

# A Compendium of Farmans: Directives and Counsel by, or on Behalf of, the First Two Aga Khans to Nizari Ismailis from 1850 to 1891, in the Collection of the Heritage Society - Part 1.

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## Introduction:

For centuries devotees of the Ismaili Imams have diligently recorded the instructions and counsel imparted by their spiritual leaders. These Farmans were either directly delivered by the Imam or conveyed on his behalf by designated “*Satadari*” Pirs<sup>1</sup> of his time or even by rare others who were specifically asked by the Imams to travel and convey his messages to his Jamat (community) in various countries. This tradition continued during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with the Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Aga Khan, who regularly dispatched his son Prince Aly Khan and grandson Shah Karim to conduct religious ceremonies such as *Mahadan Chantas* and issue Farmans on his behalf even to higher levels of initiations known as *Mandlis* and *Majlis*.

The first Aga Khan, Imam Hassan Ali Shah went from Iran to Afghanistan and then to India, making numerous Farmans in the course of his life. In the British archives we find for example a missive saying that the Aga Khan I has conquered the castle of Bam and he has sent to his community a Farman to “be on standby”. This and other Farmans made during his stay in Persia are still to be found and itemized. But some Farmans made by the first Aga Khan in India as well as some made by his son the Aga Khan II in his presence, have been preserved.

Aga Ali Shah who became the next Imam also made Farmans in his capacity as Pir and later as Imam. Surprisingly, despite the pivotal role of the Imam as the guide for the Ismailis in both their material and spiritual life, as well as their interpreter of the Quran, the preservation of these profound words of those they consider as Noor-Light has not been adequately undertaken. During the 1880s’ and onwards great efforts were made in the community to gather the surviving Khojki<sup>2</sup> and Gujarati manuscripts in the subcontinent<sup>3</sup> and subsequently to print the hundreds of *Ginans* and *Granth*s found in that material. However, the extraction and publication of Farmans from the allegedly 3,000 remaining manuscripts of that time did not materialize, and these manuscripts have now been lost.

## Decoding Farmans: Unraveling the Significance and Nature?

An unusually extensive preamble to the revelation of these Farmans becomes imperative owing to the scarcity of substantial research undertaken so far on the subject matter and the contextual backdrop of Farmans.

From a theological perspective, the sanctity of Farmans stems from the divine status bestowed upon the Imam and the Pir<sup>4</sup>. The concept of Shah and Pir, both of whom are an aspect of the same divinity, through which the “Noor” (Light) manifests in both its aspects: as Light of the divine attributes and as Light of He who is beyond divine attributes<sup>5</sup>. Both Manifestations are source of Farmans. Ali Asani notes that the Farmans embody the ongoing and infallible guidance of the Imams, making obedience to them obligatory<sup>6</sup>. The present Ismaili Constitution defines a Farman as “Any pronouncement, direction, order or ruling made or given

by Mawlana Hazar Imam". And the Constitution provides for the fact that a Farman made subsequently to the Constitution can overrule and overturn that Constitution. In the words of the present Imam Aga Khan IV, His Noor is guiding through Farmans<sup>7</sup>.

Historically the Imams have made Farmans both verbally and in writing (called *Talika*). Pirs have made Farmans sometimes in writings, verbally or even as Ginan (Gnosis). A misconception exists among some scholars, perpetuating the notion that the institution of Pirs (*Piratan*) ended with Pir Tajdin which contradicts the rich Ismaili traditions in the subcontinent and their writing in vernacular languages such as the list of "Satadhari" (authorized) Pir in the Asal Dua<sup>8</sup> and the many names of Pirs after Pir Tajdin, such as Pir Ali Akbar Beg, Pir Ali Ashgar Beg, Pir Shihabuddin Shah, even a lady Pir, the mother of Imam Aga Hassanali Shah known as Pir Bibi Sarkar Mata Salamat, all of whom transmitted knowledge in the form of Farmans, epistles books, Ginans, sermons. The present Imam, according to the Will of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah is both Pir and Imam of all Ismailis<sup>9</sup>. The present Imam still gives in his Farmans and Talikas paternal blessings as Imam and maternal blessings as Pir to his Jamat. The Aga Khan III has also equated Ginans and Farmans. Farmans of all past Imams are valid unless abrogated or superseded by a more recent Farmans. Farmans on spiritual matters do not change. Farmans on worldly matters change according to circumstances, era and geography as well as level of understanding of the Jamat or individual to whom they are made.

