buddha's mother was Karaṇāvati, his father was Vinavicharāja, his guru was Hainsarāja, his 'shakti' was Hirsādevi. The 'savasakhaṇa' was Ujenapura, and the kṣetra was Kulakhetra. Hari remained as Buddha for a period of four lakhs and thirty-two thousand years, and the whole Duapara era was eight lakhs and sixty-four thousand years. The Tenth Incarnation.

The big 'Dasamo Avatāra' begins by stating that when the Dvapara era ended, and the Kali era began, the demon Kaligo was born in 'Cīna mähā Cīna'. The Atharva Veda is now the truth, and the guru Brahma has assumed the name of the Prophet Muhammad (Kx 4). Isvara has become Adam, and Hari has assumed the tenth incarnation. (Kx 5). This tenth is the 'Nakalanki'⁹⁸ incarnation, who now sits in the Arabian country. (Kx 6). He is remaining 'gubata' (hidden, Kx 7)^{98b}

The guru Brahma is also Pir Shams,⁹⁹ who goes round preaching. Eventually Pir Shams, in the form of a parrot, comes to Cīna mähā Cīna, and arrives at the threshold of the demon Kālīgo, whose wife is queen Surajā, and son is prince

Kamalā.¹⁰⁰ The parrot tells the queen that she is wasting her life, and then recounts to her the stories of the first three eras. (Kx 17-23). He warns her that now in his tenth incarnation, Hari is going to kill her husband. But, the parrot says, since he knows her to be a truthful woman, he has come to warn her and to teach her the Satpanth (Kx 30), without which there is no 'mugata' (mukti', salvation, Kx 31), and without which they would all have to suffer on the 'mahadhina' (the great day or the Day of Judgement). Therefore it was important to have a true guru (Kx 31) and to serve the Satpanth in secrecy. The queen and the prince and six others thereupon, beg Pir Shams to teach them the Satpanth and to save them from the 'mahadhina'. It was because they had left some service undone in their previous lives, that they had been born in the home of a demon (Kx 47). So Pir Shams took them into the Satpanth by giving them the 'niāma parataka bola' (Kx 52), and teaching them the 'jāpa' (remembrance, 'dhikr') of 'Pirshah' (Kx 54)¹⁰¹. He told them that they must also give 'dasondh' (tithe)¹⁰². They asked Pir Shams for 'didar' (audience, vision) at the time of the fight, to which he agreed and departed.

Pir Shams then came to Jampudipa (India). His son was Pir Nasir al Din, his son was Pir Saheb al Din, and his son was Pir Sadr al Din, who did the work of liberating twelve krores of beings in the Kali era. (Kx 61-65).

Then comes what I have called the 'investiture incident'

above¹⁰³, in which Pir Sadr al Din goes to the 'dargah' with his son Pir Kabir al Din, and an iron wall arises, and then disappears, after Pir Sadr al Din had performed 'tapas' (ascetic practises). In the meanwhile the child Kabir al Din has woven a headgear of five hundred yards, which he presents to the Shah. The Shah is very pleased, he appoints Pir Kabir al Din as the next Pir, and tells him that he will be the liberator of countless krores of beings. (There are some supplicating verses, giving the Shah the powers of the creation of souls and of the universe, describing him as the most merciful, and asking for his 'dīdār'). When Kabir al Din objects that he would not be equal to the task of liberating countless krores of beings in the sinful Kali era, the Shah promises that he will help him in it.¹⁰⁴ Then Hasan Kabir al Din taught the 'jāpa' of 'Pir-Shah', and all who learnt it went to heaven.

The 'Dasamo Avatāra' says that the successor to Hasan Kabir al Din is Imam Shah,¹⁰⁵ who taught in India. Imam Shah's son is Muhammad Shah, and his son is Mustafā. (Kx 98-102)¹⁰⁶

The author here stops discussing the question of succession, and goes on to talk of the coming of the Qaim, (Kx 103), and the signs proceeding the coming of the Qaim. This refers to the 'zuhur' or the manifestation of the hidden Imam, according to the Satpanthi Ismailis; but according to the Imam Shahi Satpanthis, it is a reference to the coming of the Mahdi.¹⁰⁷ The signs are all unnatural events, such

as a cow having twins, the sea crossing the tide line, or bad events, such as all people speaking lies and calumny, brothers fighting among themselves etc. The demon (who is Kaligo so far) is now referred to as Azāzīl(Kx 113). Even the believers (mu'mins) will be corrupted.

Then there is the strange incident of the forbidding of smoking tobacco(Kx 121-124), because it is the smoke of the devil.

So with all those signs, the Kali era will be filled. Then the Qaim will come openly (Kx 129). Then the auspicious signs will be seen, such as the she-elephant giving milk, the sea waters turning sweet etc.; and when all these signs are fulfilled, then one should know that the Shah has come. (Kx 131).

Then the Shah's man Ismail comes(Kx 132) with ninety-two lakhs of horses; he goes to Cīna mähā Cīna, and challenges the demon Kāligo. Here a long section is devoted to preparations for war on both sides, the weapons used, the horses and their decorations, the warriors etc.(upto Kx 173 description of the demon's army). The demon appoints Prince Kamalā as the ruler of Cīna mähā Cīna, and himself sets forth to fight the Shah. Prince Kamalā and queen Surajā instead of ruling remember Hari and supplicate him. So Pir Shams appears to them, advises them to leave Cīna mähā Cīna and go to Jampudipa, where the Shah's army is collecting.

The Shah is described mounting his horse Dula Dula (Kx

190). Then follow descriptions of the ornaments of the horse, and of the Shah (to Kx 203). All the souls who have been liberated in the previous eras come to join the Shah and his army. In verse Kx 293 there is some sort of speculation about the date on which the Qaim will mount the Dula Dula, but I cannot decipher the date.

Then the Shah comes to Jampudipa with his vast army, (Kx 299) and he takes the three edged sword in his hand (Kx 307). In India, the Shah comes to the 'rozā' (grave) of Imam Shah, and the 'roza' turns golden (Kx 313). There the Shah sits and talks to Imam Shah.¹⁰⁸

Then the demon comes to the river Sarasvati, performing all kinds of tricks to beguile the people (Kx 320). As both the armies are facing each other, Nārad comes to perform his tricks. Everyone comes to the Shah, and offers to kill the demon: the female ascetics, Bhīma, the wind, the water etc., but the Shah does not accept their offers.

Just then the queen Surajā and the prince Kamalā arrive (Kx 339). They come and supplicate the Shah, asking him to forgive the sins of their former lives; they tell the Shah how with his 'dīdār' they feel that the sins of their former lives have been absolved. Then queen Surajā and prince Kamalā go to the demon's army (Kx 345), and try to explain to the demon that it is not possible to fight with the Indestructible Hari. Surajā recounts all the previous nine incarnations of Hari (Kx 351-360), and tries to warn the

demon that the tenth incarnation of Hari, the Nakalamki incarnation will kill him (Kx 362). At this Kālīgo becomes very angry and says that he will go and kill Hari and bring his head to her. Now it is her turn to get angry, so she takes a stick and hits the neck of the demon. The demon falls onto the floor dead (Kx 368-370).

This leads to a fight between the two armies (Kx 376-389) until the river Sarasvati flows with blood (Kx 390). Then the head of the demon is thrown to Cīna mähā Cīna, and Cīna mähā Cīna is sunk into the sea. (Kx 395). - Now the demon has no progeny left.

Then the Shah gives an order to the angel Azāzila to take possession of all the souls, which he does (Kx 397-400). Then follows a description of the Qiyama (Judgement), how the trumpet will be blown (Kx 403), and how all the beings will be resurrected. But, the text says, whoever follows the Satpanth truthfully will not suffer on this 'mahādina' (Kx 404). These sages will enjoy themselves, they will all sit with the Shah, and with Muhammad as the vizier (Kx 406).

Then there is a description of 'amarāpuri', the eternal abode (Kx 409-431), with all the gold and jewels, and the beautiful clothes for all the saints, who will each have fifty women. This will last for one and a quarter lakhs of years (Kx 432), and the Shah will marry the mother earth (Kx 433). But all this is only for the true Satpanthis (Kx 434-435), the untire lazy Satpanthis will be punished (Kx 436-

452) as will be those who worship stones and trees, those who go to the 'tirthās' etc. After the sages have enjoyed themselves, then creation will be destroyed again (Kx 455). Here the author reverts to the idea of the Qiyama, with the horn being blown (Kx 457), and the Shah in his Arabic form, putting all the world into hell (Kx 458). Then there is the description of hell, and all the punishments of hell, mixed up with ideas about the last Judgement (Kx 459-481). But the Shah will protect the 'dharami' (religious ones) with an umbrella (Kx 483). The ones who did not sin will not suffer; they will go to heaven (Kx 483). A description of heaven follows, and all that the saint enjoys there, including the frequent 'didār' of the guru Nara (Imam, Kx 509).

The 'Dasamo Avatāra' ends by promising liberation from reincarnation to any who follow its customs, and much merit will accrue to those who recite, and those who listen to this scripture of Pir Imam Shah. (Kx 509).

Professor B. Lewis suggested that the idea of the Ten Incarnations of the Satpanthi Ismailis might be comparable to the already existent Ismaili idea of the Ten Intellects (which come into Ismailism from the neo-Platonic idea of emanations). It may be quite possible that this parallelism was present in the mind of the early Ismaili Pir who took over the idea of the Hindu Ten Incarnations in order to form a symbiotic bridge between Nizari Ismaili Islam, and Hinduism.

One must remember two guiding principles of Ismailism: firstly, that Ismailism always operated at two levels; the 'zahir' (outer, exoteric) and the 'batin' (inner, esoteric); and we do not know what the 'batin' interpretation of the 'Dasa Avatāra' was, in the mind of the Pir who originally conceived the idea of using the theory of the 'Dasa Avatāra' to preach Ismaili Islam. Secondly, that teaching should be done in terms which those who are being taught understand and can identify themselves with, and in stages which they can assimilate according to their capacity. However even if this be granted, the text of the big 'Dasa Avatāra' of Imam Shah, as we have it, appears intellectually at an unphilosophical, unsophisticated and folk-lorish level. This is in sharp contrast to the Fatimid and Iranian phases of Ismailism.

On the surface the work looks much more Hindu than Islamic. The myths are almost all Hindu. The first eight incarnations deal with completely Hindu stories, admittedly often in an unrecognizably altered form. Again the concept of 'time' being created by the god Viṣṇu, and being divided into the four 'kalpās' and these further into sixteen 'yugas' is Hindu. The yugas have Hindu names too. The idea of creation, destruction and re-creation, which seem to have been implied in the 'Dasamo Avatāra' (Kx 435,455) is also Hindu.

On the other hand, the all important idea of God as

the single creator of time, the universe and beings is Islamic enough. That the return is to Him only is also certain.

Perhaps the basic theme of the 'Dasa Avatāra' is the theme of god's coming to man in an incarnation for the 'liberation' of man and the destruction of the demon(evil). The exaltation of Ali to divine status by people like Abd Allah ibn Saba, and Abd Allah ibn Abbas is already an old theme in the extreme form of Ismailism. By the time of the 'Qiyama' in Iran in 1164 A.D., under the Imam Hasan 'alā Dhikrihi Salaam, the idea that Ali is all imams, seems to have been worked out also. According to M. Hodgson¹⁰⁹, Ali is reported to have given a sermon in which he recounted all the things he was going to do. Then a man asked him (Ali) whether he would do all these things himself? and Ali is reported to have said "I shall not come, but one of my sons will come and do these things, so it will be as if I shall have done them". Thus 'above all the Imams is Ali, but relative to the people, he now appears as the son, now as the grandson, now as aged, now young, now in the mother's womb, now as a boy --' etc.¹¹⁰ It was in this vein that the late Aga Khan III, in a 'firmān' to the Ismaili Khoja 'jama'at' at Nāgalpur, Cutch, on 29th November 1903 said: "In the field of Kerbala, Imam Hussein used to say 'I am the Imam'. Amidst such calamity he did not go into hiding (gayb): But he fought with his enemies with a stick in his

hand. If the Imam is not present, then all become unbelievers. (kafir). At present the stick of Hussein (his 'gadi', seat) is with me. And I myself am Imam Hussein. Look, and see that even today I keep this stick in my hand wherever I go. Because I myself am the Imam. I am not afraid. The Imam is always present---" etc.¹¹¹ The idea does not seem to be too far removed from the Hindu idea of incarnation. To the Satpanthi Ismaili, the Imam never dies, he is always alive, and this forms a very crucial tenet of Nizari Ismailism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Thus the idea of the incarnation of the divine was already there, ready to be transplanted as the time and opportunity occurred. And in the 'Dasa Avatāra' this seems to have happened. As a result of this transplanting, the groups concerned do come out as Muslims, rather than as Hindus (the Satpanthi Ismailis certainly do; as for the Imam Shahi Satpanthis, they are very much 'in a half way house' as one of the Imam Shahi Syads himself put it), because the tenth Incarnation is Muslim, with a well developed tradition ready, so as not to be re-absorbed into Hinduism.

This point takes us back to the question, was it Ali who was the incarnation of Viṣṇu, or was it the Prophet Muhammad? The Nizari Satpanthis say that it is Ali, while the Imam Shahi Satpanthis say that it was Muhammad.¹¹² The question is already partly answered by points b. and c.

on pages 13-14 above. It is true that at no point does the 'Dasa Avatāra' specifically state that Ali is the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu. However, the 'Dasamo Avatāra' text (Kx 4) does say that the guru Brahma has assumed the name of the Nabi Muhammad, and it is the god Viṣṇu who assumes incarnations, not Brahma. The 'Dasamo Avatāra' text (Kx 6 and 7) does say that Hari (an appellation of Viṣṇu) is the tenth Nakalānki incarnation, that he is sitting in an Arabian country, and he remains 'gupt'(hidden). The theory of 'satr'(hiding) was always applied to the Imam, and never to the Prophet Muhammad.

As said above, the names 'Qaim' and 'Shah' which are solely used of the Imam, and not of the Prophet, are used synonymously in the 'Dasamo Avatāra' text with the appellations of Viṣṇu such as 'Hari', 'Abhāṅga', 'Pratipāl' etc. Again the Dula Dula, which the Shah rides, is the mule of Ali, according to Islamic tradition. According to M. Hodgson, by the time of the 'Qiyama' at Alamut, in Iran, 'it became normal now for the Imam to take a rank notably higher than Muhammad's.'¹¹³

The 'Dasamo Avatāra' accepts the idea of human reincarnation (and its corollary of 'karmā') as well; for example, the queen Surajā and the prince Kamalā have come to the house of the demon Kalige, because some of their service was left undone in their previous lives. (Kx 47). Again, to quote M. Hodgson (on the 'Qiyama' in Syria), 'the most

obvious case of the emergence of popular Shiite ideas would be that of reincarnation.....Although transmigration does not yet amount to a regular endorsement of the idea that human life is repeatable till its purification from all darkness is accomplished,....yet surely the formal doctrine must have received an impetus from Sinan's views. At any rate, it is found among the Syrian Ismailis persistently thereafter'.¹¹⁴ Thus we need not be surprised if it is found among the Indian Nizari Ismailis either, even though in this case, it was obviously accepted from Hinduism.

✓ The Hindu 'mokḥṣa' ideal is there too, though modified; for example, a knowledge of the Imam is absolutely necessary for salvation, and for this the ground was not too unprepared either. This was mainly because of the close relation of Iranian Ismailism to Sufism. Nicholson has compared the Shiite Imam to the Sufi 'qutb'.¹¹⁵ According to M. Hodgson, 'the Imam did for the believers what the Sufi Shaykh did for his disciples; by focussing their attention on him, they could be made to forget themselves, and be led to the divine hidden within him'.¹¹⁶ It must not be assumed that the ideal of every Satpanthi Ismaili is 'mokḥṣa' (or of every Imam Shahi either); in fact the largest majority are probably quite worldly, expecting good rewards in this world, and the next; hence our 'Dasamo Avatāra' text is full of descriptions of all the good things (riches mainly, which is in sharp contrast to the Qur'anic idea of heaven), which one is likely

to attain in heaven, and of descriptions of all the punishments to be meted out to the sinner, both at the time of Judgement and in hell. But the ideal is there; in fact, one of the clauses in the 'tasbin' said for the dead in the 'jama'at khana' is 'O Ali, make the 'ruh'(soul) of the dead return into the origin whence it came'.¹¹⁷

On the practical level, one is very surprised that not one of the five pillars of Islam are made incumbent upon the believer, or even mentioned in the text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra'. Not even once is the Qur'an mentioned.¹¹⁸ In practice, the Nizari Īsmāīlis of Indo-Pakistan (and the Imam Shahi Satpanthis) do differ very greatly from the other Muslim groups, or even from the other Shiite groups. They do profess the 'shahādā' (the Islamic profession of faith: 'there is no god but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet'). They do not say the 'namāz' like the other Muslims, five times a day, but say the 'dua', said to have been composed by Pir Sadr al Dīn¹¹⁹, three times a day. They rarely go to Mecca for the Hajj pilgrimage; the pilgrimage is usually made to go see the Imam, or more rarely to Kerbala. They do not give 'zakat' but give 'dasondh' to the Imam¹²⁰, or with the Imam Shahis, to the Imam Shahi Syads, or send it to Pirana. Some fast during the month of Ramazan, but many try to explain it away by such verses of the 'ginans' as: 'Ave to rozī, nahī to rozā; aisā aisā dhyāna mere Sāhebjīko dharanā', meaning 'If it comes, it is rizk' (one's appointed

daily portion), if it does not come, it is fasting; one prays to the lord in this manner'. On the positive level, there are some practises which are peculiarly Ismaili, like a daily 'silent dhikr' ('ajāmpyā jāpa' which is mentioned in some of the 'ginans') or the drinking of the holy water called 'abe shafa', these may be drawn from Hinduism, but according to Professor Ivanow, are probably drawn from Sufism.¹²¹

One might again presume that the Nizari Ismaili Pirs (those who converted the Satpanthis, not the 'dais' of the Fatimid times) must have come to India after the 'Qiyama' at Alamut, in Iran, and elsewhere, which abrogated the laws of the 'sharia'¹²². It would be correct to say though, that in the last several decades, with the coming of the Aga Khan family to India from Iran,¹²³ and with the formation of Pakistan in 1947, the more Islamic consciousness is growing among the Nizari Ismaili Satpanthis, but not among the Imam Shahi Satpanthis.¹²⁴

Footnotes.

1. Aziz Ahmad, 'Studies in Islamic Culture' Oxford 1964, 4.
2. L. Massignon, 'Qarmatians' Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol II Leiden & London 1936, 767-72. Massignon discusses the connection between the Qarmatians and the Ismailis. Sayyid Sulayman Madwi, 'Muslim Colonies in India', Islamic Culture VIII 1934, 609-20 says that the heretics whom Mahmud of Ghazni defeated were in fact Ismailis owing allegiance to the Fatimids of Egypt.
3. Minhaj al Saraj al Juzjani, 'Tabaqati Nasiri' Calcutta, 1864, 189. He calls Nur Turk a Qarmatian. Khalik Ahmed Nizami, 'Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century', Bombay 1961, 293-4 calls Nur Turk a great mystic.
4. Aziz Ahmad, op.cit., 4. On the type of Ismaili teaching, see S.M. Stern, 'Ismaili Propoganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind', Islamic Culture, XXIII 1949. Also see, S.M. Stern, 'Heterodox Ismailism at the Time of al-Mu'izz' Islamic Culture,
5. A.A.A. Fyzee, 'Bohoras' Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition Leiden 1958, 1254, S.T. Lokhandwala, 'The Bohras, a Muslim Community of Gujarat' Studia Islamica, III, 1955.
6. For a history of the Assassins, see, B. Lewis, 'The Assassins' New York, 1968. B. Lewis, 'The Assassins' Encounter, November 1967. M. Hodgson, 'The Order of the Assassins', The Hague, 1955.
7. The Persian Ismaili poet and philosopher, Nasir i Khusraw died in A.D. 1060 at Yamagan in Badakhashan in N.E. Afghanistan and is buried there. H. Corbin has done much work on him, the main one being his edition and translation of Khusraw's 'Jami' al Hikmatain' with an introduction by H. Corbin.
8. Ala al Din al Juwayni, 'Tarikhi Jahangusha' English tr. by A.J. Boyle, Manchester, 1958.
9. Sat=true, panth=path, therefore 'satpanth' means the 'true path'. As far as I could find out there was no other Satpanth in India before the Ismaili group came to be so called. There are other 'panths' in India, cf. 'Kabirpanth' 'the path of Kabir', a syncretic sect, or 'Matāpanth' or 'Nathpanth' etc.

