religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Hadīth literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Muḥaddith of Delhi [q.v.], and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samājīst Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Christian missionaries. 

The Ahl-i Ḥaḵḵ church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorzky, Notes, 46, 35]. There are twelve main ḥanādāns or šiiṣās (infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Dīlāʿī (Minorzky, Notes, 48, 35]) and the Tūmirī (a highly abnormal group) (Minorzky, Etudes, I). The account by Goineau, the Fīrān and the text published by W. Ivanov reveals a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the Sarangām (in the Āṭāb-ḵegh version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Āṭāb-ḵegh documents, to be supplemented later by material from the Fīrān, the author of which was a Ḵẖāmūshī (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḵḵ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: “to become incarnate” means “to come in a garment” (libīs, Ḟīmā, ūm < Turk. *dom). On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (yārān-i ṭār-malak) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the Sarangām is given below.

In pre-eternity (aṣnāf) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (durr). He made his first external appearance in the person of ʿĪṣā the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of ʿAll. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḵḵ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: ʿuṣūra, ʿuṣūla, maʿrīfa and ḭaḵša. According to all branches of the sect, the Ahl-i Ḥaḵḵ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: “to become incarnate” means “to come in a garment” (libīs, Ḟīmā, ūm < Turk. *dom). On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (yārān-i ṭār-malak) with whom he forms a close group.

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Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven “garments”, the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable, and Sultan Sohak is often spoken of in the epoch of Sultan Sohak or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khwandagār from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breast, the fourth and

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<tr>
<td>1. Khāwandāgar</td>
<td>Dījrāʿīl</td>
<td>Mīkāʾīl</td>
<td>ʾArrāʾīl</td>
<td>Fāṭima</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Murtaḍā ʿAll</td>
<td>Salmān</td>
<td>Ḵânbar</td>
<td>Nuṣayr</td>
<td>Māmā Dīlālā</td>
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<td>3. Shāh Khosḥlān</td>
<td>Bābā Buzurg</td>
<td>Kākā Reda (Riḍā)</td>
<td>Kore-Faḵṭ</td>
<td>Māmā Dīlālā</td>
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<td>4. Sultan Sohāk</td>
<td>Benyāmīn</td>
<td>Dāwūd</td>
<td>Pīr-i Mūsā</td>
<td>Muhammad Dāyira</td>
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<td>5. Khrmtfl (Shāh Ways Kul)</td>
<td>Kamarādīn</td>
<td>Yārīḍān</td>
<td>Yārall</td>
<td>Ḫ Kháṭūn</td>
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<td>6. Mamad-beg</td>
<td>Dīṁgshld-beg</td>
<td>Almās-beg</td>
<td>Āḏbāl-beg</td>
<td>Rāzbār</td>
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<td>7. Khān Āṭāsh</td>
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<td>Khān Almās</td>
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fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the Sarandin). According to another version, Benyāmīn was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd — from the breath (anger); Mūsī — from the moustache (pity); Razbār — from the pulse (curse). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (waqīf) and the pīr; Dāwūd is the overseer (nāsīr) and judge (?); Pir Mūsī is the wazir who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (= Nuṣayr) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, Razbār or Ramzār ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in Razbār is not emphasized. One of the informants even alleges that Razbār is a hermaphrodite (khwīntā). Razbār is the invariant name of Khwātān Dāyira, mother of Sultan Shōkh, and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (Notes, p. 131 [251]). According to the Firḵān (i., 32, 35, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (zarda-gil), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (siyāh ḥāk), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases".

While confirming much that was already known, the Firḵān (i., 57, 67) represents a tradition different from that of the Atash-begl in as much as it makes known the "sultans shall be exterminated" (Bābā Naṣī的时间里 who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (hakikat). His son Nūr Allāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the Firḵān under the title of Kāshf al-Aḥkāmī. While confirming much that was already known, the Firḵān represents a tradition different from that of the Atash-begl in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandār and Sultan Shōkh while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Naṣī的时间里, etc.).

The Firḵān consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the hakikat established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "yā-yi ghaṣbat" became externalised in the garment of Khawandār. The law required concealed till the coming of Sultan Ishāk (Ṣōḥāk).

The term sabz namādān, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate" is applied to the ceremony (Notes, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (mursīd) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥakḵ has to be commended to a pīr". In the course of this ceremony (sar sipardān) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (djawz-i bud) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called hawīsa bearing the Shīʿa form of the profession of faith (hawīsa) from the Shīʿa town of Hawīza in Khūzistān; cf. Notes, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, Ein Mahdi des 15. Jahrhunderts, in Islamica, 1931, 48-93, and the art. Wusqaʾsmāʾ. Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the ḥaṣbah to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the pīr.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (shrāt-i šrār). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: Notes, p. 230 [110]; cf. the ṣāḥ wa-ṣāḥ bi al-ahkāmī among the Yazīdīs (q.v.).