References to Farmans in relation to Noor can be found in Ginans<sup>10</sup> from different periods, confirming their significance and continued relevance to the Ismaili community. Pir Hassan Kabirdin writes "Eji Sahebe Farman lakhi mokaliya" (The Imam has sent a Farman in writing)<sup>11</sup>. In his "Anant Akhado" verse 211, Pir Hassan Kabirdin wrote: "I inscribed the Holy Farmans"<sup>12</sup>. Syed Imam Shah refers in some ginans to Chandan Vir who brought a Farman from the Imam<sup>13</sup>. Pir Shams has a ginan which states that the Imam sent him with a Farman to assess the faith of the Jamat: "Eji Farman kari Nar-ji boliyaa, tame saambharo Pir Shams vaat; tame jaavo aaj jamaat maa, ane parkho tenaa imaan"<sup>14</sup>. In one Ginan, Pir Sadardin says "Eji Ginan bolore Noor nit bhariya" which means "O momins: Recite the 'Geenaans' everyday as they are full of Light."<sup>15</sup>

### **Chronicles of Ismaili Community Farmans: An History of Compilations:**

For Centuries, Farmans were recorded in writing by devotees as well as professional scribes at the moment they were made. For example the name of Mohamed Kassam comes often as scribe in compilations of Farmans of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah in many manuscripts. In the Subcontinent, manuscript copies were circulated. Individuals and travelers used to make their own copies from each other or from the copies preserved in Jamatkhanas. Copies were sent also to remote settlements as witnessed by one such early 1800s' manuscript which says "Gift from Kutch Jamat to Jangbar (Zanzibar) Jamat."

The first Ismaili Constitution was promulgated in 1905. That Constitution stemmed from many previous documents regulating the community and its loosely constituted institutions at that time. These documents continued to supplement the 1905 Constitution and there were rules and regulations for Volunteers, for Councils and other local and regional institutions. From 1905

to 1986<sup>16</sup>, there were Constitutions<sup>17</sup> as well as Rules, Regulations and Guidelines specific to each region where there was an Ismaili community.

On August 25, 1948, the grand Didar in Dar es Salaam. Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah introduced the Constitution of the Ismailia Associations for Africa and appointed three Presidents for separate Associations within Africa. Additionally, he instructed that this constitution should also be embraced in India, Pakistan, and other global regions. The Imam designated Huzur Wazir Ali Muhammad Macklai as the World Head of all Ismailia Associations<sup>18</sup>. The Ismaili Constitution for Africa<sup>19</sup> of August 1948<sup>20</sup> had rules for the publication of the Farmans which said that “it shall be the duty of the Ismailia Association to record collect and collate Farmans”. In the 1960s, there was an addition and the new rules on publication of Farmans required the signature of the President of the Supreme Council to authenticate their publication. The rules for the publications of Farmans were removed from the new Ismaili Constitution of 1986 and this removal was maintained though subsequent modifications in 1990<sup>21</sup> and later in 1998<sup>22</sup>. The contemporary Ismaili Constitution represents an integrating instrument that serves to bind Ismailis worldwide into a cohesive community. Through the establishment of this singular Constitution encompassing the entirety of the Ismaili population, the onus of publishing Farmans was unequivocally lifted from the institutions operating under its purview, thereby reinstating exclusive authority to the Imam. Consequently, the Imam retained absolute autonomy in determining whether, where, and when to direct specific individuals or institutions of his preference to undertake the dissemination of these sacred pronouncements.

### **Scope of this paper:**

The scope of this paper is to make a comprehensive Inventory of old Farmans in the Khojki and Gujarati manuscripts collection of the Heritage Society ([library.ismaili.net](http://library.ismaili.net)) within the context of gathering and unearthing unknown and lesser known historical sources. It is not to produce an anthology. This research does not include Farmans of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Aga Khan though many were made in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. It also does not contain Farmans made to various levels of initiations (Mijlases), only general Farmans have been listed. Farmans of Aga Khan III are to be found in the many manuscripts and books printed during the life of the 48<sup>th</sup> Imam mostly in Khojki, Gujarati, some in other scripts and would necessitate a separate project. This investigation bears a crucial caveat: not all the documents housed within the Heritage Society's repository have undergone cataloging. Furthermore, the scope of this study is restricted to the information presently accessible, as the collection continually expands. We recognize that as the cataloging process unfolds comprehensively, a wealth of additional Farmans is expected to be unveiled, contributing further insights to the corpus under examination.

All of the dates in Hijri or Samvat calendar, whenever available, have been converted to Common Era format for uniformity purpose. Khojki manuscripts have several formats for the date, sometimes mixing calendar such as in hs0359 p.154 the Farman of Aga Jangi Shah is dated 1947 Samvat calendar Chaiter Sudh month and Hijri Calendar Ramzan 13. For the list below, it is referenced as 1891 C.E. There are about 100 Farmans listed for the 40 years covered by this study and the list may grow once the few manuscripts containing each more than 120 pages of Farmans made in the 1800s' will be scanned and catalogued. Addenda to this article shall be written at that time.

## Research and sources within the community:

### 1. First Ismailia Association Conference Dar es Salam 1945:

Here is an extract of the instruction of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah<sup>23</sup>

*“ Also read all the Farmans, my Farmans and the Farmans of Aga Ali Shah and Aga Hasan Ali Shah which have not been published.”*

Almost eighty years after this instruction, we can see that there has not been any compilation of this kind accessible to the community.