10. According to Satpanthi tradition, the word 'khoja' comes from the Persian *خواجه*, and was the name given to the converts to Satpanthi Ismailism by Pir Sadr al Din. However there are other groups of Satpanthi Ismailis who are not called 'khoja', the Imam Shahi Satpanthis, who are mainly in Gujarat or Cutch are not called 'khoja' either.
11. The name 'momna' is probably derived from the Arabic *مؤمن* meaning 'one who has 'imān' or 'faith'. There are communities of Nizari Ismailis called 'momnās' at Sidhpur in Gujarat, and the areas around. See the section 'Gujarat Musalamans' in the Gujarat Gazeteer. There are 'meman' communities in Cutch, but they are not all Ismailis, in fact most of them are Sunnis. The whole question might be connected with the Hindu caste system, but no work has been done on the problem.
12. They are generally called Imam Shahis because it was the descendants of Imam Shah who probably broke away from the parent Ismaili branch. See, W. Ivanow, 'The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat', Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, XII 1936.
13. W. Ivanow, 'Collectanea', Holland 1948, 4.
14. See Introduction, pp. 13-14, 43-44. Also the text of the 'Dasa Avatara'.
15. W. Ivanow, 'Ismaili Literature' Teheran, 1963, 176-181. He gives a list of the 'ginan' literature of the Satpanthis.
16. The Satpanthi Ismailis call their places of worship 'jama'at khana'; 'jama'at' from the Arabic *جماعة*, and 'khana' from the Persian *خانه*. It is claimed that the first 'jama'at khana' was built by Pir Sadr al Din at a place called Kotdi in Sind. The Imam Shahi Satpanthis call their places of prayer 'dharamsala', see text, Kx 128 etc. The Satpanthis at Faizpur call their places of worship 'mandir' or 'temple'.
17. G. Khakee, 'A Note on the Imam Shahi MS. at Deccan College, Poona', Journal of Royal Asiatic Studies, Bombay Branch, , for a descriptive account of this ms.
18. According to Professor Bhayani of Gujarat University, there are instances in Gujarati literature where the same work has a 'small' and a 'big' version. In this case the 'small' version, attributed to Pir Sadr al Din proceeds the 'big' version by Imam Shah, whose grandfather he was. The small version deals with the central theme of the incarnations of Visnu, but the 'big' version

has many more ramifications, and deals with such things as the questions of the final coming of the Qaim, his fight with the demon, descriptions of heaven, hell etc.

19. See Appendix I for the Khojaki script.
20. Including the G. Allana collection of 'ginan' mss. in Karachi, as well as the fifty odd mss. I collected from Cutch. This is therefore perhaps the oldest Satpanthi ms. extant.
21. For other Satpanthi works in the Kx ms., see Appendix II
22. No month is mentioned. As this date occurs just at the head of the work 'Dasamo Avatāra', I give a photo copy of the page.
23. See note 18 above.
24. W. Ivanow, 'Ismaili Literature' op.cit. p. 178 (no.825), p. 180 (no. 855).
25. The transliteration of the text is given in Appendix IV. W. Ivanow does not list this version.
26. The differences between K and KI are indicated with the Kx and D texts. They are very minor.
27. Apparantly there has been much pressure and even litigation against the Faizpur Satpanthis by their non-Satpanthi caste fellows. See, A.A.A. Fyzee's Case Report . Also they have not deleted terms like 'Qaim' or 'Eraq Khadha' which they cannot understand and do not recognise as Islamic. The 'Dasamo Avatara' text is most popular with the Faizpur Satpanthis, who have it illustrated in a series of wall paintings in their temple at Faizpur. They are a kind of folk art and quite beautiful.
28. There is one copy in the mss. collection belonging to G. Allana also.
29. 'Haji Bibi v. The Aga Khan' (1909). XI Bombay Law Reporter 409-495. (Also known as the Haji Bibi Case). On p. 431 it states: 'Pir Sadrudin and Pir Kabirudin wrote the gnans. 'Das Avatār' was written by the former. 'Das Avatar' as Sir Joseph Arnold (in the case 'The Advocate General v. Muhammad Husen Husein') says is a treatise in ten chapters, containing as its name imports, the account of ten avatars or incarnations, each dealt with in a separate chapter. The first nine chapters treat of the

nine incarnations of the Hindu god Visnu. The tenth chapter treats of the incarnation of the most holy Ali..' This was cited in support of the contention that the offerings made by the followers are made to him alone, i.e. to Defendant 1, the Aga Khan III.

30. Ivanow, 'Ismaili Literature', p.181 mentions seven other Pirs who have written 1 to 4 ginans each. There are others Ivanow has not mentioned: there is a lady Pir called Imam Begum, who has written some ginans, she is supposed to have lived and been buried in Karachi sometime in the nineteenth century. There is another lady Pir called Rābhiya, who lived in Cutch, who is supposed to have written some ginans.
31. S.C. Misra, 'Muslim Communities in Gujarat' London, 1964, 54-55.
32. W. Ivanow, 'Collectanea' op.cit. 4-19.
33. G. Khakee, 'Shrines of Some of the Ismaili Pirs', Imamat Annual, Africa Ismaili, 1970. But giving about 30 years per generation, there are about five generations missing between Pir Shams and Ali.
34. Nur Satgur is supposedly the first Ismaili Pir in Indo-Pakistan. This Nur Satgur is sometimes identified with Nur Turk (see note 3 above) by the sectarians, or sometimes with Muhammad bin Ismail, the grandson of Imam Ja'fer as Sadiq; see Ivanow, 'Collectanea' op.cit. 10. His grave at Navasari, near Surat in Gujarat, is in the hands of some Imam Shahi Syads, who are themselves Sunnis. They have no 'ginans' with them, but do have lists of genealogies which Ivanow has already discussed.
35. Pir Shams is buried at Multan, and is called Shams Tabrez, (who was the mentor of Jalal al Sin Rumi, the great Sufi poet buried at Konya), not only by the Ismailis of Indo-Pakistan, but also by the other Muslims. See, Syed Muhammad Latif, 'The Early History of Multan', Lahore, 1965, 84-87. According to him, Shams Tabrez is supposed to have lived from 1166-1276 A.D. The bulk of visitors to this lovely 'dargah' are Sunnis or Ithna Asharies, and the people at the shrine call themselves 'Shamsi'. Sheikh Muhammad Ikram of Lahore told me that that his uncle told him that their family have a tradition of having been converted to Islam by Shams Tabrez of Multan. Ivanow, 'Collectanea', 11-16 believes that Pir Shams came from Sabzwar, near Herat.
36. The non-Ismailis call him Haji Sadr Shah, and consider

him a Sufi. The 'dargah' is in the hands of Ithna-Asharis who claim to be his descendants.

37. He is locally known as Hasan-i Daryā. The 'dargah' is in the hands of Ithna-Asharis, who claim to be his descendants.
38. According to Ismaili Satpanthi theory, the Imam can combine the functions of the Imam as well as the Pir. Most of the Ismaili genealogies that I have seen do not list Ali as Pir, they always list the Prophet Muhammad as the first Pir, and Ali as the first Imam. Cf. the idea of the 'samit' and the 'natiq' of early Ismailism. In list B, the four names before that of the Prophet, are those of his ancestors.
39. For the Shiis generally, Hasan, the eldest son of Ali is the second Imam after Ali. The Satpanthi Ismaili tradition however does not seem to accept Hasan as Imam (the second Imam for them after Ali is Husain, the second son of Ali) but lists him as the Pir after Prophet Muhammad. See, 'Haji Bibi v. The Aga Khan' op. cit. 428, which says that Hasan for the Khojas is only Pir.
40. See above, note 34.
41. See above, note 35.
42. See above, note 36.
43. See above, note 37.
44. The Sind Khojas did not accept Kabir al Din's son Imam Shah, but chose his brother Taj al Din as their Pir instead. Taj al Din is buried at Shah Turel in Sind, and a 'melā' is held at his grave every year.
45. This is not a person, but a book. According to Ismaili tradition, the Imam Mustansir bi'llah sent it to the Khoja Ismailis for their spiritual guidance, instead of appointing a Pir. It has been translated by W. Ivanow, 'Pandiyat-i Jawanmardi', Holland 1953. There is a copy of the Persian text in Khojaki characters in the Kx ms.
46. 'Ali Asakara' is repeated, probably by mistake.
47. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 62.
48. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 63.
49. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 67, 86-93.
50. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 98, 99.

51. See above p. 11, note 44.
52. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 98,99. It says something for the authenticity of the Ismaili Satpanthi copyist that the name of Imam Shah was not deleted.
53. See above p. 11, note 44.
54. There is a 'ginan' by Imam Shah called 'janazah' or 'funeral bier', in which Imam Shah, hearing of his father's death, rushes to the place of his death, and demands his 'share'; the hand of the dead father gives him a 'tasbih' and a piece of sugar, but no Pirship. Then he (Imam Shah) is given a tour of heaven, where he meets all his ancestors etc. It is an allegorical kind description of heaven. Ivanow, 'Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat' says that in fact Imam Shah was very angry about not having been accepted as the Pir, and so he went off to see the Imam in Iran, but apparently could not do much in the face of the wishes of the Sind Khojas. So Imam Shah decided to leave Sind and come over to Gujarat and preach the Satpanth there.
55. The evidence, for example, in Kx 99 (D 86) shows that the Pirs accept authority from the Imam. Imam Shah, who is supposed to have composed the 'Dasa Avatara' does not reject this. What he asserts is his own Pirship.
56. This is apparently more evident in the work called 'Sata-veni' of Nur Muhammad Shah, the son of Imam Shah. This work, unfortunately has not been studied so far.
57. Cf. for example, Kx 91, D 78. The Pir Saheb at Burhanpur interpreted this as a promise that the Imam would take incarnation in the line of Imam Shah. (the Imam Shahi syads themselves are Sunnis). Nur Muhammad Shah, the son of Imam Shah did later interpret this as such, and severed connections with the Nizari line. See Ivanow, 'The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat' op. cit. 44. The Ismaili Khoja interpret this as a promise that the Imam would always remain in the world (cf. the tenet that the world cannot remain empty of the Imam) and help the Pir.
58. W. Ivanow, 'The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat' op. cit. 21 S.C. Misra, op. cit. 54-65. He treats the Imam Shahi Satpanthis of Gujarat as part of the Nizari effort in Gujarat, and not as a separate sect of Muslims.
59. 'Dasamo Avatāra' etext, Kx 66-93.
60. See, 'Dasamo Avatāra' text, Kx 98. Also cf. Kx 81.

61. See 'Dasamo Avatāra' text, Kx 103 onwards.
62. R. Strothmann, 'Kaim', Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. II(2), Leiden, 1927, 112.
63. R. Strothmann, *ibid.*
64. A.A.A. Fyzee, 'Compendium of Fatimid Law', Simla, 1969, Introduction, XLIV.
65. The Imam Shahi Syads said that this referred to the coming of the Mahdi. In fact, I do not think that they were aware that the term 'Qaim' is used by the Shiis for the Imam, nor did they know why the term 'Qaim' was used if the Mahdi was meant.
66. W. Ivanow, 'Diwan of Khaki Khorasani', Bombay, 1933, 10.
67. W. Ivanow, *ibid.* 10-11.
68. 'Haji Bibi v. The Agā Khan', *op. cit.* 428.
69. In the text of the 'Dasamo Avatara' there is speculation about the date of the 'zuhur' or the manifestation of the Imam, see Kx 293, but I cannot decipher the date.
70. See 'Dasamo Avatara' text, Kx 100-102.
71. W. Ivanow, 'The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat' *op. cit.* 44-70. S. C. Misra, *op. cit.* 61-65.
72. Professor Bhayani is the head of the Department of Gujarati at the Gujarat University in Ahmedabad, who was kind enough to discuss the ms. with me.
73. S.C. Misra, *op. cit.*, 59.
74. The question arises as to how could an orthodox Sunni Sultan of the stamp of Mahmud Begda marry his daughter to the son of Imam Shah, who appears so unorthodox? (Misra, *op. cit.* 60) I have no definitive answers, only possible explanations: a. The Ismaili Pirs do seem to have professed to have been Sufis to the outer world, and however orthodox the Muslim Sultan may be, they usually got on well with the Sufis. b. Although the idea of using the ten incarnations to legitimise their teaching seems to have been a central and accepted theme, how much of the rest of the Hindu mythology is really Imam Shah's composition is a question. There is no doubt that there are interpolations in the work; cf. Kx 100-102 in which the claim for pirship for several descendants of Imam

Shah is made. This must be interpolation. Interpolation goes on today too. I met rather an enthusiastic Satpanthi at a place called Itwa, near Burhanpur, who recited a 'ginan' for me in Marathi. When I asked him to produce the ms. and told him that Imam Shah never wrote Marathi, he admitted that he had read the ideas in other 'ginans' and then put them together.

75. See Kx 153, note 2, Kx 34, Note 2.

76. The text is given in Appendix III.

77. The text is given in Appendix IV.

78. Cf. the works of Shah Lutf Allah Qadiri, d. 1090 A.H. [seventeenth century A.D.]. In our text the following foreign words are used: Shah (9 times), Ali (once), Pir Shams (once), Alamut (once), ilm (once) bhajara (bazar? once), ala (once), bhecāra (once). It is supposed to be sung in the raga 'kōdara' which is the raga Shah Abd Latif of Bhit d. 1752 uses for his poetry about the Muharram happenings.

79. I am not quite sure what this means, literally it should mean 'rays', but here it seems to be periods of time, prior to the 'kalpas' even. Also see 'Dasamo Avatara' text Kx 510, where it is said that at first 'eight lakhs of kiranas' were created.

Kx 206, 207.

80. See text of 'Dasamo Avatāra' Kx 205,/'Jakha' is from the Sanskrit 'Yakṣa', who are demi gods in Hindu mythology. A very curious thing is that in Cutch, between Bhuj and Nakhatrana there is a small hill called 'Puvaragaḍh'; there on a built-up platform, with steps leading up to it, there are statues of hundreds of horsemen, recently whitewashed.. They look like mounted soldiers. But the Cutchis call them 'Yakṣas' or rather 'Jakha devas', and they bring them offerings, as to any temple, and once every year there is a 'mela' or fair held at the place, for three days.

'Megha' which usually means 'clouds' (in Gujarati also 'rain') also seems to be some kinds of beings, who were liberated.

'Kinasas' are semi divine beings apparantly, who were liberated. In Hindu mythology 'kinnara' are usually described as half horse, half human.

According to the 'time' theory as seen in the 'Dasamo Avatāra', time is created, and then divided into four 'kalpas', each 'kalpa' in turn is divided into four 'yugas'. The first kalpa is called 'Jaela', in which according to the 'Dasa Avatāra', ninety-nine krores of

'jakhas' or Yaksas were liberated. The second kalpa was called 'Faela' in which fifty-six krores of Megha devas were liberated. The third kalpa was called 'Araja' in which thirty-three krores 'kinara' devas were liberated. In these three kalpas, Visnu assumed sixteen incarnations. The fourth kalpa is called 'khalifa', it is divided into four yugas, in which god assumes ten incarnations, and countless krores of souls will be liberated.

81. Many of these names are either fictitious, or so corrupted from their classical counterparts, as to be quite unrecognisable.
82. Cf. Karnikasura. Cf. 'Manikarnikā' as a sacred tirtha at Benares.
83. See 'Dasamo Avatara' Kx 433. The Faizpur Satpanthis even have a painting on the wall of their temple, where the marriage of Hari to Mother Earth is being celebrated.
84. Sanskrit 'Sesa'. This is probably a reference to the snake Sesa, who is the snake who holds up the earth in Hindu mythology. Sesa's other name is 'Vasuki' mentioned in the 'Dasamo Avatara' text Kx 109 etc.
85. In Persian poetry the words 'rumi' and 'habasi' are always used in juxtaposition to each other, denoting the 'white' and the 'black'.
86. 'Murāri' is an epithet of Viṣṇu, and is used frequently in the text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra'.
87. Rāvaṇa was the ten-headed demon, who stole Sitā, the wife of Rāma, who is considered the seventh incarnation of Visnu by the Vaisnava Hindus (also by the Satpanthis). Rama, with the help of the monkey god Hanumān, made war on Rāvaṇa, whose abode was Lanka (Ceylon) and retrieved Sita. The story is told in the famous epic Rāmāyana.
88. 'Gugari' is boiled gram seeds. The Satpanthi Ismailis have a ceremony called 'satado'. Any member of the community, can go and give an appointed sum of money to the 'mukhi' who will then start a 'satado' for him. For seven consecutive evenings, a 'tasbih' is said in his name, for his good, and boiled gram, called 'gugari' is distributed to all present in the 'jama'at khana'. 'Gugari' is also mentioned in the works of the saint Tukārām, as being a kind of 'prasād' (something distributed at the end of a religious ceremony).
89. Many of these stories are not correct, or are muddled.

90. 'Dasondh' is tithe. The 'Dasamo Avatāra' enjoins all the Satpanthis to give tithe, see text, Kx 55, note 1.
91. The term 'gata', whose origin is obscure, is used to denote the 'community', see 'Dasamo Avatāra' text, Kx 74.
92. 'Amīrasa' is also called 'amī' or 'ābe śafā' or 'niyāz' or 'pāval' by the Satpanthis. See 'Dasamo Avatāra' text, Kx 435.
93. Cf. the Ismaili theory that the earth cannot remain without the Imam even for a single moment. The Satpanthi Ismailis still believe in this theory.
94. Literally the phrase means 'the field of the maiden'. It could refer to two places: Cape Comorin, in the very south of India; or the place of the river Sarasvati, which does not meet the sea but dries up in Cutch, and is therefore called 'kumāri' in the Puranas. In Gujarat it flows near Sidhpur and Patana. See 'Dasamo Avatāra' text, Kx 311 (D 291).
95. I think 'Imampuri' is the city of Imam Shah, i.e. Pirana. I wonder if this implies that Imam Shah is the incarnation of guru Brahma? Kx 4 teaches that the Prophet Muhammad is the incarnation of guru Brahma. Kx 8 teaches that Pir Shams is the incarnation of guru Brahma.
96. This is probably a reference to the Hindu idea of 'maya', that the world is not a reality, but merely an illusion.
97. On the battlefield of Kurū, the Pandavas were fighting the Korvas. At one point the battle was going very badly for the Pandavas, because Droṇa, the common teacher and perceptor of the Pandavas and Korvas, was fighting for the Korvas, and wrecking havoc in the Pandava army. So the god Kṛṣṇa, who was fighting for the Pandavas, devised a trick. He persuaded Bhima to kill an elephant named 'Asvatthaman'. The name of Droṇa's son was also Asvatthaman. Bhima killed the elephant and then announced that Asvatthaman had been killed. Droṇa heard this, but could not trust Bhima. So he went to ask Yudhisthira, who was renowned for his truthfulness. Yudhisthira answered that Asvatthaman had been killed, and then under his breath muttered, that it could be man or elephant. Droṇa did not hear the last bit, but thinking that his son was dead, lost all zest for fighting, and was soon killed. This was the one lie Yudhisthira is supposed to have spoken during his lifetime.
98. The name of the tenth incarnation of god Viṣṇu is Kalki.

This is the incarnation that is awaited by the Vaisnavites. Popularly the name is often pronounced 'kalaṁki', which would mean 'with a blemish'. The Satpanthis have made this 'Nikalaṁki' (Skt. niṣkalanka), a negative, meaning, 'without a blemish'. The idea of the 'mā'sum' or 'sinless' Imam of Shiism might have influenced this transformation.

99. Text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' Kx 8-11 onwards. This is probably a reference to Pir Shams of Multan, see above footnote 35.
100. Queen Surajā and prince Kamaīā are among the main characters of the 'Dasamo Avatāra'. But I have not come across them in the 'ginans' of any other Pirs, nor of Imam Shah, apart from the 'Dasa Avatāra', though this is possible. The names are very strange; in Sanskrit, 'surya' means the 'sun', and 'kamala' means 'lotus'. The sun is always the male lover and the lotus the beloved.
101. 'Pir Shah' is the remembrance of the guru(Pir) and the Imam among the Ismaili Satpanthis. Among the Ismailis, it has been replaced, not too long ago, by 'Yā Ali, Yā Muhammad'. But the Imam Shahi Satpanthis still use it. See text of 'Dasamo Avatāra' Kx 54, note 3.
102. See above footnote 90.
103. The event in which the Imam invests the Pir with the office of Pirship. See above, pp 13-14.
104. 'Dasamo Avatāra' Kx 91, 92. According to the 'Wajhi Din' of Nasiri Khusraw, the 'hujja' of the Qaim will come first, preparing the way. See M. Hodgson, op.cit. 154.
105. Text, 'Dasamo Avatāra', Kx 100-102. Also above pp.12-13
106. See above pp.12-15.
107. See above, pp.14-15.
108. The work is supposed to have been written by Imam Shah himself. Either Imam Shah is expecting the 'zuhur' of the Imam during his own lifetime, or this is an interpolation, or an 'accretion' which is usual with folklorish, oral works, or it is that Imam Shah is projecting himself after resurrection, or a reference to one of his descendants; the Imam Shahis were not sure which it is. The so called 'djafr' literature about the coming of

the Mahdi also has this feature, whereby past events and personalities are projected or 'resurrected' into the future. See, Encyclopedia of Islam, 'Djafr' Leiden, 1913, 994-5.