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazīdīs (q.v.). It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Atāgh-begl do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see the Notes by Minorsky (Bibl.).

Firḵān al-Abībār. The author of this treatise was Ḥāṭidži Nīmat Allāh of Ḍayyān-ābād near Dinawar (1871-1920) who belonged to the Khāmūghi division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (hakikat). His son Nūr Allāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the Firḵān under the title of Kāshf al-Aḥkāmī. While confirming much that was already known, the Firḵān represents a tradition different from that of the Atāgh-begl in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandār and Sultan Shōkh while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Naṣī的时间里, etc.).

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Then the daftarārs recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥakḵ community has no [single?] sacred book and
its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Hakk required a kutb-i kull which would be unique. So after 1524/1906 Ni'mat Allâh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of Pir Benyâmîn (explained as bin - yâ i- amin "faithful son of Yâ"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (gardîsh-i dâns bi-dân = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (sardârs or kull-i kull). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective sardârs are Benyâmîn and Sayyid Muhammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawar). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective sardârs are Iblls and Khamnâs, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Mu'awiyâ, 'Abbâs, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyâmîn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (misîhân) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbâr: Bîlqîs, the queen of Saba', Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muhammad: Zaratorsh, the prophet Muhammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sultan Ishâk (Şohâk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Ni'mat Allâh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (saftâr-i ʿubdâ), notably his mission to unite the khamnâmâs, to give absolution from sins (as khîvâmat pâh namîddân) and to intercede (gûl-dî) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the full description of the rites and customs (amr wa-naḥkî), with the Guranî text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Ḥakk are in the west of Persia, in Luristan, Kurdistân (land of the Guran east of Zohâb, town of Kerend) and in Adharbâyjân (especially in Kashans and in Transcaucasia especially Karabagh). Little colonies of Ahl-i Ḥakk are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamadân, Teheran, at Mazandûrân, Fârs and even in Khrûrsân, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of Kâhn ʿAtâsh had gone). In ʿIrâk there are Ahl-i Ḥakk among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kûrêkû, of Sulaymânîyâ and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Ḥakk and the sects popularly known under the name of ʿAllî llâhi or by contemptuous terms like širâk-sonûrîn ("exterminating lights"), khorûs-kushân ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. (see berkak, kîlî-beh, sârî, shabbak). In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Ḥakk preachers of the district of Zohâb could be traced among the ʿAlawî (Khadîba) of Ayntâb; cf. Trowbridge, The Alevi, Harvard Theol. Review, 1909, 340-55, repr. in MW, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Ḥakk possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as Sarandûm. The epoch of Khwândâqâr is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of ʿAllî (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme Shîa. The epoch of Khoshân is placed in a typically Lurî (q.v.) environ-

ment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristan. One of the angels of Khoshân is Bâbâ Tâhir (k.d.), whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Guran close to the river Sirwân. The sayings attributed to Sultan Şohâk are in Guranî, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Ḥakk (cf. Firbân, i, 3; see Minorsky, The Guran, BSOS, 1943, 77-103). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bâbâ-Yâdegâr and Perdiwar, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Adharbâyjân and the kalâmâs relating to these epochs are in Adharî Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristan — land of the Guran — Adharbâyjân.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. Kâhn ʿAtâsh, born at Ağjari (north of Marâğa) and buried in the village of ʿAtâsh-beg in the district of Haşhâ-rôd, northeast of Mount Sahand, is said to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century (Notes, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants of whom the seventh was called Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAţîm Mirzâ ( Ağhâ-balîşâh) and lived at Garsâbân (also called Dûrû) on the Gâmâsâb to the south of Bishûn, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1915 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Hasan Mirzâ. The popularity of the Turkish poems of Shâh Ismâîl-i Şafawi is significant; the kalâm, known as Kûl-nâmâ, calls Shâh Ismâîl the "pir of Türkistan" (= Adharbâyjân where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Ḥakk doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Kara Koyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mâkû are Ahl-i Ḥakk. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Kara-Koyunlu in the region of Gandja live in the close neighbourhood of the Gûrmân (< Gûrânî). Shâh Ibrâhim, whom many of the Ahl-i Ḥakk regard as the successor of Sultan Şohâk, and who lived in Bagdâd and whose acolyte angel was Kûşîl-oghîl (or Kuspended), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Ḥakk teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before Shâh Ibrâhim the famous Sultan Şohâk who (outwardly) was the son of Shaykh ʿIsâ and Khâṭûn Dâyîra (Dâyärik), daughter of Hasan Beg Dîdl, chief of the tribe of Dîdl-iMurâd. His real name is said to have been Sayyid ʿAbd al-Sayyid. Barzinjûda, north of Sulaymânîyâ, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife Khâtûn Bashaîr, who are named hafttan. His tomb is at Perdiwar (in Awramân-i luhûn, see senne), on the right bank of the Sirwân.