### 2. Paris Conference 1975:

The Minutes of the Paris Conference<sup>24</sup> signed by Eqbal Rupani reports at page 42 under paragraph 6.2.4 to 6.2.6 that Farmans of Aga Hassanali Shah and Aga Ali Shah are to be collected by Ismaili Association for Pakistan and a bibliography forwarded to the Coordinator by 30 June 1976, it also provides for the material to be sent to IIS. The question arises as to whether the said compilation was indeed executed, and if so, what accounted for its subsequent disappearance over the course of time, from its presumed custodianship by the Coordinator, the Ismailia Association for Pakistan and the Institute of Ismaili Studies, to the final moments of the closing of the Supreme Council offices in Nairobi, culminating in the advent of the new 1986 Ismaili Constitution.

### 3. Farman of Aga Khan IV on 13 Dec 2003

*“My Jamat would know that during the past decades much time and effort has been taken to reconstitute our knowledge of our own history. Knowledge which had been buried by time, which has sometimes been buried on purpose by others, but which it is essential that we should reconstitute and use in order to inform ourselves as to the practices and beliefs and the ethics of the past within the Jamat, the guidance that was given by the Imams of the Time, and to inform ourselves so as better to project into the future a number of important decisions.”<sup>25</sup>*

### 4. Zawahir Noorali (Moir) in her M.A. Thesis on Aga Khan and the British she quotes only few small extracts<sup>26</sup>.

### 5. Ismailia Association Pakistan collection:

Zawahir's catalogue of Khojki manuscripts<sup>27</sup> at the IAP is a treasure trove. It mentions Farmans of Pir Bibi Sarkar Mata Salamat and Aga Ali Shah in few Khojki manuscripts. I am listing those for the benefit of the reader. KM/S-06, KH/17 with 2 Farmans of Aga Ali Shah dated 1872 another one without date copied from a book by Alijah Mukhi Datubhai, KM/S-70 which contains 2 farmans of Pir Salamat in Karachi in 1848, KM/S-72 having 2 pages from Pir Bibi Sarkar and Aga Ali Shah and KM/S-84 which seems to have a sizable collection of 69 pages of Farmans by Pir Bibi Sarkar as well as KM/S-86 with 2 pages of Aga Ali Shah dated 1878. It is noteworthy that KM/S-67 contains a Kafi of Aga

Ali Shah, KM/S-96 contains some notes on the death of Aga Hassanali Shah and the KM/S-109 report the death of Pir Salamat on page 8.

6. **Ali Asani's** catalogue of the Harvard collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic languages mention a few Farmans of Aga Khan III and in MS ISM K25 some prayers attributed to Imam Aga Hassanali Shah.
7. **Institute of Ismaili Studies** in London has a voluminous Khojki manuscripts collection: The collection of an estimated 650 or so Khojki Manuscripts at the IIS is not publicly available; therefore it is difficult to know how many Farmans or even how many manuscripts it contains. The microfiches that I had seen in year 2000 did not seem to have any, in particular I could not find in the microfilm the manuscripts of the Ismaili Association for Pakistan containing the said Farmans though they were apparently sent to the IIS in London. Zawahir's partial catalog of IIS manuscripts does not use the word "Farman" but she may have used some other words to preempt any passionate debate on this subject.
8. **Mumtaz Ali Tajddin:** This prolific and well-known author of works on Ismaili history has mentioned extracts of Farmans made during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in his Encyclopedia, his books on Ismaili Heroes and on Ismaili History<sup>28</sup>.
9. **Heritage Society** archives have several hundred pages of Farmans of various Imams for the period covered by this paper as well as for other periods. These are in manuscripts and in book format in various scripts. In particular, there are three or four Farman manuscripts between 100 and 200 pages each. Some of these Farmans were identified during the workshops of the SOS Khojki Conference in 1990.<sup>29</sup>
10. **Personal collections:** There are some of these Farmans compiled by zealous Ismailis and circulated among small groups. There is also a book named "Gnan Sanghra" which contains several of these Farmans but it is like some other compilation, neither edited nor published in a systematic manner. They also do not contain information about sources or names of compilers and it is therefore difficult to assess their integrity.

#### **Authors of Farmans during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century:**

1. **Bibi Sarkar Mata Salamat** as 44<sup>th</sup> Pir: (1772 – 1877) Bibi Sarkar, the only lady Pir and mother of Aga Hassan Ali Shah lived, according to some sources, up to 105 years. She died in Kera and was transported for burial in Najaf. she was asked by her son the Imam Aga Hassanali Shah to make Farmans and some are preserved in manuscript sources. According to Mumtaz Ali Tajddin she died in 1832<sup>30</sup>.
2. **Aga Hassan Ali Shah Aga Khan I as Imam:** (1804-1881) 46<sup>th</sup> Imam, born in Kahek or Mahallat, Iran – died in India and was buried in Hassanabad, Bombay. He became Imam in 1816. He arrived in Kandahar, Afghanistan in 1841 and in Bombay, India in 1844. Aga Khan Case was in 1866. His autobiography *Ibrat-i Afza* was written in 1851 for the general public and was previously published in Farsi in 1861 and Gujarati in 1865 by

Bawa Najarali Karimdad and more recently published in English<sup>31</sup> translation but it does not contain any Farmans.

