

religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Ḥadīth literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ Muḥaddīth of Delhi [q.v.], and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samādhīst Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Aḥmadīs (Kādiyānis).

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AHL-I ḤAḤḤ, "Men of God", a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ would seem to be a rather imprecise name for this sect, because it is used, for example, by the Ḥurūfīs (see Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hurūfi*, 1909, 40), and because it has an affinity with such ṣūfī terms as *Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥa*, a term which is also used by the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ. In the strict sense, however, Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ is the name properly given to initiates of the religion described in the present article. The name 'Alī Ilāhī [q.v.] applied to them by their neighbours is an unsuitable title, because 'Alī is not the dominant figure in the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ, and further because the term 'Alī Ilāhī is also used in relation to sects whose connection with the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ has not yet been established.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is

still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms) and secondly from the existence of numerous subsets. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, 46 [33]). There are twelve main *khānadāns* or *silsilas* (v. infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalālī (Minorsky, *Notes*, 48 [35]) and the Tūmārī (a highly abnormal group) (*Minorsky, Études*, I). The account by Gobineau, the *Firkān* and the text published by W. Ivanow reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātash-begī version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Ātash-begī documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firkān*, the author of which was a Khāmūshī (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ 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 (to dwell) in a garment" (*libās, dījāma, dūn* < Turk. **don*).

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i Ār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

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

In pre-eternity (*azal*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of Khāwandagār, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of 'Alī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *sharī'a*, *ṭarīka*, *ma'rifa* and *ḥaḥḥa*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the last and the highest stage is Sulṭān Ṣohāk. On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the successors of Sulṭān Ṣohāk are recorded.

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 Salmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khāwandagār from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. <u>Khāwandagār</u>	Djibrā'il	Mikā'il	Isrāfil	'Azrā'il	?
2. Murtaḍā 'Alī	Salmān	Ḥanbar	Ḥaḍrat-i Muḥammad	Nuṣayr	Fātima
3. <u>Shāh Khoshīn</u>	Bābā Buzurg	Kākā Redā (Riḍā)	Kore-Faḳī	Bābā Ṭāhir	Māmā <u>Djalāla</u>
4. Sulṭān Ṣohāk	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pīr-i Mūsī	Muṣṭafā Dowdān	<u>Khātūn</u> Dāyira
5. Kīrmīzī (<u>Shāh</u> Ways Ḳulī)	Kāmariḍjān	Yāriḍjān	Yārālī	<u>Shāh</u> Sawār	Razbār
6. Mamad-beg	<u>Djamshīd</u> -beg	Almās-beg	Abdāl-beg	Agha ?	Parī- <u>khān</u> -i <u>Sharṭ</u>
7. <u>Khān Ātash</u>	<u>Khān</u> <u>Djamshīd</u>	<u>Khān</u> Almās	<u>Khān</u> Abdāl	?	Dūstī <u>Khānum</u>

fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjām*). 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 (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity; Benyāmīn is the deputy (*wakil*) and the *pir*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*nāzir*) and judge (?); Pīr 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 Ramzbār ("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 (*khunthā*). Razbār is the mystical name of Khātūn Dāyira, mother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, 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 *Firkān* (i, 32, 35, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*zarda-gil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāh khāk*), 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 the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i HaḤk eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (*ihāta*) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *kalāms* which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment, (*sān*, "review") will be the plain of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] or that of Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] where the "sulṭāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firkān*, i, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation) of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*ma'dūm*).

Rites. The Ahl-i HaḤk have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i HaḤk attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam* < *djam*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalāms* are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] are held. Specially qualified darwishes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadhīr wa-niyāz*

(raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *khayr wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firkān*, i, 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*khurbāni-yi khūndār wa-bi-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*khutba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan*, "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 (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i HaḤk has to be commended to a *pir*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*djawz-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *hawiza* bearing the *Shī'a* form of the profession of faith (*hawiza* from the *Shī'a* town of Hawiza in Khūzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Mahdi des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, 1931, 48-93, and the art. MUṢḤA'SHA'). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *shaykh* 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 *pir*.

