

Acknowledgement

I should like to express my deep sense of gratitude to my beloved father late Tajddin Sadik Ali who was my real religious teacher and by his effort my interest remained in tact. May Almighty rest his soul in eternal peace, Amen.

My subject of study is post-Alamut period of Shia Ismaili Muslims history as well as the Ginans or the works of Indian Ismaili Pirs and Sayyids, in which I preferred this time working on the authenticity and evolution of Buj Niriñjan, the genuine work of Ismaili Pir Sadaruddin.

Mr. Ali Sultan Ali Asani is doing works on Ginans including Buj Niriñjan at Harvard University. He advised me to compile whatever materials I have gathered about Buj Niriñjan, and accordingly an idea sprouted out that few papers being the outcome of last ten years should be drafted which I could do in last five months. I am thankful to Mr. Asani for valuable interest he has taken in my research.

I am indebted to Shaykh Nisar Ahmed Siddiqui of Karachi for generating my contact with Shaykh Naimuddin at Bijapur, India who finally sent me rare fragments of a Persian version of Buj Niriñjan to cast a revolutionary light in the study. I am grateful to Shaykh Naimuddin Bijapuri in particular. Many thanks are due to Mr. A.K. Ratansi of London for providing photo copies of another Persian version preserved at India Office Library, London. I am much thankful to Mr. Mubarak Hussain of Multan for allowing inspection and copy of the oldest Ms. retained with him. Profound gratitude is due to the Ismaili individuals who in one way or another have helped to communicate their orally memorized informations to the shaping of my papers. A special word of thanks is due to Alijiah Hussain Khan Mohammed who arranged a Gujarati typewriter from Ismailia Association for my use. I am highly thankful to Miss Yasmeen Panjwani for English typing & composing.

Mumtaz Ali Tajddin Sadik Ali

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It was 1972-73 when all of a sudden idea of entering into the study of ginans flashed into my mind. I approached many well versed persons and referred printed works of Ismaili Pirs and Sayyids, but I did not succeed in quenching thirst for the truth. In my study of ginans I faced dearth of literature and I had to travel long inside Pakistan and India to dig out sources. I heard and recorded whatever I could find out about ginans. The collection of old and rare manuscripts of ginans was given necessary preference in my study so that the study should not suffer with the paucity of sources in future.

Ismaili Pirs and Sayyids composed both text (giranth) and hymn (ginan) both in prose (nathr) and poetry (nazm) which are termed generally as 'GINAN' literary, 'Satpanth Literature' (1) I always remained interested to know how and when a particular work of Pir or Sayyid was composed and what was the historical background behind its composition. Because of the scarcity of the sources the record of the old persons was only reliable source for me to proceed in study. During the last hundred years, the Indian Ismaili community has not produced any reliable scholar who had worked on the authenticity, evolution and for the collection of important old manuscripts of ginans. Although too late but presently many scholars are working on ginans and their study is being suffered due to the scarcity of sources. We believe that whatever old manuscripts we have discovered were not copied before 16th century. These works were composed in 14th and 15th centuries and there are many reasons to believe that these works were transferred to the hands of scribes of 16th and 17th centuries with slight changes and interpolation, and by this process, the present generation received the works of Ismaili Pirs and Sayyids.

Most of the works of Ismaili Pirs and Sayyids are very important and I am much interested to research on various works, such as "Gatvani-jivel", Brahman Prakash" and 'Buj Nirinjan' etc. The bricks of study plastered in 1972-73 erected a record for me. In my present papers, which is the outcome of my efforts of last ten years, I shall only discuss 'Buj Nirinjan' i.e., 'Cognition of Omniscient' of Pir Sadaruddin (1300-1416). I am unable to claim genuineness of my views established in this paper, but I believe that the scholars can find the facts to refute or support my views. In my papers, I will neither enter into the analysis of the philosophy of Buj Nirinjan nor its editing, but I will only discuss about its authenticity, evolution and real authorship of Pir Sadaruddin.

Mukhi Mehar Hussein who is 78 years presently resides in Karachi, Pakistan gave me an important report on April 14, 1979 and I quote him as saying: "I used to recite gins in Peshawar Jamat Khana at the age of 13 or 14 years. I had seen many manuscripts of gins in the custody of Jamat Khana, in which as I assuredly remember, the copies of Buj Nirinjan were about five in number. In our time, missionary Mubarak Ali Shah of 80 years imparted us, as he had heard from his forefather that Buj Nirinjan was introduced among the Arora tribe of Punjab (2) either by Pir Sadaruddin or his descendant. Since these 'gupti' (concealed) Ismailis used to keep their books secret, Buj Nirinjan could not become popular in other parts of India till 19th Century. However, some Sufi sisilas of India were acquainted with it, the reason is yet unknown."

The truth about the above statement cannot be directly confirmed from other sources, but however,

it carries a general idea which contains some grains of truth that Buj Nirinjan was originally introduced in Punjab in the environment of various Sufic orders prevailing at that time. The Luhanas of Sind and Aroras of Punjab in particular embraced Ismailism by the proselytizing missions of Ismaili Pirs, but probably due to the missionary activities of other orders, some Ismailis left Ismailism and joined their folds. According to Dr. Ansar Zahid Khan who writes in HISTORY & CULTURE OF SIND (Karachi-1980) that: "One of the earliest missions of the Qadiri appears to have been to stem the tide of Ismailism rampant in Sind during 12th and 13th centuries. Since the Sumrahs, who had been converted to Ismaili faith, continued to rule lower Sind after being dislodged from the upper Sind and Multan, the few Qadiri Sufis whose accounts are available generally concentrated around Thatta region, to counteract the Ismailis. The Qadiris are generally credited to have continued their efforts against the Ismailis even after the termination of the Sumrah rule to ensure against any revival of Ismaili doctrines through the activities of Ismaili hujjats. It appears that while the Ismailis persisted in their missionary efforts till the 16th century, before shifting their activities to Gujrat, the Qadiris also worked steadfastly to counteract their efforts in the region of Sind. It may be pointed out that a renewed effort by some of the important of Ismaili hujjats viz. Pir Sadr al Din (arr. 1430 A.D.) and his sons Hasan al Din and Taj al Din, coincides with the missionary activities of some of the important Qadiri Sufis e.g. Shaykh Yusuf al-Din (arr. 1442 A.D.), Sayeed Muhammad (d. 1416) and Shaykh Muhammad Gwath (arr. 1482 A.D.). Finally due to the successful opposition of the Qadiri and other Sufis, the Ismailis lost their hold in Sind and their 31 hujjat Daud had to migrate to Gujrat." (p.284)

According to above historical facts we understand that the Qadiris persecuted Ismailis in Sind and Punjab, their operation against Ismailis was hostile before the time of Pir Sadaruddin. During the 15th century the Qadiris succeeded in their aim in some other places because of their strong opposition. Sayyid Muhammad is note worthy for having biased attitude towards Ismailis in Sind and Multan. Shaykh Yusuf al Din came in Sind in 1442 and converted a number of Hindu Luhanas and even Khojas to Qadirism. Shaykh Muhammad Yaqub's disciple Dars Lallu arrived Thatta and converted a number of Khojas. It appears that Pir Sadaruddin first preached in Sind and Punjab and then went to Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat. However, the Sufic environment of Punjab in particular had suggested Pir to bring forth a work on Sufic strain to justify Ismailism among Sufi circles. It was therefore, Buj Nirinjan first introduced in Punjab and thence it influenced Sindi Khojas in due course. However, the other parts of India remained unknown about this work till long.

It is possible that the Qadiris were successful in converting many Ismailis of Punjab and Sind, who originally were Hindu Aroras and Luhanas respectively. These outgoing Ismailis most probably picked up works of Pir with them and adopted the works which were suiting to their new doctrine, and destroyed remaining works. What they retained with them was certainly scrutinized and weighed on the scale of Qadiries and most probably only Buj Nirinjan which contained Sufic teaching, appealed to them. Gradually after passing away of their older generations, these outgoing Ismailis appeared entirely as Qadiris and forgot Pir Sadaruddin as being the man who converted them to Ismailism from Hinduism. It was about 17th or 18th century when this

evolution got room into their minds, and Buj Nirinjan of Pir Sadaruddin began to be counted as the work of Qadiri order. Buj Nirinjan retained by them though remained yet in Hindi script, lost its original shape due to passing from generation to generation. Even some Qadiris hampered with Buj Nirinjan and replaced original lines with the lines of their own trends. Probably not all but few Qadiris had also appeared to have omitted the name of Pir Sadaruddin, the detail of which will be discussed later.

On the other hand the traditional Buj Nirinjan introduced among the Ismailis of Punjab, which also influenced the Ismailis of Sind, remained in tact and unharmed and is inherited by the present generation of Khoja community of Ismaili in India. The Qadiri version of Buj Nirinjan however did not gain popularity in the bulk of Sufic works and most probably it remained as an anonymous work with those who omitted its authorship. However, in the light of certain discoveries, we strongly believe that few Qadiris though altered the lines, but they did not harm the authorship.

The traditional and official version of Buj Nirinjan preserved by the Ismailis down to present ages always remained in private collections and no one came out to justify the work of Pir Sadaruddin before the Qadiris in India (3). We have earlier noted that Buj Nirinjan was quite possibly brought out in Punjab in Hindi equipping with Persian and Arabic terminologies. Later it rapidly marched towards Sind and the Khojas of Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat remained unknown about its composition for quite a long time. It is reliably learnt that some pilgrims of Punjab or Sind brought its copies to Bombay by the end of 19th century. Later on Mukhi Lalji Bhai Devraj edited and published in 1913, but he did not mention about his sources.

If Mukhi Lalji had mentioned the source of his edition, the scholars must have solved many problems. Anyhow, to support our view that it was initially introduced in Punjab and Sind and the Ismailis of other parts of India were ignorant, I would like to quote some secondary points which follow :

Some old persons of Junagadh State maintain that they did not hear the name of Buj Niringan ever before, and eventually saw what was printed from Bombay. The old persons of Gujrat and Kathiawar also hold views corresponding to above statement. Alijan Jan Mohammed of Sind once told me that the Ismailis of Kathiawar were exceedingly surprised when his father Saleh Mohammed referred the name of Buj Niringan to them about in 1896 A.D. There are other similar views of old persons supporting above fact. Since we are facing with the scarcity of sources on the subject under review, we have to depend upon the fact gathered from the old grounded persons by placing them being our secondary source material. Nevertheless, to elucidate further on our point, the following weighty sources have been hunted out.

A manuscript is accessible from Surat, India which has been transcribed in 10 volumes, comprising of complete works of Pirs and Sayyids. Each volume consists of about 800 pages. Out of these 10 volumes, only the last 10th is available; while other nine being lost. The last 10th volume contains an index, below which there is a mention : "Whole (tamam) text (gimath) and hymns (ginans) have been copied in ten books in 1904 samvat (or 1848 A.D.) from the copy of Mukhi Sunder Viyanti". Although the name of scribe is not found, but he claimed to have copied whole bulk. It is surprising that the name of Buj Niringan is not seen in the index, which clearly

Suggests that the scribe though belonged to Gujrat was quite unknown about its existence.

Another Ms. possessed by Kamadia Farzand Ali of Lahore is unearthed, copied in 1867 Samvat (or 1811 A.D.). It had a total of 540 pages. The index (tafsilo) indicates the name of Buj Niringan copied on page 505 to 539, but unfortunately the manuscript presently has only 413 pages, the remaining pages being spoiled. However, it is clearly understood that the Ms. belonged to Punjab where Buj Niringan was in circulation

One Ms. in possession of Ali Mohammed Sumaro of Tando Mohammed Khan, Sind has been discovered from Mirpur Sakaro in 1974. It is a very old anonymous Ms. The ashes of ink spread from its original position, suggests that it must have been copied during 18th century. It does not contain Buj Niringan, however, the name of Buj Niringan appears as an over-written heading on page 327. The actual heading of Buj Niringan has been replaced by an over-writing of "Khat Niringan" which is another work of Pir Sadaruddin. Anyhow, we easily understand from that the scribe had initially planned to copy Buj Niringan, but later changed his mind and copied "Khat Niringan". This Ms. belongs to Sind where people were acquainted with Buj Niringan.