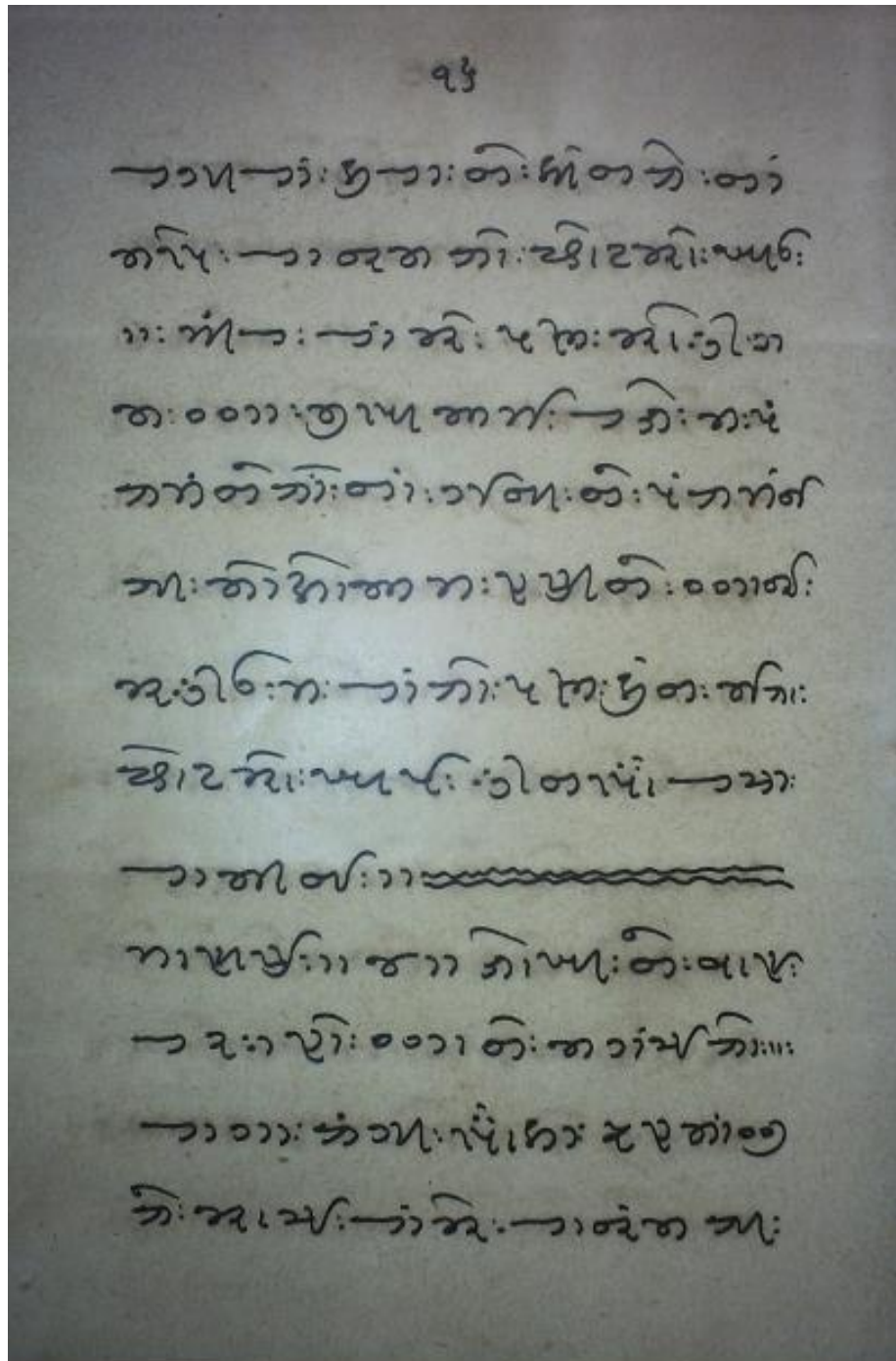
3. **Aga Ali Shah as 46<sup>th</sup> Pir:** (1830-1885). He was born in Mahallat, Iran and died in Poona – He was Pir from 1877 to 1881 but it seems that he was making Farmans since at least 1848 well before he became Pir as Naoroji Dumasia says that Aga Ali Shah was given the title of Pir only after he arrived to Bombay from Baghdad where he stayed up to 1867<sup>32</sup>. If this date by Dumasia is correct, one wonders how we have his Farmans dated as early as 1850. Aga Ali Shah used to make Farmans in the presence of His father, the Imam of that time and vice versa. The bulk of surviving Farmans made by Aga Ali Shah was conveyed during his tenure of *Piratan*.