The Kâkâlî chief of Ta'bâk claim to be his direct descendants (see al-'Azâwî, al-Kâkâlîyya). Shaykh Maḥmûd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistân" (cf. the article kuros), claimed to be descended from the brother of Sultan Şohâk in the twelfth generation. At Kirkuk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family. The only definite indication of Bâbâ Khoshân's date would be his association with the poet Bâbâ Tâhir (11th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥakk is typically syncrétist. At its foundations we find Shîa extremism. It should be
noted that the Ahl-i Ḥakk always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Isma'īlism. According to the

Firḵān, the “religion of Truth” simply re-establishes the contents of the 12 ġuész which were suppressed in the received text of the Kur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Ḥakk deviate from the orthodox Shī'a to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥakk has in common with those of the Druses and the Nūṣāyris the worship of ‘All, but ‘Alī is completely overshadowed by ‘Alī-Ilahi.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Ḥakk is the rites of the Šūfi darwlshes: election of the pîr, agapes with dhikr and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥakk is possessed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwlshes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment “the sultāns” will be punished (Notes, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Ḥakk. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Machiavellian idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the “Luminous” in the course of their transmigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Isma'īlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitsch, Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsā) may have come through the intermediary of the Kur'ān. The adherent Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Ḥakk in their conversations with Jews and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Kur'ān, the Ahl-i Ḥakk regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwlsh practices (e.g. the Bektadhī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanov has called attention to the name of Malak Tā'ūs (cf. Yazidi) in a fragment containing traditions, found at Shīrāz.

Bibliography: The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Ḥakk are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire, 1813, 117; G. Keppel, Personal narrative of a journey from India to England, 1817, ii, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥakk), was the first to give any reliable information about the sect, Notes on a march from Zohab, JRGS, 1839, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. The Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Baba Ḥakīm, notes on a march from Zohab, JRGS, 1845, i, 371-8, ii, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥakk is in Trois ans en Asie by Gobineau, Paris 1859, 338-70, who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Scheumann, Gobineau, eine Biographie, Strassburg 1867, 567-76 and Minorsky, Gobineau et la Perse, in Europe, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥakk of Tabriz appeared in the journal Kaokais, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥakk (a Kalām of 34 verses, “the Credo”) was published with important notes by V. A. Žukovsky in the Zap., 1887, 1-23. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥakk MS., dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (Kīlād-i Sarandījam “Book of the End, or Fulfilment!” in Persian, and also a number of Kalāms in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, Materiali dlia izucheniya persidskho sekti “L'udi Istini ili “Ali-Ilahī”, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. xxiii of Trud po sostoyemennyu sidavayemnym Lasarektshim Institutom; id., Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq, in RMM, 1920, 20-97 (p. 61-84: detailed bibliography containing 54 items), and RMM, 1921, 205-302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in Syria, 1922, 262; V. Minorsky, Un traité de polemique Biahi-Ahle-Haqq, in JA, 1921, 165-7; D. Saeed-Khan, The sect of Ahl-i Haqq, MW, 1927, 31-42; Gordlevsky, Kara-koynun, in Izv. Obozrevateb persidskoi Azerbaydzhana, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia, Bull. de l’Université d’Erevan, French translation by F. Macler in RHR, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq, i, “Toumarsh” = Ahl-i Haqq, RHR, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia, MW, 1932, 184-9; Y. N. Marr, Kadensiye sekti L’udi istini (in Y. Marr, Slatyi i soobčeniya, i, 1939, 246-34); Ch. P. Pittmann, The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq, MW, 1937, 147-65 (make use of the Sarandījam which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky): W. Ivanov, An Ali-Ilahi fragment, Collectanea (The Ismaili Society), i, 1948, 147-84, idem, The Truth Worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the Sarandījam; ‘Abbās al-Azzāwī, al-Khkāvyva fi’Tu’rīkh, Baghdad 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Haqq of Kirkūk considered jointly with various ‘All Ilahi; cf. Oriens, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, Un poème Ahl-i Haqq en turk, Westliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi, 1954, 238. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Ḥakk (Teheran, Tabriz, Mākān, Kurdistān) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā-Yadeqār, Perdiwār) have been set forth in his Notes (see above). In the same work there is a translation of the Bahā’ī polemic tract directed against the Ahl-i Ḥakk. Minorsky’s other materials comprise numerous Kalāms (in Gūrān and Turkish), and the important account of the collection of dogmas Firḵān al-Akhbara (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kurind (1934).

AHU AL-HALL WAT’AKHD (this, though illegible, is the normal order of the words), “those who are qualified to unbind and to bind”, the representatives of the community of the Muslims who act on their behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or