109. M. Hodgson ,op.cit. 295.
110. ibid. 295.
111. 'Bahre Rehemat', Bombay 1911.
112. It is mainly the syads who claim that Imam Shah has taught that Muhammad is the incarnation, and not Ali. As for the Imam Shahi Satpanthis themselves, all kinds of notions prevail. I found a ms. with a Rabari(the Rabaris are a tribe of milkmen around Ahmedabad, in Gujarat) Satpanthi , dated Samvat 1947 (A.D. 1890), in which there was a 'ginan' by one Bakr Shah (probably an Imam Shahi syad) which recounted the following story: The Nabi (Prophet Muhammad) went to 'mi'raj'. On the way he met a lion (sher, Ali is called 'sher' in Islamic tradition). So the Prophet was frightened, but Jabrail, who was with him, told him not to be frightened, but to give him something that he had. The Prophet gave him his own ring. Then they went on until they reached God. God entertained the Prophet to a meal (they talked behind a curtain); when food came and they began to eat, on God's hand was his (the Prophet's) own ring. While eating, a drop of hot 'khir' (a sweet dish made of rice, milk, sugar and nuts) fell on God's hand. So he put a bandage on it. Then the Prophet asked God about his daughter Fatima's marriage, and God said that he should marry her to the first man he met as he entered his home. After that the Prophet left, and returned home, and the first man he met as he entered home was Ali. Ali greeted the Prophet, and there was a bandage on his hand. The Prophet asked Ali what the bandage was for, and Ali replied that a drop of hot 'khir' had fallen on his hand. The Prophet then saw his own ring on Ali's hand too. So he recognised Ali as God. Then of course Bakr Shah goes on to claim that he is the incarnation of Visnu, as well as of Ali!
113. M. Hodgson, op. cit. 163. The same is true of the Ali Ilahi sects.
114. ibid. 206.
115. Nicholson, 'Studies in Islamic Mysticism' Cambridge, 1967, vi.

116. M. Hodgson, op. cit. 165.
117. The clause is: "Yā Ali (or Hāzar Imām etc.) tum marhumje ruhke asalme wāsal kar."
118. The text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' keeps on mentioning the 'Atharva Veda' (Kx 4, 13, 16, 24, 26, 53, 289, 512); the Atharva Veda is supposed to be the scripture of the Kali era. One of the Imam Shahi syads told me that may be the Qur'an was mentioned in the Atharva Veda, but that it has been deleted by the Hindus! This is a charge similar to the one the Shiis make against the Sunnis that the Sunnis have deleted the verses concerning Ali from the Qur'an.
119. A part of this 'dua' is translated in the case 'Haji Bibi v. The Aga Khan,' p. 428.
120. Text of the 'Dasamo Avatāra' Kx 55, Note 1, etc.
121. See W. Ivanow, 'Collectanea,' Leiden, 1948, 36-37. The more specifically Satpanthi Ismaili practices which are mentioned in our text (there are others which are not mentioned in our text) are: 1) the drinking of 'ābe shafā' (also called 'niyāz' or 'pāval'); see Kx 435, Note 1; also footnote 92 above. 2) the giving of 'dasondh'; see Kx 55, Note 1; also footnote 90 above. 3) the practice of the daily 'silent dhikr' which is central to Satpanthi Ismailism. See Kx 52. The technical term for it is 'bola' which literally means 'word.' The 'bola' is a word or formula (sometimes accompanied by a pictorial image, called 'nakhsh' نقش) given by the Imam (or formerly by Pirs?) to each follower, when he or she becomes about seventeen years of age. The follower meditates upon this 'bola' for one hour every day, usually between 4 and 5 a.m. in the morning, and when he feels that he has made sufficient progress, then a 'bola' pertaining to the next higher stage is given to him by the Imam. Most of the Ismaili 'jama'at khanas' are equipped with a special chamber, called the 'bait al khayāl' (the chamber of meditation) for the purposes of meditation. The Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat have this practice, whereby the guru gives to a follower a 'mantra', when he or she becomes of a certain age. In many of the Satpanthi 'ginans' this meditation is called the 'ajāmpyā jāpa' (the silent or unspoken dhikr), and this is quite similar to the practice of the Naqshbandhi order of Sufis.
122. M. Hodgson, op. cit. 156.

123. Aga Khan I came to India from Iran in 1843 A.D. Cf. the 'firmān' by Aga Khan III at Zanzibar, August 20, 1899: "It is not proper to read Hindu things in your ilm. When you were Hindus, at that time Pir Sadr al Din showed you the way. That time is gone. Now recite the praise of the Mawlā (Ali ?) and his progeny, the Imams of the time. Recite the praise of the 'Hāzar Imām.' Now give up the nine 'avatāras.' Recite the praise of our forefathers in the 'Dasamo Avatāra.'
124. As far as I could see, some of the Imam Shahi Satpanthis in India were being reconverted to Hinduism, especially to the Swāmi Nārāyan Panth in Cutch and in parts of Gujarat. One of the Imam Shahi syads said that he had even been thinking of using Ismaili preachers, but felt that the Ismailis were too Imam-minded. Perhaps this is understandable when one hears a young Ismaili missionary at a discussion on Sufism, claim that Hallāj was the greatest Ismaili who ever lived, and the Imam is the greatest Sufi who has ever lived.
- 84b. The story of the churning of the ocean first appears in Mahābhārata (1.15-16) and in a later version of the Rāmāyaṇa (1.45). D. Ingalls in 'An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry' p.71+ says, "The gods and the demons, desiring to obtain a drink of immortality, were advised to churn it from the ocean. They took Mount Mandara for churning stick, transported it to the ocean where they turned it upside down, placing the tip on the back of the tortoise who supports the world, who to the Vaiṣṇavas was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. They then persuaded the world-snake to serve as twirling string. The gods took one end of the snake, the demons the other, and in turn each party pulled..." After a thousand years, and long and violent exertions various precious objects were churned from the deep; first the moon... then the jewel Kaustubha etc.
- 98b. Kx 7 says that Hari has remained 'gupt' (hidden) in this era. This seems to be the already existing Ismaili theory of 'sitr' (Arabic: ستر) when the Imam is hidden and is not in communion with the community. The theory of the 'mastūr' Imam was worked out sometime after the death of Imam Ja'fer as Sadiq in 765 A.D. when the Ismailis had to face opposition from the Abbasids as well as the majority Shii group. In Kx 32 Pir Shams tells Queen Surajā and the other converts to remain 'gupt' (hidden). The principle of 'taqiyyā' (dissimulation) whereby a follower could deny externally what he professed internally was already an accepted Shii practice. Here both these terms seem to be understood by the term 'gupt.'

The text of the Dasamo Avatara of the Satpanthi Ismaili
and the Imam Shahi Sects of Indo-Pakistan.

Kx

dasamu avatāra:pīra edra emāma sāhājo likhiosī:
saṁvata 1793.

I have written the Dasamo Avatara of Pir Indra Imam
Shah, Saṁvat 1793(A.D. 1736)

D.

srī satagura brahmām ho vācā:¹
līkhītaṅga²dasamo avatāra:
dasame āvatāra³:

The true guru Brahma has said,
Written is the Dasamo Avatara,
The Dasamo Avatara.

K.

sīrī satagura bhramā ho vācā sācī re sāca:
evī gurajīe bolī vāca:1
sīrī satagura nabī mahamada ho vācā sācī re sāca:
evī gura hasana śāha suta boleā pīra imāma śāhā vāca:2
The true guru Brahma has said the Truth of Truths,
So the guruji spoke.

The true teacher, the Prophet Muhammad has said the
Truth of Truths,

So the guru Hasan Shah's son, Pir Imam Shah spoke.

Ky.

dasamu avatara imama sahajo⁴.

ho sami:ada ahukara nirijana naraeana:tare tame
paravaratate:tia tame anata kirori jiva nisitarea:

ho sami:tame vhatrisa juga corasi cokarie eka
dhiana dhari baetha:ho sami:tare pute tame cara
karapa ane tena sora juga sirijate:ho sami.

paela jaela karapa mahe jakha⁵ navanu kori sidha:ho
sami:

bija faela karapa mahe chapana kirori deva(K. mega)
sidha:ho sami:

trija araja karapa mahe kinara kora vhatrisa deva
sidha:ho sami:

_____trana karapa mahe avatara sora dharajhata:
ho sami:

_____siri satagura nabhi mahamadha vaca:

The Dasamo Avatara of Imam Şhah.

O Lord, in the beginning, you existed, Nārāyana, self-conscious, free from all qualifications, and conditions, all knowing, and all good, void of all darkness and ignorance, error and imperfection. There you created countless krores of souls, O Lord. Then you sat concentrating for thirty-six yugas (eras) and eighty-four cokari (one cokari= four yugas), O Lord. Then after that you created four kalpās and their sixteen

yugas, O Lord.

In the first Jāela kalapā ninty-nine krores of Yakṣās were liberated, O Lord.

In the second Fāela kalapā fifty-six krores of devās (K. Mega devās) were liberated, O Lord.

In the third Arajā kalapā thirty-three krores of Kinara devas were liberated, O Lord.

_____ In the three kalapās you assumed sixteen incarnations, O Lord.

_____ Speech of the true guru, the Prophet Muhammad.

1. In the Hindu epics, and the Puranic literary style, on which this work is based, it is usual to attribute the work which is being narrated to a deity or a well known author. In the D Ms. the Dasamo Avatāra of Imam Shah seems to be attributed to the true guru Brahma, but in the Khojaki MSS. it is credited to the Prophet Muhammad. In the Hindu tradition, Brahma is the creator god (Viṣṇu being the sustainer, and Siva, the destroyer). The neuter Brahma, in the singular, is also used to denote the Supreme Soul. The Dasamo Avatāra of Imam Shah teaches that guru Brahma has assumed the name of the Prophet Muhammad (Kx 4).

Besides ho vācā, ovācā and uvācā are also used.

2. Likhitamga is a past participle from the Sanskrit likhitam, and means 'written by'. In old Gujarati, this

style is often used to begin a work.

3. This is probably just repetition, with two errors, which is common in medieval Gujarati Mss.

4. Ms. Ky is dated Samvat 1858(A.D. 1801), and the work the Dasa Avatāra occurs on p. 189. Verses 1-942 are devoted to the first nine incarnations, the tenth incarnation begins on p. 246, at verse 943, see Intro. p. 7.

5. See Intro. Footnote 80, p.55. In the K edition, the name of the fourth kalpā is given as Khalifā. This is divided into four yugas: Kṛta, Treta, Dvapara and Kaliyuga.

Kx 1.

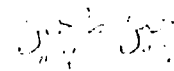
jāre kalajuga¹ baetho ne duāpura² utareo:
tāre daita³ kāriḡo cīna mähā cīna⁴ avatareo:1

D 1 K 3.

gyāre karajuga baiṡho ne dvāpara utaro:
tyāre daita kāliḡo cīna mähā cīna āvataryo:1

When the Kali era set in and Dvapara ended (literally, 'descended'),

Then the demon Kaligo descended as an incarnation in Cina Maha Cina.

1. Sanskrit: Kaliyuga is the fourth and last of the cycle of eras in Puranic cosmology. It is supposed to be the most degenerate of the four.
2. Sanskrit: Dvāpara yuga is the third of the cycle of eras in Puranic cosmology.
3. Sanskrit: Daitya is a member of the demon race, opposed to the devas or 'gods.' Kāliḡo is the name of the demon whom the tenth and last incarnation of Viṡnu is supposed to destroy.
4. Persian: Cīn Mā Cīn  represents China and its environments.

Kx 2.

te cīna māhā cīna baethā āja:

te daita kārigo karajuga māhe baetho kare rādyā:2

D 2 K 4.

cīna māhā baiṭho che āja:

te daita kārigo karajuga lāgatā¹ baiṭho che rājā:2

He sits in Cina Maha Cina today,

That demon Kaligo, in the Kali era, sits and rules.

1. Lāgatā literally means 'getting attached'--e.g., pāpa
lāre 'sin is attached.'

Kx 3.

te daita kārigo nava khadhā¹ māhe bharapura vāpika
rahī kare che kāma:te āja kalajuga māhe kāsī visinavanātha² japāve nāma:3

D 3 K 5.

te daita nava khadamā bharapurī vyāpika rahe kare che
kāma:

te āja karajugamā kāsī vīsvanātha japāyo nāma:3

That demon Kaligo is active in all the nine continents,

He, today in the Kali era, causes the name of Viśvanāth of Kāsi to be repeated.

1. In Puranic cosmology, the nine continents represent the total land area of the earth. Sanskrit: nava khaṇḍa pṛthivi means 'the earth of the nine continents.'

2. Visvanāth of Kāsi is the Hindu god Siva, whose main temple is at Benares (Kasi). The other interpretation of this line could be: the demon is confusing the minds of the people by posing as Visvanath of Kasi. In the first interpretation japāyo has been taken as the causal (the causal in Gujarati should be japāvyo), and it could be read as the causal under the influence of Urdu- Hindi-- e.g., bulāyo, ... In the Kx version, japāve is the causal.

Kx 4.

te munīvara¹ bhāi āja kalajuga māhe soi karo

atharaveda² pirimāṇa:

āja gura bhirājī nabhī māhāmadha dharāveo nāma:4

pk 6.

to munīvara bhāi āja kalajugamā sahī karo ātharaveda
paramāna:

to aja gora brahmāe nabī mahamada dharāyu nāma:4

Then, saintly brother, today in the Kali era, accept the Atharva Veda as the true authority;

Today the guru Brahma has assumed the name of the Prophet Muhammad.

1. Munīvara literally means 'a saint,' but it does not always imply that the addressee is a saint. It is the usual form of address often used in religious literature. The Satpanthi Imam Shahis at Itwa, Nimbole, etc., address each other as munīvara. The Ismaili Satpanthis usually use the term haqiqati dīndār.

2. The Atharva Veda is one of the four vedas of the Hindus; the other three vedas are the Rīg Veda, the Yajur Veda and the Sāma Veda. According to the Satpanthi teaching these three vedas belong to the first three eras, while the Atharva Veda belongs to the fourth Kali era. There is a work supposedly by the Ismaili Pir Sadr al Din which is called the Atharva Veda.

Kx 5.

āja isavara ādhama huā juga māhe huā sāra:

te āja kalajuga māhe dasamu avatāra:5

D 5 K 7.

to āja Īsavara ādama jagamā sāra:

to āja karajuga mahā harī¹ dasamo avatāra:5

Today, in this era (D world), Isvara has become Adam truly,
So today, in the Kali era, (there is)²the tenth incarnation.
(D. So today in the Kali era, Hari is the tenth incarnation).

1. Hari is another name of Viṣṇu.

2. If we do not add "there is" in the translation, then it could mean that Īsavara and Adam are the tenth incarnation, which is not what the author means later on in the text.

It is quite probable that the word Hari is dropped by mistake in the Kx MS.

Kx 6.

āja te dasame harī pātra¹ nakalaki² avatāra:

te āja baethā ārabha³ desa majhāra⁴:6

D 6 K 8.

to aja dasame pātra harī nakaṛamki¹ avatāra:

te aja baiṭho che āraba desa mamjhāra:6

Today, in that tenth (incarnation), Hari is the vessel of

the Nakalamki incarnation (D. So today in the tenth vessel, Hari is the Nakalaki incarnation),
Today he is sitting in the Arab country.

1. Pātra literally means 'vessel' or 'worthy of'. Here it could mean 'incarnation' which is rather an unusual usage.
2. See Intro. p. 34, Note 98.
3. In Indian Islam, great stress is laid on Muhammad being an Arab; in this case, the emphasis is that Ali was an Arab.
4. In old Gujarati, the word is mujhāri, from the Sanskrit madhya meaning 'inside.' In middle Gujarati (upto 50 years ago), mamjhāra is used. Modern Gujarati is aṅder. In Cutchi and Sindi, we still use mīmjhārā to mean 'inside.'

Kx 7.

te ketāka calatra¹ harīnā kahe:

te deva āja kalajuga māhe gubata² hoi rahe:7

D 7 K 9.

to ketāka calītra huṁ harīnā kahu:

te deva aja kalajugamā gupata hoī rahyā:7

So how many of the important deeds of Hari could one tell!

(D. So how many of the important deeds of Hari shall I tell!),

That deva(god) remains hidden today in the Kali era.

1. Sanskrit: Caritra literally means 'biography' or 'milestones of life.'

2. See Intro. pp. 34, 44.

Kx 8.

te karajuga māhe gura bhiramā pīra samasa¹ avatāra:
te gura fakire firiā covīsa² mulaka majhāra:8

D 8 K 10.

to karajuga māhā gora brahmām te pīra samasta āvatāra:
te gora phīkare phīkare³ covīsa mulaka majhāra:8

So in the Kali era, the guru Brahma is the incarnation of Pir Shams,

That guru wandered as a mendicant in twenty-four countries.

1. This is a reference to Pir Shams of Multan. D 8 reads samasta, which could mean 'Guru Brahma is the incarnation of all Pirs.' In Hinduism, a distinction is made between

the idea of aṃsa 'partial' and purna 'complete'

incarnation. But I think here samasta is probably a mistake, since all the Khojaki versions, as well as the D version (10,11,13) read Shams.

2. Twelve is the great cosmic number; it is the number of perfection; twenty-four is twice twelve. On the other hand, the explanation may be that Pir Shams visited twenty-four places on his way from Iran to Multan.

3. This double phikare is probably a mistake. K reads: phakiri vese phariā.

Kx 9.

covīsa mulake pīra samasa parataka¹ bolī raheā:
te faratā pīra samasa cīna mähā cīna nagariā māhe
gaeā:9

D 9 K 11.

te covīsa mulake pīra samasta parate¹ bolī rahyā:
te phīratā pīra samasta cīna mähā cīna (ga)yā²:9

In each of these twenty-four countries, Pir Shams spoke, Eventually in his wanderings, Pir Shams went to the city of Cina Maha Cina.

1. Parate is an earlier form of the modern Gujarati pratye; both the forms are from the Sanskrit prati 'towards.' Parataka is probably from pratyeka 'each,' 'severally,' 'one by one.'
2. The letter 'ga' has been added to the text in order to make sense of the sentence. Henceforward any letters or words appearing in parenthesis in the texts are to be taken as additions.

Kx 10.

te gura daita kārīne dhuāre ubhā raheā:
te gura popaṭa¹ rupa pīra samasa thaeā:10

D 10 K 12, 13b.

te gora daīta kārīgāne dvāre jāī ubhā rahyā:
te gora popaṭa rupa pīra samasa thayā:
jām surajā hutā sataja khane tām baiṭhā che jāye² :10

The guru went and stood at the threshold of the demon Kali,
The guru, Pir Shams, assumed the form of a parrot.

1. Besides being associated with paradise, the parrot is a bird which can speak, and hence is often portrayed as the wise preacher or messenger in Indian literature. See, M.

Bloomfield "On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction", Festschrift Windisch, pp. 349-361. Also cf. Z. Nakhshabi Tutī Nāmeḥ, London, 1801; and Mihrābi Hujjat al Hind (only in MSS).
 2. In the Khojaki versions, this line occurs in the next verse; for translation, see next verse.

Kx 11.

te popaṭa rupe gura pīra samasa thaeā:
 jīhā¹ surajā rānī hotī tene sata khane² tīhā¹ popaṭa
 rupe hoi pīra samasa bhane:11

D 11a, K 14b.

te popaṭa rupa hoīne pīra samasa bhane:11

The guru, Pir Shams, assumed the form of a parrot,
 At the place where Queen Suraja was, at that exact moment,
 Pir Shams, assuming the form of a parrot, speaks:

1. Jihā, tīhā are middle Gujarati forms. They appear frequently in the Khojaki version, but not in the Gujarati one.

2. Sata khane literally means 'the true moment,' here it probably means 'at the exact moment.'

Kx 12.

jīhā surajā rānī beṭhī che sata khaṇāe:
tīhā popaṭa rupe hoi pīra samasa bhaṇee¹:12

Where Queen Suraja is sitting, at the very moment,
There assuming the form of a parrot, Pir Shams speaks:

1. Kx 12 is virtually a repetition of Kx 11b, in the D MS.;
D 10, 11 are compressed to equal Kx 10, 11, 12, 13.

Kx 13.

tame suṇo surajā rānī atharaveda bharāṇa gināna¹ :
jethī tame pāo āgara pāo² amarāpurīno ṭhāma:13

D, 11b, c, K 15.

tame suno surajā rānī atharaveda brahmaṁ gīnayāna:
tethī tame āgara² ābarāpurīnā ṭhāma:11

*Listen, Queen Suraja, to the Atharva veda and the
knowledge of Brahmā,

So that later on you may attain a place in the eternal abode.

1. The word gināna with the Satpanthis is a technical term,
meaning 'a hymn,' (see Intro. p. 3, Note 15). Here 'gināna

probably means 'the knowledge of brahmā,' which used as a neuter, means the Universal Soul.

2. In Kx, one pāo is superfluous. D should read either tame āgara pāmo or tamane āgara.

Kx 14.

āja tu rānī rādyā dhuāra daita ghara āi:
have tāro janama varāratha¹ gaeo:14

D 12 K 16.