4. **Aga Ali Shah Aga Khan II** as 47<sup>th</sup> Imam - from 1881 to 1885: We have fewer Farmans of him as Imam than as Pir. In fact, there are more Farmans of Aga Ali Shah available than those of Aga Hassanali Shah, Pir Bibi Sarkar, and others mentioned above. Aga Ali Shah was Imam and Pir both at the same time for one year in 1881 before naming Pir Shihabuddin Shah as Pir in 1882.
5. **Pir Shihabuddin Shah** (b.1851 in Khirman or in Bhagdad , d. 17 Aug. 1885) . He made Farmans as 47<sup>th</sup> Pir from 1882 at the age of 30 years and had a short *Piratan* of 3 years before his demise in 1885. He wrote books such as *Risala Dar Haqiqat-i Din*, *Khitabat-i-Aliyya* and *Nasa'ih-i Sarkar-i Pir*. He taught Dua<sup>33</sup> to the Jamat and made several Farmans. A Khojki manuscript compiled in 1896 which has the stamp of Hasham Visram of Zanzibar contains 53 pages of Farmans followed by the Dua recited in 1881 by Pir Shihabuddin Shah to the Jamat in the presence of Imam Aga Ali Shah.<sup>34</sup> Nurun Mubeen also mentions on page 446 about him teaching the proper pronunciation of the three times Dua.<sup>35</sup>
6. **Aga Jangi Shah:** (1848 – 1898) He made Farmans as directed by young Imam Aga Khan III in India, Oman and Muscat. He was murdered in Jeddah in 1898 probably by some disgruntled members of his own family<sup>36</sup> as he had been instrumental in transferring the wealth of his brother Aga Ali Shah to the next Imam instead of keeping for him and his children. Aga Jangi Shah was the tutor of Aga Khan III in his young age. 17 of his Farmans made around 1891 have been recorded together with 14 Farmans of Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah for the same year in Khojki manuscript HS0359 originally found from Zanzibar and dated 1892. These records date well before the death of Aga Jangi Shah.<sup>37</sup>
7. **Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III:** (2 November 1877 – 11 July 1957) – Dozens of books of his Farmans have been published in Khokji, Gujarati, Urdu and even English though there is no proper documentation or complete list made to date neither

for his general Farmans not for those he has made to higher levels of initiation. He made some during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; these are outside the scope of this short study.

Page 16 from a Khojki Manuscript from library.ismaili.net numbered HS0359. It contains 17 Farmans of Aga Jangi Shah made around 1891 C.E. on behalf of Imam Sultan Muhammad Shah. The manuscript is dated 1892 C.E. and contains 390 pages.



hs0359-pic-0014-left.jpg

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## **Eminent Pronouncements: Examples of Notable Farmans:**

In the annals of the 19th Century, a plethora of intriguing Farmans emerged, and, we present here a glimpse into the treasure trove enshrined within the collection.

1. **On Bar-Bhaya Case:** It is in these vivid words that the Scribe write in one manuscript how the Imam came to give his Farman to the Jamat after winning the Barbhaya Case: “After winning the Barbhai Case, Sarkar Mowlana Aga Shah Hassan Ali Shah and Aga Pir Salamat Gur Datar Aga Ali Shah arrived in the Jamatkhana, wearing swords and in gold plated dresses. There was such beauty and radiance on Their faces that it reminded (the scribe) of the verses from the Holy Ginan by Pir Sadardin, "Saminé teje te samu na jovay...". (No one can look at the radiance of the Lord) At that time, Kamadia Khaku brought in the presence of Khudawind ten people, and informed that these people left our faith but have now begged for forgiveness and rejoined our faith. The Imam was very pleased on hearing this.”
2. **Takht Nashini of Aga Ali Shah as Imam:** In 1881 C.E. when Aga Ali Shah became Imam, on the day of his enthronization he made the following Farman: “Bombay Jamat, Kathiawar Jamat, Halar Jamat, Surat Jamat, Kutch Jamat, Sind Jamat, Punjab Jamat, My Zanzibar Jamat and all My other Jamats, We are forgiving all sins of Our Jamats. Khanavadan. Khanavadan. O Momins, We are your Leader and True Lord of this world and the next. I am Ya Ali, I am Imam Hussein. Whatever you want to ask, ask Us”
3. **Farman on Creation:** The third day of the month of Badr Ashoud 1934 of the Samvat Calendar (1877 C.E.) “Gur Pir Salamat Datar Hazrat Sarkar Noor Mowlana Shah Ali Shah Datar made the following Farman: God was a hidden treasure at first. He wanted to become known, so He created at first Love (Heth) from where He created scum and from scum He created an egg. After bursting the egg, He created the entire universe.”
4. **Ethics and Karma:** In Sawant 1912 (C.E. 1856) the following Farman: “Everyone receives according to their Karma. In the eyes of God, everyone is equal whether they be Hindus or Muslims. Therefore, show kindness and offer help to those who are poor or inferior to you. ... In Jamatkhana, if a woman is sitting next to a man, the two of them should consider each other as brother and sister. Not only in Jamatkhana, but wherever you may be, men should consider other women as sisters and women should consider other men as brothers or fathers”



**Initial compilation of the second half of 19th Century Farmans extracted from the manuscript holdings of library.ismaili.net:**

After this rather lengthy introduction to the subject, here is the extent of Farmans made between 1850 and 1891 and presently available for consultation in the Ismaili Heritage archives. The list of about 100 Farmans is sorted by manuscript number but can be sorted by date or author.