We shall now discuss : why the MSS of Buj Niringan are scarcely existent? I believe that the method of transcribing the ginans were quite common in Ismailis of Punjab, Sind, Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat etc. Traditionally each Ismaili used to personally copy ginans for his reference and use. When one copy used to become old and illegible, another copy was prepared from it. A question may arise in our mind as to how many copies of these manuscripts had been transcribed in all? Naturally

no one can provide an exact figure, but the following imaginary chart has been worked out very carefully to have an idea of the number of manuscripts transcribed by the Indian Ismailis :

Ismailis Belonged To:	No. Of Mss Transcribed:	Percentage Of Total:
Punjab	12,000	15.4 %
Sind	10,000	12.8 %
Kutchh	6,000	7.7 %
Kathiawar	15,000	19.2 %
Gujrat	15,000	19.2 %
Other Areas	20,000	25.7 %
Total :	78,000	100.0 %

It reveals from the above table that the Ismailis of Punjab and Sind transcribed about 22,000 MSS which was 28.2 % of the total bulk, and the Ismailis of Kutchh, Kathiawar, Gujrat and other areas jointly transcribed the other 56,000 MSS which was 71.8 % of the total scripts transcribed. By the end of 19th Century about 90 % of these MSS were entirely destroyed and lost and only 7,800 MSS out of 78,000 were survived in India. Mukhi Lalji Devraj then appraised and started collection of MSS as previously instructed by the Ismaili Imam Hasan Ali Shah (1817-1881) and then Imam Aga Ali Shah (1881-1885). He was successful in collecting about 3500 MSS out of remaining 7,800 MSS. He edited these works in gradual process and buried the whole accumulated bulk after got them published. Thus, we can calculate that, after this only 4,300 MSS were in existence in private collection, in which about 50 % were spoiled and decayed due to the Indian climate and insects, and only 2,150 manuscripts remained safe.

I am therefore, inclined to believe that the MSS of ghumans presently existing through out the world are not more than 2,150 as per the chart re-tabulated below :

Punjab	330	15.3 %
Sindhi	275	12.8 %
Kutchhi	165	7.7 %
Kathiawari	410	19.1 %
Gujrati	410	19.1 %
Others	560	26.0 %
Total :	2,150	100.0 %

I would like to again repeat that the MSS of Buj Niringan can only be dug out from Punjab and Sind; and the above imaginary table reveals that, the number of MSS existing in these two areas is not more than 605 (330 in Punjab plus 275 in Sind). The number of MSS existing in other Indian areas are about 1,545 which are positively void of Buj Niringan. Because of these reasons the scholars face difficulties in finding out the manuscripts of Buj Niringan from the areas other than Punjab and Sind i.e., Kutchh, Kathiawar and Gujrat etc. Had people of Kutchh, Kathiawar Gujrat etc. been acquainted with Buj Niringan, we would have definitely found it generally in their collection. The same thing for example, happened with other works of Pirs too. 'So Kiriya', 'Sahi Samranai' and 'Bawan Bodh' of Pir Sadaruddin were actually introduced in Gujrat which later influenced Kathiawar and Kutchh, but the areas of Punjab and Sind remained unknown about them for quite a long time.

In India, Qadiriism was initially spread as a Sufic order like other silsilas of Chishti, Suarwardi and Naqshbandi, and was purely based on Sufism. Gradually Qadiriism began to loose its originality since orthodox beliefs got firm hold in it, and eventually at the end of 19th century, this order became merely a name of Sunni circle or void of Sufism. This evolution probably initiated slowly from the 18th century after the oppression of Aurengzeb (d.1707 A.D) who persecuted Shia and Sufi in India. Since then the version of Buj Niringian retained with Qadiris began playing passive role because it is purely on Sufic trend and imparts the path of Ahel Bait, and therefore, it did not firmly stand before the new changed thought of Qadiris. Buj Niringian to this effect did not gain popularity among the bulk of Qadiri literature. However, one of its copy that attracted the scholars is now preserved in India Office Library, London. Consisting of a total 14 pages, it was copied during the 5th year of Muhammed Shah's rule in India i.e., in 1136 A.H. (or 1724 A.D.) at Hyderabad, Deccan; but the scribe has not mentioned his name. The scribe however mentioned that he prepared this Persian copy from a Hindi Ms. for Richard Johnson who then resided in Hyderabad, Deccan. It is learnt that Richard Johnson served East India Company from 1770 to 1790 A.D. Before it, when he was in India, had collected historical drawings, miniatures and manuscripts. His accumulated stock which included the Persian copy of Buj Niringian was purchased by the East India Company from his widow in 1807 for India Office Library, London. We shall now discuss some significant outlooks of this Persian version of Qadiriism which are as follows:

1. Hindi words transcribed into Persian script are ugly in form.
2. Division of each part differs with the traditional version.
3. Authorship of Pir Sadaruddin has been omitted.

4. Ordinances of Sharria have been added.
5. Alterations, disorders and changing of lines are clearly visible.
6. On the top of the first page, the word 'Ya Chuas', the famous title of Shaykh Abdul Qadir Gilani (1078-1166), the founder of Qadiri order, is clearly seen. It undoubtedly knocks that the scribe belonged to Qadiri order.

7. The scribe has given very little detail and deliberately hidden his name. Does it not mean that the scribe was the first to have omitted the authorship of Pir Sadaruddin, and did not want himself to be known as person who mutilated the Buj Niringian? Probably, he must have been a famous person in Deccan in the beginning of 18th century. We have to believe that the original Hindi version of Qadiris must have carried name of Pir Sadaruddin. Our Persian version, however, did not contain name of Pir due to the biased attitude against Ismailis. Most possibly there would have been many copies wherein authorship have been discarded like the copyist of our this Persian version.

Now coming towards the genuine authorship of Pir Sadaruddin, I will first quote below the two lines from the Persian version, in which the name of Pir has been replaced by the common name of the Holy Prophet of Islam :

بوجہ مالک نبی کو جو ہے سداست قبول
سہر سب بیوں سترنج ہے دلدل نبی رسول

"One who recognizes the path guided by the Holy Prophet, is acceptable for ever. He is the crown of all prophets, the Chief revealed One." (4)

One unique copy of Buj Nirinjan among Qadiri's in Persian script has been discovered in Bijapur, Deccan. This copy being possessed by Shaykh Naimuddin, contains the very name of Pir Sadaruddin. I had tried to get the copy through various possible channels but failed since the owner resides in Bijapur. However, later on, when I got a link through my Muslim friend, I came to know that only few pages from this Ms. were survived, and I am lucky to get the photo copies of two of its very important pages, vide Appendix IV.

Comparing these pages with the Persian version of India Office Library, London, I found both the version quite identical. The most significant thing for our study is that this copy contains the name of Pir Sadaruddin. I am quoting below the two lines from this Ms. of Bijapur, Deccan :

بوجے ہاں شیخ صدر شاہ کبریا جو ہے سدا قبول
سدہ نبویں ستراج ہے دولہ نبی رسول

" One who recognizes the path guided by Shaykh Sadar Shah (Pir Sadaruddin), is acceptable for ever. (Whereas) He, the Holy Prophet is a crown of all Prophets, the Chief revealed One."

It indicates that the Hindi version of Qadiri's Buj Nirinjan was transformed into Persian script by more than one scribe. Authorship of Pir was retained in some copies while it was changed in other copies, one of which is kept in India Office Library, London. But why some scribes despite being Qadiri's did not omit the name of Pir Sadaruddin ? Buj Nirinjan actually played a passive role in Qadiri circles in India, and there were certain Qadiri's who held Pir Sadaruddin as Sunni preacher, whereas other maintained him being an Ismaili missionary came from Iran. The scribe of Persian version of India Office

Library, London must have held Pir as an Ismaili dhal and that is why he intentionally omitted the authorship. Due to biased attitude towards Ismailism, he probably did not accept the path guided and imparted by Pir Sadaruddin, should be acceptable for ever. While the scribe of Persian version of Bijapur, Deccan, as discovered by me, lines from which have been quoted above, must be within those Qadiri circle, who believed Pir as an orthodox Sufi Shaykh and retained his authorship. The circle of these people, whose moral support to Khojas who left Ismailism and became Sunnis is well known, are found in Dehli and Hyderabad, Deccan. This event later on generated The Aga Khan Case(5)

In 1977 I was able to find a very old and rare Khojaki manuscript of Buj Nirinjan, the traditional version in possession of Mr. Mubarak Hussain, a gold-smith from Multan. It has 250 pages bound by leather with engraved boundaries. I visited Multan once again in April, 1982 when Mr. Mubarak Hussain was just leaving for Kuwait on a business trip. He at present does not act on Ismailism and observes Sunni precepts. Anyhow, this Ms. contains an important narration in Khojaki script, but quite in Sindhi style, which I quote:

' This copy has been written for my family. May Shah Pir forbid(my) errors. Mukhi Bhaloo originally copied it from the copy of Karam Hussain Jan in 1744 Samvat (or 1688 A.D) When the copy of Mukhi Bhaloo was badly damaged, I copied it exactly word by word in 1860 Samvat (or 1804 A.D) and then buried that copy (of Mukhi Bhaloo) in the holy land of Uchh Sharif. Jan Mohammed Varind.'

Above narration suggest the following three points:

- 1-In 1804 A.D. Jan Mohammed Varind of Sind copied it from the source of Mukhi Bhaloo.
- 2-In 1688 A.D Mukhi Bhaloo had transcribed his copy from the source of Karam Hussain Jan, probably of Punjab.

3-Karam Hussain Jan is the original scribe whose source is untracable.

It is however very surprising that how this Ms. of Buj Niringan came into the hand of Mubarak Hussain of Multan ? I was informed that it remained in the custody of his ancestor. The Ms. was damped due to its storage in a salt godown for a very long time, and it caused its pages to stick with one another. Because of this, the pages of Ms. became dark and its dired ink had spread on the pages. Mubarak Hussain seemed very rigid and he after a long struggle hardly allowed to get it photo copied but in vain, since the photo copies rendered very dark impression and the words were illegible. I tried my best to purchase but unsucceeded, therefore, I started to copy it into Gujrati script. The whole transcription was checked again and I found my copy to be correct rendering a true copy of Ms., which was typed at Karachi into Gujrati script, and reproduce hereinafter. Vide Appendix I.

The traditional text of Buj Niringan is arrested with some interpolation and Arabic or Persian words have been transformed into Hindi, but our Multani version is far from being much interpolated and many terminologies are clearly in tact. I hope that the scholars working on Buj Niringan shall edit a fresh copy to fetch it nearer to original. Nevertheless, the genuineness of this Multani version can be tested on a typical angle from one another unearthed Ms. which does not deal with the content of ginsans, but it contains Sufic stories derived from the works of Rumi, Sadi and Hafiz. It also contains a write-up on Ibadat in which two quotations from Buj Niringan have been referred which are appended below:

કર જરિર ઘડકંપાલ ચાપાલ,
કેનલ ઈરકાન નામ ધરાપાલ.
૯:૫

પીરે હાલ મુશહીદ ચાવે
ચહી કરે જે નકસ ન ભાવે.
૧૬:૧

This anonymous manuscript was copied in 1872 A.D. at Hyderabad, Sind and it was in possession of Atijah Hyder Nur Mohammed of Karachi in 1981. If we tally the above two quotations with our Multani version, we certainly find no least differences between them and thus, I am inclined to believe that the Multani version is possibly more reliable among the unearthed copies so far.

Now we have three unique MSS at present by whose help we have to conclude the real authorship. Our conclusion will be valid till some new materials contradicting our point. However, we summarize the relative facts of these manuscripts as under:

Manuscripts	Belonged To	Transcribed In	Authorship
1 Persian Ms. India Office	Hyderabad Deccan	1724 A.D.	Anonymous
2 Persian Ms. of Gultab Shah Jilani	Bljapur	1707 or 1708 A.D.	Shaykh Sadar Shah
3 Multani Ms. Mukhi Bhaloo	Sind	1688 A.D.	Pir Sadaruddin

From the above summary we see that Manuscript-2 is more reliable than the Manuscripts-1 in view of the date given therein, and it confirms authorship of Pir Sadaruddin as 'Shaykh Sadar Shah' the Sufic name of Pir. Then the Manuscripts-3 which is older than both the Manuscripts-1 & -2, further supports the Manuscripts-2 as it also contains the name of Pir Sadaruddin. Therefore, in the light of above received documents, we undoubtedly hold that the Buj Niringan

was definitely composed and authored by **Pir Sadaruddin**, the great Shia Ismaili missionary deputed by 30th Ismaili Imam Islam Shah (1370-1424) from Iran for India.