āja tu rānī rājā kārīgā daita ghera āye:
panam have rānī tāro jalama āvathā jāye:12

"Today, O Queen, you have come to the royal threshold of
the house of the demon,
But now your life is going to be wasted."

1. Varāratha and āvatha are not correct; K ed. has avaratha which is correct. All three are derived from the Sanskrit vrtha meaning 'useless.' In some cases where words are borrowed by Gujarati from Sanskrit, the prefix 'a' is added.

Kx 15.

eso vacana sunīne surajā rānī acabī¹ raheā:
rānī te gura popaṭane pīra samasane lāgā jāi pāheā²:15

D 13 K 17.

eso vacamna sunī surajā rānī acambī rahī:
rānī pīra samasa goranā lāgī pāe:13

On hearing such words, the queen was amazed;
The queen went and touched the feet of Pir Shams, who was
in the form of a parrot.

1. The usual expression in Gujarati is acambo pāmī rahī 'to be amazed.' The word acabī is never used in this sense as a verb. Cf. Arabic: عجب 'ajaba 'to be amazed.'
2. It is a usual practise all over India to touch the feet of elders, teachers, religious leaders

Kx 16.

tabha¹ pīra samasa boleā vasāta²:
tume suno surajā rānī athara venakī¹ vāta:16

D 14 K 18.

taba pīra samasta bolyā sata:

tame suno surajā rānī athara vedakī vāta:14

Then Pir Shams spoke the truth,

"Listen, Queen Suraja, to the tale of the Atharva Veda.

1. Taba is from Urdu-Hindi; ki is an Urdu possessive suffix.
2. There is no word vasata in Gujarati, it is probably a mistake for vāta or sata.

Kx 17.

rānī amāre karatā¹ juga māhe rugha² veda vepāra:
te bagata pānce koṛīese sīdho³ pahlāja⁴:17

D 15 K 19.

rānī amārā kratā jugamā raghu veda pramāna:
tyāre bhagatā pāca kroḍīsu sīdā prahlāda:15

"Queen, in the Krta era, the Rig Veda was current (D. was the true authority),

Then the devotee Prahlāda attained liberation with five krores of beings.

1. Sanskrit: Krtā is the first of the cycle of eras in Puranic cosmology, it is the best or the golden age.

2. Sanskrit: Rig Veda is the earliest of Hindu scriptures. It is a collection of hymns to various Hindu gods (see Kx 4, Note 2).

3. Koṛiese sīdho is Cutchi rather than Gujarati; sīdha in Gujarati is 'to achieve liberation from the cycle of reincarnation.'

4. Prahlāda is supposed to have been the devotee of Narsiṃha, the fourth incarnation of Viṣṇu (see Intro. pp. 21-23).

Kx 18.

te juga māhe cāra¹ rupa harīe dhareā:
deva cāra dānava sāhe² āpe saghāreā:18

D 16 K 20.

te jugamā cyāra¹ rupa harīe dharyā:
deve cyārī dānava ape saghāryā:16

"In that era Hari assumed four forms,
The deva, the Shah himself, destroyed four demons.

1. Cāra as well as cyāra are to be found in Gujarati MSS. In Gujarati MSS. 'c' followed by 'y' indicates that the pure Sanskrit pronunciation is to be followed (Shastriji).

2. This could be a mistake for the word sahī 'truly' from

the Arabic شاه, or it could be from the Persian shāh 'king, lord.' In Satpanthi Ismaili terminology, the word Shah usually denotes the Imam; in fact, it is the most frequently used word in the MSS. The D MS. does not use it here, though it does use it elsewhere.

Kx 19.

rānī tame dujā¹ tretā² juga māhe jāna:
tāre jujara³ veda hotā⁴ paramāṇa:19

D 17 K 21.

rānī tu duje tratā juga jāna:
tyāre jujara veda hutā pramāna:17

'Queen, know that in the second Treta era,
At that time the Yajur Veda was the basis of true authority.

1. Dujā, duje are old Gujarati forms, but are not so frequently found in MSS. Mīrābāi (d.c.1570), a very popular Indian mystic, uses it in her bhajans 'devotional hymns' : peru huṁ kāro kāmāro dujo dāgha na lāge koye 'I wear the black robe, no other blemish attaches itself.'
2. Sanskrit: Treta is the second in the cycle of eras in Puranic cosmology.

3. Jujara is from the Sanskrit Yajus, which will become Yajur when followed by a soft consonant--e.g. 'v'(Shastriji).

4. Hotā, hutā are old Gujarati forms; modern Gujarati would use hatā; but hutā is still in use in some dialects--e.g. among the old people of the Nāgir group around Junāgadh.

Kx 20.

tāre deve sāte kiroṛīsu bhagata udhāreā¹ hirīcadra²:
te juga māhe trana³ dānava sāhe āpe³ saghāreā:20

D 18 K 22.

tyāre deva sāta kroḍīsu udhāryā harīcānda:
te jugamā trana rupa harīne⁴ dharyā: trana dānava āpe
saṅghāryā:18

"Then the deva rēscued the devotee Hariścandra with seven krores of beings,

In that era, the Shah himself destroyed three demons (D. In that era, Hari assumed three forms, and he himself destroyed three demons).

1. Udhārvuṁ 'to rescue' from distress or difficulty is especially used when referring to God saving a devotee. It also means to rescue from the cycle of reincarnation.

2. See Intro. pp. 25-28.

3. These words are not clear in the MS.

4. Hari is an epithet for Viṣṇu. Here the suffix 'ne' signifies that Hari is the agent or doer. This is an old Braja Bhāṣa usage, and is present in both Urdu and Hindi. It is never used in Gujarati; in Gujarati, it would be Harie, where 'e' is the suffix for the agent. Also see below, D 22, devane instead of deve; D 45, samasane instead of samase.

Kx 21.

rānī trījā duāpura jugano sehena jāna:
tāre sāmā¹ veda hotā paramāṇa:21

D 19 K 23.

rānī tu tīje dvāpāra juga jāna:
tyāre sāmā veda hutā pramāna:19

"Queen, know the army of the third era, Dvapara (D. Queen, know the third era to be Dvapara),
Then the Sāma Veda was the basis of true authority.

1. The Sama Veda is one of the Hindu scriptures. It is a collection of hymns in Sanskrit (see Kx 4, Note 2).

Kx 22.

nava kirorīsu pād̥hava udhareā:

te juga māhe deva doe¹ dānava sāhā āpe saghāreā:22

D 20 K 24.

tyāre nava krodīsu bhagata padāmva udhāryā:

te jugamā doī dānava āpe saṁghāryā:20

"The Pandavas were rescued with nine krores of beings (D. At that time, he rescued the devotee Pandavas with nine krores of beings),

In that era, the deva, the Shah himself, destroyed two demons (D. In that era he himself destroyed two demons).

1. Doe and doi are Urdu-Hindi forms; Gujarati would be beu, and Cutchi, bae.

Kx 23.

te nave kirorīese sīdhā jujosaṭara¹ rāe²:

te pāmeā amarāpurīnā thāma:23

D 21 K 25.

doī rupe³ hariye dharyā:te jugamā nava krodīsu

jojīṣṭara rāye:

te pāmyā ābarāpurī ṭhāma:21

"Then King Yudhiṣṭhira achieved liberation with nine krores (D. Hari assumed two forms, in that era King Yudhisthira, with nine krores),

They attained a place in the eternal abode.

1. This is a reference to the eldest of the Pandava brothers. Jojistara is an old Gujarati form.
2. Rāe, rāye, rāya; all three forms are prevalent in medieval Gujarati MSS. (upto 1850; Shastriji).
3. Rupe is a Hindi plural form.

Kx 24.

āja kalījuga māhe athara veda māhe ṭhāra:

te āja kalajuga māhe harī dasamu avatāra:24

D 22a, b, K 26.

aja karajugamā harīno āthara vedamā ṭhāma:

aja karajugamā harī dasamo āvatāra:22

"Today in the Kali era, the place (D. of Hari) is in the Atharva Veda,

So today, in the Kali era, Hari is the tenth incarnation.

Kx 25.

te deva nakalakī avatāra dhareo sirī murāra¹:
te tone² bharathāra māre ho nāra:25

D 22c, d, K 27.

te devane āja nakaṁrakī dharyo murāra:
to tumhī² bharatārane māre ho nāra:22

"That deva, the lord Murāri has assumed the Nakalaki
incarnation,
He will kill your husband, O lady.

1. The word siri in the Kx MS. is below the line. Murāri
is an epithet for Viṣṇu.

2. Here tumhī is used as a possessive form; as a possessive
form, it is not found in the Gujarati MSS. of the last
800 years. I have not come across tone elsewhere either.

Kx 26.

athara veda māhe devano eso vīcāra:
te hu tuja āgara bhākhana āveo chu ho nāra:26

D 23 a, b, K 28.

athara vedamā devano auso vīcāra:

te huīm tuja āgara bhākanam āyo chu ho nāra:23

"According to the Atharva Veda such is the intent of the
deva,

I have come to fortell that (intent), O lady.

Kx 27.

paṇa te tu rāṇi na jāṇe amāro sabhāva¹:

paṇa ame gura bhirimā pīra samasa avatāra:27

D 23c, d, K 29.

pana te tu na jāṇe rāṇī haṁmāro saṁbhāva:

panam ame gora brahmām te pīra samasa avatāra:23

"But, O Queen, you do not know my origin,

But I am the guru Brahma, in the incarnation of Pir Shams.

1. The correct Gujarati term is saṁbhava.

Kx 28.

rāṇī tu satavatī ame jāṇei nāra:

to ame popaṭa rupe thai āveā tamāre dhuāra:28

D 24 a. b. K 30.

to rānī tune āme jānī satavaṁtī nāra:

to āme popaṭa rupe hoīne āvyā tore dvāra:24

"Queen, I know you to be a virtuous woman;

Therefore, assuming the form of a parrot, I have come to
your threshold."

Kx 29.

te gurane cherā chorīne¹ rānī lāgā pāe:

te sāmī have amane mokha mugatanā² dekhāro ṭhāma:29

D 24 c. d. K 31.

te gorane chodā chodī¹ rānī lāgā pāye:

to svāmī have hamane mokha gatano² dekhāḍo ṭhāma:24

Then the Queen, uncovering her face, touched the feet of
the guru (D. The queen, all of a sudden, touched the feet
of the guru),

(saying) "Then Lord, show us the state of salvation."

1. The expression chodā chodī is not common in Gujarati.

To me the Kx. cherā chorī seems more correct. Cherā is

the edge of a saree or odhanī or dupaṭa, which the Indian

women wear on their heads, and use for covering their faces, as a sign of modesty.

2. In the Kx version, mokha is from the Sanskrit mokṣā 'liberation,' and mugata is also from the Sanskrit mukti meaning 'liberation.' The phrase is often used in Satpanthi texts to mean 'liberation from reincarnation.' In the D version, gata is the 'state after death'.

Kx 30.

te tame suno surajā rānī pīra samasa kahe vīcāra:
āja rānī tame juga māhe satapaṁtha¹ dhīāvo sāra²:30

D 25 K 32.

tame suno surajā rānī pīra samasa kahe vīcāra:
to ā rānī satapaṁtha dhāvo sāra:25

"Listen, Queen Suraja," so Pir Shams speaks his intent,
"Today in this era, worship the Satpanth as the truth.

1. Satpantha means 'the true path' (see Intro. p. 2, Note 9)
2. One of the meanings of sāra is satva, which means 'essence' and by extension, 'truth.' In some verses sāra has also been used as a verse tag.

Kx 31.

te rānī āge satapatha vinā sīdhā na koe:
te tume rānī satagura¹ vinā mugata na hoe:31

D 26 K 33.

rānī āge satapamtha vinā sī(dhā) nāī koye:
to rānī ā gora¹ vīnā mugata nā hoe:26

"So Queen, without the Satpanth, no one has formerly attained liberation, Therefore, O Queen, without the true guru there is no salvation (D. Then Queen, without this guru, there is no salvation).

1. In Kx we have satagura or 'true teacher,' but in D MS. we have ā gora, meaning 'this guru.' In Hinduism, the idea of having a guru or preceptor, who initiates one and directs one's spiritual progress is important, especially in mysticism. In Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, the idea of having a shaykh or pir is equally important. One may compare the idea of there being an Imam present in the world in every age, the importance of recognizing this Imam and knowing him for the sake of salvation; this idea is of paramount importance in Ismailism, and is already well developed at Alamut (see M. Hodgson, The Order of Assassins, p. 165; also Intro. p. 45).

D 26 has two extra lines:

rānī ā jugamā satapamtha dhyāvo sāra:

to teme surajā rānī utaro pāra^a:26

"Queen, in this era, worship the Satpanth as true,
Then only, Queen Suraja, you will cross over safely.

a. Pāra utarvum literally means 'to descend to the bank.' It is a common metaphor in Indian religious literature, suggesting that life is an ocean which one has to cross over. In Bengali Islam, the Prophet Muhammad is often imagined as a boatman of the ferry which crosses the sea of life. In Islamic calligraphy one finds boat-like forms. For example the Profession of Faith is found in a boat-like form, called the boat of salvation (see A. Schimmel, Islamic Calligraphy, Leiden 1970, Plate XLIV(6)).

Kx 32.

rānī tame pārajo satapatha gubataja hoi:

jema daita dānava na jāne koi:32

D 27 K 35.

rānī tame pārajo satapatham gupatī hoī rahejo:

jema daīta dānava nā¹ jāne koe:27

"Queen, follow the Satpanth secretly (D. Queen, follow the Satpanth and remain secret),

So that the demon may not know anything."

1. Nā as negative is used in Charotari, or middle Gujarati dialect (Shastriji).

Kx 33.

tabha tīhā¹ surajā rānī boleā bola:
ane sāmī amārā vacana suno satagura:33

D 28 a. b. K 36.

taba tāmhā¹ surajā rānī bolyā bola:
svāmī tame hamārā vacaīna suno satagora:28

Then Queen Suraja spoke these words there,

"Lord, true guru, listen to our words.

1. tīhā and tāmhā are medieval Gujarati forms.

Kx 34.

ame eka ghara āṭha¹ pirānī miṛīe eka vīcāra:

e sāmi have tame satapatha dekhārajo sāra:34

D 28 c.d. K 37.

to āme āṭa¹ prānī malī yeka dhyāne karu² vīcāra:

to svāmī tame have āmane satapanṭha dekhādo sāra:28

"Eight of us will meet in one house, with a single intent;
O Lord, now show us the essence of the Satpanth.

1. In Buddhism, there is the eight-fold path; there are eight points of the universe; the unconscious implication could therefore be that the eight persons accepting the Satpanth represent all the universe; however, the Satpanthis themselves do not seem to attach any importance to this number. The Satpanthis of Faizpur (see Intro. p.8, Note 27) in one of their wall paintings have Imam Shah preaching to eight people, whom they identified as: Ajyā, Vajyā, Surajā, Kamalā, Alkā, Keval bhāi, Raṅgā, Rupā. But of these eight people, they seemed only to know about Surajā and Kamalā.

2. Verbal forms, which later end in 'o,' used to end in 'u' in the fifteenth century. Karu therefore might be an indication that the original work may have been written in the earlier language of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when past forms used to appear without the 'y' suffix. Such verbs are scattered throughout the D MS.--

e.g., D 29, besu; D 34, karu; D 47, au; D 76, karu

Kx 35.

ame āṭha pirānī miṛī besīe ekāṭha:

te ame (tī)hā satapathanī sunasu vāta:35

D 29 a.b. K 38.

to āme āṭa prānī malī besu yekāta:

to āme satapathanī sunasu vāta:29

"We eight people having met together, shall sit alone,
Then we will listen to the tale of Satpanth."

Kx 36.

te surajā rānī kamaṛā kuara āṭa jaṇā ubhā kara jora:

tīhā pīra samasa boliāre bola:36

D 29 c.d. K 41.

to suno surajā rānī kavaṛā kuvara āṭa jana ubhā kara
joda:

taba pīra samasta bolyā bola:29

So Queen Suraja, Prince Kamala and the eight people stood
with folded hands,
There Pir Shams spoke the word.

K 39 (not in Kx or D MSS.)

tāre surajā rāṇī kamalā kuṁvara ubhā kara joḍa:
avala cavala ubhā tenī joḍa:39

K 40.

tāre ajeā ne vajeā venatī kare che ghaṇī:
sāmī tame cho sīsaṭanā dhaṇī:40

Then Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala stood with folded hands,
Avalā and Cavalā stood with them.
Then Ajeā and Vajeā supplicate,
"Lord, you are the master of the universe."

Kx 37.

tame suṇo surajā rāṇī kamaṛā kuara āgama nīrivāṇa¹:
te āgama² māhādhina³ (ā)veore jāṇa:37

D 30 a.b. K 43.

tame suno surajā rānī kabarā kuvara āgama nīravāna:
to āgara mahādīna avyo jāna:30

"Listen, Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala to the scripture
in its finality,

Know that later on the great day is sure to come.

1. Niravānā is the term usually used to describe the state of the soul when it has achieved liberation, especially in Buddhist thought. But in old Gujarati, it is apparently used as an adjective meaning 'final,' or 'definitive.'
2. Here āgama is probably a mistake for āgara.
3. Mahādīna literally means the 'great day.' This word, like the word satpanth has become a technical term for the Satpanthis, and refers to the day of qiyāmā or the 'final judgement.'

Kx 38.

jāre āsamāna nava nejā¹ upara āve sahī:
tāre sahāsa karaṇīe suraja tapase sahī:38

D 30 c.d. K 43.

to jyāre āsamāna nava nejā upara āvase sahi:

tyāre sahesara kalā suraja tapase sahī:30

"When the sky actually comes down nine spears away,
And the sun will get hot in its thousand phases.

1. Nava nejā is an idiom in Gujarati still in use, indicating an extreme situation--e.g., navā nejā pānī utaravum means 'to pass through a great difficulty.' In the Qur'an there are many references to the events that will take place on the day of Judgement--e.g., the heavens will be rolled up (sura.XXI-104); the sun and moon will be united (sura LXXV-9); the sun will be overthrown (sura LXXXI-1) ...

Kx 39.

tāre trābhā varanī dharatī¹ tapase tatakhāna:
jene jāneā satapatha purā nahī te tihā barase
ghanā²:39

D 31 a. b. K 44.

to tābā varanī dharatī thāse tatakhena:
jene yāhā satapaṁtha purā sevyā nahī: te tyāhā
balase ghanā:31

"Then at that time, the earth will heat up and become copper coloured,

Whosoever has not fully understood the Satpanth here, he will be consumed by flames (D. Whosoever has not served the Satpanth here completely will burn much there).

1. In the Kx MS. 'dh' in dharati is not clear.
2. There are many references to the fire of the day of Judgement in the Qur'an (see suras LI-13; LII-13,14; V-36; XVII-97; XXIX-25) ...

Kx 40 K 45.

jene ihāi satapatha sāca dhīāeā:tene mähādhina nahī
lupe lagāra:

paṇa jhuṭhāne sira paṛe gharakī¹ māra:40

D 31 c.

ane jhuteke sira ghanaka mara²:31

Whosoever has worshipped the Satpanth truthfully here, the great day will not harm him at all, but the liar will be beaten on his head with a hammer.

1. Gharaki is probably an error for ghnakī.

2. This is a completely Urdu-Hindi line.

Kx 41.

bhāi evo māhādhina māhe thāese ṭhokāṭhoka¹:

tevu jānīne satapatha sācasu dhīāvo tame satī loka:41

D 32 K 46.

bhāī evī māhādanamā thāse ṭhokāṭhoka:

teu tame jānīne satapaṁtha dhāvo sata loka:32

"Brother, such a beating there will be on the great day,
Having known this, worship the Satpanth with sincerity,
O virtuous people."

1. ṭhokāṭhoka is a colloquial expression.

Kx 42.

jāre ihā¹ māhādhinanī vāta satagure surajā rānī

kamarā kuarasu kaheā:

tāre surajā rānī kamarā kuara venatī kare sata bhāi:42

D 33 K 47.

ḡyāre āyā¹ māhādīnanī vāta: surajā rānī kabarā
kuvarane kahī:

tyāre surajā rānī kamarā kuvāra vīnatī karī
satabhāvī²:33

When the true guru told the story of the great day to
Queen Suraja and to Prince Kamala,
Then Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala begged truly, brother.
(D. Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala supplicated with
sincerity).

1. I am not sure whether ihā means 'here,' or whether
it stands for āyā 'to come' as it does in the D MS.
2. It should bhāve in the instrumental case, but the
author has used bhāvi.

Kx 43.

sāmī have amathī māhādhina vetho na jāe:

sāmī have amane āpo satapatha sisatanā dhanī¹:43

D 34 a. b. K 48.

svāmī have hammathī māhādīna vethā na jāye:

svāmī tame amane āpaso satapamtha tame srīstanā

dhanī:34

"Lord, now we cannot endure the day of Judgment,
Lord, give us the Satpanth, you are the lord of creation.

1. They are addressing Pir Shams, who is the incarnation of guru Brahmā (the creator god in Hinduism). It has been stated in Kx 4 that nabī Muhammad is also the incarnation of guru Brahmā. Cf. the attitude of henotheism in Hinduism.