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 (*sharī-i ikrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *akh wa-ukht al-ākhira* among the Yazidis [*q.v.*].

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazidis [*q.v.*]. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Ātash-begī 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.*).

Firkān al-Akhbār. The author of this treatise was Hādījī Ni'mat Allāh of Dījayhūn-ābād near Dīnawar (1871-1920) who belonged to the Khāmūshī division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*haḥikat*). His son Nūr 'Alī Shāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firkān* under the title of *Kashf al-Hakā'ik*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firkān* represents a tradition different from that of the Ātash-begī in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandagār and Sulṭān Ṣohāk while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Nā'ūth, etc.).

The *Firkān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *haḥikat* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "yā-yi khaybat" became externalised in the garment of Khāwandagār. The law remained concealed till the coming of Sulṭān Iṣhāk (Ṣohāk). Then the *daftardārs* 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 HaḤk community has no [single?] sacred book and

its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ required a *kuṭb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324/1906 Niʿmat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of Pīr Benyāmīn (explained as *bin + yā + amin* "faithful son of Yā"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardīsh-i dūn bi-dūn* = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*zarda-gil* or *khāk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardārs* are Benyāmīn and Sayyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardārs* are Iblīs and Khannās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Muʿāwiya, ʿĀʾiṣha, 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 Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilkīs, the queen of Saba, Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sulṭān Ishāk (Ṣohāk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Niʿmat Allāh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*saḡar-i ʿuḡbā*), notably his mission to unite the *khānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az khīyānat pāk namūdān*) and to intercede (*shifāʿat*) with the Lord of Time.

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

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kurdistān (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kerend) and in Ādharbāyḡdīān (Tabrīz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia especially Karabagh). Little colonies of Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamadhān, Teheran, at Māzandarān, Fārs and even in Khurāsān, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of Khān Ātash had gone). In ʿIrāk there are Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaymāniyya and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ and the sects popularly known under the name of ʿAlī Ilāhī or by contemptuous terms like *tirāgh-sōndūren* ("extinguishers of lights"), *khurūs-kushān* ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. [see BEKTĀSH, KIZIL-BASH, SĀRLI, SHABBAK]. In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the ʿAlawī (Kizilbash) of ʿAyntāb; cf. Trowbridge, *The Alevis, Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, 340-55, repr. in *MW*, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarandjām*. The epoch of Khāwandagār is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of ʿAlī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme Shīʿa. The epoch of Khoshīn is placed in a typically Lur [*q.v.*] environ-

ment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristān. One of the angels of Khoshīn is Bābā Ṭāhīr [*q.v.*] whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Gūrān close to the river Sīrwān. The sayings attributed to Sulṭān Ṣohāk are in Gūrānī, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ (cf. *Firḡān*, i, 3; see Minorsky, *The Guran*, BSOS, 1943, 77-103). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bābā-Yādegār and Perdiwār, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Ādharbāyḡdīān and the *kalāms* relating to these epochs are in Ādharī Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristān — land of the Gūrān — Ādharbāyḡdīān.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. Khān Ātash, born at Adjari (north of Marāgha) and buried in the village of Ātash-beg in the district of Hashta-rūd, 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-ʿAzīm Mirzā (Aghā-bakhsh) and lived at Garrabān (also called Dorū) on the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisūtūn, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ḥasan Mirzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī is significant; the *kalām*, known as *Kuṭb-nāma*, calls Shāh Ismāʿīl the "pir of Turkistān" (= Ādharbāyḡdīān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū are Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu in the region of Gandja live in the close neighbourhood of the Gʿōran (< Gūrān!). Shāh Ibrāhīm, whom many of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ regard as the successor of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and who lived in Baghdād and whose acolyte angel was Ḳushḡi-oghli (author of Turkish *kalāms*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before Shāh Ibrāhīm the famous Sulṭān Ṣohāk who (outwardly) was the son of Shaykh ʿIsī and Khātūn Dāyira (Dāyarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg Dīald, chief of the tribe of Dīāf-i Murād. His real name is said to have been Sayyid ʿAbd al-Sayyid. Barzindja, north of Sulaymāniyya, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife Khātūna Bashīr, who are named *hafttan*. His tomb is at Perdiwār (in Awramān-i luhūn, see SENNE), on the right bank of the Sīrwān.