Again the Buj Niringan published by late Mukhi Lalji Bhai Devraj from Bomabay in 1913 supports our point. It was most probably published from the Ms. of Punjab or Sind, must have been copied more then a hundred years ago. It also contain the very name of Pir Sadaruddin as author.

The language used in Buj Niringan is quite identical with the general dialects applied in other gins. Arabic terminologies have been used in Buj Niringan in addition to make it on Sufic trend, because it was very easy for the community of Punjab where Sufism was prevalent. In Buj Niringan the following words have been commonly found which are specifically used for Imam, the spiritual authority which are also seen in other gins of Pir Sadaruddin :

Niringan, Gusahiya'n, Jug Pati, Saami, Aagvo, Alakh, Hadi, Saneb, Lalan, Printam, Piyu'n, Sahid'n, Satgur, Piv, Piya, NaklanK, Guru, Ali, Noor, Sajjan, Shah.

Also the following words are seen which have also been applied in general gins:

Muniyar, Ginar, Durijan, Saat Deep, Nav Khand, Balhaari, Darshan, Tait, Sir Satta, Jug, Tap, Sakhi, Maher, Kabulek etc. etc.

The readers can very easily conclude from the above points that **Buj Niringan** in the light of its language and terminologies, belonging to Ismailism being authored by **Pir Sadaruddin**.

The Persian version of Buj Niringan preserved at India Office Library, London remained un-noticed for quite

a long time till it drew attention of some Ismaili scholars about ten years ago. The Ismaili Association for Pakistan, Karachi published a Buj Niringan with translation on 18th February 1976 which could be termed as **THIRD VERSION** of Buj Niringan. For preparing this version, the Persian version of India Office Library was very much referred. I would like to make the following remarks on the third version :

1-The traditional distribution of all lines of Buj Niringan has been retained in tact, but the Arabic terminologies, sometime whole line have been picked up from the version of India Office Library, London

2-The Persian version generally reflects Sufic and orthodox Qadiri thoughts, while the traditional text of Ismaili contains both Sufic and Shiite Ismaili teachings. But in third version the ideas of both the Persian version and traditional version have been technically merged, though it does not effect Ismailism, but the editor has claimed it being a purified text.

3-It appears that the editor has applied some personal opinion regarding the position or location of words and lines.

4-While bringing forth the third version, the Persian version was given top priority without consulting other available MSS.

5-In the polished third version we find discontinuation of ideas at many places as one line in the same couplet differs in idea with the following line.

6-Buj Niringan is traditionally being recited as a devotional hymn, but the third version greatly hurts the traditional lyric as many lines are not placed in proper order and the meters are also disorderly adjusted.

7-Some times it reflects entirely an orthodox Qadiri idea, to which one best example is sufficient, which has been directly picked up from that Persian version of India Office Library, London which is as below:

શરીઅત કી ને રાહ ન માને,
ઝલ્લા હમે વેા કીઆ પીછાને. ૧૨:૩

Means

"He is a blind and what does he know as he is not acting on the path of Sharia."

While the traditional version including other MSS read above couplet as follow:

શરીઅત કાજે રાહ ન માને,
ઝલ્લા હીવે ક્યા પીછાને. ૧૨:૩

Means

"Due to Sharia, he does not follow the path (of reality). He is a shallow-wit. What does he know about"

BUJ NIRINJAN or COGNITION OF OMNISCIENT is a marvellous piece of Ismaili works in India, in which the mean of union with God has been beautifully imparted both technically and impressively. Those who are interested in its study, they shall need minute and careful reading.

Foot-Note

1-□ Vide my article,
"Satpanth Literature"
in Appendix VI

2-□ "Punjab Community
corresponding with the Luhanas are
Aroras, who almost
certainly take their name
from Aror (Alor) in
Sind" Vide, "Sind-A
General Introduction"
by H.T. Lambbrick, Hyd-
erabad (1964) p. 216

3-□ Vide Appendix II

4-□ Vide Appendix III

5-□ Vide Appendix V

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

- જાનિ અચરત કહું એક પએલી,
જસથી હોવે વાટ સોહેલી. ૧.
- પીયું છાના કયું પરગટ આપા,
કહોને કોન પીયા ભેખ ફીરાયા.૨.
- લાથી ઉન જાત કહાવે,
જાંકી બાત કહી ન જાવે. ૩.
- હુબકી લેલે ગોયા બાવે,
પીર પયગમ્બર તોજ ન પાવે. ૪.
- મહા જગમ સમુંદર કહાવે,
જાંકો પાર કોઇ ન પાવે. ૫.
- જો ઇસ સમુંદર મેં હુબકી બાવે,
મર જીવ્યા હોવે સો માણક લાવે.૬.
- હુબકી લે લે જનમ ગુમાવે,
વંકો થાગ કબુલેક પાવે. ૭.
- રેતુંજી, મારા સાચા સારીયા પીયુંજી રુંજી.
નીરાલા નીરંજન કહીએ, નીરાલી કહીએ કુલ બાતરે,
ગુંગે સપના પાયા, સમજ સમજ પસતાયરે.

-ચારી થે -ચારી કર કર માને,
ચાંદ ગત થે કુણું વહાં પીછાને.

૧.

સખ સીકત જાંકુ પાવે,
સો સીકત કુન વેદીત કહાવે.

૨.

રૂપ અનુપ અનેક દીપાવે,
ભાત ભાત પીયા ભેખ ફીરાવે.

૩.

ઇન દોમે વહેદત કહીએ,
જાંકું દો સીકતસું લઇએ.

૪.

જામે જહાં ઇસમકી હોઇ,
કહત અલુપ વત હોઇ સોઇ.

૫.

રખ જહાં તપસી રજા હોઇ,
તારી પુજે ભુજાહારા કરોઇ.

૬.

.....

૭.

રેતુંહી.....

જેને રંગ ને રૂપ નહી, નહી કુણ નામ ને ઠામરે,
સો ગુપત! પ્રગટ ભણે, લાખ ધરો નીસ નામરે.

::૨::

નામ નીરંજન કે દો ભાતી,
એક જાતી એક ભયે સકાતી.

૧.

ઉતમ સખ કહીએ જાતી,
ઓર ભયે સખ નામ સકાતી.

૨.

જન પીયા! અજેન આન કહાયા,
તીત જાહેર નામ ઇસમ ધરાયા.

૩.

જો ઉત થા સો ઇત હો આયા,
વાં પર સખ ભેખ બનાયા.

૪.

માન ગુમાન કરો મત કરોઇ,
જો ઉત થા સો ઇત કન હોયઇ.

૫.

હોઇ રહયા હોવે કન સોઇ,
એ લીખીયા મટે ન કરોઇ.

૬.

એ સખ આલમ ગાયબ કહાવે,
પાકી જાંકી કહી ન જાવે.

૭.

ખલકત કરોઇ નામ ન પાવે,
સખ એ પાક જહુર કહાવે.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

ના તીન નામ ને ઠામ હય, ના બીન નામ ને ઠામરે,
જો લો નામ ન કહીએ, સો સખ વાંકે હય નામરે.

::૩::

- કીર બલકીઓ વલકી આલમ,
જાંકી બાત અલલાહકું માલમ. ૧.
- આપા હય માલમ સતગુર બાલમ,
જાંકિ સાએ રહે સબ આલમ. ૨.
- પહેલે રહલ કુદસ હો રોએઆ,
આપુ સીકત જબરહલ જોએઆ. ૩.
- જો એ ચીતવનકું ન રોએઆ,
સો સુદર જાગત હી સોયા. ૪.
- બીજો આલમ કહીએ મીસાલ,
જાંકી મુરત પાક કમાલ. ૫.
- વાંકી અંખીયા જાપ માલ,
ઇસ આલમકો એસો હાલ. ૬.
- જો તોકું ઇસ જુગમં સુજે,
સો ગમ સબ વાંકી બુજે. ૭.
- જે દેખે તે વાંધી સૂજે,
તો તું બુજ નીરંજન બુજે. ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

પીયા રંગ બધો રંગ હય, જોર રંગે રંગ દીખાયરે,
જબ હુ એન દૂબટી કરે, રંગેરંગ રંગ સમાયરે.

:૪:

- પએલે ફેમ કયાઝબી આવે,
પીછે મુખ અપના દીખાવે. ૧.
- વાંધી હોઇ મીસાલમે આવે,
તાહાંધી હોઇ જા શહાદત પાવે. ૨.
- ચોધા મુલક શહાદત કહીએ,
બલા ભૂરા સબ જામે લઇએ. ૩.
- હૂંતું નીકલ કર જામે કહીએ,
અલલાહ રસુલ ઉત કન લઇએ. ૪.
- પરિયમા આલમ તબ દીખલાવે,
જબ મોનસકી મુરત પાવે. ૫.
- જો આપસમે..... (1) ૬.
- હય નાઝલકી બાત એ તમામ,
બીન અરજ નહિ હોવે કામ. ૭.
- જાનત હય સબ ખાસજ આમ,
બીન લાલમ દીન કીસી ન કામ. ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

મોતી જલધી હોત હય, કીર જલ કલધો ન જાયરે,
મુગતા ફલ છેદીએ, સમુદર છેદીઓ ન જાયરે.

:૫:

) Here two lines are illegible in Ms. except few words from beginning. However, the version of Lalji Devraj reads as :

જે આપસમે ઇલમ સમાવે,
તો એમે સબ સકાચત કહાવે.

૬.

- એક આલમ સૂનો મેરે મીના,
રેની લલી રસ જો કીના. ૧.
- હેક કહે જો ખારા મીઠા,
કહે ગુજ યામે કયા કર દીઠા. ૨.
- ગુન અપનેકું ચીત ન લાવે,
સખ અવગુન આપસમે પાવે. ૩.
- શીશ રાખે કુટ્ટિ બાત ન પાવે,
ઇસ ડરથી કુટ્ટિ કામ ન ભાવે. ૪.
- જો નબી માલમદ કરે સકચેત,
જાકું હજે ઉતમકી રાહત. ૫.
- જો ગુર મૂજ પર કરે અનાયત,
તો ગુના મેરે સખ હોવે નાયત. ૬.
- હેલ પરે મત દેખીજે પીવ,
જો હય દીન દુનીયા કો જીવ. ૭.
- ઇસ ગુગમે ઇચ્છું કર પીવ,
જ્યું દુખ દહીમે ધીવ. ૮.
- રેતુંલી.....
- વીરેહ રચન હય નીરમલી, હેત ચીત પીયાસું લાવેરે,
પીયા આવનકી યેહ હય વીરેહ, મત બોર ભયે પસનાયરે. :૬:

- પીયા દરશન કહેા કયસે પાઈજે,
તજ માયા ખોર ગુરસે જાઈજે. ૧.
- વહી કરેા જે ગુર કરમાવે,
તાથે દરશન પીયાકા પાવે. ૨.
- કીયા સૂના ઉઠ સુંદર જાગ,
સુરી મનોરથી ઉઠ કર ભાગ. ૩.
- જો તેરે મોટે હોવે ભાગ,
તો નીત ઉઠ ગુર કેરેપાય લાગ. ૪.
- એક ચીતવન જો ગુર કી પાવે,
તો તેરા મન તન નીરમલ હો જાવે. ૫.
- નીકલંક હોઈ બાટ દીખાવે,
દુખ ખોવે સખ સૂખ ઉપજાવે. ૬.
- એક નબી ખોર એક ગુસાઈ,
એક ગુર બીના ચીત ન લાઈ. ૭.
- એાર ન ગુંજોા મન એાર જાઈ,
જીવત કો ફલ મુજ ન પાઈ. ૮.
- રેતુંલી.....

એક અલમદ એક ગુગપની, એક ગુરસું ચીત લાય,
ગુર સોરેવે અલમદ મીલે, તો અલમદ મીમ ગુમાયરે.

:૭:

(1) At the end of this page, some other brief materials were written by another hands, dealing with some words of usual supplication.

૧. જાં પંડીત યોર સાધ કહાવે,
ચતુર સુબધા સૂધડા હોઈ આવે.
જપ તપ કરી સખ જનમ ગમાવે,
ધિન ગુર મારગ પ્રેમ ન પાવે.
૨. બે ચેરી ગુર મથા ન પાવે,
ધીયાન ગીયાન કુછ કામ ન આવે.
ધૂધન ધોરન જનમ ગમાવે,
બીન ગુર મથા ન મારગ પાવે.
૪. બે તું સેસ્તર તબીબ બુલાવે,
બીન ગુર વેદના ન બવે.
૫. વેદના બવે બે ગુર ચીન લાવે,
દૂધ ખેાવે સખ સૂખ ઉપબવે.
૬. જે ગુરથી બે વેદના બવે,
સો ગુર સાચા પીર કહાવે.