Kx 44.

sāmī amane āpo satapatha tame sisatānā dhanī:

ame aparādhī jīva kehā lage safāeta¹ karu tama tanī:44

D 34 c. K 49.

āme āparādhī jīva kahā lagī safāyeta karu tama tanī:34

"Lord, give us the Satpanth, master of creation,
For how long must we sinful souls intercede with you?

1. Safāeta and safāyeta are both from the Arabic *سألتك* meaning 'to intercede.' Usually in Islam, only the Prophet's intercession with God is acceptable, no one else's. Here the sense is 'to supplicate' rather than 'to intercede.'

Kx 45.

sāmī ame hotā nādhāna tamārā pirāṇī:
to sāmī tame daita ghara āveā jāṇī:45

D 35 K 50.

to svāmī āma hutā nādāna tamārā prāṇīyā¹:
to svāmī tame daīta dānavake² ghera āvyā sahī:35

"Lord, we, your souls, were ignorant,
Therefore, Lord, knowing this you have come to the house
of the demon (D. Therefore, Lord, you truly have come to
the house of the demon).

1. The 'yā' suffix is for the diminutive, and is common
in eighteenth century Gujarati bhajans 'hymns'. It is the
plural as well.

2. Daita and dānava mean the same thing. 'Ke' is an Urdu
suffix, not a Gujarati one.

Kx 46.

jabha sāmī tame batrīsa dāta vice jabhā¹ rākhai sāra:
tume sāmī have amane lejo ugāra:46

D 36 K 51.

jema svāmī batīsa dāta vīca jībhyā rākhī sāra:

to svāmī tame have haṁmane lejo ugāra:36

"Since, Lord, you have really kept the tongue in the midst
of thirty-two teeth,

So Lord, now rescue us.

1. The image of the tongue remaining safe between thirty-
two teeth, which are, after all, instruments of chewing
and crushing, occurs quite frequently in medieval Gujarati
literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Kx 47.

je sāmī purabha¹ janamanī sirevā ama siri² rahī:

te sāmī ame daita dānava ghara āveā sahī³:47

D 37 K 52.

jema svāmī puraba jalānmanī⁴ sevā amathī⁵ rahī:

to svāmī ame daita dānava ghara āvyā sahī:37

"Lord, whatever service was left undone by us in our
previous life,

For that reason, we have truly come to the house of the

demon."

1. Puraba is a Hindi form.
2. The word siri seems to be superfluous here.
3. This amounts to an acceptance of the theory of karmā and reincarnation from Hinduism (see Intro. pp. 43-45).
4. The change from 'n' to 'l' could be due to the influence of the Surati dialect. The scribe has nasalized the vowel before a vowel.
5. In modern Gujarati, it is amārethī, except in poetry, where amathī is used.

Kx 48.

nāre¹ bāi gura kahe daita dusata kāṛigo jāna:
have ene sāhā māro mārese nirivāna:48

D 38 K 53.

nāre bāi daīta dānaṁva kāṛigo jāna:
have yene saī harī māre nīravāna:38

"O sister, know the demon Kaligo to be evil," says the guru
(D. O sister, know the demon to be Kaligo),

"Now my Shah (D. Hari) will kill him for certain."

1. Hare is a verse tag often used in Gujarati poetry.

Kx 49.

sāmī te ghara janāmma bhaeā¹:
 paṇa ame satagura sārathī² amara thaeā:49

D 38 K 54.

svāmī te ghera jalama hamāro avrathā jāye:
 pana have satagorathī āmāra thāye³:38

*Lord, our birth was in that house (D. Lord, in that house our life would be wasted),
 But now, due to the guide, the true guru, we have become eternal.

1. I am not exactly sure what the word bhaeā means here.
2. Sārathi comes from Sanskrit and means 'charioteer, driver' or 'guide.'
3. There are two verses No. 38 in the D MS.

Kx 50.

je sāmī jīva tamārā hotā te tume līdhā ugāra:

te tume (dho)rī āveā daitake dhuāra:50

D 39 K 55.

jo svāmī jīva tamhāro hotā te līdhā ugāra:

jo tame davadī āvyā daīta duvāra:39

"Since, Lord, the souls were yours, so you have rescued them,

And for that you have come running to the threshold of the demon."

Kx 51.

mohesu¹ surajā rānī kamaṛā kuara boleā tenī vāra:

tāre āṭha jaṇā pīra samasani jāi lāgā pāe:51

D 40 K 56.

to e surajā rānī kamaṛā kuvāra bolyā tenī ṭhāra²:

tyāre aṭa janā jāi lāgyā pīra samasanā pāye:40

Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala spoke just at that point, with loving reverence,

then the eight people went and touched the feet of Pir

Shams.

1. I think the word mohesu means 'with love,' it is probably from moha meaning 'love, ignorance...'
2. Teni thāra is an old Gujarati phrase of c. 200 years ago, often used in prose and poetry.

Kx 52.

tāre pīra samasa gura eso kaheā:
tāre gure āṭha janāne nīama parataka bolaja¹ dīo:52

D 41 K 57.

tyāre pīra samasa gora tyāhām yeso kīyo:
tyāre satagora āṭa janāne nīma pata bola jaba dīyā:41

Then the guru Pir Shams said this (D. did this),
The guru designated a word to each of the persons severally
(D. Then the guru gave a vow, observance, and word to the
eight persons).

1. Both niama and nima are from Sanskrit niyama. In colloquial language, they mean 'a religious vow' or 'rule.' Farateka is from pratyeka 'each, severally, one by one.' In D we have pata which is the same as ṭeka meaning 'vow, observance' --e.g., if one decides to give up something as a religious sacrifice, as a Christian may do during Lent. Bola

literally means 'word.' Among the Satpanthi Ismailis it is a technical term (see Intro. p. 47, Note 121).

Kx 53.

surajā rāṇī tame pārajo satapatha ane cālajo eṇe
athara veda:
jabha daita dāṇava na jāṇe bheda:53

D 42 K 58.

surajā rāṇī tame pālajo satapatham cālajo yene athara
veda:
jema daīta dāṇava ne jāṇe bheda:42

"Queen Suraja, follow the Satpanth, and act according to
the Atharva Veda,
So that the demon may not know the secret."

Kx 54.

te gura samasa sārī sāta kiroṛī nīama parataka bolaja
dhīā:
te gura naranu¹ nāma pīra sāhā jāpa² japāveā:54

D 43 K 59.

pīra samasa sādā sāta kroḍīne nīma pata bola jo dīyā:
to gora nurano¹ nāma pīraśā jāpa japāīyā:43

So the guru Shams designated a word to seven and a half krores severally (D. Pir Shams gave the vow, observance, word to seven and a half krores),

Then for the name of the gurunara, he taught them the japa of Pir-Shah (D. As the name of the light of the guru, he taught them the japa of Pir-Shah).

1. Kx has nara from the Sanskrit meaning 'man, male,' but in religious context meaning 'lord, master' (see Ivanow, Collectanea p. 30). Ivanow says this is a technical term referring to the Imam (the other technical term being Shah), and on p. 71 quotes a ginan: "The guru and the Lord of the Time(nara) are present now in the world." D has gora nurano (nura being from the Arabic نورا meaning 'light'), in which case the phrase would be translated as 'the light of the guru.' But when one considers that the name of this gura nara (or nura) is given as Pir-Shah (which is a combination of guru (pira) and nara (shah)), then one realises that it should be guranara as in Kx and not goranura as in D. Cf. the Indian lady mystic Mirabai who uses Nara as an epithet of Viṣṇu in her bhajana 'hymns.'
2. The equivalent of the Sanskrit japa in Islam is dhikr which means 'to remember, repeat, recollect a name or

formula (mantra), usually pertaining to God. Among the Satpanthi Ismailis, the japa of Pir-Shah is quite common, especially for reciting the tasbih, though recently this dhikr of Pir-Shah has been replaced by Ya Ali-Ya Muhammad. This is an aspect of increasing Islamicisation among them, (see Intro. p. 47, Notes 123, 124).

The Burhanpur Satpanthis (Itwa, Nimbole etc.) also have this japa of Pir-Shah, which they call the bīja mantra. In Sanskrit bīja means 'seed.' In Hinduism, bīja mantra is the magic seed, the logos from which power and substance are formed. The Burhanpur Satpanthis interpret this bīja mantra as the 'dual mantra' and they explain it thus: the Shah represents the incarnation Ali, while the Pir represents the guru, who is Imam Shah Bawa (the composer of our Dasa Avatāra), who is Nabi Muhammad "in your language"--i.e., my language, or a Muslim's language. (which also illustrates the point that it should be gura nara and not gura nura). The Burhanpur Satpanthis also call this bīja mantra the ajapyā jāpa (the unspoken dhikr) and they impart it to one with a tremendously secretive and mystical air, so that no uninitiated person may hear it.

Kx 55.

surajā rānī kamaṛā kuara tame pārajo satapatha khari

dasadha¹ āpajo sahī:

amane pohoce te petīa māhe ghālīne dharīā musāfarane²

sopajo jāi:55

D 44 K 60.

surajā rānī kamarā kuvara tame pālajo satapathām āne

kharī dasavata āpajo sahī:

amane poce te petīmā dharīne dariyāva musāfarane

sopajo jāi:44

"Queen Suraja and Prince Kamala, follow the Satpanth, and give the correct tithe, Having put it in a box that reaches us, go and entrust it to a sea-borne traveller."

1. Dasondh is an Ismaili Satpanthi term for 'tithe,' which means the giving of one-tenth to the Imam, and one-fortieth to the Pir, out of one's income. The Imam Shahi Satpanthis give this tithe also to their respective Pir or send it to Pirana.
2. Musāfar is from the Arabic meaning 'traveller.' According to the Burhanpur Satpanthis, musāfar is someone from the family of the Pir or 'hazar jāma' (as the descendants of Imam Shah style themselves) who preaches and collects tithe. In former times, the Ismailis used to have a tithe collector too. The reference to the sea-borne traveller is strange.

The Ismaili Imam at this time must have resided in Iran (see B. Lewis "The Assassins" p. 40). The connections between Sind, Gujarat and Iran were mainly by sea. It was the son of Imam Shah of Pirana (the composer of this work) who broke off relations with the parent Ismaili branch and with the Imam in Iran, and probably ordered his followers to pay tithe to himself, and not to send it to Iran (see Ivanow "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat" p. 20). This may indicate that the work (under consideration here) Dasamo Avatāra was probably written by Pir Imam Shah, and that even when the connection was broken in the time of his son, the verse was not deleted. The Ismaili Khojas have said that even if they were ordered to throw the tithe money into the sea by the Imam, they would readily do so. Perhaps this verse is the basis of such a notion.

Kx 56.

tāre esī pīra samasa gura kīdhī vāta:
te kamarā kuara sira dīdhore hātha:56

D 45 a. b. K 61.

tāre pīra samasane aisī dīdhī vācā:
tyāre kamarā kuvāra sira dīdho hāta:45

Then the guru Pir Shams talked to them thus,
Then he put his hand on the head of Prince Kamala.

Kx 57.

te eso pira samasa caleā kahī:

have bhagata tuja upara bharana bharāese¹ sahī:57

D 45 c. K 62 a.

to yesu pīra samasa to tāmhā cālyā kahī:45

K 62 b.

ke bhagata tuja sira bharana bharavasum sahi:62

Having said this Pir Shams departed,

"Now devotee, the responsibility will be put on your head."

1. Pharana bharavum literally means 'to put weight on,'

but it is an idiom in Gujarati, meaning 'to give responsibility.'

Kx 58.

te surajā rānī kamaṛā kuara sarave deva miṛī kare
vīcāra:

sāmī jabha care sehena¹ tabha dejo dhīdhāra²:58

D 46 K 63.

tyāre surajā rānī kamarā kuvāra sarave loka malī kare
vīcāra:

svāmī jaba cadhe saina taba dejo dīdāra:46

Then Queen Suraja, Prince Kamala and all the people meet
and think,

"Lord, when the army marches, give us your dīdāra!"

1. The sehena probably refers to the army of the Imam
which will eventually prepare to fight the demon.

2. From the Persian دیدار, meaning 'sight, view, vision;'
here it is addressed to the Pir, but usually among the
Ismailis, to have the view, or vision of the Imam is very
efficacious; in fact it is supposed to absolve one's sins
of previous lives.

Kx 59.

rānī ama tamāre pāse chu:

ame dhīdhāra dhīāneku¹ āvasu sahī:59

D 47 a.b. K 64.

rānī āme tamhāre pāse chu:

amañ rānī dīdāra deneku āu² sahī:47

"Queen, we are near you,

We will come to give our dīdāra truly."

1. 'Ku' is an Urdu suffix.

2. Au is medieval Gujarati usage for the modern aviye (see D 28, Note 2).

Kx 60.

eso to gura pīra samasa pīra cāleā kahī:

tihāthī pīra samasa bhagatasu vadeā¹ sahī:60

D 47 c.

ausī pīra samasta tām cālyā kahī:47

Having said this, the guru Pir Shams departed,

There Pir Shams thus gave his pledge to the devotees truly.

1. Vadeā is a Cutchi-Sindhi word meaning 'to make a promise, to agree to.' The second line of Kx is not in D.

Kx 61.

sadhāveā tāre dharavesī vese cevīsa¹ mulake paratake
bolei:

japudīpa² māhe āveā:61

D 48 K 65.

tāntī pīra samasa bhagatasu vīdā thaī sīdāryā:
tātī daravesī vekhe³ covīsa mulake parate bolyā
jabudīpame āvīyā:48

Having departed in the dress of a darwish (mendicant), he went on to speak in twenty-four countries (D. From there Pir Shams departed, bidding farewell to the devotees), He came into India (D. From there in the dress of a mendicant he spoke in twenty-four countries and came into India).

1. Cevisa is an error for covisa.

2. In Sanskrit jāmbudvīpa means 'India,' though originally it probably referred to a portion of land larger than India.

3. Vekhe is veśe, 'in the dress of;' in the vekhe form it is used today only in poetry.

Kx 62.

pīra samasa coṭanā¹ pīra nasīradhīna jāna:
te gura tenā pīra sāhebadina² huā³ pirimāna:62

D 49 K 66.

te pīra samasta coṭanā pīra nasaradīna jāna:
te gera⁴ pīra sāhebadīna⁵ huvā pramāna:49

Know that Pir Shams Coṭa's son was Pir Nasir Din,
And to him Pir Saheb Din was born.

1. According to Panditji Doshi, coṭa means moṭa or 'the highest.' The earliest work in which it is found is that of Hemacandracarya of eleventh century, but it is not in use in Gujarati any more. This epithet cota has also been used in describing Pir Shams of Multan in other ginan literature of the Ismailis. Perhaps the epithet coṭa is used because Pir Shams is the first and one of the most important of the Ismaili Pirs; or may be that Shams kept a coṭī or a tuft of hair at the top of his head, like Hindu holy men. The Satpanthi followers attribute many miracles to him, one of them being that on one occasion, Shams brought a dead boy to life. Since this was not done by the order of God, but by Shams's own order, the townspeople wanted to punish him by skinning him alive. But Shams put his hand on the top of his head (his coṭī), and pulled the whole

skin off and handed it to the people; hence the epithet.

2. Sāhebadīna is not clear in the Kx MS.

3. This type of usage, tene huā or tene huvā is old Gujarati usage, now lost in the language, except in the form tene thayā.

4. Cera is the D MS. has been added in the margin.

5. Sahebdina in the D MS. is above the line, in place of Sadr Din which has been cancelled. For the genealogy of the Pirs, see Intro. pp. 10-12.

Kx 63.

te gura tenā pīra sadharadhīṇa bhaeā:

te gura kalajuga māhe esā¹ kāmaja kiā:63

D 50 K 67.

te pīra gorane pīra sudaradīna joye: (K. thayā):

te gora karajugamā aiso kāma jo kīyā:50

That guru's son was Pir Sadr al Din,
who in the Kali era performed such tasks.

1. Esā is a Hindi-Urdu word. The task referred to is probably the salvation of twelve krores of souls, which Pir Sadr al Din is supposed to have performed.

Kx 64.

gura kalajuga māhe bhagata tārāṇānā¹ kāmaja kiā:
 chatrī(sa) kirorī niama parataka bolaja² dhīā³:64

D 51 K 68.

ye gora⁴ karajugamā tāravānā kāma jo kīyā:
 tyāre chatrīsa kroḍīne nīmam pata bola jo dīyā:51

This guru did the work of salvation in the Kali era;
 He gave the vow of the word to each of the thirty-six
 krores.

1. Tāravum literally means 'to cause to cross over,' and
 thereby 'to save' or 'to redeem.' "God" is Gujarati
 literature is often called tārāṇahāra, meaning 'one who
 causes one to cross over.' The metaphor of life as an
 ocean is a common one in Indian religious literature. See
 above Kx 31, Note b.

2. See above Kx 52, Note 1.

3. Gora here can be read also as an adjective to Kaliyuga,
 in which case it would mean 'the terrible Kali era.'

5. Diyā and kiyā are Hindi-Urdu words, not Gujarati.

Kx 65.

te māhethī bāraha kirorīu sahī sēcā āe:

te māhethī covīsa kirorī dhojaka¹ māhe jāe:65

D 52 K 69.

temāthī bārā kroḍī sahī sēcā āye:

temāthī covīsa kroḍī kuḍe dojakha jāye:52

Of them, twelve krores have come out true,
Of them, twenty-four krores will go to hell (D. Of them,
twenty-four krores were liars and go to hell).

1. From Persian *جہنم*, meaning 'hell.' According to the Satpanthi theory, Sadr al Din is the guru of the fourth Kali era. In the Kali era there would be thirty-six krores of beings, of whom twelve krores will be saved because of Pir Sadr al Din. The guru of the first Krta era is Prahlada, of the second Treta era is Hariscandra, and of the third Dvapara era is Yudhisthira. They caused the salvation of five krores, seven krores and nine krores of beings respectively.

Kx 66.

te māhe bāraha korīu purā munīvara bhaeā:

te pīra sadharadhīna sāthethī dharagāhe¹ gaeā:66 .

D 53 K 70.

temāthī bārā kroḍī purā munivara jo āye:

te pīra sudaradīnane sāthe daragā gayā:53

Of them, twelve krores came out as sufficiently saintly,
They went to the dargah with Pir Sadr al Din.

1. From the Persian *dar*, it literally means 'door, threshold.' In India it is a place where a man teaches, as well as where his grave is. From the verses that follow, it would appear that the dargah referred to is the place where the Shah or the Imam was. The Ismaili Imam at this time must have been residing in Iran. Both Ivanow (Collectanea, pp. 17, 18) and S. C. Misra (Muslim Communities, etc., p. 57) mention the possibility of Pir Sadr al Din's having gone to see the Imam near Isfahan. Yet that he should have gone with twelve krores of his followers is absurd. Pir Noor Ali Shah of Burhanpur says that the story is not real, but allegorical. Pirzada Syad Sadruddin Hashamali of Navsari, in his Tawārikhe Pīr (of doubtful historical value) records an incident, probably local, in which Pir Sadr al Din apparently persuaded some of his followers to cross the Atika (?) river, which these followers thought would defile them if they crossed

it. The Pirzada then goes on to describe: a) how they all went to the gādi (literally, throne) of the Shah, Sri Islam Shah (the thirteenth Ismaili Imam?); b) how the Shah appointed Sadr al Din's son, Kabir al Din as Pir; and c) how he foretold that in the time of his grandson, their combined gādi would be at Pirana. But I do not think that such a story has any historical value. Pir Noor Ali Shah at Burhanpur was not prepared to accept the first purported occurrence as fact because he claims that the Satpanthis never had anything to do with Ismailism; yet he very readily accepted the last two occurrences, since they supported the claims of the Imam Shahi group, and those of Pirana. He could not see that he could not accept the last two without accepting the first (see Intro. pp. 12-13).

Kx 67.

te gura sāthe pīra kabhīradhīna bāra:
tīhā sāmahī vajaranī bhīta uṭhai tatakāra:67

D 54 K 71.

te gora sāte pīra kabīradīna nānu bāla:
tām svāmī vajaranī bhīta uṭī tatakāla:54

With that guru was the child, Pir Kabir al Din (D. small child),

There facing them, an iron wall arose at once (D. There Lord, an iron wall arose at once).

Kx 68.

te gura kuchuka mana māhe ānai¹ moṭa:

te kārana sāhāne darasaṇanī āvai¹ che khoṭa:68

D 55 K 72.

te gora kachuyeka manamā ānī¹ moṭa:

te kārana śānā dīdāranī āvī¹ khoṭa:55

That guru felt a certain pride in himself,

For that reason, he experienced the absence of the Shah's presence (view, dīdār).

1. Cf. ānai, āvai in Cutchi; ānī, āvī in Gujarati.

Kx 69.

tāre tīhā cha māsa lage pīre tapaja¹ kiā:

vajaranī bhīta tafarakā² hoi gaeā:69

D 56 K 73.

tyāre tāmhā cha māsa lagī pīra sudaradhīnane pote
tāhām tapa kīyā:

tāre tāhām vajaranī bhīta tabarakhā² hoī jāye:56

Then there the Pir practised asceticism for six months
(D. Then there for six months, Pir Sadr al Din himself
practised asceticism),

The iron wall separated and disappeared (D. Then there the
iron wall became holy).