The following abbreviations have been used for the names in the tables below:

**PBS:** Pir Bibi Sarkar Mata Salamat

**HAS :** Hassanali Shah (Aga Khan I)

**AAS:** Ali Shah (Aga Khan II)

**PSS:** Pir Shihabuddin Shah

**AJS:** Aga Jangi Shah

hs #	p. #	Farman #	Author	Place	Date YY	Year Samvat	Month Samvat	Day Samvat	Year Hijri	Month Hijri	Day Hijri
hs0001	9	3	AAS	Mumbai	1881						
hs0001	1	1	HAS	N/A	1874	1930	Maagsar Sudh	2			
hs0001	2	2		N/A	1878	1934	Bhadarva Sudh	3			
hs0001	11	4		Mumbai	1884						
hs0016	83	1	AAS	N/A	1878	1934	Bhadarvo	3			
hs0029	0	0	AAS	Mumbai	1864	1920				Ramzan	19
hs0029	1	1	AAS	Mumbai	1864	1920				Ramzan	19
hs0029	6	2	AAS	Mumbai	1864	1920				Ramzan	19
hs0029	13	3	AAS	Junagadh	1867	1923	Ashaad	1			
hs0029	21	5	AAS	N/A	1870	1926	Jeth	5			
hs0029	34	6	AAS	Saras Bungalow on the way to Pune	1870	1926					
hs0029	171	11	AAS	Mumbai at return from Pune	1870	1926					
hs0029	44	7	AAS	Wadi Bungalow	1871	1927	Jeth	9			
hs0029	149	10	AAS		1872	1928	Ashu	25			
hs0029	182	12	AAS		1872	1928	Magsar	3			
hs0029	197	13	AAS		1872	1928	Shravan	3			
hs0029	17	4	AAS	Kathiawar	1873	1929	Ashaad	1			
hs0029	127	8	AAS		1873	1929	Ashu	17			
hs0029	134	9	AAS		1873	1929	Ashu	25			
hs0035	N/A	1	HAS		1860	1916					
hs0060	164	6	AAS	Junagadh	1867	1923	Ashad Sud	23			
hs0060	91	3	AAS		1880	1936	Ashad Sud	2			

hs0060	92	4	AAS		1880	1936	Ashad Sud	3			
hs0060	170	7	AAS	Junagadh	1880	1936	Ashad Sud	1			
hs0060	172	8	AAS		1880	1936	Vaisakh	5			
hs0060	94	5	AAS		1881	1937	Ashad Sud	11			
hs0060	57	1	AAS	Mumbai	N/D						
hs0060	74	2	AAS	Karachi	N/D					Mohara	10
hs0080	pic27r		AAS		1868	1924	Ashad Sud	10			
hs0080	pic34r		AAS		1871	1927	Ashad Sud	24			
hs0119	1	1	AAS		1872	1928					
hs0167	pic62	1	AAS		1881	1937	Jeth	2			
hs0167	pic85	2	AAS		1881	1937					
hs0250	78	3	AAS		1872	N/D					
hs0250	64	1	PBS		1850					1266	
hs0250	71	2	PBS		1850					1266	
hs0256	1	1	AAS		1878	1934	Bhadarwa	3			
hs0264	37	1	AAS		1881	1937					
hs0339	N/A	6	AAS		1874	1930					
hs0339	N/A	2	AAS		1878						
hs0339	N/A	3	AAS		1881						
hs0339	N/A	4	AAS		1883	1939					
hs0339	N/A	7	AAS	Mumbai	1884						
hs0339	N/A	5	AAS		N/D						
hs0339	N/A	1	PSS		1884	1940					
hs0341	46	6	AAS	Mumbai	1865	1921					
hs0341	44	7	AAS	Mumbai	1868						
hs0341	43	5	AAS	Mumbai	1874	1930					
hs0341	42		AAS	Mumbai	1881						
hs0341	17	3	AAS		1882	1938	Bhadarva Sud	2			
hs0341	41	4	AAS	Mumbai	1884	1940					
hs0341	1	1	AAS	Karachi	N/D	N/D				Mohra	
hs0341	9	2	AAS	Mumbai	N/D	N/D					
hs0342	52	7	AAS		1850	1906					
hs0342	1	1	AAS	Mumbai	1864	1920				Ramzan	19
hs0342	7	2	AAS	Junagadh	1867	1923	Ashad	1			
hs0342	9	3	AAS	Kathiawar	1867	1923	Ashad	1			
hs0342	11	4	AAS	Mumbai	1871	1927	Ashad	1			
hs0342	16	5	AAS	Mumbai	1871	1927	Jeth	5			
hs0342	22	6	AAS	Wadi no bungalow	1871	1927	Jeth	20			
hs0342	73	10	AAS	Mumbai	1872	1928		25			
hs0342	87	11	AAS	Mumbai	1872	1928	Maha				
hs0342	91	12	AAS	Mumbai	1872	1928					
hs0342	94	13	AAS		1872	1928	Shravan	3			
hs0342	64	8	AAS		1873	1929	Asovad	17			
hs0342	67	9	AAS		1873	1929	Aso	25			
hs0359	1	1	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	1
hs0359	3	2	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	2
hs0359	5	3	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	3
hs0359	16	4	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	4