.....

રે તુંહી.....

બડા ગુર મીલે પીરસેરે, તોડે રહલ સખ બરરે,
બીન ગુર પીડા બવે નહી, આચા વેદનકા સારરે.

૮.

૭.

૬.

૫.

૪.

૩.

૨.

૧.

૧. જે કન તું ઇસ બુગ મે આયા,
ભાગા આભાગા બે અપને લાયા.
૨. જીને ગુર સામી શાહ પાયા,
માઈ પુત્રા સોહી દેાનું જાયા.
૩. વો ગુરકા બે દરશન પાઈએ,
વાંડે ચરન પર બલ બઈએ.
૪. બે મનમે ઇચ્છા કરી લાઈએ,
સો ફલ વે મયાનું પાઈએ.
૫. કર જહિર લટકેધા આયા,
બીનલ ઇરકાન નામ ધરાયા.
૬. અં પર લએ કન વંાકુ સાયા;
જીને એ બુગાકુ બાટ લગાયા.
૭. બેન નબી કા મૂર પીછાનો,
તો નુજ ખાસ અલલાહી બનો.
૮. બે કર કહયા મેરા માનો,
ચખ મોગો તો વા પીછાનો.

રેતુંહી.....

જેસ ગુરકું સતગુર કહું, સો વે બધે પટમાહરે,
બે પટથી પ્રગટ હોએ, તો રોમે રોમે સૂખ પાચરે.

૮.

૭.

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૪.

૩.

૨.

૧.

::૮::

નળીકા નાચણ હોકર આયા,
સખ કાહુકે મનમેં ભાયા.

૧.

મં પર નહી વડિંકા સાયા,
બાગ અબાગ સો અપને લાયા.

૨.

દાંકી સીરેવા કરે। સવેરી,
મત પછટાવે। આખર વેરી.

૩.

સખ બુગ હય ગુર વાંખે ચેરી,
સો સીરેવા ભેટ નીરંજન મેરી.

૪.

સુંદર સૂબણ સગુણી પીયારા,
વીરેલ કહે મંચ દાસ તુમારા.

૫.

વેગે કરે। વાંકા નીસતારા,
વાંકે ઘટમે કરે। ઉજવારા.

૬.

જે ગુરયા જે લાલન પાઠિ,
અસંખ બુગ મળિ કહું। સમાઠિ.

૭.

પીયું જલમેં મીસરી હે। બહિ,
વીરેલ યા બંસરી કીલાહિ.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

સાત દીપ નવ બંડમાં, પ્રગટીયે। સતગુર ચાહરે,
જહાં દેખું તહાં વહી હય, વહી હય સખ ઘટમળિરે.

:૧૦:

જેસે। ગુર જે કબુજેક પાવે,
ખોર તવકીક ઈલાહી આવે.

૧.

જે યીત અપનાં અંત ન હુલાવે,
તખ બ મારગ સલમાન કા પાવે.

૨.

પહેલે ને। નોહું ચરીઅત બતાવે,
પીહે રાહ તરીકત લાવે.

૩.

તખ તુજે હાલ હકીકત આવે,
મારકત કેરી શુધ્ધ બતાવે.

૪.

સૂણી ગયે। ઇર્ધુ કરને બાત,
બુધ્ધ દીપકસૂં રાહી લેવે હાથ.

૫.

તય કર્યે। જે બુલમાત,
પાયા આપોહી આવે હયાત.

૬.

વજે બુલમાત તરીકત કહીએ,
બીન અગુએ ને। રાહ ન લઈએ.

૭.

અગુવે। હોય ને। સખ દુખ સહીએ,
યાને સુખ સરોવર લઈએ.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

મહા વીકટ ચેહી વાટ હય, બીન અગુવે ગયે। ન બધ,
અગુવે। હોય જે સંગાથ, અખર નીરંતર પાચરે.

:૧૧:

- જમે ઇસ મારગ કીયા કબૂલ,
પીછે કબલી ન હોવે મલૂલ.
- ૧.
- કહેતં કલમા નબી રસૂલ,
દેાય જુમામિહે હોવે કબૂલ.
- ૨.
- શરીઅત કાજે રાહ ન માને,
અદના હોવે કયા પીછાને.
- ૩.
- જે ચેહ બુજન બુજ ન માને,
સો કયા સાર નબી કી જાને.
- ૪.
- યાનું ઘકી જે મુનકર હોવે,
સો ઉત કયા પાવે ઇતલી ખોવે.
- ૫.
- પેટ ભરી જે મૂગતા સોવે,
હેક કામ જે અપના ખોવે.
- ૬.
- અમર નબી કા જે નહી માને,
બહેર હોવે કયા સુન જાને.
- ૭.
- આગેકું નો ચીત ન આણે,
કયા હુવા જે પીછે પછટાણે.
- ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

જમે ચેહી શબદ ન માનીયા, ન પરછીયા મન ટોરરે,
આખર ઇનકું શોખા નહી, ઉત નહી પાવે ટોરરે.

::૧૨::

- જબ ચેહી પરદે ઉઠ જાવે,
હૂંઠ સાથ સનમુખ આવે.
- ૧.
- ઉત ગયા નહી ઉત ફીર આવે,
ફીર રાહ ખુદા કા પાવે.
- ૨.
- નીશાદીન મુદે આપ પછતાયે,
નોહુ રાહ નબી કી પાવે.
- ૩.
- જે સંગાય ઇસકી જાવે,
સબ સવાદ અપના બતાવે.
- ૪.
- કાટા હાથ ને બહોત પસનાવે,
એસો હાલ બહોર ન પાવે.
- ૫.
- મન લહુલ પીયાકી ગત પાવે,
જે સંગાય સૂકી કી જાવે.
- ૬.
- વે મયાસું આપ ગમાવે,
નો કલહુલ ફૂલ મરતબા પાવે.
- ૭.
- જે બજન કર હીત આપ ગમાવે,
નો પીયાસું મીસરી દૂધ જરૂં મીલ જાવે.
- ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

લકડી સકલ શરીર કર, ગુર મીસરી સંગાય લાયરે,
સંગાય ગુણે કારણે, સો લકડી નોલ બીકાયરે.

::૧૩::

- મહેનત કર કર એ કુછ લાવે,
લોક કુટુંબસુ આપ બતાવે. ૧.
આપા નામ ચલ્લાહી કહાવે,
ખાદીમ હોઇ મુખદમી પાવે. ૨.
લેખા કારણ બંકુ આવે,
સપ્તમે અવલ બહેનત મે બવે. ૩.
ચહાં સે માયા મુલ લૂંટાવે,
તબ વે નામ ફકીર કહાવે. ૪.
એ હોઇ ગજેર શરીઅત બાગે,
ને આપી રાત પાછલી બાગે. ૫.
સવા પોહોર ચીત તપસુ લાગે,
પીછે કામ માયા હે લાગે. ૬.
ભૂખ માર બદ કહાવે,
માયાહું દીન રાત મીલાવે. ૭.
નીશદીન સધલા તાપતમે બવે,
આબીદ કા તબ મરતબા પાવે. ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

હરી સમરે હરી પાછે, હરી સમરે સૂખ હોયરે,
નીપટ નીકટ એ હરી વસે, પણ હરી સમરન નહીં હોયરે. :૧૪:

- નાં મુજ રૂપ ને ગુન હય સંહીયા,
કેસે અંખિ મીલા મેજ ઘર આવીયા. ૧.
તોહું રુંહી મયાસું પાઠિ,
તો કહે વધાઇ શેરફ મંગલ ગાઠિ. ૨.
તલબ કમાલ ઇલ્લાહી આવે,
તો કહવા મીઠા તોલ હો બવે. ૩.
બલા ભુરા તોહી ચીત ન આવે,
સગુની નીદા જોડહી પાવે. ૪.
નીદા ખરાબ હય સો મત કરના,
નીદા કરનસું મૂનીવર કરના. ૫.
નીદા કરનસું બચશે ધરમ,
ઉપજશે સરવે સીર પર કરમ. ૬.
નીદા થાય તીયા બેસવું નહીં,
નીદા કાનેસે સૂણવી બી નહીં. ૭.
જોડ ઇલ્લાહી સપમે દેખે,
બલા ભુરા કુછ નહીં દેખે. ૮.

રેતુંહી.....

જેસા દરદ પીયાકા હોવે, બેણે લૂંટાયા આપરે,
પીયા કારણ માયા તણ, ને કારણ પન ને પાપરે. :૧૫:

પીછે હાલ મુઝાહીદ આવે,
યહી કરે જે નકસ ન બાવે.

બલા ભુર! એકસાં હો બવે,
તખ તું હાલ મશાયખ પાવે.

વખત મલામતકા જખ આવે,
અપને નેક અમલ છીપાવે.

ભૂરે અમલ પરગટ છીપાવે,
તખ પીયાહું વય હર બાવે.

નીચદીન દરદ પીયાહે બો,
સખ લટકે ઇસ પીછે લાવો.

પીયા કારણ અને આપ ગમાયા,
સીર દાદી એાર મુંઝ મુંઝાયા.

કાલા મો કર જગ દીખલાયા,
તો લાલનકી લાલી પાયા.

.....

રેતુંલી.....

કાલા મો કર જગ કરે, દાદી મુંઝ મુંઝાએરે,
જગ નીદા સખ સીર ધરે, તો પીયાહું મન બાએરે.

:-૧૬:-

લોક કુટુંબ સખ મીલ કર આવે,
પંથ નસીહત કર સમબવે.

વંદિ! હાલ એારહું છીપાવે,
કરે મલામત ફીર ફીર બવે.

માતા પીતા એર આપકી નારી,
બેન બાઈ એાર સાસું સાસરી.

સખ મીલ કર આવે બારી બારી,
ઉમડું સૂન સૂન રેવે નીચી ગાલી.

માતા પીતા કહે બગડીયો પુત્ર,
પ્રમરસ કા પીયાલા બે પીતા.

નાર કહે બે કહી વીચુત,
લોક કુટુંબ કહે લાવો ભૂત.

ઘટબી પ્રેમ બે ઉપજે બારી,
માતા પીતા સખ પ્રેમે વીસારી.

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રેતુંલી.....

બાલા લોક બને નહી, મોહો મન વર હવે બહોરરે,
પીયા પતી જખ ચીન ચડયો, તખ ભુલ ગયો સખ દોરરે.

:-૧૭:-

- સપ્ત બ્રુજા અને સૂદર ને હોડા,
સો કાલુકા સંગ ન સોડા.
૧.
- નરોનર હય વહીત કોરા,
કાહા કરત હય બેરા નોરા.
૨.
- સુખ ખોણિં દુખ અટકા પાવે,
અપની મેહરૂં મહેર ન આવે.
૩.
- કાહા કરત હય પનવા પર ફેરા,
સુન પંથ કરેા ઘણે ઘણેરા.
૪.
- એક ફન અપને લાલન કેરા,
મનડો બાંધો મેરા નેરા.
૫.
- ભુખ દુખ સપ્ત વર્ષ પર આવે,
ઝત આવે તીત ઠોર ન આવે.
૬.
- બે પીચા કો દુખ દરદ ન બાવે,
તો સુખ નેરે કુછ કામ ન આવે.
૭.
- સુખ કારણાં અને જનમ ગમાવે,
બીન દુખ સુખ કબલુ ન પાવે.
૮.

રેતુંલી.....

ઘટોઘટ નેરા ચીત નલી, એ ઘટ નેરી ધૂળરે,
દુખ તમારા મર રહયા, કરેા મયા તન સુરરે.

::૧૮::

- ગુરૂ બે બાટ લકક કી લાવે,
પહેલે નસીયાન ઇસ બાત બતાવે.
૧.
- કરતવ વયે બે તોએ ઉઠાવે,
આપો આપ નીરંજન પાવે.
૨.
- જપ તવફીક ઇલાહી આવે,
તપ્ત પીર કેરા ધીયાન લગાવે.
૩.
- લા ઇલ્લાહ કર આપ ગમાવે,
ઇલ્લાહ કર સાજન પાવે.
૪.
- કીબર તકબુર મની ગમાવે,
ડોન સંગ ચોર વગ ધીયાન લગાવે.
૫.
- અધુ અલીફ મૂલ ઉઠાવે,
સો સેવેગા નીરંજન પાવે.
૬.
- લાન ખતરા સપ્તલી ખોવે,
મન મનોરીફું સપ્ત ધોવે.
૭.
- ઝીકર શુબહ કી બેની બોવે,
નૂર તજલ્લી ગુરૂ ફલ બેવે.
૮.