1. In Sanskrit, tapa means 'heat,' and by extension
'ascetic practices.' The implication seems to be that the
iron wall was transformed by the heat of ascetic practises.
It may well be an allegorical rather than a real wall.

2. In the Kx MS. we have tafarakā from the Arabic تفرق
meaning 'to differ, to separate,' though I have not seen
tafaraka used in this way. Usually faraka is used. In the
D MS. we have tabarakā, from the Arabic برك

Kx 70.

jāre cha māsa lage pīra sadharadhīna tapa puro kareo:
tāre pīra kabhīradhīna pāca saa gajanī pāga¹ vanāvī
che je²:70

D 57 K 74.

jyāre cha māmsa lagī pīra sudaradīna tapa purā karyā:
 tyāre pīra kabīradīna pācaso gajanī pāga banāvī che
 joye:57

While Pir Sadr al Din was completing his ascetic practices
 of six months,
 In the meantime Pir Kabir al Din wove a turban of five
 hundred yards.

1. Correctly, it should be pāgha.
2. This could not all be literally true; but if there is
 any tā'wil interpretation, I do not know it, nor did any
 of the Satpanthis offer any satisfactory explanation.

Kx 71.

te pīra kabīradhīna sāhāne kādye pācasa gajanī pāga
 bhanāvī dharī:
 tenī gaja gaja pirimāne sāhānī safāeta¹ karī:71

D 58 K 75.

tyāre pīra kabīradīna sāne kāje pācaso gajanī pāga
 vanāvī dharī:
 te gaja gaja paramāne sāhānī safāyeta karī:58

So Pir Kabir al Din made a turban of five hundred yards for the Shah and presented it,
At the interval of every yard, he implored the Shah to forgive him.

1. The Arabic *al-shafā'ah* literally means 'intercession,' but I think that here it is used in the sense of 'supplication, forgiveness;' see also Kx 44, Note 1.

Kx 72.

tāre juganu¹ gura cha māsa lage tapa puro kare:
tabha lage pīra kabhīradhīna sāhā pāse āvī²
(sa)care:72

D 59 K 76.

tāre to gorane cha māsa lagī tapa puro karyā:
taba lagī sāhā³ pāse āvī saṁcaryā:59

Then as the guru of the era completes his ascetic practices of six months,

By then Pir Kabir al Din arrives to see the Shah.

1. This is a reference to Pir Sadr al Din being the guru of the Kali era (see Kx 65, Note 1).

2. Avi means 'to come;' samcarya means 'to go.' The compound takes on the meaning of the first word.

3. Taking saha as the subject, the alternative translation would be: "By that time the Shah had arrived near him." But the Kx version is much better, since it is not so ambiguous.

Kx 73.

pīra sadharadhīna ubhā ekaja¹ pāe:
te gura safāeta² kare bhale³ āveā sahī:73

D 60 K 77.


tām pīra sudaradhīna ubhā yeka jo pāye:
tām gora safāyeta karī bhale āvyā sahī:60

Pir Sadr al Din stood upon only one leg,
That guru supplicates, (and the Shah says?), "It is well
that you have come."

1. Ja is a particle of emphasis. D has jo instead. To stand upon one leg is an ascetic practice among the Hindus.

2. Again safāeta is used to mean 'supplication' and not 'intercession.' (See Kx 44, Note 1). Here it is not quite clear who is supplicating whom; the line is ambiguous in

the versions.

3. The word comes from Arabic , and means 'yes.'

Kx 74.

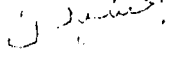
sāhājī amo unīhārī¹ tame bhakasaṇahāra²:
sāmī gata³ tamārīne tame dio dhīdhāra:74

D 61 K 78.

√ sāhojī ama unīyācāra tame bakasaṁhāra:
svāmī gata tamārī upara⁴ tame dījo dīdāra:61

"Shah, we are sinful people, you are the forgiver,
Lord, make an appearance to your people.

1. Cf. the Sanskrit una meaning 'deficient.'

2. The first part of this word is from Persian , to which the medieval Gujarati suffix hāra, denoting '-er' has been added.

3. The origin of the word gata is obscure. The Sanskrit gata literally means 'the past,' but according to current usage of the Ismaili Satpanthi community, it means 'the group, the community.' The term the Ismailis use for describing themselves in congregation for prayers is gata jama'at. For example when one enters any jama'at

khanah, one calls out : "gata jama'at ke hai zindah,"
(meaning "Life to the community which is present") and the
response from those present would be: "kāem pāyā" (meaning
"The Qaem (Imam) is attained.")

4. Usually, it is gatane rather than gata upara.

Kx 75.

sāmī gata tumārīa upara tume cita dharo:
sāmī tame khāka¹ māḥethī jīvaṛā paedhā² karo:75

D 62 K 79.

svāmī gata tamārī upara cita tame dharo:
svāmī tame khākamātī jīva paidā karyā:62

"Lord, have care for your community,
Lord, you create beings out of earth (D. have created).

1. From the Persian خادان
2. From the Persian پيدا کردن , 'to create.' He is
attributing to the Shah the powers of creation.

Kx 76.


sāmī ame nahī kuchu¹ tame trābhovāṇa² kala(tā)ra:
tamathī sāmī anata kirorī jīva udhare pāra:76

D 63 K 80.

svāmī āme nakuchu tame trana bhavana karatāra:
svāmī tamathī anaṁta krodī jīva utaryā pāra:63

"Lord, we are nothing, you are the creator of the three
worlds,

Lord, it is due to you that countless krores of souls
have been liberated.

1. Nakucha is not used in Gujarati. Kuchh  'some,
something' is an Urdu word to which the prefix na has been
added.
2. The three worlds are 'heaven, hell' and 'earth.' In D.,
the genitive suffix is shortened, as it often is in poetry.

Kx 77.

sāmī tume bhagate¹ upara sadā kirapāra:
sāmī tame dharanī dharaso² dhīna dhaeā³:77

D 64 K 81.

svāmī tame bhagata safāiyā⁴ sadā kīrapāla:

svāmī teme dharanī dharo cho dīna dayāra:64

"Lord, you are always merciful to the devotee (D. Lord, you have interceded (?) for the devotee, you are ever merciful), Lord, you bear the earth, you are merciful to the poor."

1. This is a Cutchi plural (also Urdu), but not a Gujarati plural which would be bhagato.

2. Dharanī-dhara is an epithet of Viṣṇu, who is supposed to be the sustainer of the universe.

3. Dhina dhaea in Kx is not clear; the first part of the phrase is probably from the Arabic . The phrase dina dayāra means 'ever merciful.' Cf. the Arabic ar-rahmān ar-rahīm, meaning 'the merciful, the compassionate.'

4. Safaiya in D here makes no sense at all. It could be a mistake for sakhāiya in which case the translation of the line would be: "Lord, you befriend the devotee ..."

Kx 78.

te gura esī venatī karī sāhāsu cita dei:

sāmī tame pitā ame bāraka sahī:78

D 65 K 82.

to gora aisī vīnatī karī sāhāsu cīta daī:

svāmī tame pītā ame bālaka sahī:65

The guru thus supplicated the Shah attentively,
"Lord, you are the father, we are children.

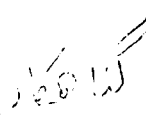
Kx 79.

sāmī ame gunāhāgāra¹ tame bhakasaṇahāra:
gata tamārīne de jo dhīdhāra:79

D 66 K 83.

svāmī āme gunyegāra tame bakasanaṁhāra:
nakucha gata tamārīne tame dījo² dīdāra:66

"Lord, we are sinful, you are the forgiver,
Make an appearance to your community (D. --to your
unworthy community)."

1. This word is from the Persian , meaning 'sinful.'
2. Dijo is an older Gujarati form for dejo. Āpajo is the form now commonly used in Gujarati.

Kx 80.

te eso vacana sunī sāhājī boleā soe:

pīra hama tuma eka hae ākhara nahī koe dhoe¹:80

D 67 K 84.

to aiso vacana sunī śāhojī bolyā sahī:

pīra hamma tama ākhara nahī kucha dāye:67

Hearing such words, the Shah said truly,

"Pir, we and you are after all not two.

1. This implies that the Shah-i. e., the Imam- is telling the Pir that they are one and the same thing. I have not come across any other similar statement in the ginan literature, though this is possible. The Ismaili Satpanthis explain that this was merely Imam Shah, who when rejected by the people as Pir, was asserting his own position. The Burhanpur Pir Saheb, on the other hand, said that this proved that the Pirs were not separate from, nor lower in rank than the Imams. Compare the doctrine of the hujjat in the Ismailism of the time of Khaki Khorasani; Ivanow says, "He 'in his substance and meaning is the same with the Imam; his inner nature is one and the same with the Imam, but his purpose and the physical manifestation are separate...'" (Ivanow, Diwan of Khaki Khorasani, Intro.p.11).

p.134 on the back of p. 209

Kx 81.

pīra hama tuma ekaja dehī¹:

kāhe etanā dharo sanehe:81

D 68 K 85.

pira hama tama malyā kāje dehī kīyā:

ane na dharaso samdehe:68

"Pir, we and you are one body (D. Pir, for the sake of our and your meeting, we have assumed the body), Why do you love us so much? (D. And have no doubt)."

1. The two versions are quite different, and rather ambiguous. Compare the idea of God incarnating himself in the human form, for the sake of destroying the devil, as well as of assisting the devotee, in Hinduism, to the first line of D 68. Also see above Kx 80, Note 1.

Kx 82.

to eso sāhājī boleā pīrasu heta mana karī:

potānu sirabadha¹ laine gurane sira upara dhareo:82

D 69 K 86.

to āja sāhujī bolyā pīrasu heta mana karī:

to potānā sirabaṁda laine goranā sira upara dharyā:69

So the Shah spoke thus to the Pir, with great love,
He took his own turban, and put it on the head of the guru.

1. Sirabadha is probably from the Sanskrit sirobandha,
meaning 'turban.' It is not a very common word in Gujarati.
Or sirabadha could be from the Persian sarabanda سر بند

Kx 83.

potānā musataka sāhājī ughārā fare¹:

tīhā pīra kabīradhīna siribadha sāhāne āgara lai
dhare:83

D 70 K 87.

to potānā mustaka śāhujī ukhādā phīre¹:

tāmhā pīra kabīradīne sarabadam śāhujī āgara lai
dharyā:70

So the Shah goes about with his own head bared,
There Pir Kabir al Din takes the turban and presents it
to the Shah.

1. In Kx the 'f' of fare is not clear. In D, phīre is
old Gujarati; the word is also still used in the Marwāri
dialect (Shastriji).

Kx 84.

te gura sirabadhanu chero kādhī de s̄ahāne hātha:
 tīhā gura gaja gaja vāce s̄ahānī safāeta¹:84

D 71 K 88.

tām gora sarabaṁdano chedo kādī dīdho śāhāne hāta:
 tāhēm gaja gaja paramāne vācī śāhānī safayeta:71

There the guru took out the end of the turban and placed
 it in the hands of the Shah,
 There yard by yard, the guru reads the intercession to
 the Shah.

1. K. has sifata meaning 'qualities,' instead of safāeta
 meaning 'intercession.'

Kx 85.

to s̄ahā bādhe pāga nava chugā¹ sameta:
 tāre s̄ahāne mana māhe upanu heta²:85

D 72 K 89.

tām śāhu bādhe pāga nava chogā sameta:
 tyāre śāhānā manamā upanu heta:72

Then the Shah ties the turban, with nine fringes hanging,
Then love arose within breast of the Shah.

1. Chugā or chogā is a hanging at the edge of a garment.

A ginan attributed to Pir Kabir al Din is entitled:

"Anantanā Nava Chugā;" (see Ivanow: Ismaili Literature,
2nd ed. p. 179). I found this ginan in K1 MS. (see Intro.
pp. 6-7), on p. 121, and I give the first two verses,
with translation:

"āsāji pāchamethī narajī āve (The Nara-i. e., the Imam
comes from the west),

āve jāmpuhadipa māhe dyānajī (Know that he comes into India),

Evo nara māro kāema sāmī (Such Nara(Imam) is my Qaim, the
Lord),

te purakha alī avatare (That one is the incarnation of Ali).

ame purakha vira siri esalama sāhā lādho (We have found the
man, the hero, Sri Islam Shah^a),

ane lādho te dhinanu dātāraji (And we have found the giver
of religion);

eni nārī je thai rahese (Whoever will remain his nari^b),

te kateo sutara apāra (She has indeed woven much cotton^c).

a. This seems to be a reference to the thirtieth Ismaili
Imam, Islam Shah.

b. In the Ismaili ginan literature, the worshipped one, be
it God or Imam, is always presented as the male, with the

worshipper as the female element. This is contrary to the Persian Sufi mode of poetry, but is quite in keeping with the Indian bhakti tradition. The Imam has been referred to as Nara (see Kx 54, Note 1).

c. This implies that she has accrued much merit. The image of weaving cotton as implying the earning of merit is used in other Sindhi ginans also.

2. The word heta 'love,' is not current in modern Gujarati.

Kx 86.

tāre sāhā heta dharīne pīra kabhīradhīnane bolāvī līā:
tāre sāhā anata karorīnā varaja¹ dhīā:86

D 73 K 90.

tām[✓] sāhā heta dharī pīra kabīradīnane bolāvīyā:
tyāre[✓] sāhā ananta krodīnā vara tāmhā dīyā:73

Then with great love, the Shah called Pir Kabir al Din to
him,

Then the Shah gave him the pledge of countless krores.

1. Vara is a 'pledge' or a 'boon.' In Satpanthi Ismaili theory, Kabir al Din is supposed to cause the salvation of countless krores of souls in the period at the very

end of the Kali era.

Kx 87.

te sāhe nava chugānī pāgaja bādheā:
 tahīe sāhe hasana sāhā¹ pīra thāeā:87

D 74 K 91.

tām[√] sāhā nava chogānī pāga gora upara mukī tāmhā:
 sāhā hasamna sā[√] pīra thayā sahī:74

So the Shah tied the turban with the nine fringes (D. There the Shah put the turban, with the nine fringes, on the head of the guru),

Then Hasan Shah truly became the Pir.

1. Hasan Shah is the same as Kabir al Din; often the full name is given as Hasan Kabir al Din.

Kx 88.

āja hasana mähā hasana sāhī sāhā sāhe dhareo pīra
 kabhīradhīnāno nāma¹:
 gura anata karorī jīvanā kalajuga māhe karajo kāma²:88

D 75 K 92.

āja husenī ()³hā hasaīna sāha dharyā:
 pīra kabīradīna sāhe gora karajugamā bhagata anamta
 krodī jīvanā karajo kāma:75

K 92 a.

aja huseni alama hasana saha dharya:

Today in the Huseini progeny, Hasan Shah has been designated,

"Guru Pir Kabir al Din, do the works of countless krores of beings in the Kali era."

1. All the texts seem to be confusing. I have taken the first line of K 92a. as the first line in the translation, where huseni is probably a reference to Imam Husain ibn Ali, from whom the Aga Khan as well as the Imam Shahi syads claim descent.
2. See Kx 86, Note 1.
3. The letter in D MS. is unreadable.

Kx 89.

tāre pīra kabīradhīna ghañī venatī kahī sāhājīsu
 sahī:
 sāmī amathī karajuganu lokanu bhāra¹ uparase nahī:89

D 76 K 93.

tyāre pīra kabīradīna kahu² dhanī yeka vāta:
svāmī māretī karajugano bhāra uparase nahī:76

Then Pir Kabir al Din made earnest supplication to the Shah truly (D. Then Pir Kabir al Din said, "Lord, let me tell you one thing):

"Lord, I cannot bear the burden of the people of the Kali era.

1. The implication here is that the people of the Kali era will be so sinful that it will be difficult to help them to salvation.

2. See Kx 34, Note 2.

Kx 90.

sāmī have kalajuga māhe pāpa varatāe sabha koe:
te sāmī amathī jīva anata kirorī kema nīpaja¹ hoe:90

D 77 K 94.

svāmī have karajugamā pāpa varatāse bahu:
to svāmī amārethī ananta krodīnā kāma nīpaja na hoye:

"Lord, now in the Kali era, all sins will prevail,
Then Lord, how can we bring to fruition the works of
countless krores of beings (D. Then we cannot bring to
fruition the works of countless krores of beings)."

1. From the Sanskrit niṣpanna; the word is not of common
usage in Gujarati.

Kx 91.

to suno pīra hasana sāhā ame tamane kahu vāta:
ame bhagatane kāḍye rahu tamāre sātha:91

D 78 K 95.

to sunī pīra hasannasā hama tamane pāthāve¹ dīyā:
āme bhagatane kāje rahasu tamāre pāsa:78

"Then listen, Pir Hasan Shah, we tell you one thing;
for the sake of the devotees, we shall remain with you.

1. The first line of D 78 seems corrupt; pāthāve dīyā
makes no sense. From the point of view of the context
also, the Kx version seems more appropriate.

The Imam Shahi syads interpret this verse as being a
promise that the Imam will henceforth take incarnation

among the descendants of Imam Shah. It must be noted that the Imam Shahi syads are themselves Sunnis and assert that they do not believe in Imams. The verse could be an interpolation. The Satpanthi Ismailis interpret this verse as a statement that the Imam will always remain in this world, and not be absent from it. The tenet that the world cannot remain empty of the Imam, even for a moment, was already well developed at Alamut.

Kx 92.

gurajī tame āgara thaine dekhārajo amārā thāma:
pācharathī ame karasu bhagatanā kāma:92

D 79 K 96.

to gorajī tame āgara thāī dekhādo āmarāpurīnā thāma:
to pācharathī karasu bhagatanā kāja:79

"Go forward, Guruji, and show them our way (D.-- the way to the eternal abode),
Afterwards we will attend to the tasks of the devotees."

Kx 93.

tīhāthī anata kiroṛīnu vara pīra hasana sāhāne sāhe
āpeo sahī:

tāre pīra hasana sāhā pīrasāhā jāpa¹ japāveo sahī:93

D 80 K 97.

tāmthī anataṁ kroḍīnā vara pīra hasana śāhāne śāhe
āpyā sahī:

tāre pīra hasana śāne pīrasā jāpa japāyā tāmhā:80

From there, the Shah gave the pledge of countless krores
of beings to Pir Hasan Shah,
Then Pir Hasan Shah caused the japa of Pir-Shah to be
repeated truly.

1. See above Kx 54, Note 3.

Kx 94.

je bhagata karajuga māhe pīrasāhā jāpa japase nāma:
te āja sahī amarāpurīa māhe pāmase thāma:94

D 81 K 98.

je bhagata karajugamā pīrasa jāpa japāyā nāma:
to aja sahī amarāpurī pāmyā thāma:81

Whichever devotee, in the Kali era, will repeat the name of Pir-Shah (D. Whichever devotee will cause the name of Pir-Shah to be repeated in the Kali era), He, today, will attain a place in the eternal abode, truly.

Kx 95.

karajuga lāgata sa()lāgī¹ pīrasāhā jāpa japo nāma:
te karajuga māhe vaikāṭha² pāme ṭhāma:95

D 82 K 99.

karajuga lāgatā sagalā pīrasā jape nāma:
te karajugamā vaikūṭha pāmyā ṭhāma:82

Since the Kali era began, all those who repeat the name of Pir-Shah,

In the Kali era, they attained a place in heaven.

1. This word is not clear in the Kx MS. The meaning in the translation 'all those' is supplied from the D text.

2. Vaikūṭha is the name of Visnu's heaven.

Kx 96.

pīrasāhā vīnā avara koi. dujā¹ japase nāma:
te kārīgānā celā carabata² tahe jāna:96

D 83 K 100.

taba pīrasā^v vīnā āvara koī jāpa japase nāma:
te kārīgānā celā carapaṭa tāṃ sahī jāna:83

If anyone repeats any name other than Pir-Shah,
Know that he certainly is the mischievous disciple of
Kaliga.

1. See Kx 19, Note 1.

2. I cannot find the word in a Gujarati dictionary; the
meaning was given by Shastriji.

Kx 97.

tīhāthī anata kiroṛīnu vara lei pīra hasana sāhā
vareā:
te gura japuadīpa māhe sacareā:97

D 84 K 101.

tāhāmtī anānta kroḍīnā vara lai pīra hasanaṃsā valatā:
gora jambudīpamā āvī saṃcaryā:84

From there, having accepted the pledge of countless krores,
 Pir Hasan Shah returned,
 The guru arrived in India.

Kx 98.

te gura āja nava khadhā māhe pīra hasana sāhā jāna:
 te gura tenā pīra emāma sāhā pirimāna¹:98

D 85 K 102.

to āja gora nava khadaimā pīra hasamāsā sahī jāna:
 to gora tanā pīra imāmasā huvā pramāna:85

So today, know the guru in the nine continents to be Pir
 Hasan Shah,
 After him, Imam Shah became the guru according to authority.