hs0359	36	5	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	5
hs0359	57	6	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	6
hs0359	79	7	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	7
hs0359	87	8	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	8
hs0359	95	9	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	9
hs0359	109	10	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	10
hs0359	116	11	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	11
hs0359	138	12	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	12
hs0359	154	13	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	13
hs0359	160	14	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	14
hs0359	166	15	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	15
hs0359	183	16	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	16
hs0359	194	17	AJS	Vade Khane	1891	1947	Chaiter Sudh		1308	Ramzan	17
hs0382	N/A		AAS	34 Farmans in 209 pages of 1872 to 1903							

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The expression Satadhari Pirs is used for the Pirs named in the Asal Dua, Satadhari means Authorized. For a list of Satadhari Pirs, refer to the translation of the 9<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Asal Dua by Dr Al-Waez Abualy Alibhai:

<http://sun.ismaili.net/re/dua.html>

<sup>2</sup> Aziz, Al-Waez Rai Abualy (1990): "On the Origin of Khojki Script". Proceedings of the S.O.S Khojki Conference, January 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> 1990, Toronto, Canada. Edited by Salim Juma and Nagib Tajdin. Montréal: The Heritage Society, 47–48. <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/38456>

<sup>3</sup> Zahir Bhalloo and Iqbal Akhtar: " Les manuscrits du sud de la vallée de l'Indus en écriture khojkī sindhī: état des lieux et perspectives » <https://doi.org/10.1515/asia-2016-0029>

<sup>4</sup> Nagib Tajdin : "The narrative of the two Lights in the tradition of the Ginans, prayers and religious ceremonies of the Satpanth Nizari Ismailis as an attempt to define the concept of the Divine through the Noor of Shah and Pir". 2022

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/361884610> The narrative of the two Lights in the tradition of the Ginans prayers and religious ceremonies of the Satpanth Nizari Ismailis as an attempt to define the concept of the Divine through the Noor of Sh

<sup>5</sup> Nagib Tajdin: "The concept of 'GOD beyond God' in the Khat Nirinjan of Pir Sadardin: a personal exegesis" in GINANS: Texts and Contexts: Essays on Ismaili Hymns from South Asia in Honour of Zawahir Moir. Edited by Tazim R. Kassam and Francoise Malisson, Primus Books, 2010. <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/29733>

<sup>6</sup> Asani, Ali: "From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim: The Articulation of the Ismaili Khoja Identity in South Asia", p.19 Published in Farhad Daftary, Modern History of the Ismailis, 2010 - [https://www.academia.edu/69950884/From\\_Satpanthi\\_to\\_Ismaili\\_Muslim\\_The\\_Articulation\\_of\\_Ismaili\\_Khoja\\_Identity\\_in\\_South\\_Asia?email\\_work\\_card=title](https://www.academia.edu/69950884/From_Satpanthi_to_Ismaili_Muslim_The_Articulation_of_Ismaili_Khoja_Identity_in_South_Asia?email_work_card=title)

<sup>7</sup> Kalame Imam e Zaman, Golden Edition, 2009- p.170 : Farman of Aga Khan IV, Karachi, Pakistan – 13 December 1964.