રેતુંલી.....

બેની બોવે પ્રેમકી, પાની દેવે ગીનાનરે,
નૂર તજલ્લી ફૂલ ફલે, બે લાગે પીચાશું ધીયાનરે.

::૧૯::

અંકુ નૂર તજલી હોઇ,
તારી ગત કયા અને કોઇ.

૧.

લાજ સખ કુલ વામે ધોઇ,
જે નહી વહાંવે સો કન હોઇ.

૨.

કબુજેક પાવે કબુજેક ખોવે,
કબુજ વસ્ત આહી સખ હોવે.

૩.

કબુજેક હંસે કબુજેક રોવે,
કબુજેક લાગ પીયા ગલ સોવે.

૪.

હાલ મશાયખ કો જખ આવે,
તો સખકો ન પીયાહું પાવે.

૫.

જેસે દેખે તેસેહી ઉખલ નવે,
જયું કર ઇન કલન લપટ આવે.

૬.

ગયેર ગયેરીજત સખ ઉઠ નવે,
ધુર! ભલા સખ તોહું બાવે.

૭.

રાહત આવે સખ દુખ નવે,
ઇસ કન ઇશક ઇલાહી આવે.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

કહાંસુ રીસું કહાંસુ મીઠું, કહાંસુ લાવું ચીતરે,
નયન મંહિરે ચાહિકો, ચેહી વેરી ચેહી મીતરે.

: ૨૦ :

મતખલીક હાલ ને આવે,
અજખ અબયખ હાલ ને પાવે.

૧.

કબુજેક આપસમે હરી પાવે,
કબુજેક હરમં ડોલ હુલાવે.

૨.

અંકો હાલ ન બુજ્યો નવે,
તારી યાત ન કહી મન આવે.

૩.

કરખ નવાકલ જખ કહેલાવે,
ખન મંહિ કરખ કરાયઝ પાવે.

૪.

ને તું ઇલમ હક હો નવે,
આપસહું ફેલકન પાવે.

૫.

ખ યસમખ જખ ચીતમં આવે,
કરખ નવાકલ તખ કહેલાવે.

૬.

ને આપસહું આલત અને,
ફેલ હક મતલક પીછાને.

૭.

માર આતુકો ગીયાને બખાને,
કરખ કારાએઝ તો ઉત ઠાને.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

પીયા હુંદન હું ચલી, પીયા હવ સખ ઠંધરે,
ખન ગુપત ખન પરગટ હવ, સો પીયા ફેસે પાયરે.

: ૨૧ :

હાલ હકીકત કો જણ આવે,
આપસું તથા મૂલ ઉઠાવે.

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ଆପ ମିତ୍ରଙ୍କ ଉଚ୍ଚି ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧେ,
ଆପ ମିତ୍ରଙ୍କୁ ଶୁଭ କାମନା କରୁଅଛୁ.

2.

જ્ય નોહીદ ઇલાહી આવે,
અપન ગરોન સપ ઉઠકર આવે.

6

આપસકા જુગ જલવા પાવે,
મલહીદ કાકર નામ ધરાવે.

8

સુદર કેરો હાલ ન બને,
બહો સવ જ્ઞાન બધાને.

4.

કાહું વે યીત ન આને,
સાથ જલવા આપસકું આને.

5.

અનલ હક અંતલી ફલ બાપિ,
જબ લીગતન મનસુરી ચાપે.

6.

ਭਾਤ ਲਾਭੀਤ ਮਰਨਥਾ। ਰਾਧੇ,
ਲਾਭ ਸਥਾ ਕੁੰਭ ਸਥਾ ਕੁੰਭਕੀ ਨਾਧੇ.

7.

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જ્ય પ દેખે રણ અપકું, ગીર ન પાવે કીધરે,
કાંસ ન બાંધો અનલ હક, અનલ નીરંજન હોયરે.

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N
N
..

वली मूलां और डाअ आवे,
साथ इनवा गयेर भारइन वगावे.

9.

હાલ કુતુર કર તોડ મીલાવે,
 વેળા હોકર મારને આવે.

2.

સાથ દુરીતન વલી મૂલ્લ! આલે,
કંકર પથર ને કુંભ પાલે.

ω

પરથી જમદર તીર ચલાવે,
મુંદર કો લઈ પાર ચલાવે.

2.

હું જે વાંકો હાલ ન પાવે,
જોર મૂલ્યાં દાનોશમંદ કહેલાવે.

4.

ਏਸ਼ ਫਾਨਨ ਘੀ ਭੁਲਾ ਆਵੇ
ਓਸ਼ ਫਾਨਨ ਖੂੰ ਖੁਲਾ ਮੀਲਾਵੇ

un

ਜੇ ਉਸ ਮੁਖ ਤੀ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਖਨੇ,
ਸੋ ਕੁਝੁ ਲਾਖ ਨੇਰਾ ਪਾਭਾਨੇ.

6

તેરા હાલ જુહી કમ બને,
કયા બન'વે મૂલે મૂલેનિ.

2

॥

પ્રેમી અને પ્રેમરસ, ચાર ન અને કોઈરે,
મુરખ લોક અને નહી, પ્રેમ સીવા કયા હોયરે. (૧)

..
~
ω
..

(1) The hand-writing of this whole page differed with the usual writing of scribe, the reason of which is unknown to me. However, the ink of page seemed as old as impressed in other pages.

- મૂરખ જે કો જ્ઞને નહી,
વાંકો હાલ પીછાને નહી. ૧.
- દેવે સીર સાટાડું આપે નહી,
ઓર કહેત તે માને નહી. ૨.
- યાં ન બુજે માઈ ને બાપ,
સેજે ખેલે આપોહી આપ. ૩.
- ન ઇસ માઈ ન ઇસ બાપ,
હુવ નીરંજન આપોહી આપ. ૪.
- આપે મૂલદા આપે કાજ,
આપ પડે સો આપ નીમાજ. ૫.
- સપ જુગ દેખે પીયાકી બાજ,
ખેલે આપે આપ પીયાજ. ૬.
- આપે સર્વિહી બહુ ગનીઆરા,
આપ નીરંજન અપરમપારા. ૭.
- સપમે આપ સપથી નીચારા,
દોઈ જગમહિ કીઆ પસારા. ૮.
- રેતુંહી.....
- કહો સુંદર કહો દેહીયા, કહો રાખ કહો જોગીરે,
કહો મેરી કહો પુરખ હય, સો આપે કરતા બોગીરે.

:૨૪:

- આપે મારે આપે જવાડે,
આપે હુખ સુખ દીખલાવે. ૧.
- પુન પાપ દોષે આપ કરાવે,
આપે સરગ નરગ લે બવે. ૨.
- આપ પીયા હય જે કોઈક બને,
બધી ભૂરી દોઈ નામ બખાને. ૩.
- મયા કરવત ચેવજ આને,
આપ ગમાવે સપ પીયાડું બને. ૪.
- મયા કરો વીરેહકી સર્વિહી,
તોહી ધર છોડ કર કહો કીત બઈ. ૫.
- મર્ધિ ધટમર્ધિ લટકંધા આયા,
ધટ પરગટ ને દીખલાયા. ૬.
- અલખ અકલ લખ બાન કહાયા,
સપ અસમાકા નપ જલવા પાયા. ૭.
- કહી જમાલ કહો જલાલ હો આયા,
કમું મુલેલ હાદી કીલાયા. ૮.
- રેતુંહી.....
- બીમા લટકત લટક છોડ દે, બીખડ ગમે સપ બાલરે,
કહો બહેર કહો બાનન હય, કહો જલાલ કહો કમાલરે.

:૨૫:

આરતીકી જળ શુધ બુધ આલે,
બોહોર ફીર તસવુર મે આલે.
ગીયાન બીયાન લોકોકું બતાલે,
ગુરુ સાચા ઓર બાટ બતાલે.
હાકમ મરતબાકું જળ રાખે,
આરતીકી જળ બીગ્ગત ચાખે.

૧.
૨.
૩.
૪.

(1)

જળ તમીઝ ચેલાહી હોલે,
સઆદત સાહેબકી સળ લેલે.
લેટ નીરંજન અપના સેલે,
સળકું કચઝ હકકી દેલે.
આપસથી જળ મતલક બેલે,
બુજ નીરંજન ચેસા હોલે.
આપ નીરંજન હોકર બેલે,
સળ બુગ અપના મઝહર પાલે.

૫.
૬.
૭.
૮.

રેતુંહી.....

આપ ગમાલે પીયું મીલે, આરક કહીચે તપિયરે,
ઓર આપસકું બુજ કર, અને દાસ કહાલે તપિયરે.

:૨૬:

(1) Whole couplet vanished due to dampness. However, the text published by Lalji Devraj reads as :

ચેસી બાત કબી ન બપિં,
સાબત કદમ બહર મે રાખે.

૪.

આરક બીલાલ તળ કીલાલે,
જળ તપ કરી સળ જનમ ગમાલે.
કનાહ થી બકા હો બેલે,
બુજ નીરંજન કો દાસ કહાલે.
હાકમ મરતબાકો રાખે,
જળ બીગ્ગત અરકાનકી ચાખે.

૨.
૩.

(1)

આપે આપસકું ફેર પાલે,
બાચબીધ હો બાટ દીખાલે.
આરક બીલાલ તળ તું હોલે,
આપસકું જળ મતલક ખોલે.
વીરેહ દીલકી સુરત ચીનબી ધોલે,
કનાહ થી બકા કન હોલે.

૫.
૬.
૭.

રેતુંહી.....

વાહેદકી સુરત સળ ગઈ, અને ધટધટ કલયો સમાચરે,
અચરત દેખીયો ચે સળી, ઠાકુર દાસ કહાચરે.

:૨૭:

(1) We quote below the illegible couplet with the help of the version of Lalji Devraj :

ધાનની બને ચાલા બપિં,
માટીકા નામ ભૂદ ન રાખે.

૪.

- જખ તું અંજેન શંખેન હો બંધે,
હાલત જલ્લી બરક કી આંધે.
આપસકું ચંત મૂલ ન પાંધે,
અંજેન નીરંજન હોંકર બંધે.
ગયેર કહે પણ ગયેર ન બંધે,
દાસ કહાવે અલ્લાહ પીછાંને.
જેસા કરે તેસા કર માંને,
જયું કર તીયું કર બંધે.
દીન દૂનીયા કી જુલમત નૂર,
દોઝખ બહેશત ઝોર હૂર કસૂર.
સખ ઇસમકા બધા જહૂર,
તે માંહે આપે આપ ગહૂર.
હૂવા નજુલ અરબ તમામ,
બંકો બુજ નીરંજન નામ.
શય રગથી નેડે હય રહેમાન,
બુજ નીરંજન કરો કુછ કામ.
રેતુંલી.....
૧.
૨.
૩.
૪.
૫.
૬.
૭.
૮.

::૨૮::

- હેત માયા જે ચીત થી બંધે,
લાખ કોડ જે મીલ આંધે.
સો સુંદર ગાહેદ કીલાંધે,
યે સખ તાલબ બહેશતકા હોંધે.
લાખ કારણ બહેશતકું ખોંધે,
જેસા મૂરખ તું કર્યું કર હોંધે.
ખાદીમ ઝોર કઝીર દીવાંને,
ગાહેદ આપદ ખરે સીયાંને.
નીશદીન દોઝખ બહેશત બખાંને,
શાહ અપનેહું ચીત ન આંધે.
જો શાહ દોઝખ બહેશત નીપાઈ,
સાત દીપ નવ ધંડ બનાઈ.
યેહ સખ રૂપ અનુપ દીખાઈ,
યેહ ચલમદ કેરે સોચ લગાઈ.
.....
.....
રેતુંલી.....
૧.
૨.
૩.
૪.
૫.
૬.
૭.
૮.

::૨૯::

ને ગુર રાહ તરીકત લાવે,
માયા પુણ મુલ હુંટાવે.

૧.

ગુર હુઆરહું રંગ લગાવે,
મજનું હો લેલાહું બીઆવે.

