Contents

Foreword by Michel Boivin XI Acknowledgments XV List of Figures XVIII

Introduction 1 The Khōjā: History and Importance 2 The Khōjā from the Perspective of Indian Ocean Studies 7 The Current Study: Methodology 9 A Note on Terminology 11 The Current Study: Overview 14 Chapters 1 and 2: The Genealogy and Migration of the Khōjā 14 Chapter 3: Religious Citizenship 15 Chapters 4 and 5: Quranic Gujarati, Epigraphy, and the Doʿāʾono Majmū'ō 19 Chapter 6: Shrines 21 Chapter 7: The Veil 26 Conclusion 27

PART 1 Historiography

1Geneaology: The Origins of the Khōjā33Religious Origins33Migration and Diaspora35Schism35From Indic Caste to Islamic Nationhood44Esoteric versus Exoteric Readings of Khōjā Religion45

 2 The African Khōjā: From the Colonial Period to the Present 48 The Colonial Period 48
The Postcolonial Period: African Independence 51
The Development of the Khōjā Community in Dar es Salaam 54
Khōjā Confederation from the Postwar Period to the Present 56
Khōjā Demographics in Modern-Day Africa 58

PART 2

Politics

3 The Evolution of Khōjā Political Power: Religious Citizenship 67 Introduction 67 Khōjā Membership as Communal Citizenship 67 **Conditions of Membership** 68 The Center: Ethnicity and Gender 68 The Periphery: Intermarriage and Half-Castes 70 **Constitutional Organization** 72 Taxation 76 Social Welfare 77 **Foreign Policy** 79 Uganda: 1972 Asian Expulsion 79 Somalia: Operation Ghadeer 80 Conclusion 82

PART 3

Linguistics

4 The Khōjā Language: Quranic Gujarati 93 Introduction 93 Background 93 Bohra Gujarati: A Move toward Persianized Urdu and Arabic 94 Ismā'il's Quranic Transliteration Scheme 96 Historical Background: Religious Texts for the Laity 96 **Opposition and Legal Rulings** 97 The Increasing Importance of Arabic Texts 98 Detailed Analysis: Consonants 99 Detailed Analysis: Vowels and Punctuation Marks 102 Comparative Analysis: The Quran, Chapter 1, Verses 1–7 104 Adoption 106 Indo-African Epigraphy: Seven Inscriptions 107 Inscription 1. An Early Entryway Inscription on the Khōjā Hujjatul Islam Masjid 108 Inscription 2. An Entryway Inscription on a Khōjā Caravanserai 108 Inscription 3. A Later Entryway Inscription on the Khōjā Hujjatul Islam Masjid 110

Inscription 4. An Entryway Inscription on the Agakhani Khoja Poor Women's Home 111 Inscription 5. An Entryway Inscription on an Āgākhānī Khōjā Iamātkhānā 112 Inscription 6. A Façade Inscription on a Khōjā Widows' Home (Vidhvāśram) 113 Inscription 7. A Memorial Entryway Inscription on a Kuwwatul Islam Imāmvādō 114 Polyglotism 115 Conclusion 116

5 Khōjā Religious Texts: The Do'āono Majmū'o 118

Introduction 118 Overview 118 Table of Contents 119 The Text: Selective Analysis 121 List of Names 121 Prayers for Alleviating Difficulty 122 Sacred Maps 122 Quranic Bibliomancy 125 The *Majmū*'ō in African Praxis 128 Conclusion 129

PART 4

Ethnology

6 Ritual Space: Khōjā Shrines 137 Introduction 137 The *Mēhphīl* as a Sacred Space 137 Material Culture, Worship, and Fellowship in Shrines 138 Material Culture 138 Worship: The Khōjā Majlis 140 Communal Fellowship: The Caste Feast 144 **Other Ritual Spaces: Taboos** 145 The Story of a Shrine: Mehphile Abbas 147 Sacrality 150 Conferring Sacrality: Historical Rituals and Modern Renovation 150 Permanent and Temporary Sacrality 151

Shifts in Sacrality 152 Performing Sacrality 153 The Proliferation of Shrines 155 Conclusion 157

7 The Body: The Khōjā Adoption of the Veil 158 Introduction 158 Overview: Abbasi's Lectures and the Complex Background of the Adoption of the Veil 159 Historical Precedent: Use of the Veil before the 1980s 160 The Adoption of the Veil among the Ismaili Bohra 161 The Influence of Postcolonial Changes 162 Postcolonial Insecurity 162 Dar es Salaam Hegira 163 The Influence of Zanzibari Culture 164 Symbolism of the Veil in Narrative Prayers 166 Narratives of Resistance to Colonization 168 The Influence of Iran 160 Prerevolutionary Iran 169 The Iranian Revolution: Messianic Iran 170 Postrevolutionary Iran: A Utopian Dystopia 170 Veiling Change: The Veil in Modern-Day Discourses 173 The Veil as a Source of Power: Feminist Discourse and Resistance to Western Oppression 173 The Missionary Imperative 174 The Islamic Concept: The Veil as an Expression of Islamic Culture 176 *Résistance*: Nonadoption of the Veil 177 Conclusion 178

Conclusion 180

Lexicon 185 Bibliography 194 Index 221