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- <sup>8</sup> Asal Dua (in Khojki script) a page with names of Pir after Pir Tajdin: <https://library.ismaili.net/books/kbdg120-pic-0009-right> - The list in English script is available on this link: <https://forum.ismaili.net/viewtopic.php?p=3185#p3185>
- <sup>9</sup> Aga Khan III : Will – “I appoint my grandson KARIM, the son of my son ALY SOLOMON KHAN, to succeed to the title of AGA KHAN and to be the IMAM and PIR of all my Shia Ismailian followers “  
<https://www.ismaili.net/amyn/will.html>
- <sup>10</sup> There are such examples in the following link: <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/30134>
- <sup>11</sup> Pir Hassan Kabirdin / Source: bhg4-053 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/3781>.
- <sup>12</sup> This and numerous other similar sources are quoted in <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/30134>
- <sup>13</sup> Seyyed Imam Shah. Source: bhg1-029 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 . “Jire bhaaire saahbjinaa khat maanhe aysaa-j likhiyaa Imaamshaah tame am ghar aavoji.” - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/4104> ) and Pir Indra Imaamdin. Source: bhg5-054 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934. “Eji Shaahnaa khat aayaa viraa janpudip maanhe; kaany laaviyaa laaviyaa chandan vir” <https://ismaili.net/ginans/transcription/part5/bhg5-054.html> - Pir Hassan Kabirdin: Source: bhg4-053 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 - “Eji Saahebe farmaan lakhi mokalyaa” <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/3781> - Garbis of Pir Shams number 16: “Nar Kassam Shah na Farman thi gur Shams ramwa nisariya re ma” - <https://library.ismaili.net/books/hs0071-sal13-pic-0175-left>
- <sup>14</sup> Pir Shams: Source: bhg3-022 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay , Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/3911>
- <sup>15</sup> Pir Sadardin: Source: bhg4-093 - 600 Ginans published by: Recreation Club Institute, Bombay, Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1934 - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/3741>
- <sup>16</sup> 1986 Ismaili Constitution: <https://www.ismaili.net/Source/extra1.html>
- <sup>17</sup> Some of the Constitutional instruments from 1905 to 1962: [https://library.ismaili.net/document-list?combine=Constitution&field\\_script\\_value=All&field\\_hs\\_manuscript\\_code\\_value=&sort\\_by=title&sort\\_order=ASC](https://library.ismaili.net/document-list?combine=Constitution&field_script_value=All&field_hs_manuscript_code_value=&sort_by=title&sort_order=ASC)
- <sup>18</sup> Mumtaz Ali Tajddin, “101 Ismaili Heroes – Vol 1”, Karachi 2001 - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/book/export/html/20664>
- <sup>19</sup> 1948 Ismaili Constitution for Africa: <http://ismaili.net/source/legal-documents/1948-ismaili-constitution.pdf>
- <sup>20</sup> 1948, August 1: Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah arrived in Nairobi and gave a Didar to the Ismailis in the evening. On that occasion, the Imam also discussed the Constitution of the Ismailia Associations with Major Maklai. The new Constitution was to be introduced the same year on August 25th.
- <sup>21</sup> 1990 Ismaili Constitution: <http://ismaili.net/source/legal-documents/1987-india-rules-and-regulations.pdf>
- <sup>22</sup> 1998 Ismaili Constitution: <http://ismaili.net/source/legal-documents/1998-ismaili-constitution.pdf>
- <sup>23</sup> Aziz, Abualy missionary: “The first Ismailia Mission Conference”, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, July 1945: <http://ismaili.net/timeline/1945/1945-ismaili-association-conference.pdf>
- <sup>24</sup> Rupani, Eqbal, Coordinator: “Minutes of the Ismailia Association Conference,” Paris 1975 - <http://ismaili.net/source/legal-documents/1975-paris-conference-minutes-rupani.pdf>
- <sup>25</sup> “Kalame-Imam-e-Zaman, Golden Edition” (Farmans 1957-2009), Montreal, Canada 2009, p.1086

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<sup>26</sup> Noorali, Zawahir: “The First Aga Khan and the British “ (unpublished thesis), University of London, 1964.

<sup>27</sup> Noorally, Zawahir: “Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of the Ismailia Association for Pakistan”, I.A.P. Karachi, 1971 - <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/28862>

<sup>28</sup> Work of Mumtaz Ali Tajddin, (many that contains extracts of Farmans of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century) can be found on this link: <http://heritage.ismaili.net/search/node/Mumtaz+Ali+Tajddin>

<sup>29</sup> S. Juma and N. Tajdin: “Proceedings of the SOS Khojki Conference, Toronto 1990.  
<http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/38456>

<sup>30</sup>Tajddin, Mumtaz Ali: “Ismaili Pirs, Vakil & Sayeds of South Asian Regions”, Islamic Book Publisher, Karachi, 2015, p.94: <http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/36941>

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Beben and Daryoush Mohammad Poor (Ed. and transl) : “The First Aga Khan: Memoirs of the 46th Ismaili Imam: A Persian Edition and English Translation of Hasan 'Ali Shah's Tarkha-i 'ibrat-afza”, I.B. Taurus, 272p, London 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Dumasia, Naoroji: “The Aga Khan III and his Ancestors”, Times of India Press, 1939 -  
<http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/31443>

<sup>33</sup> Asal Dua recited by Pir Shihabuddin Shah: <https://library.ismaili.net/books/hs0167-tnk2-pic-0063-right>

<sup>34</sup> Stamp of Hasambhai Visram: <https://library.ismaili.net/documents/HS0167%20>

<sup>35</sup> Nurum Mubeen paragraph on Aga Ali Shah and on the Asal 3 times Dua:  
<https://library.ismaili.net/books/bogg0021-pic-0054-left>

<sup>36</sup> One may think of Haji Bibi, the daughter of Aga Jangi Shah who after the demise of her father tried to appropriate for her family the assets of Mowlana Sultan Muhammad Shah the Aga Khan III in 1908 (Haji Bibi Case) :  
<http://heritage.ismaili.net/node/29460>

<sup>37</sup> Example of a page of Farmans of Aga Jangi Shah in Khojki manuscript hs0359:  
<https://library.ismaili.net/documents/hs0359>