૨.

પ્રેમ પીચારે કા જબ હોવે,
હું સખ દીલ થી ધોવે.

૩.

નીશદીન જો કબજુ ન સોવે,
ઝારો ઝાર દોય નેના રોવે.

૪.

..... (1)

૫.

ગજે જવ પંખી હો ઉડ જાવે,
લાલન કેરા દરશન પાવે.

૬.

સાજન પર હું બલબલ જાઉં,
લે સાજનહું ગલે લગાઉં.

૭.

..... (2)

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

પંખી હું ને ઉડ સગું, નો જાઉં પીચાકી ઝોડરે,
જેક જવ કી કાજ હય, વાહ લાખ ફેાડરે.

૩૦:

(1) & (2) Both are illegible. According to the version of Laiji Devraj, the couplet should be :

હીરદે માંહે જાગસી લાગે,
આજે હોય સો આગે.

૫.

લાલન મોહું લાલી કાની,
વીરેહ મારી ફીરે દીવાની.

૧.

લોક ફૂટુંબ બધ બેગાની,
સાજન મેરી સાર ન જાની.

૨.

બીન શાહ દીન કીલાવે ન કોઈ,
પીચા કારણ સધલે દીન રોઈ.

૩.

માઈ બાપ ન પુછે કોઈ,
જને લાગી બુજે કન સોઈ.

૪.

..... (1)

૫.

સખ લેત રીત અપનેથી ધોવે,
નીશદીન નેનું લોહી રોવે.

૬.

રાતદીન મુજે નીદ ન આવે,
નીશદીન નેનું પાણી બહાવે.

૭.

હું મૂઠ સાજન નેરે હાવે,
ગુજે મેરી મહેર ન આવે.

૮.

રેતુંહી.....

પંખી જાગી સાનીયાં, દેહન કો લાલ બેલાવરે,
પીચા પાની જબ ચીત ચડીયો, તબ મૂઠ સંબાલરે.

૩૧:

(1) I left the ending words of this illegible couplet. However, the version of Laiji Devraj reads as :

નહું કડવા કલેજે હોવે,
આ કબુ નીદ કર સૂખસું સોવે.

૫.

- સાજન પર હું સદા બલહારી,
જને સાજન મોઢે નીપટ બીસારી. ૧.
- નરસદીન નેનું લાગી તાડી,
કબુલે ચાલે હમારી વારી. ૨.
- જબ દરશન દેખું નેરા,
સબ દુખ બીસરે ચીતણી મેરા. ૩.
- સૂખ ઉપજે મન ગને ગનેરા,
લાલન કરી હમારે ચાં ફેરા. ૪.
- અબકે મંથ લે સાજન પાઉ,
હઈ ચંદર સેજ બીછાઉ. ૫.
- મીઠું ઉસીકે નુર સંગાથ,
ફીર દુસરેકા નવ અલું હાથ. ૬.
- હઈડે તલપી મારી મારી,
કહાં સહું એ દુખ હય બારી. ૭.
- દરશન દીખાવ સબ બધ બારી,
વીરેલ ન બને તારી મારી. ૮.

રેતુંલી.....

દરશન દીખો શામરે, શુલ્ક બુધ ગઈ હરાઈરે,
પ્રીતમ પાસે બુલાવે હમ, કહી શુલ્ક લો તમ ચાપરે.

::૩૨::

- જે તું નકસા નિચત હું નાંખે,
સબ રોજે રમઝાન કે રાખે. ૧.
- મનથી હોઈ શહાદત બાંખે,
તબ બીજત ઇસલામકી ચાખે. ૨.
- ચાર મઝહબ બરહક કરી બાંખે,
ચાર કીતાબકું સહી પીછાંખે. ૩.
- અપને નબીકું હક કરી બાંખે,
ફીર તુજે હોવે દૂરસાન ઇમાને. ૪.
- વાજબ કરજ લે સત કરી માને,
સબ એકામ અરકાન પીછાંખે. ૫.
- રોજ કીયામત સહી કરી બને,
સબ કાહુકું મનમે ઠાને. ૬.
- પડે દુરાન કીતાબા બુજે,
તો તુજે રાહ નબી કી સુજે. ૭.
- જે મૂખ અહમદ ફેરા બુજે,
રાહ નીરંજન ચાપે સૂજે. ૮.

રેતુંલી.....

જે બુજે મારગ પીર સદરદીન ફેરા, જે સદા હય મકબૂલરે,
બાબ નબીમુકે સરતાજ હય, સો ફલે નબી રસુલરે.

::૩૩::

"હીજ ડિનાય મુહજે ખાનદાન વારને
 લીખી વઠ ચાહે. શાહપીર બુલચુક.
 વપશી. અસલ મે મુખી બહુઅ હીનપે કરમ
 હુસેન અનજ ડિનાયમાં ૧૭૪૪ સંવત મે
 લીખીયો હો. જડે-ચ મુખી બહુ જ
 ડિનાય ઝખૂન થી વઠ ન મું હી ડિનાય
 લકર જ લકર ૧૮૬૦ સંવત મે ઉત્તરલીચો.
 પોચ મું હુવ ડિનાય પે ઉચ ચરીફ જ
 પાક બીદી મે દેશન કરે છડીયો."

અન પામદ વરદે

Translation:

"This copy has been written for my
 family. May Shah Pir forbid (my)
 errors. Mukhi Bhaloo originally
 copied it from the copy of Karam
 Hussain Jan in 1744 Samvat (or
 1688 A.D.) When the copy of Mukhi
 Bhaloo was badly damaged, I copied
 it exactly word by word in 1860
 Samvat (or 1804 A.D.) and then
 buried that copy (of Mukhi Bhaloo)
 in the holy land of Uchh Sharif."

Jan Mohammed Varind

APPENDIX II

I am not so rigid in my comment that the Indian Ismaili Community was barren in literary field, but I would like to point out that the Ismaili scholars of India, a hundred years ago were void of scholastic spirit. A hundred years ago, if there would have been some learned scholars working on ginans, the present scholars could not have faced much problems in their study. It is however, quite possible that the Khoja community instead of literary minded persons, produced traditional scholars who we generally call "Bhagat" (Devouts) who held great leaning towards Ismaili faith. Just to dig out an idea as to how far these devout persons, grounded in ginans, had faced the challenge offered by the Persian version of Qadirism, I have talked to some very old devout persons by putting before them the lines of Buj Nirinjan of Qadiris, where in the authorship of Pir Sadaruddin has been omitted. Out of 12 such persons, almost 9 were of the opinion that it will not make any difference if we read the name of the Holy Prophet in lieu of Pir's name. To support their relative view that the Holy Prophet and Pir Sadaruddin are same, they quote the following verse from ginan:

જે વીરાળાઈ,
પીર સદરદીન નથી મહમદ કહીએ,
તેણે પુરતક સાહે દીપલાયણ.

"Oh Believer! Consider Pir Sadaruddin as being Prophet Mohammed, who has shown you manifest Imam."

vide "Collection of Ginans of Pir
Sadaruddin" Bombay, 1960,
Ginans no. 155, p. 166

From the above discussion we just understand that these devout persons whose thinking rotate around the atmosphere of hundred years ago, were not much concerned about historical fact. The above argument reveals traditional view point which prevailed among the earlier Ismaili of India. If there were some literary minded devout persons a hundred years ago, the slide was not so dim as is visualised today in general.

!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!

APPENDIX III

[illegible]

Handwritten signature: *Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud*

[illegible]

APPENDIX IV

Khawaja Nasrullah Khan Qamar Bijapuri, most possibly a Qadiri Muslim had shaped the Hindi copy of Qadiri version of BUJ NIRINJAN into Persian script in 1707 or 1708 A.D. Later on, it came to the hands of Mulla Hussain Qari Kashmiri at Delhi who was certainly alive upto 1824 A.D. Then Qutab Shah Jilani, one another Qadiri from Bijapur got that manuscript of Mulla Hussain Qari, and got rendering of one another ditto Persian copy with the help of his friend in 1824 A.D. Thereafter, the manuscript of Qutab Shah Jilani went in the custody of the forefather of Shaykh Naimuddin who now lives in Bijapur, India. I have not seen the manuscript at all and it is, as I have been informed, mostly decayed except few pages. I am lucky to get photo copies of only its two pages which I actually needed. I failed to contact Shaykh Naimuddin after May, 1982 and thus I started to shape my papers in the light of materials I gathered so far from him.

However, the style and writing clearly suggest that it must have been copied in the beginning of 19th century.

Here it has been reproduced :

سہ روزی رمضان کے لاکھ
تب لڑتے اسلام کے چاہا کیے
چاکر بیرون کو سہ سے پہچانوں
تغیب چمکے تیری درست ایمان
سہ پہر احکام ارکان پہچانے
سیر سہ پہر کا ہوس کے نہلانے
رانا سرخشن اپنی سوچے
نہ سبجہ راکہ نبی کا سوچھی
ہر لفظ انیت کو نیا کہیے
میں نہیں ہوں یہ شہادت باکے
چلا مندریب برت کر کھانوں
اور نبی سہر حق کو کھان
واجب فرطی جو سنت جانے
روز قیامت کے کون مانے
جو ہے قرآن کتابان بوجھی
جو مارا کہ احمد کراہے
لو جے مارا کہ شیخ صدر شاہ کیرا جو ہے قبول
صبر بیوں ہر تاج سے دو لہ نہی رسول

In 1829 a group of the Bombay Khojas led by Habib Ebrahim revolted against the Ismailism and propagated that Pir Sadaruddin was a Sunni. Aga Hasan Ali Shah, the 46th Imam was then resided in Iran, in order to overcome this opposition, deputed Mirza Abul Kassim accompanied by Imam's maternal grandmother Marium Babi. In 1850 Habib Ebrahim and his associates, called from their number "Bar Bhaiyas" (The twelve brethren), were overcast from the Ismaili community. This dispute continued till 1866 when it was referred to Bombay High Court. Chief Justice Sir Joseph Arnold finally gave decision in favour of Shia Ismaili community, in which Pir Sadaruddin was declared as an Shia Ismaili. Since then the outgoing Khojas became known as "Sunni Khojas", having leaning towards Qadiriism. According to their own source : "Our forebears, the "Bar Bhaiyas" separated from the Khoja Shia Imami Ismaili because they believed in the Sunni Hanafi creed of Islam.... We observe the Gyarni Majlis in the memory of Peerana Peer Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jeelani." Vide, "The Sunni Khojas" published by Oxford Book House, Karachi (1969) p. 30

The Scholars should also touch another branch of Ismaili history where Satpanth literature including Buj Niringan might have possibly been suffered in a question. It was Imam Shahi sect who after being separated from Ismailism, was greatly influenced by orthodox Muslims. It has been confirmed from sources that the Imam Shahi sect came into existence long after the death of Sayyid Imam Shah in 1518 A.D. Fifth in the line of Pir Mashaikh bin Rehmatullah was Pir Mashaikh II (1650-1697), the son of Sayyid Fazal Shah, is credited to have officially given up the

پیر شاہ عابد و وفات اور نائز تب عالم گیر خواجہ نصیر الدین خان قمر بھابھری
بھابھری نقل آیت اور در خط فارسی منتقل کر دے۔
بھابھری شاہ این در قیضہ ملا حسین قاری کشمیری بود۔ چنانکہ
در دراصلی حق مانند۔ نقل آن سن حاصل کر دے چنانکہ فریق
سن برائے سن در ۱۲۴۰ھ نقل منور۔
قلم شاہ جیلانی

Translation :

"Few months after the death of Aurengzeb Alamgeer (i.e., 1707 or 1708 A.D.), Khawaja Nasrullah Khan Qamar of Bijapur had converted its Hindi copy into Persian script. Henceforth, it remained in the custody of Mulla Hussain Qari of Kashmir, residing at Dehli. I found that copy and my friend got it copied for me in 1240 A.H. (1824 A.D.)"

Qutab Shah Jilani

APPENDIX VI

S A T P A N T H L I T E R A T U R E

faith of his forebears and preached Sunnism to his followers. He compiled 13 works in verse during 1688 to 1691 which reflect Sunni-Qadiriism thoughts. The Indian Qadiriis generally make him a Sufi Shaykh of their own circle. The scholars would possibly capture certain grains about the Ismaili literature suffered around this period.

!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!*!