1. The Imam Shahis claim that Imam Shah was the successor
 to his father, Pir Hasan Kabir al Din. The Ismaili
 Satpanthis did not accept this claim, and chose Pir Taj
 al Din (see Intro. pp. 11-12).

Kx 99.

pīra hasana sāhānā pīra emāma sāhā bhaeā:
te gura emāma sāhā hidha(sa)tāna parataka boleā:99

D 86 K nil.

pīra hasanasā pīra Imāmasā paṭā¹ dīyā:
to gora Imāma sā mulaka hīdumsthāna parateka boliyā:86

Pir Hasan Shah chose (bhaea ?) Pir Imam Shah (D. Pir Hasan Shah gave the legal authorization to Pir Imam Shah), That guru Imam Shah taught in India.

1. Paṭā means a 'religious authorization,' as well as a 'legal deed;' e.g., one can take land on a ninety-nine year lease or paṭā. Kx does not use the word paṭā, and is weaker. The Ismailis do not accept Imam Shah as the Pir. In any case Kx is the older MS. In the K ed. all the verses dealing with Imam Shah's succession have been deleted.

Kx 100.

te guranā pīra māhāmadha sāhā¹ sahī jāna:
te pīra māhāmadha sāhāne vara āpeo nirivāna:100

D 87 K nil.

te gora tenā pīra mahamada śā jāna:

te pīra mahamada śāne vara apyā sahī nīravāna:87

Know that Pir Muhammad Shah is the true (successor) of
that guru,

That Pir (Imam Shah) appointed Pir Muhammad Shah for
certain.

1. Muhammad Shah is the son of Imam Shah.

Kx 101.

ihā lage gurajī āpe dekhārī rādya kare¹:

te pīra māhāmadha² sāhāne tanathī pīra musatafājī

kana avatare:101

D 88 K nil.

te pīra mahamada śāthī tenā pīra sudaradīna³ jāna:

pīra mahamada mustaphā⁴ nure nakarāmkī avatāra:88

Until here, the guru himself has shown (the line?) and
rules (holds sway?) (D. Know that the son of Pir Muhammad
Shah was Pir Sadr al Din),

Pir Mustafaji is born from the body of Pir Muhammad Shah

(D. Pir Muhammad Mustafa is the light of the Nakalamki (Kalki) incarnation).

1. The first line of Kx probably has something missing.
2. Pir Mahammad Shah mentioned here is Nur Muhammad Shah, the son of Imam Shah of Pirana. He was the only son of Imam Shah to have survived his father and who broke off from the main Ismaili sect. According to S. C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat p. 60, this Nur Muhammad Shah married the daughter of the sultan Muhammad Shah Begdā (Begarhā) of Gujarat, who bore him two sons: Syad Mustafa and Syad Saheb ud Din. Yet by another wife, the daughter of a Rajput Punjansinha, he had a son called Syad Khan. Syads Mustafa and Saheb ud Din inherited the complex at Pirana, while Syad Khan and his progeny established themselves at Navasari in Gujarat, and at Bahadarpur and Burhanpur.
3. The D text differs from the Kx text. I cannot make out who this Sadr Din is, unless it is a corruption of Saheb ud Din (see Note 2 above). This is not impossible, as the scribe does often make mistakes, and the Islamic names are rather alien to the Satpanthis.
4. As a rule, Muhammad Mustafa is always the Prophet Muhammad, though I hardly think that he is intended here; it is quite possible that Syad Mustafa (see above Note 2) is here confused with the Prophet. Two things may be

pointed out: a) The Imam Shahi syads claim that the Pirs had taught that the Prophet Muhammad, rather than Ali or the Imams, were the incarnation of Visnu; they probably use this line as the basis of such a belief; b) the Imam Shahi Syads have claimed that the Pirs bore the light of Muhammad and Ali, which is now in the hāzar jāmā. They do not realize the implications of such claims, and vis-a-vis their fellow Sunni Muslims, they profess to be no more than ordinary Muslims themselves.

Kx 102.

te gura tenā tapesarī pīra nura māhāmadha sāhā¹ huā
pirimāna:102

D 89 K Nil.

te gora nura tapasī pīra mahamaṁdaśā^v huvā paranāma:89

That guru's (son) became the ascetic Pir Nur Muhammad Shah (D. That guru became the light of the ascetic Pir Mahammad Shah).

1. No one seems to know to whom this Mahammad Shah refers.

It is probably a reference to Nur Muhammad Shah, the son of Imam Shah.

Kx 103.

bhāi tāre kara māhe kāemajī¹ paraghata padhārase:
 jāre e nīsānīu purīu hoese:
 tāre dhunīānu pāpa munīvaranu pune puru vāpase²:
 bhāi tāre e nīsānīu jou jou (joo joo)³:103

D 90 K 107, 108.

bhāi tyāre karamo kāyema pragata padhārase:
 jyāre so nīsānī purī hoye:
 tyāre dunīyānā pāpa munīvaranā punye purā vāpase:
 bhāi tyāre ye nīsānī joye:90

Brother, then in the Kali era, the Qaem will arrive openly;
 When these signs will be fulfilled (D. When the hundred
 signs will be fulfilled),
 Then the sins of the world will be completed (balanced ?)
 by the merits of the saints;
 Brother, then you will see these signs.

1. From the Arabic *qāem*; it is an epithet of the Imam among the Ismailis (see Intro. pp. 13-14, 44).

2. The Pirana version (see Intro. p. 7) has:

duniyana papa munivarana punyane lope:

The sins of the earth will cause the merits of the saints to disappear.

3. This word can be read either as jou or joo. One jou is superfluous.

Kx 104.

tāre dharīā¹ līhā² lupese:

ane berī bude niradhāra: bhāi berī bude niravāna:

tāre mahī māhe mākhana nahī tare:

ne esetrī melase bāra³:104

D 91 K 109.

tyāre dariyāva lopase lajyā²:

belī bude nīradhāra:

tyāre mahīmā mākhana to nahī utare:

āna āstrī merase bāla:91

Then the ocean will lose its shame,

And the boat will sink without support, brother, the boat will certainly sink,

Then there will be no butter in curds,

And women will desert children.

1. Dharia, dariyāva are both from the Persian 'a large river' or 'the sea.' In India it is always used pertaining to the sea. The sea, like all phenomena of nature, is supposed to obey the laws of nature. One such law that the sea must obey is to remain within the tide line. When the sea does obey this law, it is said that it is keeping its shame. According to Puranic mythology, at the time of the final destruction, the sea is supposed to cross the tide line, and thus lose its shame.
2. Liha is not clear to me. Therefore the whole line of the first line of Kx is not clear; I have taken D MS. for the first line in the translation.
3. The text has "a woman will desert a child," but since the meaning is general, it has been translated in the plural.

Kx 105.

tāre pātāranā pānī khuṭase:
dharatī pāpe na jhāle bhāra:
tāre bhirāhāmaṇa sahudharanu paraṇase:
ane purukha melese nāra:
tāre dhonu baṁdhava laṛese:
tenī radeha daeā nahī rahe lagāra:
evu kaṛa māhe kapāṭa vāpase:

tāre rādyā bolase āṛa:105

D 92 K 110, 111.

tyāre pātāranā pānī khuṭase:

dharatī pāpe nahī jhele¹ bhāra:

tyāre brāhmaṇna sudrane pranase²:

ana purasa melase nāra:

tyāre dono bāmdavo to vadese:

tene hīrade³ dayā nahī lagāra:

yevā kalamā kapata vāpase:

tyāre rājā bolase ālā:92

Then the waters of the underworld will be dried up,
 The earth will be too heavy with sins,
 Then a Brahmin will marry a Sudra,
 And a man will abandon a woman;
 Then two brothers will quarrel,
 There will be no pity in their hearts,
 Such fraud will prevail in the Kali era,
 Then the king will utter falsehoods.

1. It should read jhile, not jhele.

2. It should read paranase.

3. Hirade is the medieval Gujarati for radaya 'the heart.'

Kx 106.

tāre bāraha varasanu beṭo faṛase¹:
 dhou gauā jaṇase²:
 tāre eka nārī trana bāṛaka dyaṇese:
 bhāi tāre e nīsānīu jou:106

D 93 K 112.

tyāre bārā varasa bāī purasa vāye³:
 ana bebai gauvā hoye:
 jāre yeka nārī trana jheḍuvā⁴ hoye:
 bhāī tyāre ye nīsānī joḃe:93

Then a son, already twelve years old will be born (D. Then
 a girl of twelve will give birth to a man),
 The cow will have twins,
 Then one woman will give birth to three babes,
 Brother, these signs you will see.

1. An alternative translation would be, "Then at the age of twelve she will give birth," which fits in better with D 93.
2. For a cow to have two calves at a time is a rare thing.
3. Vāye is from the word viyāe 'to give birth,' but today it is only used in case of animals.
4. Jheḍuva could be from the word jhīdvā 'child.'

Kx 107.

tāre kara māhe ana ochā pākase:
 ane virakha¹ ghaṭase niridhāra:
 tāre putra pitāsu varase:
 tāre badhava bolase āra:107

D 94 K 113.

tyāre karajugamā ānam vachā² pākache:
 varakhā gheṭe nīradhāra:
 tyāre putra pītāne vadase:
 bāndo bolase āra:94

Then, in the Kali era, less food will ripen,
 And the rains will decrease for certain,
 Then the son will fight with the father,
 Then brothers (people ?) will make false accusations.

1. Virakha and varakhā are both from varṣā 'rain.' The current Gujarati and Cutchi word for rain is varasāda.
2. In Gujarati, the word is ochum; in the D MS. 'o' does not appear at the beginning of words, rather the beginning 'o' is replaced by 'va', and thus we have vachā.

Kx 108.

tāre dāsīnu putra rādyā karase¹:
 bhāi te karānu kāraja thāese:
 bhāi tāre bhirāhāmanānā trāgarā trutrase²:
 ane khatrīnu khatravāṭa jāese rādyare³:108

D 95 K 114.

tyāre dāsī putra rāja kare:
 tāṃ karānā kala khoṃe⁴:
 tyāre brahmānā tāgā tuṭase:
 āne khetrīnā khatravāṭa jāse rāja:95

Then the son of a female slave will rule;

Brother, then the most horrible things will happen in the
 Kali era;

Brother, then the sacred thread of the Brahmin will break,
 And the Ksatriya's ksatrihood, (i.e. the function of) rule
 will be lost.

1. Rule by the son of a female slave was not unusual in the Islamic Empire at all.
2. Trāgarā trutrese is not clear in the Kx MS. This is strange because Islam is supposed to have done away with the caste system, yet this even supports it. In practise, formerly, Cutchi Ismailis would consider it beneath them to marry a Kathiavari Ismaili; and even today, the Meman

Ismailis at Sidhpur in Gujarat said that they would not be very willing to marry or mix with any non-Meman Ismailis. But with the majority of the Ismaili Satpanthis caste boundaries have broken down, because of the influence of modernisation, urbanisation and the increasing Islamicisation under the Aga Khans. H. Papanek in her thesis on the Ismailis, has discussed the problem further. Among the Imam Shahi Satpanthis the caste system is strong.

3. This line is not clear, but a possible translation is given. The traditional occupation of the Kstriya caste is to rule and to fight.

4. The second line in D is corrupt, unless it be corrected to tām kuramā kalaha hoye 'there will be quarrels in the family.'

Kx 109.

tāre sarava loka pākhaṭī pākhaḍhe rācase pāpī:
 tāre kāṛīgo cārā carabaṭa karase niradhāra:
 tāre evā mähā pāpa pirithamīa māhe vāpase:
 tāre vāsiga¹ chaṭase bhārare:109

D 96 K 115.

tyāre loka pāpī pākhadam rācase:
 tāre kāṛīngo carapaṭa cārā karase nīradhāra:

tyāre yevā pāpa prīthamīmā vāpase:

vāsaṅga chode bhāra:96

Then all the sinful people will be increasingly heretical,
Then the Kaligo (demon) will play licentious tricks for
certain,

Then such great sins will prevail on the earth,

Then (the snake) Vasuki will give up the burden (of
supporting the earth).

1. Vāsiga, Vāsaṅga are mediæval Gujarati terms for Vāsuki.

In Puranic mythology, Vasuki is the nāga or 'snake' who
bears the earth up. His other name is Seśā.

Kx 110.

ahīsa ochā ochā upaje¹:

ane juṭhā jāese soire:

tāre lobha kapaṭa kara māhe vāpase:

tāre rādyā vācā dīdhī pāre nahī koere:110

D 97 K 116.

tyāre ye sahu vache āpe²:

ane jhuṭhā thāse soye:

tyāre kuda kapaṭa kalajugamā vāpase:

tyāre rājā vacaṁna didhā nā pāre koye:97

Then the people will give up all connections with each other,

And they will prove false;

Then miserliness and fraud will spread in the Kali era,

Then the king will not honour his word.

1. The first two lines of Kx MS. are not clear; I have therefore taken the first two lines of D MS. for the translation.

2. The first line of D could be read, "Tyāre ye sahuva che āpe and jhuthā...", which would mean, "Then they will all desert...".

Kx 111.

tāre loka visavāsaghāta to ghaṇī kare:

tenu rideha daeā nahī lagārare:

tāre loka jīva hacā bahu acare:

kuṛa kapāṭa kare jore dāma:111

D 98 K 117.

tyāre loka vīsavāsaghāta ghaṇī kare nīradhāra:

anā yene hīrade dayā nahī kagāra:

tyāre loka jīva haṁsā bahuta ucare:

anaṁ kuḍa kapāṭa karī juṭā khāve dāma:98

Then the people will break their promises very often

(D. for certain),

They will not have any pity whatsoever in their hearts;

Then people will often utter murder;

By fraud and deceit, they will collect money.

Kx 112.

dāma jore to dharatīa upara meṇadhara¹ jāṇa:

evu kapāṭa karī karajuga māhe avatare:

ṇa ate sarapa rupe sira kuṭe niravāṇa:112

D 99 K 118.

dāma jhuṭā khāī dharatī upara phīraṁge jāna:

yeṇā kapāṭa karavāne karīmā āvataryā:

pana āgamaṁ kahu nīradhāra:99

Know that they will consume money gained dishonestly, and
roam the earth;

Having done such fraud, they are born in the Kali era (D.

They have been born in the Kali era to do such fraud),

But in the end, in the form of snakes, they will writhe

for certain (D. But let me define for you the sacred texts).

1. The word meṇadhara is not clear, and as a result the first line of Kx makes no sense. In the translation, the D text is taken for the first line.

Kx 113.

cārā carabaṭa kare dānavā jīhā:
ame tīratha vāsu chu:
te to puravaja thaine paramā bolase:
te rāneā ajājīlanu¹ kāma:113

D 100 K 119.

tām carapaṭa cālā kare dānava jāmhā:
tīratha vāsī che te tā:
puraja thaine paramā bolase:
te ājājīraṇo kāma:100

Where the demon performs licentious pranks,

"I am living in a pilgrimage place." (D. There he lives in a place of pilgrimage),

Assuming the form of an ancestor, he will speak the future,

That is the task of king Azazil.

1. Ajajila is the Gujarati and Cutchi form of the Arabic

أزازيل . Azazil is the name of the demon Iblis (diabolos) prior to his fall. His fall came when he refused to bow to Adam, in spite of God's command to do so (see the Qu'ran, suras II-34, VII-11+, XV-30+, XVII-61+, XVIII-51, XX-116+, XXVI-95, XXXVIII-75+).

Kx 114.

te to eva¹ kalajuga mahe vapase:

jutha carabata karese sahi:

ane karigo acara jarapase²:

te bahu. jutha³ kara mahe kari dekharse sahi:114

D 101 K 120.

evā kalomā carapaṭa vyāpase:

anam jhutaṭā karamā karī dekhādase:

tām kālīngo carapaṭa cārā vāpase:

tām jhutaṭā karmā karī dekhādase:101

So then such will prevail in the Kali era (D. Such pranks will prevail in the Kali era),

He (the demon) will do fraudulent deeds truly,

There the Kaligo will perpetuate useless pranks,

Having done many fraudulent (deeds) he will exhibit them in the Kali era.

1. A word seems to have dropped after evā.
2. Ācara jarapase is not clear; therefore the second line of D is used in the translation.
3. A word has probably dropped after juthā.

Kx 115.

tāre mumāṇā¹ puna 2 ___:

tihā cadha cārā karese niravāṇa:

tāre ādhāra goṛa sāhānī garaja uṭhase:

tene harī upara heta nahī niravāṇare:115

D 102 K 121.

tyāre momāṇna puna pārātā hase:

tā cīta cārā nīravāṇa:

tyāre ā dharā para sahī rājā uṭase:

pana te harī upara heta nahī naravāṇa:102

Then the believers will be performing meritorious deeds,
 There the minds (will surely be) unsteady;
 Then on this earth, the thunder of the guru Shah (?) will
 arise (D. Then on this earth a king will certainly arise),
 He will have no love for Hari for sure.

1. Mumana is from the Arabic mu'min ^{مؤمن} 'one who believes.'

2. The first line in Kx, after puna is not legible; the second line of Kx is not clear either; hence the first two lines of the D MS. are used for the translation.

Kx 116.

temā cha māsa gata māhe āvase¹:
 te kariā vinā deva jāere:
 te guranī faramāsa varī feravī pare:
 te nīsānī āvī tatakheva:116

D 103 K 122.

tāmhā māsa cha māsa gatamā āvase deva karavā:
 tāhā darasanaṁ nahī hoye:
 tāṁ goranā faramāna varī farī paḍe:
 āna gora naranā khāve māla:103

There, for six months, he will come to the congregation,
 (D. --- to make deva ?),
 But the deva goes without it (D. But he will be deprived
 of the holy vision),
 Then the decree of the guru will have to be reversed (D.
 The decree of the guru will be reversed),
 That sign has come then (D. And they will eat up the wealth
 of the guru nara).

1. The text is corrupt. This is a possible translation.

Kx 117.

tāre mumaṇenā merā bhāgase:
 tenu mana moṭo karī jāna¹:
 te gurānu elama ocho patagare²:
 tene gata upara cita nahī nirivāṇa:117

D 104 K 123.

tyāre momaṇṇano mero bhāgase:
 tenī cītāṃ nahī kare maṇaṃmā jānaṃ:
 tā goranī ālamā vachu padagare:
 teno gata upara cīta nahī hoye nīravāṇa:104

Then the gatherings (D. gathering) of the believers will
 break up,





He will not care for it at all,

The knowledge of the guru will diminish,

He will not have concern for the community at all.

1. The second line of Kx makes no sense; the second line
 of D has been used for the translation.

2. Neither patagare nor padagare are correct; perhaps the
 correct word is pragare, 'to appear;' otherwise neither

version makes any sense. Elama in Kx is from the Arabic ilm , 'knowledge;' alama in D is perhaps a mistake for ilm, although it could also possibly be from the Arabic ala  'family.' The text is rather corrupt. The same Arabic root gives us the word  'flag' and the word  'world' but neither of these make sense here.

Kx 118.

jāre te pāse mukhī musāfara¹ māge hāla māla²:

tāre te devanā darasanāthī jāere³:

pana tāre te 4:

jāre bhirāhāmana sahudhuranu khāese:118

D 105 K 124.

jāre tene pāse mukhī musāfara māge hāra māla:

tāre te devane darasanāntī jāye:

pana-m tyāre aṁta ghanī⁵:



tyāre brāhmaṁna sudrano khāye:105

When the mukhi and the musāfar ask him for money and about his behaviour,

Then he forfeits the vision of the deva;

But then ----- (D. But then there is no end to ---),

When the Brahmin will eat from the Sudra.

1. Mukhi is probably from the Sanskrit mukhya 'chief.' He is the administrative head of the individual Ismaili community. The Imam Shahi Satpanthis have the office of mukhi too. For musafara, see Kx 55, Note 2.
2. The words hāla and māla are from the Arabic  and , meaning 'condition' and 'wealth.' None of the S Satpanthis could explain whether this was a technical term or not. The musāfar usually comes to ask for money, hence māla may be translated as 'money,' and hāla as 'behaviour.'
3. It is not clear as to why the follower forfeits the vision of the deva. Perhaps it is because he refuses to pay money and to account for his behaviour, though this is not explicitly stated in the text.
4. The last line of the third line in Kx is not legible.
5. A word seems to have dropped after tyāre. In K we have: "eva rolea ranea amti ghana" which could mean "Those thus afflicted are many."

Kx 119.

tāre te mumananā āgamathī mana uṭhase:

tāre mumanāna mana khasana hoere:

tāre kāriḡo cata cārā kare:

bhāi gura kahe have ata ehane¹ jāese soere:119

D 106 K 125.

tāre momanānu āgama thakī manām utase:

tyāre momanānā vakhāna hoye²:106

Then the minds of the believers will turn away from the scriptures;

Then the minds of the believers will be unsteady (D. Then the believers will be praised),

Then the Kaligo will make the minds go astray;

Brother, the guru says, you will perish in the end.