The Kākāʾī chiefs of Taʿūḡ claim to be his direct descendants (see al-ʿAzzawī, *al-Kākāʾiyya*). Shaykh Maḥmūd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistān" [cf. the article KURDS], claimed to be descended from the brother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk in the twelfth generation. At Kirkuk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family.

The only definite indication of Bābā Khoshīn's date would be his association with the poet Bābā Ṭāhīr (11th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find Shīʿa extremism. It should be

noted that the Ahl-i Haqq always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismā'īlism. According to the *Firkān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the 10 *djuz*' which were suppressed in the received text of the Qur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Haqq deviate from the orthodox Shī'a to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Haqq has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nuṣayrīs the worship of 'Alī, but 'Alī is completely overshadowed by Sulṭān Ṣohāk.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Haqq is the rites of the Ṣūfī darwīshes: election of the *ṣīr*, agapes with *dhikr* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Haqq is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwīshes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the sulṭāns" 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 Haqq. 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 to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichæan 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 Ismā'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. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsī) may have come through the intermediary of the Qur'ān. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Haqq in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Qur'ān, the Ahl-i Haqq regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwīsh practices (e.g. the Bektāshī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanow has called attention to the name of Malak Ṭā'ūs [cf. *vazīfīs*] in a fragment containing traditions, found at Shīrāz.

Bibliography: The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Haqq are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; 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 Haqq), 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 Bābā Yādegār, *Biblioteka d'a členiya*, St. Petersburg 1854, t. cxxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, i, 371-8, ii, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Haqq 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 Schemann, *Gobineau, eine Biographie*, Strasburg, 1913, i, 506-7, and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse*, in *Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Haqq of Tabriz appeared in the journal *Kavkaz*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Haqq (a *Kalām* of 34 verses, "the Credo") was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1-25. 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 Haqq MS., dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (*Kitāb-i Sarandjām* "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 d'a izučeniya persidskoy sekti "L'udi Istini ili "Ali-Ilahi"*, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. xxxiii of *Trudi po vostokovedeniyu izdavayemye Lazarevskim 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 polémique Béhai-Ahle-Haqq*, in *JA*, 1921, 165-7; D. Saeed-Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1927, 31-42; Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *Izv. Obščestva izučeniya Azerbaydžana*, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, *Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia*, *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *RHR*, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, i, "Toumaris" = *Ahl-i Haqq*, *RHR*, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, *The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia*, *MW*, 1932, 184-9; Y. N. Marr, *Radeniye sekti L'udi istini* (in Y. Marr. *Statyi i soobščeniya*, ii, 1939, 248-54); Ch. P. Pittmann, *The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1937, 147-63 (makes use of a text of the *Sarandjām* which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky): W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi fragment, Collectanea* (The Ismā'īlī Society), I, 1948, 147-84, idem, *The Truth Worshipers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq*, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the *Sarandjām*); 'Abbās al-Azzāwī, *al-Kāhā'iyya fi'l-Ta'rikh*, Baghdad 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Haqq of Kirkūk considered jointly with various 'Alī Ilāhī; cf. *Oriens*, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, *Un poème Ahl-i Haqq en turk*, *Westliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, 258. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Haqq (Teheran, Tabriz, Mākū, Kurdistān) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā Yādegār, Perdiwar) 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 Haqq. Minorsky's other materials comprise numerous *Kalām* (in Gūrānī and Turkish), and the important account of the collection of dogmas *Firkān al-Akhbār* (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kirind (1934).

(V. MINORSKY)

AHL AL-HALL WA'L-'AQQ (this, though illogical, 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