Etymologically the word "ginan" is derived from a Sanskrit, "gyan" means "knowledge". It is simply defined as a religious lyric for spiritual and higher values of life. It is a religious hymn in the dialects of Indo-Pakistan. Ginan is a traditional literature of Ismailis inherited from Indian Pirs and Sayyids who took great pains to spread Islam through Ismailism among the Hindus. It is termed also being Satpanth literature, possessing great force of expression. Ismaili Pirs used local vernacular in ginan to retain the cultural test of new converts and thus, ginan is polyglottic as well as melodious, giving spiritual need of the devotees. Each line of it provides placidity, tranquillity and bliss in heart. In short, ginan deals with wide range of themes e.g., ethics, morality, devotion, rites, parables, miracles and tantalizing examples. It also resembles mystical poetry couched in symbolism and therefore it consists of enormous treasure of knowledge for the intellectuals who have approached through the study of philosophy and mysticism, would be amazed with this sumptuous literature of Satpanth.

Who wrote early Satpanth literature i.e., ginan? We are unaware until someone minutely undertakes research to dig out the history relating to the evolution of ginan. The early history is very obscure and therefore the paucity of sources disallows to establish any stern view, but some scraps of information suggest that during the time of Pir Tajuddin (d. 1467) and Sayyid Imam Shah (d. 1512), there must have been complete treatises of Pir Satgur Nur, Pir Shams, Pir Sadruddin and Pir Hasan Kabiruddin in their original states. A Solitary

verse of the ginan of Pir Tajuddin reads :

" Varann chhatris soor baitali bhakhia ;

Berada kan-e na surann, ho jir-e Bhai. " (1)

means, "We have explained in 36 languages and 42 melodies, and yet the deaf would not listen, oh my brother. "

Before we comment on the above cited verse, we would briefly discuss the split of Imam Shahi sect from main Ismaili branch. No long after the death of Pir Hasan Kabiruddin, the adherents of Imam Shah broke their relation with Imam and switched over from Ismaili faith considering Imam Shah as next Pir, and as a result ginans were also divided between Ismailism and Imam Shahism in some gradual process and who-ever found ginans suiting and appealing to their purposes, picked them up. Consequently, this was the first occasion when the Satpanth literature suffered. Nothing prevent us here in supposing that after the death of Pir Tajuddin, his opponents who were active, either earthed his ginans or adjusted with the name of other Sayyids and thus, Ismailis could only discover his one ginan. Did Pir Tajuddin compose only one ginan? Tradition relates that he mostly preached in Sind, but unfortunately his Sindhi ginans which we expect to have been composed are not available. This matter was possibly happened with the case of other Pirs too.

Another deadly blow hammered on Satpanth literature in the time of Aurengzeb (1658 -

1707) who oppressed both Hindus and Shia Muslims. Ismailis of that time were staunch Shia Muslims if measured by faith, though their culture, names and ways of living were similar to those of Hindus. Under these circumstances, Ismailis had to face on either fronts. Some of

them naturally migrated to a safe place after burying ginans in the grounds. Some fled to Iran to find refuge in Kehak where Imam Hasan Ali I (1661-1695) and then Imam Kassim Shah (1695-1730) resided. Some of them did not return and died there. Some graves of Indian Ismailis of the period under review still exist in Kehak, giving dates in Khojaki script. For instance, the graves of Aga Nihal and Kamadia Muhammed dating 1722 and 1725 respectively. Another anonymous grave bears date 1742. Unfortunately, the Afghan invasion of 1722 demolished the local necropolis and left few extant. One Iranian friend informed me that there exist two graves of Indian Khojas at Mahallat, namely Khoja Peeru and Kamadia Bhalu whose Persian inscriptions giving dates of 1705 and 1711.

However, when the period of oppression ended in India, many Ismailis returned to their homelands and lived in peace ever after. They generally started writing ginans henceforth in Khojaki script, and for the last four centuries, revival of ginans had started, but suffered a setback due to two main reasons :

(a) Ismailis in different districts spoke different dialects, recited ginans conveniently in their own languages with the result that the terminology of other languages contained in ginan suffered in their pronunciation. If we examine the manuscripts of Punjab and Sind, we would certainly find Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi words slightly interpolated.

While inspecting the manuscripts of Kutchh and Kathiawar, the words of Punjabi, Saraiki, Arabic and Persian are seen interpolated. Briefly discussing the transmutation of original words, the following table is a worth noting example at a moment:

<u>Etymon</u>	<u>Anagram</u>	<u>Meaning of etymon</u>
<u>Arabic :</u>		
Man Lahul Mawala	: Maal Haal Maule	: One who has Lord
Fa Lahul Qul	: To fil haal Qul	: He has everything
Mi Rayatto	: Mer-e Chit-Ko	: Whatever I saw
Mur'sal	: Mirasool	: Revealed one
Misbah	: Masbha	: Lamp
<u>Persian :</u>		
Buz	: Bhoj	: Goat
Gurq	: Gorakh	: Wolf
Urusi	: Arushi	: Wedding
<u>Sindhi :</u>		
Gad	: Gahd	: With
Vat	: Vatr	: Sowing season
Nathi	: Natti	: Son-in-Law
<u>Sanskrit :</u>		
Disha	: Dis	: Direction
Balak	: Baluk	: Infant
Savver	: Savar	: Quick
<u>Hindi :</u>		
Than	: Thun	: Place
Jeet	: Jetr	: Victory
Kothi	: Katha	: Godown

In addition, the following proper names
also suffered with interpolation:

<u>Etymon</u>	<u>Anagram</u>
Ind	: Sung
Buzar Ali	: Bhudar Ali
Abdullah	: Abhdalah
Joseph	: Jusb
Islam Shah	: Salam Shah
Altan	: Mulstan
Amascus	: Damushq

These are merely examples for which great
deal of scrutiny require to perge the corrupted
words stealthily crept and obliterated in ginans.

(b) Whatever ginans we have unearthed so
far are incomplete. None can claim that ginans
are complete as same as it were during the time
of Pir Tajuddin. If we take that the present
stock of ginans is entirely complete then they
ought to have been enriched with the words of
languages according to the view established
by Pir Tajuddin. My study reveals that the
ginans handed down to us contain words of not
more than 15 languages. Even then, the ginans
now possess, inspite of their terminology
having suffered, a setback is well preserved.
Half the percent efforts on their research
are made a century or two century earlier,
we would have had a better stock with valuable
manuscripts.

Some believe that the ginans were originally
reserved in oral tradition. Later on, they
are reduced to writing, but I do not agree
with them. The religious hymns that are recited,
are always memorized in reverence, which is a
good evidence for those who hold the foregoing
view about ginans. Actually, ginans were preserved
both orally and in writing. Some verses
from ginans are quoted below in support of our
view :

- a) "Vimras and Surbann wrote down (Akhar Kiya) whatever pir shams had imparted." (2)
- b) "Reading (vanchiy-e) the ginans of Pir, you shall attain salvation knowingly." (3)
- c) "Whoever will read (vanchash-e) ginans, also commit pride." (4)
- d) "One who listens Girbhavali and reads (vanch-e) its theme will be rewarded eternal place, the immortal abode." (5)
- e) "Imam Shah composed the gnan which being the text (granth) of Moman Chetamanni." (6)
- f) "I have written (likh-di) all matters in it." (7)
- g) "All essences are written (likhiya) in it." (8)
- h) "One who reads (Pad-e) he gets the reality manifestly." (9)
- i) "Everything is written (likhiya) in Vel." (10)
- j) "All means of remembrance are written (likhiya) in it." (11)
- k) "Any careless, the ignorant must see by taking up Satvanni Vel." (12)

Above cited verses reveal that the method of writing was certainly in operation during the time of Ismaili Pirs. Is it quite probable that the transcribing system must have been to the limit of some dais missioning under Pirs, and their texts placed in prayer halls for reading and memorizing purposes. When the split of Imam Shahism got its final nook, it seems the writing was generally started both from oral transmission and the fragment of texts since last four centuries.

The scholars are very disappointed while exploring the old MSS. What we have today in private collections are merely ashes, as most of the MSS. were destroyed due to recklessness.

I have been able to access some 62 valuable MSS. in last ten years study from various persons, some of them are very old and mutilated owing to the attack of worms and insects. The unsatched MSS. giving names of scribe and dates in any way, are worthy to valuing them for research purpose. Devdas Khetta by name left a Ms. transcribed in 1902 most probably at Ahmedabad, contains "Anant Khado" of Pir Hasan Kabiruddin, which is quite identical with the printed one, but equipped with an amazing note: "I visited Jirag in 1838 when I was 27 years old, where I saw a wooden box of late Kamadia Bhimo in the possession of Alarakhia Sumar. The box contained a turban, robe, cane and a text of ginans. I was seldom allowed to watch some pages of the text, containing "Das Avatar" of Pir Sadruddin and other granth, written in 1574 Samvat (1518A.D.) both by Kamadia Bhimo and his colleagues. I had been informed that it was used for the cure of diseases." One Ms. pertains to Khoja Bhimji Pindidas dating 1594 Samvat (1538 A.D.) containing 160 ginans, written in 193 mutilated pages being illegible and the text abounded in errors and perversions, rendering many pages meaningless. A diary of Rehmu Moloo of Nagpur is accessed in 231 pages, 90 pages from beginning cover ginans, other portion is reserved for his family account. No date is clearly mentioned, except two dates 1608 Samvat (1552 A.D.) and 1613 Samvat (1557 A.D.) creep in writer's family account, reflecting a probable date of its writing. On 5th. August, 1908, Juma Bhagat claimed before the court of having one Ms. in his possession, dating 1565 A.D. in The Haji Bibi Case, which is not traceable. Another anonymous Ms. of "Brahm Prakash" of Pir Shams giving date of 1692 Samvat (1636 A.D.) contains only some beginning parts. An important Ms. of Abdullah Meherali Dharamshi of Kutch is accessible,

gives date of 1774 or 1775 A.D., was transcribed from an old Ms. of 1693 A.D. of Chandu Bhai Lakhdir. Another worthy Ms. of some ginans, dating 1902 was written by Bhagat Meru, alongwith a significant note: "My grandfather Piru Tikam was an expert in ginans, whose hand written text was in possession of Bhagat Rehm of Sind. It was badly damaged and I was able to go there before it was summoned to the flowing water and transcribed only some legible pages on today 1902, though I am a sick with shaking hands..." There are many other manuscripts giving no dates or names anywhere for our purpose.

However, from the above strength, the MSS. began to transcribe from oral transmission and from some earlier texts, remained in private possession as a sacred literature of Satpanth, most of them suffered with worms and insects and consequently, the destroyed copies are quite unknown. No care was taken by the scribes due to the lack of scholastic spirit. When Imam Hasanali Shah (1817-1881) migrated from Iran to India in 1842, the Indian Ismaili community was cast with the environment of education. I was personally informed by late Alijah Ali Bhai Nanji, a well grounded man in ginans, that Imam Hasanali Shah felt the loss of MSS. and suggested some devotees (bhagat) to collect them. This event took place probably in 1878 or 1880. Some believe that it was Imam Aga Ali Shah, @@@ the second to assign the job. Anyhow, the collection got birth of editing and printing in due course, which had been boxed and earthed for many centuries. The credit for edition went to late Mukhi Lalji Bhai Devraj. He did not mention the date and name of copyists of MSS. from which he prepared editions for research purpose of students who followed his period. Why not? the reason is unknown. It is a tremulous news for the scholars that most of the MSS. were destroyed after getting them printed which has also been confirmed by some scholars. According to W. Ivanow, "I was

told that when about three decades ago a certain collection of the ginans was printed, the manuscripts from which the edition was prepared were buried in the ground." (13) Dr. Azim Nanji holds, "However, once the task of collecting the old manuscripts was done and the printed editions of the ginans put out, a large number of the manuscripts was destroyed." (14) He further writes in support of his view, "Vazier Ismail Jaffer, now living in Nairobi, who had been incharge of the Ismailia Association in Bombay in 1930 also confirmed that such inexplicable things had been done." (15) Prof. Ismail K. Poonawalla maintains, "After they (ginans) were printed most of the manuscripts were either neglected or destroyed, leaving very few extant." (16)

Mukhi Lalji Bhai Devraj continued editing the ginans for about 20 years and then he felt an acute need of listing the editions prepared by himself and others too. In 1922 he brought forth a book entitled, "Raag Malla" furnishing the title of ginans. W. Ivanow also ventured in putting forth a list of "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat." (JBBR. 1936, pp. 22-24) deriving information from Haji Mahomed Fazal and Hussein Sharif, the then editor of the "Ismaili" (Bombay), in which some titles were overlooked and misnamed. In 1948 Ivanow published, "Collectanea" (Vol. I, 1948 pp. 42-43) and again repeated the preceding list with a few insignificant alterations. Realising the titles incomplete, Ivanow again produced another fresh list in his "Ismaili Literature" (Tehran, 1936 pp. 174-181) with the help of J.H. Lakhani of Bombay, but his endeavour does not seem convincing. Ivanow was no longer alive, otherwise he would have amended the shortcomings. Prof. Poonawalla published, "Biobibliography of Ismaili Literature" (Los Angeles, 1977) a marvellous guide-book for the students of Ismailism, also contains a list of ginans (pp. 298-311), but he depended on others information, as

@@@ to have advised the same, but there is a reason to believe that Imam Aga Ali Shah was ...

some titles are overlooked and some errors are clearly visible.