1. This is probably the same word as ere in Cutchi, and the idiom ere vīnyānu means 'to go waste.'

2. D has only two lines. K is the same as Kx, except that in the second line, instead of mana khasana hoere, it has: manamā khofaja thāhe 'they have fear in their minds.' Kx seems more appropriate in the context. Khofa is from the Arabic خوف 'fear.'

Kx 120.

tāre gura kahe karatīhā farā āvase:

ane vaṇafara ochā hoere:

je gata māhe harana sahī eka nāra charatīa¹:

gura kahe gata purī soere:120

D 107 K 126.

tāmre gora kahe kuratīyā fara hoe:

pana fara vachā hoye:

tāre gatamā gīnyāna na ucare:

ana gatamā na āve koye:107

The guru says, then there will be unseasonable fruits,

And less fruits will ripen,

In that state when the deer and the lion feed of the same mother (D. Then in the congregation, no ginan will be uttered),

The guru says, "Then the moment has come." (D. And no one attends the congregation).

1. In K 126, the last two lines are the same as Kx: "tāre sīmha haraṇa eka nāra carase, gora kahe so gata purī hoe." In Kx sahi is a mistake for siha 'lion.' The lion and the lamb living together, is a common eschatological metaphor: Cf. in the Bible, Isaiah 11:6, "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together." The image is also found in classical Persian poetry, and is depicted in Mogul miniatures.

Kx 121.

e sarave nabhīa mähāmadha bhākheā:
 bhāi tame āgama nīsāñīu lejo¹ joere:
 je tubhāku pīve se dhojakī²:
 tenā bheda na jāṇae koere:121

D 108 K 127.

tāre nabī mahamada bhākīyā:
 tame āgamanī³ lejo jāye:
 te tamākhu pīve dojakhī:
 teno bheda na jāne koye:108

The Prophet Muhammad has narrated all this (D. Then the Prophet Muhammad narrated),

Brother, accept the signs from the scriptures:

Whosoever smokes tobacco is doomed to hell,

No one knows the secret of this.

1. The word lejo is below the line.

2. Tobacco is not forbidden in the Qur'an, as are wine and pork, but then in the sixth century, tobacco-smoking was not known. In medieval times it was not unusual to discourage a harmful or supposedly 'bad' habit through religious injunction. This probably explains why the Satpanthis prohibited the use of tobacco through the Dasa Avatāra. Tobacco is also forbidden in Sikhism, and by the

Wahhabis.

Kx 122.

sāhe esā hukama paṭāeā:
 tame dhojaka sunajo¹ joere:
 to dhojaka nidhā bhedyeā jugame anekha:
 ne satī pīve sabha koere:122

D 109 K 128.

śāhā aisā hukāmam paṭāvīyā tame:
 tame dojaka sunajo joye:
 dojakano dhuvo pīve:
 karajugamā saba koye:109

The Shah has sent out such an order (D. Shah, you have sent out such an order),
 Listen to what hell is: ...
 So hell is responsible for sending many slanderous things into the world,
 And all the virtuous people take part in them (D. lines c.d. go together: In the Kali era everyone smokes the smoke of hell).

1. Sunajo is relative in Urdu (Bhayani).

Kx 123.

tabha dhojakane dhuhā kiā:

dhojane¹ eka ṭāka² dhuhā dhīā udeā:

te cīna mähā cīna māhe āveā:

te traṇa dārā dāṇavane peṭa māhe raheā che³ joere:123

D 110 K 129.

taba dojakane kāhā kiā:

te dojakamātī yeka ṭāka dūmvo⁴ udīyo:

te cīna mähā cīnama aviya⁵:

tām tene divasa kārīṅgānā peṭamā rahe che:110


Then hell created smoke (D. Then what did hell do?),

A little smoke came forth from hell,

It came to Cina Maha Cina,

There for three days it stayed in the stomach of the demon

(D. There from that day, it lives in the stomach of the demon Kaligo).

1. This is an error for dojakha, 'hell;' the word comes from the Persian 

2. A ṭaka is 1/72 of a pound. Udeā should be udāe, a causative.

3. Che is below the line.

4. The correct word is dhumvo, not duṃvo.

5. The tenses in the MSS. are often irregular. Dhumvo is

a singular noun; uđiyo is a singular verb, but āviyā is a plural verb.

Kx 124.

tīhāthī kārigo kuṭhāme¹ vāsa raheo:
 te dhojanu² dhuhu nākheo kāḍha:
 te dhuhu dhilī³ khuresāna⁴ māhe āveo:
 te ugeo tubhākhuno chorare:124

D 111 K 130.

tāthī daīta kārigo kaṭāmā vasaryo:
 te dojakano dhumvo vo kāḍī nākhiyo che:
 te dhumvo khurāsānamā āviyo:
 tam ugo tamākhuno choḍa:111

From there Kaligo went to a wrong place,
 He expelled the smoke of hell,
 That smoke came to Khurasan,
 There a plant of tobacco has grown up.

1. Literally, kuṭhāma means 'a wrong place,' or 'a bad place,' which denotes a latrine. In the Divān of Khāki Khorasani (see Intro. p. 14, Notes 66, 67), the latrine is the place where the unbelievers dwell.

2. This is an error for dojaka, 'hell.'
3. The meaning of dhilī is uncertain.
4. Ismailism was widespread in Khurasan in the Nizari period, and was not altogether destroyed at the time of the fall of Alamut in 1256 A.D. However no tobacco grows in Khurasan, nor was it ever grown there, hence this reference to tobacco in Khurasan is very strange.

Kx 125.

deva teṇe pāpe¹ kalajuga puro kare:
 tāre varase dāhāro gāra:
 sadha sagraī āvī mire²:
 tāre thāese ekākārare³:125

D 112 K 131.

to tene pāpe kaṛajuga puro kare:
 tyāre varase dādo ghāle:
 sadā sagraā yevā abala vāpase:
 tyāre thāse yekāmkāra:112

The deva will complete the Kali era with its sins (D. With its sins the Kali era will be completed),
 Then a year passes like a day,
 All sorts of weaknesses will prevail everywhere,

Then all the world will be one.

1. Kx has pāse, which makes no sense here; in the Khojaki script 'p' and 's' are very likely to be confused.
2. A word is dropped either after sadha or after sagari. The D version is used for the translation.
3. The sense of "all the world will be one" is that all caste distinctions will be wiped out.

Kx 126.

jāre evī vikāṭa verā āvase:
 tāre kara māhethī carapata thāese dharamare:
 tāre eka avīcara¹ satapatha jānajo:
 bhākī² sahu māhethī līdhā che karama:126

D 113 K 132.

gyāre vīkaṭa verā āvese:
 tyāre karo māhetī sagarā carapata jāse:
 tyāre dharamam yeka: avīnamācala satapatha jānajo:
 bākī sau māthe līdho che karama:113

When such a critical moment will come,


Then all religion in the Kali era will become hypocrisy

(D. Then all the pranks will disappear in the Kali era),

Then know that only the Satpanth will be indestructible
(D. Then know the one indestructible religion to be
Satpanth),

All the others will only add karma.

1. Avicara is from the Sanskrit avicara, meaning 'fixed,'
'steady' or 'immovable.'

2. Bhaki in Cutchi and baki in Gujarati are both the
Arabic  meaning 'the remaining.'

Kx 127.

sahudhara na māne teromaṇī¹:
ginānī nīra gagānu nīra gagānu nīra jāese sukare²:
jāre evā māhā pāpa pirigara thaine vāpase:
tāre adhāra varana³ thāese ekākārare:127

D 114 K 133.

tyāre saudara nī māne brahmaṁna:
gagānā nīra jāse suka:
jāre yevā māhā pāpa paragata hoīne vāpase:
tyāre āthāde varana thāse yeka:114

▲ Sudra will not listen to a Brahmin,
The waters of the river Ganges will dry up;

When such great (mortal ?) sins appear and spread,
Then all the eighteen colours will become one.

1. This is probably a mistake for Brahmin.
2. The second line of Kx is confused.
3. Adhāra varana literally means 'the eighteen colours' (nine nāru and nine kāru, Bhayani). The expression is quite common in middle Gujarati literature, and means 'the whole of society.' The number eighteen is often used in Gujarati literature to suggest totality.

Kx 128.

tene pāpe gura nabhī māhāmadhanī meheraja uṭhase:
dharamasārethī¹ pāpa nahī utare lagārare:
ate vaṇasapatī nahī fare:
ane esatrī nahī parasave² bāṛare:128

D 115 K 134.

tene pāpe nabī mahamadanā mahīro jā uṭase:
dharasalātī pāpa na utare lagāra:
ānam vanāmsapatī to nahī fare:
ana astrī naī pravase bāla:115

Because of all these sins, the kindness of the Prophet

Muhammad will be aroused;

(But) Sins will not disappear from the house of religion,

No vegetation will blossom,

And women will not feed their children.

1. Dharamasārā literally means 'the house of religion.'

The Imam Shahi Satpanthis call their places of worship

dharamasālā. The Ismaili Satpanthis refer to the homes for

widows and travellers by this term, although homes for

travellers are sometimes called musāfar khānas. The very

Hinduized Satpanthis at Faizpur call their places of

worship mandīr or 'temple.'

2. In Kx parasave is from the Gujarati pirasavavum 'to

serve.' In the D MS. pravase is probably from the Persian

پرورش 'to nourish.'

Kx 129.

tāre kara māhe kāema paragana¹ padhārāse:

jāre nīsāñīu sarave purīu pare niravāñare:

tāre mumañanā ghara ghara uchava magara varatāese:

dhunīā jāese juṭhe pirāñare:129

D 116 K 135.

tyāre kalamā kāyema padhārāse:

jāre sarave nīśānī purī pade nīravāna:
 tāre momanane ghera ghera magara varatāse:
 ane dunīyāne trasa parase prāne:116

Then the Qaem will arrive openly in the Kali era,
 When all the signs are fulfilled for certain,
 Then at the home of every believer, joyful festivities
 will prevail,
 And the soul (of the rest) of the world will prove false
 (D. And the rest of the world will shudder with fear).

1. For Qāem, see verse Kx 103, Note 1. Paragana should
 be pragata meaning 'openly.' Also see Intro. pp. 13-15.

Kx 130.

e nīśānī hasatanī dudha āpase:
 ane dhariā thāese mītho nirivāṇare:
 tāre pīparānā pāna te nāgaraveli¹ parase:
 jai pachamāhe ugave bhāṇare²:130

D 117 K 136.

yene nīśānī joye: hasatanī dudha utarase sāi:
 ana dariyāva mītho thāse nīravāna:
 tāre pīpāmla fule nāgaravelī fara hoye:

jai pachamma ugave ravi bhana:117

These signs: that the she-elephant will give milk (D. These signs will be seen: the she-elephant will give milk),
 And the sea will become sweet, for certain,
 Then instead of the leaves of pīpara, the leaves of nāgaravelī will blossom,
 And the sun will rise in the west.

1. Pīpara is a common tree in India, which has bitter leaves, while nāgaravelī is a vine, also common in India, whose leaves are chewed with betle-nut. They are called betle leaves.

2. All these are references to the reversal of the cosmic order heralding in the end of time.

Kx 131.

jāre nīsānīu sarave purīu paṛe:
 tāre tu sāhāne āveo jānare:
 pīra emāma sāhā sata vacana boleā:
 bhāi e chelā che edhānare:131

D 118 K 137.

ye nīsānī purī padase:

bhāī tāre so nīśānī āvī jāna:

tām pīra Imāma śā sata vacanaṁ bolyā sahī:

bhāī ye chelu che nīdāṁna:118

When all the signs are fulfilled (D. These signs will be fulfilled),

Then know that the Shah is coming (D. Brother, then know that the hundred signs have come);

Pir Imam Shah has spoken the truth,

Brother, these are the last signs (D. Brother, this is the final conclusion).

Kx 132.

sāhānu mīra koṭavāra esamāila¹ asuārī āvase:

tene sāthe beānu lākha kotalu² hoesere:

te dhohāi³ sāhānī ferāvase:

te samarakadha⁴ vaṭe soire:132

D 119 a-d K 138.

to śāno mīra koī Isamāyela āsavārīye āvase:

tene sāte bānuṁ lākha kotala hoye:

duvhāī śānī phīrāvese:

tāre satasu māravī ho⁵:119

The Shah's official, a nobleman called Ismail will come riding (D. The Shah's nobleman Ismail will come riding),
 With him, there will be ninety-two lakhs of horses,
 He will take around the royal herald of the Shah,
 That will be near Samarkand, truly.

1. It is not clear who this Ismail is; he is perhaps a person of local importance. Mir is from the Arabic 'noble.'
2. Kotala is from the Persian meaning 'a led horse.' In Gujarati, it is usually used of the army.
3. The words dhohai, duvhai might be from the Arabic 'to call.'
4. The reference to Samarkand is strange.
5. The d line of the D version is not intelligible.

Kx 133.

jāre karajuga māhe evā pāpa varate bahu:
 tāre sāmīa ghare sehenanu¹ merāvā thāere:133

D 119 ef K 139.

jyāre karajuga āyo jāna: yevo pāpa varatāse bahu:
 svāmī ghera saina mīrāvo thāye:119

When in the Kali era many such sins prevail (D. When many such sins prevail, know that the Kali era has come), Then at the house of the Lord the army will gather together.

1. Sehenanu is below the line.

Kx 134.

karajuga māhe setadīpa¹ haranu raheānu ṭhāma:
 te pīra hasana sāhā katheā² nirivānare:
 te varachāā³ sahara māhe baethā sāhā tāhā:
 rādyā raiata⁴ raiata na jānae koere:134

D 120 K 140.

karajugamā setradīpa harinā ṭhāma:
 pīra hasam(na) sā kathāyā nīravāna:120

D 120 K 141.

te varajamga saharāmā baitho che rāja saī:
 rāja ramka na jāne koye:120

In the Kali era Svetadvipa (Iran ?) is the abode of Hari,
 So Pīr Hasan Shah has foretold, for certain,
 In the city of Varacha (D. Varajamga), the Shah sits,

Neither king, nor the people know about it.

1. In the Puranas, there is a section which states that Svetadvipa is the home of Zoroastrianism (Shastriji). But Zoroastrianism originated in Iran, hence the reference here could be to Iran. The Nizari Ismaili Imams are supposed to have resided in Iran from 1084 to 1843. There are other references to Setradipa in the ginan literature- e.g., in the arati: "eji setradipa me shah jahera bethā..." which means, "In the Setradipa the Shah sits openly..."

2. Both katheā and kathāyā are from medieval Gujarati.

3. There is no city in Iran or in India by this name. The Imam Shahi Satpanthis who await the coming of the Mahdi, give Varajamga as the name of the city where he will be born.

4. Raiata is from the Arabic راية

Kx 135.

sāhāne khadhā dehī rekhā kāro¹:

sāhānu akhadhā vāgo² pirimāṇa³ sārare:135

D 121 K 142.

√sāhāno ākhadam̄ dehenō rākhyo ākāra:

√sāhāno ākhadam̄ vāgo pai(ra)na sāra:121

The Shah's body is of a perfect shape,
The Shah has a perfect suit of clothes.

1. The first line of Kx is corrupt. Perhaps it should be corrected to: "sāhāne akhamḍa dehī rākhio akāra."
2. Vāgo is medieval Gujarati; it is now rarely used. It was commonly used in the Vaisnava sect of Gujarat to denote the clothes of the idol. In Cutchi and Sindhi, it is still used for a 'suit of clothes.'
3. Pairana in D is better than pirimāna in Kx.

Kx 136.

sāmīnī sehenano meṛāvo kare:

te deva japuadīpa māhe paravare¹ avī sacare:136

D 122 K 143.

tāre sena² senano meṛāvo kare:

tām deva jabudīpamā āvī saṁcare:122

Then the Lord's army meets (D. Then the different armies meet),

There the deva arrives into India.

1. Paravare seems superfluous here.

2. Perhaps it should read sana.

Kx 137.

tāre pahelī suārī¹ esamāila² kare:
te deva³ nava khadha māhe āvī sacare:137

D 123 K nil.

tām pahelī asavārī Isamāyela kare:
te deva nava khadammā āvī samcare:123

Then Ismail is the first to ride,
That deva arrives into the nine continents.

1. Both suari and asavari are from the Persian سوار
2. See above Kx 132.
3. "That deva" seems to refer to Ismail.

Kx 138.

te sāthe beānu lākha kotalu hoese¹:
te deva dhuāī sāhānī ferave nava khadha māhe jāi:138

D 123 K 144.

te sāte bāmnu lākha kotala hāye:

tām deva sahī fīrāve nava khadaṁ majhāra:123

There will be ninety-two lakhs of horses with him,
That deva will take around the herald of the Shah in the
nine continents (D. The deva takes them around in the nine
continents truly).

1. I do not know why it should be ninety-two lakhs. In D
haye should be hoje. There are two numbers 123 in the D
MS. Cf.: In the Puranic lore the Kalki incarnation
wanders around the earth on his white horse.

Kx 139.

te devane sēcā mumana¹ miṛase āe:

te juṭhāne dese ghāere:139

D 124 K 145.

tā deva sarave momana maṛase:

panaṁ jhuteke sīra ghanakā ghāva²:124

The true believers will come and meet that deva (D. There
the deva will meet all the believers),

He will beat the liars (D. But the liar will be beaten on his head with a hammer).

1. For a definition of a true believer in Fatimid theory, see A.A.A. Fyzee, Compendium to Fatimid Law, Introduction, p. 39.

2. This is a completely Hindi-Urdu line.

Kx 140.

tāre pahelā esamāila jāe cīna majhāra:
jai ubhā raheā pachamake dhuāra:140

D 125 K 146.

tāre Isamāyela jāse cīna majhāra:
jāī ubho ramse pāchamake dvāra:125

Then Ismail first goes into Cina (D. Then Ismail will go into Cina),

He went and stood at the western gate (D. He will go and stand at the western gate).

Kx 141.

tāre hāka mārīne deva esamāila bole tatakāra:
have tu kāhe sutore kārīgā gemāre:141

D 126 K 147.

tāre haka mārī deva bole tratakāra¹:
hāve tu kām² sutore kāmṛīgā gavāre³:126

Then calling out aloud, the deva Ismail says at once:

"Now, why do you sleep, you foolish Kaliga?"

1. It should be tatakāra, not tratakāra.
2. Kam is colloquial. Properly in Gujarati, it should be kema meaning 'why.'
3. The correct word in Gujarati is gamāra 'foolish.' In Urdu gavāra گنوار means 'foolish.'

Kx 142.

have āvī abhaga¹ kāṭe tuja sīsa:
te boleo vīra kirodha karīne rīsa:142

D 127 K 148.

have āvo ābhaṅga kehu² je kayā jāsore:
bolyā vara kroda karīne rāye:127

"Now, the Indestructible will come and cut your head off."

(D. "Now come, the Indestructible says, where will you go?"

So spoke the hero, becoming very angry.

1. Abhaṅga literally means 'indestructible;' it is an epithet of the god Visnu.

2. This is the medieval verb form with the final 'ya' missing (see Kx 34, Note 2).

Kx 143.

te devanī sunī hāka ne khaṇa bhaṇeā:

tāre pahele koṭanā kugarā¹ dhareā:143

D 128 K 149.

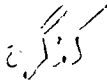
tām devanī sunī hāka ne daīta bolyā bola:

tāre pahele to koṭanā kaṅgurā dhalyā:128

Hearing the shout of the deva, there was a tremor (D.

Hearing the shout of the deva, the demon said),

Then first of all, the spires of the fortress fell.

1. Kugara is from the Persian  'spire.'

Kx 144.

tāre sarava nagara māhe thāese halahalakāra:
esā deva kareo upa kāra¹:144

D 130 K 150.

tāre sarave nagaramā parī phukāra halahamlakāmra:
aisā deva na kare pele kāra:130

Then all over the city, there will be an uproar (D. Then
all over the city, there was a shout and an uproar);
The deva has never done such a thing before.

1. Upa-kāra means 'obligation,' which does not fit in the
context. The second line of the D MS. is taken for the
translation. An alternative translation perhaps could be:
"Thus the deva obliged(the people)."

Kx 145.

tāre esamāila pācho firī sāhā pāse jāe:
tāre daitane mana māhe kirodha na miāe:145

D 129 K 151.

tāre Isamāyela pāche phīrī sā pāse jāye:
tāre daītane manāmā kroda nā māhe:129

Then Ismail, turning back, goes to the Shah,
The demon's anger can hardly be contained.

Kx 146.

tāre daita sarave jodhā miṛiā eka ṭhāe:
abha to māro dhusamaṇa¹ kaheo jāe:146

D 131 K 152.

tāre sarava daīta judhā malyā baithā hoye:
bhāī tame māro dusamana kāhā jāye:131

Then all the demon warriors met in one place (D. Then all
the demon warriors met and sat):

"Now kill the enemy; where can he go?" (D. "Brother, kill
the enemy; where can he go?")

1. The word is from the Persian دشمن > 'enemy.'

Kx 147.

tenī ati kirodha karī chuṭī kāpuṇī¹:
hu chu chāsathā kirori jodhānu dhanī:147