In spite of all these sources, I have read a hand-written book of Bhagat Kara Ruda (d.1931) in Gujarati and also some other anonymous MSS. dealing with titles. We have the published works too for our purpose, but still we find great deal of variations among them, and now I place here a refined list of titles which may be reckoned fresh one till new discoveries sprout out for necessary amendment.

It is necessary to focus a point that Gīnan is simply classified into two catogaries, viz. grānth and general gīnans. Religious lyrics and hymns in poetical style are called general gīnans, while the particular treatises or texts containing history, religious and moral teachings are called grānth both in prose (nāthr) and poetry (nāzm). General gīnans are short poetical lines having no titles, but every grānth has its own title. Therefore, both grānth and general gīnans are jointly known as "Gīnan" or Satpānth literature.

Many gīnans of each catogary possess Varānnī, the word comes from a Sanskrit, "Valli" means "refrain". If the same verse be repeated at the close of each strophe (band), the poem is called "tarji band" or return-tie.

a) PIR SATGUR NUR:

- 1) Putala : (Idol) : In 222 distiches, contains miracles.

- 2) Gīnan : 9

b) PIR SHAMS:

- 1) Brahm Prakash: (Divine Light): A concise compedium in verse for seekers of spiritual enlightenment, contains 150 distiches.

- 2) Hans Hansli nī Varta: (Parable of gander and goose): Also called, "Mulbandh no Achhodo" in 504 couplets with a Vel (17)

- 3) Chandrabann: (Name of a follower): 50 sonnets with a Vel, appendix of 12 sonnets.

- 4) Surban: (Name a follower): 50 sonnets with a Vel of 12 sonnets.

- 5) Raja Goverchand Tatha teni Ben nī Katha: (Parable of king Goverchanda and his sister): In two parts, 295 and 98 verses. Goverchanda becomes an ascetic and his sister Nilavanti tries to dissuade him etc.

- 6) Mansamjmani, Vadi: (Advices to one's mind): A collection of pious thoughts full of stories, consists of 401 poems of 20 lines each. It was compiled by Vimras and Surbann, the famous followers of Pīr.

- 7) Sloko Motto:(Bigger stanza) : Usual pious contents, 240 quatrains.
- 8) Vaek Motto: (Bigger Discourse): With a Vel, 64 plus 31 quatrains, contains worth reading forecasts. (18)
- 9) Garbi : (Song): 28 poems in general ginnan trend, was sung by Pir at Amalvad's temple during the celebration of Norta.
- 10) Ginnan : 78
- c) PIR NASIRUDDIN:
 - 1) Ginnan : 1
- d) PIR SAHIB AL-DIN:
 - 1) Ginnan : 5
- e) PIR SADARUDDIN:
 - 1) Buj Nirinjan:(Cognition of Omniscient): Means of attaining union with the Divine Light, 581 lines divided in 33 parts.
 - 2) Aradh:(Adortion): A dexology divided into 22 parts of 21 lines each in prose.
 - 3) Vinod:(Gaiety) : Adortion and supplication, 22 verses.
 - 4) Gayantri: (Sacred Prayers): Reflects cosmic egg-theory of creation with preaching of Islam, in prose with two parts. Pir Hasan Kabiruddin also shared his authorship.
 - 5) Athar Ved: (Perpetual Discourse): Adortion of Naklank in 11 parts, in prose.

- 6) Surat Samachar:(News about form): Description between good and evil, in prose.
- 7) Girbhavali, Small: (Macrocosmos and Microcosmos) In prose, contains process of birth in mother's womb.
- 8) Budh Avatar : (Incarnation of Buddah): Ninth incarnation is transformed into Islamic motif, 525 lines in verse.
- 9) Das Avatar : (Tenth Incarnation): In prose of 10 Chapters.
- 10) Moman Chitvenni:(Knitting up of a believer's mind) : Also called "To Munivar Bhai Motti", deals with the creation, 552 quatrains.
- 11) Bawan Gatti : (Fifty-two passes): On sins and virtues of soul being questioned at 52 passes by the angels on the way to blessing, in 52 short parts with commentary.
- 12) Girbhavali, Big: (Macrocosmos and Microcosmos): A polyglottic treatise in prose. Its actual title is "Girbhavali Shastr Likhant-i", contains creation and the stages of meditation etc., about in 17 pages.
- 13) Khat Nirinjan:(Six Nirinjans) On knowledge of God, prayers, Imamate, Pirship and superiority of Satpanth, with a Vel, in 260 distiches divided into three parts.

- 14) Khat Darshan: (six Hindu philosophical Schools) : Touches various matters like an encyclopaedia of Satpanth, divided in 4 parts.
- 15) Dawan Bodh : (52 Admonition), So Kiriya: (100 obligatory acts) and Sahi Samranni: (Real Remembrances) : Deal with behaviour, morality and hygiene. So Kiriya also called "Shiksha Patri".
- 16) Sloko Nano : (Small stanza) : 120 quatrains on virtues and sins.
- 17) Chhatris Krodi: (36 Krodi) : Instructive stories in 180 quatrains.
- 18) Ginan: 214
- f) PIR HASAN KABIRUDDIN:
- 1) Gayantri: (Sacred Prayers) : Regarded also as a work of PIR Sadaruddin cf. above.
- 2) Brahm Gayantri: (Doxology) : Deals with creation, in prose. Some lines contain Divine praise in Arabic. Also called "Gayantri Nani".
- 3) Hansnapuri : (Abode of souls) : With a Vel. Deals with cosmogony in 165 and 84 couplets.
- 4) Hasan Kabiruddin Ane Kanipa no Samvad: (Dialogues between PIR Hasan Kabiruddin and Kanipa) : Dealing with various religious discussions between PIR and sage Kanipa. Both in prose and verse.

- 5) Anant Kkhado: (Arena of Anant) : Deals with eschatology in 500 quatrains.
- 6) Anant na nav Chhugga: (Nine Appeals) : Appeals to the Imam praying permission to travel to Iran for the didar. Nine poems, each contains 10 quatrains. It is probably an appendix of Anant Akhado. cf. above.
- 7) Anant na Viva: (Union of Anant) : in 223 verses.
- 8) Satgur Nur na Viva: (marriage of Satgur Nur) : The stories of PIR Satgur Nur's marriage, 222 lines.
- 9) Ginan: 79
- g) PIR TAJUDDIN:
- 1) Ginan: 1
- h) SAYYID IMAM SHAH:
- 1) Naklanki Gita: (Psalm of Naklank) : Cosmogony in prose, about 66 pages.
- 2) Moman Chetamanni: (A Caution for the Believer) : Contains 630 poems of 5 lines each, instructive contents.
- 3) Athar Vedi Gayantri : (A motif from Atharva Veda) : In prose, about 5 pages.
- 4) Momim Chitvarni : (Instructions for Momins) : Also called "To Munivar Bhai Nani" contains 323 quatrains.
- 5) Vis Tol: (Twenty Measurements) : On sins and vices, in 20 lessons with commentary.

- 6) Pandava no Parab: (Chapters on Pandavas) : 578 couplets, was compiled in 1381 A.D.
 - 7) Janatpuri: (Abode of Paradise) : Narration of Imam Shah's visit to Iran, in 153 quatrains.
 - 8) Mul Gayatri: (Basic Sacred Prayers) : Also called "Gayantri Vadi" in prose, divided into several sections, about in 50 pages.
 - 9) Das Avatar Motto: (Ten Incarnation, bigger) : Ten chapters in 1600 couplets.
 - 10) Janmkar: (Battles): In 487 couplets.
 - 11) Mansamjamanni, Nani: (Advices to mind) : With a Vel and 46 sunnat, Puroposing preaching of Islam, 332 couplets.
 - 12) Mulbandh Sol Thal, Char Chowk: (Creation in process of 16 ages) : With 17 ginans, in prose and verse, dealing with cosmogony, virtues and sins.
 - 13) Bai Budhai: (Sister of Imam Shah) : Dealing her talk with her brother on religious matter, 71 short poems.
 - 14) Gugri na Das Ginan: (Ten ginans dedicated to a bell): Ten short poems, dealing with the virtues desirable in the faithful.
 - 15) Ginan : 162
- There are some texts attributed to the author-ship of Imam Shah viz. Patal Gita, Gita Shastr, Athar Vedi Parv, etc., mostly popular among Imam Shahis.

- i) SAYYID NUR MUHAMMED SHAH:
 - 1) Satvenni Motti : (True Words, bigger) : Deals with sufic style enriched with parables of Prophets and saints, in 222 parts, each contains 7 couplets.
 - 2) Satvarni Vade : (True dialect, bigger) : Divided in 316 parts, each one contains 10 lines, dealing with the history from Hazrat Ali to Imam Nizar and then Ismaili Pirs etc. in parables. (19)
 - 3) Satvenni-ji Vel: (Creepers of true words) : Divided in 150 parts, each contains 26 lines. Deals with the history from Hazrat Ali to Imam Nooruddin Ali, chiefly equipped with miracles. The history of post-Alamut era and its dates are very important. The latest dates being 1516 and 1520 A.D. (20)
 - j) SAYYID AHMED SHAH:
 - 1) Si Harfi : (30 Alphabets) : 8 poems in sequence of Arabic alphabets. Means of enlightenment.
- Moreover, the general ginans of the following Pirs and Sayyids of Kadiwal family are available:
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| Pir Hashim Shah | = | 2 |
| Sayyid Mohammed Shah | = | 9 |
| Sayyid Fazal Shah | = | 3 |
| Sayyid Miran Khan | = | 4 |
| Sayyid Abdul Nabi | = | 2 |
| Sayyid Fateh Ali Shah | = | 2 |
| Sayyid Miran Mehdi | = | 2 |
| Bibi Imam Begum | = | 10 |

The following Pirs and Sayyids contributed one ginan each to their credits : Pir Ali Akber Beg, Pir Ali Asghar Beg, Sayyid Mitha Shah, Sayyid Rehmatullah Shah, Sayyid Saleh Shah, Sayyid Miran Muhammed Shah, Sayyid Ladhah Shah, Sayyid Kutubuddin Shah, Sayyid Aal Imam, Sayyid Hussain and Sayyid Ghulam Ali Shah.

Bibi Imam Begum was the last of the ginan composers.

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1. Vide "105 Ginans" part II. ginan no. 69:3, Ismailia Association for India, 1979.
2. Mansamjamanni Vadi by Pir Shams, Verse:401
3. "Collection of Ginans of Pir Shams", Bombay (1952) 62:1
4. "Collection of Ginans of Pir Sadaruddin", Bombay (1952) 151:24
5. Girbhavali Small by Pir Sadaruddin, last lines.
6. Moman Chetmanni, verse 628
7. Satvarni Vade, 316:8
8. Satvenni-ji Vel, 150:6
9. Ibid, 150:14
10. Ibid, 150:16
11. Ibid, 150:24
12. Ibid, 150:25, 26
13. "Collectanea" Vol. I (1948) E.J. Brill, Holland, p. 40
14. Unpublished thesis, "The Nazari Ismaili Tradition in Hind and Sind" McGill University (1978) p. 12
15. Ibid, pp. 221-2
16. "Bibliography of Ismaili Literature", University of California, Los Angeles (1977) p.26
17. Vel means "creeper" which sometimes tailed with some granth, the appropriate word in English is Appendix
18. Scrunity suggests that there must have been Vaek Nano most probably by Pir Sadaruddin, is not unearthed as yet.
19. Satvarni Nandi on the other hand is not traceable.
20. What about Satvenni by the same author?

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